



The Women's Print History Project

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

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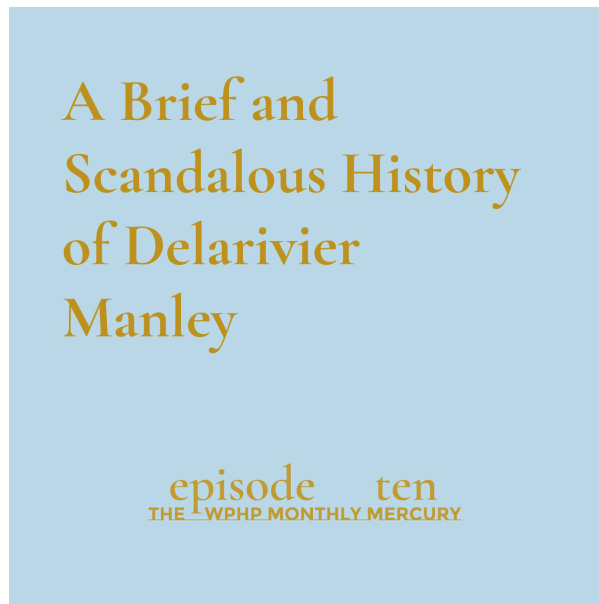
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A Brief and Scandalous History of Delarivier Manley (feat. Kate Ozment)

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](#).

Guest

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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Female Biography (title)
Charke, Charlotte (person, author)
The New Atalantis (title)
The Adventures of Rivella (title)
Behn, Aphra (person, author)
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Edmund Curll (firm)
John Morphew (firm)
James Woodward (firm)
Mary Cooper (firm)

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Further Reading

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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 <i>The WPHP Monthly Mercury</i> . 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 <i>The WPHP Monthly Mercury</i> , the podcast for <i>The Women's Print History Project</i> . 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 <i>The Women's Print History Project</i> , 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 <i>History of England</i> 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 <i>Monthly Review's</i> 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 <i>The Favourite</i> because Robert Harley is her patron in this period. And Robert Harley in <i>The Favourite</i> 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 <i>ever</i> 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 <i>The New Atalantis</i> . So do you want to tell us a little bit about what a <i>secret</i> 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 <i>Oroonoko</i> 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 <i>Bridgerton</i> , 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 <i>that</i> 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 Morpew before.
00:28:33	Kate Ozment (guest)	Manley approaches Woodward and Morpew, 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 Morpew 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 Morpew 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 financiers 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 Morpew. 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 Pope'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 use as 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) "I'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 Rivella* 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 financiers, 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 <i>The WPHP Monthly Mercury</i> . 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 <i>so</i> 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.