

NOTES

INTRODUCTION: REALISM AND THE RISE OF THE NOVEL

1. John Richetti, "Ideas and Voices: The New Novel in Eighteenth-Century England," *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 12 (January–April 2000): 327–44.
2. Ian Watt, *The Rise of the Novel: Studies in Defoe, Richardson, and Fielding* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1957), 92, 32, 31.
3. During the 1960s and 1970s, New Critics regularly disagreed with Watt over such formal issues as the degree to which the early novel had really broken from the genre of romance. Watt himself provides a witty overview of some of the early objections to his work in "Serious Reflections on *The Rise of the Novel*," in *Towards a Poetics of Fiction*, ed. Mark Spilka (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977), 90–103. See also Ian Watt, "Flat-Footed and Fly-Blown: The Realities of Realism," *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 12 (January–April 2000): 147–166. This reception of Watt's work may be explained by the influence of New Criticism in the cold-war era. Such criticism, as Terry Eagleton explains, "drove you less to oppose McCarthyism or further civil rights than to experience such pressures as merely partial, no doubt harmoniously balanced somewhere else in the world by their complementary opposites." See *Literary Theory: An Introduction* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983), 50.
4. When Watt identifies Robinson Crusoe's "original sin" as "the dynamic tendency of capitalism itself" (Watt, *Rise of the Novel*, 65), he suggests the link that Georg Lukács asserted between narrative realism and "the contradictorily progressive character of capitalist development." See *Studies in European Realism* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1964), 13. Elsewhere, Watt refers directly to Lukács's *Die Theorie des Romans* (Berlin, 1920), 84 (Watt, *Rise of the Novel*, 84). Rather than directly pursuing Lukács's larger ideological goal of "helping to combat the sociological and aesthetic prejudices which have prevented many gifted authors from giving their best to mankind" (19), Watt focuses on the history of "bourgeois" British realism, leaving the future of progressive

realism to others. Raymond Williams subsequently describes the need for “a new realism” in *The Long Revolution* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), 289. Stephen Heath sees realism as “a utopia of writing and reality.” See “Realism, Modernism, and ‘Language-Consciousness,’” in *Realism in European Literature*, ed. Nicholas Boyle and Martin Swales (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 120. Harry E. Shaw provides an overview of the ideological tensions in the competing analyses of nineteenth-century narrative realism, especially regarding its potential for presenting a “totalizing” image of reality, in *Narrating Reality: Austen, Scott, Eliot* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1999). Such concerns about realism’s potential for totalizing have not yet fully permeated mainstream eighteenth-century literary scholarship, however.

5. Michael McKeon’s *The Origins of the English Novel 1660–1740* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987) allows us to understand the emergence of verisimilitude in the historical context of the evolving dialectical relations between aristocratic and progressive ideologies. However, his work has not yet prompted much new scholarship on the category of formal realism per se, nor does he account for the fact that some of the discourses he associates with generalized aristocratic ideology might derive more specifically from particular partisan debates. First-wave feminist scholars tended to emphasize the similarities between the works of canonical male novelists and those of their rediscovered sisters without challenging the traditional category of narrative realism. Dale Spender establishes the sheer number of women writing novels in *Mothers of the Novel* (New York: Pandora, 1986). Jane Spencer emphasizes the similarities between Richardson’s work and that of many female novelists in *The Rise of the Woman Novelist: From Aphra Behn to Jane Austen* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986), 140–42. Janet Todd suggests that “The novel that women wrote . . . did not pursue verisimilitude for its own sake” in her highly informative study of early woman writers. See *The Sign of Angellica: Women, Writing, and Fiction, 1660–1800* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), 139. Subsequent feminist scholarship on the rise of the novel has focused on revising Watt’s category of the individual, rather than his analysis of formal structure. Nancy Armstrong provocatively suggests that the novel helped to establish the domestic woman, rather than the bourgeois man, as the embodiment of the modern individual in *Desire and Domestic Fiction: A Political History of the Novel* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987). In *Nobody’s Story: The Vanishing Acts of Women Writers in the Marketplace, 1670–1820* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994), Catherine Gallagher delineates the narrative and social power that women writers derived from gendered self-representation. Ros Ballaster, Toni Bowers, and Jill Campbell have pursued the question of how early novelists deployed different gendered categories of the individual for partisan political pur

- poses. See Ros Ballaster, *Seductive Forms: Women's Amatory Fiction from 1684 to 1740* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992); Toni Bowers, *The Politics of Motherhood: British Writing and Culture 1680–1760* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Jill Campbell, *Natural Masques: Gender and Identity in Fielding's Plays and Novels* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995). Ruth Perry's *Novel Relations: The Transformation of Kinship in English Literature and Culture, 1748–1818* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) adds much to our understanding of a significant cultural shift in the way family relations were perceived and negotiated in the second half of the eighteenth century, but does not directly address the category of narrative realism.
6. See J. A. Downie, "Mary Davys's 'Probable Feign'd Stories' and Critical Shibboleths about 'The Rise of the Novel,'" *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 12 (January–April 2000): 325.
 7. Michael Seidel, "The Man Who Came to Dinner: Ian Watt and the Theory of Formal Realism," *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 12 (January–April 2000): 194. See also J. Paul Hunter's comments on the dangers of placing too much emphasis on realism as the primary distinguishing feature of the novel in *Before Novels: The Cultural Contexts of Eighteenth-Century English Fiction* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1990), 22–23. Toni Bowers offers cautionary advice about the "privileged category 'novel'" which defines itself against works excluded by "gender and genre hierarchies" See "Sex, Lies, and Invisibility: Amatory Fiction from the Restoration to Mid-Century," in *The Columbia History of the British Novel*, ed. John Richetti et al. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 50.
 8. In fairness, realism continued to generate scholarly consideration after Watt published his *Rise of the Novel*, even though its central position in scholarly histories of the British novel diminished. See, for example, Michael Holquist and Walter Reed, "Six Theses on the Novel—and Some Metaphors," *New Literary History* 11:3 (1980): 413–423; Marshall Brown, "The Logic of Realism: A Hegelian Approach," *PMLA* 96:2 (March 1981): 224–241; Elizabeth Deeds Ermarth, *Realism and Consensus in the English Novel* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983).
 9. William B. Warner, *Licensing Entertainment: The Elevation of Novel Reading in Britain, 1684–1750* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998), 34.
 10. See note 1 above. In *The Cambridge Companion to the Eighteenth-Century Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), Richetti characterizes "the realistic novel" as "a very self-conscious revision and strict reformation of what its authors tend to define as unacceptably loose attitudes toward the referentiality of narrative in relation to the actualities of experiences, as the Enlightenment came to define that elusive category" (2).

11. His *Popular Fiction Before Richardson* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969) was a pioneering work, although he routinely relegates women writers to the second tier. More recently, Richetti has contributed to the study of early women novelists by co-editing, with Paula Backscheider, the anthology *Popular Fiction by Women 1660–1730* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).
12. Deborah Ross, *The Excellence of Falsehood: Romance, Realism, and Women's Contribution to the Novel* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1991), 12.
13. "The Novel's Gendered Space" in *Revising Women: Eighteenth-Century "Women's Fiction" and Social Engagement*, ed. Paula Backscheider (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 1. All italics in the text quoted throughout this book have been reproduced as in the original, unless where specified otherwise.
14. In *The English Novel in History 1700–1780* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), Richetti devotes one chapter to the "amatory fiction" of Behn, Manley, and Haywood and another to the "women novelists" of the mid-eighteenth century, while Defoe, Richardson, Fielding, and Smollett are each accorded a chapter of their own. Similarly, in *The Cambridge Companion to the Eighteenth-Century Novel*, six individual male novelists and Fanny Burney are accorded seven separate chapters, while all other "women writers" are lumped into a single chapter. In both of these influential texts, the works of women novelists become relegated to a subcategory on par with the subcategory of the "sentimental" novel, which is likewise accorded a separate chapter in each volume.
15. Backscheider, "The Novel's Gendered Space," 12.
16. J. A. Downie appropriately cautions scholars against using either the term "rise" or the term "novel" during this period since "the novel was still in the process of being made." See "The Making of the English Novel," *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 9:3 (April 1997): 264. In discussing the instability of the term "novel" during this period he points out how it was frequently used interchangeably with "romance" (257–60).
17. In analyzing the category of "amatory fiction," one perhaps as susceptible to marginalization as that of "romance," Toni Bowers cautions critics to "ask why we define 'good' literature as we do, how our assumptions about literary value still work to valorize some voices and exclude others, and how our capacities for pleasure might be augmented by respectful engagement with works we have been trained to resist or dismiss." See "Sex, Lies, and Invisibility: Amatory Fiction from the Restoration to Mid-Century," 70.
18. Watt, *Rise of the Novel*, 11–34.
19. Booth objects to Watt's complaint, in privileging Richardson over Fielding, that Fielding's "authorial intrusion . . . tends to dismiss the authenticity of the narrative." See *The Rhetoric of Fiction* (Chicago and

- London: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 42; Booth is citing Watt's *Rise of the Novel*, 285.
20. Booth (41) is citing Watt's *Rise of the Novel*, 32.
 21. Deidre Shauna Lynch, *The Economy of Character: Novels, Market Culture, and the Business of Inner Meaning* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 69.
 22. I am drawing here on Marilyn Butler's analysis of the anti-Jacobin elements in Austen's fiction. See *Jane Austen and the War of Ideas* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), 197–213. For an explanation of how our perception of Darcy evolves through a subtle shift in narrative perspective (a technique that renders him more "human"), see Susan Fraiman's analysis of *Pride and Prejudice* in *Unbecoming Women: British Women Writers and the Novel of Development* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 69–87.
 23. Watt, *Rise of the Novel*, 16.
 24. Anthony Ashley Cooper, third Earl Shaftesbury, *Sensus Communis, an Essay on the Freedom of Wit and Humour in a Letter to a Friend in Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*, ed. Lawrence E. Klein (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 66. Portions of these passages (from a different edition of Shaftesbury) are cited in Watt, *Rise of the Novel*, 16.
 25. Ermarth, *Realism and Consensus*, 33.
 26. J. A. Downie, "Mary Davys's 'Probable Feign'd Stories'": 312–13.
 27. Richard Ashcraft and M. M. Goldsmith, "Locke, Revolution Principles, and the Formation of Whig Ideology," *Historical Journal* 26:4 (1983): 773–800.
 28. Linda Colley, *In Defiance of Oligarchy: The Tory Party 1714–60* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); J. C. D. Clark, *English Society 1688–1832* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).
 29. Geoffrey Holmes, *British Politics in the Age of Anne* (New York: St. Martin's, 1967), 21.
 30. Jerry Beasley, *Novels of the 1740s* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1982), 13.
 31. Margaret Anne Doody, *The True Story of the Novel* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1996), 286, 294.
 32. For further details about the association of Jacobitism with romance, see also Margaret Anne Doody's introduction to Charlotte Lennox's *The Female Quixote or The Adventures of Arabella*, ed. Margaret Dalziel (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), xviii.
 33. Connecting the rise of the novel to partisan political history is not a new idea, although such a partisan history has not specifically been connected to the development of narrative realism. In *Factual Fictions: The Origins of the English Novel* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), Lennard Davis's study of the effect of censorship laws on the novel's development helps set the stage for a partisan analysis of the novel's formal history. Ros Ballaster's *Seductive*

- Forms* and Toni Bowers's *Politics of Motherhood* demonstrate how to decode the partisan political ground of amatory fiction. Their work, alongside that of Christopher Flint, has also helped break previous assumptions about the early novel as primarily a Whig phenomenon. See Flint's *Family Fictions: Narrative and Domestic Relations in Britain, 1688–1798* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998).
34. Scholars of eighteenth-century literature have long recognized the deeply political nature of Restoration drama and Augustan satire, although formalist literary study emphasized the "literariness" of such texts, just as New Criticism has emphasized their universal human truths. William Warner, who eschews the literary category of the novel, nevertheless cautions us to read Behn's *Love Letters Between a Nobleman and His Sister* as a "political intervention" rather than as a novel "of a literary type." See *Licensing Entertainment*, 52.
 35. In *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, trans. Thomas Burger (Hermann Luchterhand Verlag, 1962; Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989), Jürgen Habermas predictably relies on 1950s and 1960s conceptions of literature. In Habermas's analysis, Richardson's *Clarissa* demonstrates an historical and cultural context in which author and reader together wept over the events in the novel, a context that created the "family's self-image as a sphere of humanity-generating closeness" (48) necessary to bind together the men who had a voice in the political public sphere. Thus, for Habermas, "the humanity of the literary public sphere served to increase the effectiveness of the public sphere in the political realm" insofar as "political emancipation" was understood as "human emancipation" (56). Such an assertion about the liberating effects of the bourgeois public sphere's humanist claims is complicated, however, by the example of novelists who never claimed to be writing either from or about the supposedly "universal" position of the Whig bourgeois male. It also presupposes that the novel was a genre more closely connected to apolitical humanist morality than to partisan political debate. See my "Clarissa's Treasonable Correspondence: Gender, Epistolary Politics, and the Public Sphere," *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 10:3 (April 1998): 269–287; and my "It's Not Easy Being Green: Gender and Friendship in Eliza Haywood's Political Periodicals," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 32:2 (Winter 1998–99): 199–214. Paula Backscheider sees the public sphere as a "liminal space . . . in which new knowledge is produced"; novels thus "negate the boundaries" between what is understood to be public and what is understood to be private. See her "Introduction" to a special issue of *Prose Studies*, "The Intersections of the Public and Private Sphere in Early Modern England," ed. Paula R. Backscheider and Timothy Dykstal, *Prose Studies* 18:3 (December 1995): 13–15. Backscheider also paraphrases Habermas's more recent observation in *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity*, that "some literature is both 'world-discovering' and problem-solving" (15).

36. Anna Letitia Barbauld, "On the Origin and Progress of Novel-Writing," reprinted in *Anna Letitia Barbauld: Selected Poetry and Prose*, ed. William McCarthy and Elizabeth Kraft (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 2002), 350.
37. For Watt, these developments included the rise of capitalism and Protestantism; for McKeon, the dialectical emergence of bourgeois ideology; for Armstrong, the emergence of the domestic woman.
38. In *Family Fictions*, Christopher Flint describes the early British novel as promoting a more conservative version of individualism and conformity than was previously assumed. Toni Bowers has spoken on Tory ideology in early eighteenth-century novels at several conferences and refers to some of these ideas in "Collusive Resistance: Sexual Agency and Partisan Politics in *Love in Excess*," in *The Passionate Fictions of Eliza Haywood*, ed. Kirsten T. Saxton and Rebecca P. Bocchicchio (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2000), 48–68.
39. Paula McDowell, *The Women of Grub Street: Press, Politics, and Gender in the London Literary Marketplace 1678–1730* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 4.
40. J. A. Downie, *Robert Harley and the Press: Propaganda and Public Opinion in the Age of Swift and Defoe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 1. Downie emphasizes that Robert Harley, in particular, enabled the press "to be controlled by government without the imposition of a strict system of censorship" (130).
41. Davis, *Factual Fictions*, 96.
42. Campbell, *Natural Masques*, 163.
43. Another factor explaining the continued misogyny of anti-Jacobite pamphlets could be the actual economic circumstance of the wives of those Jacobites arrested in 1715. While their husbands were stripped of their material possessions and exiled to France, the Jacobite wives retained control of their dowries and became in essence the legal and economic heads of household in their husbands' absence. See Daniel Szechi's "'Cam Ye O'er Frae France?' Exile and the Mind of Scottish Jacobitism, 1716–1727," *Journal of British Studies* 37:4 (October 1998): 357–90. See also his *The Jacobites, Britain, and Europe, 1688–1788* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994).
44. Here I am necessarily drawing on a Foucauldian idea of discourse. However, I do not assume that the novel itself functioned as a "discourse," as Lennard Davis has argued (*Factual Fictions*, 7); rather, I see the early British novel as a discursive field in which various political and social discourses were put into play. As Michel Foucault explains, every statement exists within an "enunciative field in which it has a place and a status, which arranges for its possible relations with the past, and which opens up for it a possible future." See *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972), 99. He also explains that any given statement takes on a different meaning, depending on the "material status of the

- statement,” or the context in which it is uttered: “it does not constitute the same statement if it is spoken by someone in the course of conversation, or printed in a novel; if it was written one day centuries ago, and if it now reappears in an oral formulation” (100).
45. See Carole Pateman, *The Sexual Contract* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988) and Susan Moller Okin, “Humanist Liberalism” in *Liberalism and the Moral Life*, ed. Nancy L. Rosenblum (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), 39–53.
 46. Mary Astell’s preface to the third edition of *Reflections on Marriage* (London, 1706) in *The First English Feminist*, ed. Bridget Hill (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1986), 76. (In the third edition Astell removed *Some* from her original title.) After the Revolution of 1688–89, early English feminist writers Mary Astell and Margaret Cavendish, both staunch Tories, expressed serious reservations about the advantages to women of power being shared between men, rather than concentrated in the single person of the king. See Ruth Perry, “Mary Astell and the Feminist Critique of Possessive Individualism,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 23:4 (1990): 444–57. See also Catherine Gallagher, “Embracing the Absolute: The Politics of the Female Subject in Seventeenth-Century England,” *Genders* 1 (1988): 24–39.
 47. Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 25.
 48. Armstrong, *Desire and Domestic Fiction*, 36.
 49. See *Simeon and Levi: or, Jacobite Villany and French-Treachery, Hand in Hand* (London: n.p., 1696), *The True Picture of a Modern Tory: In a Dialogue, between Jack and Ned* (London: n.p., 1702), and *A Seasonal Warning Against Jacobites and Papists in Favour of the Pretender* (London: printed for J. Baker, 1712).
 50. *The Jacobite Curse, or, Excommunication of King George and His Subjects* (Glasgow: printed by Hugh Brown, 1714); *The History of the Jacobite Clubs* (London: printed for J. Baker, 1712); *The Counsel to the True English; or, A Word of Advice to the Jacobites* (London: printed for S. Manship, 1691).
 51. We might see a parallel here between what I am suggesting about novelistic realism and the “principle of opacity” that Stephen Greenblatt identifies in Shakespeare’s dramatic writings—an opacity he attributes in part to a political caution that allowed him to depict the full range of humanity without his company ever falling “from its position as the King’s Men.” See *Will in the World: How Shakespeare Became Shakespeare* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2004), 355.
 52. John Richetti insists that Eliza Haywood’s early novels depict “tumultuous emotions,” not ideas or developed characters. A selected passage in *Robinson Crusoe*, in contrast, reveals both depth of character and a “dialogic” engagement with the moral issues of cannibalism and colonialism. Yet, had Richetti chosen a passage from Haywood’s *The Adventures of Eovaai*, for example, he could not have ignored her

narrator's and heroine's "dialogic" engagement with the "ideas" of tyranny, republicanism, and the social contract, many of the same themes addressed by Crusoe when he becomes "monarch" of his desert island.

I POLITICAL SELFHOOD AND NOVELISTIC CHARACTER

1. Edmund Burke, for example, resorts to the image of the vulnerable Marie Antoinette and her children in his *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, especially in part 5, chapter 2, "Of the Outrage against the Royal Family, Aristocracy, and the Clergy." See *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, ed. Thomas H. D. Mahoney (New York: The Liberal Arts Press, 1955), 79–85.
2. Over the slaves, the rule of the household head is absolute (*despotikē*); over the children, his rule is monarchical (*basilikē*), since their reasoning faculties are undeveloped; over the wife his rule is constitutional (*politikē*), since her reasoning power is without authority. See Constance Jordan, "The Household and the State: Transformations in the Representation of an Analogy from Aristotle to James I," *Modern Language Quarterly* 54:3 (September 1993): 310–11.
3. *The Trew Lawe of Free Monachies* (66) cited in Jordan's "The Household and the State": 309.
4. Peter Laslett remarks in his introduction to Filmer's *Patriarcha* that while the family was at this time a solid feature of society, more so than in medieval times, it may well have been fending off decline at the moment that Filmer defends it so emphatically. See *Patriarcha and Other Political Works of Sir Robert Filmer*, ed. Peter Laslett (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1949), 20–29. Laslett also suggests that there was "something faintly ridiculous . . . even by the year 1679" about Filmer's argument. See his introduction to Locke's *Two Treatises of Government*, ed. Peter Laslett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 71. Richard Ashcraft emphasizes in *Revolutionary Politics and Locke's Two Treatises of Government* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986) that the Tories did not need Filmer, but were "quite content to defend the king's authority through the citation of a few specific passages from the Bible" (187). However, Filmer's treatise, in its painstaking proofs through his peculiar interpretation of Genesis, was readily available; it would also become a convenient target for contract theorists.
5. Laslett suggests that Locke and Tyrrell may have written portions of their treatises at the same time, while staying at the same country retreat, although Locke did not mention his to Tyrrell and waited until the Exclusion crisis reached its culmination before publishing it anonymously. See the introduction to Laslett's edition of Locke's *Two Treatises*, 63–66.

6. James Tyrrell, *Patriarcha non Monarcha, The Patriarch Unmonarched; Being Observations on a late Treatise & Divers Other Miscellanies Published Under the Name of Sir Robert Filmer Baronet* (London: printed for Richard Janeway, 1681), 110–11.
7. James Tyrrell, *Bibliotheca Politica or an Enquiry into the Ancient Constitution of the English Government, in Thirteen Dialogues* (London: printed for R. Baldwin, 1694), 13.
8. Jonathan Scott persuasively argues that what we understand as crises of “exclusion” were rather crises about arbitrary government and Catholicism, of which the so-called Exclusion crisis was but a symptom. See *Algernon Sidney and the Restoration Crisis, 1677–1683* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 1–80. I continue to use the term “Exclusion crisis” or “crises” to denote the various attempts to pass Exclusion bills because Scott’s proposed term “Restoration Crisis” would be less comprehensible to readers. For more on the significance of the Exclusion crises, see also Howard Nenner, *The Right to Be King: The Succession to the Crown of England 1603–1714* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 95–258.
9. John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, ed. Peter Laslett, paragraph 38. Future references to this work are by paragraph number.
10. *The Fundamental Constitution of the English Government* (London: printed by J. D. for the Author, 1690), 102.
11. *The Original Power of the Collective Body of the People of England, Examined and Asserted* (London: n.p., 1702), 9.
12. *A Brief Justification of the Prince of Orange’s Descent into England and of the Kingdom’s Late Recourse to Arms* (London: printed for J. S. and sold by Richard Baldwin, 1689), 35. For related nineteenth- and twentieth-century references to women as too virtuous to vote, see Suzanne Marilley’s *Woman Suffrage and the Origins of Liberal Feminism 1820–1920* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996).
13. Algernon Sidney, *Discourses Concerning Government* 2nd edn. (London: n. p., 1698), 40.
14. Samuel Richardson, *Clarissa, or the History of a Young Lady*, ed. Angus Ross (London: Penguin Books, 1985), 934.
15. Richard Ashcraft argues in *Revolutionary Politics* that one of the reasons that Locke’s treatises were ultimately understood as less radical than he believes they were is that Locke’s *Essay on Human Understanding* led readers to picture him more as an apolitical philosopher than a political partisan, despite the distinctly radical arguments contained in his *Two Treatises of Government*. See *Revolutionary Politics* 56–74, 75–127, and 299–37. However, at a moment when gender difference was routinely invoked as a rhetorical strategy in marginalizing other excluded political groups, Locke still did not fully include women in his category of the universal political individual. Teresa Brennan and Carole Pateman, in “‘Mere Auxiliaries to the Commonwealth’: Women and the Origins of Liberalism,”

- Political Studies* 27 (1979): 183–200, assert that Locke was well aware that “there was a problem about the position of married women” but that he capitulated to the old-school patriarchalists on this point (187).
16. Martyn P. Thompson explains that Locke’s *Two Treatises* “did eventually become a very successful work” although it was not read widely enough to have received any critical responses until 1703. See “The Reception of Locke’s *Two Treatises of Government* 1690–1705,” *Political Studies* 24:2 (1976): 184–91.
 17. See “Locke, Revolution Principles, and the Formation of Whig Ideology,” 789 (see note 27 to my introduction).
 18. *The Judgement of Whole Kingdoms and Nations* (London, 1710; New York and London: Garland facsimile reprint, 1979), 45–55.
 19. [William Keith], *A Dissertation on the Liberty of the Subject in Great Britain* (London: printed for J. Roberts, 1737), 7.
 20. Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke, *The Idea of a Patriot King*, ed. Sydney W. Jackman (Indianapolis: Bobbs Merrill, 1965), 14.
 21. Adam Potkay, in his analysis of Hume’s ambivalent attitudes toward rhetorical eloquence, suggests that “Hume’s advocacy of classical eloquence may be read as a skeptical and conservative critique of Locke’s liberalism.” See *The Fate of Eloquence in the Age of Hume* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), 58. Duncan Forbes clarifies that Hume’s conservatism should not be confused with the more radically conservative reaction of Jacobitism. He explains that “it was . . . a post-revolutionary, establishment political philosophy: its object was to give the established regime, the Revolution Settlement, the Hanoverian succession, the respectable intellectual foundation which, in the ‘fashionable system’ it had not got.” See *Hume’s Philosophical Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 91.
 22. *David Hume, The Philosophical Works*, ed. Thomas Hill Green and Thomas Hodge Grose, 4 vols. (Darmstadt: Scientia Verlag Aalen, 1964), 3:444.
 23. David Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature*, ed. L. A. Selby-Bigge (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 495.
 24. Hume, of course, does not eliminate women entirely from his philosophy. Adam Potkay describes how Hume approves of women’s civilizing influence on polite discourse. Hume apparently appreciates the “sweetness” and “amiability” that women bring to society, which, while diametrically opposed to the political forces of the public sphere, nevertheless were necessary to it (*Fate of Eloquence*, 74–86). Potkay suggests that Hume was trying to expand on Bolingbroke’s traditional base of support by addressing himself to “women as well as men; to rising professionals as well as landed proprietors; to the Scottish and French nations as well as the English; to citizens of the world as well as compatriots” (86). Potkay does not examine, however, whether in speaking to all these different groups, Hume intended that they all should be considered equal citizens under law.

25. In pointing to the way in which Hume's essays define a highly abstracted citizen-individual, I am using "abstraction" differently than is usual in Hume criticism. M. A. Box, for example, in dividing Hume's writings between first- and second-order levels of philosophical abstraction, or abstruseness, appropriately locates Hume's political discourses as "all first-order questions of fact. (Does the British government, for example, incline more to absolute monarchy or to a republic? What are the first principles of government?)." See *The Suasive Art of David Hume* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 159.
26. As Annabel Patterson has demonstrated, American colonists drew direct inspiration for their assertion of independence from key texts written in justification of the Revolution of 1688–89. She demonstrates how eighteenth-century "secret histories" provided a counter-narrative to official histories and thus helped promote the premises of early liberalism by depicting the horrors of tyranny. Patterson distinguishes anecdotes about abuses of power under the Stuart monarchs from sexual anecdotes in politicized scandal chronicles apparently more concerned with sexual titillation than liberal politics, such as Haywood's "pulpy" *Present Intrigues of the Court of Caramania* (1727). See *Early Modern Liberalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 185–86. While I agree with Patterson about the role of Whig counter-histories and memoirs in the spread of liberal political theory, I believe that a different sort of anecdote—familial and fictional—was needed to interrogate the abstract political notions of liberty and equal rights, which did not yet have universal application.
27. See for example Charles Davenant's *The True Picture of a Modern Whig Set Forth in a Dialogue between Mr. Whiglove and Mr. Double* (London: n. p. 1701) and *Tom Double Return'd: Or, the True Picture of a Modern Whig Set Forth in a Second Dialogue Between Mr. Whiglove & Mr. Double* (London: n. p., 1702). See also J. A. Downie's discussion of these pamphlets in *Robert Harley and the Press*, 49–54.
28. See note 49 to my introduction.
29. See note 50 to my introduction.
30. For a fuller discussion of the figure of "Faction" in political propaganda during the reign of Queen Anne, see Ruth Herman, *The Business of a Woman: The Political Writings of Delarivier Manley* (Newark and London: University of Delaware Press, 2003), 52.
31. In a similar way, the categories of rake, cuckold, and licentious woman were invoked by both pro- and anti-Stuart sides in Restoration drama. See Susan J. Owen, *Restoration Theatre and Crisis* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).
32. George Logan's laboriously repetitive *A Treatise on Government; Shewing That the Right of the Kings of Scotland to the Crown was not Strictly and Absolutely Hereditary* (Edinburgh: printed for the book-sellers here and at Glasgow, 1746) is a paradigmatic example of this

- historically sound, if not philosophically profound, refutation of Jacobite claims to the throne.
33. *A Comparison of the Spirit of the Whigs and Jacobites: Being the Substance of a Discourse Delivered to An Audience of Gentlemen in Edinburgh, December 24, 1745* (Edinburgh: printed by R. Fleming, 1746), 8.
 34. [James Montgomery], *Great Britain's Just Complaint For Her Late Measures, Present Sufferings, And the Future Miseries She Is Exposed To* ([London], 1692).
 35. *An Attempt towards a Natural History of the Hanover Rat* (London: printed for M. Cooper, 1744).
 36. I do not assume that Toryism was necessarily the most powerful form of proto-feminism during this period, as some earlier scholars have done. For a refutation of this familiar claim, see Susan J. Owen's "Sexual Politics and Party Politics in Behn's Drama, 1678–83," *Aphra Behn Studies*, ed. Janet Todd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 15–29.
 37. See *Female Excellency, or the Ladies Glory* (London: Nath. Crouch, 1688), sig. A3; this work is ascribed on the title page to R. B.—that is, Richard or Robert Burton, the pen name of the bookseller Nathaniel Crouch.
 38. Jill Campbell has described the misogyny of 1740s anti-Jacobite rhetoric as part of a Whig attempt to deflect attention from the potentially empowering effect their own theories of government structure might have on women. Despite the potentially empowering domestic analogies in Whig political treatises, however, it is clear that misogyny was noticeable in polemical anti-Stuart writings as early as Settle's dramatic tragedy *The Female Prelate* (1680). See Campbell, *Natural Masques*, 145.
 39. *The Anatomy of a Jacobite-Tory: In a Dialogue between Whig and Tory, Occasioned by the Act for Recognizing King William and Queen Mary* (London: Richard Baldwin, 1690); *An Excellent New Song Call'd, The Female Duel; or, The Victorious Williamite Lady, Who was challeng'd to Fight a Duel by a Jacobite Lady* ([London]: printed and sold by P. Pelcomb, [1700]).
 40. Sacheverell was impeached (and eventually prevented from preaching for three years) by the Whigs on charges that this sermon was seditious; the mob that protested his impeachment ironically challenged, by their very uprising, the premise of passive obedience that his sermon upheld and that the protesters believed themselves to be supporting. Geoffrey Holmes quotes a letter from Abigail to Edward Harley: "Even Sacheverell himself [was] no doubt conscious that the violent insurrection of his supporters was 'an odd way of defending passive obedience and non-resistance.'" See *The Trial of Doctor Sacheverell* (London: Eyre Methuen, 1973), 175.
 41. [John Toland], *The Jacobitism Perjury and Popery of High-Church-Priests* (London: printed for J. Baker, 1710), 14.

42. [John Shute Barrington], *A Dissuasive from Jacobitism: Shewing in general What the Nation is to expect from a Popish King; and in particular, from the Pretender* (London: printed for John Baker, 1713), 8.
43. "Come if You Dare" (London: printed for P. Clifton, 1714).
44. *The Jacobite Curse, or Excommunication of King George and His Subjects* (Glasgow: printed by Hugh Brown, 1714), 9.
45. Henry Fielding, *The Jacobite's Journal and Related Writings*, W. B. Coley, ed. (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), 99.
46. The Jacobite fascination with lineage did have some foundation in truth, as Paul Kléber Monod suggests in *Jacobitism and the English People 1688–1788* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 73–92.
47. *The Female Rebels: Being Some Remarkable Incidents of the Lives, Characters and Families of the Titular Duke and Dutchess of Perth, the Lord and Lady Ogilvie, and of Miss Florence M'Donald* (Edinburgh; reprinted London: sold by L. Gilliver, Mrs. Dodd, and G. Woodfall, 1747).
48. *The Highlanders Salivated, or the Loyal Association OF M——ll K——g's Midnight Club: with The serious Address of the Ladies of Drury, to the Batter'd Strolling Nymphs of their Community* (London: printed for M. Cooper, 1746), 17.
49. See Annabel Patterson, *Early Modern Liberalism*, 153–231.
50. Sig. A6, quoted in Patterson, *Early Modern Liberalism*, 158.
51. In a key passage, the anonymous author suggests that "the King of Tamaran [Charles II] took his Crown from his head to put it on Hattigé's [Palmer's]." See *Hattigé: or the Amours of the King of Tamaran. A Novel* (Amsterdam, 1680), 22.
52. *The New Atalantis* is undoubtedly Manley's work; *The Secret History of Queen Zarah* may not have been written by Manley, although it has long been ascribed to her. See J. A. Downie's "What if Delarivier Manley did Not Write *The Secret History of Queen Zarah*?" *The Library*, 7th series 5:3 (September 2004): 247–64. If, as is certainly possible, the work was written by Joseph Browne, not Manley, it still provides an example of the style of partisan discourse typical of secret histories from this period.
53. For a more detailed account of Manley's work as a political anecdotographer and proto-novelist see the general introduction to *The Selected Works of Delarivier Manley*, ed. Rachel Carnell and Ruth Herman, 5 vols. (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2005), 1:14–26.
54. Archibald Arbuthnot, *Memoirs of the Remarkable Life and Surprizing Adventures of Miss Jenny Cameron, A Lady, who by her Attachment to the Person and Cause of the young Pretender, Has Render'd Herself Famous by her Exploits in his Service* (London: printed and sold by R. Walker, 1746), 27.
55. In other visual images of Cameron from the period, she is dressed as a man, sometimes bearing a sword, sometimes wearing tightly fitting

- male clothing in Highland plaid, so as to emphasize both her masculinity and her promiscuity. Here she is sitting by a window, next to a vase of flowers, wearing an elegant, tight-fitting gown.
56. Richetti, "Ideas and Voices," 328.
 57. Campbell, *Natural Masques*, 137–59.
 58. See note 45 above.
 59. See note 44 in my introduction for the reference to Foucault. Mikhail Bakhtin's analysis of the novel in terms of a "system of languages that mutually and ideologically interanimate each other," is developed in *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by M. M. Bakhtin*, trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist, ed. Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), 47.
 60. See note 31 to my introduction.
 61. See my conclusion for a discussion of the exclusion of Haywood's works from Anna Barbauld's canon-shaping *The British Novelists* (1810).

2 TORY IDEOLOGY AND APHRA BEHN'S TURN TO THE NOVEL

1. *The Works of Aphra Behn*, 7 vols., ed. Janet Todd (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1992–95), 5:163. All of Behn's works will be cited from this edition. In the previous paragraph, she explains: "I think a Play the best divertisement that wise men have; but I do also think them nothing so, who do discourse as formalie about the rules of it, as if 'twere the grand affair of humane life" (5:162).
2. In editorial comments, Janet Todd speculates that Behn may have enjoyed translation because it allowed her to publish in areas of philosophy, science, and religion that were not otherwise open to women and which she avoided in her poetry (*The Works of Aphra Behn*, 4:ix).
3. In Janet Todd's edition of Behn's works, novels and novellas comprise two out of seven volumes.
4. Rose Zimbardo explains Behn's turn to the novel as deriving from her increasing preference for "analytico-referential discourse." Laura Brown describes her prose fiction as allowing her to transcend "the clear evaluative hierarchy" of heroic tragedy, and Paula Backscheider observes that Behn found a "new means of expression" for the new ways of viewing "men, women, and social relationships" that arose during the 1680s. See Rose Zimbardo, "Aphra Behn: A Dramatist in Search of the Novel," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 19 (1989): 279; Laura Brown, *English Dramatic Form English Dramatic Form 1660–1760: An Essay in Generic History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 26; Paula Backscheider, *Spectacular Politics: Theatrical Power and Mass Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 117. In her

- edition of Behn's works, Janet Todd does not necessarily insist on defining Behn's role in the origins of the novel (in fact, she refers to most of Behn's shorter prose works simply as "short stories"). Todd does, however, suggest that because two of Behn's plays produced during the last three years of her life were quite successful, Behn might have turned to prose not merely from financial necessity but rather "because she enjoyed it." See *The Works of Aphra Behn*, 3:xi.
5. See her dedication to *The Luckey Chance* in *The Works of Aphra Behn* (7:213). Behn also understood the dangers of the political implications of her work: In 1682, despite her well-known loyalty to Charles II, Behn was arrested by the court for implicitly criticizing, in her prologue to the anonymous play *Romulus and Hersilia*, the Duke of Monmouth's disloyalty to his father.
 6. I am referring to the nineteen plays included in Janet Todd's edition of Behn's works and the lost play, *Like Father, Like Son; or the Mistaken Brothers* (probably produced March 1682), which Derek Hughes lists as a comedy; see *The Theatre of Aphra Behn* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 108, 211 n. 39.
 7. For the purposes of this category, I divide the novels according to their endings—usually either deaths or marriage—and class as tragedy those ending in death or in multiple deaths and as comedy those ending in marriage. According to these criteria, the comedies include: *The Adventures of the Black Lady* (1698), *Memoirs of the Court of the King of Bantam* (1698), *The Unfortunate Happy Lady* (1698), *The Wandering Beauty* (1698), *The Unhappy Mistake* (1698), *The Fair Jilt* (1688), *The Lucky Mistake* (1688). Behn's novelistic tragedies include: *Love Letters Between a Nobleman and his Sister* (1684–87), *The Unfortunate Bride: or, the Blind Lady a Beauty* (1698), *The Dumb Virgin: or, The Force of Imagination* (1698), *The History of the Nun: or, The Fair Vow-Breaker* (1688), *The Nun: or, The Perjured Beauty* (1688), *Agnes de Castro: or, the Force of Generous Love* (1688), *Oroonoko; or, The Royal Slave* (1688). The novels that appeared posthumously may have been written sometime between 1682, when the amalgamation of the Duke's and King's Companies reduced the demand for new plays, and before her death in 1698, but the precise dates of composition are unknown. See Janet Todd's Textual Introduction to volume 3 of her edition of Behn's *The Works of Aphra Behn* (3:x–xi). I do not class either as comedy or tragedy the extremely brief *Love Letters*, which was included in the posthumous *Histories, Novels, and Translations* (London, 1698) as an ostensibly autobiographical supplement. As there is no resolution provided in the few letters, there is no way of categorizing them as either comic or tragic, although the heroine's desperate pleadings to her lover intimate that, had it been finished as an epistolary novella, it might have ended tragically.
 8. *The Works of John Dryden*, 20 vols. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1956–2000), 13:231. Subsequent

- references to Dryden's dramatic works are to this edition, by act and scene number.
9. J. Douglas Canfield argues that in most political tragedies written between the period of the first Exclusion crisis and the Revolution of 1688–89, “the royalist code of loyalty to a rightful monarch, however weak or indulgent, wrong or unfortunate, is strenuously maintained.” See “Royalism’s Last Dramatic Stand: English Political Tragedy, 1679–89,” *Studies in Philology* 82:2 (Spring 1985): 234–263, 238. Susan J. Owen has complicated Canfield’s history by suggesting that there certainly were Whig plays during this period, although their rhetoric of “Loyal Protestantism” has frequently been misinterpreted as Tory. Nevertheless, she agrees with Canfield when she asserts: “In the divided society of the 1660s, in which Stuart ideology has to be reconstructed and reinstated after the rupture of the interregnum, the royalist heroic play represents an attempt to paper over ideological cracks. It is an attempt which, in its very artifice, reveals the constructed nature of late Stuart ideology” (*Restoration Theatre and Crisis*, 19).
 10. *All for Love*, V.I.510–11.
 11. Such representations were also common in earlier Tudor and Stuart plays, of course. However, as Susan Staves explains, “It is not that the resistance of domestic inferiors is dramatized after the Restoration and not earlier, but rather that the justifications for patriarchal authority are weaker and the resistance is more often politically self-conscious.” See *Players’ Scepters: Fictions of Authority in the Restoration* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979), 134.
 12. Hughes, *The Theatre of Aphra Behn*, 133.
 13. As Susan J. Owen explains in *Restoration Theatre and Crisis*, representations of sexual libertinage were used by both sides of the political divide: Whigs used it to allude to the constant extramarital intrigues of both Charles II and James II; Tories used it, albeit gingerly, given its potential ability to backlash against them, to slander the Whigs, frequently by suggesting that Whig leaders are impotent libertines by comparison to the sexually attractive Tory rakes. On this topic, see also J. Douglas Canfield, “Tupping Your Rival’s Women: Cit-Cuckolding as Class Warfare in Restoration Comedy,” in *Broken Boundaries: Women and Feminism in Restoration Drama*, ed. Katherine M. Quinsey (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1996), 113–28, and Robert Markley, “‘Be impudent, be saucy, forward, bold, touzing, and leud’: The Politics of Masculine Sexuality and Feminine Desire in Behn’s Tory Comedies,” in *Cultural Readings of Restoration and Eighteenth-Century English Theater*, ed. J. Douglas Canfield and Deborah Payne (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995), 114–40.
 14. Hughes, *The Theatre of Aphra Behn*, 156–57.
 15. This should not lead us to assume that Behn was uninterested in Monmouth’s political career. In “‘For when the act is done and finish’t cleane, / what should the poet doe, but shift the scene?’: Propaganda,

- professionalism and Aphra Behn,” in *Aphra Behn studies*, ed. Janet Todd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), Virginia Crompton explains that ballads written between 1672 and 1685 demonstrate “Behn’s sustained interest in Monmouth’s ambiguous political position” (134).
16. See note 5 above. As Paula Backscheider has pointed out, Behn maintained her Tory critique of Monmouth, but chose not to make it the centerpiece of her novel: by focusing instead on the amorous intrigues of Grey and the Berkeley sisters, Behn “avoided dangerous reflections on Monmouth and other powerful men” even as she criticized the opposition to James II’s succession (*Spectacular Politics*, 110).
 17. Janet Todd suggests that Philander “poses as a Whig,” in his rebellious stance, but is “in fact an unprincipled and power-hungry individualist, resenting the sexual affront of Monmouth while taking no heroic action, and disliking the rule of anyone, whether legitimate king or ‘bastard.’” See *The Secret Life of Aphra Behn* (London: Pandora, 2000), 307. This description of self-serving individual, however, embodies the Tory caricature of Whiggism.
 18. Todd, *Secret Life*, 386–92.
 19. Behn’s *Love Letters* has been described by Paula Backscheider as a “new means of expression” in which she was grappling with a “new political order” (*Spectacular Politics*, 117). In this section, Backscheider refers to McKeon’s *Origins of the English Novel*, 20. In Backscheider’s account, it is “dialogic and open-ended,” a novel that “could capture ambiguities and contradictions and construct a psychological realism that pleased people”(122). This “psychological realism,” I would insist, does not derive from a depiction of trans-historical psychological “truths” but stems from Behn’s manipulation of the techniques of partisan propaganda.
 20. This comparison is made by Behn’s narrator in *The Dumb Virgin* (Todd, *The Works of Aphra Behn*, 3:359).
 21. One of the few twentieth-century critics who have noticed the relationship of Behn’s *The Dumb Virgin* to *Oedipus*, Frederick Link, suggests that Behn’s attempts to give the events a credible context of seventeenth-century Venice fail because “the events belong to psychological rather than to objective history.” See *Aphra Behn* (New York: Twayne, 1968), 149. In falling into the trap of ahistorical psychologizing, Link misses the way that Behn redefines the classical political tragedy to critique the specific cultural paradigms of her era. More recently, Janet Todd notes the link to *Oedipus* and also points out the political importance of the figure of Dangerfield. See *Secret Life*, 251–52.
 22. “Je l’aimais en amant, je l’aime encore en frère.” (“I used to love him as a lover, I love him still as a brother.”) See Pierre Corneille, *Oeuvres Complètes* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1963), 580.
 23. In editorial comments in her edition of Behn’s works, Janet Todd points out that the name “Dangerfield” might easily refer to Thomas

- Dangerfield, notorious for his part in the Meal-Tub Plot, a plot similar to the supposed Popish Plot, but instead a conspiracy among Protestants (3:336).
24. See Janet Todd, *Secret Life*, 251; she is citing Behn's *The Dumb Virgin*, 3:359–360. Todd corrects previous scholarly speculation that Behn may have been raised Catholic, but points out Behn's general sympathy for Catholics and her religious tolerance (*Secret Life*, 266, 369, and 439 n. 35.)
 25. As Paula Backscheider has observed, rape scenes in Behn's comic drama undermine otherwise heroic male figures; she also points us to Behn's interest in transgressive, if not always morally heroic, female characters (*Spectacular Politics*, 90–91).
 26. Although many undergraduates find that little feels real to their modern-day expectations for a novel, there are always some students who point to the sisterly rivalry as the most believable emotion depicted in the story; this perception of course does not vindicate the realism of this detail as much as it demonstrates the persistent cultural assumption (then and now) that sisterly rivalry is a defining feature of familial relations.
 27. Ros Ballaster interprets Belvideera's final act as “a both a gesture of submission to patriarchal power, by mediating the passage of familial wealth between her father and uncle, and of resistance, by refusing to participate any longer in a specularizing and objectifying male homosocial economy. Where she previously used voice and wit to negotiate that world, she now uses silence and virginity to deny it.” See “‘Pretences of State’: Aphra Behn and the Female Plot,” in *Rereading Aphra Behn*, ed. Heidi Hutner (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1993), 198.
 28. In *Reconstructing Aphra: A Social Biography of Aphra Behn* (New York: Dial Press, 1980), Angeline Goreau suggests that there was an inconsistency between her politics and her patriarchalism (252); subsequent feminist criticism saw early patriarchy as providing a space for proto-feminism, a view that Susan J. Owen dismisses in “Sexual Politics and Party Politics in Behn's Drama, 1678–83,” in *Aphra Behn Studies*, ed. Janet Todd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). Owen explains that “the idea that late Stuart ideology created a liberating space for women is as false as the school child's notion of the jolly cavalier, but it persists in part because studies of Behn's sexual politics have placed her in relation to other women writers rather than thoroughly examining her relationship to her own society” (15).
 29. In *Restoration Tragedy: Form and the Process of Change* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1967; reprint, Westport Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1978), Eric Rothstein explains that “One becomes more skeptical about the mangling of heroines, if only because the sexual interest [sic] of seeing wounded or recently raped women must have acted against the more respectable profession of the tragedies,” 155.

30. As Susan J. Owen points out in *Restoration Theatre and Crisis*, Southerne's plays, from the early 1680s, including *The Loyal Brother*, articulate a standard pro-Stuart ideology (122 n. 26), although his politics seem to shift after 1688, according to his patrons, a fact that does not change the way he depicts female characters. See Robert Jordan and Harold Love, Introduction to *The Works of Thomas Southerne* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), xi–xliv.
31. Backscheider, *Spectacular Politics*, 93.
32. In *The Passionate Shepherdess* (London: Methuen, 1989), Maureen Duffy makes the case for James, Duke of York before his accession to the crown (275); in "Aphra Behn's *Oroonoko*: Occasion and Accomplishment," paper read at Clark Library Seminars, UCLA, May 11, 1974, George Guffy makes the case for James II; in "The Romance of Empire: *Oroonoko* and the Trade in Slaves," in *The New Eighteenth Century*, ed. Laura Brown and Felicity Nussbaum (New York: Methuen, 1987), 59–60, Laura Brown argues for Charles I. Brown locates "the contradictions of colonialist ideology" in Behn's juxtaposition of a narrative of heroic romance with her historically accurate treatment of slave revolts (61). In 1688, however, Behn was probably concerned more specifically with how those who were threatening to force James II into exile would guarantee liberty to the citizens of England. While Brown argues for the importance of Behn's manipulation of romance conventions, I insist on the importance of Behn's manipulation of the genre of dramatic tragedy as well.
33. Ros Ballaster identifies a parallel between the powerlessness of the female narrator and that of the enslaved prince. See *Seductive Forms*, 96.
34. Todd, *The Works of Aphra Behn*, 7:216.
35. Todd, *Secret Life*, 393.
36. Todd, *Secret Life*, 393.
37. See Jacqueline Pearson's "The History of *The History of the Nun*," in Heidi Hutner, ed. *Rereading Aphra Behn*, 234–52, for a further discussion of the changes to Behn's novella made by subsequent dramatic adaptations.
38. William was encouraged in a secret letter sent in June of 1688. As someone who was well connected in the political world of the theater and had possibly worked as a royalist agent in Holland during the last years of the Interregnum, Behn is likely to have been among those who might have anticipated William's landing, although she would have opposed it.
39. As Janet Todd notes, Isabella's honorable demeanor in the face of death contrasted sharply to the actions of Monmouth, when facing his own execution for treason. See *Secret Life*, 392.
40. Tragicomedy was the genre with which Behn started her career in the early 1670s, but it was falling out of fashion on stage by the mid 1670s.
41. Todd, *Secret Life*, 113.

42. Christopher Flint believes that Behn approaches narrative realism, with skepticism since “her romantic inventions challenge the boundaries imposed by the realistic story” (*Family Fictions* 82). However, Flint here is aligning realism with “everyday life and, by extension, domestic ideology”; thus “it is the romance element, uncharacteristically, that appears to have provided the destabilizing effect usually attributed to realism” (82). Flint explains Behn’s formal innovations in terms of the way she “uses romance and scandal to evoke female discontent with a culture directed by ineffective or incompatible codes of domestic behavior” (83). However, when we put this novel back into the context of partisan political discourses and the conventions of Restoration drama, we see that there is no single “domestic ideology” at this period but different partisan representations of the domestic household. I would argue that its nascent realism is defined as much in contrast to Restoration drama and partisan political propaganda as to the conventions of French heroic romance. Michael McKeon suggests that *The Fair Jilt* “incorporates, within its critique of aristocratic ideology, a self-conscious defense against the anticipated countercritique of conservative ideology” (*Origins of the English Novel*, 259).
43. Flint, *Family Fictions*, 101.
44. In her introduction to *The Fair Jilt*, Janet Todd quotes the description of Tarquini’s incomplete execution, in which the sword glanced off a knot in the handkerchief that had been tied about his head, from the *London Gazette* for the week of 28–31 of May 1666 (*Works of Aphra Behn*, 3:2). See also *Secret Life*, 111–12.
45. Todd, *Secret Life*, 111.
46. See note 37 to chapter 1.
47. [Crouch], *Female Excellency, or the Ladies Glory*, 80.
48. In 1674, Crouch apprenticed Elizabeth Guard, of Sussex, although there is no evidence as to when or whether she completed her apprenticeship (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, s. v. Nathaniel Crouch).
49. I agree with Flint’s observation that through the character of Miranda, Behn “dramatically reverses the assumption that women represent private experience” (*Family Fictions*, 97). However, because Restoration drama routinely represented an overlap between domestic power and political power, the “assumption” he refers to is an ex-post facto one.

3 DANIEL DEFOE AND THE WHIG IDEAL OF SELFHOOD

1. Homer Obed Brown refers to Defoe’s relatively late entry into the modern canon of eighteenth-century novel in “The Institution of the English Novel: Defoe’s Contribution,” *Novel: A Forum on Fiction* 29:3 (Spring 1996): 299–318.

2. Maximilian Novak concedes the realistic detail of Defoe's narratives, but insists that their greatness lies in their development of the mythic individual. See *Realism, Myth, and History in Defoe's Fiction* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983). John Richetti focuses on the imaginative energy of Defoe's narratives in *Defoe's Narratives: Situations and Structures* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975).
3. Brown, "The Institution of the English Novel," 306–07.
4. While this traditional explanation may be sufficient, new light is shed on Defoe's partisan position, and the possibility of his deceiving his Whig rather than his Tory pay-masters by 1718, in *A Political Biography of Daniel Defoe* by P. N. Furbank and R. W. Owens (Pickering & Chatto, 2006), 159–71.
5. Manuel Schonhorn, *Defoe's Politics: Parliament, Power, Kinship, and Robinson Crusoe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
6. DeLuna, "Jure Divino: Defoe's 'whole Volume in Folio, by Way of Answer to, and Confutation of Clarendon's History of the Rebellion,'" *Philological Quarterly* 75:1 (Winter 1996): 43–66.
7. Novak neatly disputes the traditional view of Defoe's "unconscious artistry" in *Realism, Myth, and History*, 98.
8. Watt, *Rise of the Novel*, 60–92.
9. Novak, *Realism, Myth, and History*, 21.
10. Watt here is referring to Moll Flanders; he goes on to suggest that that it is almost inadvertent that Defoe so effectively achieves the "characteristic utterance of such an uneducated person" since the prose of so many passages are in "Defoe's usual style" (*Rise of the Novel*, 101).
11. See note 31 to my introduction.
12. Flint, *Family Fictions*, 160.
13. See Paula Backscheider, *Daniel Defoe: His Life* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989) for details of Defoe's political principles, which she describes as "Lockean" (160–79). See Ashcraft and Goldsmith's "Locke, Revolution Principles, and the Formation of Whig Ideology" for their theory of Defoe's authorship of the three distillations of Locke.
14. There is simply no mention of these writings in P. N. Furbank and W. R. Owens's *A Critical Bibliography of Daniel Defoe* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 1998). Manuel Schonhorn refers to the "anonymous Lockean author of *Political Aphorisms*" (*Defoe's Politics*, 81), but insists that this author agrees with Locke in precisely the way that Defoe disagrees with him—over the fact that for Locke, property (land) does not give one man authority over another, whereas for Defoe "Dominion is founded in property" (80). David Wootton argues that Ashcraft exaggerates Locke's radicalism in terms of class relations, which would make him closer to a more conservative Defoe. See *Political Writings of John Locke*, ed. David Wootton (New York: Penguin Books, 1993), 41–119.
15. Daniel Defoe, *The True-Born Englishman: A Satyr in The Shortest Way with the Dissenters and Other Pamphlets By Daniel Defoe*.

- The Shakespeare Head Edition of the Novels & Selected Writings of Daniel Defoe*, 14 vols. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell and New York and Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1928), 13:57.
16. This ultimately resulted in the 1701 Act of Settlement guaranteeing a Hanoverian line of descent via Charles I's Protestant daughter Sophia. In her biography of Defoe, Paula Backscheider reminds us that there was plausible reason for Jacobite protest to the Act of Settlement, considering that "Thirteen people with better hereditary claims than the Hanoverian Sophia . . . had to be passed over to assure a Protestant successor" (78).
 17. *The History of the Jacobite Clubs*, 4.
 18. This image is used to refute Jacobite references to the "adultery" of those taking an oath to William and Mary (after previously swearing an oath to the house of Stuart). See *The Anatomy of a Jacobite, or, the Jacobites Heart Laid Open, with a Sure and Certain Method for their Cure* (Cambridge: [s.n.], 1692), 66–67.
 19. Schonhorn, *Defoe's Politics*, 140.
 20. *Jure Divino* (London: printed by P. Hills, 1706), Book 2:16. All subsequent page numbers are to this edition by book number and page number (although bound in a single folio, numbering recommences at the start of each "Book" in the epic).
 21. Novak, *Realism, Myth, and History*, 15.
 22. *Religious Courtship, Being Historical Discourses on the Necessity of Marrying Religious Husband and Wives Only* (London: E. Matthews, A. Bettesworth, J. Brotherton, and W. Meadows, 1722), 58.
 23. *The Family Instructor* (London: Eman. Matthews; Newcastle upon Tyne: Jo. Button, 1715), 13.
 24. Carol Houlihan Flynn has examined his conduct manuals in terms of how the ideology of individualism is placed under stress in a hierarchical household. She identifies "the strains that the fiction of justice exacts when domestic harmony and 'affective individualism' depend upon a subordination of the woman in the house." See "Defoe's Idea of Conduct: Ideological Fictions and Fictional Reality," in *The Ideology of Conduct: Essays on Literature and the History of Sexuality*, ed. Nancy Armstrong and Leonard Tennenhouse (New York and London: Methuen, 1987), 73.
 25. Watt, *Rise of the Novel*, 61. Watt provides no footnote for his reference to Maitlin.
 26. In *Rise of the Novel*, Ian Watt describes Defoe's novels as upholding economic individualism at the same time that they reveal the ways in which such individualism "tended to isolate man from his family and his country" (89). Maximillian Novak, in *Defoe and the Nature of Man* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), explains Defoe's fiction as resolving the contradiction between spirituality and economics through an understanding of natural morality. G. A. Starr, in *Defoe and Casuistry* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), adds

- more historical detail to the prior attempts to understand Defoe's morality by explaining his novels as part of a casuistic tradition of religious and moral argument. In *Defoe's Characters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), John Richetti adds a level of complexity to studies of "the individual's dilemma between the free self and the social and ideological realities which that self seems to require" (17) by considering how Defoe's characters perceive and so mediate their own unmediated experience. In *The Origins of the English Novel*, Michael McKeon adds nuance to this traditional account as he locates Defoe within a spiritual tradition that is being secularized: "In Defoe the balance between spiritualization and the claim to historicity has been reversed [since Bunyan]" (319).
27. Schonhorn, *Defoe's Politics*, 161; Speck is here cited from a private communication with Schonhorn.
 28. On this topic see also Richard Braverman, *Plots and Counterplots: Sexual Politics and the Body Politic in English Literature, 1660–1730* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) and Gordon J. Schochet, *The Authoritarian Family and Political Attitudes in 17th Century England: Patriarchalism in Political Thought* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1975; New Brunswick and London: Transaction Books, 1988).
 29. Flint, *Family Fictions*, 154.
 30. *The Fortunes and Misfortunes of the Famous Moll Flanders. The Shakespeare Head Edition of the Novels & Selected Writings of Daniel Defoe*, 1:viii.
 31. Schonhorn, *Defoe's Politics*, 150.
 32. *The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe of York, Mariner. The Shakespeare Head Edition of the Novels & Selected Writings of Daniel Defoe*, 7:171.
 33. As Watt points out, this is twice the sum Judas was given. *Rise of the Novel*, 69.
 34. See note 27 above.
 35. *The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe. The Shakespeare Head Edition of the Novels & Selected Writings of Daniel Defoe*, 8:117.
 36. Backscheider, *Daniel Defoe*, 429.
 37. Woodes Rogers, *A Cruising Voyage Round the World* (London: printed for A. Bell and B. Lintot, 1712), 10.
 38. See note 11 above.
 39. Schonhorn, *Defoe's Politics*, 80.
 40. See note 25 to my introduction.
 41. C. B. Macpherson, *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism: Hobbes to Locke* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), 248.
 42. See Paul Kléber Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People*, 47 (see note 46 to chapter 1). Rather than representing truly popular sentiment, such songs were devised and distributed for broad publish consumption by artisans and laborers by "small number of extremely

- productive Jacobite printers” (47). By 1716, the Mayor of London had proclaimed against the “epidemic of Jacobite ballad-hawking” (47). For a discussion of the “lost lover” motif, see *Jacobitism and the English People*, 62–69.
43. See note 49 below.
 44. “The Dutchess of Monmouth’s Lamentation For the Loss of her Duke” (n.p.: 1683), unpaginated broadsheet.
 45. This wood cut showed “a knight and a lady holding a pierced heart—a symbol of love, of Christ, and of the Pretender” (Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People*, 64–65).
 46. *The Fortunate Mistress or A History of the Life . . . of Mademoiselle de Beleau . . . Being the Person known by the Name of the Lady Roxana, in the Time of King Charles II. The Shakespeare Head Edition of the Novels & Selected Writings of Daniel Defoe*, 11:4.
 47. Defoe, *Conjugal Lewdness: or, Matrimonial Whoredom* (London: T. Warner, 1727), 27.
 48. See Novak, *Defoe and the Nature of Man* and Starr, *Defoe and Casuistry*.
 49. David Blewett offers compelling evidence to support the claim that the time period described by *Roxana*, ostensibly taking place during the reign of George I, echoes the corruption and moral decay of the reign of Charles II, in “The Double Time-Scheme of Roxana: Further Evidence,” *SECC* 13 (1984): 19–28.
 50. *The Great Law of Subordination consider’d; or, the Insolence and Unsufferable Behaviour of Servants in England duly Enquir’d into . . . in ten Familiar Letters* (London: sold by S. Harding, W. Lewis, et al., 1724), 20.
 51. In *The Politics of Motherhood*, Toni Bowers focuses on Defoe’s depiction of “larger relations that create contradictions between ideals for motherhood and the behaviors required for maternal survival” (100). Bowers refreshingly dismantles two and a half centuries of criticism that has focused on the moral or psychological flaws of the heroine and underscores the fact that Roxana’s struggle is not a moral one but a material one. For Bowers, Defoe faces the reality he glosses over in *Moll Flanders* in *Roxana* by “expos[ing] social formations that make a choice between autonomy and maternity seem inevitable” (123). Bowers thus praises Defoe for his realistic depiction of material reality at the same time that she shows its limitations in not providing descriptions of happy or effective single mothers (as Eliza Haywood does in several of her early novels). His critique of social conditions that impoverish single mothers speaks for itself, and is certainly one piece of the narrative’s “realism.” However, the narrative also achieves a different type of realism through, for example, its depiction of the necessary conditions under which marriage could convey the mutual liberty and responsibility embodied by the Whig social contract.
 52. Although the genre of tragicomedy had certainly come to play a role in the early part of the eighteenth century, many contemporary critics

objected to it. Following the comprehensive list of plays typically staged in London in the mid 1730s in Eliza Haywood's *Dramatic Historiographer: or, the British Theatre Delineated* (1735), we may conclude that the majority are still either comedy or tragedy (even when a play such as *King Lear* had been modified from tragedy to comedy, it did not end up in the mixed form of tragicomedy).

4 PARTISAN DEBATE AND MODERATION POLITICS IN SAMUEL RICHARDSON'S FICTION

1. Ian Watt identified the social realism inherent in Richardson's depiction of class difference and in the economic plight of unmarried women in the eighteenth-century *Rise of the Novel*, 137–38. Michael McKeon links the “subversive strain” of “progressive ideology” in *Pamela* to parallel development in epistemology. See *The Origins of the English Novel*, 378. See note 14 below for an overview of the standard apolitical interpretations of Richardson.
2. For his reference to Monmouth, see his letter to Johannes Stinstra, June 2, 1753, *Selected Letters of Samuel Richardson*, ed. John Carroll (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), 228. Eaves and Kimpel describe the 1724 issue of the *True Briton*, for which Richardson was probably the printer and which resulted in a trial of treason for the publisher: “Englishmen would do well to beware of a ‘future’ possible king who, being easy and inactive, might ‘permit every Man in his Court to be a Tyrant but Himself.’” Richardson's biographers are here summarizing issues 5 and 7 (17 June and 24 June, 1724) of the *True Briton*. See Duncan Eaves and Ben Kimpel, *Samuel Richardson: A Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 26–29.
3. Margaret Anne Doody, “Richardson's Politics,” *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 2 (1990): 119, 123, 125.
4. Armstrong, *Desire and Domestic Fiction*, 132 (see note 5 to my introduction).
5. Ian Watt links *Pamela* to Moll Flanders and Robinson Crusoe when he concludes that “Puritan virtues” in an “individualist social order . . . offer women as large possibilities of achievement as men” (*Rise of the Novel*, 157). Michael McKeon similarly interprets *Pamela*'s story within a rubric of bourgeois individualism.
6. Margaret Anne Doody suggests that while the novel offers a Whig critique of “the Church and the power of the secular establishment in the rural gentry,” its apparent “Whiggism must be quite a thin veil.” See “Richardson's Politics,” 119. Toni Bowers also situates Richardson's work in a Tory context, and Christopher Flint observes that despite *Pamela*'s radical rise from lady's maid to wife of Squire B., the novel never threatens “the precise demarcations of class.” See Bowers, *The Politics of Motherhood*, 153–195 and Flint, *Family Fictions*, 163.

7. Samuel Richardson, *Pamela or, Virtue Rewarded*, Shakespeare Head edition, 4 vols. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1929), 2:229.
8. Armstrong, *Desire and Domestic Fiction*, 113.
9. Esther 1:17–20 King James Version.
10. See note 7 to chapter 1.
11. [William Keith], *A Dissertation on the Liberty of the Subject in Great Britain*, 25–26.
12. This is part of Bowers's argument for his Toryism in *The Politics of Motherhood*, 156–78.
13. Samuel Richardson, *The History of Sir Charles Grandison*, 3 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), 3:470.
14. Cynthia Griffin Wolff's *Samuel Richardson and the Eighteenth-Century Puritan Character* (Hamden, CT: The Shoe String Press, 1972) focuses more on Richardson's universal descriptions of "character under stress" than on the historical context that might have caused the structural development of complex novelistic characters. Lawrence Stone uses the example of *Clarissa* as "literary evidence" of "a prolonged public argument during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries about a child's freedom of choice of a marriage partner." See *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500–1800* (New York: Harper and Row, 1977), 280–81. Tony Tanner's *Adultery in the Novel: Contract and Transgression* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979) offers a Lacanian reading of the patriarchal Harlowe household. *Clarissa* criticism moves away from psychology to textual play when William Warner describes the ambiguity of the text. In *Reading Clarissa: The Struggles of Interpretation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), Warner concludes from such linguistic ambiguity that "rape is the most cogent response to Clarissa's fictional projection of herself as a whole unified body 'full of light' " (49). Terry Eagleton has a sharp response. Warner's book, says Eagleton, "is an ominous exposé of the truly reactionary nature of much deconstructionist 'radicalism', once divorced from the social and political contexts it so characteristically finds hard to handle." See *The Rape of Clarissa* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982), 67–68. Terry Castle argues, in response to Warner's post-structural rhetorical analysis, that "the excruciating situation that Clarissa dramatizes is that a rhetorical system is *not* 'powerful' unless grounded in political power." See *Clarissa's Ciphers: Meaning and Disruption in Richardson's Clarissa* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982), 25. Toni Bowers describes how in *Clarissa* motherhood is represented in the language of public politics. See *The Politics of Motherhood*, 196–224.
15. Wolff, *Samuel Richardson and the Eighteenth-Century Puritan Character*, 131. Watt and Eagleton both make a similar observation.
16. See note 22 to chapter 1.
17. Morris Golden, "Public Context and Imagining Self in *Clarissa*," *SEL* 25 (1985): 575–98.

18. Eaves and Kimpel refer to Richardson's thorough knowledge of Locke's theories of education and his at least cursory knowledge of Shaftesbury, Mandeville, Bolingbroke, Hartley, Hume, and Berkeley. See *Samuel Richardson: A Biography*, 571.
19. Richardson, *Clarissa*, 95 (see note 14 to chapter 1).
20. This is consistent with Florian Stuber's observation that in a novel devoid of strong paternal figures, *Clarissa* becomes an example of prudent, mature masculine power: "In her Will, *Clarissa* uses power, but with restraint, and only for the purposes of love and nurture. She seems an ideal secular authority. The mind is father to the deed. Or, if I can break through the sexism inherent in the metaphor, *Clarissa* herself becomes a Father." See Florian Stuber, "On Fathers and Authority in *Clarissa*," *SEL* 25 (Summer 1985): 574.
21. Filmer, *Patriarcha*, 96 (see note 4 to chapter 1).
22. Letter to Johannes Stinstra, June 2, 1753, *Selected Letters*, 234.
23. See note 3 above.
24. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. Wharton. Richardson may in fact have known Wharton, since he printed issues *The True Briton*, one of Wharton's forays into Jacobite propaganda.
25. Richardson, *Clarissa*, 573.
26. As Susan Fraiman explains, the narrator relates Darcy's first proposal to Elizabeth through Elizabeth's mental summary of it, and her full verbatim responses to it, rather than being represented in his own words. His subsequent letter to her signals the beginning of a narrative shift that presents him more directly in his own words and from his own perspective. See Susan Fraiman, *Unbecoming Women*, 77–78.
27. See note 22 above.
28. Richardson, *The History of Sir Charles Grandison*, 3:470.
29. Doody, "Richardson's Politics," 125.
30. Doody mistakenly conflates Maria Clementina Stuart (née Sobieska), exiled wife of James Edward, with Miss Walkinshaw, his mistress during his wife's exile, in her discussion of "Clementina Walkinshaw." See "Richardson's Politics," 125.

5 JACOBITE IDEOLOGY AND ELIZA HAYWOOD'S RESPONSE TO WHIG REALISM

1. See Dale Spender's comment that "Eliza Haywood was among the first with every experiment [of every genre of novel], and among the few who could claim success" (*Mothers of the Novel*, 81). Although Haywood is not yet universally recognized as an innovator, many of the works that Haywood is supposed to have imitated are in fact chronologically subsequent to her original versions, as Paula Backscheider has noted. The damage wrought by Haywood's continuing exclusion from literary history is considerable; Backscheider observes, "No wonder

- the history of the novel is in disarray.” See “The Shadow of an Author: Eliza Haywood,” *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 11:1 (October 1998): 102. Backscheider reminds us that *The Fortunate Foundlings* (1744) precedes both “Fielding’s own foundling story” and “Richardson’s greatest exploration of class and gender politics” (102).
2. See my conclusion for a discussion of the references to Haywood in Anna Barbauld’s introduction to *The British Novelists* (1810).
 3. George Whicher blurs the distinction between her life and her romances in his biography of her, thus making it difficult to take her seriously as a novelist. See *The Life and Romances of Mrs. Eliza Haywood* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1915).
 4. See notes 31 and 32 to my introduction.
 5. In *Popular Fiction before Richardson*, John Richetti suggests that Haywood is second-rate; he then leaves her out of his “line” of important novelists in “Ideas and Voices” (see notes 1, 11, and 14 to my introduction). More recently, he has discussed Haywood’s use of romance formulae and her imitation of Richardson and Fielding, without acknowledging how they also imitated her technical developments in the novel. See his “Histories by Eliza Haywood and Henry Fielding: Imitation and Adaptation,” in *The Passionate Fictions of Eliza Haywood*, ed. Saxton and Bocchicchio (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2000), 240–58.
 6. In elucidating amatory fiction’s relationship to party politics, Ros Ballaster delineates the obvious satire of the South Sea Bubble in Haywood’s *Memoirs of a Certain Island Adjacent to the Kingdom of Utopia* (1727) and Haywood’s anti-Walpole stance in *The Adventures of Eovaai* (1736). See *Seductive Forms*, 153–62. More recently, Ballaster has expanded her analysis of Haywood’s partisan politics in “A Gender of Opposition: Eliza Haywood’s Scandal Fiction,” in *Passionate Fictions*, ed. Saxton and Bocchicchio, 143–67. For all their focus on social history, Helene Koon, in “Eliza Haywood and the Female Spectator,” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 42:1 (Winter 1978): 43–55, and Deborah Nestor, in “Representing Domestic Difficulties: Eliza Haywood and the Critique of Bourgeois Ideology,” *Prose Studies* 16:2 (August 1993): 1–26, overlook the specific political allusions in Haywood’s *The Female Spectator*. Catherine Ingrassia’s observations in “Additional Information about Eliza Haywood’s 1749 Arrest for Seditious Libel” establish the need for broader recognition of Haywood as “producer and distributor of surprisingly political texts in a heretofore unrecognized way.” See *Notes and Queries* 242:2 (June 1997): 202. Ingrassia’s *Authorship, Commerce, and Gender in Early Eighteenth-Century England: A Culture of Paper Credit* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) further elaborates the way that Haywood negotiates the “fundamental generic instabilities that characterize this literary period—was fiction ‘political’? was political writing ‘fictional’?” (125).

7. His wife retired to a convent over a dispute about the tutor whom James had chosen for his son, and divided loyalties for James and Clementina did “untold harm” to the Jacobite cause, according to Frank McLynn. See *Charles Edward Stuart: A Tragedy in Many Acts* (London and New York: Routledge, 1988), 17.
8. In “Histories by Eliza Haywood and Henry Fielding,” Richetti acknowledges Haywood’s political collaboration with Fielding at the New Theater in the 1730s, but then interprets her subsequent and “retrospective scorn for her old employer” in terms of personal affront at his contempt for the authors of “foolish Novels and monstrous Romances” (241). I suggest that we might interpret the 1740s rivalry between Haywood and Fielding not merely in formal terms, but in terms of her evolution from mere anti-Walpole politics to a stronger stance in favor of Charles Edward Stuart, a position that Fielding might well have mocked as itself a sort of “monstrous Romance.”
9. See my “It’s Not Easy Being Green” (see note 35 to my introduction).
10. See my “The Very Scandal of Her Tea-Table: Eliza Haywood’s Response to the Whig Public Sphere,” in *Presenting Gender: Sex Change in Early-Modern Culture*, ed. Chris Mounsey (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2001), 255–73.
11. In contrast with my view here, Kathryn King has argued recently that Haywood’s “achievements as a popular novelist” stem from “her creation of politically multivalent texts that oscillate between Tory and Whiggish tendencies” (265). See her “New Contexts for Early Novels by Women: The Case of Eliza Haywood, Aaron Hill, and the Hillarians, 1719–1725,” in *A Companion to the Eighteenth-Century English Novel and Culture*, ed. Paula Backscheider and Catherine Ingrassia (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 261–75. I am grateful to the author for sharing this article with me in advance of its publication.
12. Austin, “Shooting Blanks: Potency, Parody, and Eliza Haywood’s *The History of Miss Betsy Thoughtless*” in *The Passionate Fictions of Eliza Haywood*, ed. Saxton and Bocchicchio, 259–82.
13. A handwritten note on the British Library’s copy suggests this identification, which is also given by the English Short Title Catalogue.
14. *A Letter From H---G---g, Esq.; One of the Gentlemen of the Bed Chamber to the Young Chevalier, and the only Person of his own Retinue that attended him from Avignon, in his late Journey through Germany, and elsewhere* (London: printed and sold at the Royal Exchange, Temple Bar, and Charing Cross, 1750), iii. Although dated 1750, the work appeared in late 1749.
15. Lynch, *The Economy of Character*, 86–94.
16. See my “It’s Not Easy Being Green” for a full analysis of Haywood’s treatment of the politics of friendship.
17. See note 43 to my introduction.
18. Although Haywood hints at an impending marriage between Charles Edward Stuart and a Polish princess, Frank McLynn describes him as

- “brusquely” rejecting “a proposal to make him the next king of Poland” and instead pursuing an intrigue (possibly platonic) with the eccentric and already married Duchesse d’Aiguillon. See *Charles Edward Stuart*, 344.
19. Although all the booksellers implicated in selling copies of *A Letter* signed and swore to the accuracy of their testimony, Haywood and her maid apparently refused to do so. In the record of Streddon’s testimony, at the bottom of the page, where in the other accounts Lord Stanhope wrote “Taken upon oath,” the words “upon oath” are crossed out, and a note at the bottom indicates that the witness “refused to swear to her Examination,” although Streddon’s signature does appear at the bottom of the page. By contrast, a month later, after giving her own testimony, Haywood managed to avoid signing the paper altogether, without Stanhope making any written note calling attention to her refusal. See Public Record Office, State Papers Domestic 36/111 f. 204–14 and 36/112 f. 24.
 20. Haywood adds, in order to further explain how she was unable to have written the pamphlet in November, “that she has lost her Eye sight about Six Months & kept her Bed above two Months” (PRO SP112 f. 24)—an excuse that Catherine Ingrassia has described as politically convenient “in a professional world where intentional ‘blindness’ to certain activities could be a great asset.” See *Authorship, Commerce, and Gender*, 122.
 21. Doody, *True Story of the Novel*, 286.
 22. Bowers, “Collusive Resistance,” 63.
 23. Haywood, *Idalia: or, the Unfortunate Mistress* (London: printed for D. Brown, W. Chetwood, and S. Chapman, 1723), 2–3.
 24. Haywood, *Lasselia: or the Self-Abandon’d* (London: printed for D. Browne and S. Chapman, 1723), 4.
 25. Haywood, *The Rash Resolve: or, the Untimely Discovery*, 1724 (London: printed for D. Browne and S. Chapman, 1724), 49.
 26. Haywood, *The British Recluse: or, The Secret History of Cleomira* (London: printed for D. Brown, W. Chetwood, J. Woodward, and S. Chapman, 1722), 51.
 27. Both Earla Wilputte in her editorial comments to the Broadview edition of *Eovaai* and Paula Backscheider in “The Shadow of an Author” link *Eovaai*’s anti-Walpole position to Haywood’s support for Frederick. See Backscheider’s “Shadow of an Author”: 93–95 (see note 1 above); Eliza Haywood *Adventures of Eovaai, Princess of Ijaveao: A Pre-Adamitical History*, ed. Earla Wilputte (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 1999). Acknowledging the iconographic links to Bolingbroke that Elizabeth Kubek traces in “The Key to Stowe: Towards a Patriot Whig reading of Eliza Haywood’s *Eovaai*,” in *Presenting Gender: Sex Change in Early-Modern Culture*, Chris Mounsey, ed., 225–54, Paula Backscheider traces interesting splits and fissures in the Bolingbroke camp as well as a fascination with

- Frederick among some of its members. However, even should we assume a frustration with James Edward Stuart in the 1730s, this did not prevent Haywood taking up the Jacobite cause again more directly during the 1740s, when Charles Edward Stuart became a rallying figure for his father's long disaffected supporters. Correcting her earlier discounting of Haywood's partisan position, Ros Ballaster also seems to think that Adelhu is more likely to represent Frederick observing that "Haywood appears to have been attracted to the cause of Frederick in the 1730s and reverted to a Jacobite position in the subsequent decade." See "A Gender of Opposition: Eliza Haywood's Scandal Fiction," in *The Passionate Fictions of Eliza Haywood*, ed. Saxton and Bocchicchio, 154; 166 n. 19.
28. Haywood, *The Adventures of Eovaa'i, Princess of Ijaveo* (London: printed for S. Baker, 1736), 4.
 29. Murray G. H. Pittock, *Inventing and Resisting Britain: Cultural Identities in Britain and Ireland, 1685–1789* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997), 58.
 30. Haywood, *The Fortunate Foundlings* (London: printed by and published for T. Gardner, 1744), 1.
 31. Haywood makes condescending references in *The Wife* to a Jacobite husband who only toasts the cause but will not support it in any material way. See my "The Very Scandal of her Tea Table," 266–69.
 32. In privileging Fielding over Haywood, John Richetti recognizes no irony in Haywood's narratives, a common oversight among those who read her novels as merely apolitical romances. Moreover, Richetti interprets as a personal vendetta Haywood's and Fielding's mutual and mocking references to each other's works, rather than as evidence of a possible difference of opinion over issues of political loyalty and Jacobitism. The passage from *The History of Miss Betsy Thoughtless* that Richetti cites, in which Haywood mocks "F——g's scandal shop" (quoted in "Histories by Eliza Haywood and Henry Fielding," 240–41), suggests less a personal anger against her former collaborator on stage, than a political disapproval of his desire to "wriggle himself into favour" with whomever was in power. Haywood herself advocated a consistent, long-term political loyalty by way of the cosmic Jacobitism evident in her later works. It may have seemed to her that the opportunism she ascribes to Fielding compared unfavorably to her own loyalty. I prefer Christine Blouch's interpretation of the supposed rivalry between Haywood and Fielding: "As exchanges conducted without real invective, at least relative to the period's norms, the mutual satires can also be seen as mutually beneficial." See "Eliza Haywood," Blouch's biographical essay in *Selected Works of Eliza Haywood*, ed. Alexander Pettit, 6 vols. (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2000), 1:lxii. Another explanation for their differences of opinion was that while they were joined in the 1730s by a mutual dislike of Walpole, after that minister's fall from power, their political sympathies evolved in different directions: Haywood moved toward the Jacobite cause while Fielding maintained a firmly anti-Jacobite position.

33. Szechi explains why Sweden looked to the Jacobites as a sympathetic force against the Hanoverian occupation of Verden and Bremen and why the Jacobites considered that “the gratitude of a warlord like Charles XII was a thing worth having.” See *The Jacobites*, 106.
34. *The Monthly Review* 8 (1753): 77.
35. *Dalinda* marks the first of Haywood’s works to be mentioned by *The Monthly Review*, as the periodical only came into existence in 1749, but it is only accorded only cursory and condescending acknowledgment. The brief mention is included after a heading that already acknowledges that while the editors will “register all the new Things, in general, without exception to any, on account of their lowness of rank, or price,” although they anticipate that it would “prove disagreeable to many of our readers” to provide too much detail about the texts that they deem below their readers’ notice (238). Accordingly, *Dalinda* is reduced simply to “the affair betwixt Mr. *Cresswell* and Miss *Scrope*, thrown into the form of a novel.” Although the *Review* discounts Haywood’s other plots for not being adequately true to life, it is clear that a fictional account of a “true to life” scandal chronicle does not satisfy its reviewers either. See *The Monthly Review* 1 (December 1749): 238.
36. Five English editions appears in the first two and a half decades, as well as editions in Dutch, French, German, and Swedish; the novel was then included in volume 13 of *The Novelist’s Magazine* (1780–89). See Patrick Spedding *A Bibliography of Eliza Haywood* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2004), 529–67.
37. Armstrong, *Desire and Domestic Fiction*, 3–27.
38. See Doody’s introduction to the Oxford World Classics edition, xviii.
39. Haywood, *The History of Jemmy and Jenny Jessamy*, 3 vols. (London: printed for T. Gardner, 1753), 1:2.
40. Haywood, *The Female Spectator*, 4 vols. (London: printed and published by T. Gardner, 1744–46), 1:10.
41. Following Christine Blouch’s biographical research, we may note that Haywood herself maintained a long-term romantic involvement (one that by 1753 had certainly moved beyond the sparks of first love) with the writer and bookseller, and Haywood’s sometime collaborator, William Hatchett.
42. Booth, *Rhetoric of Fiction*, 64.
43. See note 42 to chapter 3.
44. See note 43 to my introduction.

CONCLUSION: PARTISAN REALISMS AND CANON FORMATION

1. “On the Origin and Progress of Novel-Writing,” reprinted in *Anna Letitia Barbauld: Selected Poetry & Prose*, 400–01 (see note 36 to my introduction).
2. *The Monthly Review* 2 (January 1750): 167.

3. See note 2 to my introduction.
4. See William McCarthy and Elizabeth Kraft's correction the late twentieth-century assumption that Barbauld and Wollstonecraft represented opposite positions in matters of politics and attitudes toward gender roles in their introduction to *Anna Letitia Barbauld: Selected Poetry & Prose*, 28–30 (See note 36 to chapter 1).
5. Ballaster, *Seductive Forms*, 198.
6. See note 34 to chapter 5.
7. Irving Howe describes an encounter when he was asked whether *A Tale of Two Cities* should be considered “a political novel”: “For a moment I was bewildered, since it had never occurred to me that this was a genuine problem: it was, I am now sure, the kind of problem one has to *look for*.” See *Politics and the Novel* (Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1957, 1970), 16.
8. *Clarissa*, *Sir Charles Grandison*, *Robinson Crusoe*, *Joseph Andrews*, and *Tom Jones* comprise the first twenty-one volumes. For a full listing of the contents of all fifty volumes, see Appendix D in McCarthy and Kraft's edition of Barbauld's works.
9. William Warner provides a superb overview and analysis of this type of canon-influencing essay from Clara Reeve's *Progress of Romance* (1785) to Watt's *Rise of the Novel* (1957) in *Licensing Entertainment*, 14–36.
10. Barbauld, preface to Henry Fielding, from *The British Novelists* (1810); reprinted in *Anna Letitia Barbauld: Selected Poetry & Prose*, 420. In the last phrase, Barbauld is quoting Edward Young's *Love of Fame, The Universal Passion* (1728): *Satire VI*, “On Women,” l. 188, as the editors of *Anna Letitia Barbauld: Selected Poetry & Prose* point out (420 n. 4).
11. Robert Burns reworked many Jacobite songs for James Johnson's *The Scots Musical Museum* (1787–1803); such songs would therefore have become better known outside of Scotland in a de-politicized and romanticized context, a half-century after the last significant Jacobite attempt on the throne.
12. Barbauld, *An Address to the Opposers of the Repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts* (1790), reprinted in *Anna Letitia Barbauld: Selected Poetry & Prose*, 269–70.
13. See note 35 to my introduction.
14. McCarthy and Kraft explain that this passage comes from Fletcher's 1704 *Conversation Concerning a Right Regulation of Government for the Common Good of Mankind* in *Anna Letitia Barbauld: Selected Poetry & Prose*, 416 n. 3.

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