

French and English women writers in Dutch library (auction) catalogues, 1700-1800

Some methodological considerations and preliminary results*

It is close to a century now since the publication of Daniel Mornet's groundbreaking article on 'Les enseignements des bibliothèques privées (1750-1780)', in which he sought to draw up lists, on the basis of private French library catalogues, of the best-sellers of the 18th century.¹ Mornet's work continues to find emulators and to inspire new research for a number of reasons: not only did he introduce a welcome new instrument – analysis of (a corpus of) library auction catalogues – to literary reception studies, but he also helped to shift scholarly attention from writers to readers, from the producers of literature to its consumers. With the burgeoning both of the new discipline of book history, with its interest in forbidden and/or forgotten best-sellers, and of feminist literary scholarship, which not infrequently studies the very authors Mornet helped to unearth (an obvious example is Françoise de Graffigny, the most popular novelist in Mornet's sample), Mornet's own influence seems set to last well into the 21st century.

If Mornet's influence has naturally made itself felt most keenly in France itself, scholarship in other countries has also followed his example in making use of library auction catalogues as a source for reconstructing the reception of particular authors, literary genres or movements in a given period or region. In Holland, studies of library (auction) catalogues have been marked both by their historical approach, and by their international orientation. Thus, in the wake of the late Bert van Selm's influential study of 17th-century Dutch book auction catalogues, attention has increasingly been focussed on the 17th- and 18th-century history of the auction catalogue itself and, as a subsidiary concern, the implications this history may have for its use as a source for reconstructing cultural history.²

This awareness of the methodological pitfalls of using auction catalogues for reconstructing literary history has been supplemented by a specific interest in international processes of literary influence. In recent decades, the literary fortune in Holland of non-Dutch authors as diverse as those of the Spanish 'Siglo de Oro' and the Italian Renais-

* I am grateful to Jeroen Blaak, Otto Lankhorst, and Paul Smith for having read and commented on earlier versions of this article. All conclusions remain my own, as do any remaining inaccuracies or inconsistencies.

¹ Mornet 1910.

² Bert van Selm's study was published in Dutch as 'Een menigte treffelijcke Boeken'. Nederlandse boekhandelscatalogi in het begin van de zeventiende eeuw in 1987, but appeared in an earlier, partial version in 1985. For the period studied in the present article, see Van Goinga 1994; a slightly revised, Dutch-language version of this article is included in Van Goinga 1999, p. 183-206. A bibliography of Dutch work on private libraries in the early modern period is provided by De Kooker/Van Selm 1993; on the Dutch book trade in general in this period, see Hofwijzer/Lankhorst 2000.

sance, Rabelais and Marot, Rousseau and Goethe has been studied using library auction catalogues as a source,³ while Mornet's earliest disciple here, S.A. Krijn, sought by the same means to document the influence of French authors on Dutch literary culture in the first half of the 18th century. The present study, in which I will be looking at non-Dutch women writers in a corpus of 254 18th-century Dutch library catalogues, shares with its predecessors both an international perspective and an awareness that, while auction catalogues certainly do say something about literary culture, they often raise as many questions as they answer. This means that, if analyses of library auction catalogues are to play a role in documenting processes of literary influence, they should ideally be regarded as no more than a first – albeit necessary – step to be supplemented in due course by other types of historical data enabling a more qualitative approach to the works under study.

Defining the corpus

My purpose in this article is twofold. In the first place, I would like to determine which non-Dutch women authors – in the event, primarily French and English women authors – could have exerted an influence on cultured Dutch society in the 18th century, my working hypothesis being that the physical presence of certain works in Holland is a prerequisite for their authors' possible influence. At a later stage, I will consider the readership of these women's works by looking more closely at late 18th-century Dutch circulating libraries. A number of related questions are beyond the scope of this article. I do not, for example, purport to offer a comprehensive or even a statistically or socially representative picture of book ownership in the period concerned, a task more suited to studies of probate inventories than of auction catalogues.⁴ It is not my purpose either to analyse individual libraries or individual library owners, nor to analyse the readership and literary fortune of specific authors, although this is certainly one of the possibilities offered by the data presented in this article. It is hoped, rather, that by presenting a very general overview of the data collected, this article may encourage other researchers interested in particular authors or library owners to consult the 'Women Writers' database <www.roquade.nl/wwriters>, which includes the data collected in the course of researching this article in a format enabling further analysis by author, by library owner, time period, etc.

The source which I used to study the role of women writers in 18th-century Holland is a corpus of 254 randomly selected Dutch printed library auction catalogues,⁵ dated between 1700 and 1800 and mostly drawn up after the owner's death, consisting of:

- 170 randomly selected auction catalogues of libraries attributed to one or more male owners, dated 1700-1800, and including anonymous catalogues attributed or attributable (for example because of the owner's profession) to male owners;
- 48 randomly selected auction catalogues of anonymous libraries, dated 1700-1800;

³ By, respectively, Lechner 2001; Van Heck 2000; Smith 1997a; Smith 1997b; Gobbers 1963; Kloek 1985, p. 183-186.

⁴ Various researchers have used probate inventories as a source for studying book ownership in 18th-century Holland. Recent examples include De Kruif 1999, and Strengers-Oerde Kalter 1998.

- all known auction catalogues of 18th-century libraries belonging at least in part to women, including anonymous catalogues attributed to women, that is 30 catalogues dated 1719-1800;⁶
- all available 18th-century circulating library catalogues, that is the catalogues of six libraries, including all supplements, dated 1751-1800.

I excluded from my corpus all catalogues which were made up exclusively of booksellers' stock, as well as (with a few exceptions) the appendices of the catalogues studied, since these were often used by booksellers as a means to auction off their own unsold stock along with the library of a named owner. In addition, I eliminated all catalogues already examined by Krijn in her earlier article in order to facilitate comparisons between my findings and hers, as well as catalogues which were missing pages. I have listed all the catalogues used in the appendix.

Since a number of the auction catalogues listed comprised more than one library, the total number of individual book owners represented by this sample is at least 306. Given, on the other hand, the widespread booksellers' practice of mixing other collections in with that of the named library owners, it may possibly be as much as twice that number.⁷ The known library owners can be grouped as follows:

- at least 220 men;
- at least 33 women;
- at least 53 anonymous library owners;
- 6 institutional libraries.

While, in the present context of studying the reception of women authors, it would be interesting to look more closely at women's libraries in particular, the corpus of women's libraries is too small and complex in nature to warrant generalisations or far-ranging conclusions. This is due both to the fact that almost all of the libraries attributed to women owners also contained sizeable proportions of books originally belonging to male owners,⁸ and to the atypical nature of the corpus of women's libraries: not only were women library owners often exceptional figures in their own right – the novelist couple Elisabeth (Betje) Wolff and Agatha (Aagje) Dekken, for instance, or Jean Le Clerc's savante wife Maria Leti – but the corpus of women's libraries was also made up

⁵ My method was to make a first random selection of catalogues by picking out every fifth catalogue listed in De Kooker/Gruys a.o. 1997 and supplements, starting with the 1702 stock catalogue of Janssonius and ending with the anonymous catalogue of the auction held on September 29, 1800. I later added a further number of randomly selected catalogues from the periods 1700-1755 (one in 25, starting with the 1700 stock catalogue of Janssonius van Waesberge) and 1770-1775 (one in five, starting with the catalogue of G. van Utrecht) to my original corpus to reach the desired total of 254.

⁶ I am grateful to H.W. de Kooker for going over my data in an initial stage, and for drawing my attention to a number of additional women's catalogues I had overlooked in my original corpus.

⁷ Van Goinga 1994, p. 252-264 has documented this practice.

⁸ A case in point is the library of the novelist couple Betje Wolff and Aagje Dekken, which has been studied by Dijkstra-Van Bakelen 1977. Fully two thirds of the 'women's' catalogues bear a deceased husband's name on the title-page alongside the woman library owner's, suggesting that the collection was made up at least in part of the husband's books. A further seven catalogues are collective catalogues which include one or more men's libraries besides the woman's library, thus reducing the final number of catalogues really represent-

of disproportionate numbers of libraries dating from the end of the century and a disproportionate number of aristocratic owners. A quick comparison of the most common titles in men's and women's libraries revealed that women's libraries did not differ greatly from men's: although they did usually include more works of a literary nature than did men's libraries (as discussed later in this article), most women's libraries also contained the same kinds of learned works – medical, theological and juridical – which were typically the backbone of men's libraries. In view of these findings and due to the unworkably small size of the corpus, I did not persevere in my original aim to set men's libraries off against women's, but simply included data gleaned from both types of collection in my final conclusions.

As a consequence of the chronological method used in selecting catalogues for study, the final distribution of the library auction catalogues throughout the 18th century is somewhat uneven. Thus, a number of years early on in the century (1704, 1706, 1708, 1709, 1711, 1713, and 1739) go completely unrepresented, while some later years (1788 and 1798) are covered by ten catalogues or more. As a general rule, the proportion of catalogues increases as the century progresses, with the first quarter of the century holding only 12 % of the total number of catalogues, the second quarter 19 %, the third 29 %, and the remaining 40 % of the catalogues concentrated in the years 1776-1800.

Using Dutch auction catalogues as a source for reconstructing literary history

The printed library auction catalogue was a Dutch invention, soon imitated by other countries, which dates back at least to 1599.⁹ Created originally as a tributary to the Dutch book trade, which was itself at the centre of a European network, auction catalogues shared in this trade's international orientation: not only were the libraries of French (Huguenot), English and Italian residents of the Dutch Republic auctioned here, but the buyers, too, sometimes came from outside the country or bought books at the behest of foreign individuals or institutions. Because of Holland's pivotal role in the diffusion of literary culture in the rest of the continent and because of its booksellers' strong position in Europe,¹⁰ the corpus of books available in the Republic during the 18th century may offer some indication of what the rest of Europe was buying and/or reading at the time, too. In addition, Dutch booksellers' greater diligence in drawing up auction catalogues may mean that these catalogues can provide insights which would be difficult if not impossible to obtain from other auction catalogues of the same period.¹¹ The latter may hold in particular for controversial books or books prohibited elsewhere: not only are such books on occasion listed separately in Dutch catalogues, but milder censorship practices in the Dutch Republic may have been reflected in the titles offered

⁹ Although book auctions had been known at least as far back as the Islamic Middle Ages and written catalogues had already circulated in medieval Europe, it was the practice of producing a printed catalogue for distribution beforehand that was innovative. Van Selm 1985, p. 34 *passim*.

for sale.

If Dutch auction catalogues' international character make them attractive sources for studying international currents of literary influence, other aspects make them more problematic as sources to reconstruct literary culture in a given period, and especially to study the non-prestigious literary genres which were often the domain of women writers in the 18th century. Thus, novels and other inexpensive reading matter (unbound plays, for instance) may sometimes be included in larger lots described summarily as, for example, 'Various Packets with loose volumes and other Books' (*Verscheyde Pakette met aparte deele en andere Boeken*), 'A Packet with French Books, in Duodecimo' (*Een Paket met Fransche Boeken, in Duodecimo*), or even as 'A Packet with delectable Books' (*Een Paket met heerlyke Boeken*); slightly over half (52%) of the catalogues in my corpus include at least one such lot of books whose titles and authors are not listed separately. In other cases, family members may have removed certain titles from their deceased relative's library, while books which never belonged to the original collection may have been appended to the catalogue by booksellers wishing to get rid of unsold stock.¹² Although I have eliminated from my corpus all catalogues and appendices which clearly consisted of the booksellers' stock, a number of catalogues remain in the corpus which may have been made up at least in part of such unsold stock. A last consideration to bear in mind is that ownership, readership and literary influence proper need at all times be distinguished from one another: not only does the presence of a particular title in a library catalogue not necessarily imply that it had also been read by the library owner, but widely-read books, too, may have exerted little literary influence or may have been less influential than little-read but particularly prestigious individual titles.

Owners and libraries: some general characteristics

The known library owners represented by my corpus of libraries were striking for their relatively high status and occupational position in 18th- Dutch society. This can be summarised as follows:

Table 1 Occupational / social status of known library owners

	men	women	anonymous	total corpus
1. Law and government	36%	9%	0%	27%
2. Religion	15%	3%	0%	11%
3. Education and scholarship	14%	3%	0%	10%
4. The aristocracy	9%	30%	0%	9%
5. Medicine	9%	6%	0%	7%
6. The military and the navy	2%	6%	0%	2%
7. Industry and commerce	2%	0%	0%	2%
8. The arts (including literature)	1%	6%	0%	2%
9. Unknown	25%	36%	100%	39%

(The figures listed add up to over 100% because some library owners cumulated a number of different roles or functions. Women library owners, when not independently classifiable, have been classified in the category their husband would have fallen into.)

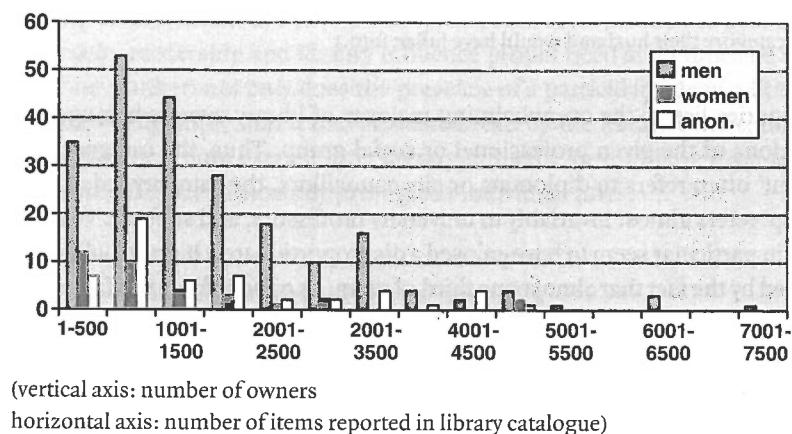
Within all categories listed, the overwhelming majority of library owners belonged to the upper echelons of the given professional or social group. Thus, the category 'law and government' often refers to diplomats or city councillors, the category 'education and scholarship' refers almost invariably to university professors, and so forth. Women library owners in particular seem to have enjoyed a disproportionately high social standing, as evidenced by the fact that almost one third of them, as opposed to 9% of the male library owners, belonged to the aristocracy. Although the number of women library owners remains too small to warrant generalisations, this aristocratic bias appears to be in keeping with findings concerning women readers elsewhere in Europe: in Stockholm, for example, Margaretha Björkman found that women subscribers to Swederus's circulating library often belonged to the nobility, while Paul Kaufman, too, comments on the large number of aristocrats among the women subscribers to the Bath municipal library during the period 1793-1799.¹³ Exception made for the 39% whose status was unknown, the library owners in my sample clearly belonged for the most part to the social and professional elite of their day, and their libraries could have been expected to fulfil an exemplary function within the literary culture of the day.

Not only does this population of aristocrats, diplomats and university professors constitute an elite group of readers, but they also represent an elite group of writers. Almost one in seven of the library owners (13%) could claim one or more publications to

¹³ Björkman 1991; Kaufman 1967, p. 70. Interestingly, José de Kruif, using a very different source, reported the opposite in her study of books in 18th-century probate inventories in The Hague: women library owners were,

his or her name. While these were mostly political, religious or academic in nature, in a small number of cases (Harmanus Asschenbergh, Betje Wolff and Aagje Deken) they were also literary. This high degree of literacy is reflected in the size of the libraries, as shown in figure 2. Thus, the mean total of items per owner (corresponding roughly to the number of volumes, but excluding music books and prints) in libraries with an anonymous or a male owner is 500 to 1000, while the mean number of items in libraries owned at least in part by a woman is less than 500. (For libraries belonging to more than one owner, I have divided the number of items by the number of known owners.) Extremely large libraries are an exclusively male domain. Apart from Hendrik Bakhuyzen's commercial library, which housed some 6378 volumes in 1801, the two largest libraries I found belonged to the theologian Johannes van den Honert (7050 items auctioned in 1758) and to the councillor (Senator) Johan van Nispen (6222 items auctioned in 1776). The two smallest complete libraries I found contained 132 and 185 items, and belonged respectively to the Middelburg broker Pieter de Swarte (library auctioned in 1765) and to the Middelburg widow Appolonia de Vos (library auctioned in 1768).

Figure 2 Number of items per owner (excluding institutional libraries)



A last feature which points to the elite nature of the libraries studied is the linguistically heterogenous nature of the reading matter they contain. Fully 86% of the auction catalogues studied listed five or more titles in French, and 36% listed five or more titles in English; these figures contrast sharply with the low percentages – at no time higher than around 20% or 4% respectively – reported for 18th-century probate inventories.¹⁴ I was able to identify reading matter in at least 17 languages; the following table lists the percentage of libraries containing reading material (excluding the Bible, works which may have been acquired primarily for their illustrations, and works which included a translation alongside the original text) in the ten most frequently found languages.

Figure 3 Language of the books and percentage of libraries in which they occur

	men	women	anonymous	total
1. Dutch	97%	100%	88%	95%
2. Latin	93%	64%	88%	87%
3. French	85%	84%	90%	86%
4. English	36%	40%	35%	36%
5. Italian	32%	8%	47%	35%
6. German	36%	28%	29%	34%
7. Spanish	14%	8%	29%	16%
8. Hebrew	6%	0%	0%	4%
9. Greek	3%	0%	2%	3%
10. Portuguese	1%	0%	2%	1%

Seven other languages, namely Arabic, Czech, Russian, Catalan, Hungarian, Malay and Swedish were found only incidentally (in less than 1% of the libraries or less than five titles in a single library). During the course of the 18th century, a number of language shifts are reflected by the library catalogues. The initial predominance of Latin books, often scholarly in nature, makes way gradually for libraries comprising primarily books in French and Dutch or even, in a few cases, Dutch-language books alone. Italian and Spanish, languages which occur regularly in the humanistic libraries of the beginning of the century, are replaced in the second half of the century by English and German as important third languages after Dutch and French. This shift in languages is accompanied by a discernible shift in the nature of the books listed, as the humanistic, scholarly library gives way in the second half of the century to the literary amateur's library, which is more likely to contain novels and works of a non-scholarly nature.

Figure 4 Percentage of literary items in library catalogues

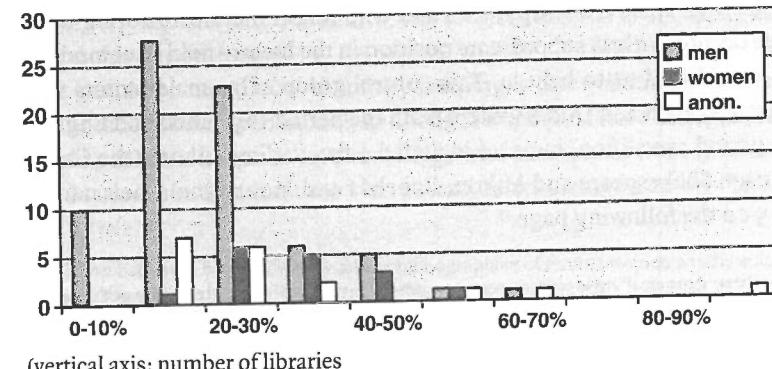


Figure 4 describes the proportion of items in the private libraries which could be classified as literature if one considers as literature both items described by the catalogues as such – *libri poetici, oratores et poetae, litteratores, poëtici et auctores classici, etc.* – as well as titles covered by categories such as *Libri romanesque, Historiae fabulosae, etc.* I was able to calculate the number of literary items in 44% of the private library catalogues; the remaining catalogues did not classify the reading material by content, or used unclear or, for my purposes at least, unworkable categories. The mean proportion of literary items per library ranges from 10 to 20%, with a few rare exceptions at the upper end of the spectrum which are mostly attributable to confirmed collectors operating in the second half of the century. Women's libraries are characterized by a slightly higher proportion of literary works (20 to 30%) than men's; both their small size and their high percentage of literary works may possibly be due to the fact that women's libraries, as opposed to men's, were seldom constituted as part of the exercise of a profession (even if they did, as mentioned previously, frequently contain at least some of the same scholarly titles as did typical men's libraries). Thus, while lawyers' libraries often contained primarily law manuals, *plakkaten en ordonantieën* (edicts and decrees), and similar reading matter, and ministers' libraries primarily theological works, women's libraries are often characterised by the relative predominance of popular religious and historical works, as well as contemporary novels and plays.

Women writers and the (male) canon in the 18th century

Attempts to assess the role played by women writers in a given period necessarily position themselves, implicitly or explicitly, in relation to what we already know about the literary history of the period in question. Thus, before looking more closely at women authors in particular, I wanted to relate the presence in library catalogues of French and English women writers taken as a whole to that of a number of contemporary French and English male writers who, unlike their female colleagues, have since then been admitted into various modern literary canons. Such a comparison would enable us to discover whether the 18th century had known women writers who, in terms of popularity alone, had equalled their male contemporaries and who might therefore, during their own lifetime, have occupied a less subordinate position in the literary field than modern literary histories would lead us to believe. This control group of 75 male writers was made up primarily of French and Dutch writers from the period 1650-1800 and English writers from the period 1700-1800, but also included a few earlier authors (the Greek and Latin dramatists, Shakespeare and Milton, Rabelais and Montaigne); their names appear on figure 5 on the following page.¹⁵

¹⁵ To determine who these 'canonical' male writers were, I assumed that the most basic definition of the canon would have to include at least those authors most commonly anthologised in secondary-school textbooks. These were, for English literature, the authors included in Abrams a.o. 1993 and, for France, those included in Lagarde/Michard 1970. As a further control group, I also added the 17th- and 18th-century Dutch authors

Having thus established a list of 80 male authors who could serve as a control group, I drew up a list of 500 French and 400 English titles of works by women authors dating roughly from the period 1650 to 1800.¹⁶ These lists proved to be indispensable tools in the course of my research because novels in particular were often listed in the catalogues not by the author's name but by a shortened and sometimes barely recognisable version of the title; one's findings can therefore only be as good as one's preliminary bibliographical homework, and necessarily remain heavily dependent on existing scholarship, a fact which probably explains the under-representation of women writers in previous studies of auction catalogues. Despite this drawback however, I finally found close to 600 independently verifiable titles by women writers in the corpus of auction catalogues, and slightly less than 100 titles either attributed to a woman author who I was unable to identify (Milles de Belair, Mme Husson, Mrs Morris, Miss Woodwill, etc.) or to an anonymous one ('a Lady', 'Madame de ***', etc.).

My findings are represented visually in figure 5 (p. 193). For the 18th-century authors in my sample, I calculated the percentage of libraries in which their works were found by calculating only the percentage of libraries in which, given the date of their first appearance in the catalogues, their works could reasonably have been found. It makes little sense for example, given the fact that Jean-Jacques Rousseau's first major publication dates from 1750 and his first appearance in a Dutch catalogue from 1760, to look for his *Confessions* in a 1729 library catalogue. In order to keep my findings compact and to leave as little room as possible for statistical flukes, I omitted from figure 5 all authors who, because of the late date of their first appearance in the catalogues (after 1789), could have appeared in less than a maximum of 50 catalogues. Although this was necessary to keep the final conclusions within the limits of the probable, it did mean that I had to disregard some tantalizing data on late 18th-century English authors who, judging from their high incidence in the catalogues, must have made a noticeable impression on literary life towards the end of the century. These include well-known figures such as Mary Wollstonecraft (present in 15% of the catalogues between 1797 and 1800) and Ann Radcliffe (12%) but above all Elizabeth Helme (27%), Elizabeth Inchbald (27%) and Charlotte Smith (25%). Such high incidences in the libraries would seem to put the popularity of these later English novelists on a par with that of the likes of Sterne, Smollett and Goldsmith, but further research is obviously necessary in order to test this hypothesis.

It should be noted, too, that the percentages listed for some women writers may be low because I have counted only full-length works and have disregarded publications of single poems in larger collections. To give an example of what this may mean, a writer like Marie-Anne Barbier, who I have listed as occurring in 20% of the catalogues, may

¹⁶ These lists were based primarily on the bibliographies of French women writers compiled in DeJean 1991 and Stewart 1993, and the bibliography of English women novelists presented by Spender 1986. These lists were, where necessary, expanded with titles and authors listed in Briquet 1804 and La Porte 1769 (a table of which can be found in www.roquade.nl/womenwriters: 'further instruments'), as well as Buck 1992, 1993.

in fact be present in as many as 23 to 28% if one also counts Dutch translations of three of her poems included in the collected poetry of her Dutch translator, Lucas Pater; one can reasonably assume that the same holds for other women poets whose poems were later reprinted in periodicals and anthologies.

The findings described in figure 5 do not differ greatly, at least as far as the well-known male authors are concerned, from those of previous researchers. This can be demonstrated by a summary comparison of my own figures for 16th- and 17th-century authors available primarily in French-language editions with those reported by Krijn for a different sample of 100 Dutch catalogues dated 1700-1750, in which she recorded only works found in French:

— Bayle	49%	Krijn: 45%
— La Fontaine	47%	Krijn: 43%
— Boileau	44%	Krijn: 46%
— Montaigne	37%	Krijn: 36%
— La Bruyère	24%	Krijn: 14%
— Pascal	21%	Krijn: 23%

Likewise, the percentage of libraries from the period 1760-1800 in which I found works by Rousseau (43%) is comparable to that reported by Gobbers for a sample of 396 catalogues from the period 1760-1810 (38%), as is the percentage of libraries in which I found works by Richardson, namely 40% in the period 1747-1800 as opposed to Gobbers's 43% for the period 1760-1810.¹⁷

A number of conclusions about high-status 18th-century Dutch libraries appear to be warranted by the findings described in figure 5:

- Humanistic literary culture: for this segment of the Dutch reading public at any rate, non-Dutch literature played as important a role in literary culture as did domestic literature. Thus, Fénelon and Addison and Steele occurred slightly more often in these libraries than did the most frequently found Dutch authors, the 17th-century Jacob Cats and Joost van den Vondel. Above all, the Greek and Latin classics remained the backbone of most collections: although I only noted the frequency of the ancient dramatists in my corpus of libraries, Terence's pre-eminent position (present in 71% of the library catalogues) is typical. An informed guess would be that the most frequent classical authors may be Homer and Cicero, while the single most read work of modern literature may have been, if not Fénelon's *Télémaque*, then Cervantes's *Don Quixote*.
- The primacy of French: French women writers enjoyed a higher degree of visibility in 18th-century Holland than did their English counterparts or, for that matter, any other group of women writers. Thus, the works of Jeanne Leprince de Beaumont, the most well-known of the French women writers, occur twice as often in the corpus of libraries (in 50% of the relevant libraries) as the works of the most well-known English woman author, Eliza Haywood (25%). The absolute number of French women

Figure 5 Selected authors and percentage of library auction catalogues which include their works

%	Male, before 1700	Female, before 1700	Male, after 1700	Female, after 1700
100-72				
71	Terence			
70-67				
66	Fénelon			Addison and Steele
65				
64				Voltaire
63				
62	J. Cats			
61	Vondel			
60	P.C. Hooft			
59				Feith
58				
57	Plautus			
56-52				
51	Seneca			Leprince de Beaumont
50	Descartes			
49	Bayle			Lesage
48				
47	Molière/ La Fontaine			
46	Fontenelle			
45				
44	Aristophanes/ Boileau			
43				Mont. / Swift/ v. Effen/ Prév./ Rous. ¹
42	Corneille			Defoe
41				Fielding
40				Richardson
39	Racine/ Koran			
38				
37	Montaigne/ Bossuet	Aulnoy		
36	Sophocles/ Rabelais/ Huygens			Wolff and Deken
35				
34				
33	Milton/ Gherardi			Van Merken/ Genlis
32				
31				Thomson
30	Euripides			
29				
28				Retz/ H.C. Poot
27	Th. Corneille	Deshoulières (Mme)		Diderot
26		Scudéry		Buffon
25		Sappho		Boswell
24	La Bruyère	Schurman		Montagu / Haywood
23				Montolieu
22	Aeschylus	Lafayette		Sheridan
21	Pascal			Barbier/ Lennox/ Brooke
20		La Roche-Guilhen		Dunoyer/ Manley/ Villeneuve
19	Bredero	Merian		
18		Villedieu		Sévigné
17	Dancourt			Burney
16				Lussan/ Puisieux/ Maintenon ²
15		M. de Navarre		Boccage/ Bencio/ Lee
14				Graffigny/ Malarne
13	Shakespeare/ La Rochefoucauld			de Lannoy
12				Lambert/ Tencin/ Vigor/ Beau
11		M. de Valois/ La Force		Epinay/ La Roche
10		La Suze		Montpensier/ Stael/ Fielding
9				Elie de Beaumont/ Robert
8				Miremont
7		Motteville/ Bourignon/ Durand/ Murat		Nemours/ Cochois/ Albert/ Ü
6		Deshoulières (Mlle)		Charrière/ Gunning/ Griffith/ Guichard
5	Congreve	Auneuil		Châtelet/ Beccary/ Ormoy/ M
4				Brohon
3		Behn/ Andreini/ Bernard/ Bourgeois		
2		Guyon/ St. Theresa		Gottsched/ Lassay
1	Bontekoe	Z y S / Roches / Val./ Juana/ Brégy/ Manc/ Saint. ²		Levêque
		Pizan / Gournay/ Cavendish/ Philip / H. Mancini		

writers present in the libraries, too, greatly surpasses that of their English counterparts. While I was able to identify works by 126 French women authors, I encountered only 62 English women authors in the corpus of auction catalogues, 11 Italian women authors (mostly Renaissance poets), eight Spanish women writers, five German women writers, and two nominally 'non-Western' women authors (Charlotte-Elisabeth Aïssé and Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz). Interestingly, even Dutch women writers did not always fare significantly better than their French counterparts: while the novelists Betje Wolff and Aagje Deken enjoyed slightly more popularity than Genlis, the dramatist and poet Juliana de Lannoy was reported in the catalogues less frequently than her French counterpart Marie-Anne Barbier.

- The top level (30% and above): a very small number of 18th-century women writers, located between 30% and 60% (that is to say, present in roughly a third or more of the relevant library catalogues) fare very well in relation to their male colleagues. Jeanne Leprince de Beaumont in particular might well have been the second most read contemporary French author, after Voltaire himself, in the 18th-century Dutch Republic.¹⁸ While her presence in the library catalogues surpasses that of her predecessors Bayle, Molière, Corneille and Racine on the one hand, and her contemporaries Montesquieu, Rousseau and Prévost on the other, her successor Stéphanie de Genlis appears to have enjoyed as much popularity as her compatriot Marivaux, and more than Diderot, the English authors Smollett and Sterne, and, among the 'classics', Euripides, Pascal and La Bruyère. One must immediately add, however, that the high ranking of these select women writers in 18th-century catalogues need not necessarily point to longer-lasting trends or canonical status: despite the fact that some of these women authors are still read today – notably Mme d'Aulnoy and Jeanne Leprince de Beaumont in France (as children's authors) and the Dutch novelist couple Wolff and Deken – their popularity may well have been that of momentary best-sellers,¹⁹ or may not have enjoyed the same prestige as that of the likes of Molière, Voltaire or Sterne (as suggested by Aulnoy's and Leprince de Beaumont's inclusion only in canons of children's literature).
- The middle range (20%-30%): the small group of women authors present in a minimum of one in five of the relevant librairies) may be said to have competed successfully with their male contemporaries, Dutch as well as French and English. These women writers are, from the 18th century, Riccoboni (27%), Gomez (25%), Montolieu (23%) and Barbier (20%) in France, and Haywood (25%), Montagu (24%), Sheridan (21%), and Lennox and Brooke (20%) in England. For 17th-century women authors, this is the range within which the few of them who have since attained some sort of canonical status are to be found: Scudéry (26%), Lafayette (22%) and Sévigné (18%) in France, and Montagu (24%) and Burney (17%) in England.

18 See for a further analysis of the data Montoya/Van Dijk 2002.

19 This certainly appears to have been the case for Jeanne Leprince de Beaumont, whose enormous popularity in the 18th century, as reflected in Dutch publishers' advertisements, apparently began to wane in the eighteenth century.

- The mass of women writers (below 20%): the women writers located below the 20% mark appear to have enjoyed markedly less recognition in their own day than their now-canonical male counterparts. Whether this also holds for their position vis-à-vis lesser-known male authors of the day, particularly novelists, is impossible to determine without further research, although my own impression is that a number of male 18th-century novelists – for example D'Argens, Castilhan (*Zinga, reine d'Angola*), Challe (*Les Illustres Françaises*), Crébillon fils or the chevalier de Mouhy – may well be comparable, at least in terms of their presence in the library catalogues, to women writers like Suzanne de Villeneuve, Madeleine de Puisieux, or Marguerite de Lussan. What is perhaps more striking is simply the sheer quantity of women writers hovering between the 10% and the 20% mark; their numbers suggest that the phenomenon 'woman writer', as much as the successes of individual known women authors, may have conditioned 18th-century Dutch perceptions of French and English literature and, in particular perhaps, novels.
- Popularity / canonicity: a number of 17th-century women authors, as reflected by their enduring presence in the library catalogues, seem to have been able to retain their position within 18th-century literary canons, if not our own. Thus, Mme d'Aulnoy retained her popularity throughout the century and even enjoyed a comeback with the publication of the 41-volume *Cabinet des Fées* between 1785 and 1788, while the poet Antoinette Deshoulières and the still-canonical authors Lafayette and Scudéry continued to figure prominently in libraries until the beginning of the 19th century. Interestingly, these writers share with the other most widely found women authors the fact that their works cannot always unambiguously be classified as novels. Aulnoy's most popular work was her pseudo-travel book about Spain, Deshoulières wrote poetry and a tragedy, and Scudéry wrote non-fiction as well as fiction, just as Leprince de Beaumont's, Genlis' and Haywood's moralistic works may have protected them somewhat from the taint of being labelled 'silly women novelists'.²⁰
- Absences: although the *argumentum ex silentio* is hard to apply to such a restricted corpus, some absences or near-absences do seem to merit at least a mention. To begin with, I did not find a number of the canonical male authors from my original list of 75 in any of the catalogues: these were predominantly poets, namely Le Franc de Pompignan, Vauvenargues, Delille and André Chénier for France, and Gray, Collins, Smart and Cowper for England; their absence echoes that, almost complete in this case, of their 18th-century women counterparts. A noteworthy Dutch near-absence is that of the 17th-century seaman W.IJ. Bontekoe's *Journael*; although this volume was, according to some sources, the most widely read prose work in 17th- and 18th-century Holland,²¹ I found it in only three of the 254 catalogues I examined.²² Early English women writers

20 On 18th-century perceptions of women novelists, see Georges May's seminal chapter 'Féminisme et roman' in May 1963, p. 204-245.

21 G. Stuiveling, quoted in Van Selm, 1992, p. 73.

22 In their analytical bibliography of the *Journael*, Garrelt Verhoeven and Piet Verkruisje point out that editions of the *Journael* were often of extremely poor quality, suggesting that the material aspect of the book may have

were equally conspicuous by their absence or near-absence: apart from Aphra Behn (present in 4% of all catalogues, mostly with a later French translation of *Oroonoko*), Margaret Cavendish (present in 2 catalogues, or less than 1% of the total), Katherine Philips (also present in 2 catalogues) and Lady Mary Wroth (present in a single catalogue), I found no other English literary authors from before 1700 in my corpus. Medieval and Renaissance authors were, with the exception of Marguerite de Navarre, under-represented. I found the mother-daughter couple Desroches four times, Pernette du Guillet and Christine de Pizan ('Catherine de Pisan', according to the catalogues) twice, and Louise Labé once. Of the Italians, the 16th-century actress Isabella Andreini (present in 4% of the catalogues) fared best, followed by the poet Vittoria Colonna (present in 3 catalogues or 1% of the total).

While these findings in the library auction catalogues can provide us with some preliminary answers to questions regarding the presence of foreign women writers in 18th-century Holland, the possibilities of the data are far from being exhausted. Thus, further research may be able to determine, among other things, the exact correlation in the library catalogues between individual (male and female) writers, and between individual writers and potential readers. Did the individuals who had works by certain writers belong to particular professional groups, for instance? Was Leprince de Beaumont, to name a specific author, read by the same 50% who read Descartes and Seneca? Is the presumed parentage between Montaigne and Mme de Lambert, between male and female Spectators, or between Montesquieu's *Lettres persanes* and Graffigny's *Lettres d'une Péruvienne* also discernible in the actual composition of 18th-century libraries?

The following is a list of the titles by women authors whose main body of work dates from before 1700 and who were mentioned in at least one in twenty catalogues (5% of the total). I have listed not only the percentage of catalogues in which I found the work, but also the languages in which it occurred and the relative frequency of each language. (The percentages sometimes add up to over 100% because of the presence in some libraries of bilingual editions. In cases in which the language of publication may be unclear, totals may be less than 100%). I have placed the author's name in brackets when it was never mentioned, either explicitly or implicitly,²³ in conjunction with that particular work and have, when relevant, named the writer who was listed as the author in the catalogue.

notably, the volumes of the *Bibliothèque bleue* – were frequently reported in the catalogues would seem to suggest that the near-absence of Bontekoe does merit mention (Verhoeven/Verkruisje 1996, p. 63).

²³ Implicit references to a particular author include such title-page formulae as '..., par l'auteur de...' or particularly revealing initials, for example 'Mlle de la R*** G***' for Anne de La Roche-Guilhen. Joan DeJean has studied the manner in which 17th-century women authors consciously made use of such formulae for var-

Figure 6 The most frequently found titles, pre-1700

Author/title	% of libraries with title	Languages in which title was found:					
		Fr.	Dutch	Eng.	Ger	Lat	Gr.
– Sappho Poems/Fragments (7 th -6 th century BC)	25%	65%		1%	24%	18%	Sw1%
– Antoinette Deshoulières Poésies (1688)	17%	100%					
– Maria Sibylla Merian Der Raupen Verwandlung (1679-1683)	17%	7%	65%		6%	22%	
– Baronne d'Aulnoy Relation du voyage d'Espagne (1691)	17%	36%	55%	9%			
– Marguerite de Navarre Heptaméron (1559)	15%	100%					
– Antoinette Deshoulières Gensérit (1680)	15%	36%	64%				
– Scudéry [=Madeleine de Scudéry] Ibrahim ou l'illustre Bassa (1641)	13%	59%	41%				
– Segrais [=Mme de Lafayette] Zayde (1669)	13%						unknown
– Anne de La Roche-Guilhen Histoire des favorites (1697)	12%	89%	11%				
– Baronne d'Aulnoy Hist. d'Hypolite comte de Duglas (1690)	11%	72%	24%				
– Marguerite de Valois Mémoires (1628)	11%	100%					
– Comtesse de La Suze Poésies (1666)	10%	100%					
– [Mme de Villedieu] Mémoires d'H.-S. de Molière (1671-1674)	9%	100%					
– [Mme de Lafayette] La Princesse de Clèves (1678)	9%	100%					
– Baronne d'Aulnoy Mémoires de la cour d'Espagne (1690)	8%	100%					
– Mme de Villedieu Les Amours des grands hommes (1671)	7%	100%					
– Scudéry [=Madeleine de Scudéry] Clélie (1656-1662)	7%	45%	45%				It 10%
– Mme de Villedieu Les Exilés de la cour d'Auguste (1672)	7%	100%					
– Scudéry [=Madeleine de Scudéry]							

Author/title	% of libraries with title	Languages in which title was found:						
		Fr.	Dutch	Eng.	Ger.	Lat	Gr.	others
- Scudéry [=Madeleine de Scudéry]								
Les Femmes Illustres (1642)	6%	100%						
- Baronne d'Aulnoy								
Contes de fées (1696)	6%	100%						
- [Charlotte-Rose de Caumont de La Force]								
Histoire secrète de Bourgogne (1694)	6%	100%						
- Madeleine de Scudéry								
Conversations sur divers sujets (1680)	5%	100%						
- Mme de Villedieu								
Les Désordres de l'amour (1675)	5%	100%						
- Baronne d'Aulnoy								
Contes nouveaux ou les fées à la mode (1698)	5%	100%						
- Baronne d'Aulnoy								
Histoire de Jean de Bourbon (1692)	5%	100%						

Two aspects of this list of titles merit mention. The first is the great variety, both in genre and subject matter, of works by early women authors which found an audience in 18th-century Holland. These range from narrative fiction and poetry (Sappho and Deshoulières) through personal memoirs and drama (Deshoulières) to botany and biology (Merian). If women's writing would in the 18th century come to be synonymous with fiction and the novel, in earlier centuries it appears that the field open to women writers was considerably larger. The second point which can be made is that Dutch-French language barriers seem to have played a negligible role in the reception of the works of women writers for this segment of the reading public. Although a few of the most popular works were found primarily in Dutch translation (Aulnoy, Merian, Deshoulières and Scudéry), the vast majority of women's works, including those of Sappho herself, were presumably read in French.

I have compiled a similar list of 18th-century titles by women authors found in at least one in ten catalogues, with a minimum sample required of at least 50 catalogues for the later titles. After naming the author and title, I list first the date of the earliest catalogue in which the work was found, followed by the percentage of relevant catalogues which list it, and the languages in which the work was found.

Figure 7 The most frequently found 18th-century titles²⁴

		% of libraries with title	Fr.	Dutch	Eng.	Ger.	others
Leprince de Beaumont, <i>Le Magasin des enfants</i> (1756)	1757	32%	71%	29%			
Leprince de Beaumont, <i>Le Magasin des jeunes dames</i> (1764)	1765	28%	57%	43%			
Genlis, <i>Adèle et Théodore ou lettres sur l'éducation</i> (1782)	1783	27%	76%	24%			
Leprince de Beaumont, <i>La Nouvelle Clarice</i> (1767)	1769	25%	63%	35%	3%		
Genlis, <i>Les Veillées du château ou cours de morale</i> (1782)	1784	25%	72%	28%			
Mary Wortley Montagu, <i>Letters</i> (1763)	1765	24%	27%	37%	35%		
Leprince de Beaumont, <i>Le Magasin des adolescentes</i> (1760)	1761	23%	95%	5%			
Leprince de Beaumont, <i>Contes moraux</i> (1774)	1777	23%	81%	19%			
[Montolieu], <i>Caroline de Litchfield</i> (1786)	1788	23%	76%	24%			
Leprince de Beaumont, <i>Magasin des pauvres</i> (1768)	1777	22%	70%	30%			
Genlis, <i>Théâtre de société</i> (1781)	1786	22%	100%				
[Sheridan], <i>Memoirs of Miss Sidney Biddulph</i> (1761)	1763	21%	37%	60%	3%		
Leprince de Beaumont, <i>Lettres d'Emerance à Lucie</i> (1765)	1769	21%	100%				
Genlis, <i>Théâtre d'éducation/jeunes personnes</i> (1779-1780)	1782	21%	80%	20%			
[Riccoboni], <i>Lettres de Milady Juliette Catesby</i> (1759)	1764	20%	73%	27%			
Merian, <i>Metamorphosis insectorum Surinamensium</i> (1705)	1724	18%	18%	69%	13%		
Sévigné, <i>Lettres</i> (1725)	1735	18%	100%				
Leprince de Beaumont, <i>Education complète</i> (1753)	1757	18%	100%				
Leprince de Beaumont, <i>Mémoires de Mme de Batteville</i> (1766)	1769	18%	100%				
Leprince de Beaumont, <i>Le Mentor moderne</i> (1773)	1777	18%	100%				

	1725	16%	Languages in which title was found:			
			Fr.	Dutch	Eng.	Ger.
Barbier, <i>Cornélie, mère des Gracques</i> (1703)	1725	16%	68%	32%		
[Haywood], <i>The Female Spectator</i> (1745-1747)	1751	16%	68%	24%	9%	
Maintenon, <i>Mémoires et lettres</i> (starting 1752, incl. apocr.)	1756	16%	100%			
Riccoboni, <i>Histoire de Miss Jenny</i> (1764)	1769	16%	86%	14%		
Leprince de Beaumont, <i>Lettres de Madame du Montier</i> (1756)	1772	16%	100%			
Genlis, <i>Annales de la vertu</i> (1781)	1783	16%	100%			
Barbier, <i>La Mort de César</i> (1709)	1725	15%	70%	30%		
Gomez, <i>Les Journées amusantes</i> (1723-1731)	1731	15%	91%	9%		
Leprince de Beaumont, <i>Les Américaines</i> (1770)	1777	15%	100%			
Lee, <i>The Recess</i> (1783-1785)	1789	15%	100%			
Dunoyer, <i>Lettres historiques et galantes</i> (1707-1718)	1722	14%	100%			
Barbier, <i>Arrie et Pétus</i> (1702)	1725	14%	74%	26%		
Lambert, <i>Réflexions nouvelles sur les femmes</i> (1727)	1747	14%	88%	12%		
Boccage, <i>La Colombiade</i> (1756)	1760	14%	100%			
Riccoboni, <i>Lettres d'Elisabeth-Sophie de la Vallière</i> (1772)	1773	14%	100%			
Barbier, <i>Tomyris</i> (1706)	1725	13%	85%	15%		
Villeneuve, <i>La Jardinière de Vincennes</i> (1753)	1764	13%	100%			
[Lennox], <i>The Female Quixote</i> (1752)	1765	13%	88%	12%		
Leprince de Beaumont, <i>Lettres curieuses</i> [...] (1759)	1765	13%	100%			
Leprince de Beaumont, <i>Les Américaines</i> (1770)	1777	13%	100%			
Leprince de Beaumont, <i>Principes de l'histoire sainte</i> (1761)	1777	13%	100%			
Lafite, <i>Entretiens, drames et contes moraux</i> (1778)	1782	13%	57%	43%		
Aulnoy, <i>Le Comte de Warwick</i> (1704)	1722	12%	50%	50%		
Gomez, <i>Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles</i> (1733-1739)	1735	12%	100%			
[Riccoboni], <i>Lettres de Mistriss Fanni Butlerd</i> (1757)	1760	12%	100%			
Leprince de Beaumont, <i>Civan roi de</i>	1760	12%	100%			

	1770	12%	Languages in which title was found:			
			Fr.	Dutch	Eng.	Ger.
[Fauques], <i>Histoire de la marquise de Pompadour</i> (1759)	1770	12%	19%	63%	6%	13%
Leprince de Beaumont, <i>Le Triomphe de la vérité</i> (1748)	1777	12%	93%		7%	
Leprince de Beaumont, <i>Anecdotes du XIVe siècle</i> (1758)	1777	12%	100%			
[Vigor], <i>Letters from a lady who resided in Russia</i> (1775)	1779	12%	64%	29%	7%	
Graffigny, <i>Lettres d'une Péruvienne</i> (1747)	1751	11%	86%		5%	It. 9%
[Fielding], <i>The Adventures of David Simple</i> (1744-1753)	1754	11%	32%	47%	21%	
Burney, <i>Evelina</i> (1778)	1781	11%	40%	47%	13%	
Epinay, <i>Les Conversations d'Emilie</i> (1774)	1788	11%	56%	44%		
[Brooke], <i>The History of Lady Julia Mandeville</i> (1736)	1770	10%	27%	60%	13%	
[Brooke], <i>The History of Emily Montague</i> (1766)	1773	10%	27%	73%		
Burney, <i>Cecilia</i> (1782)	1784	10%	93%		7%	

The first thing that stands out in this list is the much larger number of titles and greater frequency of works by women writers as compared to the previous list: while 58 titles dating from after 1700 were present in 10% or more of the catalogues studied, only 12 titles from before 1700 were found in 10% or more of the catalogues. This increase accurately reflects contemporary trends in the literary marketplace, which witnessed an explosive growth in the numbers of women writers during the later 18th century.

As remarkable as the absolute increase in women writers, however, is the fact that a full 17 of the post-1700 titles, that is to say almost a third of the total corpus listed, can be attributed to a single, prolific author, namely the former governess Jeanne Leprince de Beaumont. This would seem to make her the most successful woman author of the century in the Dutch Republic. The example set by her and by her best-seller *Le Magasin des enfants* is visible elsewhere on the list, too. Thus, pedagogical and children's literature account for about one quarter of the most frequently found works, with titles such as Genlis's *Adèle et Théodore ou lettres sur l'éducation*, Lafite's *Entretiens, drames et contes moraux* or Epinay's *Conversations d'Emilie* holding respectable positions on the list. The Leprince de Beaumont phenomenon was certainly a larger European one,²⁵ but may have been especially pronounced in Holland and may merit closer examination in the light of the latter popularity of domestic pedagogical literature such as Hiëronymus van Alphen's children's poetry (*Proeve van kleine gedichten voor kinderen*, 1778). Mornet, who was concerned

²⁴ I have included on this list not only individual copies of the titles listed in the catalogues, but also editions of the collected works of the authors in question which may reasonably be assumed to have contained the

mainly with novels, does not mention *Le Magasin des enfants*; the only two titles by Le-prince de Beaumont which he does name, *Le Triomphe de la vérité* and *Lettres de Madame du Montier*, occurred respectively in three and in a single one of the 392 relevant library catalogues he consulted. This seems a far cry from the 12 and 18 occurrences (12 % and 16 % of the relevant corpus) in which I found the title, and may possibly point to differences, perhaps linked to Holland's oft-cited bourgeois culture, between French and Dutch literary culture in the 18th century.²⁶

A third interesting aspect of this list is the increasing importance of narrative genres. Only a single one of the 53 titles refers to a work of poetry (Mme du Boccage's epic poem *La Colombiade*) while roughly three-quarters (74 %) of the titles, as opposed to 55 % of the titles on the 17th-century list, correspond to narrative fiction. The English women's novel in particular becomes a factor of importance, even if the degree of name recognition enjoyed by most English women authors remains low: of the ten English women authors whose work is represented on the list, only half were cited as the authors of the works listed, while only two of the 16 French women authors lacked any degree of name recognition. This phenomenon is undoubtedly related to the fact that English women writers, alone among women writers, were read primarily in translation, in which case the translator rather than the original author may have been identified as the author of the work. For 18th-century French women writers as for their 17th-century predecessors, the availability of a Dutch translation of their work was probably only one of many factors regulating the reception of their work: exceptions such as Marianne-Agnès de Fauques's *L'histoire de Mme la marquise de Pompadour* (63 % in Dutch translation) or Le-prince de Beaumont's *Magasin des jeunes dames* (43 % of the copies found in Dutch translation) notwithstanding, Dutch translations – when available – usually did not account for more than a third of a French title's occurrences in the libraries studied.

A final interesting aspect of this list is the presence on it of a number of works which have recently been the subject of feminist reinterpretations (Caroline de Litchfield, *Lettres de Juliette Catesby*, etc.).²⁷ This finding raises questions about possible readers' reactions to elements which, in modern interpretations of these novels, have been perceived as problematic or even subversive. While considerations of theme and content are obviously beyond the scope of this article, I hope that one of the functions of such enumerations of 18th-century best-sellers may be precisely to point to titles which, because of their popularity, may warrant further study of the interplay between specific literary themes and the readers who may have responded to them. The possibilities offered by the above-mentioned database 'WomenWriters', linking as it will specific titles with specific readers or owners, are still to be explored.

The readership of women writers in 18th-century Holland

Lists of widely-found works by women writers raise questions about the nature of the Dutch readership of these women writers. A first way of identifying this readership is by drawing up a list of all the library owners in the corpus whose libraries contained a significant proportion of works by women authors. After having decided that ten or more titles by a woman author per owner constituted a sizeable proportion, I drew up a list of 92 individuals whose libraries testified to such a preference. Of these 92 individuals, 73 were named individuals of identifiable gender (59 men and 14 women) and 19 were anonymous. This meant that women and anonymous library owners were somewhat more likely to possess works by women writers than were male library owners. While 35 % of the total population of male library owners owned more than ten titles by a woman author, 40 % of the anonymous library owners did, and 47 % of the women library owners. The occupational and/or social status of the individuals who owned ten or more titles by a woman author provides some clues as to the identity of those readers who had a particular affinity for works by women writers.

Figure 8 Occupation status of individuals owning ten or more titles by women authors

	owners with >10 works by women	all women library owners	total corpus
1. Law and government	23%	9%	27%
2. The aristocracy	18%	30%	9%
3. The military and the navy	7%	6%	2%
4. Education and scholarship	7%	3%	10%
5. Religion	4%	3%	11%
6. Medicine	1%	6%	7%
7. Industry and commerce	1%	0%	2%
8. The arts (incl. literature)	0%	6%	2%
9. Unknown	43%	36%	39%

Assuming that a difference of five percentage points or higher is significant, it appears from these figures that women authors were read more frequently by aristocrats and by army or navy officers than by doctors or ministers, with university professors falling somewhere between the two poles. This might be due to the fact that the aristocracy may have been able to develop a culture of leisure which encompassed such non-productive activities as novel-reading or it might, on the other hand, reflect the Dutch aristocracy's orientation towards France and French literary culture in the 18th century; such a hypothesis would be consistent with our previous discovery that this particular reading

²⁶ Differences between French and Dutch booksellers' practices, however, make the data difficult to compare. The French catalogues, as a rule, reflect particularly large or prestigious collections, a fact which may ex-

Women's disproportionately frequent readership of women writers, which we have previously noted, may be related to the fact that women library owners also belonged much more often to the aristocracy than did the rest of the population of library owners. This fact, coupled with other difficulties hampering analyses of the corpus of women's library catalogues, would seem to rule out the possibility of establishing with any degree of certainty whether women readers as a rule chose more often to read women writers than did male readers. Whether women readers were, as has often been assumed, especially fond of novels,²⁸ remains equally hard to prove on the basis of the scarce data. It remains to be seen whether qualitative research focusing on individual women readers and their libraries will be able to give more substance to intimations regarding this special bond between women readers and women writers; while such research evidently still needs to be carried out, my own preliminary impression, based on my perusal of the women's library catalogues, is that some women's relationships to women writers may in fact prove to be in one way or another noteworthy.²⁹

Circulating libraries and the readership of women writers

Just as it may prove rewarding to examine some women's libraries in more detail, so too may another category of libraries, namely circulating libraries, deserve further attention. This is because circulating library catalogues, unlike private library auction catalogues, allow for a certain degree of precision when studying readers and more popular reading material in particular. Thus, despite the fact that a number of circulating libraries may also have espoused pedagogical or moral aims,³⁰ circulating libraries' essentially commercial nature would seem to serve as a guarantee that at least a proportion of the titles reported would have appealed to a larger reading public. By the same reasoning, it can be assumed that most titles listed in circulating library catalogues would certainly have been read, and most likely by a number of readers rather than just by a single one. The

²⁸ Cf. Hunter 1987; May 1963, 'Féminisme et roman'.

²⁹ Two women's libraries which I found especially interesting were Maria Leti Le Clerc's small personal library, and Maria Elisabetha de Walé's impressive *Bibliotheca Ankeveniana*. Maria Leti, the daughter of the Italian historian Gregorio Leti and wife of the Huguenot writer Jean Le Clerc, was herself a woman of letters who, together with her sister, translated her father's works into French; her library, numbering 667 volumes, testifies to her literary culture and insight, containing as it does at a remarkably early date (1735) all the important works of the period: the literature of the *Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes*, Addison and Steele, Swift and Defoe, besides the 'classic' women authors Marguerite de Navarre, Lafayette (*La Princesse de Clèves* rather than the more popular *Zayde*), Villedieu, Deshoulières, Dunoyer and Sévigné (which hers is the first Dutch library to contain). Walé's more unwieldy library (4768 volumes) is interesting especially because of its combination of some 1500 religious works (*Le Triomphe de la chasteté*, *Tableau des mortifications*, *La Semaine des soupirs*) with a large collection of popular women's novels (all of Villedieu, a lot of d'Aulnoy and Scudéry, *La Roche-Guilhen*, Gomez, etc.). That Maria Elisabetha's library was noticed in her own time is evidenced by a sonnet about it to which Marianne Peereboom kindly drew my attention: De Haen 1751, p. 160.

³⁰ This is the case, in Holland, for Hendrik Scheurleer junior's library in The Hague, as reported by Uta Janssens-Knorsch; in Sweden, for Magnus Swederus' library in 1784-1785, which was made up for 39% of learned lit-

greater bibliographical precision offered by circulating library catalogues – especially regarding less prestigious reading matter such as novels, which it would have been in the library owner's interest to describe as accurately as possible – further offers a number of new possibilities for studying women writers and their readership. These range from bibliographical discoveries – references to obscure titles or editions not reported elsewhere³¹ – to the historical patterns revealed by the precise dating furnished by circulating library catalogues. Thus, while catalogues drawn up after someone's death inevitably suffer from a certain time-lag and may reflect the reading habits of a previous generation, circulating library catalogues, coupled with booksellers' stock catalogues, allow us to establish with some degree of precision the date at which specific authors or literary movements first became known in specific countries or regions.

Since 1750, the year in which the Hague bookseller Hendrik Scheurleer Jr., almost certainly inspired by his knowledge of circulating libraries in England, started a 'public library' of his own, circulating libraries took root and spread in Holland much as they were to do elsewhere on the continent.³² Of the 15 or 16 circulating libraries presently known to have existed in the Dutch Republic during the 18th century,³³ we currently possess the (partial) catalogues of six, all of which we included in our corpus:

- Hendrik Scheurleer junior's circulating library in The Hague, 1750-1763, of which catalogues survive for 1751-1762.
- R.J. Noordbeek's library in Leeuwarden, started before 1754, and continued by A. van Lingen until 1762, of which catalogues survive for 1754-1756.
- Scheurleer's successor, Hendrik Bakhuyzen, also in The Hague, 1764-1818?, of which we studied the surviving catalogues for 1777-1801.³⁴
- Van Riemsdyk and Van Bronkhorst's circulating library in Bergen op Zoom, probably begun in 1790, of which a partial catalogue remains from 1792.
- Jan van Gulik's circulating library in Amsterdam, started between 1776 and 1785, and still operational in 1811,³⁵ of which we studied the surviving catalogues dated 1797-1798.
- Johannes Jacobus Beets's circulating library in Haarlem, of which catalogues survive for 1797-1799.

As elsewhere in Europe, circulating libraries in the Dutch Republic appear to have been conspicuous for the large volume of works by women writers they contain;³⁶ a significant proportion (9%) of my final list of 600 identifiable titles by women authors was comprised of titles found exclusively in these catalogues, which in themselves numerically represent just 2% of the catalogues studied. Often, the same titles recur in several

³¹ A large proportion of the titles and authors (including apocrypha) which I was unable to identify were to be found in the circulating library catalogues and will, as part of the women writers' database, become part of an electronic bibliography of 18th-century French women authors.

³² Janssens-Knorsch 1991.

³³ Van Goinga 1995.

³⁴ Van Goinga 1995, p. 291 hypothesises that, after Bakhuyzen's last known catalogue supplement published in 1812, the library survived until 1818. Since his *Second Catalogue des Livres* contains a few titles published in 1801, we have dated it around 1801, and included it in our final selection of circulating library catalogues.

³⁵ Id., p. 295.

library catalogues. An indication of the popularity of titles by women writers is provided by the following list of titles occurring in four or more circulating libraries. For the sake of brevity, I have excluded the collected *Oeuvres* of the authors found from the list, and have taken into consideration only explicitly named copies of the titles in question.

Figure 9 Titles by women authors occurring in four or more circulating libraries

	Scheu.	Noord.	Bakh.	Rijems.	Gulik	Beets
Sappho, Poems (7 th -6 th century BC)	1751		1791	1792	1797	1797
Segrais [=Lafayette], Zayde (1669)	1751	1756	1777		1797	
Lafayette, La Princesse de Clèves (1678)	1759	1754	1777		1797	
Aulnoy, Histoire d'Hypolite comte de Duglas (1690)	1762	1754	1777		1797	
Aulnoy, Contes de fées (1696)	1751	1754	1777		1797	
Lussan, Histoire de la comtesse de Gondez (1725)	1751	1754	1777		1797	
Lussan, Les Veillées de Thessalie (1731-1732)	1751	1756	1777		1797	
[Tencin], Le Siège de Calais (1739)	1757	1754	1777		1797	
Fielding, The Adventures of David Simple (1744-1753)	1751	1754	1777		1797	
[Haywood], The Female Spectator (1744-1746)	1751		1777		1797	1797
Graffigny, Lettres d'une Péruvienne (1747)	1751	1754	1777		1797	
Scott, The History of Cornelia (1750)	1751	1756	1800		1797	
[Guichard], Mémoires de Cécile (1751)		1756	1791	1792	1797	
Scott, Agreeable Ugliness (1752?)	1759	1756	1800		1797	
Villeneuve, Le Beau-frère supposé (1752)	1757	1756	1777		1797	
Maintenon, Lettres (starting 1752, including apocrypha)	1762	1756	1791	1792		1797
Staal, Mémoires (1755)	1762	1756	1791			1797
Boccage, La Colombiade (1756)	1759		1777	1792	1797	
Leprince de Beaumont, Le Magasin des enfants (1756)	1757		1777		1797	1797
Leprince de Beaumont, Le Magasin des jeunes dames (1764)		1777	1792	1797	1797	1797
Leprince de Beaumont, Contes moraux (1774)		1777	1792	1797	1797	1797
Genlis, Adèle et Théodore ou lettres sur l'éducation (1782)		1783	1792	1797	1797	
Lee, The Recess (1783-1785)		1800	1792	1797	1797	
[Montolieu], Caroline de Lichfield (1786)		1800	1792	1797	1797	
Lafite, Eugénie et ses élèves (1787)		1800	1792	1797	1797	
Craven, Letters (1789)		1800	1792	1797	1797	

The list of circulating libraries' most popular titles by women authors tends to confirm, and in some cases further refine, the conclusions we were previously able to draw from the larger corpus of 18th-century Dutch libraries. Thus, the recurrence of works by Leprince de Beaumont, Genlis and La Fite suggests that pedagogical and children's literature was a favourite with the audiences targeted by circulating libraries, just as it had been with other Dutch audiences; the same holds for works of fiction in general, even if the titles cited are often ones which in some way or another resist classification as inconsequential novels. Just like the larger corpus of library auction catalogues, too, the list of most popular circulating library titles reflects the growing presence of English women writers: the latter, in fact, are represented right from the beginning in the surviving Dutch circulating library catalogues, not only in Scheurleer junior's purportedly Anglophilic library, established in 1751 in The Hague, but also in R.J. Noordbeek's more remote library in Leeuwarden in 1754-1756.

Beyond these obvious similarities, the list of most popular circulating library titles also differs in some respects from the list of titles based on the total corpus of library catalogues. Thus, a number of 17th-century French authors who had fared well in the larger corpus (present in 20-30 % of the catalogues) are conspicuous by their absence on the list of most popular titles. These include Scudéry (whose latest appearance in circulating libraries is in 1777) and Villedieu (equally absent after 1777) among the novelists, and Deshoulières (present in three circulating libraries, in 1752, 1762 and 1797) and Sévigné (present in three circulating libraries, in 1762, 1777 and 1797) among the others. This holds as well for individual titles which had recurred particularly frequently in the larger corpus of private library catalogues: Aulnoy's *Relation du voyage d'Espagne*, for example, despite its presence in 17 % of the total corpus, vanishes after 1782, Marguerite de Navarre's *Heptaméron* (15 %) appears in only two circulating libraries, etc. As a general rule, older titles tend to fare less well in circulating libraries than newer ones: thus, of the 26 datable titles on the list, only two of the oldest 13 make it to Beets's library, the last one on the list, while of the 13 most recent, nine are listed in his catalogue. As the century progresses, it would appear therefore that erstwhile popular women writers gradually lose their original standing and are unable to convert their original popularity into 'canonical' status in the circulating libraries. Circulating libraries' precise dating would seem to confirm what had been merely a hypothesis when studying private library auction catalogues, namely that, despite the great popularity achieved by some women writers at some moments during the century, this recognition was, with a very few exceptions, relatively short-lived.

A final conclusion which could be drawn from the surviving circulating library catalogues is suggested by the difficulties involved in any attempt to compare their contents. These are, in fact, so similar, even despite differences in date and size, that it often seems impossible to draw conclusions on the basis of minimal variations in catalogues which, for the greatest part, overlap one another. Whereas, in the larger corpus of private library auction catalogues, the most popular title by a woman writer, Jeanne Leprince de Beaumont's *Magasin des enfants*, was present in 32 % of the relevant library auc-



Fig. 16 Engraving accompanying the 1751 catalogue of the first known circulating library in Holland, Hendrik Scheurleer junior's *Bibliotheeca Scheurleeriana*.

Fig. 17 Title page of the *Bibliothèque de campagne, ou amusemens de l'esprit et du cœur* (The Hague 1738, vol. I). Engraving by David Coster.



popular titles, it is not uncommon to find single titles by a woman author present in as many as four of the six libraries (and in Sappho's exceptional case, in five of them). As regards the larger category of authors rather than titles, besides the women authors already named on the list of most popular titles, a further nine women authors were present in four out of six circulating library catalogues: Auneuil, Dunoyer, Gomez, La Force, La Roche-Guilhen, L'Héritier, Murat, Puisieux, and Riccoboni. Another 33 women authors were present in 50% of the circulating libraries,³⁷ with a final 41 present in two of the six catalogues. This brings the total of women authors present in a third or more of

³⁷ Barbier, Beauharnais, Behn, Benoist, Bernard, Brégy, Brooke, Burney, Caylus, Cochois, Daubenton, Mme Deshoulières, Durand, Fuller, Gunning, Hamilton, Hughes, Inchbald, La Guette, La Roche, Le Givre de Biebbourg, Lenoir, Malorne, Marlow, Montesquieu, Robinson, Roche, Soudan, Sheridan

the circulating library catalogues to an enormous 103, a figure which would seem to reflect a completely different, and much more homogenous, literary consumption than the mere two French women authors present in 33% or more of the total corpus of library catalogues. As a group, women writers are not only particularly well-represented in 18th-century Dutch circulating libraries, but are overwhelmingly so.

If the presence of women writers is therefore unquestionable in 18th-century Dutch circulating libraries, that of women readers is less so. While it has often been assumed that circulating libraries catered to a largely female reading public, the evidence for other countries so far remains sparse and inconclusive. For every example of a circulating library with a primarily female readership,³⁸ there are several where women are in the

³⁸ Beronie 1784 reported a majority of women readers but in an extremely small population: 27 individuals. 20

minority: 11% in Stockholm, less than a third in Bath.³⁹ Evidence for a particular female fondness for novels, the circulating libraries' principal fare, is equally lacking: José de Kruif, who studied a large corpus of 'common readers' in 18th-century The Hague, found that women's libraries did not contain a larger proportion of novels than men's.⁴⁰ In the case of Dutch circulating libraries, the absence of loan registers or subscribers' lists means that the existence of a female readership can only be deduced from the library catalogues themselves, and characteristics such as their complete lack, in all cases but that of Scheurleer's semi-educational institution,⁴¹ of scholarly and Latin books.

Only in a single instance do we possess a piece of evidence suggesting that, if Dutch circulating libraries' readership was not made up for an important part of women, they may at least have targeted a female reading public. In this case too, however, the evidence points in several directions. Thus, the engraving accompanying the 1751 catalogue of the first known circulating library in Holland, Hendrik Scheurleer junior's *Bibliotheca Scheurleeriana* (fig. 16) clearly places a woman holding a book centre-stage, while a well-dressed man hands her another volume for inspection. In its portrayal of a seated woman being offered books by a number of willing men, the engraving is reminiscent of another, earlier engraving accompanying a publication aimed at women, the *Bibliothèque de campagne, ou amusemens de l'esprit et du cœur* (fig. 17) published in 1735, with a second edition in 1738, but it is also worth noting the differences: instead of the 'histoires', 'contes' and 'aventures' filling the bookshelves in the older engraving, Scheurleer's engraving insists on the fact that the books the woman is surrounded by at present are not novels, for they bear the weighty titles 'corpus jure', 'lexicon', 'Bayle', and 'Moreri'. This is perhaps as good a reminder as any that, even in the eyes of contemporaries, the woman reader, upon finding herself in a circulating library containing large numbers of popular novels, was not, necessarily, also the reader of women writers – even if, as argued elsewhere in this volume, her reading of these women writers could differ qualitatively from other, more well-known ones.

Conclusions

The significance of Dutch library auction catalogues for reconstructing women's literary history extends well beyond the Republic itself, and should be studied in conjunction with studies on women writers and their readers in other European countries. The international orientation of private and commercial libraries in 18th-century Holland can be inferred not only from the Dutch Republic's strong position in the European book market, but is also apparent in the composition of private and commercial library catalogues. As regards women writers specifically, the sheer numerical presence of their works in 18th-century Holland is obvious: in the 254 library catalogues studied, we found close to 600 titles by 126 French women authors, 62 English women writers, and a hand-

ful of women authors from other countries, suggesting that the generic category 'woman writer', as much as individually successful women authors, may have marked Dutch literary sensibility in the 18th century. The primacy of French literary culture in particular is demonstrated both by the fact that French women writers enjoyed the highest ranking of all women writers, in terms of numerical presence in the libraries, and the fact that the French language appears to have been the medium of transmission of the majority of works by women writers (including those of Sappho and of English women authors).

Absence and presence do, of course, remain relative concepts, as is worth stressing throughout. Thus, the high presence in the library catalogues of works by a few 18th-century women authors such as Leprince de Beaumont (in 50% of the catalogues), Genlis (32%) and Riccoboni (27%), to name but the most popular three, tells us nothing about the longevity of their fame. The almost complete absence of earlier women writers (before 1650) in the catalogues may in fact point to a trend whereby older women writers (unlike their male colleagues?) tend to disappear from libraries as the century progresses, as they indeed visibly do in circulating library catalogues. Truly 'canonical' women writers appear to be rare, and necessarily date from an earlier period; our own corpus would seem to suggest at least Sappho, Schurman and Marguerite de Navarre as likely candidates, with their presence ranging between 15% and 25% in the library catalogues studied.

While we cannot thus, on the basis of the corpus studied, determine whether or not French and English women writers' fortune in Holland was destined to last beyond their own lifetime, we can still establish the fact that, within the 18th century itself, the large degree of overlap between the contents of different (kinds of) library catalogues points to some measure of agreement among the cultivated reading elite on the works of literature one could (or should) admit to having in one's library. The recurrence of the same titles by French and English women authors means that, in terms of popularity alone, if not of status or durability, a number of them enjoyed a measure of recognition in their new country of adoption equal to that of their male contemporaries. Similarities of content between the most popular titles by male and female writers, in turn, suggest that it may be fruitful to consider their works and subsequent reception in tandem: the success of Leprince de Beaumont and Genlis, after all, may well be part of the same movement towards works of a more moralistic and/or educational nature as those of the well-known male authors Rousseau, Addison and Steele, and Fénelon (whose *Télémaque* was possibly the century's most popular title). It is perhaps enough to hope, in conclusion, that the evidence pointing to the massive presence in 18th-century Holland of these and other works by women writers may inspire re-evaluations of literary history in which their influence can be considered alongside the known influences exerted by movements as diverse as French classicism and English spectatorial writings, Enlightenment thought and the English novel.

³⁹ Björkman 1991; Kaufman 1967.

⁴⁰ De Kruif 1990, n. 182.

Appendix: library catalogues consulted

The following, abbreviated list of the library catalogues used for this article is arranged chronologically. After the date of the auction (or, in the case of circulating library catalogues, the date of issue of the catalogue), I list the first library owner named on the catalogue's title-page and, in brackets, the total number of owners named on the title-page. An asterisk in brackets indicates that the catalogue is a circulating library catalogue.

1700-04-26: anon. (1) - 1700-10-18: D. Andre Verloten (1) - 1701-10-25: anon. (1) - 1702-09-11: Jo-hannes van der Waeyen (1) - 1703-04-16: D. Bartholomeaus Cromhout (1) - 1705-4-27: Hendrik Christiaan Hennin (1) - 1707-09-26: Marcus Pels (1) - 1710-05-13: Willem Jacob van Egmond (1) - 1710-05-13: Hendrik van Wieringen (2) - 1712-05-12: D. Joannes Kool (1) - 1714-02-19: anon. (1) - 1714-04-09: anon. (1) - 1715-04-08: Antoni Gibson (1) - 1715-09-16: G.L. de La Sarraz (1) - 1716-03-16: anon. (1) - 1716-04-07: Joannes Houbakker (1) - 1717-09-27: Antoni Mattheus (1) - 1718-05-09: anon. (1) - 1719-04-25: Abraham Wasteau (2) - 1719-10-14: Joannes Oudemans (1) - 1720-03-26: Abraham van Limburg (1) - 1721-04-01: anon. (1) - 1721-10-21: Godefridi Du Bois (1) - 1722-02-12: anon. (1) - 1722-11-09: Carolus Rosenboom (1) - 1723-04-14: J.T. Schalbruch (1) - 1724: Jo-hannes de Cocq (1) - 1724-04-24: Gentilet (2) - 1724-08-28: Johannis de Witt (1) - 1725-04-03: D.J. Gantois (3) - 1725-07-23: C.A. (1) - 1726-10-07: Carel Appelboom (1) - 1727-06-24: Tobias van Dessel (1) - 1727-06-24: Petrus Savoys (1) - 1727-12-15: Monsieur de Bada (1) - 1728-05-07: anon. (1) - 1729-11-21: Albert Bosch (1) - 1730-06-26: Guillelmi de Wilde (1) - 1731-12-04: Pieter van Loo (1) - 1731-03-27: Engelbert vander Myll (1) - 1731-07-17: D. Levinus Ferdinandus de Beaufort (1) - 1731-10-08: anon. (1) - 1732-03-03: D. Sicco van Goslinga (1) - 1733-10-19: Daniel van Alphen (1) - 1734-09-21: Petrus de Toullieu (1) - 1735-09-06: Maria Leti Le Clerc (1) - 1735-11-21: un Homme de Qualité (1) - 1735-12-01: Britann. Med. Doctor (1) - 1736-03-07: Dominus B.G. (2) - 1736-09-04: Joannes de Witt (1) - 1737-05-29: Jan Joon (1) - 1738-06-30: Matthias Ooster (1) - 1740-03-22: Jacob Wittichius (1) - 1740-08-01: Twee Liefhebbers (2) - 1740-10-31: Tako Hajo van den Honert (1) - 1741-05-02: Theodorus Huyghens (1) - 1741-12-04: Willem van Assendelft (1) - 1742-07-30: Gisbertus Opten-Noorth (1) - 1742-10-08: anon. (1) - 1743-05-09: H.P.L. (1) - 1743-08-23: anon. (1) - 1744-02-17: Gerard van Papenbroeck (1) - 1745-04-05: Dominus Aymon (1) - 1745-05-17: Matthaeus de Ruusscher (1) - 1745-10-11: J.D.A.G. (2) - 1745-11-15: Dominus Johannes Cloribus (1) - 1746-04-25: Antonis Slicher (1) - 1746-07-27: Gerhardus Dumbar (1) - 1747-02-13: C.D. comte d'Aumale (1) - 1747-02-13: D. Danckert de Kempenaer (1) - 1747-04-17: Joannes Scipio Ormea (1) - 1747-07-19: Dominus Henrikus de Frein (1) - 1748-03-15: J.T. (1) - 1748-10-28: Mr. le B. de M*** (1) - 1749-10-22: Abraham Meingerts (1) - 1749-10-27: F. (count) de Thoms (1) - 1750: le prince Frederic Henry d'Orange (1) - 1750-03-09: Dirk van Scheltinga (1) - 1751-1762: H. Scheurleer Fz. (*) - 1751-06-10: Jacob Massing (1) - 1752-03-17: Willem de Bye (1) - 1752-04-04: Gerardus Maatschoen (1) - 1752-04-17: Mr. Constantin Sautyn (1) - 1752-04-18: A.A. de Ruever (1) - 1752-05-08: Jonkvrouwe Jacoba Grave (1) - 1752-07-17: Marcus Meibom (1) - 1753-05-09: Jo-hannes Assuerus Schorer (1) - 1753-09-11: Nicolaas Blankendaal (2) - 1754-1756: R.J. Noordbeek (*) - 1754-03-11: S. Emtinck (1) - 1754-10-08: D.L.W. Storm van 's-Gravesande (1) - 1754-11-18: anon. (1) - 1755-04-28: Maria Elisabetha de Walé (1) - 1755-05-03: anon. (1) - 1756-03-08: Joannes Esgers (1) - 1756-05-19: Johannes Schrassert (1) - 1757-04-28: Monsieur J.H.N. (1) - 1757-03-08: anon. (1) - 1758-09-...: Bernhard Friese (1) - 1758-10-09: Joannis van den Honert (1) - 1759-10-04: Abraham Kallewier (1) - 1759-02-13: Jacobus Carolus Martens (1) - 1759-10-23: D. Henricus Harde Abraham Kallewier (1) - 1759-02-13: Jacobus Carolus Martens (1) - 1759-10-23: D. Henricus Harde

le baron G.N. *** (2) - 1760-05-09: Petrus van Dorp (1) - 1760-10-22: Nicolaus van Brien (2) - 1761-09-23: anon. (1) - 1761-11-04: Conradus Hollebeek (2) - 1761-12-07: L.C. *** (count) C.A.D.R. *** (3) - 1762-03-09: Petrus van Musschenbroek (1) - 1762-07-19: de heer W.V. (1) - 1762-10-04: G.C.D. (1) - 1762-10-28: Gerardus van Voorst (1) - 1763-01-10: M.W. Sohnius (1) - 1763-09-19: L. Mulder (1) - 1763-09-19: anon.=Wins. (1) - 1764-04-16: J.A.C. *** (2) - 1765-01-07: Wilh. Henr. Frieswyk (1) - 1765-04-22: P. van Assendelft (2) - 1765-06-19: anon. (1) - 1765-08-21: Pietro Antonio Locatelli (1) - 1765-11-06: Pieter de Swarte (1) - 1766-10-21: Nicol. Engelhard (1) - 1767-02-16: Monsieur O*** (1) - 1767-05-25: M. Gaillard (1) - 1767-09-28: Hieronymus de Wilhem (1) - 1767-12-10: *** (1) - 1768-04-21: Paulus Hendrik Securius (1) - 1768-11-08: Appolonia de Vos (1) - 1769-04-10: Daniel Isaac, baron de Cronstrom (1) - 1769-12-14: anon. (1) - 1770-07-25: J.C. Mons de Cöhler (1) - 1770-07-30: Mr. Neveling (2) - 1771-04-15: Daniel Schorer (1) - 1771-04-23: Petrus de la Rue (1) - 1771-08-27: Philippus Douw (1) - 1771-10-16: Salomon Dierkens (2) - 1772-02-25: J.V.B. (3) - 1772-05-25: Thomas Sprankhuizen (1) - 1772-05-25: Cornelius de Witt (1) - 1772-09-21: Guillaume Kersseboom (1) - 1772-11-13: Augustinus van Staveren (1) - 1773-05-03: M. Muralt de Berne (2) - 1773-10-25: Joannes Hop (1) - 1773-11-25: Carel de la Bassecour (1) - 1774-04-11: anon.=N. Michel & P. Roe (2) - 1774-04-12: anon. (1) - 1775-04-27: Dirk Macare (1) - 1775-10-10: Gisb. Matth. Elsnerus (1) - 1776-04-11: Anna Margareta Willink (1) - 1776-06-03: Egbertus Cotius (1) - 1776-10-07: Johan van Nispen (1) - 1777-1800: Hendrik & G. Bakhuyzen (*) - 1777-01-06: een liefhebber...=Jacob Regenboog (1) - 1777-04-07: Christoph. Henrich Horst (2) - 1777-08-05: de heer P.B. (2) - 1778-05-06: Johannes Nettis (1) - 1778-10-05: J.P. van Eys (1) - 1778-11-04: anon. (1) - 1779-03-23: Joannes van Harn (1) - 1779-09-06: Daniel van Alphen (1) - 1779-11-01: anon. (1) - 1780-01-24: Pierre de Waardt (3) - 1780-04-14: anon. (1) - 1780-09-19: Mr. Herm. Ulr. Hamerster (1) - 1781-02-12: Bernhard de Moor (1) - 1781-11-20: Johannis Wyckel (1) - 1781-11-20: Duco Folperda (1) - 1782-04-15: baronesse douarière van Stocken (1) - 1782-04-23: Louis Bousquet (1) - 1782-09-16: C.H. van Heemskerck (1) - 1782-10-07: anon. (1) - 1782-11-04: Gisbertus Franco baron de Milan (1) - 1783-03-11: Johannes Krak (1) - 1783-03-11: anon. (1) - 1783-06-30: Dirk van Heemskerk (1) - 1783-10-28: Caspar Jacob Ravens (1) - 1783-11-26: Twee Voornaame Liefhebbers (2) - 1783-11-26: F. van H. (1) - 1784-03-01: Petrus Steyn (2) - 1784-04-20: Nicolas Hendrik van Hoorn (1) - 1784-10-05: Maurits Cornelis de Waall (1) - 1785-06-27: Daniel Mocabius Quaet (1) - 1785-09-26: Joh. Lamb. van Romondt (1) - 1786-11-29: Mlle Wielhesen (8) - 1787-03-05: Herman van Hees (1) - 1787-03-05: G.A. van Riel (2) - 1787-04-05: Vrouwe A.G. Schopman (1) - 1787-04-23: Robert Hendrik du Pon (1) - 1787-04-23: wed. Jacob Paulus Grave van Aumale (1) - 1787-09-18: anon. (1) - 1788-02-05: anon. (1) - 1788-03-31: Johannes Arnoldus Rietmeyer (1) - 1788-03-31: Vrouwe J.L. van Rees (1) - 1788-05-14: Gysbertus Boursse (1) - 1788-09-02: Jan Terwe (1) - 1788-10-06: Leendert Bomme (1) - 1788-11-24: Nic. Bruynenbeer (1) - 1788-11-24: een voor-naam Liefhebber (1) - 1788-12-18: J.H. Bruyn (1) - 1789-03-04: anon. (1) - 1789-03-26: Agatha Deken (2) - 1789-04-01: Jan Markon Pz. (1) - 1789-11-16: A. Oudemans (1) - 1790-03-29: Ysbrand 't Hoen (1) - 1790-04-21: M.C.E. (2) - 1791-04-26: le comte de M*** (1) - 1791-09-20: H. van Vianen (1) - 1792: Van Riemsdyk & van Bronkhorst (*) - 1792-03-06: Catharina Cornelia Freher (1) - 1792-05-08: Johannes van Hoorn (1) - 1792-10-15: Willem Jan van der Goes (1) - 1793-01-21: mevr. Hase des Tombe (1) - 1793-10-14: J.H. Martens (1) - 1793-10-14: A. de B... (1) - 1793-11-25: Har-manus Asschenbergh (3) - 1794-01-27: Herman Beverly (8) - 1794-03-04: Henrietta Johanna Dabenis (1) - 1794-10-20: Leonard Thomas de Vogel (1) - 1795-05-07: Johanna Susanna van der Mandere (1) - 1795-07-13: Pieter van der Haar (1) - 1795-11-23: de heeren *** (1) - 1795-11-23: Dominicus Huybers (1) - 1796-02-23: D. van Haren (1) - 1796-11-07: anon. (1) - 1797-1798: J. van Gu-

04-24: Danker de Kempenaar (1) – 1797-06-04: Cornelis van Bevoordt (1) – 1797-09-25: Petrus Horreus (3) – 1797-11-06: J.J. Guicherit (2) – 1798-...: anon. (1) – 1798-04-02: anon. (1) – 1798-05-02: Wigboldus Muilman (1) – 1798-05-29: Clara Magdalena Dupeyrou (1) – 1798-05-29: Cornelia Jacoba van Schuylenburch (1) – 1798-05-30: J.J.S. v. D.M. (2) – 1798-10-08: anon. (1) – 1798-11-19: Vervoort (2) – 1798-11-26: J. Gavanon (>4) – 1799-01-14: Jonkvrouwe *** (>1) – 1799-05-22: weduwe Markon (1) – 1799-11-18: Alex. Petrus Nahuys (1) – 1800-01-27: Capellen de Marsch (1) – 1800-01-27: un Amateur de Distinction (1) – 1800-03-17: David van Royen (1) – 1800-04-06: Laurentius van Santen (1) – 1800-04-21: Madame la Douairière de Suasso (1) – 1800-04-30: anon. (1) – 1800-06-10: Jacob Middelhoven Jacobsz. (2) – 1800-07-21: de heer A.K.V. (2).

Bibliography

Abrams, M.H. a.o., *The Norton Anthology of English Literature*. New York and London, W.W. Norton, 1993.

Berkvens-Stevelinck, C., H. Bots a.o. (eds.), *Le Magasin de l'Univers. The Dutch Republic as the Centre of the European Book Trade*. Leiden, Brill, 1991.

Björkman, M., 'Circulating Libraries in Late 18th-century Stockholm', in *Documentatieblad 18e Eeuw* 23 (1991), p. 191-199.

Björkman, M., *Läsarnas nöje. Kommersiella Lanbibliotek i Stockholm 1783-1809*. Uppsala, Avdelningen för litteratursociologi vid Litteraturvetenskapliga institutionen, 1992.

Briquet, F.B., *Dictionnaire historique, littéraire et bibliographique des Françaises [...]*. Paris, Treuttel and Würtz, 1804; reprint: Paris, Indigo & côté femmes éditions, 1997.

Buck, Claire (ed.), *Guide to Women's Literature throughout the World*. London, Bloomsbury, 1992.

Calis, Piet, *Onze literatuur tot 1916*. Amsterdam, Meulenhoff Educatief, 1983.

DeJean, J., 'Lafayette's Ellipses: The Privileges of Anonymity', in *Publications of the Modern Language Association* 99 (1984), p. 884-902.

DeJean, J., *Tender Geographies. Women and the Origins of the Novel in France*. New York, Columbia University Press, 1991.

De Haen, A., 'Op de boekverzameling van de weledelgebooren jongkvrouwe De Waal van Ankeveen', in *De herderszangen en mengelgedichten*. Amsterdam, Theodorus Crajenschat, 1751, p. 160.

De Kooker, H.W. and B. van Selm, *Boekcultuur in de Lage Landen, 1500-1800: bibliografie van publicaties over particulier boekenbezit in Noord- en Zuid-Nederland, verschenen voor 1991*. Utrecht, HES, 1993.

De Kooker, H.W., J.A. Gruys a.o., *Book Sales Catalogues of the Dutch Republic. Guide to the Microform Collection*. Leiden, IDC, 1997.

De Kruif, J., *Liefhebbers en gewoontelezers. Leescultuur in Den Haag in de achttiende eeuw*. Zutphen, Walburg Pers, 1999.

Dijkstra-Van Bakelen, Ria, 'De veilingcatalogus van maart 1789 van Betje Wolff en Aagje Deken', in *Documentatieblad Werkgroep 18e Eeuw* 34/35 (1977), p. 123-148.

Fergus, J., '18th-century Readers in Provincial England: The Customers of Samuel Clay's Library and Bookshop in Warwick 1770-1772', in *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 78 (1984), p. 155-213.

(ca. 1760-ca. 1810). Gent, Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde, 1963, p. 68-78.

Hoftijzer, P.G. and O.S. Lankhorst, *Drukkers, boekverkopers en lezers tijdens de Republiek. Een historiografische en bibliografische handleiding*. The Hague, Sdu, 2000 (2nd ed.).

Hunter, J.P., "The Young, the Ignorant and the Idle": Some Notes on Readers and the Beginnings of the English Novel', in A.C. Kors and P.J. Korshin (eds.), *Anticipations of the Enlightenment in England, France, and Germany*. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987, p. 259-282.

Janssens-Knorsch, U., 'Commerce or Culture? The Fate of the First Circulating Library in the Netherlands', in *Documentatieblad Werkgroep 18e Eeuw* 23 (1991), p. 151-173.

Kaltz, B., 'La Belle et la Bête – Zur Rezeption der Werke Mme Leprince de Beaumonts im deutschsprachigen Raum', in *Romanistische Zeitschrift für Literaturgeschichte* 13 (1989), p. 275-301.

Kaufman, P., 'In Defense of Fair Readers', in *A Review of English Literature* 8 (1967), p. 68-76.

Kloek, J.J., *Over Werther geschreven... Nederlandse reacties op Goethes Werther 1775-1800*. Utrecht, HES, 1985.

Lagarde, A. and L. Michard, *XVIIe siècle and XVIIIe siècle. Les grands auteurs français du programme*. Paris, Bordas, 1970.

Lankhorst, O.S., 'Les ventes de livres en Hollande et leurs catalogues (XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles)', in A. Charon and E. Parinet (eds.), *Les Ventes de livres et leurs catalogues, XVIIe-XXe siècle*. Paris, Ecole des Chartes, 2000, p. 11-26.

La Porte, J. de, *Histoire littéraire des femmes françaises*. Paris, Lacombe, 1769, 5 vols.

Lechner, J., *Repertorio de obras de autores españoles en bibliotecas holandesas hasta comienzos del siglo XVIII*. 't Goy-Houten, Hes & De Graaf, 2001.

May, G., *Le Dilemme du roman au XVIIIe siècle. Etude sur les rapports du roman et de la critique (1715-1761)*. New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1963.

Montoya, A.C. and S. van Dijk, 'Madame Leprince de Beaumont, Mademoiselle Bonne en hun Nederlandse lezers', in *De achttiende eeuw* 34 (2002), p. 5-32.

Mornet, D., 'Les enseignements des bibliothèques privées (1750-1780)', in *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France* 18 (1910), p. 449-496.

Nikliborc, A., 'La jeunesse polonaise et le livre français au siècle des Lumières (La Fontaine, Mme Leprince de Beaumont, Mme de Genlis)', in *Europe* 625 (1981), p. 194-202.

Obregón, I. de, *Elogio histórico de Madama M. Le Prince de Beaumont*. Madrid, 1784.

Pailhès, J.-L., 'En marge des bibliothèques: l'apparition des cabinets de lecture', in *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises*. Paris, Promodis, 1988, p. 415-421.

Smith, P.J., 'Rabelais aux Pays-Bas: l'édition Elzevier (1663) et la présence de Rabelais dans les bibliothèques privées des Hollandais', in P.J. Smith (ed.), *Editer et traduire Rabelais à travers les âges*. Amsterdam/Atlanta, Rodopi, 1997, p. 141-173.

Smith, P.J., 'Clément Marot aux Pays-Bas: présence de Marot dans les bibliothèques privées des Hollandais au XVIIe siècle', in G. Défaux and M. Simonin (eds.), *Clément Marot. Prince des poètes français 1496-1544*. Paris, Champion, 1997, p. 799-813.

Spender, Dale, *Mothers of the Novel*. London, Pandora, 1986.

Stewart, Joan, *Gynographs. French Novels by Women of the Late 18th Century*. Lincoln/London, University of Nebraska Press, 1993.

Strengers-Olle Kalter, K.M.P., 'Boeken in Bossche boedels. De belangstelling voor lectuur

Van Goinga, H., 'The Long Life of the Book: Public Book Auctions in Leiden 1725-1805 and the Second-Hand Book Trade', in *Quaerendo* 24 (1994), p. 242-274.

Van Goinga, H., 'Vercierde historieën': een verkennung naar de commerciële leesbibliotheiken in de Republiek in de 18e eeuw', in P.A. Koolmees, K. van der Horst a.o. (eds.), *Over beesten en boeken. Opstellen over de geschiedenis van de diergeneeskunde en de boekwetenschap aangeboden aan Guus Mathijsen bij zijn afscheid als bibliothecaris van de Faculteit der Diergeneeskunde te Utrecht*. Rotterdam, Erasmus Publishing, 1995, p. 283-298.

Van Goinga, H., *Alom te bekomen. Veranderingen in de boekdistributie in de Republiek 1720-1800*. Amsterdam, De Buitenkant, 1999.

Van Heck, P., 'Libri italiani nelle biblioteche private olandesi del seicento', in S. Vanvolsem, D. Vermandere a.o. (eds.), *L'italiano oltre frontiera: 5. convegno internazionale*, Leuven, 22-25 aprile 1998. Leuven, Leuven University Press, 2000, p. 815-831.

Van Selm, B., 'The Introduction of the Printed Book Auction Catalogue', in *Quaerendo* 15 (1985), p. 16-54 and 115-149.

Van Selm, B., 'Een menigte treffelijcke Boeken'. Nederlandse boekhandelscatalogi in het begin van de zeventiende eeuw. Utrecht, HES, 1987.

Van Selm, B., 'Onderzoek naar volkslectuur in de vroegmoderne tijd', in B. van Selm, P.G. Hoftijzer and H. van Goinga (eds.), *Inzichten en vergezichten. Zes beschouwingen over het onderzoek naar de geschiedenis van de Nederlandse boekhandel*. Amsterdam, De Buitenkant, 1992, p. 62-77.

Verhoeven, G. and P. Verkruisje, *Journael ofte Gedencwaerdige beschrijvinghe vande Oost-Indische Reyse van Willem Ysbrantsz. Bontekoe van Hoorn. Descriptieve bibliografie 1646-1996*. Zutphen, Walburg Pers, 1996.

FINNY BOTTINGA

Eliza Haywood's *Female Spectator* and its Dutch translation *De Engelsche Spectatrice*

'strange folly'

In 1711 Joseph Addison and Richard Steele created a new genre with their periodical *The Spectator*, which was destined for great success and ran until 1714. This 'moral weekly,' as it was later called,¹ frequently addressed a female audience. Through their fictional 'Mr. Spectator,' the authors exhaustively expressed their views on women. Many of the female characters who figured in their publication, however, were portrayed as suffering from 'female' vices and ridiculed for them.

Addison's essay of 30 October 1711, for example, includes the famous satirical poem on women by Simonides.² Mr. Spectator wishes to demonstrate that, 'if we look into the Manners of the most remote Ages of the World, we discover human Nature in her Simplicity,' and therefore gives a translation of the entire text – with apologies 'for this Author's Want of Delicacy'. Ten species of female can be distinguished, according to the materials used by God to make their souls, at the beginning of the world. Women made 'out of those Ingredients which compose a Swine' are 'sluts'; those 'made out of the Earth' are 'sluggards'; those 'taken out of the Ape' are 'both ugly and ill-natured'; and so on. The only favourable sort being women 'made out of the Bee': 'happy is the Man who gets such an one for his Wife'. Addison concludes by stating: 'A man cannot possess any Thing that is better than a good woman, nor anything that is worse than a bad one'.³ The satire contains, in fact, an enumeration of what are called female vices. It was presented to the audience for the instruction of those believed to be in need of correction.

The Female Spectator

These negative images of women were not universally accepted. One objection came from Eliza Haywood (1693-1756), who had been writing prolifically since 1719, producing several (mainly epistolary) novels, plays and journals. Her own works were not always appreciated and she was severely criticised by some male writers. Alexander Pope's *Dunciad* (1728) included some provocative, abusive lines on Haywood, relating her literary achievements to her personal life. He considered Haywood to be one of many scurilous hack writers, objects of ridicule: she is 'yon Juno of majestic size, / With cow-like

‘I have heard about you’

*Foreign women’s writing crossing the Dutch border:
from Sappho to Selma Lagerlöf*

edited by
SUZAN VAN DIJK (chief editor)
PETRA BROOMANS
JANET F. VAN DER MEULEN
PIM VAN OOSTRUM

Translations JO NESBITT

