

Haywood in Holland: Translating the Passions in the French and Dutch Translation of *Idalia; or the Unfortunate Mistress* (1723)

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As the essay by Anne Persons in this collection illustrates, transnational and translational approaches have quickly gained ground in Haywood studies over the past few years. Several scholars have already productively explored Haywood as a translator and as a participant in the transnational book market.¹ However, Haywood did not only translate novels herself: from the mid-eighteenth century onwards, many of Haywood's own works were also translated and favourably received in several European countries.² Though these translations and adaptations represent a considerable part of Haywood's contemporary output and thus her original audience, such translations remain almost wholly overlooked in the field of Haywood studies.³ As translation grew in popularity around mid-century, especially Haywood's mid- to late-career bestsellers—for example *The Female Spectator* (1744-46) and *The History of Miss Betsy Thoughtless* (1751)—were translated into several languages almost immediately after their publication.⁴ However, perhaps surprisingly, Haywood's salacious amatory fiction of the 1720s also continued to have a rich continental afterlife. From 1751 onwards, several of Haywood's early-career novels garnered the attention of European and especially French audiences. In 1770, almost half a century after their original publication date, three of Haywood's early amorous tales—*The British Recluse* (1722), *Idalia; or the Unfortunate Mistress* (1723) and *The Injur'd Husband* (1723)—were translated into French. Indeed, new translations of Haywood's amatory fiction, such as the Dutch translation of *Idalia* (1803) or the French translation of *The Rash Resolve* (1801) found their way into the continental literary marketplace until well into the early nineteenth century.⁵

This essay takes a closer look at the trajectory of one of these amatory fictions, *Idalia; or the Unfortunate Mistress*. Originally published in 1723 and later reprinted in several collections of Haywood's work, this novel was first translated into French in Amsterdam in 1770, and this French version was later translated into Dutch in 1803. Such sustained late-eighteenth-century interest in Haywood's so-called scandal fiction might seem surprising, yet, it is a commonplace that amatory fiction went out of fashion during the late 1720s and early 1730s. In the past decade, however, several critics have persuasively argued that mid-century writers continued to engage with amatory tropes and codes.⁶ Aleksondra Hultquist and Jennie Batchelor, for instance, have re-evaluated mid-century domestic novels through the lens of amatory fiction, arguing that writers from the 1750s, including Haywood herself, continued to explore similar topics and re-used certain amatory conventions, such as the figure of the coquette, the importance of female communities and the representation of marriage.⁷ Similarly, Kathryn R. King maps out the literary afterlife of Haywood's amatory writing in the form of adaptations and rewritings, showing not only that the amatory spirit lingered in mid-century domestic novels, but also that Haywood's writings resurfaced in anonymous works until late in the century.⁸

The continental legacy of Haywood's work is part of this peculiar yet seemingly persistent late eighteenth-century interest in amatory writing. As I will argue in this essay, examining which elements the translators have chosen to downplay and which to amplify in Haywood's *Idalia* enables us further to refine our understanding of the complex afterlife both of Haywood and of amatory fiction more generally. It helps us, that is, gain a sense of why these erotic fictions continued to spark readerly and authorial interest well after their supposed heyday.⁹ In particular, Haywood's translators redistribute the emotional charge of the text from predominantly erotic and titillating to the sentimental, thus, they adapt her novels in order to fit the sentimental literary climate of the 1770s. This happens in two ways: by

excising Haywood's characteristic exclamatory discourse, and by foregrounding the complex psychological interiority of her characters. Haywood's amatory fiction thus seems to have interested her late-eighteenth-century readers because of its investment in the affective and psychological interiors of her characters. However, as I will argue in the final section of this essay, removing Haywood's trademark arousing scenes might also have inadvertently inhibited this creation of sentimental readerly identification. That is to say, prefatory materials and contemporary reviews suggest that readers failed to connect emotionally with Haywood's characters precisely because of the absence of Haywood's trademark "warmth of style" which would have facilitated such emotional bonds. This argument will build on those of such scholars as Kathleen Lubey and Aleksandra Hultquist, who are increasingly recognizing the complex pedagogic and epistemological functions of the passions in Haywood's work.¹⁰ By removing these erotic moments the translators made the text more appropriate for this later time period, but, in doing so, they also greatly diminished the effectiveness of Haywood's original passionate discourse on her audience.

Erasing the Erotic

The French translator makes several drastic changes to Haywood's characteristically titillating depictions of erotic love and passion: Haywood's scenes of emotional and sexual intensity usually remain in the text but, again and again, references to bodily stimulation and pleasure disappear in the French translation. This is likely altered because the mid-century novel relied more on sentimental rather than erotic identification. Haywood employs several literary and narrative techniques in order to stimulate readers' erotic and bodily identification with her characters, ranging from her characteristic exclamatory language to generic hybridity. In this section, I examine two ways in which Haywood aims to achieve this—

voyeuristic descriptions with reference to sexual pleasure, and exoticized scenery—and how the French translator categorically removes such instances.

Idalia teems with descriptions of sexual pleasure. For example, Haywood writes that new love produces “gay Wishes, pleasing Dreams and rapturous Images of Joys” when “new Desires play round the innocent Heart, and gentle Thrillings warm the throbbing Veins.”¹¹ The French translator, however, truncates Haywood’s original specifically by eliding her excessive and exclamatory language and references to pleasure. Instead, the translator half-heartedly describes “new love” as “pour l’ordinaire agreable.” [often pleasurable.]¹² What is noticeable about this passage in English is that it connects these pleasurable experiences to the body: these “gentle Thrillings” are caused by “new Desires,” and “warm the throbbing Veins.” Though falling short of pornography, Haywood frequently mentions the bodily experiences of her characters, which are often expressions and reflections of their inner turmoil or sexual excitement.¹³ These references to the body are removed from the French and Dutch translations. Take for example, *Idalia*’s visceral reaction to finding out that the husband of Antonia is, in fact, her former lover Myrtano, which does not find its way to the translated versions: “But tho’ her Eyes shot perfect Fires, and seem’d to start from forth their glowing Orbs—her Lips trembled, her Hair stood an end as tho’ some Spectre had met her Sight and every Limb was shook with inward Agonies.”¹⁴

This passage once again foregrounds the bodily reaction of *Idalia*—her “lips trembled” and “every Limb was shook with inward Agonies”—but it also shows Haywood’s obsessive interest in the pleasure of the voyeuristic gaze by highlighting how “her Eyes,” these “glowing Orbs,” “shot perfect Fires.” Again and again throughout *Idalia*, Haywood makes erotically charged allusions to “gazing,” “the Joy of looking,” “the Joy adequate to that of gazing on you,” “gaz[ing] on him with a Pleasure which as yet she knew not the Meaning of,”

and the “Charms she had for him,” which he “immediately read in her Eyes.”¹⁵ All of these allusions, which together create a voyeuristic atmosphere, are meticulously excised from both the French and Dutch translations. For instance, Myrtano explains to Idalia how his admiration for her can be “a thousand, thousand times,” “read in [his] eyes.”¹⁶ Haywood describes how he gazes upon Idalia with his “glowing burning Balls” and emphasizes how it affords him “Extasy unspeakable” and “Pleasure” that “wound up to such a Height of racking Rapture that it even became a Pain and a stagger’d Sense.”¹⁷ In the French translation, Myrtano merely concludes that “vous dutes mille fois vous en appercevoir à mes yeux.” [you have seen it a thousand times in my eyes.]¹⁸ Considering the translator’s agenda of diminishing the erotic charge of the text, it makes sense that they choose to erase not only the characters bodily reactions, but also these glances and gazes which express and evoke sexual desire and pleasure.

Besides these relatively explicit and unambiguous descriptions of sexual and voyeuristic pleasure, *Idalia* also seeks to enhance the erotic undertones of her novel by means of her elaborately descriptive settings. Most noticeably, Haywood evokes the exotic—a popular setting frequently used as the backdrop for erotic literature—as a means to seduce and titillate the reader.¹⁹ In part two of the novel, Haywood is abducted by Abdomar and his wife Bellraizia, who are introduced as the “Barbary Corsair(s).”²⁰ Immediately profiled as foreign others, this is followed by a lavish description of the unfamiliar decorations of their ship’s cabin. Cynthia Wall also notices these unusually extensive descriptive passages in *Idalia*, arguing that Haywood prioritizes the descriptions of things and objects in order to “visualize the exotic” and “perform some seductive function for character and reader.”²¹

The description runs for almost an entire page in Haywood's original novel, meticulously describing "the choicest Curiosities which Art could produce in all the various Climates of the inhabitable World."²² The ground, for instance, is "Silver, on which were so dextrously interwoven all manner of fine Flowers, that they seem'd more the Handy-work of Nature than of human Skill" and the windows which are "join'd with precious stones," such as "Diamonds, Rubies, Emeralds, Chrysolites, and Saphirs," which "spread such a Dazling Glory round the Room, that it even pain'd the Eye to look upon."²³ Haywood's elaborate account of the "dashing of the Waves," luxurious materials, precious stones, and flowers not only express a feeling of the seductively exotic and sensual delight, but also the immense pleasure it evokes in the characters. The French translation of this passage, however, is significantly shorter. Rather than detailing how this cabin is the "greatest Magnificence that ever Idalia had beheld," the French translator keeps it short and factual: "Le plancher étoit couvert des plus riches tapis qu'on ait jamais vus; le fond: en étoit d'argent, relevé d'une broderie qui imitoit toutes sortes de fleurs." [The floor was covered with the richest carpet ever seen; the ground was of silver, which revealed an embroidery which imitates all sorts of flowers.]²⁴ By removing the excessive luxury, sensuous metaphors and, importantly, the exhilarating effect these have on the viewer, the translator yet again diminishes the titillating and seductive atmosphere of Haywood's original.

Increasing Interiority

Diminishing the erotic charge of the text by omitting Haywood's voyeuristic and pleasurable discourse and the elaborate exotic settings allows for those other moments of emotional intensity more appropriate to the sentimental novel—sympathy, compassion, pity—to be featured more prominently. Omitting the voyeuristic and exotic already allows the affective charge to shift towards a more sentimental tone, but the translators also add elements

to further intensify this proto-sentimental undercurrent in Haywood's work. Plot-wise, both the French and Dutch translator stick closely to the original version, with the exception of the very end of the novel. Haywood's original abruptly ends and offers a brief, factual account of the events. Thus, after the realization that she has plunged the dagger into Myrtano, rather than Florez, Idalia "tore her Hair and Face, rav'd, stamp'd, curs'd Fate, and scarce spar'd Heaven in the Extremity of her Anguish. She threw herself upon his bleeding Body, and kiss'd a thousand times the Wound she made. But this affording her little Satisfaction to the Racks of Thought which at this Shocking Moment hurry'd her wild Brain, she started up, and snatching the Dagger plung'd it thro' her Heart."²⁵ Haywood focusses much more on the specific actions Idalia undertakes—"tore her Hair," "rav'd, stamp'd, curs'd"—rather than detailing the "Racks of Thought" which "hurry'd wild her Brain." While the eventual outcome remains the same—the accidental murder of Myrtano, Idalia's suicide and Florez's arrest and subsequent death still take place—the French and Dutch translation add several pages dedicated solely to Idalia's inner turmoil and how she is of two minds about what to do next after the accidental murder of her lover. That Haywood offers an abrupt ending is not unusual when situating *Idalia* within the wider context of the amatory fiction she published during the 1720s. Plenty of her other novellas—*Fantomina* (1725) or *The Masqueraders* (1724) to name but a few—often feature sudden conventional endings in which the female protagonists are essentially punished—or so it seems—for their socially and sexually transgressive behaviour. In the specific case of *Idalia*, however, such an ending feels somewhat out of place. Haywood's unusually abrupt ending to her narrative feels slightly misconceived: Haywood's narrative not only teems with erotic descriptions, but also regularly calls explicit attention to the psychological conditions of her characters. For example, early on in the story Henriquez and Ferdinand duel for the love of Idalia: their fight is anti-climactically described in a single

sentence, and, instead, Haywood uses this plot point to elaborate on how Idalia was “entertaining herself with Ideas of a far different nature” and “in contemplations therefore, not displeasing, did [Idalia] pass her time.”²⁶ Rather than using a duel to create narrative tension, Haywood utilizes it to ruminate in detail on the “instability in [Idalia’s] nature,” which “could easily be brought from one Extreme to another and that she who but a few days before was all Despair and Rage, was already grown so temperate and calm”²⁷

Joseph Bartolomeo notices this detailed attention to the inner thought processes of the characters as well: “Haywood’s use of the spectacular murder/suicide does provide a resolution to the plot, but a purely external one. In a narrative regularly concerned with characters’ psychological states, especially the heroine’s, the melodramatic ending substitutes for and precludes any resolution of Idalia’s internal conflicts.”²⁸ “Her final encounter with Myrtano,” he goes on to speculate, “could have furnished an occasion for self-discovery and purposeful action.”²⁹ It is exactly this that French translator tries to achieve in the passages which are added to the novel’s conclusion. The readers gain access to a whirlwind of emotions through a dramatic monologue added by the translator. After Idalia first blames herself for Myrtano’s unfortunate death, she soon directs the blame to the heavens: “Non, ce n’est point moi, le ciel, le ciel inexorable a fasciné mes yeux, et guidé mon bras dans tes flancs...” [no, it’s not me, it’s heaven, the relentless heaven which has blinded my eyes and has guided my arms into your flanks...] ³⁰ She then goes on to blame Florez—“ce traître, la source de tous mes maux” [the traitor, the source of all my misfortunes]—for ruining her honour and seeks to plot revenge: “oui, j’ai dû, je le dois, je veux m’en venger... courons, volons à lui, enfonçons dans sons sein ce fer qui a tranche les jours de mon amant.” [I have to do it, I want to avenge myself for him—we (I) will run, fly at him, and push in his chest that steel which has shortened the days of my lover.] ³¹ However, she soon starts to doubt her plan to avenge Florez—“Quoi! Tu balances,” [How! Why do you doubt,] she exclaims—

afterwards finally deciding her life is not worth living with Myrtano not in it: “quoi! Je fonge à la vengeance, quand je n’ai plus rien qui m’attache à la vie! Le trépas de Florez me rendra-t-il Myrtano? Non.” [How! I think about vengeance, while I have nothing left which ties me to life! Will the death of Florez bring back Myrtano? No].³²

While the ending has essentially the same outcome as Haywood’s original, the translator gives the reader a glimpse into the complex back and forth of emotions—denial, revenge, doubt—that Idalia is experiencing. In fact, the French translator’s dissatisfaction with the original ending and subsequent elaboration on the complex thought patterns of Idalia suggest that Haywood’s interest in the inner psychology and subjectivity of her characters might have been what attracted the French translator to translate *Idalia* into the French in the first place. Around mid-century, with the advent of sentimentalism and sensibility, novels were increasingly interested in depicting the psychological states of characters, which was, for instance, facilitated by the techniques of the newly emerging epistolary novel. Though Haywood opts for an omniscient narrator rather than the epistolary mode, *Idalia* shows early signs of this type of novel that was interested in depicting not only the adventures but also the characters’ feelings and motivations, which would begin to flourish around mid-century. The translator’s amplification of Idalia’s inner turmoil thus makes perfect sense: it was a means to adapt Haywood’s novel to the literary tastes of the 1770s.

Besides the addition of several pages at such a crucial point in the story, the ornaments and illustrations that frame the text also undergo considerable changes from edition to edition. Haywood’s original version features several ornaments by Henry Woodfall which depict foreign lands or pastoral scenery, complementing the often elaborately described settings which played an important role in seducing and potentially arousing the reader. The tailpiece of the second part and the headpiece of the third part, for instance, show a seemingly foreign

landscape with (volcanic) mountains and a sun-drenched castle and forest. These ornaments appear immediately after the inset narrative of the romance between Abdomar and Bellraizia in which Haywood's detailed descriptions of the luxurious and royal setting of a foreign country form a locus for excitement and arousal.

Whereas the original English novel contains exotic and pastoral tailpieces and headpieces, the French edition is relatively modestly decorated, only featuring a few simple floral trellises on its title page. The Dutch version, on the other hand, is accompanied by three new engravings by Dutch printmaker Christiaan Bierweiler. It is even advertised as one of its features on the title page: the title page signals it is “met Plaatén” (with Engravings) and is adorned with an engraving that depicts the final scene of the novel, where Idalia realizes she has mistakenly stabbed her lover Myrtano instead of Florez (figure 1). That the Dutch translation is published with expensive engravings is significant in itself because this would seem to have been a conscious effort to elevate Haywood's amatory novel to a more respectable level.³³

CAPTION FIGURE 1: Title page of *Idalie, of de ongelukkige minnares* (1803). Courtesy of the Library of the University of Amsterdam.

All three engravings depict crucial plot points and moments of emotional intensity. Whereas the ornaments in the English version serve to foreground the amatory and salacious contents of the novel, these new engravings seem to be designed to play on readers' feelings. This time, they help to assimilate Haywood's text to the current literary climate of sentimentalism by evoking compassion, pity and terror, rather than more straightforward erotic stimulation. These engravings facilitate emotional identification with the protagonists both by visualizing the expressions and emotions of the characters and by depicting a specific setting.

The characters and the physical reactions of their bodies are the focal points of these engravings. In both English and Dutch sentimental fiction, the body was an important signifier of sentimental feeling. The sentimental novel relied on the capacity of the body to articulate sentiment, stimulating in its audience a response equivalent to the ones presented in the novel in order to strengthen the sense of an emotional community.³⁴ The French translation of *Idalia* often shuns descriptions of the physical body, which could serve as potential sites for arousal in Haywood's original text. However, through the use of these often dramatic and theatrical illustrations, the Dutch translation reintroduces the body, this time not as an object of desire, but rather as a tool for heightening the sentimental feelings the text produces. For example, the first scene that is illustrated is Idalia's attempt to stab Don Ferdinand after he tries to force himself onto her (figure 2). This is one of the many moments of emotional excess which populate the novel during which Idalia was "van afgrijzen, schaamte en woede geheel enal buiten heur zelve, uit." [was completely beside herself of horror, shame and anger.]³⁵ The expressive look of terror on Idalia's face strengthens Haywood's mission to evoke a compassionate response to Idalia's misfortunes. This is similarly the case with the illustration on the title page: Idalia's theatrical body language—arms thrown in the air of emotional distress—helps strengthen the emotional identification the text is supposed to evoke in its audience.

CAPTION FIGURE 2: Engraving in *Idalie, of de ongelukkige minnares* (1803), 23. Courtesy of the Library of the University of Amsterdam.

The surroundings in which the characters find themselves also contribute to advancing the emotional responses of its readers. This attention to setting as a means to access the characters' inner reflections in order subsequently to evoke an appropriate emotional response

in the reader, was one of the defining literary devices of the Dutch sentimental novel.³⁶ In the original English version, as well as the two translations, the text itself regularly brings to attention the close correlation between setting and the characters' emotional states. When Idalia is wandering around the forest, for instance, she is said to have “found herself in a place suited as it were, by Nature, to her present Disposition: ... No Fields of Corn, no Vines, no Olives here were planted, no limpid Streams, no cool refreshing Rivulets appear'd to charm the Eye with gay delightful Prospects . . . [which] composed a sad, ubless'd, Variety, and spread an Area of nought but Horror.”³⁷ In the Dutch version, this passage is accompanied by an engraving in which Idalia begs Don Ferdinand not to hurt her and in which she is experiencing “onuitdrukkelijke smerten” [inexpressible pains] such that she “[stort] een stroom van tranen, [werpt] zig aan zijne voeten.” [bursts into tears, throws herself at his feet.]³⁸ Again, the scene illustrated is one of extreme emotional intensity, and the setting—a densely wooded background and bare branches—helps convey to its reader Idalia's acute sense of anguish (figure 3). This is likewise the case with the engraving on the title page: the tragic final scene is framed by dark trees and bushes and a somewhat ominous monastery—the Benedictine Nunnery—looming in the background. This gloomy setting complements the general sense of terror that characterizes the novel's disastrous ending and in which “de wanhoop gleeed in [Idalia's] hart.” [despair entered Idalia's heart.]³⁹

CAPTION FIGURE 3: Engraving in *Idalie, of de ongelukkige minnares* (1803), 109.

Courtesy of the Library of the University of Amsterdam.

Contemporary Reception

The translation and modification of *Idalia* itself already helps explain why Haywood's amatory fiction continued to spark interest in the second half of the century: rather than its

explicit erotic and sexual content, translators seemed to have been attracted to Haywood's investment in the psychological states of her characters. However, the prefatory material and critical reviews further provide unique insights into the late-eighteenth-century reception of Haywood's amatory fiction. *Idalia* was reviewed by two Dutch magazines and both reviews mention the relatively unoriginal and formulaic nature of *Idalia* and suggest that the novel was initially translated, not so much for its literary merit, but rather in the hopes of thriving off of similar novels which enjoyed a wide readership. The reviewer of the *Hedendaagse Vaderlandsche Bibliotheek van Wetenschap, Kunst en Smaak* [*Contemporary National Library of Science, Art and Taste*], for instance, mentions that "Liefde, teleurstelling, wanhopige Exclamatien, en wat al verder meer daartoe behoort, zijn hier schering en inslag. Het is dus een boek gelijk meer andere soortgelijke boeken zijn." [Love, disappointment, desperate exclamations, and all that pertains to that, are commonplace. It is thus a book like there are many others.]⁴⁰

Idalia was also reviewed in an issue of *Algemeene Vaderlandsche Letter-Oefeningen* [*General National Literary Exercises*], the country's leading periodical for literary and cultural criticism. This more elaborate review gives a clearer insight into why exactly they failed to connect with Haywood's novel. The reviewer begins by pointing out the book was neither enjoyable nor educational: "Een Boek, waar by wy juist driemaal zyn ingesluimerd ... we werden 'er noch wyzer noch beter door, en de lezing gaf ons zelfs geen enkel aangenaam oogenblik." [A book, during which we fell asleep three times; ... we did not get any wiser, nor any better because of it, nor did reading this give us any pleasurable moment.]⁴¹ And they end their review by stressing their lack of emotional investment in *Idalia* as a character by joking about her tragic ending: "Eindelyk steekt zy zich zelve dood, en, hoezeer wy den zelfmoord wraken, was ons dit nu toch aangenaam, omdat wy nu niets meer van haar horen zullen."

[Finally she stabs herself to death, and, even though we very much lament suicide, this was rather pleasant, because now we do not have to hear anything from her again.]⁴² The anonymous author of the preface to the French translation of *Idalia* similarly expresses their difficulties sympathizing with Haywood's characters and, interestingly, connects this to the lack of arousing descriptions. The preface author appreciates *Idalia*'s misadventures and the scenes of emotional intensity which would "intéressent tous les coeurs tendres" [interest all tender hearts], but laments the fact that these "situations ... touchantes" [moving situations] lack "chaleur du style" [warmth of style] and only contain "descriptions froides." [cold descriptions].⁴³ It appears that Haywood's passionate discourse is essential in engaging her readers to invest emotionally in the novel's many "moving situations."

That these reviews and prefaces specifically address their difficulties to identify and sympathize with *Idalia* is important. It points towards the significance of the passions in Haywood's amatory fiction. Indeed, several critics have already established that Haywood's immersive amatory prose seems to have served not merely a seductive and titillating function; her seduction narratives were also important sites for knowledge and self-reflection. As Ros Ballaster helpfully summarizes, the job of amatory fiction with its "fanning of amatory flames," is "to provide its readers with a surrogate experience of being moved to feel by an external object so that they can accurately calculate how—in real life—to defend themselves from it."⁴⁴ That is, Haywood aimed to transport readers into the extreme sexual situations and emotional states of her characters, precisely because this would help them acquire knowledge about the workings of human consciousness.⁴⁵ For instance, in the preface of *Lasselia: or; the Self-Abandoned* (1725), Haywood justifies the "too great Warmth" of her texts because, without it, it would be impossible for the reader to realize "how probable it is that he is falling into those Inadvertencies which the Examples I relate wou'd caution him to avoid."⁴⁶

According to Haywood, her titillating and erotic scenes are the most apt way of increasing readers' interaction with the text and improving their ability to, as Kathleen Lubey notes, "reflect on their interiors and experiences."⁴⁷

In other words, according to these reviewers, *Idalia* failed to achieve the two things Haywood sets out to do in her amatory fiction: instruct readers by encouraging them to connect with the protagonists—physically *and* intellectually. By redistributing the affective charge of the text from erotic to sentimental, then, it appears that the translators made *Idalia* more fitting for the mid-eighteenth-century turn to sentimentality. However, denying the readers this identificatory and immersive experience that Haywood's amorous language typically evoked might also have significantly diminished the effectiveness of stimulating and educating readers to apply this knowledge to their own experiences.

Conclusion

This analysis of *Idalia*'s translations and reception is only a small step towards establishing a much-needed pan-European view of Haywood's career but it illustrates why exactly studying these translations is a useful exercise. That is to say, these continental translations provide a wealth of information about the perhaps unexpectedly persistent interest in Haywood's amatory fiction in the late eighteenth century, highlighting aspects of her early amatory work which might otherwise have gone by relatively unnoticed. Certainly, continental translators breathed new life into Haywood's early amatory fiction during the latter decades of the century, but the translations of *Idalia* suggest that these writings might have attracted late-eighteenth-century readers for quite different reasons than one might suspect. Rather than the sensational and erotic content, it is Haywood's investment in the representation of her

characters' psychological states that drew readers to her work well past their supposed sell-date.

That Haywood's early novels continued to attract publishers and translators in a sentimental literary marketplace also further complicates the traditional "story," as Paula Backscheider calls it, of Haywood as a writer who initially published salacious amatory fiction and later reformed to writing more morally didactic works. Backscheider advocates that, instead, we should "connect her texts" in "meaningful ways."⁴⁸ Recent critics, then, have worked hard to upend the dichotomy between these "two Haywoods," questioning this supposed turn to morality and showing how she, instead, "sustained a set of preoccupations and strategies over the course of nearly forty years as a professional writer."⁴⁹ An analysis of the late-eighteenth-century popularity of Haywood's amatory fiction similarly blurs these rigid distinctions between early and late Haywood: her amatory fiction continued to spark interest in this later sentimental period and, in fact, entered the marketplace around the same time as her other late-career novels such as *The History of Miss Betsy Thoughtless* (1751) or *The Fortunate Foundlings* (1744). Indeed, it seems that, for Haywood's continental audience, there were never even two distinct "Haywoods" in the first place.

Such great work! Thank you. I have made a few minor suggestions that you can take or leave as you see fit. This is such a great addition to the collection and I look forward to the many essays about Haywood's work that it will engender.

¹ See, for instance, Beatrijs Vanacker, "'On the inconstancy, the perfidy and deceit of mankind in love affairs': Eliza Haywood's translation of *La paysanne parvenue*," in *Translators, Interpreters, Mediators: Women Writers 1700-1900*, ed. Gillian Dow, (Bern: Peter Lang, 2007), 55-71; Séverine Genieys-Kirk, "Eliza Haywood's translation and dialogic

reading of Madeleine-Angelique de Gomez's 'Journées amusantes' (1722-1731)," in

Translators, Interpreters, Mediators, 37-54; Mary Helen McMurrin, *The Spread of Novels: Translation and Prose Fiction in the Eighteenth Century* (New Jersey: Princeton UP, 2009).

² Patrick Spedding, *A Bibliography of Eliza Haywood* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2004), 22.

³ See Beatrijs Vanacker, "Discours libertin et argument national dans le triptyque (Haywood, Crébillon-fils, Kimber) des 'Heureux orphelins'," *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 24, no. 1 (2013): 655-685; Finny Bottinga, "Eliza Haywood's *Female Spectator* and its Dutch translation *De Engelsche Spectatrice*," in *I Have Heard about You: Foreign Women's Writing Crossing the Dutch Border*, ed. Suzan Van Dijk (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2004), 217-224.

⁴ Spedding, *Bibliography*, 777-781.

⁵ Spedding, *Bibliography*, 777-781. The Dutch translation of *Idalia, Idalie; of de Ongelukkige Minnares* (Amsterdam: Gerbrand Roos, 1803) is not adopted in Spedding's otherwise detailed bibliography, but see: <https://patrickspedding.blogspot.com/2019/11/a-dutch-translation-of-idalia.html>.

⁶ Peter Sabor and Thomas Keymer, *Pamela in the Marketplace: Literary Controversy and Print Culture in Eighteenth-Century Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2005), 83-96; Kate Williams, "Women Writers and the Rise of the Novel," in *The History of British Women's Writing, 1690-1750*, ed. Ros Ballaster (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 113-124.

⁷ Aleksandra Hultquist, "Marriage in Haywood; or Amatory Reading Rewarded," in *Masters of the Marketplace: British Women Novelists of the 1750s*, ed. Susan Carlile (Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 2011), 31-46; Jennie Batchelor, "The 'latent seeds of coquetry': Amatory Fiction and the 1750s Novel," in *Masters of the Marketplace*, 145-164.

⁸ Kathryn King, “The Afterlife and Strange Surprising Adventures of Haywood’s Amatories (with Thoughts on *Betsy Thoughtless*),” in *Masters of the Marketplace*, 203-218.

⁹ While I describe Haywood’s amatory fiction as containing erotic elements, it is important to distinguish “amatory fiction” from “erotica.” Following Kathleen Lubey, I consider Haywood’s fiction to be “arousing readers’ erotic interests” for “pedagogic ends.” However, amatory fiction differs from erotica as a genre: while both are centrally concerned with seduction and sexual activity, amatory fiction is often more earnest and sentimental in its tone. See Lubey, “Eliza Haywood’s Amatory Aesthetic,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 39, no. 3 (2006): 309-310; Karen Harvey, *Reading Sex in the Eighteenth Century: Bodies and Gender in English Erotic Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004), 32-33.

¹⁰ Lubey, 309-322. See also the work of Stephen Ahern, who addresses the functional and educational similarities between amatory fiction and sentimental novels. Ahern, *Affected Sensibilities: Romantic Excess and the Genealogy of the Novel, 1680–1810* (New York: AMS Press, 2007).

¹¹ Haywood, *Idalia* (London: 1723), I 51.

¹² *Idalie, ou l’amante infortunée* (Amsterdam: n.p., 1770), I 121. All translations in the essay, both from the Dutch and French translations of the novel, are my own.

¹³ For a more detailed reading of the “affective body” as “a site of emotion work” in Haywood’s amatory fiction, see Aleksandra Hultquist, “Amorous Constitutions: Bodies and the Affect of Amatory Seduction in Eliza Haywood’s *Lasselia*,” *Restoration* 44, no. 1 (2020): 106.

¹⁴ Haywood, *Idalia*, II 79.

¹⁵ Haywood, *Idalia*, 18, 34, 52.

¹⁶ Haywood, *Idalia*, II 88.

¹⁷ Haywood, *Idalia*, 88.

¹⁸ *Idalie, ou l'amante infortunée*, III 43.

¹⁹ Roy Porter, "The Exotic as Erotic: Captain Cook in Tahiti," in *Exoticism in the Enlightenment*, ed. G.S. Rousseau and Roy Porter (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), 118; Eugenia Zuroski, *A Taste for China: English Subjectivity and the Prehistory of Orientalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 164.

²⁰ Haywood, *Idalie, ou l'amante infortunée*, II 23.

²¹ Cynthia Wall, *The Prose of Things: Transformations of Description in the Eighteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 4.

²² Haywood, *Idalie, ou l'amante infortunée*, II 25.

²³ Haywood, *Idalie, ou l'amante infortunée*, II 25.

²⁴ Haywood, *Idalie, ou l'amante infortunée*, II 54.

²⁵ Haywood, *Idalie, ou l'amante infortunée*, III 134-135.

²⁶ Haywood, *Idalie, ou l'amante infortunée*, I 44-47.

²⁷ Haywood, *Idalie, ou l'amante infortunée*, I 47.

²⁸ Joseph Bartolomeo, *Matched Pairs: Gender and Intertextual Dialogue in Eighteenth-Century Fiction* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2004), 50.

²⁹ Bartolomeo, *Matched Pairs*, 50.

³⁰ Haywood, *Idalie, ou l'amante infortunée*, III 147.

³¹ Haywood, *Idalie, ou l'amante infortunée*, III 148.

³² Haywood, *Idalie, ou l'amante infortunée*, III 150.

³³ Even during her lifetime, different publishers moulded Haywood's public image in different ways, opting to present her as "a prestigious author of high-culture belles-lettres," on the one hand, or a writer of "amatory intrigue and thinly veiled scandal," on the other hand. See, for instance, Al Coppola, "The Secret History of Eliza Haywood's Works: The Early Novel and

the Book Trade,” *1650-1850: Ideas, Aesthetics and Inquiries in the Early Modern Era* 19, no. 1 (2012): 137.

³⁴ John Mullan, *Sentiment and Sociability the Language of Feeling in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988), 16; Janet Todd, *Sensibility: An Introduction* (Methuen: London, 1986), 4; Inger Leemans and Johannes, Gertjan, *Worm en donder. Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse literatuur 1700-1800: de Republiek* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2013), 367.

³⁵ Haywood, *Idalie, of de ongelukkige minnares*, I 23.

³⁶ J.J. Kloek, “Rhijnvis Feith, het belang en de gevoelige lezer. Een receptie-esthetische problematiek avant la lettre,” *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* 97, no. 1 (1981): 129.

³⁷ Haywood, *Idalie, of de ongelukkige minnares*, II 2.

³⁸ Haywood, *Idalie, of de ongelukkige minnares*, 109.

³⁹ Haywood, *Idalie, of de ongelukkige minnares*, 296.

⁴⁰ *Hedendaagse Vaderlandsche Bibliotheek van Wetenschap, Kunst en Smaak*, (Amsterdam: 1804), 400.

⁴¹ *Algemeene Vaderlandsche Letter-Oefeningen* (Amsterdam: 1804), 657.

⁴² *Algemeene Vaderlandsche Letter-Oefeningen*, 657.

⁴³ Haywood, *Idalie, ou l'amante infortunée*, vi-vii.

⁴⁴ Ros Ballaster, “Sensible Readers: Experiments in Feeling in Early Prose Fiction by Women,” in *The Sentimental Novel in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Alberto J. Rivero (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 35.

⁴⁵ Lubey, “Eliza Haywood’s Amatory Aesthetic,” 309.

⁴⁶ Haywood, *Lasselia: or; the Self-Abandoned* (London: 1725), 2.

⁴⁷ Lubey, “Eliza Haywood’s Amatory Aesthetic,” 309.

⁴⁸ Paula Backscheider, “The Story of Eliza Haywood’s Novels: Caveats and Questions,” in *The Passionate Fictions of Eliza Haywood*, ed. Kirstin Saxton and Rebecca Bocchicchio (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2000), 19-47.

⁴⁹ Kathryn King, *Political Biography of Eliza Haywood* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2014), 8.