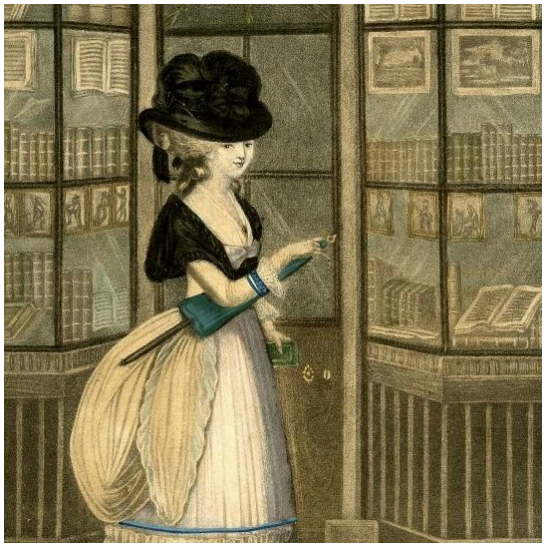

The Women's Print History Project

Women & History Spotlight Series [Spotlight Introduction]

Authored by Kandice Sharren and Michelle Levy
Edited by Kate Moffatt and Sara Penn

Project Director: Michelle Levy (Simon Fraser University)

Sharren, Kandice, and Michelle Levy. "Women & History Spotlight Series." *The Women's Print History Project*, 4 Mar 2022, https://womensprinthistoryproject.com/blog/post/65.

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This spotlight draws on research supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and the Digital Humanities Innovation Lab at Simon Fraser University.

Women & History Spotlight Series

Kandice Sharren and Michelle Levy

This post is part of our Women & History Spotlight Series, which will run through March 2021. Spotlights in this series focus on women's contributions to history in the database.

Figure 1. *Portraits in the Characters of the Muses in the Temple of Apollo*, Richard Samuel, 1778. National Portrait Gallery.

In a dialogue between Anne Elliot, the heroine of Jane Austen's 1818 novel *Persuasion*, and Captain Harville, Harville seeks to defend the greater constancy of men by "'observ[ing] that all histories are against you—all stories, prose and verse.'" Anne disagrees, pointing to the bias of his sources:

> 'Yes, yes, if you please, no reference to examples in books. Men have had every advantage of us in telling their own story. Education has been theirs in so much higher a degree; the pen has been in their hands. I will not allow books to prove anything.'

Women of Austen's day voiced their belief that histories "'were all written by men.'" They also actively sought to tell their own stories. Our spotlight series for Women's History Month focuses on just a few of these important and collective efforts, as women took the pen in their hands.

It helps to begin by asking, what precisely is meant by the yoking of women and history? Asked to speak at Cambridge on the subject of "Women and Fiction" in 1929, Virginia Woolf struggled with the capaciousness of the subject, and the question of Women and History is equally large. To paraphrase Woolf's comments in her lecture, we might say that women and history might mean women and what their history has been; or it might mean women and the histories that they write; or it might mean women and the histories that are written about them; or it might mean that somehow all three are inextricably mixed together. Our spotlight series considers all of these threads, as well as their inevitable entanglement.

Figure 2. "Catharine Macaulay (née Sawbridge)" by Robert Edge Pine, 1775. National Portrait Gallery.

The spotlight series launches today, March 12, with "Cataloguing Catharine Macaulay," Kate Moffatt's consideration of Catharine Macaulay's eight-volume *The History of England*, which appeared during a twenty-year period between 1763 and 1783. Macaulay is a natural starting point for the series, as her foray into what had formerly been an exclusively male realm stirred controversy. As the first Englishwoman to become an historian, Moffatt considers her use of sources and the reception of her major achievement.

Figure 3. Felicia Hemans plaster bust by Angus Fletcher, 1829. National Portrait Gallery.

On March 15, Isabelle Burrows considers Felicia Hemans's 1828 *Records of Woman. With Other Poems* in her spotlight, "Leaving Something Immortal: History in Felicia Hemans's *Records of Woman*." As Hemans's most commercially successful book of poems, the volume demonstrates her interest in women's domestic lives, and her belief that it was a "woman's heart," that "Outlives the cities of renown" ("Image in Lava").

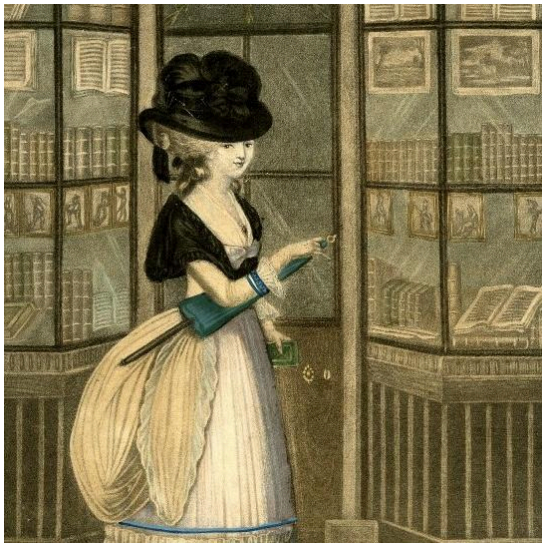
On March 19, Amanda Law's spotlight, "Taking Up the Cause: Mary Hays's *Female Biography*," will examine Mary Hays's 6 volume *Female Biography; or, Memoirs of Illustrious and Celebrated Women, of All Ages and Countries* (1803), which includes records for 300 women.

On March 26 Caelen Campbell's spotlight, "Charlotte Turner Smith's *A Natural History of Birds Intended Chiefly for Young Persons,*" explores women's natural history writing aimed at juvenile readers by way of Charlotte Smith's *A Natural History of Birds Intended Chiefly for Young Persons* (make sure you check out the illustration of the parrot).

Figure 4. Pencil portrait of Lucy Aikin by Edmund Aikin, undated (Michelle Levy, *Lucy Aikin 1781-1864*. This portrait is reproduced with the kind permission of Hampstead Parish Church, and the Rev. Stephen Tucker.)

Our spotlight series ends on April 2 with a spotlight on Lucy Aikin by Michelle Levy, "Lucy Aikin, Feminist History, and the 'Sisterhood of Womankind'." This spotlight brings specific attention to Aikin's writing on women's history, her 1810 epic poem, *Epistles on Women, Exemplifying their Character and Condition in Various Ages and Nations* and her *Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth* (1818). Through extensive research, Aikin sought to rewrite histories that had been told about women, from Eve in Genesis to England's greatest Queen.

This month's episode of *The WPHP Monthly Mercury* will also consider how women engaged with capturing history—how it is recorded, curated, influenced, and rewritten. Guest Kate Ozment will be joining hosts Kate Moffatt and Kandice Sharren to talk about Delarivier Manley, author of the famous 'secret histories' *The New Atalantis* and *The Adventures of Rivella*, which represent fictionalized versions of contemporary political scandals. Tune in on March 17 to listen to Episode 10: A Brief and Scandalous History of Delarivier Manley!



The Women's Print History Project

Cataloguing Catharine Macaulay [Spotlight]

Authored by Kate Moffatt
Edited by Michelle Levy and Kandice Sharren

Project Director: Michelle Levy (Simon Fraser University)

Moffatt, Kate. "Cataloguing Catharine Macaulay." *The Women's Print History Project*, 12 March 2021, https://womensprinthistoryproject.com/blog/post/64.

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This spotlight draws on research supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and the Digital Humanities Innovation Lab at Simon Fraser University.

Cataloguing Catharine Macaulay

Kate Moffatt

This post is part of our Women & History Spotlight Series, which will run through March 2021. Spotlights in this series focus on women's contributions to history in the database.

Figure 1. From the third volume of Macaulay's History (ECCO).

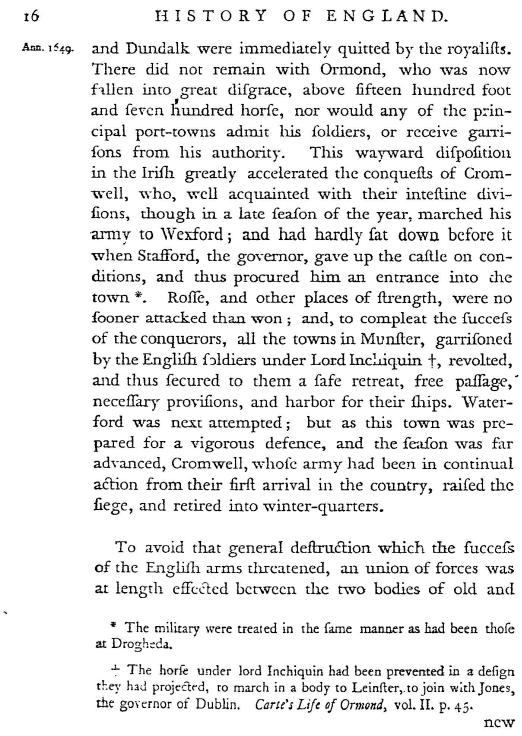
ADVERTISEMENT.

> The author, having heard that long notes were tedious and disagreeable to the reader, has altered the method which she pursued in the five first volumes of this history, and at a much larger expence of labour has wove into the text every part of the composition which could be done without breaking into the thread of the history.
> — From volume 6 of Catharine Macaulay's *The History of England* (1781)

"Animated with the love of liberty, and an enthusiastic regard to English patriotism, I ventured to take the pen in hand . . ." (vii). So writes Catharine Macaulay partway through the preface of the sixth volume of her *The History of England, from the accession of James I to that of the Brunswick line*, after a scathing critique of some of the male historians who had published before her — of Paul Rapin de Thoyras, for example, she declares, "[his popularity] was more from the circumstance of his having no competitor than from the intrinsic merit of his work" (vi). Of David Hume, she opines that although he is "blessed with that genius and profound sagacity necessary to form a complete historian," his historical work, "whilst [serving] as an elegant pastime for the hours of leisure or idleness, leaves the reader perfectly ignorant as to characters, motives, and often facts" (vi). And facts were Macaulay's bread and butter, contributing to her distaste for Hume and his work, with whom and about which she fundamentally disagreed; besides being a staunch royalist to Macaulay's republican, Daniel Woolf describes Hume as also being "among those

eighteenth-century historians for whom the narrative was all, and though it must be 'true', that truth lay in reason, common sense, and rhetoric, rather than research" and that, "with few exceptions, he avoided primary sources" (694).

In contrast, Macaulay's eight-volume *History* made use of printed sources, manuscripts, letters, and at least five thousand tracts and sermons over the more than twenty years that she researched and wrote it (Hill and Hill 274). The first five volumes contain extensive footnotes, listing many of her sources as well as offering further commentary; these footnotes, however, disappear after the fifth volume because of a disgruntled readership who claimed "long notes [were] tedious and disagreeable," quoted above. This feedback resulted in Macaulay including as much of the historical material into the body of the work itself as she could "without," she writes "breaking into the thread of history" (vii). While this may have ultimately made for a less disruptive reading experience, it also makes it much more difficult to trace her sources. In large part, our ability to estimate the five thousand sermons and tracts used for this enormous project originates from the existence of her *Catalogue of Tracts* (1790), a printed catalog of the contents of her library (Hill and Hil 277–81). Only a few copies of the Catalogue survive, one of which is held by the British Library.



16 HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

Ann. 1649. and Dundalk were immediately quitted by the royaliſts. There did not remain with Ormond, who was now fallen into great diſgrace, above fifteen hundred foot and ſeven hundred horſe, nor would any of the principal port-towns admit his ſoldiers, or receive garriſons from his authority. This wayward diſpoſition in the Iriſh greatly accelerated the conqueſts of Cromwell, who, well acquainted with their inteſtine diviſions, though in a late ſeaſon of the year, marched his army to Wexford; and had hardly ſat down before it when Stafford, the governor, gave up the caſtle on conditions, and thus procured him an entrance into the town *. Roſſe, and other places of ſtrength, were no ſooner attacked than won; and, to compleat the ſucceſs of the conquerors, all the towns in Munſter, garriſoned by the Engliſh ſoldiers under Lord Inchiquin †, revolted, and thus ſecured to them a ſafe retreat, free paſſage, neceſſary proviſions, and harbor for their ſhips. Waterford was next attempted; but as this town was prepared for a vigorous defence, and the ſeaſon was far advanced, Cromwell, whoſe army had been in continual action from their firſt arrival in the country, raiſed the ſiege, and retired into winter-quarters.

To avoid that general deſtruction which the ſucceſs of the Engliſh arms threatened, an union of forces was at length effected between the two bodies of old and

* The military were treated in the ſame manner as had been thoſe at Drogheda.

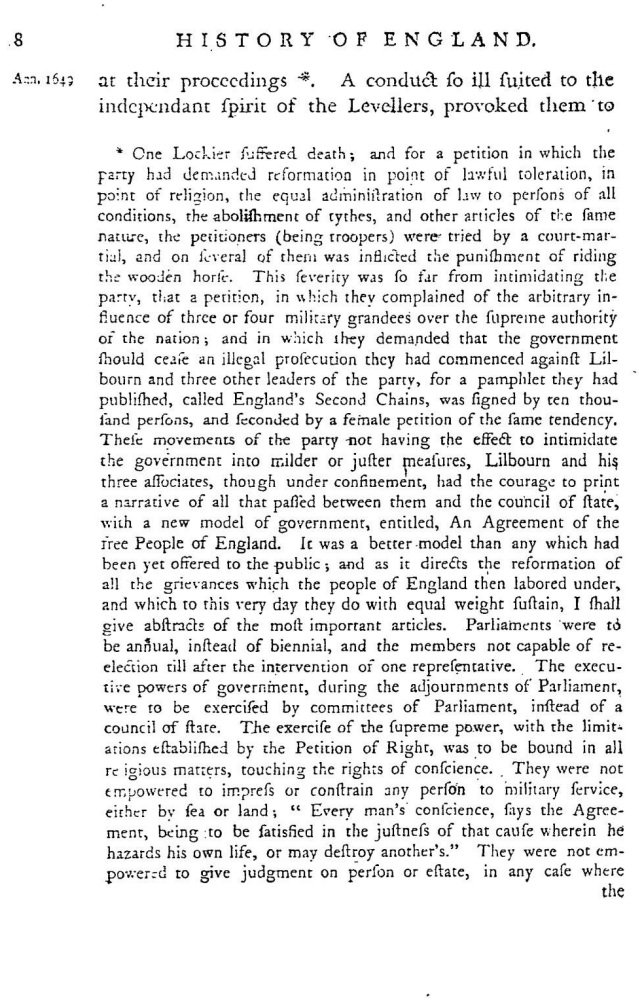
† The horſe under lord Inchiquin had been prevented in a deſign they had projected, to march in a body to Leinſter, to join with Jones, the governor of Dublin. *Carte's Life of Ormond*, vol. II. p. 45.

new

Figure 2. Example of Macaulay including sources in her footnotes, from the fifth volume of her *History* (ECCO).

While current scholars may bemoan the loss of Macaulay's footnotes in those last three volumes, it is not surprising that her readership loudly decried them—they were, to say the least, extensive. In examining the first twenty pages of the fifth volume, four pages contain only a single sentence of the main body of work while the remainder of the page is dedicated to footnotes, and only one page of the twenty contains no footnotes at all. One would almost be reading

another work entirely alongside the first if reading every note. But there is a common question that arises when considering eighteenth-century works of history: what did they use as sources? Historians of the eighteenth century were not always forthcoming, but Macaulay's footnotes begin to answer this question, at least for the first five volumes of the *History*, and her printed *Catalogue* speaks to much of the rest. As Hill and Hill write, the *Catalogue* is a valuable contribution to scholarship, given that "it provides not only knowledge of at least some of the seventeenth-century sources at her disposal, but also enables us to re-evaluate her scholarship in light of those sources and how she used them" (269).



8 HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

Ann. 1649 at their proceedings *. A conduct ſo ill ſuited to the independant ſpirit of the Levellers, provoked them to

* One Lockier ſuffered death; and for a petition in which the party had demanded reformation in point of lawful toleration, in point of religion, the equal adminiſtration of law to perſons of all conditions, the aboliſhment of tythes, and other articles of the ſame nature, the petitioners (being troopers) were tried by a court-martial, and on ſeveral of them was inflicted the puniſhment of riding the wooden horſe. This ſeverity was ſo far from intimidating the party, that a petition, in which they complained of the arbitrary influence of three or four military grandees over the ſupreme authority of the nation; and in which they demanded that the government ſhould ceaſe an illegal proſecution they had commenced againſt Lilbourn and three other leaders of the party, for a pamphlet they had publiſhed, called England's Second Chains, was ſigned by ten thouſand perſons, and ſeconded by a female petition of the ſame tendency. Theſe movements of the party not having the effect to intimidate the government into milder or juſter meaſures, Lilbourn and his three aſſociates, though under confinement, had the courage to print a narrative of all that paſſed between them and the council of ſtate, with a new model of government, entitled, An Agreement of the free People of England. It was a better model than any which had been yet offered to the public; and as it directs the reformation of all the grievances which the people of England then labored under, and which to this very day they do with equal weight ſuſtain, I ſhall give abſtracts of the moſt important articles. Parliaments were to be annual, inſtead of biennial, and the members not capable of re-election till after the intervention of one repreſentative. The executive powers of government, during the adjournments of Parliament, were to be exerciſed by committees of Parliament, inſtead of a council of ſtate. The exerciſe of the ſupreme power, with the limitations eſtabliſhed by the Petition of Right, was to be bound in all religious matters, touching the rights of conſcience. They were not empowered to impreſs or conſtrain any perſon to military ſervice, either by ſea or land; "Every man's conſcience, ſays the Agreement, being to be ſatisfied in the juſtneſs of that cauſe wherein he hazards his own life, or may deſtroy another's." They were not empowered to give judgment on perſon or eſtate, in any caſe where the

Figure 3. From the fifth volume of Macaulay's *History* (ECCO).

And looking at Macaulay's *A Catalogue of Tracts* could very well explain her profuseness in footnotes: if the *Catalogue* is any indication, she was remarkably well-read on the subjects about which she wrote. Bridget Hill and Christopher Hill's "Catharine Macaulay's *History* and her *Catalogue of Tracts*" looks closely at one of the only surviving physical copies, held by the British Library, and in looking at Macaulay's work and *Catalogue* they argue that "many of today's respected seventeenth-century historians are less well briefed" (275). Alongside its many sermons and tracts, *A Catalogue of Tracts* also lists letters, manuscripts, speeches, petitions, pamphlets, and literature. Hill and Hill write that

it "needs to be stressed that the collection is mainly of tracts—mere pamphlets not bound volumes—and not her whole library, whatever that may have consisted of" (282), and this note from Hill and Hill confirms that the *Catalogue* held many primary sources, most of which, if not all, Macaulay would have used in the research and writing of her *History*. This is an invaluable work in the face of the loss of Macaulay's footnotes in volumes six through eight, which obscures her sources. The *Catalogue* was published in 1790, and Hill and Hill, who examined the British Library copy, describe it as "roughly printed" (374). It is unknown why Macaulay had it published, or who published, printed, or sold the work, and it is only tentatively listed as having been printed in London by the ESTC. Although we have very little bibliographical information about the *Catalogue* and cannot verify the record without examining a digitized or physical copy, it is included in the WPHP as a work compiled by Macaulay, even if she was likely not doing the actual work of creating the catalog herself (Hill and Hill 283).

While we are able to include very little in our title record for the *Catalogue of Tracts*, the eight volumes of her *History* (aside from the fourth) have robust records, providing a detailed timeline of publication for the project. While we do not usually create records for individual volumes, we do make exceptions when volumes are published in different years with different publishers in order to more accurately and clearly collect the bibliographical information for each. The first volume of the *History* was published in 1763 by John Nourse, Robert and James Dodsley, and William Johnston. "Overnight," Bridget Hill points out, "[Macaulay] became 'the celebrated Mrs Macaulay'" (ODNB). The second, third, and fourth volumes were self-published—meaning Macaulay took on the financial risk, although scholars are uncertain why—shortly after, in 1765, 1767, and 1768, and the fifth was published by Edward and Charles Dilly in 1771. The sixth and seventh volumes were not published until 1781, a full ten years later, and the eighth two years after in 1783, bringing the span of publication for the entire project to a full twenty years.

Figure 4. "Catharine Macaulay (née Sawbridge)" by Robert Edge Pine (1775). National Portrait Gallery.

But Macaulay was not out of the public eye or mind during that decade between volumes five and six, nor during the entire twenty years of publication. She published *A modest plea for the property of copyright* in 1774, and *An address to the people of England, Scotland and Ireland, on the present important crisis of affairs* in 1775, which went into at least three editions that year, and Devoney Looser writes that "throughout the 1760s and 1770s, Macaulay's name appears regularly in newspapers, with reports on her health, where she had dined, and who has visited her. It was said that Macaulay's portrait was sold on every print seller's counter; her figure was made into porcelain; and she was ultimately represented in a life-sized coloured wax figure" (3). Alongside evidence of her celebrity, however, were critiques of the 'female historian,' as Macaulay terms herself in the introduction to the first volume of her *History* and as she later becomes known. Macaulay writes apologetically, "The inaccuracies of style which may be found in this composition, will, I hope, find favor from the candor of the public; and the defects of a female historian, in these points, not weighed in the balance of severe criticism" (xviii). Looser points out that "such apologies were customary in the context of the period's writing by women" with "many [prefacing] their works with requests seeking chivalrous treatment from critics" (8). And this preemptive apology indeed predicts the criticism Macaulay would receive about being a female historian: Bridget Hill writes that "after mild praise [for the *History*] the *Review* expressed the wish that 'the same degree of genius and application had been exerted in more suitable pursuits', for the writing of history was not recommended 'to the practice of our lovely countrywomen'" (ODNB, *Monthly Review*).

The gossip and criticism was inevitable, as it is for most celebrities, and especially for women who are pushing against—or stepping beyond—the bounds of propriety or tradition. Macaulay's position in the public eye was a result

of no one particular thing, but many: alongside the popularity of the *History*, she was an outspoken republican, a Bluestocking in spirit and art if not always in name, and a regular topic of gossip for her shocking relationships, one of which was marriage to the 21-year-old William Graham when she was forty-seven (ODNB). Her work was, however, largely well-received by her female contemporaries, who argued the criticism she received was a result of her position as a female historian. Mary Hays wrote about Macaulay in *Female Biography* (1803) that "a female historian, by its singularity, could not fail to excite attention: [Macaulay] seemed to have stepped out of the province of her sex; curiosity was sharpened, and malevolence provoked. The author was attacked by petty and personal scurrilities, to which it was believed her sex would render her vulnerable" (292). Hill and Hill point out that Mary Wollstonecraft described her as "an example of intellectual acquirements supposed to be incompatible with the weakness of her sex," going on to say she wrote "with sober energy and argumentative closeness" (Hill and Hill 269; Wollstonecraft). Macaulay's influence on the genre and women's involvement in it, regardless of the loud and gendered criticism she received, was considerable: no longer was the term 'female historian' "used rarely, and when used, used mockingly," (Looser 7) as it was prior to the eighteenth century and the publication of Macaulay's impressive *History*.

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Robert and James Dodsley (firm, publisher)
William Johnston (firm, publisher)
Edward and Charles Dilly (firm, publisher)
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Wollstonecraft, Mary (person, author)

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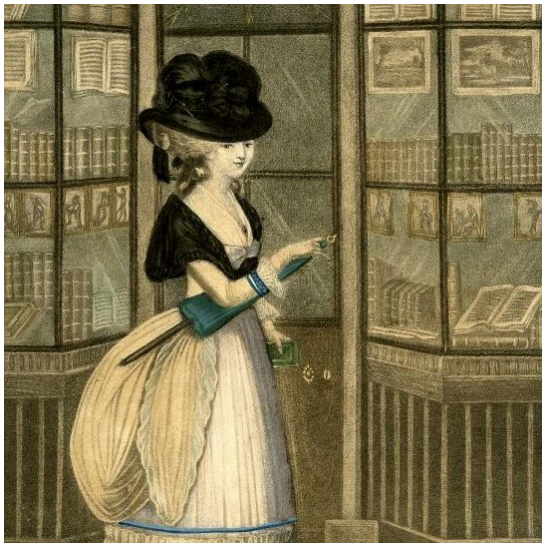

The Women's Print History Project

Leaving Something Immortal: Women's History in Felicia Hemans's *Records of Woman* [Spotlight]

Authored by Isabelle Burrows
Edited by Michelle Levy and Kandice Sharren

Project Director: Michelle Levy (Simon Fraser University)

Burrows, Isabelle. "Leaving Something Immortal: History in Felicia Hemans's *Records of Woman*." *The Women's Print History Project*, 15 March 2021, https://womensprinthistoryproject.com/blog/post/66.

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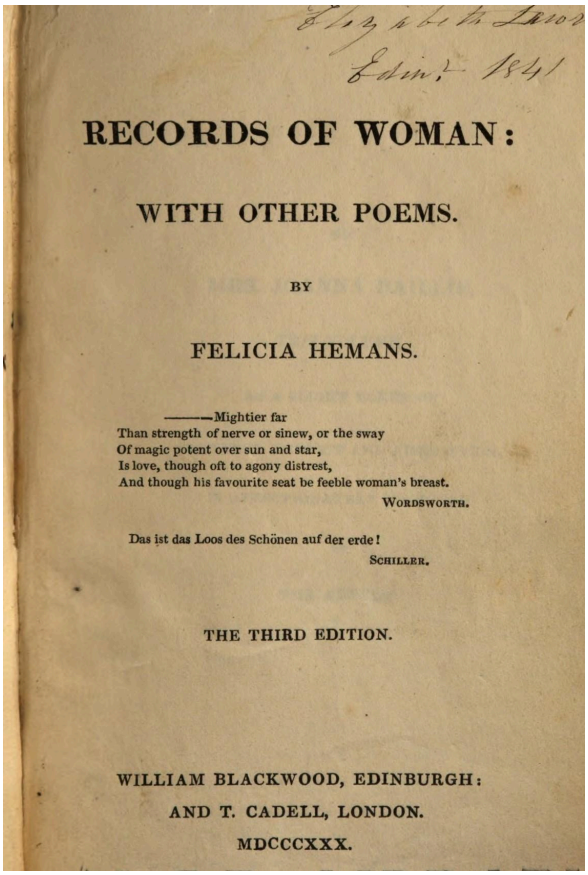
Leaving Something Immortal: Women's History in Felicia Hemans's *Records of Woman*

Isabelle Burrows

This post is part of our Women & History Spotlight Series, which will run through March 2021. Spotlights in this series focus on women's contributions to history in the database.

Figure 1. Felicia Dorothea Hemans by Angus Fletcher, 1829. © National Portrait Gallery.

"I would leave enshrined something immortal of my heart and mind that may yet speak to thee when I am gone" ("Properzia Rossi," *Records of Woman*, 48). Something immortal of Italian sculptor Properzia Rossi's character must have indeed spoken to Felicia Hemans, or at least interested her enough, to include the story of Rossi's life in her 1828 poetry collection, *Records of Woman*. It was not just Rossi's story that Hemans sought to tell in her Records. Twenty of the volume's poems, each accompanied by a short biography, dramatize and illuminate the lives of women from history. In doing so, the poems also illuminate the emotional life of their author, combining aspects of Hemans's character and history into the accounts of women long past. This ability of Hemans's to reanimate the stories of women's lives using her own feelings is probably what appealed, and still appeals, to readers. *Records of Woman* is a fascinating point of coalescence for insightful accounts of women's history, including the author's own. In Hemans's poems, I can see a desire to "leave enshrined something immortal" of her own experience.



RECORDS OF WOMAN:

WITH OTHER POEMS.

BY

FELICIA HEMANS.

——Mightier far
Than strength of nerve or sinew, or the sway
Of magic potent over sun and star,
Is love, though oft to agony distrest,
And though his favourite seat be feeble woman's breast.
WORDSWORTH.

Das ist das Loos des Schönen auf der erde!
SCHILLER.

THE THIRD EDITION.

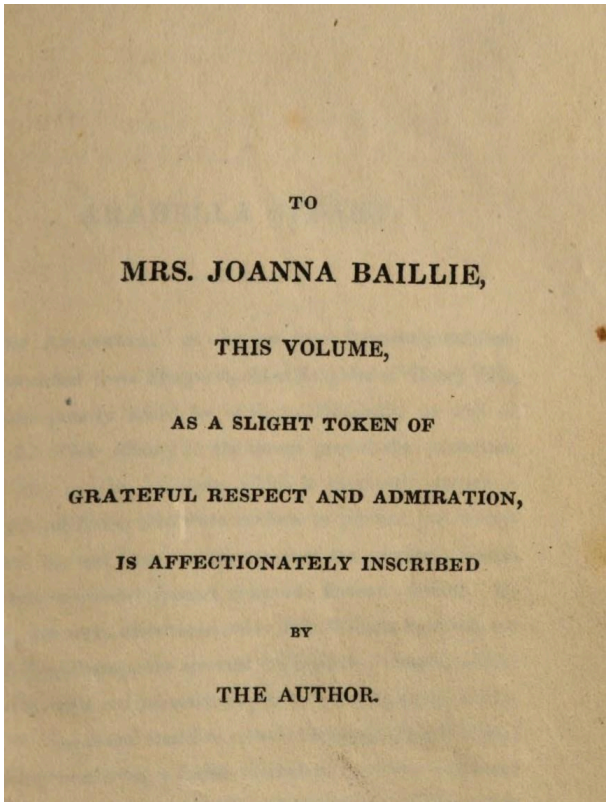
WILLIAM BLACKWOOD, EDINBURGH:
AND T. CADELL, LONDON.
MDCCCXXX.

Figure 2. Title page of the third edition of *Records of Woman*.

Records of Woman remains an intriguing and complex work of historical poetry, and was popular enough to warrant four editions in Hemans's lifetime, but she didn't achieve such greatness overnight. Records was the culmination of years of literary study and practice. Hemans's works rested on the foundation of her involvement in the works and careers of fellow authors. The dedication of *Records of Woman* to contemporary dramatist Joanna Baillie is an indication of the nuanced professional world Hemans had to navigate to advance her career. Establishing a flattering and amiable personal rapport with Baillie through personal correspondence, Hemans was also forging professional connections and connecting herself to Baillie's established reputation:

> May I ask you for something which I have long wished to possess...your delightful little drama of the "Beacon"? I have an edition of your works containing the Plays on the passions...but the ' Beacon' I have not met with since I read it almost in childhood. (*Memorials* 59)

The volumes Hemans names belong to Baillie's *Series of Plays on the Passions*, dramas fraught with the affecting tragedy and historical colour that were popular in the Romantic period. As a writer of similarly dramatic and historical literature, it behooved Hemans to endear herself to Baillie, both personally and formally. Hemans's habit in Records of Women of prefacing each of the poems with a brief explanation of historical context emulates Baillie's introductions to the historical scene before the first acts of her plays.


TO

MRS. JOANNA BAILLIE,

THIS VOLUME,

AS A SLIGHT TOKEN OF

GRATEFUL RESPECT AND ADMIRATION,

IS AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED

BY

THE AUTHOR.

Figure 3. Dedication of the third edition of *Records*.

While Baillie's use of historical settings prioritizes their dramatic potential, Hemans's approach is more scholarly. Her sister's memoirs of her life attest to Hemans's a life-long study of history and literature. As a young woman, Hemans "would be surrounded by books of all sizes . . . on every variety of topic," (*Memoir* 52) and "in her mind and memory the varied stores were distinctly arranged, ready to be called forth for...the poetic imagery" (53). *Records of Woman* is the evidence of Hemans's success in applying her knowledge to her work.

Characteristic of men writing about women in the 1830s, the editor who published Hemans's correspondence after her death insists on representing her work as the ideal feminine product, "pure from sensual coarseness [and] . . . unsullied by any base alloy of ambition," (*Memorials* 56). Far from being "unsullied by . . . ambition," Hemans was, in fact, motivated by profit and determined to succeed. Before the universally well-received Records, Hemans worked hard to make her work appealing and marketable. When public interest turned to the classics, Hemans hoped to capitalize on popular tastes, and employed her knowledge of classical literature to publish several new works with John Murray, including *The Restoration of the Works of Art to Italy: A Poem in 1816, and Modern Greece. A Poem in 1817*. Unfortunately none of the poems were as successful as Hemans had hoped. Upon the failure of *The Restoration* and *Modern Greece*, Hemans seems to have become resigned to the exigencies of life as a writer working for profit. She wrote to Murray, obviously discouraged: "I have now seen how little any work of mere sentiment or description is likely to obtain popularity, and have had warning enough to give up that style of writing altogether" (qtd. in Feldman 155).

Despite initial challenges in her career, Hemans's business sense improved, and she began to craft works that could turn a profit. When William Blackwood first published *Records of Woman* in a run of 1000 copies, Hemans saw significant returns for her hard work: Records brought in more money for Hemans than had any of her publications with Murray (Feldman 164). Ironically, while Hemans had given up on the success of "sentimental works" after her disappointments with Murray, it was the personal and emotional nature of Records, into which Hemans had "put [her] heart and individual feelings... more than anything else" (*Memorials* 65) that brought her the most success. Leveraging the struggles and sorrows of her personal life allowed Hemans empathetically convey the stories of women who (much like Hemans herself) were misrepresented or forgotten after their deaths. A lack of available resources on women's history led Hemans, in the creation of the Records, to supplement years of self-education with personal observations and the stories of friends to create a varied collection of unorthodox sources for women's history. The poems whose stories originate in books are carefully observed in the notes of each poem, as in "The Bride of the Greek Isle," whose story is "founded on the circumstances related in the second series of the Curiosities of Literature" (*Records* 21). Histories with other sources are similarly noted, as with "The Memorial Pillar," which is taken from Hemans's own observation of a monument "on the road side between Penrith and Appleby . . . erected in the year 1656, by Ann, Countess Dowager of Pembroke, for a memorial of her last parting, in this place, with her good and pious mother, Margaret" (155). Similarly, "The Queen of Prussia's Tomb" is taken from a travelogue by her friend Moyle Sherer, whose description of the tomb and its statue of the queen "not as in death, but when she lived to bless and be blessed," (qtd. in *Records* 149) is precisely the imagery of a neglected woman's life to which Hemans returns again and again.

Figure 4. Tomb of Queen Louise of Prussia by Christian Daniel Rauch, Berlin. Web Gallery of Art.

Hemans's poems served women's history much as the visual memorials she describes do, creating a tangible legacy for women long past. Like Properzia Rossi, who used her creation of sculpture as a medium of expression (*Records* 44), Hemans uses poetry as "the mould wherein I pour the fervent thoughts, th'untold, the self-consuming" (*Records* 50). These untold, self-consuming thoughts find voices in historical women who must have experienced the same longings and frustrations as Hemans did. The theme of remembrance, of living beyond death, of leaving a legacy of greatness

never realized in life, is at the center of so many of the poems in *Records*, as in "The Memorial Pillar," where Hemans uses a physical monument of a long-dead memory to ruminate on the relationship between mothers and children. She describes the difficulties of grief she had experienced so deeply at the loss of her own mother, but imagines an eternal happy ending for the mother and daughter of recorded on the pillar: "Mother and child!— / your tears are past— / Surely your hearts have met at last!" (159), giving them a lasting reunion and a new life. Knowledge of Hemans's own early death, and the sons she left behind, this line is even more affecting. Like the women whose lives she memorialized, Hemans's legacy lives on through her work, and her own words seem to possess almost a prophetic quality. "The Grave of a Poetess," appropriately placed as the concluding poem in the series of Records, eulogizes the grave of Mary Tighe, but Hemans's own words can be directed to her own legacy and memory: "Where couldst thou fix on mortal ground thy tender thoughts and high? / Now peace the woman's heart hath found, and joy the poet's eye" (163).

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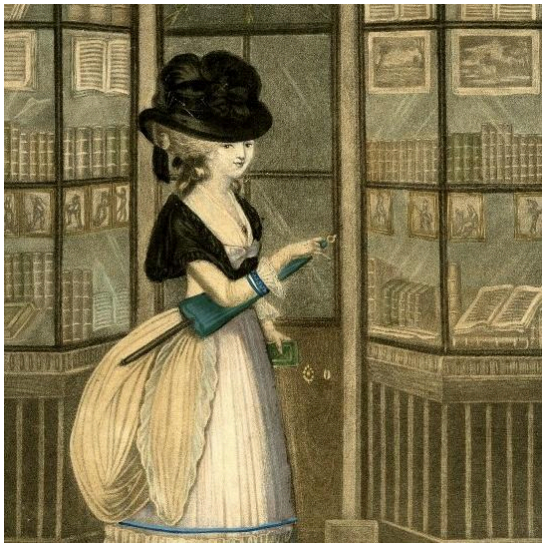

The Women's Print History Project

Taking Up the Cause: Mary Hays's *Female Biography* [Spotlight]

Authored by Amanda Law
Edited by Michelle Levy and Kandice Sharren

Project Director: Michelle Levy (Simon Fraser University)

Law, Amanda. "Taking Up the Cause: Mary Hays's *Female Biography*." *The Women's Print History Project*, 19 March 2021, https://womensprinthistoryproject.com/blog/post/68.

PDF Edited: 3 July 2023

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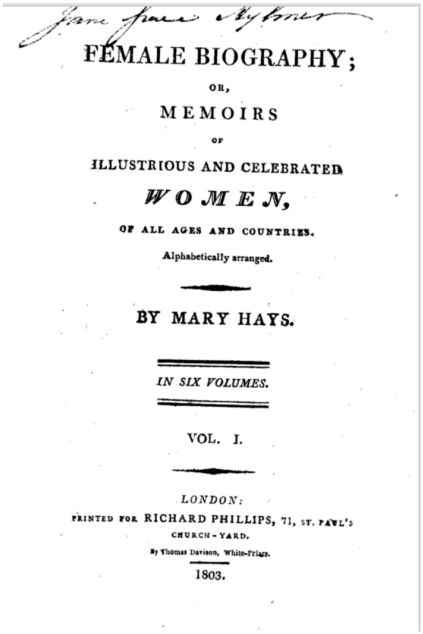
Taking Up the Cause: Mary Hays's *Female Biography*

Amanda Law

This post is part of our Women & History Spotlight Series, which will run through March 2021. Spotlights in this series focus on women's contributions to history in the database.



FEMALE BIOGRAPHY;

OR,

MEMOIRS

OF

ILLUSTRIOUS AND CELEBRATED

WOMEN,

OF ALL AGES AND COUNTRIES.

Alphabetically arranged.

BY MARY HAYS.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR RICHARD PHILLIPS, 71, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD.

By Thomas Davison, White-Friars.

1803.

Figure 1. Title page of Mary Hays's *Female Biography*, 1803. *Google Books*.

"My pen," Mary Hays (1759–1843) writes in her preface to *Female Biography; or, Memoirs of Illustrious and Celebrated Women, of All Ages and Countries. Alphabetically Arranged*, "has been taken up in the cause, and for the benefit, of my own sex" (iii). She continues to describe how this six-volume project, containing descriptions of over three hundred women spanning over two millennia, is intended not only to uncover a history of women who are traditionally blotted out by a discourse and canon dominated by men, but to instruct and entertain women themselves. She writes,

> Women, unsophisticated by the pedantry of the schools, read not for dry information, to load their memories with uninteresting facts, or to make a display of vain erudition. A skeleton biography would afford to them but little gratification: they require pleasure to be mingled with instruction, lively images, the graces of sentiment and the polish of language. (iv)

While this assertion could be read as Hays underestimating women's intellectual ability measured against their educated male counterparts, she also recognizes that women are not afforded the same access to education as men, resulting in different readerly and intellectual sensibilities. Gina Luria Walker explains that "In contrast to Mary Wollstonecraft, whose political intention was to interrupt the conversation among 'canonized forefathers' . . . Hays struggled to know what her erudite male associates knew and to translate what she learned into accessible forms for her female contemporaries" ("Introduction" 6). *Female Biography* serves to disrupt history predominantly written by and about men, but for Hays, it more importantly spoke to and enriched the lives of women themselves.

Mary Hays was born into a middle class Dissenting family which began to struggle after the early death of Hays's father who supported the family as a ship captain. From a young age, Hays was aware of the issues that would later inform her writing, such as women's unequal access to education, the restrictive moral and societal expectations placed on women, and her own thirst for knowledge. In love letters sent to John Eccles between 1779 and 1780, she expressed, according to Walker, her "resistance to existing constraints on female education; skepticism about conventional expectations for female behaviour, especially the insistence on chastity; longing for independence, and both solitude and intimacy; identification with strong, learned women of the past; [and] desire to know what men knew" (*The Idea of Being Free* 13). Though her conventional education was limited due to her gender and class, her religious upbringing and close contact with Dissenting figures fueled her search for knowledge and facilitated her self-education. In 1780, Hays met the iconoclastic Baptist preacher Reverend Robert Robinson who provided Hays with books about advanced Enlightenment principles. Walker suggests that Robinson was the most important educational figure in Hays's life as he instigated Hays's "understanding of the search for truth as the means of individual and societal freedom" (*The Idea of Being Free* 14).

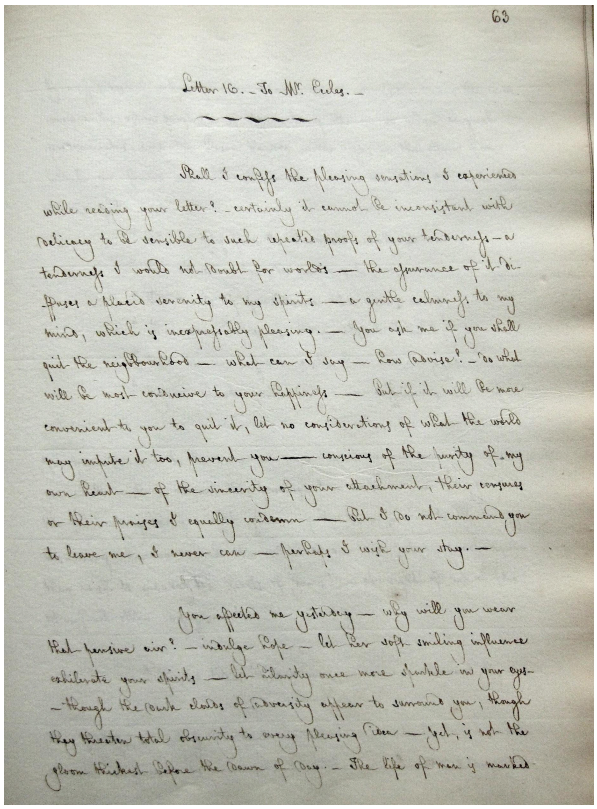
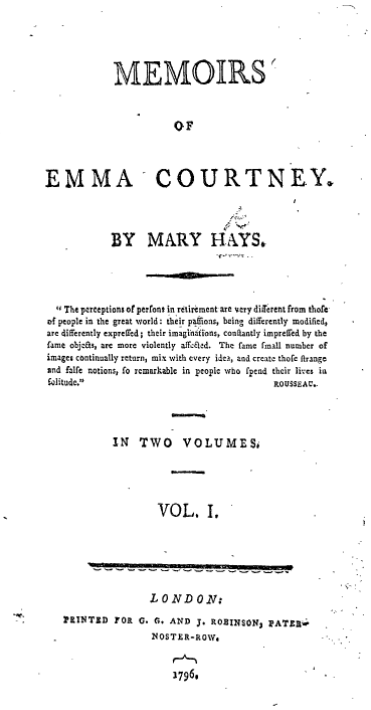


Figure 2. Letter from Mary Hays to John Eccles, 9 August 1779, from fol. 63 of Volume 1 of the Hays-Eccles Correspondence, Mary Hays Material, Carl H. Pforzheimer Collection of Shelley and His Circle, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations, *Mary Hays: Life, Writings, and Correspondence*.

After Robinson's death, Hays went on to reach out to other Dissenting leaders in order to further her education and applied the principle of rational inquiry as the key to freedom in all her works. Hays's first publication was a pamphlet titled *Cursory Remarks on an Enquiry into the Expediency and Propriety of Public or Social Worship* (1791, 1792) which she authored under the pseudonym Eusebia (who was the second wife of Roman emperor Constantius II and who can be found in volume four of *Female Biography*). This pamphlet was written in response to Gilbert Wakefield, a classicist scholar at New College, who published a critique of Dissenting religious practices. Hays's response was accompanied by those of several Dissenting leaders, including Anna Laetitia Barbauld's *Remarks on Mr. Gilbert Wakefield's Enquiry into the Expediency and Propriety of Public or Social Worship* (1792), and garnered praise from several of these influential figures. Hays's pamphlet and the attention it drew secured her a place in "the dissident republic of letters" (Walker, *The Idea of Being Free* 17), which was increasingly under attack as Britain geared up for war against revolutionary France in 1793. Walker states that "[a]fter Mary Wollstonecraft published *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* in 1792, the state of siege soon included those 'gallic philosophesses'—Hays, Anna Barbauld, Charlotte Smith, and Helen Maria Williams—as equal objects of public and governmental hostility with the Jacobin men" (*The Idea of Being Free* 17). Amid this tumultuous landscape, Hays released her first book in 1793, *Letters and Essays, Moral and Miscellaneous*, which gained her additional scorn from conservative critics.

Hays became close friends with Wollstonecraft as they shared ideals and experiences as public women intellectuals. Hays's *Memoirs of Emma Courtney* was published in 1796 and gained Hays the most controversy of all her published works. Based on Hays's own correspondence with Unitarian William Frend and Wollstonecraft's husband, William Godwin, readers were outraged by Hays detailing her romantic and sexual passions towards Frend and criticizing "the hypocrisy of masculine promises of the Enlightenment freedoms" (Walker, *The Idea of Being Free* 18) in her correspondence with Godwin. After Wollstonecraft's death in 1797, Hays anonymously published her *Appeal to the Men of Great Britain in Behalf of Women* (1798, 1798), although she published *The Victim of Prejudice* in 1799 with the attribution "By Mary Hays, author of *The Memoirs of Emma Courtney.*" Along with backlash from the publication of *Emma Courtney*, Hays was also facing reactions against radical women writers in the aftermath of Wollstonecraft's death. Andrew McInnes notes that William Godwin's "notoriously candid" memoir of Wollstonecraft's life "left a complicated and fiercely contested legacy for women writers in the early nineteenth century" (273). Reactionary conservative critics used the information in Godwin's memoir to paint Wollstonecraft as promiscuous and dangerously subversive and women who followed in her legacy, like Hays, felt the repercussions of this association. Considering Hays and Wollstonecraft's friendship and the backlash after Wollstonecraft's death, several scholars have noted her conspicuous absence from *Female Biography.* Some critics label the omission as "intellectual cowardice" (Taylor qtd in. McInnes 274) and argue that the *Biography* focuses on "domestic heroism" (Spongberg qtd. in McInnes 274) in order to dilute Wollstonecraftian concerns, but others, such as McInnes, suggest that Hays wove Wollstonecraft's ideals into the *Biography* more subtly in order to adapt to a more reactionary historical moment.



MEMOIRS

OF

EMMA COURTNEY.

BY MARY HAYS.

"The perceptions of perfons in retirement are very different from thofe of people in the great world: their paffions, being differently modified, are differently expreffed; their imaginations, conftantly impreffed by the fame objects, are more violently affected. The fame fmall number of images continually return, mix with every idea, and create thofe ftrange and falfe notions, fo remarkable in people who fpend their lives in folitude." ROUSSEAU.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR G. G. AND J. ROBINSON, PATER-NOSTER-ROW.

1796.

Figure 3. Title page of Hays's Memoirs of Emma Courtney, 1796. ECCO.

Hays published *Female Biography* in 1803, during "the encyclopedism boom" (Walker, "Introduction" 11) and her publisher, Richard Phillips, who was also a Dissenter, had already authored and published multiple encyclopedias. Walker explains that Dissenters such as Hays and Phillips had a special interest in the genre of encyclopedia because the compilation of factual information was seen as a method of cleansing "knowledge-ordering systems of superstition and prejudice" ("Introduction" 11). Mary Spongberg et al. describe Hays's *Biography* as "the first Enlightenment prosopography of women and a compelling response to the great forgetting of women in traditional histories" (706).

According to Walker, there are few documents that record Hays's activity while writing and how she obtained her sources for the *Biography*, but she and the scholars of *The Female Biography Project* have documented one hundred of Hays's sources. These include Jean Francois De Lacroix's 1769 *Dictionnaire historique portatif des femmes célebres,* Pierre Bayle's 1697 *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, Plutrach's *Morals* and *Lives*, and Jemima Kindersley's 1781 translation of *An Essay on the Character, The Manners, and The Understanding of Women, in Different Ages* (Whipp 57–58). Hays's letters suggest that she had access to William Tooke and his father's extensive private library and also obtained materials from publishers Joseph Johnson and James Lackington (Walker, "Introduction" 12). She also contacted writers Robert Southey and Anna Laetitia Barbauld for historical works in their possessions, but Walker indicates that this is where the trail of her sources trickles off (See Timothy Whelan's *Mary Hays: Life, Writing, and Correspondence* for an extensive catalogue of Hays's correspondences through which Whelan has mapped Hays's sources). In the preface to the *Biography*, Hays herself gestures to the incompleteness of sources for a project of this scope, writing that

> [t]o give an account, however concise or general, of every woman who, either by her virtues, her talents, or the peculiarities of her fortune, has rendered herself illustrious or distinguished, would, notwithstanding the disadvantages civil and moral under which the sex has laboured, embrace an extent, and require sources of information, which few individuals, however patient in labour or indefatiguable in research, could compass or command. (iii)

Hays's work was not only limited by the impossibility of a single person reading and compiling all available sources, but by the *absence* of material as well. Walker notes that there were innumerable women of note, such as Lucy Hutchinson and Phillis Wheatley, "of whom Hays was oblivious because they had been dismissed from male memory and knowledge-ordering systems and only recovered more recently" ("Introduction" 13). In addition, as Hays was self-educated and knew only French in addition to English, she lacked the ability to read the works of several of her subjects in their own languages.

Figure 4. *Messrs. Lackington Allen & Co: Temple of the Muses, Finsbury Square*, Rudolph Ackerman, 1809. British Library.

Female Biography gained critical and popular attention, evidenced by the fact that it was "reprinted in numerous editions in England and America in the nineteenth century" (Walker, *The Idea of Being Free* 264) and "was the standard reference work on women for at least 50 years" (Walker, *The Idea of Being Free* 283). The first American edition was published in 1807 and the WPHP is currently working on adding other editions. Hays earned enough royalties from the publication of the *Biography* to buy a house outside of London and she wrote to her friends and associates that she was living in retirement, but continued to write voraciously. She continued her ventures in history writing by completing the third volume of *The History of England, from the Earliest Records to the Peace of Amiens; in a Series of Letters to a Young Lady at School* (1806), which Charlotte Smith began, but grew too ill to finish (Look forward to next week's Spotlight by Caelen Campbell on Charlotte Smith's history writing!). She came into conflict with Phillips, who was also the publisher of *The History of England*, because he refused to pay her for completing *The History* which resulted in Hays pursuing a lawsuit against him. As indicated by the intended youthful readership of *The History of England*, Hays began to turn in the direction of children's literature in her later writing. She wrote *Harry Clinton: A Tale for Youth* (1804) and *Historical Dialogues for Young Persons* (1806–1808), which Eleanor Ty describes as "more didactic and conservative" than her earlier writing, likely due to the backlash against radical women writers after Wollstonecraft's death. Her last two novels, *The Brothers; or, Consequences. A Story of What Happens Every Day. Addressed to that Most Useful Part of the Community, the Labouring Poor* (1815) and *Family Annals; or, The Sisters* (1817), were equally didactic but were intended more for a lower class audience to teach them values of economy and frugality.

For her final publication in 1821, Hays referenced her research from *Female Biography* in *Memoirs of Queens, Illustrious and Celebrated*. Inspired by the divorce trial of Queen Caroline and King George IV in 1820, Hays compiled the lives of seventy queens, half of whom she had already included in *Female Biography*. Despite enduring a brutal backlash from conservative critics and witnessing her own decline in popularity due to a combination of this

negative publicity and the rise of younger, more popular writers, Hays continued to staunchly advocate for women's equality. In the preface to *Memoirs of Queens*, Hays writes,

> I maintain, and, while strength and reason remain to me, ever will maintain, that there is, there can be but *one moral standard of excellence for mankind*, whether male or female, and that the licentious distinctions made by the domineering party, in the spirit of tyranny, selfishness, and sensuality, are at the foundation of the heaviest evils that have afflicted, degraded, and corrupted society: and I found my arguments upon nature, equity, philosophy, and the Christian religion. (vi)

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Wheatley, Phillis (person, author)

Female Biography; or, Memoirs of Illustrious and Celebrated Women, of All Ages and Countries. Alphabetically Arranged (title, first American edition)

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Harry Clinton: A Tale for Youth (title)

Historical Dialogues for Young Persons (title)

The Brothers; or, Consequences. A Story of What Happens Every Day. Addressed to that Most Useful Part of the Community, the Labouring Poor (title)

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The Women's Print History Project

Charlotte Turner Smith's *A Natural History of Birds Intended Chiefly for Young Persons* [Spotlight]

Authored by Caelen Campbell
Edited by Michelle Levy and Kandice Sharren

Project Director: Michelle Levy (Simon Fraser University)

Campbell, Caelen. "Charlotte Turner Smith's *A Natural History of Birds Intended Chiefly for Young Persons*." *The Women's Print History Project*, 26 March 2021, https://womensprinthistoryproject.com/blog/post/69.

PDF Edited: 3 July 2023

This spotlight draws on research supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and the Digital Humanities Innovation Lab at Simon Fraser University.

Charlotte Turner Smith's *A Natural History of Birds Intended Chiefly for Young Persons*

Caelen Campbell

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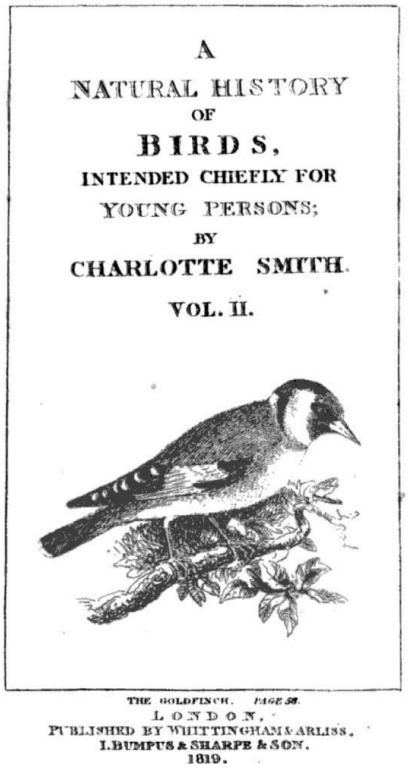


Figure 1. Title page for the 1819 edition of Charlotte Turner Smith's *A Natural History of Birds Intended Chiefly for Young Persons*.

> Our late conferences on various subjects of Natural History have awakened your curiosity, my children, and as you wish to hear more of the varieties of birds, their habits, and history, I will communicate the observations I have made, and consult the books I have about me, and endeavour to give you a general idea of these animals. (1:1)

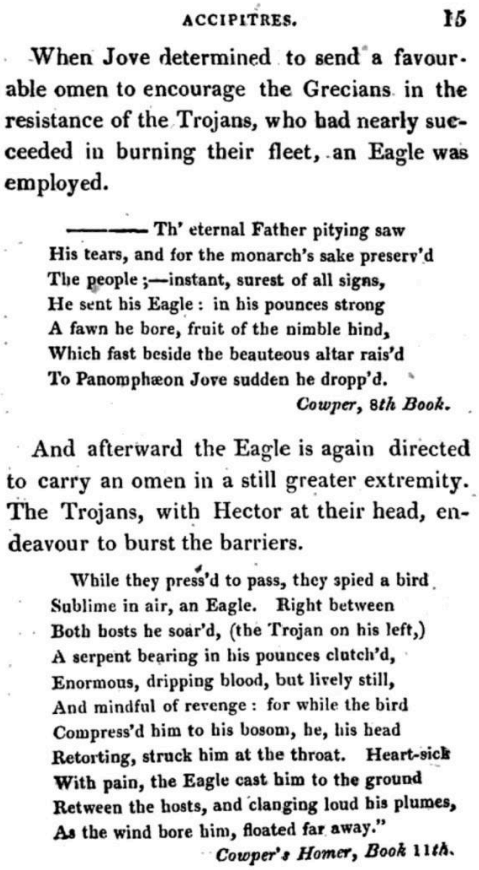
In 1807, the year after Charlotte Turner Smith's death, A Natural History of Birds Intended Chiefly for Young Persons was first published in London by Joseph Johnson. A second edition published in 1819 by John Arliss, John Bumpus, and John Sharpe includes on its boards options for a copy embellished with 24 engravings (7S) or with the plates coloured (9S). Published in two volumes, this ornithology handbook seeks to interest her child readers in natural

history. It provides Smith with an avenue to intertwine mythology and literature, enjoyed by many children, with deep scientific understanding. Placing this importance on children being fluent in literature, mythology, and history in concurrence with an education in science and the natural world supports a whole-child approach to education, where learning looks to formal study to support the personal acquisition of knowledge. As a mother of ten children (eight of whom survived into adulthood), Smith used the experience she gained from teaching her own children to successfully enter new literary markets, publishing four works for children: *Rural Walks* (1795), *Rambles Farther* (1796), *Minor Morals* (1798), and *Conversations Introducing Poetry* (1804). In the preface to *A Natural History of Birds*, the editor includes a description of her writing for children by one of her biographers, who praises "her schoolbooks [as] among the most admirable which have been written for the use of young persons and are eminently calculated to form the taste, instruct the mind, and correct the heart" (1:v). Smith's poetic descriptions of the natural world possess the exactitude of a naturalist's field notes, combined with the comforting idea of inheriting knowledge from one's mother. The central role that mothers played in the education of their young children is explored in podcast episode four of *The WPHP Monthly Mercury*, "A Bibliographical Education," where WPHP editors Kandice Sharren and Kate Moffat are joined by Reese Irwin, a former Research Assistant, to talk about the children's literature in the database.

In *A Natural History of Birds*, Smith uses Carl Linnæus' system for organizing birds into six Orders. She includes a letter to describe each Order or portion of an Order under this system. The letters are written by Smith to one of her two sons, and she uses the epistolary form to create a domestic, conversational frame to introduce her children (and her child readers) to the six orders of birds, which are as follows: *Accipetres* (birds of prey), in letters I and II; *Pica* (compressed, convex, and mostly crooked bills), in letters III and IV; *Anseres* (web-footed), in letter V; *Grallae* (waders), in letter VI; *Gallinae* (domestic foul), in letter VII; and Passeres (singing birds), in letters VIII, IX, and X; it is treated in three letters as it is the "most interesting order of birds" (1:22). Since she wishes to impart knowledge to an exacting standard, yet considers herself a "very humble student in botany," Smith selects Linnæus as "the most simple" organizing principle, making her presentation of natural history accessible to children (2:23). This choice is interesting given the rising controversy in England at the time over Linnæus' *Sexual System* or systema sexuale of botanical classification, which made use of human–plant analogies, and thus was deemed improper for women wishing to study botany (George 1). There were equally avid proponents who insisted on women's continued access to Linnæan knowledge; one of these was Mary Wollstonecraft, who defended botany against prudery in her *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman: with Strictures on Political and Moral Subjects* (George 6). Smith had utilized Linnæus in her previous botany poems, so it follows, she would here, however, her descriptions are notably desexed and contain few human analogies.

Following the pattern which she laid out for herself, Smith selects a set of birds to describe in each order. For example, for the first order of *Accipetres*, she includes the Eagle and details its physical appearance, its diet, and hunting habits. Her descriptions are meant to engage her readers; describing how the eagle "has been known to bear away an infant in its talons, kids, lambs, hares and rabbits are its usual food, so that it is very injurious to the people of the countries it inhabits" (1:11). Some observations derive from personal knowledge, whereas others are taken from the literature of naturalists and travel writers. Within these descriptions, there are distinctly tactile observations and experiences which

hint at the influence of John Locke's pedagogical innovations and educational theories at the time; that children are born as an blank slates, or *tabula rasa,* to be filled with the data derived from sensory experience (Androne 75–76). Applying tactile explorations to poetry models how to relate to natural history on a personal level, aiming to transmit the active experience and knowledge of observation through natural description (Powell 101). This inclusion of first-hand observations continues to be practiced in education, for example with the use of interpersonal dialogues to garner relatability so as to entice children into learning. As her studies in this book are mainly about birds in Britain, applying the popular botany practice of 'indigenous botany,' her young readers would have felt excited that they could observe the species she describes themselves (George 7). Smith also includes bibliographic references in the descriptions to additional natural resources, some of which may have been available to her readers, such as *Conversations on Natural History*. Afterwards, she expands her scientific understanding with the inclusion of Greek and Roman mythology and history. An example of this use of mythic explanation is apparent in references to *The Odyssey of Homer* (as translated by William Cowper), in her description of the Eagle.



ACCIPITRES. 15

When Jove determined to send a favourable omen to encourage the Grecians in the resistance of the Trojans, who had nearly succeeded in burning their fleet, an Eagle was employed.

——— Th' eternal Father pitying saw
His tears, and for the monarch's sake preserv'd
The people;—instant, surest of all signs,
He sent his Eagle: in his pounces strong
A fawn he bore, fruit of the nimble hind,
Which fast beside the beauteous altar rais'd
To Panomphæon Jove sudden he dropp'd.
Cowper, 8th Book.

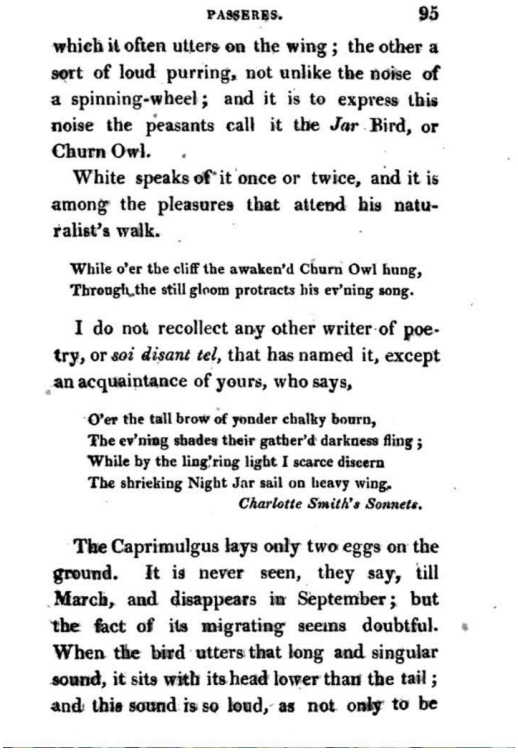
And afterward the Eagle is again directed to carry an omen in a still greater extremity. The Trojans, with Hector at their head, endeavour to burst the barriers.

While they press'd to pass, they spied a bird
Sublime in air, an Eagle. Right between
Both hosts he soar'd, (the Trojan on his left,)
A serpent bearing in his pounces clutch'd,
Enormous, dripping blood, but lively still,
And mindful of revenge: for while the bird
Compress'd him to his bosom, he, his head
Retorting, struck him at the throat. Heart-sick
With pain, the Eagle cast him to the ground
Retween the hosts, and clanging loud his plumes,
As the wind bore him, floated far away."
Cowper's Homer, Book 11th.

Figure 2. Excerpt from Charlotte Turner Smith's *A Natural History of Birds Intended Chiefly for Young Persons,* 1819 (1:15).

This engaging pattern is repeated throughout the two volumes, as Smith cites many poets, including contemporary poets like Erasmus Darwin, James Thomson, and William Wordsworth, and earlier poets, including John Milton and William Shakespeare. Before each excerpt, Smith indicates why she feels the myth or poem deserves a place in her telling of natural history. When Smith was unable to find a fable or a myth on a specific bird which she felt was of particular

importance, she instead includes her own sonnet or fable to instruct, teach, and guide children. For example, she explains that she knows of no one who has spoken about the "Jar bird, or Churn owl" (a local British name of the European goatsucker or night-jar, Caprimulgus europæus), and so adds a few lines from a sonnet by "an acquaintance of yours," that is, herself; the page may be seen below (1:95) "The Lark's Nest" she includes as her "version of a fable from Esop"[sic] which she "dressed with a few botanical ornaments" that the reader will "allow to be an improvement" (2:37). She states: "I hope you will be pleased with this fable. I know none which goes more immediately to the business and bosoms of all who are likely to have an active part in the affairs of the world" (2:38). Included in this text are five bird epics, "The Dictatorial Owl," "The Jay in Masquerade," and three additional poems, "The Truant Dove," "The Lark's Nest," and "The Swallows," which were concurrently published in her posthumously published poem, "Beachy Head." "The Swallows," titled "To The Swallow" in A Natural History of Birds, uses the "full range of discourses available at the end of the eighteenth century for representing nature: scientific description, poetic conventions of personification and apostrophe, the pastoral thematization of music, a miniature topographic survey, the fable, Ovidian allusions, folklore, and God" (Cook 67).



PASSERES. 95

which it often utters on the wing; the other a sort of loud purring, not unlike the noise of a spinning-wheel; and it is to express this noise the peasants call it the *Jar* Bird, or Churn Owl.

White speaks of it once or twice, and it is among the pleasures that attend his naturalist's walk.

While o'er the cliff the awaken'd Churn Owl hung,
Through the still gloom protracts his ev'ning song.

I do not recollect any other writer of poetry, or *soi disant tel*, that has named it, except an acquaintance of yours, who says,

O'er the tall brow of yonder chalky bourn,
The ev'ning shades their gather'd darkness fling;
While by the ling'ring light I scarce discern
The shrieking Night Jar sail on heavy wing.
Charlotte Smith's Sonnets.

The Caprimulgus lays only two eggs on the ground. It is never seen, they say, till March, and disappears in September; but the fact of its migrating seems doubtful. When the bird utters that long and singular sound, it sits with its head lower than the tail; and this sound is so loud, as not only to be

Figure 3. Excerpt from Charlotte Turner Smith's *A Natural History of Birds Intended Chiefly for Young Persons*, 1819 (1: 95).

Her first-person interjections in her letters are often socially or morally corrective, but they are also witty, pulling the reader in to enjoy her clever descriptions. For example, there is the white owl, who

> has a look of affected wisdom, as it sits with half-closed eyes, dreaming on it's roost all day; but when it is alarmed, or eager for food, and opens those round staring eyes, it gives an idea of folly. There are human

> faces extremely resembling that of this bird; and I think I have observed, that such faces indicate no great strength of intellect, but much of presumption and self conceit. (1:27)

Or the description "of pertness and importance in the air of a Jay, when he rears the feathers of his head and looks about him, as if he supposed himself a bird of considerable consequence, and was conscious of his beauty" (1:50). There are also times where her political and social beliefs are introduced through the bird lessons to teach children about social concerns of the time. When speaking about parrots, she observes that "the poets have sometimes compared their loquacity and their speaking only by rote to that desire of talking without having anything to say worth being heard which these satyrists impute to women"; he states that she hoped to include poetry to refute this insulting claim, but could find none "that had the merit of being well written," speaking again to her exacting standards (1:38). Or in her retelling of the fable of the Goose that laid the Golden Egg, about a man who destroys a goose who foolishly and greedily destroys his goose who lays golden eggs, she relates it to other atrocities, of animal abuse and slavery:

> A horse is sometimes overworked by his barbarous owner, that he may make all the present profit he can of him; and the same thing has, I fear, been done in those countries where the unhappy negroes are purchased, and compelled to labour to raise sugar, and coffee, and cotton, for the use of Europeans. (1:107)

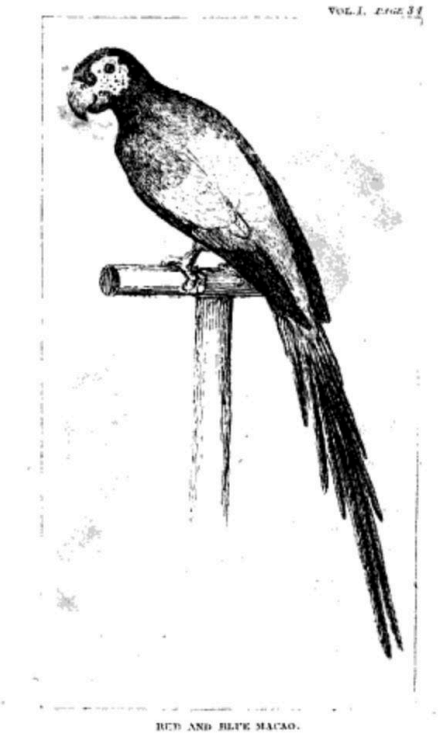


Figure 4. Plate from Charlotte Turner Smith's *A Natural History of Birds Intended Chiefly for Young Persons*, 1819 (1:31).

Smith's style of linking the natural world to poetry is a strategy that has been adopted by contemporary authors. There has recently been an impetus of rewilding children to the natural world, asking them to focus inwards, mindfully, on the smaller details within their control, while also increasing their knowledge of the natural world. This direct engagement with the natural world is the goal of Robert McFarlane and Jackie Morris's picture book, *The Lost Words: A Spell Book*, published in 2018. The large 15-inch book offers beautiful illustrations of the language of the natural world, a vocabulary they fear is being lost. The book was spurred by the actual removal of some forty words, names of animals and plants, from the *Oxford Junior Dictionary*. McFarlane and Morris follow the same idea as Smith in their book; defining an animal through poetry, in their case acrostic poetry, to make it readily accessible to children. The poems themselves follow the pattern that Smith laid out in her descriptions; detailing their physical attributes, their eating habits, and their interactions in the world in a way that emulates direct observation. As the second edition used plates to add life and intrigue to Smith's explanations, McFarlane and Morris use full-page illustrations, which show the animals moving through the pages, as they would in nature, leading the reader from one poem to the next.

Figure 5. *The Lost Words: A Spell Book* by Robert McFarlane and Jackie Morris (65–66).

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Johnson, Joseph (firm, publisher)
Arliss, John (firm, publisher and printer)
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A natural history of birds: intended chiefly for young persons (title, 1807 edition)
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Minor morals, interspersed with sketches of natural history, historical anecdotes, and original stories. By Charlotte Smith. In two volumes. (title)
Rural walks: in dialogues. Intended for the use of young persons. By Charlotte Smith. Two volumes in one. (title)
Rambles farther: a continuation of Rural Walks: in dialogues. Intended for the use of young persons. By Charlotte Smith. Two Volumes in One. (title)
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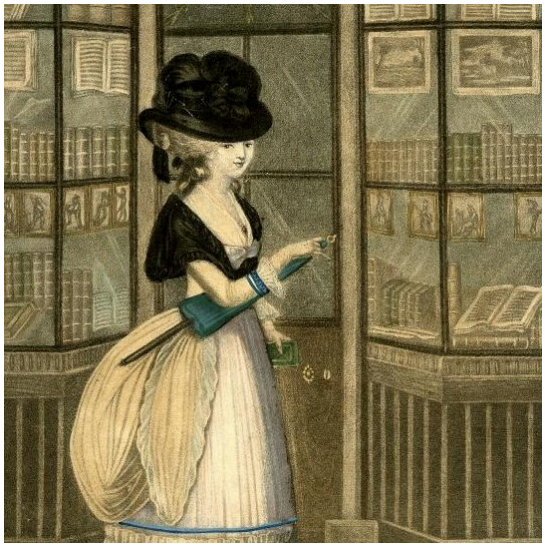

The Women's Print History Project

Lucy Aikin, Feminist History, and the 'sisterhood of womankind' [Spotlight]

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Edited by Kandice Sharren

Project Director: Michelle Levy (Simon Fraser University)

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Lucy Aikin, Feminist History, and the 'sisterhood of womankind'

Michelle Levy

This post is part of our Women & History Spotlight Series, which will run through March 2021. Spotlights in this series focus on women's contributions to history in the database.

Figure 1. Lucy Aikin. Portrait is reproduced with the kind permission of Hampstead Parish Church, and the Rev. Stephen Tucker.

In 1810, at the age of twenty-nine, a woman published a 1200 line, epic poem that sought to challenge centuries of hateful representations of women, from *Juvenal's Satire VI* (late first or early second century), which attacks women as unchaste 'monsters,' to John Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1667), which presents Eve as responsible for the Fall and insists that woman were made by God to serve man, to Alexander Pope's "Epistle II: To a Lady—Of the Characters of women" (1735), which bluntly asserts that "Most Women have no Characters at all." The woman who wrote this poem, Lucy Aikin (1781–1864), is far less known that her radical counterparts, Mary Wollstonecraft (whose novel Maria, Or the Wrongs of Woman was the subject of a previous spotlight, "Mary Wollstonecraft and the Domestic Gothic Novel") and Mary Hays (the subject of a spotlight for this Women's History Series by Amanda Law, "Taking Up the Cause: Mary Hay's Female Biography"). Yet in her refutations of interpretations of the Bible and her history of women, Aikin strikes at the heart of Western civilization's foundational patriarchy. In her introduction to the poem, she writes "that it is impossible for man to degrade his companion without degrading himself," and points to this as "the chief 'moral of my song,'" regarding it "as the Great Truth to the support of which my pen has devoted itself" (*Epistles* 54). It is as though Aikin had in mind Jane Austen's quotation from *Persuasion*, as discussed in the introduction to this spotlight series. Aware that the stories told about women had been "'all written by men,'" she takes up her own pen to rewrite women's history.

Aikin's boldness, and her confidence in the righteousness of her undertaking, may be traced to her upbringing in a highly educated, liberal-minded, and well-connected family of Dissenters. Her father, Dr. John Aikin (1747–1822), was a medical doctor and writer who published extensively on literature, education, biography and topography and edited several major periodicals. Her aunt, Anna (Aikin) Barbauld (1743–1825), was a famous poet, essayist, editor, literary critic and children's writer. In an essay from March 1798, "What is Education?" Barbauld articulated the belief that education "includes the whole process by which a human being is formed to be what he is, in habits, principles, and cultivation of every kind," noting to the father whom she is addressing, "Your example will educate him; your conversation with your friends; the business he sees you transact; the likings and dislikings you express; these will educate him" (McCarthy, *Selected Poetry and Prose* 322–23). Aikin attributed her passion for history to her father: "I can speak with all the certainty of personal experience to the pleasures and benefits derived to his family from his social and communicative habits of study" (*Epistles* 17). She describes how she became a writer and an historian by "witnessing so closely the progress of various works" that her father was engaged in researching and writing; furthermore, her father "not only permitted, but invited and encouraged, the freest strictures even from the youngest and most unskillful of those whom he was please to call his household critics" (*Epistles* 17–18). Her father and aunt's *Evenings at home; or, the juvenile budget opened. Consisting of a variety of miscellaneous pieces, for the instruction and amusement of young persons*, published between 1792 and 1796 when Aikin was herself between the ages of 11–15, models this form of critical and indeed radical education. In these miscellaneous pieces, as with Aikin herself, children are 'invited and encouraged' to exercise their own critical judgment.

Aikin's first publication, *Poetry for Children. Consisting of Short Pieces, to be Committed to Memory. Selected by Lucy Aikin*, appeared in 1801. Thereafter, she published in many different genres: she wrote a novel, poems, translations, biographies, collections of various kinds for children, and reviews, and also edited her aunt's poetry and prose. It is her historical writing, however, for which she became best known. This writing came in two bursts, and in two different genres. In 1810, at the age of twenty-nine, she published *Epistles on the Character and Condition of Women, in Various Ages and Nations; it was reprinted the same year in Boston*. It is "the first text in English to rewrite the entire history of western culture, from the account of creation in Genesis through the eighteenth century, from a feminist perspective, explicitly defining the practices and consequences of a patriarchal social system" (*Epistles* 13). Her second and more extended engagement with history came in the genre she popularized in England, called the court memoir. In 1818, she published *Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth*, to be followed *Memoirs of the Court of King James the First* in 1822, and *Memoirs of the Court of Charles the First* in 1833. These *Memoirs* were critically acclaimed and popular: Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth went through six London editions by 1826, was translated into German in 1819, and reprinted in Boston in 1821; Memoirs of the Court of King James the First reached a second edition in 1822, and was published that year in Boston; Memoirs of the Court of Charles the First reached a second edition in 1833, and was published in Philadelphia that year. Other editions may well exist, but we have not been able to verify them.

First in her *Epistles on Women* and then in her *Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth*, Aikin displayed an investment in women's history. The *Epistles* offers Aikin's attempt, as she explains in her introduction, to "mark the effect of

various codes, institutions, and states of manners, on the virtue and happiness of man, and the concomitant and proportional elevation or depression of woman in the scale of existence" (*Epistles* 53). Directly responding to misogynist histories and educational writing of her day, Aikin attempts nothing short of an exposé of the history of patriarchy, demonstrating that the systematic oppression of women occurs across all "ages and nations," stemming from the physical dominance of men and their abuse of power. Divided into four Epistles, each prefaced by an "Argument" that echoes one of the key works she seeks to refute—John Milton's *Paradise Lost*—the ambition of the poem is staggering.

In Epistle I, Aikin specifically addresses Milton's interpretation of the Bible, especially Genesis. In Aikin's version, derived from the Priestley source, Eve is born from the earth, not Adam's rib, and it is not Eve who is responsible from the expulsion from the Garden of Eden (after succumbing to temptation and eating the apple). Rather, Adam and Even co-exist in harmony until fighting erupts between their children, Cain and Abel. According to Shirley F. Tung, "Aikin's epic poem challenges the biblical origins of female subordination by offering an alternative exegesis of Genesis," using "her considerable scriptural knowledge to contest Eve's culpability in the Fall, thereby refuting the religious pretext for women's subjugation" (179).

In Epistle II, Aikin surveys how women, across time and space, have been degraded by men. She invites her friend, Anna Wakefield, to whom the *Epistles* are dedicated, to join her as she journeys to "Pierce every clime, and search all ages through; / Stretch wide and wider yet thy liberal mind, / And grasp the sisterhood of womankind" (*Epistles* 61). Here Aikin uses existing historical and anthropological sources to document how women are universally abused by men. Her use of these sources at once establishes her extensive research (she explains how "a large collection has been placed under the eyes of the author, partly by the liberality of her publishers, partly by the kindness of friends," *Epistles* 102), but also the prejudices that inevitably permeate the *Epistles*. She offers accounts, based on the writings of explorers, of "Savage Man," repeating Eurocentric accounts of so-called 'primitive' societies. She does, however, seek to demonstrate that women are victimized by the brutality of all societies. Indeed, we find a very early, and flawed, example of intersectional feminism in Aikin's attempt to describe and unite a "sisterhood of womankind."

Epistle III concerns itself with classical civilization, that is, with Greek, Trojan and Roman history and myth, to explore the destructive consequences of militarism and violence to women and children. The final Epistle covers the Christian era, from the birth of Christ to Aikin's own time. She finds one example of a more just and equal society, in the German Goths described in Tacitus's *Germania*, a book her father had translated. She identifies other European and English woman who embodied the values she celebrates, the domestic affections and moral virtue, but observes the continued oppression of women in her country and indeed, across the globe. In the end, she invites her countrymen, "the Sons of Albion," to "be generous then, unbind / Your barbarous shackles, loose the female mind" (*Epistles* 98–99). As Kathryn Ready has observed, the Epistles presents one of the most startling attempts to begin "the crucial process of dismantling … patriarchal versions of the past" (450).

Aikin's engagement with history continued in her three court memoirs, a genre that had been very popular in France but only recently imported to Britain. Aikin herself offers the best description of this genre and explanation of its value, in her Preface to *Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth*:

> In the literature of our country, however copious, the eye of the curious student may still detect important deficiencies.
>
> We possess, for example, many and excellent histories, embracing every period of our domestic annals;—biographies, general and particular, which appear to have placed on record the name of every private individual justly entitled to such commemoration;—and numerous and extensive collections of original letters, state-papers and other historical and antiquarian documents;—whilst our comparative penury is remarkable in royal lives, in court histories, and especially in that class which forms the glory of French literature,—memoir.
>
> To supply in some degree this want, as it affects the person and reign of one of the most illustrious of female and of European sovereigns, is the intention of the work now offered with much diffidence to the public.
>
> Its plan comprehends a detailed view of the private life of Elizabeth from the period of her birth; a view of the domestic history of her reign; memoirs of the principal families of the nobility and biographical anecdotes of the celebrated characters who composed her court; besides notices of the manners, opinions and literature of the reign. (*Epistles* 101–02)

Figure 2. Frontispiece, first edition, *The Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth*, 1818.

The mode of the court memoir provided Aikin with an opportunity to delve into the character and even the psyche of England's most important Queen, but also to survey "the manners, opinions and literature of the reign," a form of social and literary history for which he had a particular talent. Aikin professes to "avoid[] as much as possible all encroachments on the peculiar province of history" (*Epistles* 103), but events of major historical significance during the course of Elizabeth's reign are not ignored, rather, they are given new life through her method of storytelling as memoir. Arguably, the form of history that Aikin tells is a particularly feminist one, as she considers private feeling and social interactions as shaping forces in history.

Figure 3. Frontispiece, third edition *Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth*, 1819.

One example will have to suffice to demonstrate the particular attributes of Aikin's historical method. In the following passage, Aikin describes, perhaps imagines is more accurate, Elizabeth upon her return to the Tower of London for her coronation, following the death of her sister, Mary I, in 1558:

> With what vivid and what affecting impressions of the vicissitudes attending on the great must she have passed again within the antique walls of that fortress once her dungeon, now her palace. She had entered it by the Traitors' gate, a terrified and defenceless prisoner, smarting under many wrongs, hopeless of deliverance, and apprehending nothing less than an ignominious death. She had quitted it, still a captive, under the guard of armed men, to be conducted she knew not whither. She returned to it in all the pomp of royalty, surrounded by the ministers of her power, ushered by the applauses of her people; the cherished object of every eye, the idol of every heart. *(Epistles 110)*

In this passage, we find novelistic elements, in both the colourful scene setting and the narrative invitation to share in Elizabeth's feelings in her reversal of fortunes. We also see how this form of history was one that Aikin, with her acute powers of observation and empathetic imagination, was particularly suited to write. An effusive review from the *Gentleman's Magazine* from July 1818 demonstrates the high estimation in which her histories were received:

> We are at a loss whether we should most approve the plan, or admire the execution, of this attractive work, the most complete in its kind of any in the English language. The history of Elizabeth has been often written but never in a manner to satisfy the inquiring mind; facts have frequently been perverted; or distorted, by prejudice; anecdotes accumulated with little regard to selection or authenticity; and in

> general the history of this important period has been wanting in interest or information, either bare of domestic details, or without those luminous views of society, that spirit of inquiry, or that affluence of Literature and taste, so essential in the writer who should attempt to give a just and complete representation of the age of Elizabeth. In Miss Aikin we find an union of qualities rarely found to exist in the same mind; acute, yet diligent, patient research is combined with fancy, taste, and elegance. The dryness of historical detail is precluded; the flippancy or prolixity of domestic memoirs carefully avoided; the character of Elizabeth is naturally unfolded to the Reader . . . (44–45).

As Aikin asks her readers to do over and over again in *Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth*, we too can attempt to imagine how Aikin herself felt in reading such a review; the nature of the praise given to her history explains its enduring popularity with the public. With the commercial and critical success in her work as an historian, it is to be much regretted that her projected work on the social history of women in the eighteenth century was never completed (Schnorrenberg).

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Barbauld, Anna Laetitia (person, author)
Epistles on Women, Exemplifying their Character and Condition in Various Ages and Nations. With miscellaneous poems (title, 1810)
Epistles on Women, Exemplifying their Character and Condition in Various Ages and Nations. With miscellaneous poems (title, 1810 Boston)
Evenings at home; or, the juvenile budget opened. Consisting of a variety of miscellaneous pieces, for the instruction and amusement of young persons (title)
Hays, Mary (person, author)
"Taking Up the Cause: Mary Hays's Female Biography" (spotlight by Amanda Law)
"Mary Wollstonecraft and the Domestic Gothic Novel" (spotlight by Michelle Levy)
Memoirs of the Court of King Charles the First (title, 1833 first edition)
Memoirs of the Court of King Charles the First (title, 1833 second edition)
Memoirs of the Court of King Charles the First (title, 1833 Philadelphia)
Memoirs of the Court of King James the First (title, 1822 first edition)
Memoirs of the Court of King James the First (title, 1822 second edition)
Memoirs of the Court of King James the First (title, 1822 Boston)
Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth (title, 1818 first edition)
Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth (title, 1818 second edition)
Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth (title, 1819 third edition)

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The Women's Print History Project

A Brief and Scandalous History of Delarivier Manley (feat. Kate Ozment), *The WPHP Monthly Mercury*

Produced by Kate Moffatt and Kandice Sharren

Mixed and mastered by Alexander Kennard

Transcribed by Kelly Cubbon and Sara Penn

Music by Ignatius Sancho, "Sweetest Bard," *A Collection of New Songs* (1769), played by Kandice Sharren

Project Director: Michelle Levy (Simon Fraser University)

Moffatt, Kate, and Kandice Sharren, hosts. "A Brief and Scandalous History of Delarivier Manley (feat. Kate Ozment)." *The WPHP Monthly Mercury*, Season 1, Episode 10, 3 March 2021, https://womensprinthistoryproject.com/blog/post/67.

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A Brief and Scandalous History of Delarivier Manley (feat. Kate Ozment)

Kate Moffatt and Kandice Sharren

March is Women's History Month, and this month's episode of *The WPHP Monthly Mercury*—the tenth and final episode of Season One!—is celebrating women, history, and how women engaged with history as authors, curators, and editors of the genre in the eighteenth century.

The History genre in the WPHP is a complicated one: many of the historical works we have in the WPHP arguably fit better into other genres, such as Juvenile Literature or Political Writing, resulting in a tiny portion of our more than eleven thousand titles being catalogued as histories. In Episode 10, "A Brief and Scandalous History of Delarivier Manley" hosts Kate Moffatt and Kandice Sharren interview a new WPHP collaborator, Dr. Kate Ozment, about the eighteenth-century writer and grifter, Delarivier Manley.

Informed by their conversation with Dr. Ozment, Kate and Kandice consider the historical genre during the eighteenth century and what we know of women's involvement in it—but they also consider how, as editors of *The Women's Print History Project*, they are something of 'historians' themselves by way of finding, displaying, and sharing women's histories in print. Read more about our "Women & History Spotlight Series" here.

Guests:

Dr. Kate Ozment is an assistant professor of English at California State Polytechnic University, Pomona. Her research

focuses on the rationale and practice of feminist bibliography and in addition to women grifters, she professionally stans women bibliographers, cataloguers, collectors, and librarians. When it's not a perpetual shelter in place order, she can be found skulking around any library with a copy of Charlotte Charke's *Narrative* and a physical card catalogue. During the pandemic, she tends to type around one of two furry tyrants while working through a March Madness bracket of different kinds of tea.

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00:00:00	🎵	[music playing]
00:00:08	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	Women's History Month is here, and so is the last episode of Season 1 of *The WPHP Monthly Mercury*. What better time to travel further back in women's history than we have before all the way to Delarivier Manley, whose secret histories rocked London society in the first two decades of the eighteenth century. To do so we're joined by one of the WPHP's new collaborators, Dr. Kate Ozment, who's bringing her expertise in the restoration and early eighteenth century to the project.
00:00:38	🎵	[music playing]
00:00:46	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Hello and welcome to *The WPHP Monthly Mercury*, the podcast for *The Women's Print History Project.* The WPHP is a bibliographic database that collects information about women and book production during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. My name is Kate Moffatt—
00:01:01	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	and I'm Kandice Sharren—
00:01:01	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	and we are longtime editors of the WPHP and the hosts of this podcast. On the third Wednesday of every month we'll introduce you to anecdotes, puzzles, and problems related to recovering evidence of women's involvement in print.
00:01:15	🎵	[music playing]
00:01:25	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Women's History Month celebrates women's contributions to history, and here at *The Women's Print History Project*, we are interested in doing the same year round. But this month has also had us thinking about how women engage with history, women's history, of course, but also their role as authors, curators, and editors of it.
00:01:42	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	If you browse through the History genre in the WPHP, you'll only see about 60 titles currently, a tiny number in the context of the more than 11,000 titles in the database. While some women like Catharine Macaulay, author of the majestic eight-volume *History of England* did write lengthy scholarly histories, it was rare because history was not necessarily a genre considered appropriate for women.

00:02:07	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Citing the *Monthly Review*'s review of the first volume of Macauley's history, Bridget Hill notes, "the writing of history was not recommended to the practice of our lovely country women." As a result, those women who did write history often aimed it at a juvenile audience, which means that we've categorized the genre of these titles as Juvenile Literature.
00:02:27	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	However, even sorting through that handful of titles that we have labelled as History can be a confusing headache. In fact, when we began working on this episode, we discovered about 20 titles identified as History that in fact belonged to other genres. That's because the word "history" often appeared in titles of works that aren't technically what we would understand as History. If you search for it in the title field, you'll find over 1100 results.
00:02:54	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	"Histories" yields another 82 and "historical", 218. While some of these works are histories written for young readers, “history” was also frequently used to describe fictional works, memoirs, biographies, and travel memoirs to name a few possibilities. Somewhat confusingly, some works that *are* what we would recognize as History, namely Lucy Aikin's historical writing about the courts of Queen Elizabeth I and King James I are described in their titles as “memoirs.” Just because the number of books labelled history in the WPHP is relatively small, though, doesn't mean that women weren't engaging with history by way of other genres.
00:03:37	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	This month, the WPHP team put together a Women in History spotlight series that highlights some of the women in our database who engaged with history. In this series, we place poetry collections, like Felicia Hemans' *Records of Women*, and biography like Mary Hays' *Female Biography*, alongside histories by Macaulay and Aikin to consider how women integrated historical research into their writing and questioned and reshaped what counts as history in an array of genres.
00:04:07	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	The topic of our interview today engages with all of these questions: how do we encounter women's history? How do women capture history? How do women write it or rewrite it? Our guest today, Kate Ozment highlights some of these ideas in a discussion about Delarivier Manley, a relatively new author to the

		WPHP database. Dr. Kate Ozment is an Assistant Professor of English at California State Polytechnic University, Pomona.
00:04:32	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Her research focuses on the rationale and practice of feminist bibliography and in addition to women grifters, she professionally stans women bibliographers, cataloguers, collectors, and librarians. When it's not a perpetual shelter in place order, she can be found skulking around any library with a copy of Charlotte Charke's *Narrative* and a physical card catalogue. During the pandemic, she tends to type around one of two furry tyrants while working through a March Madness bracket of different kinds of tea.
00:04:58	🎵	[music playing]
00:05:04	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Kate, thank you so much for joining us on the podcast today. We are really, really excited to have you here and chat with you. And we're planning to talk today about Delarivier Manley—Delarivi-ay? Delarivi-air?
00:05:17	Kate Ozment (guest)	"Delarivi-air" is how I pronounce it, but I'm pretty sure the French would disagree [Kate and Kandice laugh].
00:05:23	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Well, we're encountering her not for the first time, but we've only just within the last year made the decision to take the WPHP all the way back to 1700. And thank goodness you're on the project now, because otherwise we really wouldn't know where to start. And Delarivier Manley is one of the authors who, because she wasn't reprinted during our initial date range of 1750 to 1836, she wasn't in our database until very recently. And we don't know much about her. So can you give us the lowdown? Who was Mary Delarivier Manley? And what are some of the challenges that you faced in working on her?
00:05:58	Kate Ozment (guest)	Well, first of all, the challenge is her name. So I know that the WPHP uses VIAF records, which are through the Library of Congress, and if you were to go look at the VIAF record for Mary Delarivier Manley you would see 18 different versions of her name [Kate and Kandice laugh]. And I spent weeks on that as a doctoral student, because I kept thinking, there's an answer here and you just can't find it. And it turns out no, there's not [Kate and Kandice laugh].

00:06:23	Kate Ozment (guest)	She has a sister named Mary and so it is believed that that got conflated with her at some point while people were doing historical research on her. She is fortunate to have a really good biography, *A Political Biography of Delarivier Manley* by Rachel Carnell. And Carnell uses Delarivier Manley as the name and so do a couple other people like Ruth Herman, who is one of the only other people who've written a book length work on Manley.
00:06:49	Kate Ozment (guest)	So I've kind of defaulted to Delarivier Manley. They make stronger cases for this in the book, but part of the problem is Manley wasn't particularly consistent. Manley constantly created new versions of herself in fiction and gave herself new names. At one point, she is "Delia's Story" in *The New Atalantis*, and then later she's *The Adventures of Rivella*. So she's constantly playing off of her name and fictionalizing herself.
00:07:14	Kate Ozment (guest)	So the fact that we can't tie down her name is actually a little microcosm of the fun and the problems of Manley. She's telling stories constantly, and she's kind of aware of the fact that she's had an interesting life and she spins that. So we're getting a lot of stuff with Manley that is fun. So I like to divide up her life into three categories. Category one is the seventeenth century. And that kind of leads up to my favourite year in English history, which is 1696 [Kandice laughs].
00:07:42	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	What happens in 1696, Kate? [laughs]
00:07:44	Kate Ozment (guest)	Thank you for asking, Kandice, I thought you never would [Kate and Kandice laugh]. 1696 is a year when some licensing lapses, which is always the best part of the history is when you're licensing laws lapse, everybody goes a little bit nuts [all laugh]. And part of what was happening is that we get three women playwrights all premiering at the same time in 1696. And that was quite noticeable because prior to that we'd only had three total, at least the commercial stage. So you had Aphra Behn, probably the most well known. You had Ardelia who was a pseudonym, we still don't know who she is.
00:08:17	Kate Ozment (guest)	And then you have people like Katherine Phillips who had translations that were performed. But then you get Catherine Trotter and Delarivier Manley show up, and then they show up and try to self-consciously create this feminized playwright persona. They write poems in each other's plays. They talk about

themselves as the inheritor of the laurels from Behn. It's all very intentional. And so that's early Manley. And she just shows up with a bang. She does two plays. She gets satirized rather cruelly in *The Female Wits*, which comes out shortly after all these women pop up.

00:08:53 Kate Ozment (guest) Of course you can't have women writing in public without somebody making fun of them [Kate and Kandice laugh]. And then she disappears for ten years. So phase one is, Manley shows up, goes, "I'm going to be a writer" and everybody goes, "okay." And then she goes, "goodbye" [Kate and Kandice laugh]. So then she's just gone for a decade. And then she pops up again later. And this is kind of what I think characterizes Manly as just infinitely flexible.

00:09:16 Kate Ozment (guest) You have people like Aphra Behn, who being a writer was their thing. For better or worse, Behn supported herself through writing. And for Behn, that meant a lot of pecuniary distress. She died poor, and she died with rheumatoid arthritis in her hands while she was trying to write novels. And it's one of those things that I think about a lot, is Aphra Behn scribbling novels with painful hands. I don't think that was a secret. I think Manley knew how hard it was to support yourself in writing.

00:09:43 Kate Ozment (guest) As much as we like to valorize Behn and respect her, especially through the Virginia Woolf lens of "pick up your pen, you can earn your own bread"—Behn died poor. So Manley is a little bit more flexible. Manley usually supports herself through kind of strategic liaisons with people who have jobs. So for a while, it was the guy who ran Fleet Street prison, John Tilley. So Manley disappears from writing because she hooks up with John Tilley—she is bigamously married to her cousin at this point [all laugh] which is a bit out there.

00:10:16 Kate Ozment (guest) Yep they may or may not have had kids. So then she decides to hook up with John Tilley—they may or may not have had kids. And they kind of do a bunch of get-rich-quick for about ten years [Kate and Kandice laugh]. Those didn't work. So they break up, and after you have a bad breakup, what you have to do is start writing [Kate and Kandice laugh]. So after she breaks up with her cousin, she writes some plays. After she breaks up with John Tilley, she writes some more poems and then she decides, okay, I'm going to write scandal fiction.

00:10:39	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Perfect.
00:10:40	Kate Ozment (guest)	I know, what else do you do? You have a bad breakup? You cut your hair, you write scandal fiction [Kate and Kandice laugh]. Get some bangs, get a really good fringe. So this phase two is "Scandal Writer Manley." And this is really where she makes a name for herself. So she gets all her gossip because she hangs out with the King's mistresses. And so she gets all the good court gossip.
00:11:02	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Wow!
00:11:03	Kate Ozment (guest)	This is why it was so fun for me to watch *The Favourite* because Robert Harley is her patron in this period. And Robert Harley in *The Favourite* is amazing. And I love how hard they went there on him being a fop with the dusted wigs and the very affected manner [Kate and Kandice laugh]. That's what masculinity was! Not men looking dour in three piece suits like they're all Victorians [Kate and Kandice laugh].
00:11:26	Kate Ozment (guest)	So yeah, that guy was her patron. So she got all the good court gossip and she was like, “I'm going to start publishing scandal fiction.” And then she gets through that becomes ridiculously famous and then she hooks up with another man. Because of course you do the writing and then the thing [Kate and Kandice laugh].
00:11:40	Kate Ozment (guest)	And John Barber is actually the guy who supports her for most of her career. And we'll talk about him a little bit more. And then after that, she goes back to kind of polite fiction. She writes plays and “oh no, I'm good now. Don't worry. I wouldn't *ever* go back and write that dirty scandal. I don't know who did that. Wasn't me.”
00:11:59	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	It was a phase, mom.

00:12:00	Kate Ozment (guest)	It was a phase, mom. I just did it. And those are the three phases of Manley's life.:"My bang's grew out. I dyed my hair back brown, I started exercising again and I just really got through some personal problems" [Kate and Kandice laugh]. And yeah, that's a brief overview—Manley's life is a story because Manley tells it as a story. Every opportunity she gets, she's like, "well, remember that time I was bigamously married. Huh? That's crazy [Kandice laughs]. What did we do with that? Isn't that bad? Look, men suck. He bigamously married me, lied to me. I was young and impressionable. Oh, darn. Well. Here's some gossip."
00:12:37	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Wow. She sounds—
00:12:39	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	that is an amazing life—
00:12:41	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	she sounds amazing.
00:12:42	Kate Ozment (guest)	I have such a soft spot for people like Manley. And one of my other favourite figures is Mary Carlton, who is a seventeenth- century con artist [Kate and Kandice laugh] who liked to marry men and steal their money. And then, she did it so often that they made a play about her marrying men and stealing their money, in which she starred as herself, and then married a guy from the audience who fell in love with her. And then she stole *his* money.
00:13:06	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Wow! [laughs]
00:13:09	Kate Ozment (guest)	So I love Mary Carlton. I love Delarivier Manley. I just had this soft spot for the female grifter because it feels like, in an economy that doesn't give women a lot of options, I kind of like the women who are just like, well, "I'm just going to steal stuff and I'm just going to print gossip because you didn't give me a lot of options."
00:13:25	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	I'm going to make my own options. Yeah.

00:13:27	Kate Ozment (guest)	Yeah. I'm going to make my own world. And yes, that's bad. You probably shouldn't steal money from people. And you probably shouldn't keep marrying men and absconding with their jewels. I get that that's bad.
00:13:36	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	Is it? [Kate laughs].
00:13:39	Kate Ozment (guest)	Is it? I'm also kind of into it. I'm here for the grifters—
00:13:43	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	honestly, goals—
00:13:45	Kate Ozment (guest)	Honestly. I know. Whenever I teach Carleton, all of my students are like, "where's this biopic? Where is this movie?" It's like, I don't know. We need a mini series.
00:13:50	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	At least one.
00:13:51	Kate Ozment (guest)	We do. But Manley, for the point, that's the overview is she just everything we know about her is because she told her own stories as part of this fictionalized authorial persona of this scandalist—she's basically an Eliza Haywood heroine—
00:14:05	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	that's amazing—
00:14:06	Kate Ozment (guest)	and so she tells her story like, "Hey guys, I'm basically an Eliza Haywood heroine." And that's how she sold her work.
00:14:12	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	Amazing. I'm glad you brought up *The Favourite*. I actually re-watched it this week to prepare, because I didn't have time to re-read *The Adventures of Rivella*. But I just wanted to kind of ask what the relationship of *The Favourite* is to what we know about the sort of historical period. How does this film stack up to Manley's representations of, for example, Sarah the Duchess of Marlborough. And what about other characters like Harley?

00:14:44 Kate Ozment (guest) I really enjoyed *The Favourite* because it shows this jockeying of positions at court. And so Harley is the leader of the Tories, which we see in the film. And the Marlboroughs are Wigs. And so they're two of the primary antagonists and Sarah Churchill, Duchess of Marlborough—she does not come off well in Manley's satires, I will just say [Kate and Kandice laugh]. Manley's satirical style is to translate political ambition to sexual appetite. So, the more politically ambitious she thinks you are, the more depraved you come off in her books [Kate laughs].

00:15:17 Kate Ozment (guest) So, Sarah doesn't come off great [Kate and Kandice laugh]. And that's also why this was so scandalous is because if you filled in the blanks of these references to people than what she was suggesting was going on at court was not just political jockeying, but something a little bit akin to the QANON conspiracy now in the US of demon worshipping blood drinkers [Kate and Kandice laugh]. Not quite that far, but she suggested just incest and a lot of lying.

00:15:44 Kate Ozment (guest) The film is great because it really gives the political jockeying a stage in which we can see how, even though in a monarchy, I think in the US, at least we very much kind of collapse this as like, oh, the absolute monarchies of the seventeenth century. But by the time Anne was there, it was a lot more complicated. And so they're seeing a lot of this, and the film definitely makes Anne seem a lot more politically impotent than she was. She was not that much of a pushover. But the suggestion that she was having any kind of relationships with other people in the court is not something Manley would've done because to suggest the Queen was a lesbian would get you very quickly executed [Kandice laughs].

00:16:20 Kate Ozment (guest) But she did suggest that Churchill and others were doing extramarital affairs and things that they shouldn't be doing. I think the film *The Favourite* exists partially because we've had this suggestion of sexual deviance in the court because of Manley. And this is just my opinion. Nobody, as far as I know, ever read *The New Atalantis* and was like, "I'm going to make *The Favourite*" [Kandice laughs].

00:16:44 Kate Ozment (guest) I would love a side version of *The Favourite* in which Robert Harley goes out and meets with his propagandists because that's where we really get Manley and that's where we get Jonathan Swift, who ran *The Examiner*, which was a Tory

periodical. So Manley took over as editor of *The Examiner* for a while after she got pretty big after *The New Atalantis*, which was her big political scandal novel.

00:17:06	Kate Ozment (guest)	We have letters between Manley and Robert Harley, which are printed in the back of Carnell's biography if you'd like to see them transcribed. And I saw them in person at the British Library once just because I like holding old things [Kate and Kandice laugh]. And I have a thing about autographs, right? It's like actually seeing her sign her name "Delia Manley"—is how she signs it—Delia with a period, another reason why I've kind of leaned away from Mary.
00:17:30	Kate Ozment (guest)	So she writes it and she's like, "Hey, remember that good work I did? Could you pay me for it?" [Kate and Kandice laugh]. And after a while he finally sends her £50. So she got paid. I mean Aphra Behn never got paid by Charles for being a spy, as far as we can tell. So at least Manley got paid by Harley.
00:17:46	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	Good work, Harley.
00:17:47	Kate Ozment (guest)	Yeah. Good work, Harley. Actually sent her money. £50 for the period's pretty good too. So, I like thinking about the world outside of when Harley walks into the palace. All the work he's doing outside of it is really where we get people like Swift and Manley that are just on the edges of court. And even though they'd never be invited to court, they're not noble, Manley had claims to the gentry, but there's no way she'd ever be recognized. She was bigamously married to her cousin and had a longstanding series of affairs [Kandice laughs]. But she's there pushing the Tory cause in the public sphere while Harley then walks in and tries to push it with the Queen.
00:18:20	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	So this episode we've kind of framed it through the lens of Women's History Month, which is obviously during March, and aside from our project's kind of obvious interest in recovering women who were involved in the book trades, who were writers, we're also interested in thinking about works that literally capture women's history.
00:18:41	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	So we have a History genre in the WPHP, but as you've been talking about Manley wasn't writing history, she was writing scandal fiction. And specifically she's known for writing what are called" secret histories", most famously *The*

New Atalantis. So do you want to tell us a little bit about what a *secret* history is and what its relationship is to history itself?

00:19:04 Kate Ozment (guest) That is a great question. The main thing that I start with with my students when we talk about this is that word "history." When you read early prose, fictionalized or not, but something that is least positioning itself to be imaginative literature of some kind, that word "history" pops up quite a bit.

00:19:22 Kate Ozment (guest) For example, Aphra Behn's *Oroonoko* is the history of a royal slave. And so for seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century audiences, that word "history" carries a different connotation than it does for us now. Something more akin, perhaps, to just a story. It didn't have the non-fiction this-is-fact connotation that history has now. So when she's writing a secret history, she is a little bit positioning this as like, "hey, this happened", but also not in a very important way that I'll get to [Kate laughs]. Because if it really happened, she'd be in trouble [Kandice laughs]. So we'll have to talk about libel and slander in just a minute.

00:19:56 Kate Ozment (guest) So secret histories were this fun genre; I say “fun,” because again, I'm here for the drama a hundred percent of the time [Kate and Kandice laugh]. That's how I pick what I teach: did it cause a lot of drama? Yes. It goes in my class [Kandice laughs]. So I love them because they're here for the drama, they're gossip rags. If anybody has seen *Bridgerton*, for example, Lady Whistledown writes these scandal rags that kind of go around and she's notable because she uses the names. So Manley doesn't use the names that way. She only uses pseudonyms and blanks. However—

00:20:31 Kate Moffatt (co-host) However—

00:20:32 Kate Ozment (guest) they printed keys that you could buy [Kate and Kandice laugh], that said, “this is this person.” So it's not *that* revolutionary for Lady Whistledown to use the names because we have so many copies of *The New Atalantis* where people wrote in the names, we have the keys that were published by the publishers and by others who are like, "Hey, this is my version of *The New Atalantis* here's who I think everybody is." And you can buy them as broadsides and sometimes they'll be tucked in or bound into the book itself.

00:20:59	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Wow.
00:21:00	Kate Ozment (guest)	So, secret history. Yeah. They were not that secret.
00:21:03	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	[laughs] “Secret” in big quotation marks.
00:21:07	Kate Ozment (guest)	Yeah. It would be like me saying president T blank [all laugh], you know who I'm talking about.
00:21:14	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	T blank T [all laugh].
00:21:16	Kate Ozment (guest)	Yes. If you're at all enmeshed in this world, you know who I'm talking about. But then it is part of the fun though, is that to fill in the blanks of, like, "oh I know who they're talking about." I feel like there's this intimacy between reader and book with the secret history cause it invites you to write in the names. It invites you to engage in this. And so part of the fun is you get this book and it's slightly coded, but it's coded in a way that it wants you to figure it out.
00:21:40	Kate Ozment (guest)	And so it's this little bit of an engagement, but the codes were important because you needed to have probable deniability that the thing that you were publishing wasn't true [Kate laughs]. For two reasons: one, some of the only cases that ever get legislated in the early eighteenth- century book trade are liable and slander cases. And I never remember which one is written. Libel is written, slander is said.
00:22:03	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	That sounds right [laughs].
00:22:06	Kate Ozment (guest)	Yeah. Libel. That sounds right [Kandice laughs]. Libel and copyright are the only two things that ever get actually legislated. So if you are lying, and somebody can prove it, they'll drag you into court and say, you're lying [Kate and Kandice laugh]. Now, if you're lying about rich people, oh they're definitely going to drag you into court because people actually care about rich people, and she's lying about very—she's not lying—about very rich people. So Manley

actually gets arrested for *The New Atalantis*. And so the secret history is not a genre without risks.

00:22:39	Kate Ozment (guest)	Here's my favourite part though. Here's how she gets off. It's just, it's chef's kiss, like this is how good it is [Kate and Kandice laugh]. She walks in and they say, "Hey, how did you learn all of this? You can't be saying this stuff." And she goes, "Oh, it's a work of fiction." And so as she sits there, the response is if Churchill—let's just say Sarah Churchill, she wasn't the one who arrested her because she's not a cop—but it was implied that the Churchills were the reasons that Manley got arrested. Sarah Churchill will then have to come out and say, "No, that's true" for it to be proven is libel [Kate and Kandice laugh].
00:23:17	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	No, I did do this thing that you said that I did that I don't want to admit to that I'm mad about!
00:23:22	Kate Ozment (guest)	That's exactly the—so her defense is "I didn't use any names. It's fiction. Are you telling me this is true?" And they're like, "No."
00:23:30	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	It's genius!
00:23:37	Kate Ozment (guest)	It's *very* good. That's what really made me fall in love with Manley. I was like, I have to write on you.
00:23:42	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	She's brilliant!
00:23:43	Kate Ozment (guest)	Chef's kiss. There it is. That's the fun part about libel is you have to prove it's true and there's *no way* that Churchills are going to be like, "yeah, I'm secretly sleeping with my brother" [Kate and Kandice laugh]. Not going to happen. I don't think she was, I think that was a metaphor, but I don't know. I didn't live in the early eighteenth century, who knows what they were into.
00:24:02	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Okay. So that actually leads really beautifully into another one of our questions, which is about the people that Manley published with. Most of her secret histories were printed for either J. Woodward or John Morphew or both of them together. So first of all, who were they? But also second of all, given the dangers

		of potentially publishing this genre, how did Manley get involved with them? And was there a particular reason that was something they were willing to do?
00:24:30	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	I would guess it was a financial thing. Like, these are going to do really well. I'll be rich. That's why, but I would love to hear more about this. Because we were both wondering—how did they avoid getting in trouble for publishing these? [laughs]
00:24:46	Kate Ozment (guest)	First answer is they didn't. They were arrested first [laughs].
00:24:49	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Yep. Beautiful.
00:24:50	Kate Ozment (guest)	So when *The New Atalantis* was published, there was two volumes and then there was further volumes that came down the line because it was so popular. When *The New Atalantis* was first published Woodward and Morphew were on the imprint. And so they are what we call trade publishers. And a trade publisher means that they—have you talked about this before on the podcast?
00:25:08	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	We haven't.
00:25:08	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	We have not.
00:25:09	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	Trade publishers are new to us.
00:25:11	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Yeah. They're early. So they're new.
00:25:14	Kate Ozment (guest)	They're early. So here's the problem with early eighteenth= century and late seventeenth century books: they're gigantic liars [Kate and Kandice laugh]. So that's the whole point. They are. They're just like, "this is written by 'made up name' by this imprint," which is not real. And then sold to this guy who doesn't exist [Kate and Kandice laugh]. And you're like, "where did this book come from,"—and then people would literally like "Eliza Haywood did this."

00:25:47	Kate Ozment (guest)	It was implied in a couple of things that she would walk around and just drop off pamphlets at people's houses. And so you had all these networks of mercuries who were distributing things and they could never find out where stuff came from. So the imprints are gigantic lies [Kate laughs]. Sometimes they're excellent jokes, which we can talk about with Edmund Curll [Kate and Kandice laugh]. But imprints are lying. So Woodward and Morphew did have a hand in this.
00:25:57	Kate Ozment (guest)	But usually the imprint implies "I printed it" or "I financed it." Early eighteenth century had three arms of the book trade: so, financing, the labour of printing itself, and then distribution. Distribution is where we get caught up. So Woodward and Morphew, we can think about them as mostly distributors. So if you actually type in “Woodward” and “Morphew” into the *English Short Title Catalogue*, you're going to be shocked at the number of imprints. It's *not possible* that they made that many.
00:26:25	Kate Ozment (guest)	And that's how people started to figure out what a trade publisher was. Another really popular one is Randall Taylor who's in the late seventeenth century, and he distributes some of Behn's works, which is how I found him. So trade publishers—their names are on an insane amount of things. And so we started to figure out they're not actually making all of these. It's not possible. They're distributing them.
00:26:45	Kate Ozment (guest)	So let's say that I'm Manley, I've written a highly libellous piece of work [Kate and Kandice laugh] of *fiction*.
26:54	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Fiction.
26:54	Kate Ozment (guest)	I've written this *fiction*. It's very *fictitious* [Kate and Kandice laugh] Fictive. I don't know, words are hard. I'm Manley. I've written this book. It is a hot potato of a book. I think it's going to make me rich. I'm not wrong. But I know that if it comes back to *me* that my public reputation is probably going to take a hit because no one wants to hang out with the person who's going to write their secret story into a metaphor for money [Kate and Kandice laugh].
00:27:22	Kate Ozment (guest)	And I really don't want the Churchills to come knocking on my door because they're very powerful. And I got this by talking to some of the old mistresses

from the King and I—maybe—I'm just going to be as quiet as possible. So I want to get this out there, but I don't want people to know it was me. So what Manley does is she goes to a trade publisher. So here's where things get cloudy with *The New Atalantis* is we actually don't know who financed it. And that's the riskiest part of this business.

00:27:46 Kate Ozment (guest) If you finance it, you usually owned the copyright in our modern understanding of it. So you would get most of the profits. Manley was not in a good financial place when she broke up with John Tilley. And we know that she started to write and to support herself. So it is possible at this point that she started to work with John Barber who was going to become very important in this story. Or maybe not [Kandice laughs].

00:28:00 Kate Ozment (guest) We know that John Barber was a printer. He was very well respected. He became Alderman of London. So he's part of the rising merchant classes. He buys a seal in livery with his profits from the South Sea speculation. Yeah. He got out before the bubble popped [Kandice laughs]. So he's a decent guy on the rise, if you will. And he's a printer and he's also a financier. And so he does some of his work. He's worked with Woodward and Morphew before.

00:28:33 Kate Ozment (guest) Manley approaches Woodward and Morphew, perhaps, or perhaps she already knew Barber. And they decide to be the ones who are going to distribute this. So, for a fee, they'll put their name on it. They will be the ones who give it to the mercuries, send it out to other booksellers, whatever networks they decide to use. And they're going to be the front name of this publication. So they took a cut basically to obscure ownership. It was used for surreptitious reasons like this. If you didn't want your book to be traced back to you easily, you could use it.

00:29:08 Kate Ozment (guest) It was also used as a tactic because hack writing was really common. And so, they would have people who would write for and against certain arguments all the time to try to get both into print because they were writing to eat. So you would use a publisher. So if I'm, let's say John Barber and I'm for something, I'll publish it under my imprint and then have the trade publishers publish the con and then I'm making money off of both of them, but people don't see me as being two-faced. So there's a lot of reasons you might want to do it.

00:29:36	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Wild.
00:29:36	Kate Ozment (guest)	Yeah. Yeah. There's also the last one I would say is, because they had the networks and so if everybody knows Woodward and Morphew have that kind of thing, they have all the connections, they know the mercuries, they have the boys and the women coming by every day to pick up pamphlets. They give it to them, it'll get out in the entire city within a week. And so that's the kind of very quick thing that they did. Yeah. So they are completely affront for this. So they get arrested first and [Kate and Kandice laugh]—
00:30:03	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Lucky them.
00:30:04	Kate Ozment (guest)	Pretty, yeah—that's so that's the risk that they run, right? They're like, "okay, we're willing to perhaps get arrested for this", but they also get some plausible deniability, which is like, "we didn't pay for it, we're just distributing it." And so they sidestepped it and either gave up Manley and Barber or they just figured it out. It's unclear. But Manley and Barber were arrested two to three days later [Kandice laughs] on a joint arrest warrant. So we're pretty sure Barber was the one financing *The New Atalantis* because it was pretty expensive to put a whole book out there and Manley probably wouldn't have the money.
00:30:38	Kate Ozment (guest)	So Woodward and Morphew are going to be used repeatedly throughout Barber's time. They put out most of Manley's stuff. And they are just that extra aspect of the book trade that I think gets collapsed in the later eighteenth century. And so you mostly have printing and financing and then the financers tend to be called book sellers because they also sell. In the eighteenth and the early eighteenth and late seventeenth centuries, it's not guaranteed that the person whose name is bookseller actually sells the thing. Drives me wild. Bookseller means financier. I hate it [Kandice laughs].
00:31:08	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Okay. And this is slightly unrelated, but I literally just yesterday was doing a bunch of research about Robert Dodsley and it came across that Mary Cooper published his work. So I look for Mary Cooper's imprint, "M. Cooper", in the ESTC, and 2,215 results come up and I'm like, "who was Mary Cooper? What is happening?" [Kandice laughs]. But I think she was a—

00:31:29	Kate Ozment (guest)	trade publisher—
00:31:30	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	a trade publisher, a trade publisher and everything you're describing is now making sense to me. So I find that really interesting. I think that, as we go early, we're going to have a lot of fun trying to sort out our definitions and distinctions.
00:31:43	Kate Ozment (guest)	You are. The other one that's going to come up is the Nutts. N-U-T-Ts. There was one man Nutt and three women Nutts. I never remember all their names, but they're always initials. And the Nutts were bigger than Woodward and Morphew. They were pretty popular, but, like, the Nutts are insane. The accounts from the periods that they had warehouses of things that they would churn through constantly. Yep. Have fun!
00:32:08	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	Looking forward to this data entry!
00:32:11	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	We love it.
00:32:11	Kate Ozment (guest)	All the data!
00:32:12	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Super excited.
00:32:13	Kate Ozment (guest)	They're pretty stable. They don't change addresses very often—
00:32:15	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	oh, that's nice—
00:32:16	Kate Ozment (guest)	so there's that.
00:32:17	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Thank goodness.

00:32:18	Kate Ozment (guest)	Yeah, they have one shop, but the man dies and the wife and his two daughters run it for twenty years. Like a long time.
00:32:26	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	That actually ties in really interesting—you're talking about layers of almost obscurity, trying to hide the trail. And some of the ESTC list, some titles printed for Woodward and Morphew that are attributed to the author of *The New Atalantis* on their title pages. But they were in fact written by John... Arbuthnot?
00:32:45	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	Arbuthnot.
00:32:47	Kate Ozment (guest)	That's the guy [Kate laughs].
00:32:48	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Can you talk about that a little bit? Why were Arbuthnot's writings lumped in with Manleys, why did Manleys end up associated with like—
00:32:56	Kate Ozment (guest)	Yeah. My short answer is Woodward and Morphew didn't much care [Kate and Kandice laugh] what they were printing. Their job is they're the clearing house. Like, "you want us to do that? Got it. Let's go." Sometimes they manage the labour of it too, but other times they would just, they would slap their name on the imprint and sell it. So they probably didn't care that somebody was banking off of Manley's success, which is what was happening was people were banking off of Manley's success. *The New Atalantis* was a smash hit by any definition of the word. I think it went through seven editions in three years, which is—
00:33:30	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	Oh wow—

00:33:30	Kate Ozment (guest)	insane for a book of that size. It's not short. And it was incredibly popular to the point that it gets satirized in Alexander Pope's *The Dunciad* and that's how you know you've made it. If Alexander Popes's a jerk to you in *The Dunciad* [Kate and Kandice laugh], you're good. Edmund Curll , who we definitely have to talk about, because he's in phase three of Manley's life—Edmund Curll tries to publish many, many things based off of *The New Atalantis* And so people try to bank off of this. So anonymous authorship always has the double edged sword. If you can't tie it to an individual person, who is it, anyone can try to be the author of *The New Atalantis* [dog barks]. Sorry.
00:34:09	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Guest speaker on the podcast [laughs].
00:34:12	Kate Ozment (guest)	Yes, that is Marlow. The angry coyote. He is angry that the door is closed [Kate laughs].
00:34:18	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	As he should be.
00:34:21	Kate Ozment (guest)	Yes, he should be. How dare I? Yeah. There was a lot of different people who were trying to capitalize off of it. So if you type in "New Atalantis" with the extra "a" or not, you're going to get a ton of things from about 1708 up to 1725.
00:34:35	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	Okay. On the flip side we did find a 1705 title. So, about four years before *The New Atalantis* was published, called *Queen Zarah and the Zarazians*, which was another satire on the Duchess of Marlborough. And it has been attributed by some to Manley, but by others to Joseph Brown. So can you speak a bit about this book's relationship to *The New Atalantis* and what is going on there with that attribution?
00:35:07	Kate Ozment (guest)	Absolutely. This happens with Eliza Haywood a lot. I will say that I'm a skeptic, which is, I believe I am quoting Patrick Spedding—although I could be wrong here, paraphrasing Patrick Spedding—when I say that attritions are sticky. Once something gets stuck to someone it's really impossible to ever unstick it [Kate and Kandice laugh]. Yeah. It's bad.

00:35:32	Kate Ozment (guest)	So the best example is Aphra Behn and that is because she died in 1689. In 1695 to 1696, again, my favourite year [Kate and Kandice laugh]. It's when everything good happens. Samuel Brisco decides to publish these two collections of novels by the most ingenious Mrs. Behn with new novels, four or five new texts. And so we're supposed to believe that Samuel Brisco has been sitting on five Aphra Behn novels. She never published with him in her life. She was publishing with Richard Bentley when she died and that he's just been sitting on them and just decided to bring them out the same year that Katherine Trotter decides to dramatize *Agnes de Castro*, one of Behn's novels [Kandice laughs].
00:36:15	Kate Ozment (guest)	So that got attributed to Behn and people kind of took that at face value. There's no way! It's impossible [Kate and Kandice laughs]. You wouldn't do that. And so this happens all the time of opportunistic kind of things. And most Behn scholars do not count those last novels as Behn, you're not going to see them included. But if you go online, people say, "Oh, I just read this new Behn novel, it was called this." And she didn't write that.
00:36:38	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	That's not Behn! [laughs]
00:36:41	Kate Ozment (guest)	She didn't write it. And so with Manley, we get some of the same things, but it's less widespread because Manley's name was never out there the same way that Behn's name was. Behn published largely under her name. She only had a couple moments where she didn't. But for Manley, we know that she was a political satirist, we know she was a Tory, and we know that she got started in political satire somehow.
00:37:03	Kate Ozment (guest)	So for a while people thought maybe *Queen Zarah* is one of them. And so when she died in 1724, a couple notices came out about her. She was well known enough, especially as the known mistress of the Town Alderman, and also just a semi-famous writer. That was linked to her in a death notice where a publisher was more or less like, “here's Manley's works.” And they said *Queen Zarah*. That is the only time it has been claimed in the eighteenth century.
00:37:28	Kate Ozment (guest)	And because attributions are sticky that got picked up and repeated [Kandice laughs]. But more recently Manley scholars have said, “we actually have no reason to think she did that other than it's Tory satire.” So that is part of the

		struggle with pseudonymity. It's always just very flexible. And even if you don't do pseudonyms, sometimes you die and Samuel Brisco says, "Oh, you really wrote these eight novels" and you didn't [Kate and Kandice laugh]. He is the worst. I don't like that guy.
00:38:00	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Speaking of speaking of liars, because it turns out there are a lot of them [Kandice laughs] and maybe that's too harsh a term for this, but we can talk about Edmund Curll now, Kate [Kandice laughs], and *The Adventures of Rivella*, which was published in 1714. So the reason I'm bringing this up, and the reason I'm curious, is because *The Adventures of Rivella* claims on its title page, that it's a translation. And it's not. Right? [Kandice laughs] It's an original work by Manley, which confused me a lot as someone who hadn't really encountered Manley yet and was trying to do data entry for Manley.
00:38:35	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	I was like, "She was a translator? Where did it come from? Who wrote it?" And I got very confused, as one does. So I mean, a couple of questions: one, please tell me why she lied about it being a translation [Kandice laughs]. And two, please tell us more about Edmund Curll—
00:38:54	Kate Ozment (guest)	[sighs] Okay—
00:38:55	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	who, it sounds like he was very notorious and Kandice has called him “wily.” And I kind of like that. I want to know why she says he's “wily.”
00:39:01	Kate Ozment (guest)	I would love to tell you that. Before we dip into Curll, I'll tease you a little bit with this before we talk about translations, which is that he was once called “unspeakable” and there's a book called *Unspeakable Curll* from the early twentieth century. Highly recommended [Kate and Kandice laugh].
00:39:13	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	Sounds wild.
00:39:15	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	I'm going to add this to my list. Every episode I have at least one book that gets added to my list.

00:39:20	Kate Ozment (guest)	Yeah. There's a biography of him written which is how you know he's famous. Because how many printers get biographies? Not a lot. And Curll has several. And so Pat Banes—it's Pat Rogers. Banes is the other guy. So Rogers and Banes— if they're both Pats, that would be useful. They write a newer biography of Curll that kind of goes over *Unspeakable Curll* and reconsiders it. And part of what they say in their biography, which I find just kind of charming is they're like, "man, I really hate that book history made this guy a thing again, because he sucks and his books are bad" [Kate and Kandice laugh].
00:39:55	Kate Ozment (guest)	And what they mean is that they're low quality books. He made bad books and he did, the paper's bad, there's typos everywhere, it's set poorly, it's bound poorly [Kate and Kandice laugh]. And it's just like, man, book history and its focus on ephemera, let this guy die! [Kate and Kandice laugh] And we have not. We have not at all. So that is my tease around Curll.
00:40:14	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	It's because we love the drama. That's why.
00:40:15	Kate Ozment (guest)	Yes, we're here for it. Give me the cheap, cheap literature. Gimme the stuff you really wanted to used at toilet paper. I want to read that. I'm in! [Kate and Kandice laugh]Translations! Manley was a gigantic liar. I love this about her. And so what she would do is to try to make all her works look more obscure and ancient than they were. So, *The New Atalantis* was originally written in Italian translated from a third edition of the French. So that's how *The New Atalantis* was positioned [Kate and Kandice laugh].
00:40:42	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Oh wow!
00:40:45	Kate Ozment (guest)	Yeah. And it is a gigantic confangling of "No, really I didn't write this", because Atlantis, right, the ancient land. And so that she's trying to just gesture to all this antiquity and again, obscure, obscure, obscure, obscure, obscure that she just got some really good gossip from some friends from court [Kate and Kandice laugh].
00:41:05	Kate Ozment (guest)	And then when she did *Rivella*, you have to right. Because if the author is fluent in French and Italian and all these other things, of course it's translated. She

doesn't live in England. Don't look around here! Do not go to John Barber's house and see if you can find her. It's fine [Kate and Kandice laugh] Not there. At the same time you're supposed to know it's Manley. So it's always that play of "no, it's not me...yes it is"[Kate and Kandice laugh]. "I called it *The Adventures of Rivella*, you know what's happening, but, big shrug.

00:41:39 Kate Ozment (guest) So that's the bit with the translation. She's always everything she does is like talking out of the side of her mouth, always with a wink. She's never giving you anything at face value, which is why I just love engaging in her story because I know nothing about who she was. I can't tell you anything about Manley other than she was born, she probably had some children. We know she lived at these addresses. That's kind of it. But in terms of what she wants me to know about her, I know so much. I know so much about her version of her life. And I find that very charming. Even if I can't take any of it at face value.

00:42:06 Kate Moffatt (co-host) It's delightful.

00:42:08 Kate Ozment (guest) It's very good. So here's Edmund Curll. My favourite. Oh God, he's such a terrible person [Kandice laughs]. So, Edmund Curll was a notorious pirate. By which I mean he stole things and printed them. He's most well known because he got in some fights with some dead white guys and they were not dead at the time [Kate and Kandice laugh]. But if you get in a fight with Alexander Pope, Alexander Pope is going to write about it.

00:42:37 Kate Ozment (guest) And so this builds this feud that happened in print over twenty years—these two had it out for each other in a way that I kind of want that buddy comedy. At the end, I'm just like, “you guys just need to kiss or something. Cause the passion is just [Kate and Kandice laugh] stark. And I know you hate each other, but is it hate? Is it? They're very passionate about their dislike for each other. And they just go back and forth.

00:43:03 Kate Ozment (guest) So when Pope writes *The Dunciad*, which is this just great satirical look at everything that is eighteenth-century literary culture, again, if you got satirized in *The Dunciad*, you made it [Kate and Kandice laugh]. Curll, gets satirized in *The Dunciad* and Curll then fires back by publishing *The Curlliad* and *The*

Popiad. So he does plays off *The Dunciad* and then Pope gets mad. I might have a things, a couple out of order here, because again, it's twenty years.

00:43:30 Kate Ozment (guest) Pope doesn't like that Curll keeps publishing all his letters [Kate and Kandice laugh]. Because Curll would advertise and be like, "Hey, if Alexander Pope's ever written to you, send me his letters, I'll publish them." And so he would publish unauthorized letters. He would basically go through people's trashes and contact their old mistresses and be like, "Hey, do you have any letters from that guy you dated?" And they'd be like, "yeah, here!"

00:43:51 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Oh my God! [laughs]

00:43:53 Kate Ozment (guest) He's the worst. And so Pope hates him. And so Pope then catfished him for two years by sending him letters, saying "I have Pope's letters." And they would go back and forth of Curll trying to get this guy to give him Pope's letters and negotiating a price. And then Pope kept all of Curll's stuff and then published it like, "look, he's a gigantic liar"—

00:44:14 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Wow!

00:44:15 Kate Ozment (guest) Yeah. And so he publishes this and then says, "Hey, if you want to see the originals, they're at the bookseller's shop." He has his receipts. He's like, "this is what Curll does. He's trash." And then Curll's like, "Hey my shop's now at Pope's head. I sell things under the guise of Edmund Pope's head." They just go back and forth.

00:44:31 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Wow. Incredible [Kandice laughs].

00:44:33 Kate Ozment (guest) It's amazing. And so that's the guy who then gets it in his head that “I need to publish a biography of Delarivier Manley” [Kandice laughs].

00:44:40 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Wow.

00:44:41	Kate Ozment (guest)	So there's a lot of reasons. Yeah. There's a lot of reasons he does that. Right. He just writes unauthorized biographies. The guy who offers to do it is named Charles Gilden. Charles Gilden is the same guy who wrote the quote on quote *Life of Aphra Behn* that was published with those novels of Samuel Briscos.
00:43:59	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Wow.
00:44:00	Kate Ozment (guest)	So Charles Gilden is well known for being the "sure, I'll write that" guy [Kate and Kandice laugh]
00:45:05	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Sure! I'll write that.
00:45:06	Kate Ozment (guest)	"'ll do that. I'll write that." So he's a hack writer. I don't say that as derogatory as some people mean it. He's a hack writer and he is going to do this. So Manley hears about it. And so the story goes, according to the preface of *The Adventures of Rivella*, that Manley hears that this is happening and she gets in her carriage and goes over to Curll's thing and actually sees it in the press.
00:45:30	Kate Ozment (guest)	And then she's like, "No, this isn't no, we're not doing this." And so she sits him down and she sits down with Gilden—and Curll's version of this is they all become friends at the end and basically hug [Kate and Kandice laugh.] I don't think that's how it went down. But she's basically talks them into letting her write it herself instead of Charles Gilden basically publishing a Whig hit piece on her. I think that this was very strategic in several ways.
00:45:58	Kate Ozment (guest)	She reveals a lot of things about herself very strategically because she knows I've been bigamously married and have out of wedlock children. You kinda gotta put that out there yourself or it's going to come out [Kate laughs]. If you meet people and you're like, "Hi, I'm Delarivier Manley. I have bigamously married my cousin and I've out wedlock children," then they can't be like, "Oh my God, I've heard you bigamously married your cousin!" [Kate laughs] because she's like "Yeah I told you that" [Kate and Kandice laugh.]
00:46:22	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	You control it to a certain extent.

00:46:25	Kate Ozment (guest)	Yeah. So she's controlling the narrative here. So she does that a little bit with "Delia's Story" and *The New Atalantis* and then *The Adventures of Rivella* —her hand was forced here. So she decided, "okay, if somebody's going to write a biography of me, I want it to be me." I think Curll went with Manley over Gilden because he could, you can sell that better. If the author actually did it versus a random hit piece, it's just going to sell better. And I think Curll was here for the money.
00:46:50	Kate Ozment (guest)	That's Curll. He's e's not here to make good books [Kate and Kandice laugh]. He's not here to make friends. He was also preparing another edition of *The Adventures of Rivell*a without Manley's leave, because obviously booksellers held the copyrights, not the authors, when she died. And so when he re-released it, he was already preparing it beforehand, so it's not like they were friends now when we're going to get along. But I think for a moment, two people of very malleable moralities were just like, "this is the best way forward" [Kate and Kandice laugh].
00:47:18	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	This will make us both the most money.
00:47:21	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Two liars got together and decided to lie a little bit.
00:47:24	Kate Ozment (guest)	A little bit. Yeah. And so I, I really see that as a moment where I think Curll met his match a little bit. I'm sure it wasn't the only time, but Manley's not scared to just walk over and be like, "No, I'm going to write it" [Kandice laughs]. Everything I know about her says, yeah, that sounds about on brand for you. And when you're not caught up with that danger of women speaking in public, she's been doing it for so long, so much for her life was well known.
00:47:48	Kate Ozment (guest)	She gave up any guise of respectability with the bigamous marriage thing [Kandice laughs], so she was operating in a wider moral circumstance than I think a lot of women in the period were able to do because she *couldn't* be respectable, not in the same way. So if you can't, you can be a little bit more strategic.

00:48:04	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	All right. We've got one final question for you. And it's about kind of what happens to Manley after she dies. So you've already mentioned that Curll was preparing another edition around the time that she died, but there were also kind of, immediately following her death, a couple other of her titles that were reprinted. So *Bath Intrigues*, her *Stage Coach Journey to Exeter*, and, of course, her autobiography *The Adventures of Rivella* under a new title.
00:48:31	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	But after that, only one new edition of *The New Atalantis* came out in 1736 until 1741 when a number of her books, as well as that secret history of *Queen Zarah and the Zarazians*, suddenly began to be reprinted again for about eight or nine years. Do you know what happened in the 1740s? What happened to her reputation immediately after her death, but why would her work suddenly become of interest again?
00:49:01	Kate Ozment (guest)	I think that's a good question. I have a couple hunches. Let me say that. I have not done as much research on what happened in the 1740s, but I do know that she's been a challenge for people for a lot of years. And it is a challenge for me to teach her, despite the fact that I know her pretty well, because it's so enmeshed in the period in which it was written.
00:49:25	Kate Ozment (guest)	How transportable is a Tory satire of the Queen Anne court in Austen's time? Is that something you really want to read? And once you get it, it's funny, but you work pretty hard to get it [Kandice laughs]. So I struggle with teaching her and I suspect that over time, the lack of her reprinting has to do with genre more than anything else.
00:49:49	Kate Ozment (guest)	She was only recovered in the 1970s and 80s—"recovered", feminist literary recovery—because of her writing and prose. So much early Manley scholarship is like, "Wow, she gets close to writing novels, but she doesn't write novels." And so it takes a long time for people to be like," she wasn't trying to write novels." You can't hold her to the same standards of novel writing.
00:50:08	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	Yeah.
00:50:09	Kate Ozment (guest)	Yeah. And so I think that that is probably something why her popularity's been very variable it's because she is really hard to access. Even harder than Swift or

		somebody who also wrote satire. For the 1740s. I would've two guesses. One would be, I would be curious who got the copyright. Oh, John Barber died in 1741. That's why!
00:50:31	Kate Moffatt and Kandice Sharren (co-hosts):	Oh! Oh.
00:50:33	Kate Ozment (guest)	That's it. That's it. So, John Barber died in 1741 and he was Manley's companion for the rest of her life. So they got together around 1709 and she lived in his house until 1724. So he then died in 1741 and two biographies of him came out shortly after. One by—guess who?
00:50:58	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	Edmund Curll [Kate laughs].
00:51:00	Kate Ozment (guest)	Edmund Curll. Our buddy Edmund Curll.
00:51:02	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	Do I get a prize for that?
00:51:04	Kate Ozment (guest)	You might actually [laughs]. If there's a biography of a semi-famous person, odds are, it was Curll. So that's one. And then the other one is the Thomas Cooper version. So in 1741, there's a renewed interest in Manley because of these biographies, both of which talk about her, because she lived with him for 15 years and it was very well known. Jonathan Swift and Joseph Addison also both mentioned Manley and Barber in different parts of their work, so they're kind of a well known literary couple.
00:51:33	Kate Ozment (guest)	And in one biography, the one by Curll, Barber is an asshole, for lack of a better word. He exploits Manley and made hundreds of pounds off of her writing and gave her like £10 in a room to live in and that's it. And he basically exploited her and then cheated on her with her maid near the end of Manley's life.
00:51:53	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Oh.

00:51:53	Kate Ozment (guest)	That is Curll's version. Curll didn't really like Barber [Kandice laughs]. So, take that with what you will. And then the other version is much kinder in which talks about them as in a partnership. And it actually goes out of its way to try to make it less of what it clearly was, which was like a domestic arrangement, and it says that Manley moved into Barbers's house *only* so she could supervise the work of the press, which because Barber was a printer.
00:52:21	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Interesting.
00:52:22	Kate Ozment (guest)	So I love that figure. Yeah. I love that figure of like, "I am so into my work that I'm going to become your roommate so I can watch your pressman work" [Kandice laughs].
00:52:30	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	So I can oversee everything.
00:52:32	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	Make sure you do a good job [Kate laughs].
00:52:36	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Okay. And sorry to slightly deviate—is Thomas Cooper, is that Mary Cooper's husband?
00:52:41	Kate Ozment (guest)	I think so. That's why I was pretty sure.
00:52:44	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	I think so. And then Mary Cooper took over after he died. Okay. Beautiful.
00:52:47	Kate Ozment (guest)	I think so.
00:52:48	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Love it when the network networks [Kandice laughs].
00:52:51	Kate Ozment (guest)	Yeah, I guarantee they were, the Coopers are a long printing family. So the further back you go, you'll find them for a while. So yeah. That's why. So 1740s Barber dies, bios come out, and then people reprint Manley for a bit. And then she really does fall out of fashion for a really long time just because she's hard to

		teach. She's hard to read. I struggle with her stuff and I have heavily footnoted editions. We also don't have good classroom editions of her works. *The Adventures of Rivella* is the only one that's pretty cheap. The complete edition of Manley's works is like $400.
00:53:22	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	What!
00:53:22	Kate Ozment (guest)	They're beautiful. They're wonderfully annotated, but they're Pickering & Chatto, that is the publisher, right? They're super expensive. So there is not an accessible classroom version of Manley. We don't have a bibliography of Manley, which is my lifelong dream, as I really want to do a bibliography of telling of Manley.
00:53:39	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	You absolutely should.
00:53:41	Kate Ozment (guest)	[sighs] Yeah.
00:53:42	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	We'll help.
00:53:44	Kate Ozment (guest)	No, you don't want to do that [Kandice laughs]. Do you know how many fake Manley texts there are? But when somebody finally did that for Eliza Haywood, we discovered really important things. When it said fourth edition, they were lying. It wasn't the fourth edition.
00:53:58	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Right.
00:53:59	Kate Ozment (guest)	So I want to know was there really seven editions of *The New Atalantis*? Have we actually located seven of them? Can we compare them? Were any of them just reissues or were they all new set? These are just important questions that could really tell us about the popularity and the scope of these books. And we just haven't had the time or money to answer them. So that's my dream. I'm going to do that one day.

00:54:19	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	You are fully supported here at the WPHP. We also dream of bibliographies [Kandice laughs].
00:54:25	Kate Ozment (guest)	I know. She wouldn't be as bad as Haywood, because Haywood just published way more. So we're talking maybe twenty works with Manley. So that would only be about twenty years of my life instead of forty [Kate and Kandice laugh]. It's fine. But she is wonderful. She's amazing. She's just very hard to access. I would say as a writer, she is very much a writer of her time, but her time was fascinating and she was awesome.
00:54:25	Kate Ozment (guest)	And I just, I'm here for a good grifter and I feel like Manley knew the hustle [Kandice laughs]. I think she knew exactly what she was doing. And for years she was looked down upon for being a chronic mistress, but you know what that got her in that Virginia Woolf phrasing, it got her literally "a room of her own." She was able to support herself through these domestic partnerships and she didn't die poor. It's just hard for me to judge that or see it as anything other than somebody making do with the best that they could in a situation and an economy and a society where we have really limited women's choices.
00:55:27	🎵	[music playing]
00:55:38	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	As our interview with Kate suggests, the histories of women that we see and encounter can be influenced in many, many different ways, including by the very individuals whose histories we're studying. As Kate mentioned, we don't know many facts about Delarivier Manley's life. Instead, we only know what she's shared in fictionalized narratives of herself. It's enough to make us wonder if Edmund Curll had published a biography of Manley, what kinds of information would we have gotten that Manley didn't share?
00:56:05	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Would we have gotten more facts? Even if those two would be suspect coming from someone like the wily Curll. And, ultimately, would something more factual be more or less valuable to us than the fictionalized stories Manley tells about herself. As editors of the WPHP we are interested in facts, preferably bibliographical ones. We're gathering them about the titles, people, and firms who populate our database everyday.

00:56:32	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	But this episode has brought up an important point, which is that we, too, are historians of a sort when we collect, curate, and create data about women's involvement in print. We, too, are influencing the histories of the women in the database. We're always making choices about how to display data, which data to include, and where to source it. And we're making new decisions around these issues regularly.
00:56:54	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	As briefly mentioned in the interview with Kate, trade publishers are new to the WPHP. We currently have three firm roles: publisher, printer, and bookseller, and we are going to have to have several conversations, if the healthy debate around this script was any indicator, about how we define and identify trade publishers before we start working on our early eighteenth-century titles at a larger scale. We're also going to have to decide if we want to include information about the financers, as Kate called them.
00:57:27	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	Should John Barber appear in the title records for *The New Atalantis*, because he likely financed the work? We're also aware of the fact that the language around the book trades wasn't particularly stable. Definitions changed or shifted all the time. For example, the terms “publisher” and “bookseller” can occasionally mean the same thing or something very similar. We use them based on how firms are listed in imprints. So, “printed for” means a publisher, and “sold by” means a bookseller, but many publishers also sold books and many booksellers also published.
00:58:00	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	And some of these individuals are having their histories recorded for the first time. As we've discussed before on this podcast in Episode 2, “Women in the Imprints”, many of the person records for our women in the book trades, even those who have dozens of titles in the WPHP like Dublin-based printer, Alice Riley, remain largely empty—their histories currently lost and their inclusion in our database even more vital for capturing them before they're forgotten entirely. And for perhaps enabling a future fuller recovery.
00:58:28	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	As we wrap up Season 1 of *The WPHP Monthly Mercury* during Women's History Month, we're thinking a lot about how the podcast episodes have become, in themselves, little histories, sharing the stories behind the facts, bringing the data we've collected and curated and occasionally created, to life. We have a responsibility to *not* be an Edmund Curll or even a Delarivier Manley,

		but to consider and honour the celebrated Catherine McAuley's and the austere Jane Austens alongside the grifter Delarivier Manleys and the forgotten Alice Rileys.
00:58:58	🎵	[music playing]
00:59:08	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	Has been the tenth and final episode of Season 1 of *The WPHP Monthly Mercur*y. We will be returning with Season 2 on June 16, 2021, although you might see a little something more from us before then to tide you over. If you're interested in learning more about what we discussed today, we've made a list of suggestions for further reading and links to some relevant entries in the WPHP in a blog post that you can find at womensprinthistoryproject.com.
00:59:38	🎵	[music playing]
00:59:46	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	[outtakes] That was *so* good. I also am suddenly in love with Delarivier Manley. It's really unfortunate to be in love with someone who's been dead for 300 years.