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Autor: Kukorelly, Erzsi
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ERZSI KUKORELLY
UNIVERSITY OF GENEVA

Authorial Afterlives in Women's Conduct: Eliza Haywood's *The Wife* and Edward Bysshe's *Art of English Poetry*¹

In her conduct book, *The Wife* (1756), Eliza Haywood uses numerous quotations in order to bring substance and authority to her advice for married women. Haywood's quotations can be traced to Edward Bysshe's *Art of English Poetry* (1702) and its companion piece, *The British Parnassus* (1714), works that commonplacéd authors and texts that had enjoyed success in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century book trade. I argue that commonplace books helped to promote the authors whose works they contained and that Haywood used *sententiae* both to augment the authority of her pseudonym, Mira, as an author of advice literature and to align herself with (emerging) canonical authors, thereby promoting her own authorial legacy. I also suggest that the use of quotations in Haywood's conduct book gave the lines and their authors multifarious afterlives in the lived existences of her readers.

Keywords: Eliza Haywood, Edward Bysshe, women's conduct books, John Dryden, commonplace books.

This paper traces the afterlives of influential authors, mainly of the Restoration period, through an early eighteenth-century poetry manual-cum-printed commonplace book, to a midcentury conduct book for women. The commonplace book is Edward Bysshe's *Art of English Poetry* (1702), and the conduct book is Eliza Haywood's *The Wife* (1756).² I will suggest that Haywood used quotations found in Bysshe's compendium to bring

¹ My thanks to the Swiss National Science Foundation for funding the research for this article.

² Bysshe's dates are unknown. The *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (*ONDB*) gives his dates of activity as 1702-1714. Haywood's dates are better known, but the *ODNB* only gives an estimate for her birth year, 1693. She died in 1756.

substance to the conduct advice found in her text and to augment her own writerly authority. Indeed, the *sententiae* are directly linked to the advice she provides as she tells readers how to integrate the sentiment and the author's words in their lives. It may thus be argued that, in addition to their textual reproduction in Bysshe and Haywood, the commonplace authors and their words enjoyed afterlives in the lived existences of Haywood's readers.

Haywood's *The Wife* is the culmination of a multi-stage process of textual mediation. First, authors write texts, which are published and sold by stationers. Second, the text is selected by a compiler and included in a printed commonplace book, an act of cultural transmission where the words of an author are given prominence and life beyond the confines of a printed oeuvre, and are curated through selection and organisation under thematic headings. Since Bysshe attributes the quotations in his collection, giving "a full authorial list [...] on the title-page reverse," his collection "moves in the direction of being an anthology of authors rather than of excerpts," and the cultural valuation participates in a process of canonisation (Terry 180, 222). Third, Haywood selects from Bysshe quotations and authors that she feels will best promote the conduct precepts contained in her text and, in doing so, furthers her own authority as a writer: locally, she fashions Mira's conduct-book voice as one to be trusted, and more generally, she promotes her own legacy. The fact that *The Wife* makes the title-page claim to be written by "Mira, one of the authors of the *Female Spectator*," shows that this voice and this legacy are part of an ongoing project of authorial self-fashioning. Finally, the reader of Haywood's conduct text receives the quotations, and decides whether to apply them to their life. At each stage of these successive acts of reading and retaining, there is an exchange: the agent who selects the text – Bysshe, Haywood, her reader – gains legitimacy and prestige, and the text and its author are promoted and preserved for posterity.

The goal of commonplacing since its earliest humanist days was to provide quotations to enhance rhetorical efficiency, as well as to offer moral *sententiae* whereby to achieve self-improvement (Erne and Singh xi–xii). The organisation of commonplace books was intended to provide users with a way in which to easily access excerpts according to thematic concerns. In *De Ratione Studii* (1511), Desiderius Erasmus advised teachers to ensure that a student "should first provide himself with places and clearly defined sections and systematic procedures, so that whenever he lights on anything worth noting down, he may write it in the appropriate section" (qtd in Moss 103). If such work was intended to be performed by

those who would be using the books, Ann Moss remarks that “it is easy to see how a market might open up in printed preselections of excerpts” (104). Many studies of eighteenth-century poetry collections place *The Art of English Poetry* together with publications that are entitled “miscellanies” (see Carly Watson and Barbara M. Benedict). The *Digital Miscellanies Index*, a relational database that combines c.1470 “poetic miscellanies, taken from the period 1700-1780,” defines a miscellany as “a bound volume containing a significant proportion of verse by three or more people”; Bysshe’s collection clearly belongs in this category, with its thousands of extracts and hundreds of authors and thematic headings. While studies of miscellanies have tended to focus on how such collections canonised authors (Williams and Batt 3; Benedict 35; Watson 13), my focus in this essay is more specifically on the way in which Bysshe’s collection provided writers such as Haywood with a source of thematically organised extracts with which to bring depth to their writing, thereby amplifying their own cultural capital.

1 *Sententiae* and Haywood’s Conduct Aims

Haywood was a prolific author who wrote in many genres: novels and novellas, plays, satires and fairy tales, hybrid amalgamations such as *The Tea Table* (1725) and *Epistles for the Ladies* (1748-50), periodicals, and conduct books. *The Wife* was Haywood’s second conduct book; her first, *A Present for a Servant Maid; or, the Sure Means of Gaining Love and Esteem*, appeared in 1743. *The Wife* was published in 1756, as was its companion piece, *The Husband*. It advocates the range of female attitudes usually found in eighteenth-century conduct books for women, such as wifely obedience and eschewal of public entertainments in favour of devotion to the domestic sphere.³ Haywood uses a number of strategies to promote docility to her precepts, each of which tends to construct her authority as a reliable purveyor of conduct advice. These include giving examples to which she has been a witness, invoking the authority of narrative causality in anecdotes and, as demonstrated in this essay, summoning authoritative outside sources.

³ See, for example, Soile Ylivuori, *Women and Politeness in Eighteenth-Century England: Bodies, Identities and Power*, especially pp. 55–62. Nancy Armstrong’s *Desire and Domestic Fiction* remains a key text on the tenets of conduct discourse for women in the eighteenth century.

Haywood's use of *sententiae* and her promotion of the words of earlier writers enabled her to fashion herself as an author. Kathryn King has suggested that in the last years of her career, Haywood wrote with an "eye on her legacy" (187–188, 200). Mira, the persona Haywood adopts in *The Wife*, is a "model wife" who had been the main contributor to the *Female Spectator* (1744–1746) and appeared in *Epistles for the Ladies* (King 192). This eidolon was "invested with considerable moral authority" and spoke in "the voice of enlightened conduct book female morality" (192). Haywood invokes outside sources very regularly – thirty-one of the forty-one sections of her conduct book contain such references – and in doing so, aligns her authorial voice with those of celebrated writers like John Dryden, who had occupied the post of Poet Laureate from 1668 to 1689. Outside authority is brought in by paraphrase, allusion, or by quotations, often typographically set off from the surrounding text. She regularly names the authors she refers to, as when she says that rumour is "beautifully described by Mr. Dryden" (73), or else gives them a professional appellation: Abraham Cowley is "this great poet" (94–95) and Dryden "a late great author" (76). Sometimes, rather than referring to a writer, she cites the title of a text: "Among the comedies, I am pretty sure the *Careless Husband*, and *Journey to London* [full title of the latter is *The Provoked Husband*, both by Colley Cibber], have not been so often acted without making some proselytes both of husbands and wives" (41). The effect is to establish her citations within overtly literary settings so that, as a result, she comes across as an author with deep knowledge of recent literature and the capacity to parse it in a useful manner for her own readers.

Haywood's stated motivation in writing *The Wife* was to reform marital relations and the inclusion of quotations from outside sources resonates with this goal. She describes marriage as "the choicest blessing Heaven could bestow on mortals" (11). In order to promote its harmony, she has "thrown together some few hints, which if improved into practice [...] cannot fail of restoring to marriage [...] true honour and felicity" (12). The quotations that she introduces have a part to play in this restoration. Often, she orients the outside source towards reader's lives, suggesting that readers internalize the disposition they find there. It could be a question of remembering: one instruction "ought to be engrav'd in the mind of every woman" (26), another should be kept "in perpetual remembrance" by "every married woman" (104); Haywood even goes so far as to say: "I would fain perswade every woman to keep always in her mind this saying of the poet" (66). These are strong, totalising injunctions.

Sometimes, readers are encouraged to incorporate, and even to embody, the sentiments that the poets provide: a reader would “do well to repeat often within herself [a] just and pathetic maxim” (105) and women are advised “to take this lesson from the mouth of Lavinia in the *Fair Penitent*” (41). Again, modelling herself closely upon a theatrical character, a woman might “cry out with Jane Shore in the play” (127). The words of the authors, in an act of literary consumption, are metaphysically mingled with the reader’s sense of self. The conduct book proposes that these words circulate from text to individual, then within the individual, and finally outside the individual, as she repeats them aloud. (And these words have already circulated: from the author’s text to Bysshe’s compendium and on to Haywood’s conduct book.) The stages of mediation and cognitive adoption are numerous. The reader reads the words on the surface of the page, repeats them as if probing their spectral materiality with their tongue, and commits them to memory. Once readers have made the words sufficiently their own they might pronounce them aloud, even “cry [them] out” (127), and enact them in the form of good conduct. If we assume that readers of the conduct book “improve[...] into practice” what they find there, and we accept that this was effective and acted upon, we can say that the authors that Haywood cites have an *afterlife*, in the lives of her readers.

2 *Sententiae* and Authorial Afterlives

Haywood’s citations also offer insight into the reception history of the authors, genres and titles she cites. Of the sixty quotations, paraphrases and allusions in the text,⁴ the most referenced author by a long way is Dryden, with nineteen quotations and paraphrases. The next most popular is Cowley with four, then Samuel Butler, Nicholas Rowe, William Shakespeare, and Charles Sedley with three each. Edmund Waller and Alexander Pope have two, as have Cibber and John Vanbrugh writing together. Cibber (writing alone), Aesop (likely Roger L’Estrange’s translation, 1692), Joseph Addison, Charles Johnson, Nathaniel Lee, Richard Steele, Samuel Garth, Thomas Otway, John Milton, Robin Godwin, Bernard le Bouyer de Fontenelle, Edmond Hoyle, and the Bible are each cited

⁴ I am grateful to the editors of Haywood’s *Selected Works*, Set I, Volume 3, Alexander Pettit and Margo Collins, for their careful identification of most of Haywood’s quotations, paraphrases and allusions. There are six references unidentified by Haywood that scholars have yet to attribute.

once. Of the named or implied authors, Dryden again leads by a long way (31%).⁵ Of the Dryden references, eight are from his heroic play, *Aureng Zebe*, three are from his translation of Virgil's *Aeneid*, two come from *The Conquest of Granada*, and one each are taken from *The Indian Emperor*, *All for Love*, *The Tempest* (with Davenant), *Secret Love*, *Amphytrion*, and *Religio Laici*. The only other text apart from *Aureng Zebe* and the *Aeneid* that is referenced more than twice is Butler's hugely popular poem *Hudibras*. Thus, Haywood and Bysshe's use of Dryden suggests that his works remained topical in the first half of the eighteenth century, and Haywood's appropriation of them implies that they were deemed to have didactic value.

Clearly, these texts were readily available to Bysshe and this availability was linked to Dryden's print popularity. At the turn of the eighteenth century, *Aureng Zebe* had already been published in five single-play editions as well as in collected editions of Dryden's works.⁶ The *Aeneid* was included in a prestigious edition of classical translation, *The Works of Virgil: containing his Pastorals Georgics, and Aeneis. Translated into English Verse; by Mr. Dryden. Adorn'd with a hundred sculptures*, in folio, published by Tonson in 1697. Dryden's career as a dramatist was declining by the 1690s, but his collaboration with Tonson to produce translations of classical verse proved lucrative for both men and established them as producers of *belles lettres* (Frost 199). It is thus not surprising that Bysshe included many quotations from the dramatist's work in his collection.

In Bysshe's collection, tragedy (including heroic tragedy), a genre traditionally associated with didacticism, is the most frequently cited dramatic mode.⁷ Restoration dramatists, in particular Dryden, continued a Europe-wide discussion about the function of tragedy, based on successive interpretations of Aristotle's *Poetics*.⁸ Catharsis developed "ethical habits of feeling" as well as supplying a psychic equivalent to medical purgation (Hoxby 63). Daniel Heinsius, in his *De constitutione tragoediae*

⁵ Haywood makes four misattributions: one quotation identified as Pope is in fact by Dryden, one identified as Aphra Behn is again by Dryden, one identified as Dryden is by Sedley, and one identified as seventeenth-century historian John Selden is in fact by Sedley.

⁶ On Dryden's print history, see MacDonald.

⁷ Epic and mock epic are the most quoted poetic genres. The prose texts, the least cited form, are harder to categorise according to genre, but include fiction (romance and fable) and non-fiction texts (card-playing instruction, scientific literature and the Bible).

⁸ See Hoxby, chapter two.

(1611), felt that the genre “was committed to the art of living well” (Hoxby 65); Heinsius may have been read by René Rapin, as well as his contemporary, Jean Racine (Nagamori 432). Dryden read and expanded on Rapin’s *Reflections on Aristotle’s Treatise of Poesie* (1674) in his “Heads of an Answer to Rymer’s Remarks on the Tragedies of the Last Age,” reiterating and updating the humanist conversation around Aristotle, which he had already done in his *Essay of Dramatick Poesie* (1668).⁹ With his theory of poetic justice, Thomas Rymer articulated the belief that drama must restore morality through plot. As the seventeenth century gave way to the eighteenth, the purview of tragedy became more domestic and more affective, as it moved from the realm of purely public concerns to one in which the private affairs of public people became central to the unfolding of tragic stories (Wheatley 78). These topics and genres, which increasingly featured distressed female protagonists and which centred on marriage and money, were germane to Haywood’s interests in *The Wife*.

Dryden stressed language and style as vectors of the instructive valency of tragedy. Aristotle did not give much importance to this aspect of the genre (Hoxby 84), but Dryden, following Rapin, found it to be of central consequence. This emphasis on language may help to explain why Bysse commonplacated tragedy, and Dryden’s tragedy in particular, more than other genres:

Rapin attributes more to the *Dictio*, that is, to the Words and Discourse of a Tragedy, than *Aristotle* has done, who places them in the last Rank of Beauties [...] Rapin’s Words are remarkable:— ‘It is not the admirable Intrigue, the surprising Events, and extraordinary Incidents, that make the Beauty of a Tragedy; it is the Discourses, when they are Natural and Passionate.’ (“Heads of an Answer to Rymer” 192–193)

Thus, the effect of tragedy, although still a question of plot, was equally refined into style and expression and, if the positive effect of tragedy was carried by its language, it could be isolated from plot and structure and reduced to brief extracts. This resonates with the thinking of Bysse when he compiled his collection. In the preface to *The Art of English Poetry*, he expresses a desire to provide readers with more than “tedious Bead-rolls

⁹ Rapin’s treatise was translated into English in 1674, the same year it first appeared in French, and was published by Henry Herringman, Dryden’s publisher at the time. The *Heads* were “notes written by Dryden in his copy of Rymer’s *The Tragedies of the Last Age*,” not published until 1711 (Hume n373).

of Synonymes and Epithets” because when they “stand alone, they appear bald, insipid and uncouth” (A3r). However, he also feels that readers will be more pleased with thoughts and expressions divorced from their larger context: “here is no Thread of Story, nor Connexion of one Part with another” (A2v). Thus, Bysshe curates his snippets as somewhere in between: no longer part of a plot, but long enough to embody thematic and instructive content, which may well be linked to contemporary thinking about the didactic value of the language of tragedies.

3 Haywood and Bysshe's *Art of English Poetry*

At first glance one could be forgiven for thinking that Haywood had identified the *sententiae* herself but, as mentioned above, she was in fact reliant on Bysshe's *Art of English Poetry* and other related titles produced by Bysshe. Indeed, Haywood's use of Bysshe is suggestive of the ways in which authors used such sources. There are forty-two identified quotations included in *The Wife*, of which thirty-six are taken from Bysshe's compendia (86%).¹⁰ Critics have shown that Haywood also used Bysshe's compilation elsewhere, for example, in “Textual Reuse in the Eighteenth Century: Mining Eliza Haywood's Quotations,” Douglas Duhaime identifies intertextualities in *The History of Betsy Thoughtless*, which he locates in *The Art of English Poetry*. In her edition of Haywood's *The Invisible Spy*, Carole Stewart identifies *The Art of English Poetry* as the likely source of many literary quotations contained in the novel (469).¹¹ Duhaime claims that “previously unsourced quotations from across the Haywood corpus contain material found in Bysshe's work, which suggests Haywood's reading may not have been as voluminous as her writing once made it appear” (par. 27). If her reading was not as extensive as her practice of quotation might suggest, the practice itself, I would argue, both testifies to her authorial self-fashioning as one who had the literature of the recent past at her fingertips, and provides insight into the use and appeal of collections such as Bysshe's.

¹⁰ Of the forty-six total quotations, four remain unidentified; Haywood indicates that one of them is by a friend (36), and one is from an unperformed play (74). It might be that Haywood wrote these herself, as King suggests might be the case for verse that has not been identified in *Epistles for the Ladies* (198).

¹¹ King also refers to Bysshe in passing in “The Pious Mrs. Haywood,” and her note indicates that Norbert Schürer has unpublished research on similar findings in *The Female Spectator* (198).

The Art of English Poetry is split into three parts, reflecting its function as a handbook for poets: “Rules for making English verse,” a manual for versification; a rhyming dictionary; and finally, the commonplace section, containing the “Most Natural, Agreeable, & Noble Thoughts” of English authors arranged alphabetically under subject headings. There are two studies of Bysshe’s poetry manuals (by Dwight Culler [1948] and Stephen Jarrod Bernard [2012]) which both situate Bysshe within the history of English versification aids and printed commonplace books. Bernard additionally discusses the way in which we can adduce Bysshe’s reading practices from his commonplacing and suggests that Bysshe promotes the use of his collection as an adjunct in writerly creativity (125). While Haywood used the collection to augment her legitimacy as a cultural actor, she also used it to expand her creative discussion of conduct themes.

Bysshe’s collection was a substantial and popular text, which grew over time and would have been readily available from bookshops across London. The second edition (1705) saw the addition of 671 new passages, or nearly half again of the original number, and the third edition (1708) included a further 394 passages. This was maintained in the fourth edition (1710); and a further 176 quotations were added in the fifth edition (1714), by which point there were nearly 2700 quotations, arrayed under approximately five hundred themes (Culler 867). Bysshe also wrote a continuation of *The Art of English Poetry*, *The British Parnassus*, published in 1714, which was re-issued as volumes three and four of the *Art of English Poetry* in the sixth edition of 1718.¹² The seventh edition was published in 1724/25, with three different imprints, and the eighth in 1737 with two imprints. As Bernard notes, the plethora of booksellers involved in each reissue after 1718 indicates that the title was popular enough for “booksellers to want to acquire [...] a share in it,” and that it was “distributed by an increasing number of booksellers throughout the first seven decades of the century” (117). Thus, *The Art of English Poetry* went through eight editions, which suggests that there was significant demand for the commonplace book that Haywood utilised when producing *The Wife*.

¹² Volumes one and two were not, however, a reissue of the 1714 edition. Of the thirty-six quotations used in *The Wife* that Haywood sourced from Bysshe’s compendia, four are from *British Parnassus: Othello* (1622) Pope *Essay on Criticism* (1711), Rowe, *Fair Penitent* (1703), *Essay on Criticism* (1711), and Rowe, *Jane Shore* (1714), thus suggesting that Haywood was working with both of Bysshe’s titles.

If we look at the breakdown of authors in Bysse's *Art of English Poetry*, there are striking similarities with Haywood, thus suggesting that her choice was not only shaped by personal preference, but also by Bysse's curation of authors in his collection. Of a total of 2693 quotations in the final form, we get the following: Dryden 1202, Pope 155, Cowley 143, Butler, 140, Otway 127, Blackmore 125, Shakespeare 118, Milton 117, Rowe 116, Lee 104, Garth 59, Waller 44, plus quotes from "a number of minor Restoration poets" (Culler 868). Dryden is again top (39% of the quotations in Haywood and 44% in Bysse) and the next most cited authors after Pope are again Cowley and Butler. Haywood had a contentious relationship with Pope; her demotion of Pope as a source in *The Wife*, despite his prominence in Bysse, might be seen as an oblique way of getting back at him. In her biography of Haywood in the *Selected Works*, Christine Blouch analyses Pope's insulting treatment of Haywood in *The Dunciad*, where she is the prize in a pissing contest.¹³ There are thus parallels between Haywood's choice of outside authorities in *The Wife* and Bysse's choices for inclusion in his *Art of English Poetry* and *British Parnassus*. This fact arguably attests to the role printed literary commonplace books played in the continued popularity of authors who had enjoyed success in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century book trade, whilst Pope's conspicuously rare appearance in Haywood's text suggests that she was not willing to put aside personal rivalries in order to blindly replicate Bysse's choice of authors.

4 Using Bysse's Collections

Haywood's reliance on Bysse was not exceptional and modern critics are wrong to take a negative view of writers who used commonplace books. In her use of Bysse's titles to find literary sources for her conduct book, Haywood was following in the footsteps of Samuel Richardson, who drew on Bysse when writing *Clarissa* (1747-8). Of one hundred and three quotations that Angus Ross counts in Richardson's novel, sixty-nine

¹³ Blouch notes that Haywood did not particularly retaliate, even when given a chance by participating in *The Female Dunciad* (1728), where her contribution did not attack Pope with much vigour (xlvi). The damage was not just to Haywood, but also to her work, which became defined as that of a "dunce author" (xlvi, xlvi). In *The Dunciad*, Pope may have harmed her reputation, but his mockery did not impact the commercial success of her works (xlvi, li).

(66%) are taken from Bysshe (Domingo 942). Some critics have denigrated Richardson for using the collection to source quotations for his masterpiece, implying that he was a paltry reader with little first-hand knowledge of literature, as if use of a compilation made him a less impressive writer.¹⁴ Michael E. Connaughton is particularly scathing, as he speaks about Richardson's "groping effort to depict literary sophistication superior to his own" (185), but this judgmental insinuation misses the point somewhat. Like Leah Price, I would suggest that we consider Bysshe's "poetic toolbox" as "a source in its own right" (41, 40) and recognize both the text's commercial appeal and the fact that Haywood and Richardson used these resources correctly.¹⁵ The fact that Haywood and Richardson used a common method, and probably the same title, to find appropriate quotations to enhance their writing speaks volumes about the role commonplace books, and Bysshe's in particular, played in shaping the afterlives of authors in the first half of the eighteenth century. Bysshe's poetry compilations provided professional writers with a common repository of recent literary matter.

At the same time, there are key differences between Richardson's and Haywood's use of Bysshe. In particular, there is a contrast between how the two authors orient the quotations to the instructive stance of their writing. The conduct book has a single voice, that of the opinionated and authoritative purveyor of conduct advice. Mira often uses the quotations to bring support to her authority and advice, and if she does not approve of the outside voice, she makes sure her readers know about it. Haywood seems to have thought that the literature of the Restoration, and Dryden's works in particular, contained ideas that readers could adapt to their own situations; they just needed channeling by a diligent conduct-book writer.

By contrast, *Clarissa*, an epistolary novel, contains many narrative voices, ranging from the virtuous Clarissa to the villainous Lovelace, via Belford and Anna Howe whose reformations we witness over the course of the novel. All these characters use passages taken from Bysshe and the

¹⁴ In their biography, Duncan Eaves and Ben Kimpel note that one "cannot altogether rely on quotations in his novels as implying first-hand acquaintance" as many quotations "in *Clarissa* are to be found in Bysshe's *Art of English Poetry*" (572). Alan McKillop writes: "To be sure, the numerous quotations in *Clarissa* [...] may seem less impressive and significant when we find that almost all of them appear in well-known eighteenth-century collections," including Bysshe's (141).

¹⁵ Culler suggests that most poets of the eighteenth century consulted Bysshe from time to time, but it was "the sort of book one consults surreptitiously, and keeps locked in a drawer when not in use" (864).

quotations are variously oriented to the novel's overall moral thrust. As the novels were unwieldy and polyvocal, and *Clarissa* especially open to misinterpretation, Richardson may have felt that readers needed to be guided by a more functional book which oriented novels towards their proper use, personal reform. He accordingly published his own commonplace book based on his own work: *A Collection of the Moral and Instructive Sentiments, Maxims, Cautions and Reflexions, Contained in the Histories of Pamela, Clarissa and Sir Charles Grandison* (1755), a compendium that is structurally similar to the quotations section of *The Art of English Poetry* as it arranges passages from the novels under thematic headings. At the end of his career, Richardson tried to model his authorial legacy, attempting to punch down the considerable energy and vital narrative indeterminacy of his novels to a strict conduct function. The purpose and appeal of commonplace books to writers such as Richardson and Haywood was to find citations appropriate to their local purposes, and the structure of commonplace books, with their thematic headings, enabled them to do so efficiently.

As to Haywood, it is possible to make some deductions about her use of Bysshe by looking at how she integrates the quotations into her prose. Sometimes the quotations are in the middle or at the end of a bit of advice, for example in the section "The great advantages of Sincerity, both to ourselves and others" (49–50). Having described how a man of a suspicious nature might grow to mistrust his wife if he finds that she has not told him "every little step she takes" (49), Haywood states that such a man might "cry out in the words of Mr Dryden: 'Ah! why are not the hearts of women shown'" (50). Here, the lines of verse bring depth of emotion to Haywood's exposition of marital life. When she advises women to refuse the flattery of men, she ends the paragraph with an injunction to the reader to "repeat often within herself" a quotation from Dryden that exposes how flattery can lead to sexual conquest (105). She concludes the section regarding "The great merit of Secrecy, especially in every thing that concerns a Husband" with a Dryden quotation that sums up its thrust: "Secrets of marriage should be sacred held, / Their sweet and bitter by the wise concealed" (76). In the second and third example, the quotations are taken respectively from "Woman" and "Husband and Wife" headings in Bysshe, which are the ones Haywood most commonly used. The first is taken from "Jealousie" in Bysshe, a logical place to look, given the context in *The Wife*. Sometimes, rather than use the quotation to illustrate a matter of advice, the advice seems to be inspired by the quotation, as when she quotes Dryden on how "Men are but children of a

larger growth”; indeed, in this case, the paragraph consists of a brief tag, “Excellently has that great judge of human nature, Mr. Dryden, express’d his sentiments on this occasion,” and eight lines from *All for Love* (65). Most of the quotations, however, are used to illustrate and bring depth to the advice.

The most playful section of Haywood’s conduct book, “On being over-fond of Animals,” contains an anecdote—probably invented by Haywood—that looks to have been inspired by what she found in Bysshe under the heading “Snake.” The section ends with a startling story of a woman Mira found at home “with a huge snake twisted round her neck, and sucking bread and sugar’d milk out of her mouth” (99). This scene “put[s her] in mind” of Edmund Waller’s “To a Fair Lady Playing with a Snake,” a poem commonplacéd in Bysshe. Haywood / Mira does not quote all of what is given in Bysshe, nor does Bysshe himself quote the whole of Waller’s short poem, but Haywood’s description is nonetheless reminiscent of the section that Bysshe includes, in which Chloris eschews love in favour of “play[ing] with Snakes” (*AEP* 2: 434). The phallic implications of the snake, its position in close proximity to the lady’s bosom, together with the lactational image of the snake “sucking [...] milk” from her, bring the poem’s saucy tenor into the conduct book. In this section of *The Wife*, Haywood also describes a woman whose tiny dog, Cupid, has fouled her pocket (98), another who sleeps with her “harlequin bitch” – which drives her husband to sleep with the chamber-maid (97) – and yet another who “keeps a frog in her dining-room, and has every day fresh wads of grass brought in for it to hop upon” (99). These anecdotes purport to be taken from Mira’s encounters among society people and have no counterpart in Bysshe. Thus, Haywood did not simply mine passages from under Bysshe’s subheadings as and when needed, but also used him as inspiration for her own colourful examples, all with the aim of engaging and entertaining her audience.

The goals of commonplacéd, as they were elaborated in the early Renaissance, aimed to provide pithy quotations to supplement rhetorical efficiency and sententious sentiments by which to lead one’s life. Haywood certainly cleaves to this dual function in her use of Bysshe: she brings to her conduct advice the support of the literary greats of the recent past and exhorts her readers to incorporate and embody specific authors’ words. Her use of *sententiae* suggests that Dryden et al. were not simply popular and worthy of citation in literary contexts, but also provided sentiments by which to lead one’s life. In so doing, Haywood further enhances their reputations and adds to her own authority, both as a know-

ledgeable arbiter of literary matter, and as a dependable dispenser of conduct advice. Furthermore, in their practice of inserting quotations from Bysse into their prose works, Haywood and other writers shed light on the role printed literary commonplace books with their handy thematic headings played in the continued promotion of authors who had enjoyed print success by the mid-eighteenth century. Whether or not her readers took their “lesson[s] from the mouth of Lavinia in the *Fair Penitent*” or “cr[ie]d out with Jane Shore in the play,” reading of them in Haywood’s text certainly kept such literary references not only in view, but potentially relevant in the daily lives of eighteenth-century readers (Haywood, *The Wife* 41, 127).

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