

**Eliza Haywood and Her Rebellious Pen in Early Modern England**

by

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## Abstract

The eighteenth century was a time of change. Among the changes were the emergence of the novel and the establishment of the professional woman writer. This thesis examines the life and work of Eliza Fowler Haywood, who, until recently has remained obscure. Haywood is one of the most prolific and enigmatic writers of the eighteenth century with a career that spans more than forty years. Until recently, George Whicher's 1915 biography, *The Life and Romances of Mrs. Eliza Haywood* has been the primary source of information pertaining to Haywood's life. The first chapter of this study focuses on the most recent biography written in 1991 by Christine Blouch entitled, *Eliza Haywood and the Romance of Obscurity*. Chapter two examines *The British Recluse*, one of Haywood's early novels, to demonstrate her insight into women's issues and her defiance of the patriarchal society in which she emerged. Later in Haywood's literary career a moralistic and conventional heroine emerges. Chapter three will focus on *The History of Jemmy and Jenny Jessamy*, a later novel, to demonstrate Haywood's evolution as a novelist.

## Introduction

Eliza Fowler Haywood is one of the most prolific and enigmatic female writers of the eighteenth century in England. Her career spans more than forty years, and she is a key figure in the evolution of the novel. She wrote plays, critical essays, short stories, and novels, and she developed two women's magazines, *The Parrot* and *The Female Spectator*. She had her finger firmly planted on the pulse of the times in which she lived and was sensitive to women's issues. Until recently she has been treated as a marginal literary figure. It is the aim of this thesis to provide insight into who she was, to explore her motivation for writing, and to give a perspective on the prescribed role for women during the eighteenth century in England through historical context. I will examine an early piece of writing, *The British Recluse*, to demonstrate her insight into women's issues and her defiance of the patriarchal society from which she emerged. In addition, I will argue in support of the theory that the heroines of the story are loosely autobiographical—not the story, just the characters. Haywood was criticized by her contemporaries, but she forged onward and was able to support herself and her two children through her pen. Haywood has been criticized by other women writers, for Virginia Woolf dismissed her writing as a “waste of time.”

I will explore *The History of Jemmy and Jenny Jessamy*, Haywood's last novel, to demonstrate Haywood's full evolution as a novelist. In Haywood's last years of writing novels there is a noticeable change in the way her heroines are

depicted. Instead of showing the early heroine's rebellious attitude, her later female protagonists emerge more moralistic and conventional than their earlier counterparts. One important reason for this thematic change may be attributed to the changing taste of the reading public. As pointed out by Haywood scholar Mary Anne Schofield:

Always eager to produce best-selling novels for her voracious reading public, Haywood was quick to note the shift in popular taste and more keen to exploit the new fashion in fiction. The focus of *Pamela* and all subsequent novels patterning themselves on Richardson's tale of "Virtue Rewarded" was education. These novels charted the transformation of the female protagonist from the naiveté of a kind of pristine innocence to a mature awareness and acceptance of her place and fate in society. (97)

Since Haywood was keenly aware of what her readers wanted, she was able to provide tales that would satisfy their hunger for more. This would explain why Haywood may have chosen to model her female protagonists after Richardson's *Pamela*. The popularity of the virtue-rewarded theme, coupled with the need to earn a living, gave Haywood the incentive to continue writing and publishing exactly what her readers were clamoring for.

In addition to novels, Haywood published *The Female Spectator* and *The Parrot*, periodicals that offered advice on a full range of topics pertaining to the loves and lives of women. Haywood herself acknowledged the importance of the advice given in her magazines by stating, "the monthly essays . . . are calculated

for no other end than the improvement of the morals and manners of an age which stands in the utmost need of so agreeable a monitor" (27). Haywood realized what her readers wanted to know and provided a forum for exploring issues and topics of the times.

Indeed, Haywood proved to be one of the eighteenth century's most versatile, well-read, and established writers. Haywood also proved to be a mysterious literary figure, for she left no autobiographical or personal records. Perhaps she wanted to remain an enigma. Shortly after her death, the first biography about Haywood, *Biographia Dramatica*, was published by David Erskine Baker in 1764. Baker complained that Haywood's lack of personal memoirs and letters made it nearly impossible to prepare an accurate sketch of the popular novelist. Baker's contention is based

'supposition of some improper liberties being taken with her character after her death by the intermixture of truth with her character after death by the intermixture of truth and falsehood with her history. The apprehensive dame had suppressed the facts of her life by laying a solemn injunction on a person who was well acquainted with all the particulars of it, not to communicate to any one the least circumstances relating to her.' (qtd.in Whicher 1)

Not being afforded the thoughts and ideas of Haywood herself, Baker was left to second guess facts by relying on court documents. Many of the documents proved to be sketchy, and when George Frisbie Whicher attempted to write his 1915 biography of Haywood, he faced the same obstacles as Baker.

Consequently, Haywood remained obscure until Whicher's biography, *The Life and Romances of Mrs. Eliza Haywood*, was published in 1915. Whicher's research uncovered more details regarding her life and work and provided more information than had previously been found. However, certain key facts such as date of birth remained in question. Whicher's biography has remained a point of reference for later Haywood scholars.

Many of the unanswered questions surrounding Haywood's life have recently been addressed in an updated biography by Christine Blouch, entitled *Eliza Haywood and the Romance of Obscurity*, published in 1991. Through her research, Blouch is able to provide an accurate date of birth and to suggest that Valentine Haywood may not be Haywood's husband. In addition, Blouch proposes that Haywood's parents may be two entirely different people than originally thought. This updated biography will shed light on facts that eluded both Baker and Whicher, while providing a more accurate sketch of Haywood and her personal background. Although Blouch's biography has offered other avenues to explore regarding the personal history of Haywood, Blouch's questions concerning the identity of Haywood's parents and spouse are still under investigation. Blouch's questions serve as an alternative to Whicher's claims about Haywood's early life.

## Chapter 1

### Haywood's Life Revisited

If [Haywood's biographer] had been able to throw any light upon the circumstances of her life we should make no complaint. . . . But nobody knows anything about her, save that she was born in 1693 and died in 1756; it is not known where she lived or how she got her work, what friends she had, or even, which is strange in the case of a woman, whether she was plain or handsome.

- - Virginia Woolf

In 1764, Haywood's first biographer, David Erskine Baker, had voiced the same complaint as Virginia Woolf does—"nobody knows anything about her"—and indeed the events surrounding Eliza Fowler Haywood's life have remained mysterious. Woolf's essay appeared several years after George Frisbie Whicher's biography of Haywood was published in 1915. Woolf's assertion reveals that she knew little about Haywood even after the publication of Whicher's biography. Haywood scholars often refer to Whicher's account of her life and have used the 1915 biography as a point of reference when conducting their own research. Still, even Whicher finds it hard to believe that someone who wrote in as many genres as Haywood never wrote her personal memoirs. Whicher asserts, "Autobiography was almost the only form of writing not



attempted by Eliza Haywood in the course of her long career as an adventureress in letters" (1).

Yet, with nothing to rely on but court documents, Baker's account of Haywood, and any personal reflections found in *The Female Spectator*, Whicher was able to forge on and recount the life of Haywood. In doing so, he provided Haywood scholars with a more accurate version of Haywood's life and literary career. During the course of the twentieth century, Haywood and her seventy pieces of writing in six genres would be investigated further. Christine Blouch, realizing that Haywood's life and work had not received the critical attention it so deserved, decided to investigate the life and literary career that had been treated as "a largely anecdotal role in literary history" (1).

Blouch, in *Eliza Haywood: Questions in the Life and Works*, the most recent and comprehensive biography of Haywood, includes both Baker's and Whicher's biographical and personal accounts of Haywood. Blouch has investigated Haywood's date of birth and the identity of her parents and husband. In addition, she discusses the possibility that Haywood may have had a relationship with an actor who could be the father of one of her children. The relationship did not end well and could account for the thematic issues in *The British Recluse*, which deals with an illegitimate child, spurned lovers, and the reclusive boarder no one knows anything about.

Whicher had always identified 1693 as the date of birth of Haywood, but he had done so by inserting a question mark after the year. The question mark drew attention to the uncertainty of the date and allowed for speculation about

the actual year of Haywood's birth. Through her research of London's court documents and her visits to St. Margaret's parish churchyard, where Haywood is buried, Blouch concluded that Whicher's question mark could be eliminated. Haywood was in fact born in 1693, the date that Whicher and subsequent scholars had questioned for so long.

Other issues, such as the true identity of Haywood's parents and husband were called into question by Blouch. Whicher contends in his biography that Haywood's "father, a man named Fowler, was a small shopkeeper" (2). However, the question mark attached to the date of birth of Haywood became the source of speculation and curiosity about the identity of her parents. If she had been born in 1693, then there were a couple of parental candidates. The first possibility could be Robert and Elizabeth Fowler of St. Peter's Cornhill, and the other possibility could be Francis and Elizabeth Fowler of London. Both sets of Fowlers had daughters named Elizabeth born the same year (1693) as Haywood. Haywood herself interjects a third possibility, as she claims:

my maiden name is Fowler, and [I ] am nearly related to Sir Richard of the Grange; an unfortunate marriage has redc'd me to the melancholy necessity of depending on my Pen for the support of myself and two children, the eldest of whom is no more than 7 years of age. (Blouch 11)

Haywood's admission serves as one of the rare instances in which the reader can hear her voice and the need to support herself and her children the best and only way that she knows. It also lends support to the theory that a man named

Richard Fowler had a sister named Elizabeth, who, according to court records, had been christened in 1693. If in fact Haywood was the sister of Sir Richard Fowler, she had other siblings: Mary, Robert, Thomas, and James. Thomas and James Fowler both graduated from Oxford, and this would indicate that Haywood came from a financially prosperous family.

The possibilities that Blouch suggests are interesting. Adding to the mystery of Haywood's family background is a comment Haywood made in the *Female Spectator*, in which, Blouch asserts, "Haywood's persona . . . informs us, for example, that she received an education "more liberal than is ordinarily allowed to Persons of my Sex" (13). She could have received an education as the daughter of a successful merchant, also. Blouch admits that the issue of Haywood's parents is still under investigation. Her exploration into the other possible sets of parents questions the facts of Haywood's life once more and allows for alternative accounts of her life to be examined.

Valentine Haywood, a member of the clergy, has, until recently, always been identified as the husband of Haywood and known as the husband of the "runaway wife." New evidence, however, uncovers the theory that Valentine Haywood married Elizabeth Foord, not Elizabeth Fowler as reported by both Baker and Whicher in their biographies of Haywood. The contradiction lies in the fact that Valentine Haywood and his wife had eight children in eleven years. We know that Haywood had two children. Blouch's investigation reveals that Valentine Haywood's wife Elizabeth left him, and that incident could be where the confusion begins. The inability to identify the husband of Haywood allows for

the possibility that her husband may have left her or that she may have been a widow. There is evidence of her being left a widow in the following letter written by Haywood :

Encouragement, Sir, is the Sun by which poets thrive . . . tho the Inclinations I ever had for writing be now converted into a Necessity, by the Sudden Deaths of both a Father, and a Husband, at an age when I was a little prepa'd to stem the Tide of ill fortune.  
(Blouch 20)

Haywood's husband's death, according to Blouch, is never mentioned again. What is revealed is that she is a single parent with the need to support herself and her children.

Haywood, alone in the world in 1711, broke into acting by performing in theatrical productions in Dublin. This would have been a way for her to succeed on her own, for since the Restoration the theater had been a source of employment for women (Schofield 2). This effort to support herself continued for several years until Haywood realized that she was not the theatrical success she had hoped she would become.

Thus, by 1719 Haywood ended one career only to begin another. In a letter soliciting subscribers to her novel, Haywood writes :

The Stage not answering my Expectation, and averseness of my Relations to it has made me Turn my Genius another Way; I have Printed some Little things which have met a Better Reception than

they Deserved, or I Expected: and have now Ventur'd on a  
 Translation to be done by Subscription. . . . ( Whicher 11)

Haywood's letter is an admission that she needs to find an alternative means of support. It also serves as a self-examination and illustrates another dimension to Haywood's personality: a strong and enduring woman who was not ready to give up and who would try her talents in another direction in order to make her own way in the world.

As a writer, Haywood achieved success. Her first novel, *Love in Excess*, was published in 1719 and was offered in three installments. It was extremely popular and has been hailed by critics as the first "Harlequin-best seller" (Blouch 24). Haywood's first novel is one of the three most popular novels before *Pamela* (1740). The other novels were *Gullivers Travels* (1726) and *Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* (1719). Haywood's talent as a novelist cannot be measured by the success of just one piece of work; her success must be measured by her entire literary career. *Love in Excess*, did, however, establish Haywood's writing career. The success of her first novel allowed Haywood to carve a niche for herself and to continue to give her readers what they wanted and enjoyed. Haywood's readers were not women only, for when the 304 subscribers to *Love in Excess* were identified, only 104 were females. Later in her career, however, Haywood changed and her novels reflected this "new" period.

Haywood not only wrote novels, she also worked on translations from French. In 1720 after the publication of *Love in Excess* Haywood began working

on Edme Bousalt's, *Letters from a Lady of Quality to a Chevalier*. She also wrote *The Fair Captive* that same year, a play that would be brought to the London stage and that closed only three days later.

During the early 1720s as Haywood established herself as a writer, she was part of a literary circle that included John Dyer, Susannah Cenlivre, and Aaron Hill. Through this circle of writers, she met and had a relationship with Richard Savage. He had shared some of the same ambitions as Haywood, such as writing plays and novels. Savage himself was surrounded by and eventually rejected by the likes of Richard Steele and Alexander Pope. According to Blouch, Savage had a reputation for making claims that he was "the illegitimate son of the fourth Earl Rivers and Lady Anne Macclesfield" (Blouch 48). This claim has never been proven one way or the other. Savage's reputation was that of an ill-tempered deadbeat who was no D'Elmont to look at (Blouch 50).

During the time that the relationship with Savage took place, Haywood began working on a new novel, *The British Recluse*. In this, her second novel, the loosely autobiographical characters emerge. Late in 1721, Savage and Haywood had a falling out, and he left, never to return to her. Since Haywood had been living with Savage until late 1721 it is likely that Savage was the father of at least one of her children born in 1722. Blouch contends that if this is true, then Haywood was pregnant when Savage left her. This could explain the character of Cleomira, who is the recluse in *The British Recluse* and who bore an illegitimate child to a man who fits the same description as Savage. The characters Belinda and Cleomira in *The British Recluse* are scorned by the same

man. Haywood's own personal relationship with Savage ended under similar conditions. Savage left Haywood, never to return, the same way Lysander leaves both Cleomira and Belinda. Haywood's life and her character's lives are similar. In each case, there is an illegitimate child and a woman who is abandoned by her lover.

After the relationship with Savage ended, Haywood began another relationship, this time with playwright and poet William Hatchett. Haywood and Hatchett were together for more than twenty years, and Blouch believes that he was most likely the father of Haywood's second child. Many of the assertions that Blouch makes are part of an ongoing investigation regarding the facts concerning Haywood's life.

The 1720s proved to be a very productive time for Haywood. She continued to write at a steady pace, writing her amatory tales for a reading public that waited for the next installment of a Haywood novel to be published. One fact is certain: Haywood's name sold novels. According to Schofield, "From 1724 to 1729 she wrote twenty-nine novels and romances plus numerous translations and nonfiction prose works" (Eliza Haywood 43). The vast literary output during this time reflected Haywood's ability to know what the public wanted to read. These early novels challenged and questioned the prescribed role of women, for she allowed her heroines to defy that role. Haywood's audience could expect to read tales of virtue unrewarded, unhappy marriages, and illegitimate children, along with physical and mental cruelty. Her early literary career was thus

rebellious, as we will see, and, quite different from her later years until the time of her death in 1756.

At the end of the 1720s, Haywood entered a quiet period that lasted for at least ten years. There has been speculation as to why Haywood was quieted. Perhaps, the quiet period was self-imposed and served as a time of reflection for Haywood. Haywood did not cease writing entirely, however; she wrote at least six plays and returned to the stage. She also continued to work on her French translation. It has even been suggested by Schofield and Blouch that Haywood published some novels anonymously. She may have been silenced, but she remained productive.

In 1728, Alexander Pope had written and published in the *Dunciad* an unflattering description of Haywood. After this public insult, Haywood went into what is known as her “quiet time.” Pope writes:

See in the circle next, Eliza plac'd,  
Two babes of love close clinging to her waste;  
Fair as before her works she stands confessed,  
In flowers and pearls by bounteous Kirkall dressed.  
The Goddess then: 'Who best can send on high The salient spout,  
far-streaming to the sky; His be yon Juno of majestic size, With  
cow-like udders, and with ox-like eyes. This China-Jordan, let the  
chief o'ercome Replenish, not ingloriously, at home.' (141)

After this public defamation, Haywood never responded to Pope, and it is not known how she reacted. It is only known that she was quiet for ten years. At



about the time that Haywood was quiet, public tastes were changing, and according to Blouch, “novel publication in general was dropping off sharply at the same time” (149).

Nevertheless, Haywood remained quite popular among her readers throughout her career. Exactly who were Eliza Haywood’s readers? There have been several theories.

In 1891, Edmond Gosse published an essay, “What Ann Lang Read,” in which he tried to define Haywood’s audience. Gosse writes:

. . . Eliza Haywood lives in the minds of men solely through one very coarse and cruel allusion to her made by Pope in the *Dunciad*. She was never recognized among people of intellectual quality; she ardently desired to belong to literature, but her wish was never seriously gratified, even by her friend Aaron Hill. Yet she numbered more readers, for a year or two, than any other person in the British realm. . . . Eliza was read by servants in kitchens, by seamstresses, by basket-women, by ‘prentices of all sorts, male and female, but mostly the latter. For girls of this sort there was no other reading of a light kind in 1724. It was Eliza Haywood or nothing. (qtd in Blouch 57)

Gosse’s essay discusses the discovery of a library in the home of an Ann Lang, whom Gosse does not identify; she may be a generic representation of Haywood readers. The library consisted of a collection of books that were written by Haywood. Through an examination of the library and holdings, Gosse attempts

to define what kind of person Ann Lang was and in doing so to define Haywood's reader. What he discovers is that Ann Lang wants to "belong to literature," and he goes on to say that she does so in the same way that "Eliza Haywood wants to belong to literature" ( Blouch 59). This assumption by Gosse is purely speculation.

John Richetti in his 1992 study, *Popular Fiction Before Richardson: Narrative Patterns 1700-1739*, also describes who he thinks this "new audience" was:

a group eager for the basic pleasures of fiction--identification, projection, vicarious participation, and ideological alignment--and relatively insensitive to the more subtle and specially literary satisfactions provided by the complementary features of style and structure. This is an audience which is unconcerned or unaware of the greater moral and intellectual validity which is the rationale of the novella's realism. (176)

Richetti's theory suggests that the "new audience" read only because it was the fashionable thing to do.

Finally, Whicher contends that "no one of scanty means could have afforded Mrs. Haywood's slender octavos at the price of one to three shillings" (13). Whicher continues by agreeing with Gosse: "they were read chiefly by milliners and other women on the verge of literacy. But . . . persons of solid education avoided reading novels as they might the drinking of drams . . ." (13).

Defining exactly who her readers were would be difficult. What does

remain is that she was enormously popular and was read by men as well as women. Haywood may have been confident that her followers would remain loyal during her less productive years. Having that confidence may account for some of the changes that occurred when she finally returned full-time to her writing career.

When Haywood did return to the literary scene, she did so with a new style of writing. She reinvented her writing to suit the changing tastes of the public that paved the way for novels such as Samuel Richardson's *Pamela*. Haywood reentered the literary world with the publication of a periodical titled *The Female Spectator*. It would be a forum that would give advice and discuss all topics pertaining to the lives and loves of women. An early advertisement promoting the periodical stated that it would be a place

. . . In which, Essays on Moral Subjects, Pieces of Poetry, and Polite Criticism, Wit, Humour, Fable and Satyr (without any mixture of Party or Politicks) will be inserted, after the Manner of the Tatlers and Spectators. (quod in Blouch 155)

The *Female Spectator* can be compared to Addison and Steele's *Spectator*. Haywood's publication ran from April 1744 to May 1746. It was hailed as the first magazine by and for women and was extremely popular.

The positive public response to *The Female Spectator* paved the way for a second periodical, known as *The Parrot*. The periodical consisted of a manners and lifestyle section and a section that reported current events. Since

Haywood's passion was not news reporting, the periodical reported such incidents as "the death of Jimmy Dawson's sweetheart" (*Eliza Haywood* 111). The paper folded after only two months of publication. Haywood did not give up, however. She soon returned full time to her passion of writing the amatory fiction that launched her literary career twenty years earlier.

When Haywood returned to fiction writing, there was a noticeable change in the way she presented her female heroines. They had changed just as literary tastes had changed. In 1753, Haywood wrote and published *The History of Jemmy and Jenny Jessamy*, a tale that depicts a conventional and rational female. Jenny, the heroine of the novel, is content with her life and with the restrictions placed upon her because she is a female. She serves as the voice of reason throughout the novel. A double sexual standard is one of the key elements in the novel which Jenny as well as the narrator accepts and defends. The acceptance of a double standard is a departure from Haywood's earlier females such as Belinda and Cleomira of *The British Recluse*, who did not buy into this practice. Haywood continued to write the same type of "Virtue Rewarded" novels until she died.

The cause of Haywood's death is but, it is known that she was gravely ill when she died in February of 1756. She left no personal memoirs or letters, and most of the speculations surrounding the facts of her life have been challenged by literary scholars such as Mary Ann Schofield and George Whicher. What remains are her writings, which have been both condemned and revered. The following two chapters discuss an early novel that was part of her rebellious

years and a later novel reflecting how her ideas about men and women and their prescribed roles appear to have changed.

## Chapter 2

### The Early Years

*The British Recluse* is the story of two women who, for better or worse, are able to form a life-long sustaining friendship. Through this friendship, they are able to find peace and solitude when their lives are turned upside down. Throughout the story, Haywood demonstrates exactly how and why this friendship develops. Each female is at odds with her inner-self, her expectations, and societal expectations of that self. This conflict becomes a source of frustration to both women as each is victimized by a man with whom she has fallen in love. The more positive side to this serious error in judgment is that both protagonists emerge as stronger and more independent women--unlike many women in early modern England who were not as self-sufficient as the two heroines of the story. They emerge more as did Haywood, who made her way in the world through her own independence. Haywood's focus, therefore, is on how these male-dominated females function when faced with disastrous romances and the consequences of those relationships.

I contend that Belinda and Cleomira, the unfortunate women in *The British Recluse*, are loosely autobiographical and possess Haywood's self-reliant spirit. Haywood offers Belinda and Cleomira another chance at starting their lives over. Haywood did the same when she left her husband and ventured out

into a male-dominated society in which women's choices were limited. Haywood biographer George Whicher would agree with this assessment. He writes:

Ordinarily the novelist accepted the usual conception of man the pursuer and woman the victim, but sometimes instead of letting lovely women reap the consequences of their folly . . . she violated romantic tradition by making her disappointed heroines retire into self-sufficient solitude, defying society. In real life the author of these stories was even more uncompromising. Far from pining in obscurity after her elopement from her husband, she continued to exist in the broad light of day gaining an independent living by the almost unheard of occupation (as far as woman were concerned) of writing. If she was blighted, she gave no indication of the fact. Something of the same defiant spirit actuated the unfortunate Belinda and Cleomira. (44)

Whicher's observation offers a chance to understand Haywood and perhaps her motivation in creating Belinda and Cleomira. One could agree with Whicher's claim that through her writing Haywood is defying a society that oppresses women. She instead chooses to be a trailblazer by claiming the personal as the political at a time when doing so was unheard of.

Whicher also points to the idea that in many of Haywood's writings, as in many other writings of the time, the heroine would almost certainly be made to suffer the consequences of her undisciplined actions. In *The British Recluse*, Haywood provides her heroines with the courage to admit their mistakes and to

retire from a society that had little tolerance for women who strayed from what was considered outside the realm of normalcy. Instead, she offers Belinda and Cleomira another choice: the choice to retreat from a society that would shun and ridicule them because they have not lived according to the rules imposed upon them by others—most particularly, by men. To understand Haywood and her possible motivation for writing as she did, one must first understand the context of the society and the rules that governed England during the time in which she lived and wrote.

The eighteenth century was a time of great change. An important and key movement that occurred was the emergence of highly differentiated gender roles in England during this time period. This pivotal shift was due to an industrial revolution occurring in England at the end of the seventeenth century and impacting the eighteenth century. Before the industrial revolution, men and women worked together as a “domestic unit” both inside and outside of the home. They shared duties such as child rearing and all aspects of domestic and financial responsibility. The results of this industrial revolution changed the traditional work of men and women, altering the domestic unit. To put it quite simply, men and women now worked apart, as separate units of production. Women’s work was now considered “inside” and men’s work considered “outside.” This shift is observed and validated by Michael McKeon in his essay “Historicizing Patriarchy: The Emergence of Gender Difference in England.” As McKeon contends:



The domestic economy operated according to a dramatic sexual division of labor--between female "inside" work and male "outside" work. . . . In such an economy, husbands exercised the authority of the head of a household that was organized as an integrated working partnership. (298)

Thus, husbands were now considered the head of the domestic partnership in the home, leaving women to function in the capacity of caregiver to the children and keeper of the home. The husband, by contrast, assumed responsibilities for duties outside of the domestic sphere. He served as the financial supporter of the family unit. This change allowed a hierarchy to emerge making the wife subject to their husband.

Edmund Tilney eloquently describes this division of labor:

The office of the husband is to bring in necessaries: of the wife well to keep him. The office of the husband is, to go abroad in matters of profit: of the wife: to tarry at home, and see all be well there. The office of the husband is, to provide money, of the wife, not wastefully to spend it, The office of the husband, is to deal, and bargain with all men, of the wife, to meddle or make with no man. . . . The office of the husband is, to be Lord of all, of the wife, to give account of all, and finally I say, that the office of the husband is to maintain well his livelihood, and the office of the woman is to govern well the household. (44)

Tilney's observation accurately describes the changes that occurred. He implies that women were now inferior to their husbands and involved only in the responsibilities of maintaining and "governing" the household. Men, on the other hand, were involved with all aspects of business dealings with other men that would further the household financially. Women were to report "all" to their husbands, while there is no indication of the husband's reporting "all" to the wife, creating the uneven distribution of power in the household.

In addition to social order, another order that was to be maintained was a strict moral code, especially for women. Susan Amussen maintains, "Women protected their sexual reputations from charges of being a whore, cuckolding their husbands, bearing illegitimate children or keeping a bawdy house" (102). This assertion aids in understanding the "strict moral code" that prevailed during the eighteenth century. This code alludes to the idea that there was a sexual double standard, for there is no mention of what was expected of a man. Men were more concerned about being called thieves, drunkards, and blasphemers. They were also sensitive to critical assaults on their social position. The new face of the domestic unit, coupled with the uneven distribution of power in that domestic unit, and a strict moral code are issues that Haywood was subject to, familiar with, and wrote about. Haywood's amatory fiction therefore represents and depicts the world that she knew. As Schofield observes:

Haywood presents such a pattern of reality in the body of her works through her sharing of the common assumptions of her readers. By writing amorous romances with a concentration on the

heroine and her dilemmas and problems of self-division, Haywood presents a paradigm of female behavior models during this time period of the eighteenth century. (10)

One would agree with Schofield's critical observation of Haywood's awareness of audience. Whether she realized that she had a captive audience that hungered for more is not certain. She did, however, continue to write stories depicting troubled heroines in hopeless situations. Haywood's work and its appeal are a reflection of the times in which the stories were written.

Considered the "mother of the romance novel" by critics and literary scholars, such as Whicher and Schofield, Haywood introduces her readers to two unfortunate women in *The British Recluse*. The heroines of the story, Belinda and Cleomira, have been scorned, and as they later discover, by the same man. Haywood depicts each woman as an exploited victim of this womanizing rogue. Through their pain they form an alliance which allows them to live out the remainder of their lives together as kindred spirits. As each victim tells her story, another dimension of her inner-being is revealed. This *other* dimension is a vehicle that allows each woman to reconcile the experience and to move on with her life. Ultimately, both Belinda and Cleomira evolve as independent, self-sufficient women who realize that they can survive without male care. The evolution and survival of these women are important issues in this story.

In addition, there are several other important issues to be considered, such as the sexual double-standard, society's intolerance for women who find

themselves in precarious situations, and the lack of choices for these two women. Haywood takes the story of these women and by the conclusion, instead of characterizing them as pathetic victims, provides an alternative--she sends them away from the intolerance of society and into a world in which they feel comfortable. In reality, the eighteenth-century woman would not have been afforded the same opportunity. Hers would have been a life of ridicule and shame. Also, there were other considerations: for example, the means to support herself would have been limited; she would have been shunned by society, and finally, viewed as "damaged goods." This is quite opposite to the fate that Haywood offers Belinda and Cleomira in *The British Recluse*.

As the story unfolds, we are introduced to Belinda, who asks the landlady to introduce her to "the Recluse." Immediately, Haywood begins to weave the bonds of friendship and mutual understanding between Cleomira and Belinda. As the narrator observes:

Belinda could here forbear interrupting her by asking a thousand Questions as to her Dress, her Beauty, and whether she observed anything of that Melancholy in her Countenance the first time which she had since discovered. (157)

From this account, it would be fair to say that Belinda is not only curious, but also senses that they may be sharing the same problem--the problem of melancholy. In fact, Belinda use this sense to further persuade the landlady to introduce her to the recluse. Belinda implores her to set up a meeting:

You must tell her . . . and perhaps with more Truth than

you imagine that you have a person in your House, who justly may be termed one of the most unfortunate on Earth, --that I am charmed with her manner of Life--that I could like nothing so much as to partake such a retirement that if she would permit me, sometimes, to mingle my Tears with hers, I would be satisfied with the opportunity of indulging my Grief, without any farther Intrusion on her Secrets, than she will give leave. (158)

This emotional plea is Belinda's way of relaying to the Recluse, "I too have been scorned and I can be trusted." Finally, Belinda is introduced to the Recluse, who is later identified in the story as Cleomira.

From the start, Belinda and Cleomira agree that, given the hopeless situation they share, they would fare better living away from the source of their grief and discontent. As the narrator observes:

They fell into a Conversation suitable to that Melancholy these Misfortunes had involved them in, and they agreed so perfectly in their Sentiments concerning instability of all human Happiness--the little Confidence there was to be put in the Protestations of Friendship--and that the only way to attain true Content was in an absolute Retirement from the World and a Disregard of everything in it ; when they parted . . . it was with mutual satisfaction, and each began to conceive for the other a real Tenderness which has ever remained unshaken. (159-60)

The bond of mutual understanding and empathy between the two women emerges that will be further strengthened as each reveals the painful source of her "melancholy." The painful source, as they will soon discover, is the undisciplined passion unleashed in both women for a man who has taken advantage of these two chaste, trusting young women. This also demonstrates the sexual double standard; it is acceptable for the man in question to remain unscathed while the women are deeply hurt publicly and personally and saddened by the seduction.

Each woman tells her story, and as each tale unfolds, the reader senses a familiar pattern in the seduction of the two heroines. Each becomes a sex object to the handsome Lysander, each taken in by his charms and looks, each tossed aside and forgotten. Cleomira reflects:

Lysander's Charms, his Beauty, his Wit, the Declaration he had made me, and the Manner in which I had received it give me sufficient Matter of Reflection: I could not think I had listened to any Protestations of Love from a Man I had never seen before without an inexpressible Shock to my Modesty; but these considerations soon gave Place to others even more destructive to my Peace: Lysander was too lovely, and appeared too deserving for me to repent, for any long Time, the Complaisance I had shown him, and my greatest Trouble was the Fear that I should never see him more. (165)

Cleomira's innermost thoughts are revealed through this admission. She wants nothing more than to see him again, something that she "fears" will never happen. She has become obsessed by the very thought of him. The danger in this admission is that she wishes to hide her relationship with Lysander from her mother because she fears that her mother will reject the idea. In hiding the relationship Cleomira is not only deceiving her mother, but also becoming a person whom she wouldn't recognize. Cleomira discovers she is pregnant, but by this time Lysander has rejected her. Alone in the world, she turns to friends who reject her when they realize she is pregnant. They are more concerned with the "Reputation of their House," recalls Cleomira (183). Cleomira's reflection illustrates the strict moral standards that prevailed during the eighteenth century. Her friends wouldn't want to give their home the reputation of being a bawdy house by sheltering the pregnant Cleomira. Haywood could be depicting the friends negatively to demonstrate her own rejection of this strict moral code.

Cleomira develops the strength to reconcile herself to rejection of both Lysander and her friends. Her strength is demonstrated in the letters she sends to Lysander. When Cleomira begins to write to him, she is innocent and trusting, but as the story and letters progress, she becomes stronger and more intuitive toward him. Her language becomes harsh, and she is finally able to assert herself to Lysander. For example, when she begins corresponding with Lysander, she addresses him as "The Noble" and "The Worthy Lysander" and at the end of the correspondences as "my Inhumane and Unrelenting Charmer." She also refers to him as "the Inconstant, Ungenerous, and Perfidious

Lysander.” This demonstrates that, although she may have been done in by Lysander, she is on to him. Her derogatory and unkind words are a strong message to Lysander. His reaction is a defining moment for Cleomira as he asserts:

Love. . . . That Foolish Fondness, with which your Sex so much abounds, is before Enjoyment charming, because it gives us Assurance of obtaining all we ask; but afterwards 'tis cloying, tiresome, and in time grows odious. . . . There is nothing more unnatural, than that a Woman should expect a Man can be in Love with her always. (192)

This confession by Lysander defines who he is. He is uncaring and self-serving, thinking only about himself. He refers to love as “foolish.” He further demonstrates his insensitivity toward Cleomira by suggesting that women were meant to be used and disregarded. His words are charged with negative connotations about women and about their expectations of love. Haywood again positions Lysander as a user of women who totally disregards Cleomira’s feelings.

At this point, Cleomira has reached the bottom of her downward spiral, and the only direction she can go is up. Cleomira tries to pull herself up, and as she does, reflects:

Now the Mist my good Opinion of him had cast before my Eyes began to wear off, and Reason unobserved by Passion, showed



me truly wretched I had made myself--but what did it avail? My Fame, my Virtue, and my Peace of Mind were lost, no more to be retrieved: Penetration was but the Mirror which showed me my Deformity, but could direct me to no Means which could restore those Beauties, which Guilt and Shame had utterly defaced. (179)

This admission is a defining moment for Cleomira. She is able to face her helpless situation by admitting the truth about herself and what she has lost. Through this admission, Cleomira can add another layer to her character. This layer is self-realization. She has faced her demon and is able to accept what has happened to her. Cleomira is now ready to confess her sad story of melancholy to someone; ironically, it is to Belinda, who is also a victim of Lysander.

Belinda has also been deceived by Lysander. Lysander had changed his identity and is known to Belinda as Sir Thomas Courtal. She, too, has been seduced and abandoned by this wretched man. Like Cleomira, Belinda has found passion for someone she knows very little about. Like Cleomira, she agonizes over the inner turmoil she experiences. Belinda had given up a man to whom she was engaged so that she could be with Courtal. This decision is one that she will eventually regret when Courtal rejects her the way he rejected Cleomira. Ultimately Belinda and Cleomira find themselves in the boarding house when the world turns its back on them.

After recounting their tales, Cleomira and Belinda realize that they have been fooled by the same man. It is through this realization that a bond of friendship is formed. Sharing similar situations has made Cleomira and Belinda

soulmates because each knows and understands what the other has gone through.

Passion is a theme of the story and serves two purposes. At the beginning of the story, passion is viewed negatively because it is the downfall of each woman. However, as the story concludes, their passion is channeled in a more positive way. It will serve as a basis for the bond of everlasting friendship. Haywood offers Cleomira and Belinda a chance to live out their lives where they can finally have peace within themselves. Both women agree that the only way to true contentment is by their retirement from the world of men and sentimental female roles. They have learned the importance of independence and emerge with a sense of self-identity. They no longer need to define themselves in terms of relationships with a male. Ultimately, they have moved beyond the consequences of their undisciplined passion and toward the idea of living the remainder of their lives together in the country away from the painful reminders of the past.

*The British Recluse* demonstrates the evolution of two women who begin as fragile victims of unrequited love and find independence and self-reliance at the end of the story. This is Haywood's way of defying the idea that women are too sensitive beings with no backbone. Schofield observes:

Haywood was able to create only a limited number of truly independent heroines. Rather than portraying the "ideal" of the fully liberated, unconstrained female she was forced to present feminine models based on the prevailing patterns of

female behavior. Since women, by and large, were made to be docile and subservient, and since Haywood felt that all women possessed an interior, independent core that revolted against subservience, she presented the greatest number of her women caught between these contradictory urges toward dominance and docility, independence and submission. (63)

This observation by Schofield fits the characters portrayed in *The British Recluse*. Haywood allows Cleomira and Belinda to become independent. Eventually, Cleomira and Belinda revolt against the society that rejected them. In Haywood's other novels, the female leading the unfulfilling life is ultimately found dead by the end of the story. For this reason scholars and critics believe that Haywood deliberately defies a society that would shun and reject Cleomira and Belinda. Instead of death, Haywood offers life. Perhaps this is the reason Haywood's writing was so popular. In *The British Recluse*, she demonstrated through her characters that a woman is not limited in her choices when faced with disaster. The work presents women in a positive and favorable light. She does, however, present men in an unfavorable light. Perhaps, this is why she was criticized by Alexander Pope, who refers to her as "A scribbling dame" (qtd in Whicher 115).

### Chapter 3

#### The Later Years

The decade from 1730 to 1740 was a time in which Haywood produced fewer novels than in the early years of her career. The quietness during these ten years could be attributed to Alexander Pope's criticism of her in *The Dunciad*. However, Haywood continued to write, and her works were published anonymously. The novels produced without her name on the title page were as popular as the novels produced with her name.

When Haywood finally returned full-time to the literary scene, Richardson's highly successful novel *Pamela* had been published. It is likely that Haywood, having observed the popularity of *Pamela*, modeled her later novels after the morally acceptable romance-novel. The need to support herself through her writing also factored into her decision and prompted a "new" style of writing for Haywood. The novels she wrote during the last years of her writing career depicted a more conservative female who isn't as rebellious as the heroines in her earlier novels. They are more accepting of their prescribed roles. One fact that is certain is that Haywood changed the character of the female protagonists in the later novels of her career. The change is noted by Schofield, who observes:

Most of the novels of her first period depict the troubled heroine who is unable to reconcile contradictory elements within herself

and accept her position in society; she is unwilling to be a mere sexual plaything and yet is unable to fully assert herself. . . . The later novels offer a more conservative portrait of the virtuous heroine who is tested throughout the story, but remains true to her virtue and her womanly position and is rewarded with marital bliss.

(*Eliza Haywood* 8)

Schofield's astute observation illustrates the obvious change in Haywood's female characters. As noted by Schofield, the heroines in the second phase of Haywood's career are "virtuous" and "rewarded with marital bliss." The reward of marriage is presented to Jenny, the female protagonist of *The History of Jemmy and Jenny Jessamy*, written by Haywood in 1753.

Written in four installments, this novel is the continuing saga of Jemmy and Jenny, two people who are destined to be together. It is less interesting and more predictable than the earlier novels of Haywood. Jenny can be described as a little impulsive and "governed by a great deal of common sense reason" (*Quiet Rebellion* 111). Jemmy, on the other hand, is a conventional young male sowing his wild oats. *The History of Jemmy and Jenny* illustrates the departure from the types of novels written in Haywood's earlier career. Whereas Belinda and Cleomira are more defiant of their prescribed roles, Jenny is more content and reasonable about accepting the eighteenth-century woman's roles of wife, mother, and keeper of domestic affairs.

Ros Ballaster notes the change in Haywood that is evident in Haywood's criticisms of the very type of romance novel she herself had once written. In *The Female Spectator*, Haywood criticizes romance authors who

dress their Cupid in Roses, call him the God of soft Desires and ever-springing Joys, yet at the same time give him the vindictive Fury and Rage of Mars--show him impatient of Control and trampling over all the Ties of Duty, Friendship or natural Affection, yet make the Motive sanctify the Crime. . . . The Beauty of the Expression, steals upon the Senses, and every Mischief, every Woe that Love occasions, appears a Charm.

(qtd.in Ballaster 54)

The success of *The Female Spectator* gave Haywood the opportunity to sell her "new" novels to her readers. It could quite possibly be that Haywood herself experienced a moral conversion. Haywood admits in the first volume of *The Female Spectator* that "My life, for some years, was a continued round of what I then called pleasure, and my whole time engrossed by a hurry of promiscuous diversions" (Spender 55). With this admission, Haywood sounds like one of her heroines who has been driven into a convent or to the country where she can live out the remainder of her life. It will never be known why Haywood changed her writing during the last years of her career; there is just speculation. The only certainty is that she did change, and *The History of Jemmy and Jenny Jessamy* is a novel that launched Haywood into a second literary career that proved to be as successful as her first one.

The novel has both weak and strong points. Jemmy and Jenny are very flat, one-dimensional characters whose behavior remains predictable throughout the novel. The narrator who speaks to the reader becomes intrusive at times. At other times, however, the narrator becomes an invaluable presence who spins the voice of reason into the story. Even though the story is predictable, it holds the interest of the reader, who constantly wonders what other adventures await Jemmy and Jenny.

As the story unfolds, the reader is introduced to two wealthy Englishmen who have agreed to the betrothal of their only children, who are infants at the time this decision is agreed upon. Both men die prematurely and unexpectedly, leaving Jemmy and Jenny alone in the world. They have accepted their planned marriage and are happy with the decision imposed upon them by both fathers. This happiness is interrupted by Jenny, who serves as the voice of reason. Jenny begins to question the whole idea of being married and how it affects the relationship between a husband and wife. Jenny conveys her feelings to Jemmy and suggests that they take their time before they rush into marriage. Agreeing to wait until they are absolutely sure that entering into marriage is the right decision for both of them, Jemmy and Jenny are sent out into the world of married couples to observe firsthand the dynamics of marriage. The four volumes are filled with the adventures of Jemmy and Jenny, who marry by volume four. Each chapter in each volume ends with the voice of the narrator spinning "coming attractions."

The voice of the narrator is a very important element in *The History of Jemmy and Jenny Jessamy*. Throughout the story, the narrator beckons the reader to read on and to look forward to what will happen next. It's as though Haywood, wanting to keep her readers in suspense, uses this as a method to sell the next installment. "Yet they did love each other is most certain, as will hereafter be demonstrated by proofs much more unquestionable than all those extravagances, . . . ." the narrator points out (43). The narrator's voice also suggests that the reader look beyond the present and to a future when there will be new adventures to look forward to. The informative style continues and is found later in another chapter: ". . . but whether fortunately or unfortunately for the lovers this interruption happen'd in so critical a moment, the reader, if he has the patience to wait, will in the sequel of this history be informed" (50). Again, this sort of narration is a tool to persuade readers to continue reading and to spark their interest.

Since both Jemmy and Jenny are cardboard-like characters, the voice of the narrator becomes important to show what is on the minds and in the hearts of the couple. Without the narrator's descriptions, the reader must rely on the dialogue between the couple to fully understand the motives for their actions. For example, in the beginning of the novel when Jenny confesses to Jemmy her misgivings and concerns about being a married couple, it is the narrator who explains to the reader the motive behind Jenny's postponement of the impending marriage to Jemmy. Jenny expresses her concern to Jemmy as follows:



I wonder,-- pursued she,--how people can resolve to cut themselves off from the pleasures of life, just as they are beginning to have a relish of them;--how should I regret being confin'd at home by my domestic affairs, while others of my sex and age were flaunting in the mall, or making one at the rout of a woman of quality?--and how would it mortify you to hear the ladies cry disdainfully, Jemmy Jessamy is a very pretty fellow;--but he is married,--and then toss up their heads, and in contempt of you turn the doux yeux in the next man in company, though perhaps he happens to be one of the most insignificant fops that the follies of the times ever fashioned, and without any one merit to recommend him but merely his having no wife. (48-49)

Jenny voices her concern about being cut off “from all the pleasure of life” as though life ends when one is married. Once more the voice of the narrator steps in to let the reader know how Jenny is feeling. The reader is also told that Jenny is experiencing a conflict between her head and her heart. The narrator reflects:

Here Jenny was beginning to make the most fervent protestations, that it was not in the power of fate itself to occasion the least altercation in the present sentiments of her account;--Jenny was half persuaded, by what she felt in her breast . . . So that if this tender conversation had continued but a very little longer, it is highly probable they agreed to put the finishing stroke to the work, their parents had labour'd, for by an immediate marriage. (49)

Through Jenny's dialogue and the voice of the narrator, the reader is able to hear as well as feel the emotions that Jenny is experiencing.

Jenny's intimate feelings and insecurities regarding married life are brought to the surface and shared with a confused Jemmy, who has a difficult time accepting the decision to postpone their marriage. Her reflection serves more than one purpose: it not only reveals Jenny's fear of marital relationships, but also allows a glimpse into the mind of an eighteenth-century female who is questioning the role of women. Jenny reminds the reader that married women, by tradition, remained in the home while single women were out in the world either socializing or meeting and enjoying the company of others. Jenny's voice becomes the voice of reason, for she wants to make sure that before settling into marriage she must be absolutely convinced that marriage is the life she will be most comfortable with.

Besides the narrator guiding the reader through most of the novel, other changes may be detected in *The History of Jemmy and Jenny Jessamy*. A sexual double standard is present in many parts of the novel. This thematic issue is one that advocates strict chastity for women and complete sexual freedom for men. It is one that is not tolerated in *The British Recluse*. Neither Haywood nor her female heroines would tolerate the same type of behavior that Jenny ignores in this later novel.

From the beginning of the novel, we learn that a sexual double standard is present. For example, Jenny is taken away from her boarding school when her father dies, not because there was no money but because

finding she attain'd all these accomplishments that could be taught her in a boarding school, she removed from thence, and with the approbation's of her guardian, went to live with a family where she had a much better opportunity of feeling the world, and knowing how to conform herself to the customs and manners of it, than ever she could have done by the precise rule observed in the place she came from. (6)

As the narrator points out, the education Jenny received at boarding school had served its purpose and she would be better off learning the acceptable behavior for an eighteenth-century female. Jemmy, on the other hand, had the option of going out into the world and experiencing life before entering Oxford. The narrator asserts:

Jemmy had some time before he left Eton, and was gone to Oxford, in order to finish his studies; but he obtain'd leave from the head of the college to make frequent visits to London, -- induced thereto, by the double obligation of testifying his duty to his father, and affection to his misfits;-- to these two motives, a third, perhaps, might be added, equally prevalent with either of the former, -- that of partaking the pleasure of the town, of which he was less fond, than most others of his sex and age. (6)

There are two issues at hand regarding the narrator's observations. The first is that Jemmy has the option of furthering his education, an option that Jenny is not privileged to have. The other consideration is that Jemmy will be "partaking the

pleasure of the town," a social practice that is perfectly acceptable for a male but not for a female. Premarital sexual affairs are an accepted practice throughout the story. In fact, Jenny is most lenient and tolerant of Jemmy's indiscretions. Jenny, on the other hand, would most certainly tarnish her reputation if she chose to live away from the caregivers she was assigned to. Jenny's living situation and Jemmy's behavior appear to be acceptable to her, for there is no indication of any resistance.

From the beginning of the tale, Jenny is faced with the prospect that Jemmy is sowing his wild oats, but her passive behavior indicates to the reader that she accepts this perfectly acceptable behavior for a man. In fact, both Jenny and the narrator are passive with regard to Jemmy's affairs with other women. The narrator even defends Jemmy by claiming that the affairs were forced upon him, making it hard to resist the temptation. The narrator defends Jemmy by saying, "such love,--such tenderness, in one so young and beautiful, must have warmed the heart of a dull stoic, much more than that of one endowed by nature with the most amorous inclinations" (262-63). Jemmy himself defends his actions and proclaims his love for Jenny, "only as a mere matter of amusement of his senses, without allowing it any share in the affections of his mind" (262-63). Jenny's devotion and love are pointed out by the narrator:

I would not be understood . . . that the vice of inconstancy ought to be imputed to the hero of this story; what in most others is the effect of love of variety, was produced in him by the too great vivacity and sprightliness of his temper; he had sometimes very

strong inclinations, but never a real affection for any but his dear Jenny: and though these may have led him into errors which render him not wholly blameless, yet the permanence of his devours to that sole object of his honourable passion, shows his character to have in it infinitely more of light than shade.

(233-34)

The narrator reminds the reader that Jenny is the one true love of Jemmy even though he has been with other women. Referring to the affairs as “errors” detracts from and almost minimizes the seriousness of the infidelities. The narrator wants Jemmy to be viewed in a more positive light, and the reader feels that Jemmy’s devotion to Jenny is very important. Jenny, who is living a very quiet life in comparison, tolerates and even forgives Jemmy. “All I desire,” Jenny contends, is

“that when we marry you will either have no more amours, or be more cautious in concealing them; and in return, I promise never to examine into your conduct,—to send no spies to watch your motions,—to listen to no tales that might be brought me. nor by any methods whatever endeavor to discover that you would have me.”

(58)

As Jenny admits to both Jemmy and to herself that his infidelities should stop when they are married, she realizes that they may not end. There is no doubt, at least in the mind of Jenny, that the two will be married, for she never drifts from the idea. In fact the two who were destined for each other from birth never claim

otherwise even when they take a break from each other; their undying devotion looms in even the shakiest of situations.

Jenny is more concerned with the dynamics between married people than with the idea of infidelity. Instead of being angry and hurt by Jemmy's behavior, Jenny is resigned to the fact that she may just have to accept the idea that her beloved fiancé may have extra-marital affairs. Jenny's attitude is that if he does, she doesn't want to know, and she advises him to be more discreet in order to hide the affair from her and from the rest of the world. Again, instead of anger, she offers advice. Jenny, once more, represents the voice of reason that is part of the "new" heroines that Haywood created in the last years of her literary career. This new breed of female characters is more accepting of woman's lot in life, than were the heroines of earlier novels, who were more rebellious in actions and in words.

Jenny remains in control throughout most of the three volumes filled with adventures. Only once is she caught out of control. By the end of the novel, when Jemmy and Jenny are preparing to be married, Jemmy disappears. Not knowing where he is and what has happened, Jenny dreams:

a thousand melancholy reflections return'd upon her mind;--her thoughts pursued the dear unhappy fugitive in his wanderings, they painted him to her troubled imaginations in the most forlorn and piteous moving figure, thus traveling by night, and exposed to dangers almost equal to those from which he fled;--nor when her eyes, doubly fatigued with tears and watching, were closed again

in sleep, did the sad ideas entirely quit her head. (95-96)

Jenny fears the worst for Jemmy in this dream sequence. Instead of wondering, as perhaps other women would, if he is with another woman, Jenny worries for his safety. Jenny exposes her fears and emotions, and for the first time in the novel her character loses self-control. The worry and stress that Jenny experiences are short-lived, however, since Jemmy returns and the two are married. Once more Jenny stays true to form; instead of worrying that he has had an affair, she excuses his absence, never to mention it again.

The double sexual standard is one of the controlling elements in the novel as explained by Sarah Barron in her 1982 dissertation entitled "Female Difficulties: Woman's Role and Woman's Fate in Eighteenth-Century Women's Fiction." Barron contends that there are three reasons for the double sexual standard. Most of her research on this topic is information compiled from a study by Lawrence Stone entitled *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800*. Stone suggests that "men are the heir to property and title. Women for millennia have been regarded as the sexual property of men and that the value of property is diminished if it has been or is being used by anyone other than the legal owner" (qtd. in Barron 99). A third reason, Stone argues, is that

the worst thing a man could say about another man was that he was a liar. . . the worst thing a woman could say about another woman was that she was unchaste, which might result in a lawsuit thus, a man's honour depended on his spoken word; a woman's honour on her reputation for chastity. (qtd. in Barron 100)

This explanation does not serve to accept or defend Jemmy's behavior; it simply explains the rationale behind the indiscreet behavior of men and the acceptance of this behavior by women. Haywood, having lived during this time period, has a more accepting view as exhibited in *The History of Jemmy and Jenny Jessamy*. In her earlier novels, Haywood depicts her heroines as more rebellious, and they have their own affairs. The earlier novels do not accept this view; it is only with her later novels that Haywood tolerates this behavior. The heroines of Haywood's last novels have a more realistic approach to their situations. Jenny, for instance, is a rational thinking female who assesses her situation by looking at the prescribed role for women and accepting it.



## Conclusion

During the first part of the twentieth century, Haywood was praised for her contribution to the development of the novel. In 1915, Columbia University Press published George Whicher's biography of Haywood. In it, he attempts to "revive the reputation of a forgotten author" (vii). He praises her writing and contends that her work was "a necessary complement to Defoe's romances of adventure exactly as her Duncan Campbell pamphlets supplied the one element lacking in his" (vii). Whicher did not want her contributions to be ignored.

Ten years later, Virginia Woolf attacked Whicher's tribute to Haywood by maintaining that she was indeed "a scribbling dame." According to Woolf, Haywood was "an extremely indifferent writer and the resources of Columbia University have been wasted upon the exercise of cataloguing her work and drawing it to the attention of a reading public who could profitably spend their time in other ways" (93). Woolf's harsh criticism of Haywood fails to consider the different genres in which Haywood wrote and that she was an extremely popular writer. Woolf never alludes to any particular piece of writing or theme that she may have disliked. She offers no concrete evidence to support her claim that Haywood was "an indifferent writer." Perhaps if Woolf had provided the reader with evidence of having actually read Haywood, her assertions would be credible. She fails to do so; therefore Woolf's essay becomes a blanket assumption about a writer whom she may never have read.

In addition to novels and plays, Haywood developed two newspapers, *The Female Spectator* and *The Parrot*, with the former being a highly successful periodical for and about women. *The Female Spectator* could be considered an invaluable marketing device for Haywood since it allowed for direct access to her readers. She knew exactly what readers concerns were and provided advice to her captive audience. Bridging the gap between Haywood and her readers could explain the popularity of the magazine. Women now had a place where their voices could be heard, and the monthly essay was a response to these voices. The magazine defined a relationship between a didactic writer and her intended reader.

Haywood was aware that her name alone could sell a novel. For her, this knowledge would become invaluable since she already had a link to her readers through her monthly magazine. She knew what topics would sell magazines and wrote to feed the appetite of her growing number of fans. She had a split literary career, and it would be worth investigating whether the audience Haywood had early in her career supported her during the later years.

The unanswered questions and mystery surrounding the life and times of Eliza Haywood have been the topic of at least three biographies since the time of her death. The most recent, by Christine Blouch, lends credibility to the questions that remained since Whicher's biography written in 1915. Blouch attempts to verify Haywood's date of birth and death in order to eliminate the question marks that always followed these dates in previous biographies. She

also provides an alternative explanation of why Haywood was less productive in the years that followed such a voracious writing period. Blouch also speculates about the true identity of Haywood's parents and husband. Although the biography includes much conjecture, it indicates that there is a strong interest in Haywood, enough that scholars are willing to investigate her life further.

This most current biography proves that Haywood is a writer whom many critics both past and present have ignored and one who should be reexamined. Interest in Haywood and her work have experienced a rebirth and has been the focus of dissertations and numerous websites devoted exclusively to her life and work. Haywood has been rediscovered and is experiencing the recognition that once eluded her. She is being recognized for her contributions to the development of the novel.

The eighteenth century proved to be a time of change; among the changes were two very important literary developments: the emergence of the novel and the establishment of professional women writers. Eliza Fowler Haywood is one of the early "female masters" whose voice may have represented the eighteenth-century woman living isolated under the rule of a dominant husband and fulfilling society's prescribed role. Haywood can be recognized for giving her heroines a voice and thereby defying the male-dominated society in which she lived.

This thesis has uncovered possibilities for future research topics. For instance, a further investigation of *The Female Spectator* could help define Haywood's audience. Since facts about readership remain hard to come by, one

would have to examine publishers' lists and subscription lists. One drawback is such research that may reveal more about who had money than about who her actual readers were. A thorough investigation of *The Female Spectator* could also uncover advertising and marketing methods that were used to promote the magazine and to solicit subscribers.

Eliza Fowler Haywood was an aggressive writer who commented upon the position of women in eighteenth-century England. Haywood's place in the history of the novel cannot be measured by a single text. Further research will enrich and illuminate our understanding of Haywood and her writing.

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