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ABSTRACT

A series of printed images and ornaments greatly influenced eighteenth-century conceptions of Eliza Haywood as an author. In this article, I build on the work of Janine Barchas and Sarah Creel, exploring the ways in which Haywood was visually represented in editions of her works. I consider the role played by Haywood and her publishers in establishing a series of authorial eidolons (personas or avatars). Drawing on images not previously discussed by Haywood scholars, bibliographical information on ornament usage, and contemporary reader-responses to images and ornaments, I argue for a renewed focus on Haywood as the author of *Love in Excess* (1720) and a greater focus on reader-responses to Haywood's works.

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Although Eliza Haywood (1693–1756) has been the focus of considerable scholarly attention in the last decade, little detail has been added to previous knowledge about her personal and professional life. The only notable find since 2004 has been two detailed advertisements for the sale of “The genuine Household Goods of Mrs. Eliza Haywood, Publisher,” which came to light with the 2008 publication of the Burney Collection newspapers archive. In a 2011 article, I discussed at length the fascinating implications of these advertisements for our knowledge of Haywood in the early 1740s.¹ And in 2012, Kathryn R. King offered some important insights into Haywood’s personal, literary, and political affiliations in her *Political Biography of Eliza Haywood*.² King’s study was based—in the absence of any other new information concerning Haywood—almost exclusively on a sceptical approach to existing theories concerning Haywood’s relationships, and a close reading of a selection of her works. Other Haywood scholars, such as Carol Stewart and Cheryl Nixon, have taken the latter approach to explore the political aspects of Haywood’s works.³ And it is likely that further interpretative work, focused on a wider range of Haywood’s works, will add to our knowledge of her affiliations. But the continuing dearth of primary documents concerning Haywood’s life—letters, diaries, contracts, or receipts—is frustrating for those scholars who, like myself, are interested in her as a pioneering professional woman writer and who hoped that sustained scholarly interest in Haywood would lead to further discoveries concerning her. It is, perhaps, for this reason that Haywood scholars have begun to explore visual and

1 Advertisements, *Daily Advertiser*, 4 and 12 April 1744, in 17th and 18th Century Burney Collection Newspapers, <http://gdc.gale.com/products/17th-and-18th-century-burney-collection-newspapers>. Patrick Spedding, “Eliza Haywood at the Sign of Fame,” *1650–1850: Ideas, Aesthetics, and Inquiries in the Early Modern Era* 18 (2011): 29–55. For a brief notice of the same advertisements, see Kathryn R. King, “Eliza Haywood at the Sign of Fame in Covent Garden (1742–1744),” *Notes and Queries* 57, no. 1 (2010): 83–86, doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/notesj/gjp251>.

2 King, *A Political Biography of Eliza Haywood* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2012).

3 Carol Stewart, “Eliza Haywood’s *The Fortunate Foundlings*: A Jacobite Novel,” *Eighteenth-Century Life* 37, no. 1 (2013): 51–71, doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1215/00982601-1895208>; and Cheryl Nixon, “Regulating the Unstable Family: Eliza Haywood’s Fiction and the Development of Family Law,” *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 14, no. 4 (2014): 49–78, doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1353/jem.2014.0040>.

literary representations of Haywood as a way of discovering more about her professional and personal life.

Sarah Creel, for example, recently set out to “(re)frame” Haywood, by (re)examining a series of engravings and printers’ ornaments in the “fashioning” of Haywood as an author.⁴ Moving beyond Jacques Parmentier’s well-known 1724 portrait of Haywood, Creel uses a variety of images to offer what she calls a “long view of the ways in which [various] representations helped to build a carefully constructed persona of the author herself.”⁵ Creel’s analysis of authorial (self-)representations focuses on seven images—the engraved frontispieces in five publications and the printers’ ornaments in two others.⁶ Her essay adds to the small body of work on eighteenth-century novelists that unites a general interest in book history, the history of literature, and the history of reading with a particular interest in the intersection between text and ornamentation in eighteenth-century fiction. The use of engraved illustration and the intersection of art and text (visual and textual literacy) in eighteenth-century printing have attracted considerable attention in recent years.⁷ Scholars such as Janine Barchas, Christopher Flint, Rosamaria Lorelli, and Thomas Keymer, for example, have discussed the matching of particular printers’ flowers (fleurons) to different narrators in Samuel Richardson’s *Pamela* and *Clarissa*.⁸ However, only Barchas and Creel have addressed

4 Sarah Creel, “(Re)framing Eliza Haywood: Portraiture, Printer’s Ornaments, and the Fashioning of Female Authorship,” *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 14, no. 4 (2014): 25–48, doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1353/jem.2014.0038>.

5 Creel, 27.

6 In chronological order, these engravings and ornaments are (1) a 1724 engraving by George Vertue depicting Haywood, which Creel later compares to a 1742 impression of the same engraving; (2) a 1729 engraving depicting a scene from *A Wife to be Lett*; (3) a 1745 engraving depicting the four main (imagined) contributors to the *Female Spectator*; (4) a 1748 engraving depicting the same four women; (5) a 1725 tailpiece depicting Juno in a chariot from Haywood’s *Poems on Several Occasions*; (6) a 1726 tailpiece depicting a woman writing, appended to Richard Savage’s poem in praise of Haywood, contextualized by reference to two other tailpieces; and (7) a 1771 engraved frontispiece to Haywood’s *A New Present for a Servant-Maid*, depicting a woman consulting a copy of “Haywood’s New Present.”

7 Christina Ionescu offers a useful introduction to this quickly growing field. Ionescu, introduction to *Book Illustration in the Long Eighteenth Century: Reconfiguring the Visual Periphery of the Text*, ed. Christina Ionescu (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015), 1–50.

8 Christopher Flint, “In Other Words: Eighteenth-Century Authorship and the Ornaments of Print,” *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 14, nos. 3–4 (April–July 2002):

the ornamentation of Haywood's works, embracing both engraved plates and printers' ornaments.

The studies of Barchas, Creel, and others suggest that an examination of various types of visual representations of Haywood can reveal more of her personal history, add to our understanding of eighteenth-century publishing and reading practices in general, and enhance our understanding of these practices as they relate to Haywood in particular. These studies suggest that visual features of a text may reflect some degree of authorial intention, indicating some type of visual self-representation. Unfortunately, existing studies appear to be hampered, to a greater or lesser degree, by a lack of evidence, misinterpretation of evidence, or by limits to, or flaws in, the methodologies adopted. It is often unclear, for example, who precisely is responsible for the ornamentation of Haywood's works—author, publisher, printer, or typesetter—and it is difficult to establish originality or intent in the use of an individual ornament. Nevertheless, a close examination of the ornamentation of Haywood's works suggests that Parmentier's portrait was not produced, primarily or exclusively, to accompany Haywood's *Works* (1724) or *Secret Histories, Novels and Poems* (1725). Likewise, Samuel Chapman did not use a winged cupid on the title pages of Haywood's works to indicate the amatory content in those works, and, while it is possible that the ornament following Richard Savage's poem in praise of Haywood's *Rash Resolve* may have been intended as an idealized representation of Haywood, evidence of intentionality is lacking for the ornaments in his *Miscellaneous Poems and Translations* (1726) in general. Strong cases can be made, however, for the association of individual ornaments with Haywood and her works, particularly the female bust that appears in the *Female Spectator* (1744–46) and the cloaked figure

627–72; reworked in *The Appearance of Print in Eighteenth-Century Fiction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), chap. 3; Janine Barchas, *Graphic Design, Print Culture, and the Eighteenth-Century Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), chap. 5; Rosamaria Loretelli, "The Space of Time: *Fleurons* as Temporal Markers in Samuel Richardson's *Clarissa* and Ugo Foscolo's *Ortis*," in *Britain and Italy in the Long Eighteenth Century: Literary and Art Theories*, ed. Rosamaria Loretelli and Frank O'Gorman (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), 145–55; and Thomas Keymer, "Novel Designs: Manipulating the Page in English Fiction, 1660–1780," in *New Directions in the History of the Novel*, ed. Patrick Parrinder, Andrew Nash, and Nicola Wilson (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 17–49.

who appears in the periodical *Young Lady* (1756). Occasionally, stunning insights are also possible into the interpretive behaviour of individual Haywood readers, as we see with Katherine Lewis's annotated copy of *La Belle Assemblée* (1724–34). While positivist claims about agency and internationality may be unwise, these examples do provide evidence of association that warrants further scrutiny, as well as suggest how scholars might usefully approach a wider study of the ornamentation of Haywood's works.

The present essay was composed in the hope of clarifying some of the evidential and interpretative challenges facing scholars who are interested in the intersection of text and images in Haywood's works. For this reason, I start with examples drawn from recent Haywood scholarship that exemplify methodological problems. Many of my own examples that follow, and much of my methodological analysis, is indebted to my research into Haywood's readers and the activities of Thomas Gardner.⁹ Regarding the latter, Gardner was the printer and publisher of most of Haywood's later and most highly regarded works. My investigation into the nature and scope of his publishing business was undertaken in the hope of answering some of the questions recently raised concerning the attribution of Haywood's later works and of gaining some insight into the commercial decisions made in relation to printing and reprinting works such as the *Female Spectator* and *The History of Miss Betsy Thoughtless* (1751). An important step in the study of Gardner's business involved a close examination of his ornament stock and a wide survey of his ornament usage. My familiarity with Gardner's ornament stock and reader annotations in the works of Haywood is both a strength and a weakness in the present article because it is selective. It is possible, for example, that there are better examples of creative intent than the young lady who illustrates Haywood's *Young Lady*, better examples of resistive reading than Lewis's creation of her own portrait of Haywood, and there may also be better subjects for methodological analysis than any drawn from Haywood's works. The utility of the present essay is limited, therefore, by its focus on Haywood. Nevertheless, I hope this essay

9 See Spedding, "Thomas, Lucy and Henry Lasher Gardner, Opposite St. Clement's Church in the Strand, 1739–1805," *Script & Print* 39, no. 1 (2015): 21–58; Spedding, "Thomas Gardner's Ornament Stock: A Checklist, 1739–1805," *Script & Print* 39, no. 2 (2015): 69–111; and Spedding, "Postscript on Thomas Gardner's Printing," *Script & Print* 40, no. 1 (2016): 43–45.

will be of use to scholars interested in the intersection of text and ornamentation in eighteenth-century fiction generally.



The “curiously Engraven” effigy of Haywood by Jacques (a.k.a. James) Parmentier (1658–1730), engraved by George Vertue (1684–1756), is by far the most important representation of the person we know as Eliza Haywood. The image has attracted a respectable body of scholarly attention, with scholars offering differing interpretations of the motive for producing this portrait and portraits like it, focusing on changing market norms and demands, stakeholder aspirations, or the response of a single, atypical reader (Alexander Pope).¹⁰ Because Parmentier’s portrait is well known and often discussed, I limit my observations below to the seemingly mistaken belief that the portrait was commissioned for either *The Works* or *Secret Histories, Novels and Poems* and is, therefore, a portrait of Haywood as the prolific-and-varied author of four volumes of fiction, poetry, and a play.

Vertue’s “Effigies” of Haywood was first advertised—and, apparently, first appeared—as a frontispiece to the fifth edition of *Love in Excess* on 13 April 1724.¹¹ Although the four-volume edition of *The Works of Mrs. Eliza Haywood* had been available since 31 January 1724,¹² it was not until 22 August of the same year that the “Effigies of the Author engrav’d by Mr. Vertue’s [*sic*]” first appeared in an advertisement for this collection.¹³ It is unclear why the portrait was not mentioned in the first six months of advertising for *The Works*, and not until after it had been advertised for four months with *Love in Excess*. One explanation for the lack of any reference to the Haywood “effigy” in advertising *The Works* is that Parmentier’s portrait was not printed specifically for this collection, which is almost entirely composed of previously published titles bundled together under this descriptive, collective title. Rather, Parmentier’s

10 See, for example, Creel; Barchas, 21–24; E.J. Clery, “‘To Dazzle let the Vain Design’: Alexander Pope’s Portrait Gallery; or, the Impossibility of Brilliant Women,” in *Bluestockings Displayed*, ed. Elizabeth Eger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 39–59; and Paula R. Backscheider, “The Image of a Woman Poet,” in *Elizabeth Singer Rowe and the Development of the English Novel* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 14–26.

11 *Daily Journal*, 13 April 1724.

12 *Daily Journal*, 31 January 1724.

13 *Evening Post*, 22 August 1724.

portrait was printed for the new (fifth) edition of *Love in Excess*, which constituted the whole of the first volume of *The Works*. The connection between this portrait and *The Works* appears, then, to be fortuitous: more than a happy coincidence, perhaps, but less than the express purpose of the portrait. If the printing of Parmentier's portrait had been planned for *The Works*, or both *The Works* and *Love in Excess*, but had been delayed, it would be reasonable to expect some mention of it to appear in the advertisements for both works at the same time. But, as noted, there is a delay of four months in any reference to this feature between one publication and the other.

While it is impossible to establish with absolute certainty that Parmentier's portrait was printed for *Love in Excess* rather than *The Works*,¹⁴ it is clear that the Haywood portrait was first advertised as a frontispiece to *Love in Excess*, suggesting that the "Effigies of the Author" was first offered to the public as a representation of the author of *Love in Excess*, second as a representation of the author of *The Works*, and only third as a representation of the author or Haywood's *Secret Histories, Novels and Poems*—since only reprints or re-impressions of this portrait appear in editions of the latter in 1725, 1732, and 1742. Although it is not incorrect to describe this portrait as published in either or both *The Works* and *Secret Histories, Novels and Poems*,¹⁵ and it is certainly understandable to mistakenly describe the portrait as having "first" appeared in *Secret Histories, Novels and Poems*,¹⁶ interpreting the portrait in relation to either collection, or in relation to Haywood as an author in general, rather than as the author of *Love in Excess* in particular, has implications for whatever motive we might be inclined to ascribe to various stakeholders. While Pope's assault on Haywood's portrait *may*, as Barchas suggests, have been "sparked"

14 This interpretation differs in minor details from the one I offered in 2004. While I previously stated that the Parmentier's portrait "may" have appeared as the frontispiece of *The Works*, by virtue of the fact that it was the frontispiece to the first title in *The Works*, I also stated that "it is clear that the portrait was not a feature of [*The Works*] as it was to be for editions of [*Secret Histories, Novels and Poems*]." Spedding, *A Bibliography of Eliza Haywood* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2004), 783. I would amend this statement now to "the portrait was not an *original* feature of" *The Works* as it was meant to be used for editions of *Secret Histories, Novels and Poems*.

15 See Barchas, 23; Backscheider, 23; Clery, 44; and Creel, 26, 30.

16 Creel, 30.

by “the first instance of a genuine author portrait being used as a frontispiece within the emerging genre” (of amatory fiction), it is less likely that the portrait was “a premature attempt to garner [a] caste label” for Haywood by aligning her “amatory *oeuvre*” with “the collected works of established writers.”¹⁷ Consequently, it is doubtful that Parmentier’s portrait was a ridiculous “graphic gesture,” a “ludicrous example of popular, print-culture kitsch,” inspired by the aspirations of either Haywood or her publisher.¹⁸ That is, it is a mistake to attribute motive—aspirations leading to this “attempt” or “gesture”—to the possibly accidental appearance of Parmentier’s portrait in *The Works*.

In bibliographical terms, the success of *Love in Excess* has been somewhat exaggerated in the past.¹⁹ So it is possible that contemporary scholars have been a little wary of interpreting Parmentier’s portrait primarily in relation to *Love in Excess*. Haywood scholars, such as King, Stewart, and Nixon, have also been engaging increasingly with the political aspects of Haywood’s works and may be (quite reasonably) reluctant—as Creel appears to be—to interpret Parmentier’s portrait as if Haywood “were to be cast in one of her own amatory fictions” from this period.²⁰ Nevertheless, as Haywood’s contemporaries John Mottley and William Rufus Chetwood state, she was “made eminent by several Novels, called *Love in Excess, &c.* wrote by her, which were much approved of by those who delight in that Sort of Reading and had a great Sale” and “none [of her works] have met with more Success than her Novels, more particularly her *Love in Excess, &c.*”²¹ There is a suggestion, in the ampersand used by both Mottley and Chetwood, that Haywood’s reputation as an author was established with *Love in Excess* and other works of a similar nature, not named and not necessary to list. However, the fact that *Love in Excess* is made to stand in for the unnamed works suggests its greater importance in the crafting of her public profile. The primary connection between Parmentier’s portrait and *Love in Excess*—established from

17 Barchas, 22, 24.

18 Barchas, 23.

19 Spedding, *A Bibliography of Eliza Haywood*, 19, 88–89.

20 Creel, 30–31.

21 [John Mottley], “A Compleat List of All the English Dramatic Poets, and All the Plays Ever Printed,” in Thomas Whincop, *Scanderbeg, or Love and Liberty: A Tragedy* (London: W. Reeve, 1747), 246–47; and William Rufus Chetwood, *A General History of the Stage* (London: W. Owen, 1749), 57.

evidence of production and supported by evidence of reception (Mottley and Chetwood)—is further supported, as we will see, by one reader's appropriation of an effigy of Mme Gomez.



For Creel, “visual representations of Haywood” are not limited to “representations of Haywood’s physical body” such as that by Parmentier. Rather, citing King on Haywood’s “self-inscriptions and authorial self-representations,” Creel includes “the image of an author that Haywood constructs in her own texts” to “shape her own brand of authorship”—which she elsewhere calls “eidolons” and “other kinds of authorial persona[s]” and “avatar[s] for the author herself.”²² *Eidolon* (from the Greek, meaning: image, spectre, phantom), *persona* (Latin: mask, character, role), and *avatar* (Sanskrit: manifestation or incarnation) connote a complex array of visual representations.²³ Haywood’s eponymous Female Spectator may, for instance, be considered an eidolon, a conscious attempt by Haywood to represent herself via a double of who she really was, or as she wished to appear; or a persona or avatar, a conscious attempt by Haywood to adopt a mask or embody an idea or concept. Any visual representation of the Female Spectator—such as those that appear in engraved frontispieces to the first octavo and duodecimo editions—represents an interpretative dilemma, since it is unclear whether the Female Spectator is an eidolon, persona, or avatar, and the extent to which the artist has attempted to accurately represent that eidolon, persona, or avatar. Moreover, to a certain extent, such distinctions depend on both a more complete knowledge of Haywood than we currently enjoy and the concept of authorial and artistic intention, evidence of which is lacking.

While New Critics of the mid-twentieth century such as W.K. Wimsatt and Monroe Beardsley famously argued that authorial intention is neither recoverable nor relevant, reception theorists such as Hans-Robert Jauss have, since the 1960s, suggested that there is a dialectic process of production and reception, where a reader’s impression of a text’s intended meaning shapes interpretation, by establishing a “horizon” of reader expectation. Book

22 King, 25, quoted in Creel. Creel, 25–28.

23 *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, s.vv. “eidolon, n.,” “persona, n.,” and “avatar, n.,” accessed March 2016, <http://www.oed.com/>.

historians and cultural theorists since the 1980s, such as Robert Darnton, D.F. McKenzie, and Gérard Genette, have examined the relationship between book production, literary form, and reader experience, exploring material and social influences on book production and the varied ways in which a reader's experience of text and paratext influences reading and interpretation.²⁴ Christina Ionescu argues that accounts of eighteenth-century book illustration must attempt to combine art-historical and book-historical perspectives, visual literacy, and "a true interest in the materiality of books,"²⁵ to account for the "plurality of creative vision" that is typical of book illustration in the period.²⁶ These theorists suggest that the visual representations of Haywood and her creations must account for both the process of production and reception, explicitly acknowledging the difficulty (at the least) of establishing or isolating creative intent in book production (specifically, book illustration and decoration) or of establishing interpretive norms (even the "horizon" of expectations) among contemporary readers.

Although Creel invokes authorial intention when interpreting Haywood's texts, she usually avoids doing so in relation to the images she analyzes. While "Haywood constructs" the "image of an author ... in her own texts," Creel states that her study may help scholars understand how "visual representations of Haywood ... helped build a carefully constructed persona of the author herself" and how "the circulation of [Haywood's] image was used to shape her own brand of authorship."²⁷ While Creel describes ornaments as "serv[ing] to instruct the reader" concerning "the text's meaning," and mentions some of the decision makers who (intentionally or accidentally) helped shape or build Haywood's

24 For a brief, recent summary of these developments, see the introduction to *A Return to the Common Reader: Print Culture and the Novel, 1850–1900*, ed. Beth Palmer and Adelene Buckland (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 1–6; for an introduction to the history of reader-response and reception theory, see R.C. Holub, *Reception Theory: A Critical Introduction* (London: Routledge, 1984); E. Freund, *The Return of the Reader: Reader-Response Criticism* (London: Methuen, 1987); and *Reader-Response Criticism: From Formalism to Post-Structuralism*, ed. Jane P. Tompkins (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980).

25 Ionescu, 9.

26 Ionescu, 37.

27 Creel, 27–28.

“brand,” such as engravers, printers, publishers, and composers,²⁸ these decision makers are not invoked as stakeholders or active agents in the larger enterprise of brand-building, leaving the ultimate question of intention unclear. Haywood’s carefully constructed “brand” of authorship suggests an active role by Haywood in self-promoting, in constructing, building, and shaping the images of her that circulated, yet responsibility for this activity remains either un- or under-examined. There is no discussion of the evidence that exists for Haywood’s management of her own public profile or her involvement in the production of her own works, and no discussion of such involvement by any contemporary writer.²⁹



An example drawn from Barchas’s *Graphic Design, Print Culture, and the Eighteenth-Century Novel* (2003) illustrates some of interpretative challenges of Ionescu’s “integrative approaches”³⁰ and the difficulties of avoiding eccentric interpretations—and projecting those interpretations onto an imagined contemporary reader—when normal ornament usage and book trade business divisions are ignored. In a discussion of shop signs, and the attention such signs attracted, Barchas suggests that the tailpiece of a winged cupid (see Figure 1a), used in 1723 on the title page of *Lasselia* for the publishers Daniel Browne junior and Samuel Chapman, had a “mnemonic function”—eliding the angel/cupid distinction to link Chapman’s sign of “the Angel in Pall-Mall” with “Haywood’s growing reputation for amorous tales.”³¹ Barchas’s suggestion is that Chapman wanted to build an association in the minds of his present customers between romance-related novels and his trade sign, the novels he was publishing (such as Haywood’s *Lasselia*) and the novels he might publish in future, so that these

28 Creel, 30, 43.

29 As, for example, in her use of various noms de plume (particularly on stage) and as revealed in the depositions collected for the prosecution of *A Letter from H[enry] G[orin]g* (1750). For the involvement of contemporary writers in the production of their own works, see, for example, David Foxon and James McLaverty, *Pope and the Early Eighteenth-Century Book Trade* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991); and *Jonathan Swift and the Eighteenth-Century Book*, ed. Paddy Bullard and James McLaverty (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

30 Ionescu, 10.

31 Barchas, 75.



Figure 1a. Tailpiece of a winged cupid used by Henry Woodfall in the first half of the eighteenth century.

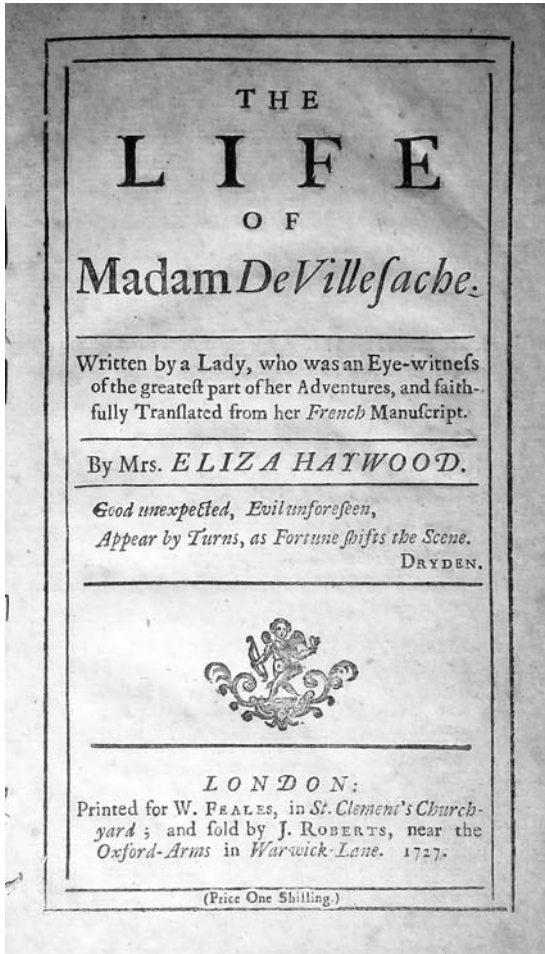


Figure 1b.
Title page of Eliza Haywood, *The Life of Madam de Villesache* (1727), featuring the cupid ornament.

present customers would return to him in the future for more romance-related novels. While Barchas is right that “the pictorial images of flower-filled urns, angels and cupids, found in the head-and tail-pieces,” common in printing at this time, *may* have helped “shape interpretation”³² among contemporary readers (a subject I return to below), it is not clear that the cupid ornament would have shaped interpretation of Haywood’s text in the way she proposes.

Printers’ ornaments, such as the cupid tailpiece discussed by Barchas, are common in printing in the first half of the eighteenth century. Each printer had a stock of ornaments, and each ornament, being hand-carved, was unique—though some designs were popular and often copied. The uniqueness of each printers’ ornament is significant because printers are frequently not identified in this period, but their ornaments can be used to identify the items they printed. Although there have been various proposals to undertake a universal catalogue of printers’ ornaments, which would make it possible to identify the printer of almost every publication featuring an ornament, only six eighteenth-century British printers have had their ornament stock catalogued since 1950 because of the enormous amount of work involved in undertaking such studies.³³ Fortunately, the cupid tailpiece in question appears in one of the six catalogues: it is no. 225 in Richard J. Goulden’s 1988 catalogue of *The Ornament Stock of Henry Woodfall, 1719–1747*.³⁴

In his “Preliminary Inventory,” Goulden locates Henry Woodfall’s cupid tailpiece twenty-five times in publications dated 1722–41.³⁵ Using Golden’s catalogue, I located the ornament in seven works by Haywood published between 1723 and 1732³⁶—including on the title pages of *Lasselia* and *The Life of Madam de Villesache* (see Figure 1b). This second instance of Haywood-cupid association may be seen as offering false hope of support for an argument of mnemonic association. False, because *The*

32 Barchas, 149.

33 Spedding, “Thomas Gardner’s Ornament Stock: A Checklist, 1739–1805,” 70–75. A seventh study, by John C. Ross of Samuel Palmer, is forthcoming from the Oxford Bibliographical Society. See below for the recent efforts by Hazel Wilkinson and Andrew Newell to create a universal catalogue of printers’ ornaments.

34 Richard J. Goulden, *The Ornament Stock of Henry Woodfall, 1719–1747: A Preliminary Inventory* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1988), 27 (no. 225).

35 Goulden, 68.

36 Indexed in Spedding, *A Bibliography of Eliza Haywood*, 823, 826.

Life of Madam de Villesache was printed by Woodfall for Henry Feales, not Chapman, and was printed in 1727, when Chapman was leaving business.³⁷ Feales's trade sign was "Rowe's Head," and there is no plausible or productive way of linking an angel/cupid with either Nicholas Rowe or a trade sign depicting his bust. Although Barchas implicitly differentiates the printer of *Lasselia* (Woodfall, who is not named on *Lasselia*, nor recognized by Barchas), from the publishers (by referring to Chapman as "one of the vendors") she—nevertheless—conflates printer and publisher. Barchas suggests that the cupid tailpiece may reflect a marketing-driven collaboration of author and publisher, something that could only be true if we assume that the publisher (Chapman) instructed his printer (Woodfall) to use the cupid tailpiece on the title page of *Lasselia*. But, as the example of *The Life of Madam de Villesache* shows, Woodfall acted as printer for more than one publisher. And, in the books by Haywood, printed by Woodfall for Chapman, the ornament appears in various places throughout *Love in Excess*, *A Wife to Be Lett*, *La Belle Assemblée*, and *Love in its Variety*—that is, in three novels, a play, a volume of poems, and two translations.³⁸ Goulden's "Preliminary Inventory" informs us that, among other places, the ornament also appears in the work of an evangelical Protestant clergyman on "how to raise the soul into holy flames" and a medical work offering *An Account of the Remedy for the Stone*, the former printed by Woodfall for Chapman, the latter not.³⁹

It is unlikely an ornament that appears in works by a variety of authors, in a variety of genres, over a long period, in varied locations, and for various publishers, has the function Barchas

37 Samuel Chapman does not appear "At the Angel & Crown in Pall Mall" after 1727. The British Book Trade Index, <http://www.bbti.bham.ac.uk/13169>, suggests trading dates of 1720–29, but an ESTC search only locates titles from 1719–27, <http://estc.bl.uk/T59867>, <http://estc.bl.uk/N62717>.

38 See Spedding, *A Bibliography of Eliza Haywood*, Ab.1.5b, 7.2a, 8.1a, 10.1, 16.2a, 16.4, 16.7, 16.11a, 37.1, 38.1; namely, *Love in Excess*, 5th ed. (13); *Poems on Several Occasions* (8); *A Wife to be Lett*, 2nd ed. (55); *Lasselia* ([iii]); *La Belle Assemblée*, part 2 (105); *La Belle Assemblée*, vol. 2 (343); *La Belle Assemblée*, 3rd ed., vol. 1 (55); *La Belle Assemblée*, 4th ed., vol. 1 (55); *The Life of Madam de Villesache* ([i]); *Love in its Variety* (102).

39 Anthony Horneck, *The Fire of the Altar: Or, Certain Directions How to Raise the Soul into Holy Flames* (London: Samuel Chapman and Richard Ware, 1724), A4v ([viii]); and Richard Gem, *An Account of the Remedy for the Stone, Lately Published in England, According to an Act of Parliament* (London: H. Woodfall, sold by J. Roberts in Warwick-Lane, [1741]), [5].

suggests. And, while this ornament appears in a number of works by Haywood, so did many other Woodfall ornaments, because Woodfall printed many of Chapman's publication for him. Looking at the various publications identified by either Goulden or myself as featuring Woodfall's cupid tailpiece, the appearance of this tailpiece on the title page of *Lasselia* is unremarkable. This does not mean that the ornament was not selected—by publisher, printer, or compositor—for the reason Barchas proposes. It simply means that the evidence is lacking to build a compelling case for such an intention. It also does not mean that no reader other than Barchas has ever been struck by the appropriateness of a cupid ornament on the title page of *Lasselia* or *The Life of Madam de Villesache*, just that evidence is lacking here too. What this example suggests is the importance of examining a representative sample of a printer's ornament usage and differentiating the actions of printers and publishers, before drawing conclusions concerning internationality.

Creel offers an example of the "correlation of text and image" from Richard Savage's 1726 *Miscellaneous Poems and Translations*, where an ornament of a woman writing by lamplight appears as the tailpiece to his poem in praise of Haywood's *Rash Resolve*. Creel argues that the image "is striking for the way it reinforces the poem's obsession with text and image"—established through close attention to Savage's use of poetic metaphors that equate writing with painting, and to the ornament, which depicts "an industrious woman writer surrounded by laurels and working intently at her craft." Creel argues that this ornament is a visual representation of Haywood. She goes on to argue for the centrality of women in the texts within Savage's collection, before discussing two other tailpieces, one depicting a winged female figure in classical robes ("a classical muse such as Virtue or Wisdom"), another, a female bust, shown in profile within a frame "mimicking a miniature portrait."⁴⁰

While Creel's reading of text and image in this volume is plausible—admirable even—her interpretation lacks support from any source outside the collection itself. Significantly, in light of the above analysis, the printer of this collection is not identified and is presently unknown, so it is impossible to establish the context in which these ornaments appear elsewhere: whether the ornament depicting a woman writing by lamplight was commissioned for

40 Creel, 40–43.

this work, regularly used in association with similar poetic texts, texts by female authors, poems about female authors, and so forth. As I suggest below, ornaments depicting female figures were not uncommon in this period as a whole, and the usage in this collection appears unremarkable when compared to similar collections.

Despite the lack of evidence from outside Savage's collection, Creel argues that these examples are not "neutral paratextual accoutrements" to the volume; rather, they "serve to instruct the reader" concerning "the text's meaning."⁴¹ This claim is based on a belief that, since Enlightenment philosophers such as John Locke favoured the use of visual material in the education of the young, many readers were visually literate, skilled at decoding paintings and portraits, and that "most eighteenth-century readers would have been very familiar with reading ... printer's ornaments."⁴² While the first of these claims is well attested and certainly true,⁴³ the second is only probably true of engraved plates (the subject discussed by Christina Lindeman, cited by Creel to support her claim);⁴⁴ the third is implausible and no evidence is offered for it.

In a recent overview of the field, Ionescu cites a 1935 distinction between book illustrations and "decorative accessories": that is, between engraved plates, on the one hand, and ornaments such as head- and tailpieces that were "transposed from book to book"⁴⁵ on the other. The distinction is important and, as Ionescu suggests,

41 Creel, 43.

42 Creel, 42.

43 See, for example, Morag Styles and Evelyn Arizpe, "Reading Lessons from the Eighteenth Century," *Children's Literature in Education* 35, no. 1 (2004): 53–68, doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1023/B:CLID.0000018900.64783.65>.

44 Christina Lindeman, "Portrait as Text: Reading Visual Images in the Anna Amalia Bibliothek," in *Word and Image in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2008), 248–66, quoted in Creel, 42.

45 Edgar Breitenbach, "The Bibliography of Illustrated Books [Notes with two examples from English book illustration of the eighteenth century]," *Library Association Record* (May 1935): 2.177–83 (esp. 176b.), cited in Ionescu, 30. Although engraved plates could be "transposed from book to book" as well—Edmund Curll was criticized in 1741 for regularly reusing an engraved plate of Pandora in a variety of books—this practice appears to have been uncommon. See Thomas Stretser, *Merryland Displayed* (London: J. Leake, 1741), 16: "after he [Curll] found the Pamphlet pirated, to make *his* differ from the pirated Editions, he adds a Frontispiece ... This Plate I find was engraved so long ago as the Year 1712, for the use of Mr Rowe's Translation of *Quillet's Callipædia*, then published by Mr. *Curll*, and has served for several Books since, particularly the *Altar of Love*, and Mrs. *Singer's Poems*."

could be improved by making further distinctions between frequently and indiscriminately used head- and tailpieces and vignette head- and tailpieces commissioned for individual works, such as those discussed in Ionescu's collection.⁴⁶ Because Creel conflates book illustrations and ornamentation, a contradiction arises when she goes on to suggest that all ornament usage was "ubiquitous and indiscriminate," with ornaments chosen by compositors, not authors, publishers, or printers. Having identified the ornaments as simultaneously indiscriminate and instruments of paratextual instruction, Creel is forced to conclude that "it is the reader who ultimately makes meaning"⁴⁷ of book illustration and decoration—including meanings not "sanctioned or anticipated"⁴⁸—a subject I return to below.



Though evidence is lacking for intentionality in the use of ornaments in Haywood's *Lasselia* and in Savage's collection, at least two examples show what may be sanctioned or anticipated paratextual instruction in Haywood's works: a 1744 ornament seemingly commissioned for the *Female Spectator* and a 1756 headpiece seemingly commissioned for the *Young Lady*.

The large, but rather crude headpiece used in Haywood's *Young Lady* periodical (see Figure 2) is remarkable because it depicts Euphrosine (the titular young lady) dressed to the moment of publication, in weather-appropriate gear. At the head of every issue, readers are greeted with a fashionably cloaked woman, walking right to left, with hood pulled back and gloved hands emerging from her cape. The lady is framed by cornucopias of fruits (left) and flowers (right). The *Young Lady* appeared on 6 January 1756, in the middle of winter, when the temperature in London usually remains constant at approximately 3–8°C,⁴⁹ according to the *London Magazine*, in the week following the first issue of the *Young Lady* the weather was: rain, misting, windy rain, fair and clear, cloudy,

46 Marie-Claire Planche, "Ornaments and Narratives, the Dialogue of Engraved Motifs," in *Book Illustration in the Long Eighteenth Century*, 573–604.

47 Creel, 43.

48 Barchas, 11, quoted in Creel, 43.

49 "Greenwich Park (Nearest Climate Station to London) Climate Period: 1981–2010," [online] <http://www.metoffice.gov.uk/public/weather/climate/gcpvj0v07>.



Figure 2. Headpiece of Eliza Haywood's *Young Lady* periodical (1756).

cloudy, rain, with either frost or frost rain for most of the following week.⁵⁰ The lady in this ornament is, then, both an appropriate subject given the title of the journal and has been appropriately depicted for the London winter of 1755–56.

Although Gardner used some of his ornaments heavily,⁵¹ this particular ornament does not appear anywhere else in the works he is known to have printed. As Keith Maslen notes, woodcut ornaments were inexpensive compared to copperplate engravings, and many appear only once, seemingly commissioned for a particular item.⁵² While it is possible that Gardner borrowed the ornament, “very few instances” of such borrowing “have been found” in printing from this period,⁵³ and the clear connection of image and context argues against it here. Unlike Woodfall’s cupid, therefore, there is strong evidence that this ornament was carved for this periodical, with the expectation that readers would connect image and text. Though it is not completely clear who was ultimately responsible for having the woodcut executed and used in this way (that is, who intended readers to connect image and text), it is most likely that it was Gardner (both printer and publisher) who ordered and paid for it. It is clear, however, that while this ornament was commissioned for the *Young Lady*, a compositor did not indiscriminately set it at the head of every issue.

50 *London Magazine* 25 (1756): 48, 96.

51 Spedding, “Thomas Gardner’s Ornament Stock,” 81.

52 Keith Maslen, *Samuel Richardson of London, Printer: A Study of His Printing Based on Ornament Use and Business Accounts*, *Otago Studies in English* 7 (Otago: Department of English, University of Otago, 2001), 48.

53 Maslen, 46.



Figure 3. Ornament featuring a bust, found in the octavo editions of the *Female Spectator* and the periodicals *Parrot* and *Epistles for the Ladies*.

My second example of a Gardner ornament that may represent an authorial figure or authorial mask in Haywood's works is the bust that occupies the upper portion of a decorative border, used on the octavo editions of the *Female Spectator* and reused on the periodicals *Parrot* and *Epistles for the Ladies* (see Figure 3).⁵⁴ Like the figures in the engraved frontispieces to the *Female Spectator*, this bust presents an interpretative dilemma: does it represent the anonymous author (Haywood) or any of the fictional authors of the *Female Spectator*—the narrator (the “Female Spectator”), Euphrosine, Mira, and the unnamed “widow of quality”? The decorative border appears on the title page of each separate book of Haywood's *Female Spectator* and on the general title pages of each volume of the three periodicals. The scrollwork of the ornament, a vegetative wave pattern, ubiquitous in printing before the mid-eighteenth century, appears to comprise four separate wood blocks, with a single, isolated feature, centred at the top (this female bust) and the bottom (an open book). These two features are common in printers' ornaments, even among Gardner's small ornament stock: a female bust appearing in two, and an open book in one, of his twenty headpieces.⁵⁵ Taken together, they symbolize esteemed female authorship or scholarship, depending on whether we take the book to be written by, or read by, the woman depicted—the context here suggests the former, with a classical gloss given to the female author(s) of the *Female Spectator*.

54 Spedding, *A Bibliography of Eliza Haywood*, 439–64 (Ab.60.1–2), 492–93 (Ab.61.1), 504–9 (Ab.64); and Spedding, “Thomas Gardner's Ornament Stock,” 110 (DB01).

55 Spedding, “Thomas Gardner's Ornament Stock,” 101–3 (H04, H06, H12).

The fact that this ornament appears first in the *Female Spectator*, and only in two other works by Haywood, indicates that it was commissioned for this periodical and author. Gardner is not known to have used a decorative border in any other work he printed—including on other octavo periodicals, such as the *Universal Visiter, and Memorialist* (1756)—which reinforces the idea that the ornament was deemed particularly appropriate for this periodical and author. As with the young lady in the headpiece to the *Young Lady*, there is a clear connection of image and context in the ornamental border to the *Female Spectator*, which invites closer scrutiny. However, although the *Parrot* was advertised as being “By the Authors of the Female Spectator,” the narrator is, as the title suggests, a male parrot—not the eponymous Female Spectator—while the narrator of *Epistles for the Ladies* is Mira. Without a common narrator between the three works, it appears that the ornament functioned primarily as a connective tissue among Haywood’s periodicals. If so, it is possible that, just as the engraved frontispieces offer idealized representations of the fictional authors of the *Female Spectator*, the ornamental border offers an idealized representation of the author herself. Evidence is lacking, however. Likewise, although it is likely that Gardner was responsible for the commissioning and use of the woodcut (that is, he paid the artist and instructed his compositors to use this decorative border), it is unclear whose intentions are reflected in this bust.

In both of my instances of possible visual representation of authorial figures or masks (in the *Young Lady* and the *Female Spectator*), the subject matter of the images is not unusual; it is the close association of image and context that is noteworthy. The importance of establishing context can be shown in a counterexample. Another Gardner headpiece,⁵⁶ featuring a sculpted female bust atop a pedestal, is strongly reminiscent of William Faithorn’s 1667 frontispiece representing Katherine Phillips as “The matchless Orinda”—a classicized poet with “curled hair and low-cut dress of a restoration court beauty,” head modestly tipped downward.⁵⁷ The headpiece-bust in question is also very similar to the generic sculpted busts that appear in the frontispieces to the 1745 and 1748

56 Spedding, “Thomas Gardner’s Ornament Stock,” 102 (H06).

57 Elizabeth Hageman, “Katherine Philips: Poems,” in *A Companion to Early Modern Women’s Writing*, ed. Anita Pacheco (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), 191.

editions of the *Female Spectator*.⁵⁸ Moreover, the bust in Gardner's ornament appears between two angels with trumpets raised and laurel crowns in outstretched arms—symbolizing female fame and triumph. And the ornament appears on a series of works by, or attributed to, Haywood.⁵⁹ The correlations and connotations—famous female writers, Haywood's *Female Spectator*, Haywood's business sign (The Sign of Fame)—suggests intentionality, but the ornament appears frequently in Gardner's printing, like Woodfall's cupid, and had been used by him for many years before there is any evidence of his connection with Haywood.⁶⁰ Although image and context (immediate and wider) provides an obvious opportunity for free-wheeling analysis, “we should hesitate”—as Creel cautions—“before making ... facile assumption[s].”⁶¹



Turning to the question of reader-response, Creel's essay opens with an example of what may be a contemporary reading of ornament use in Haywood's works, when she proposes that Pope was struck by the appropriateness of a tailpiece used to decorate Haywood's *Poems on Several Occasions*.⁶² Creel suggests that Pope's infamous reference to Haywood “as a Juno of majestic size” in *The Dunciad* (1728) was inspired by a tailpiece that depicts Juno in a chariot drawn by peacocks, which appears on the title page of the second edition (only) of Haywood's *Poems*—one of the twelve items included in her *Secret Histories, Novels and Poems*. “These two contrasting representations of Juno/Haywood are separated by only two years,” Creel notes, before making her suggestion that Pope was ridiculing both Haywood's “physical size” and this visual “description of [her] as Juno” in *The Dunciad*.⁶³ Creel's suggestion has much to recommend it, and it is possible further scrutiny of Pope's *Dunciad* may provide more supporting evidence. Certainly,

58 Creel, 37. These three busts are labelled “Madame Dacier,” “Sappho,” and “the bust of an unidentified female.”

59 Spedding, “Thomas Gardner's Ornament Stock,” 1743.3, 1742.1, pp. 86–87.

60 Spedding, “Thomas Gardner's Ornament Stock,” 102 (H06). For more on Haywood's publishing venture see Spedding, “Eliza Haywood at the Sign of Fame.”

61 Creel, 34.

62 Creel, 25–26.

63 Creel, 26.

it is “difficult to ignore”⁶⁴ the fact that Pope also ridicules the portrait of Haywood reprinted in *Secret Histories, Novels and Poems*.

Intentionality is largely irrelevant to this argument: Creel may be right about Pope’s reading of the ornament, regardless of the motives we might be able to establish, or be inclined to ascribe to various stakeholders. However, there is an assumption made by Creel that, if the ornament depicting Juno in a chariot drawn by peacocks attracted the attention of Pope, it was because he identified Haywood with Juno. But a malicious reader, with a classical education, could just as easily draw on Aesop’s fable concerning the complaint of “Juno’s darling Bird” that “he had not the Nightingal’s Voice.”⁶⁵ In this Aesopian fable, the peacock is “laughed at by everyone as soon as he made the slightest sound”; Juno rebukes the peacock for complaining of his “silent beauty,” and Aesop moralizes, “Do not strive for something that was not given to you, lest your disappointed expectations become mired in discontent.”⁶⁶ The difference between these two interpretations of classical myth (Haywood as rotund Juno, Haywood as disappointing and inharmonious peacock) is that Pope’s verse offers a modest amount of evidence of a contemporary reading of the former, whereas the latter is simply consistent with malice and a classical education.

A more productive approach to the analysis of the Juno and peacock ornament, suggested by my previous examples, would be to establish the printer and the context in which this ornament appears elsewhere.⁶⁷ At present there is no easy way of doing this for such printers’ ornaments: as explained, the ornaments of only a small number of printers from this period (such as Woodfall and Gardner) have been catalogued, representing a vanishingly small fraction of the total output of just the London press. However, Hazel Wilkinson from Fitzwilliam College, Cambridge, and Andrew Newell from University College London are presently

64 Creel, 26.

65 “Aesop’s Fables: Sir Roger L’Estrange (1692), no. 82, A Peacock to Juno (Perry 509),” in *Aesopica: Aesop’s Fables in English, Latin & Greek*, trans. Laura Gibbs, <http://mythfolklore.net/aesopica/lestrange/82.htm>.

66 “Juno and the Peacock, no. 507 (Perry 509; Phaedrus 3.18),” in *Aesopica*, <http://mythfolklore.net/aesopica/oxford/507.htm>.

67 The volume was probably printed by Samuel Aris, since many of the ornaments also appear in the third volume of this set, which is identified by ESTC as having been printed by Aris. See Spedding, *Bibliography*, 72 (Aa.3.1) and <http://estc.bl.uk/T66936>.

developing a method of identifying printers' ornaments using a pattern-recognition algorithm. Early testing of the Wilkinson-Newell method shows a high success rate (99.5–99.8 per cent using one encoding scheme) in correctly matching a given ornament with other instances of the same ornament on ECCO.⁶⁸ So, it may soon be possible to search a large proportion of printed material from the period to establish all appearances of a single ornament, thereby establishing the printer, the context in which this ornament appears elsewhere, and the period it was used, which would provide valuable information to guide interpretation of this and other ornaments.



Creel's discussion of images as authorial eidolon, persona, or avatar is particularly relevant to my final example of a contemporary reader-response to images and ornamentation in Haywood's work. In a much less ambiguous reader-response than Popé's, a contemporary reader annotated an engraving in Haywood's *La Belle Assemblée* (1724–34). In its final form, *La Belle Assemblée* was a four-volume translation-cum-adaptation of Madeleine Angélique Poisson de Gomez's eight-volume *Les Journées amusantes* (1722–31). Haywood's collection, which was issued anonymously, grew over the course of a year through three parts (1724) to form the first volume, and continued through another three volumes (issued in 1726, 1731, 1734), with additional volumes of *La Belle Assemblée* appearing one to three years after each expansion of *Les Journées amusantes* (1722, 1724, 1730, 1731). The first two-volume edition of *Les Journées amusantes*, *dédiées au Roy* contains an engraved frontispiece of the dedicatee "Louis Quinze Roi de France et de Navarre" (volume 1)⁶⁹ and an allegorical frontispiece

68 Email correspondence with Wilkinson, 23 December 2014. Wilkinson has now published a searchable database containing fifteen million ornaments. See "Fleuron: A Database of Eighteenth-Century Printers' Ornaments" <https://fleuron.lib.cam.ac.uk/>. I would like to thank Wilkinson and Newell—whose work I was introduced to after my essay on Thomas Gardner's ornament stock was submitted for publication—for generously sharing with me their very promising research.

69 An engraving by Gérard Jean-Baptiste Scotin of the central section only, of a full-length portrait of Louis xv, by Pierre Gobert and studio (ca. 1715), possibly copied from a previously published engraving by Jean Audran of the complete portrait. The Gobert portrait is held by the Yannick and Ben Jakober Foundation, Spain, see <http://www.fundacionjakober.org/web/en/nins-42>

of a woman in classical attire, writing (volume 2). This second engraving displaced Louis xv as the frontispiece to the first volume in later French editions and in Haywood's adaptation in 1728, when *La Belle Assemblée* was first "adorn'd with twelve Copper Plates curiously engrav'd."⁷⁰ As Severine Genieys-Kirk writes, the frontispiece was a popular feature, opening most of the Dutch and English editions. The image "représente l'auteure en pleine écriture dans un cadre champêtre, avec au premier plan des pages et des pièces qui jonchent le sol (symboles respectifs de l'écriture prolifique de Gomez et du succès de ce bestseller)" (represents the author, in full, writing in a rural setting; in the foreground, pages and documents are scattered on the ground [symbols of Gomez's prolific writing and her success as a bestseller respectively]).⁷¹ It is ambiguous whether the engraving is a realistic or idealized representation of Mme Gomez or her authorial double or mask—the only caption provided for this engraving by Haywood's publishers being "Frontispiece."⁷²

The frontispiece image of a prolific author in classical attire has been modified in one 1736–38 set of *La Belle Assemblée*, apparently by Katherine Lewis, a reader who inscribed and dated each volume on 25 February 1741 (see Figure 4a).⁷³ The allegorical frontispiece is identified in a neat hand as "Mrs Eliza Haywood," and two of the volumes at the foot of this figure are provided with

.html; a copy of the Audran engraving is held by the Library of Congress, see <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3b35898>.

70 The first illustrated edition of *La Belle Assemblée* is the two-volume, "Second" edition of 1728 (Spedding, Ab.16.5); this edition was advertised as quoted in the *London Evening-Post*, 22–24 September 1730.

71 Severine Genieys-Kirk, "Erudition et ludisme dans *Les Journées amusantes* de Mme de Gomez," in *Theatre, Fiction, and Poetry in the French Long Seventeenth Century: Le Théâtre, le roman, et la poésie à l'âge classique*, ed. William Brooks and Ranier Zaiser (Oxford: Peter Lang Publishing Group, 2007), 111n1.

72 Elizabeth Carter was unable to identify herself (or any of the other women represented) in Richard Samuel's "The Nine Living Muses of Great Britain" (1778), suggesting that such allegorical, classicized figures resist identification—even for those with a personal knowledge of the ostensible subjects. See Lucy Peltz, "Living Muses: Constructing and Celebrating the Professional Woman in Literature and the Arts," in *Brilliant Women: Eighteenth-Century Bluestockings*, ed. Elizabeth Eger and Lucy Peltz (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 56–93.

73 Author's collection, a typical mixed set comprising *La Belle Assemblée*, 4th ed. (1736), vols. 1–3, and *La Belle Assemblée*, 3rd ed. (1738), vol. 4. See, for details, Spedding, *A Bibliography of Eliza Haywood*, 185–88 (Ab.16.11a); and 193 (Ab.16.15b).



Figure 4a. Frontispiece, altered, in one 1736–38 set of *La Belle Assemblée* [Eliza Haywood].



Figure 4b. Frontispiece, [Eliza Haywood], *La Belle Assemblée* (1736–38), with handwritten “Mrs Eliza Haywood” and two books marked “Love in Excess.”

titles—the same title: “Love in Excess” (see Figure 4b). Lewis transfers to Haywood the symbols of Gomez’s prolific writing and success as a bestselling author. It is unclear whether, in supplying the caption, Lewis demonstrates a mistaken interpretation of the image as an allegorical representation of Haywood or is asserting such an identification, even though she correctly recognized the image as an allegorical representation of Gomez. If Lewis was familiar with Parmentier’s portrait of Haywood, it is possible she is asserting the primacy of one or the other: Haywood as a writer of classical standing rather than as a “pin-up” girl for amatory fiction.⁷⁴ It is also unclear whether Lewis’s identification of the image as Haywood was, as Barchas states, “sanctioned or anticipated” by the publishers. Certainly, this frontispiece is not identified as either Gomez or Haywood in any advertisement or in any edition of *La Belle Assemblée*. Indeed, Haywood’s name

74 Creel, 30, citing Barchas, 24.

appears on no edition of *La Belle Assemblée*, and although she was probably known to be the author of this adaptation by the mid-1730s, she was not unambiguously identified (elsewhere) until 1742.⁷⁵ However, since the image is not identified as a representation of Gomez either, readers are allowed the freedom to make whatever identification they wish. Being an allegorical representation of a prolific and successful female writer, it is just as well adapted to either author. It may be, therefore, that the ambiguity erased by Lewis was intentional.

That Lewis carries on with her identification of image and translator by identifying the symbols of Haywood's success as "Love in Excess"—repeatedly and solely—offers strong support for the emphasis placed in the accounts of Mottley and Chetwood on Haywood's first novel. To Lewis, it seems, Haywood was "made eminent" by *Love in Excess* alone and, just as it is unnecessary for Mottley and Chetwood to enumerate any of Haywood's other novels that constitute more of "that Sort of Reading," it is unnecessary for Lewis to add to the remaining volumes depicted in this frontispiece either individual or collective titles, such as *Lasselia* and *Rash Resolve* or *The Works and Secret Histories, Novels and Poems*. While this annotated frontispiece is highly unusual for being annotated in this way, and may not represent a typical interpretation of the image, it does provide evidence to support the suggestion offered above for the centrality of *Love in Excess* in establishing Haywood's contemporary reputation.

A comparison of Parmentier's (authorized) portrait of Haywood with Lewis's (unauthorized) one suggests that whatever marketing purpose the former may have served, whatever intentions are embodied in its production, a reader's desire to "associate a face with the words" may have been strong, but not solely focused on

75 It is unclear how widely Haywood was known to be the translator, as she revealed this information gradually: first, in letters, one dated 15 April 1728; next, she used the nom de plume "Madam de Gomez" in productions of Samuel Johnson's *The Blazing Comet*, in March and April of 1732, shortly before the publication of the final volume of *La Belle Assemblée*; then, in successive issues of *L'Entretien des Beaux Esprits*, in 1734 and 1735, Haywood is revealed as the translator of this "sequel to *La Belle Assemblée*"; and in 1742, she appeared as "the Author of *La Belle Assemblée*" on the title page to *The Virtuous Villager*. It seems likely that, by the mid-1730s, her role in translating *La Belle Assemblée* was widely known. See Spedding, *A Bibliography of Eliza Haywood*, 166–69.

“establishing verisimilitude.”⁷⁶ To a greater or lesser extent, both images code a common, conventional femininity, but, beyond hair, face, or bust, the two portraits are a study in opposites, representing their female subjects as painted-in-part or shown-in-full, with frontal gaze or looking away from the viewer, in contemporary or classical costume, in interior or exterior settings. The female subject is either isolated and captioned or surrounded objects, some unlabelled but recognizable, others of which are signifiers of amatory fiction or neoclassical erudition.

This type of reader-response supports detailed, iconographic image-analysis, but also suggests the limits to such an analysis, just as a book-historical approach to image analysis both supports and suggests the limits to such an analysis. An iconographic analysis, such as that undertaken by Barchas and Creel, can help establish an interpretative norm among Haywood’s readers, but whatever the horizon of expectations among her readers, or in other interpretative communities, individual readers such as Lewis make their own meaning, sometimes an anarchistic meaning. Likewise, although ornament usage, such as that discussed by Barchas and Creel, is suggestive of authorial or artistic intent in Haywood’s works, critics risk offering interpretations as mistaken, anarchistic, or resistant as any eighteenth-century reader’s if they do not take into account contemporary printing and publishing practices. My discussion of the printers’ ornaments used in *Lasselia, Poems on Several Occasions* and Savage’s *Miscellaneous Poems and Translations* shows how difficult it is to avoid making assumptions concerning creative intent, leading to interpretations not necessarily sanctioned by the available evidence. While I have argued that the frontispiece to *Love in Excess*, and the printers’ ornaments used in three of Haywood’s periodicals—*Female Spectator*, *Parrot*, and *Epistles for the Ladies*—offer stronger cases for creative intent and are better subjects for iconographic analysis, more examples of genuine reader-responses are needed to establish an interpretative “horizon” among eighteenth-century readers to book illustration and decoration.



76 Margaret J.M. Ezell, “Seventeenth-Century Female Author Portraits, Or, The Company She Keeps” *Zeitschrift für Anglistik und Amerikanistik* 60, no. 1 (2012): 31, 29, quoted in Creel, 28.