

THE ORIENTAL TALES OF HAYWOOD, SHERIDAN AND KNIGHT



THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ORIENTAL TALES  
OF ELIZA HAYWOOD,  
FRANCES SHERIDAN AND ELLIS CORNELIA KNIGHT

By

SUZANNE BYRL GIBSON, B.A. (HISTORY), B.A., M.A. (ENGLISH)

A Thesis

Submitted to the School of Graduate studies

in Partial Fulfilment of the requirements

for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

McMaster University

© by Suzanne Byrl Gibson, June 1996





McMaster University

Hamilton, Ontario

TITLE: The Eighteenth-Century Oriental Tales of Eliza Haywood,  
Frances Sheridan and Ellis Cornelia Knight

AUTHOR: Suzanne Byrl Gibson, B.A. (History, University of Calgary),  
B.A. (English, University of  
Calgary)  
M.A. (English, University of  
Calgary)

**SUPERVISOR:** Professor Richard Morton

NUMBER OF PAGES: vii, 245

## ABSTRACT

The Oriental tale in the eighteenth century was a very popular form which has been ignored until fairly recently. Furthermore, woman's contribution to this popular but marginalized form has been almost utterly neglected. Beginning with Eliza Haywood's Adventures of Eovaai, Princess of Ijaveo, through Frances Sheridan's History of Nourjahad and concluding with Ellis Cornelia Knight's Dinarbas; A Tale Being a Continuation of Rasselas, Prince of Abissinia, this study chronologically follows the rise of the domestic woman in the decidedly undomestic Oriental tale as these three authors negotiate genre, their culture and their gender through the writing of Oriental tales.

The Oriental tales as written by these women represent an opposing voice to developing literary realism so beloved of the middle classes. While Oriental tales are at least partially reactionary in their inflection of earlier romance conventions, they are also as necessary as realism for the development of capitalism: capitalism relies not only on an ethic of saving, generally associated with realism, but also on an ethic of spending. Emphasizing sumptuous description and luxury, they reinforce expenditures, which punctuate periods of working and saving, and women are absolutely central in the development and construction of their culture through their writing and through

their gender association with consumption for their culture.

## Table of Contents

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| Descriptive Note.....  | ii  |
| Abstract.....  | iii |
| Acknowledgements.....  | v   |
| Dedication.....  | vi  |
| Table of Contents.....   | vii |
| Introduction.....  | 1   |
| Chapter 1     Pretexts and Contexts.....   | 29  |
| Chapter 2     Eliza Haywood and the<br>Transformation of Women.....  | 42  |
| Chapter 3     The Home, the Seraglio and the Self:<br>Frances Sheridan's <u>Adventures of Nourjahad</u> .....            | 104 |
| Chapter 4     Late Eighteenth-Century Sensibility and the Modern Woman:<br>Ellis Cornelia Knight's <u>Dinarbas</u> ..... | 156 |
| Conclusion    Genre, Politics, Class, Gender, Race.....  | 199 |
| Bibliography .....   | 214 |

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My debts are many. I would like to thank first and foremost my supervisor Professor Richard Morton for his wisdom, kindness and patience. My friend Jānis Svilpis, who introduced me to Oriental tales and their wonderful century, has been a constant, gentle and enthusiastic supporter of my efforts. Both he and Geoff Cragg have read various chapters and delicately pointed out where my writing was ugly and my infinitives split. My women friends both at McMaster and Calgary—Helen, Donna, Chris, Lizzie, Laura, Jane, Connie, Sharon, Joan and Sylvia—have also provided strength and advice. Ted and Joan have provided humour and practical advice. Finally, I would like to thank Phil.

## Dedication

For my grandmother, Ella Byrl McCaffrey (née Smith)

When a man has given his thoughts a form upon paper, submitted them in that shape to the perusal of the world, is he from thenceforth to be obliged to speak in laboured sentences, and to utter only the aphorism of wisdom? Carrying my reasonings upon this subject a little farther, I was almost tempted to conclude, that the manners of even a female author, might not differ much from that of other women!—but this, you will think was carrying the matter rather too far.

—Elizabeth Hamilton (Translation of the Letters of a Hindoo Rajah 2:138)

## Introduction

The Orient is fundamental to Western discourse. "Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves" and "Seven Voyages of Sindbad" have introduced us at an early age to representations of the East—in eighteenth-century Britain occurring exclusively in print but in my generation occurring in both print—the bedtime story—and film media—Alan Ladd, in brown face, turban and baggy pants. The children of today watch the animated Disney movie of Aladdin with its (loudmouthed) genie, heroine being forced into marriage, Horatio Alger hero, gullible ruler and evil vizier; and here they meet in less than subtle ways the

discourse of orientalism, classism and sexism, from which no one escapes unscathed. For example, the title of this study contains within itself one of those loaded, ethnocentric hierarchies of value—the “Oriental” in Oriental tale. But the question is, of course, oriented to what? The response is clear: from the centre of the world, the Occident. Carried by the two signifiers and the space between them, this ideological freighting of the Occident as central and the Orient as marginal presents a problem that Edward Said addresses in his influential Orientalism. Orientalism, as Said sees it and which lies at the basis of this study, is not an objective description of the world; it is a Foucauldian “mode of discourse” which has little to do with the reality of Asia and far more to do with the Occident’s architecture of power inherent in the discipline of orientalism (Orientalism 2-3).<sup>1</sup> Homi Bhabha, another critic of imperial

---

<sup>1</sup> In his inaugural lecture on assuming the Arabic and Islamic chair at the University of Exeter, Aziz Al-Azmeh makes a similar point:

. . . I understand by Orientalism the deliberate apprehension and knowledge of the Orient; I see Orientalism as an ideological trope, an aesthetic, normative and ultimately political designation of things as Oriental in opposition to Occidental. It endows such things with changeless, “Oriental” properties, some repellent and others charming, that go beyond history, that violate the changing nature of things, and that inf[o]rm them in a distant and irreducible specificity transcending the bounds of reason and



domination, builds on Said but also deconstructs and dismantles the totalizing power of Said's ideas which constitute at once both Bhabha's precursor's strength and weakness. (See also O'Hanlon, et al. 157.) Borrowing from Lacan, Bhabha theorizes in, for example, his concept of mimicry that the subaltern subjects of colonialist discourse deconstruct the subordinating essentialism of colonialist and post-colonialist discourse and disseminate their resistance and defiance through language. The 'objects' of orientalist discourse are not passive and silenced victims but unstable, contestatory subject (See "Of Mimicry and Man"; "Signs Taken for Wonders," esp. 104).<sup>2</sup> This study uses "orientalism" and things "Oriental" in a similar fashion: not as naïve adjectives and nouns, transcendental, binary and absolute, but signifiers which contain within them a disobedient Mr Christian who, while being constituted by colonialism, also refuses the colonialist imperatives of his captain. The "Orient" and "Oriental," like mutinous mariners, can and often do turn round to fire behind the line.

Certainly more sophisticated and perhaps more widespread than that of current juvenile movies, an eighteenth-century vogue took place in things Oriental: Oriental dress, Oriental landscape gardening, Oriental architecture, Oriental furniture, Oriental foodstuffs and, the subject of this study, Oriental

---

forever valorizing common phantasy and folklore (2).

<sup>2</sup> See also Dennis Porter for an account of Said's totalization of colonial discourse and failure to adequately historicize colonialist texts.

tales. Oriental tales were a very popular, if disreputable, form of prose fiction in the century and represented a competing narrative to the developing realist forms which were only marginally more respectable. Realist and non-realist fiction struggled throughout the century for dominance in the cultural and symbolic practices of the era and, although realist fiction did not become the absolute victor in this struggle, it did become the dominant form preferred over the guilty pleasures of non-realist forms like gothic fiction and Oriental tales.

Michael McKeon in Origins of the English Novel has credibly theorized that this struggle was manifest through a dialectic reaction which incorporated but also disavowed earlier romance forms. I see non-realist forms, such as Oriental tales, being more matrilineally related to and vestigially dependent on romance, since they continue using many of the conventions of the earlier genre. But, similar to realist forms, if not to the same extent, they also react against romance, which will be explored in the discussion of Eliza Haywood's Oriental tale in Chapter 2. Realist fiction became culturally central in the place where ideology lives—in the hearts and minds of Britons. Non-realist forms such as Oriental tales and gothic fictions were marginalized, their marginalization by critics and literary historians, elite producers that they are, being partly a result of their disreputability.

One reason for this partial repudiation of Oriental tales is that they embraced magic and depicted royal characters—romantic and sensational issues

contraindicated in the pragmatic world being manufactured in the century.<sup>3</sup> Being the approved model for literary endeavour, realism, its concomitant and conventional probability, the middle-class businessman and the domestic woman were the primary requirements for the development of the new economic and social order. A force for the conservation of an aristocratic past through the inflection of various elements of earlier romance forms—in the representation of royal characters and fantastic events—Oriental tales *partially* react against the development of the realist novel, the rising middle classes and the inscription of women at the central margin of the home and hearth. Furthermore, Oriental tales often—if not always—ignore the illusion that the narrative is possible and even more frequently scorn probability.

Oriental tales are partially reactionary because they do not focus on the middle-class individual; the central character in each novel discussed here conforms to some notion of exotic Oriental nobility. Although Oriental tales do not overtly represent the middle-class woman and man so beloved by realism and Samuel Richardson, they, nevertheless, also help create that new economic and gendered society, as this study sets out to suggest.

Ian Watt, in his seminal sociological study, The Rise of the Novel, concentrates on the development of this new society and claims that the rise of

---

<sup>3</sup> As Chapter 3 sets out to explain, women who used magic in their novels also tended to naturalize this magic.

philosophical realism and the rise of the realist novel, though not necessarily linked, constitute part of the Weberian spirit of capitalism, arising as a consequence of the development of Protestant sects. As well as neglecting women's literary contribution to the novel, Watt also neglects the theory that capitalism requires the abstemious, austere small entrepreneur not only to invest in building a business, but to spend on consumer goods and services beyond the requirements for day-to-day living.<sup>4</sup> One of the central contradictions of capitalism is that the nation's shopkeepers must not only save but also spend. This will-to-luxury is often central to non-realist fiction. Oriental tales foreground luxuriant detail and description and they emerge as not only sumptuous escapism but also as more obvious appeals to those economically necessary pleasures which pious realism emphasizes to a lesser degree.

Coextensive with the Oriental tale, the other focus of this study is on the female producer of Oriental fiction. Until recently, literary historians have tended to neglect women's contribution to the development of prose fiction because they wrote in these non-realist and popular forms—forms not later privileged by many academic institutions—as well as in those realist forms.<sup>5</sup> Because a novel is popular or because a novel is less mimetic than

---

<sup>4</sup> See Lovell for a discussion of the contradiction between saving and spending inherent in capitalism (31).

<sup>5</sup> This, of course, does not explain why critics have overlooked

realist fiction does not mean that it is aesthetically bankrupt or morally corrupt—though such were charges frequently levelled at Eliza Haywood, one producer of Oriental fiction discussed here. Critics, such as Kate Ferguson, Juliann Fleanor and Susan Wolstenholme, have recently explored women's legacy to gothic fiction, a close sister to the Oriental tale, but critics in general have overlooked women's contribution to this genre: no critic has explored women's writing of this genre as it developed in the eighteenth century. The criticism devoted to exploring the relationship between European centre and Asian margin tends to focus on both men's and women's writing in the nineteenth century and later, and tends to focus not on Oriental tales but rather on novels in which the colonies form the background, and the courtship of English characters, the foreground.<sup>6</sup>

---

women's contribution to realist fiction because they also wrote many courtship and domestic novels. Building on detailed work by John Richetti, Jerry Beasley and J.M.S. Tompkins, feminist critics such as Ros Ballaster, Katherine Green, Deborah Ross and Ruth Yeasell, who examine women's writing of domestic fiction and Terry Lovell, who examines women's consuming of fiction, have re-written literary history for the period. Nonetheless, critics such as Watt have explored in greater depth women's centrality in their demands for this commodity rather than the supply side of the equation.

<sup>6</sup> Martha Pike Conant (1908) focuses on the Oriental tale as written by both men and women in the century and places them in four thematic

Feminist critics have re-written the literary history of the eighteenth century by reasonably and accurately-pointing out that women were very active, perhaps even more active than men, in the development of realist prose fiction both as producers and consumers, but women also have a fundamental role in the development of those non-realist forms like Oriental tales. The sheer volume of their writing in either form guarantees their centrality in the development of the novel and defines it as feminized genre.<sup>7</sup> But Oriental

---

categories: the moralistic, satiric, imaginative and philosophic. Lisa Lowe (Critical Terrains: French and British Orientalism, 1991) briefly explores two texts from the eighteenth century, one signed by a woman—Lady Mary Wortley Montague's Turkish Embassy Letters—and Montesquieu's Lettres persanes, then continues examining later and rather more canonical writers such as Flaubert and Forster, concluding with a discussion of the objectification of the Orient by Tel Quel intellectuals, such as Barthes and Kristeva. The titles of the following give the focus of these authors: Stewart, Domestic Realities and Imperial Fictions: Jane Austen's Novels in Eighteenth-Century Contexts; Perera, Reaches of Empire: The English Novel from Edgeworth to Dickens; Leask, British Romantic Writers and the East: Anxieties of Empire.

<sup>7</sup> Michael McKeon in his Origins of the English Novel, after the occasional preemptory nod to women writers, continues much in the same vein as Watt, by using male authors—Bunyan, Cervantes, Defoe, Richardson,

tales, like their gothic sisters, are even more directly associated with women readers and writers.<sup>8</sup> In the eighteenth century, the genre was explicitly assigned to women and consequently dismissed as trivial or improper. For example, Bishop Atterbury responded to Pope's gift of The Arabian Nights by observing that they were the "product of some Woman's imagination." While he observed that "they may furnish the mind with some new images," the consequence is that the "Purchase is made at too great an Expense." According to Shaftesbury in his Advice to an Author, anyone who wrote or enjoyed a "Moorish Fancy" was "tale-gathering in these idle deserts as familiarly as the silliest woman or merest boy" (qtd. Caracciolo 3). In short, the woman writer

---

Fielding—as examples supporting his very impressive theoretical framework. John Bender in Imagining the Penitentiary, Lennard Davis in Factual Fictions and Nancy Armstrong in Desire and Domestic Fictions execute the a similar exclusionary manoeuvre. Less elegant but more accurate, Dale Spender and Cheryl Turner's work on women's writing contain bibliographies which demonstrate the extent of women's contribution to the development of the novel.

<sup>8</sup> See also Peter Caracciolo, who observes in his extensive introduction to a collection of essays about the Arabian Nights: "it was not uncommon [in the eighteenth century], even with forthright admirers, to consign the Oriental tale to the taste of women and children" (3).

of the Oriental tale was triply marginalized because she wrote fiction, because she wrote Oriental fiction and because she was a woman.

As the discussion of Nourjahad in Chapter Three sets out to explain, major structural changes were occurring in the culture of eighteenth-century Britain: middle-class women were inscribed within the subordinate but integral empire of the domestic household.<sup>9</sup> As the century progressed, the focus fell increasingly on the domestic sphere, the nuclear family and companionate marriage whereby marriage ostensibly became less a matter of the aristocratic union of property and title and more a choice of personal affection.<sup>10</sup> So for

---

<sup>9</sup> See Nancy Armstrong, who argues that the "modern individual was first and foremost a woman" (8). She also notes that the inscription of the domestic woman in the working classes did not occur until the beginning of the nineteenth century (20). In other words, the domestic woman was firstly an eighteenth-century, middle-class invention. See also Jon Stratton who writes that the "domestic sphere" becomes the "domain of the wife in a subordinate but structural opposition to the public and capitalist sphere of the husband" (46).

<sup>10</sup> See Janet Todd, who argues that the aristocratic union had on the whole been an arranged dynastic and financial affair, but increasingly this was under attack and the art of the period constantly assaulted mercenary marriage in favour of a tie of compatible and congenial men and



instance in the interpolated tale in Eovaai, Yxmilla, like Eovaai, rules benevolently, virtuously and absolutely, but unlike Eovaai the archaic rules of property and title regulate her future since her subjects veto her choice of a mate, the man she would marry being Yamatalallabec. A neighbouring ruler, who has designs only on her property and title and no concern for her as an 'autonomous' human being, carries her off. Analogous to Clarissa, she is drugged, rendered unconscious and raped, but while Clarissa remains a maiden in title if not in fact, Yxmilla is married and remains married to her abuser (216). If women cannot choose their partners or at least have veto power, both domestic and romance texts suggest that their fate is dismal.

Although the ideology of companionate marriage and affective individualism circulates in the literature of the period, the unsaid is that forced marriages, such as Yxmilla's or that planned for Clarissa, often occurred in the real lives of women. For example, Anna Seward, in her defense of Clarissa, disparages this kind of marriage while also suggesting that it was still a common practice in 1780s, particularly in the upper-middle and upper classes.

. . . [T]he persisting authority, unjustly exercised  
upon young women in the article of marriage . . . is still  
ascertained by a variety of examples every year, at least, in  
wealthy, and still oftener in high life; though, because ceremony

---

women. (Angelica 25)

See also Schofield ("Descending Angels" 187).

is not the fashion, there may be less parade in the manner of enforcing it. (XXV, Variety: A Collection of Essays, written in the Year 1787, 1788 in Williams, ed. 359).

Despite various proscriptions against the forced marriage of daughters, the middle classes still sought upward social mobility not only through foreign trade and increasing capitalization but also by marrying daughters into cash-poor landed families.<sup>11</sup> Wealthy middle-class daughters were married into classes above them not only because of the bourgeois desire for status enhancement but also because ideology generally insisted women ought not to marry below themselves (or that men ought not to marry into a superior class). So for example, B tells Pamela that a

man ennobles the woman he takes, be she who she will; and adopts her into his own rank, be it what it will; but a woman, though even nobly born, debases herself by a mean marriage and descends from her own rank, to that of him she stoops to marry.  
(Pamela 447)

In this way some women became doubly inferior both by gender and class to men they married. That the middle-classes might rise through marriage, but also that a woman ought to be allowed more choice in her mate are ideas frequently in collision in the period.

---

<sup>11</sup> Landed families were cash-poor, since property could not be sold because it was entailed usually on the firstborn male (Perry 55).

One way women were interpellated how to make this "choice" of a husband was through fiction: <sup>12</sup> increasingly love, marriage, home, children constituted the ideologically unitary subject position to which women were called. From the median classes, heroines of eighteenth-century fiction usually begin as unmarried women and conclude as betrothed or wed or dead (see Schofield, Masking), all severely circumscribed options. Little or no space remains for women who cannot fit into the standard pattern. To the exclusion of these other women, the focus is increasingly on the domestic, middle-class woman; in fiction, she is confined to a very specific place in society and leaves it only at her peril.

The argument is often made that the married middle-class woman, the representative norm, also had more "leisure." A non-working wife, or rather a woman who did not work outside the home, was a signifier of male

---

<sup>12</sup> The debt here is to Althusser who writes that subjects are interpellated by ideology, "a system of beliefs and assumptions, " which represents "the imaginary relationships of individuals to their real conditions of existence" (152-3); and Jameson who, following Althusser, writes that all "cultural artifacts" may be "read as symbolic resolutions of real political and social contradictions" (80). Along with Althusser and as opposed to earlier Marxist critics like Lukacs, I see culture not simply as reflective of real conditions—as the superstructure—but also constructing those conditions in an infinity and circulation of meanings (see Mills, et al. 191-3).

financial success (Spencer 13) and she used her time to manage her household, to supervise the raising of her children, to regulate servants, to plan entertainments, (Armstrong, Desire 67), to do decorative needlework and, often lacking a classical education, to read and sometimes write novels. Many of the women who did write, particularly in the first decades, tended to be those who lived without husbands or were in need of money or both, but they produced this work, as Janet Todd observes, "with relatively little fuss compared with the elaborate panoply of apology [which was] later thought essential for a publishing woman" (Angelica 37). I think that these changes in society through the century neither uniformly serve or harm women. On the one hand, women became more economically dependent on men because of the capitalization in hand industries and the rationalization of agriculture through enclosure: the workplace slowly moved out of the home, resulting in the conviction, among other things, that women's labour was non-productive (Donovan 448, "Women and . . . the Novel," n. 14; Spencer 13-14).

Eighteenth-century culture also ascribed these different accompanying domestic characteristics thought to be essential in women's natures: their previously traditional, home-based occupations of brewing, baking and spinning changed in favour of women being the natural and decorative keepers of home and hearth (see Perry 36). Women's work, no longer productive in the sense that she was manufacturing material goods, became primarily reproductive. Her work fundamentally assured the smooth transition and transmission of property

from one man to the next, from her husband to her son (see Kelly, Women 5-6). On the other hand, she began to have some suffrage in her decision for whom she was to bear children. Women became less of a silenced medium of exchange and breeding stock in the circulation of property and primogenital title. A space in culture, clearly and certainly middle-class, restrictive and restricting, was created from which women could define themselves and from which they could speak in anger or in agreement or both.<sup>13</sup>

---

<sup>13</sup> See Catherine Belsey, who writes:

The installation of woman as subjects is the production of a space in which to problematize the liberal-humanist alliance with patriarchy, to formulate a sexual politics to begin the struggle for change ("Constructing the Subject" 152).

and Janet Todd:

[The] eighteenth-century cult of sensibility, associating the feminine and the sentimental, brought women into the centre of culture. Women's consciousness was investigated and their voice, though inevitably mediated and culturally constructed, was heard; it also brought into prominence those qualities of benevolence, tenderness, susceptibility and domesticity, thought to be quintessentially feminine. ("Jane Austen, Politics and Sensibility" 76)

This self-expressiveness could be used in the service of promoting individual

The Oriental tale represents a direction through which women could, as the century progressed, protest their oppression, while qualitatively those fictions became increasingly domesticated to the sensible sphere. Oriental tales are in a sense reactionary, since they are a force for the conservation of an aristocratic past but they also mediate attempts by the rising classes to construct themselves, using but also reconstituting the hegemonic signs and symbols of that aristocracy. They also arbitrate the struggle of women.

## ii

This present study is limited to the eighteenth century and proceeds chronologically, beginning in 1736 with Eliza Haywood's Adventures of Eovaai, Princess of Ijaveo, continuing through 1767 with Frances Sheridan's Nourjahad and ending in 1790 with Ellis Cornelia Knight's Dinarbas. Haywood wrote Eovaai before Pamela and Clarissa institutionalized female masochism; Sheridan wrote Nourjahad when high sensibility was in full splendour in the 60's and 70's; Knight published Dinarbas before the excesses of the French Revolution became clear but after the Regency crisis.

Each chapter, after a brief introduction, is divided into four non-discrete, concentric subsections that locate a map of eighteenth-century culture in these spaces. The beginnings of the new historicism, organized around Renaissance texts, saw the centres of power residing in the monarchy and the

---

needs and desires; it could also be used to constrain the image of the women by restricting her horizons to the family and its domesticity (Todd 76).

theatre. I have organized this thesis around four centres of power in the century: the struggles for generic, political, class, and gender legitimation. The section on genre discusses the way the particular novel generally relates to the struggle to establish the novel in the century. The section on politics discusses the Oriental tale's inscription within the major political conflicts and events of kings and governments—the world usually denied women but in which women clearly had a stake. The section on class discusses the way that the novel relates to and inscribes within itself the establishment of class, generally the middle class. Finally, the section on gender describes the way that women writers raise the issues of gender as they negotiate their culture and the culture of the Other. In short, these Oriental tales enact heterogeneous struggles for the legitimation of classic realism, political systems, class interests and gender and racial constructions. These women's Oriental fiction legitimizes the increasing dominion of the capitalist economy over the (absolutist) mercantile and home-based economy, the limited monarch over the absolute, the bourgeois man over the aristocratic and the domestic woman over the noblewoman and the Oriental Other. The critical approach of this study is cultural materialist. This approach is more useful for the examination of texts which historically situate gender than the radical, forward-looking project of French feminism which de-centres subjectivity and emphasizes linguistic jouissance. Women read and wrote the texts examined here and they read and wrote them in an historical past, however much that past and that subject and

that language are unrecoverable, heterogenous and polyvalent. The aim is not to divorce Oriental tales from the women who wrote them, nor to separate them from their history and culture.

The restriction of this study to prose is, to a lesser degree, also a mark of artificiality since women also wrote during this period some Oriental drama and poetry which also deserves analysis.

### iii

What exactly are Oriental tales? The most obvious characteristic would seem to be setting. One novel discussed in this dissertation—Frances Sheridan's—has a fair amount of pseudo-Oriental detail and its inclusion is not problematic. Nourjahad centres on the eponymous hero, who resides somewhere in a mythical Middle East, replete with sultans, seraglios and a pigmentation of Persian mythology. Ellis Cornelia Knight's Dinarbas contains much less Oriental detail; nonetheless, judicious critics of the later eighteenth century or late twentieth century generally rank it as Oriental, much as they accord Johnson's Rasselas a comparable station. Although its inclusion is more problematic, I have also decided to include Haywood's Adventures of Eovaai for an extended representation of the culture of the century and because it is orientalized in a number of early and important, although not immediately apparent, ways. The main narrative in Eliza Haywood's tale is not, at first glance, identifiable as Asian or North African, although she seemingly relies on some aspects of early orientalist texts in her luxurious descriptions of the



Oriental, sybaritic harem. But this absence of an Oriental setting alone proves an inadequate criterion because it would exclude those narratives often identified as Oriental; for example, Goldsmith's better known Citizen of the World does not take place in the Eastern Mediterranean, Asia or northern Africa but instead uses the topos of an Oriental spy in England. Nevertheless, Haywood's fiction is not as orientalized as Goldsmith's, and much of its Oriental colouring is literally and figuratively confined to the margins, to the Oriental spy story occurring in the notes and textual machinery. Goldsmith's Citizen usually comments on current English culture from an ostensibly estranged place, but Haywood's Oriental hero is at a greater remove because he purports to illuminate from the literal margins of the text a long dead civilization. In fact, his satirical comments apply to Walpole's England and the political allegory of the main narrative. The distinction may be fine but, in all cases, the Orient remains the background by which the West is often judged and found wanting. Whatever the setting, the fictionalizing of the Oriental tale nominally offers the Occidental reader a foreign perspective: the reader is placed in a position to scrutinize either the Orient or the Occident from a de-familiarized, putatively Oriental perspective.<sup>14</sup> An affinity exists between

---

<sup>14</sup> Many eighteenth-century stories, particularly in the first three or four decades, contain inset narratives positioned in the East—for example Gulliver travels to Japan—but most of them are peopled with Western women

Knight's and Johnson's Oriental tales and Haywood's and Goldsmith's Oriental spy tales: in all cases they rely "upon the sheer egoistic powers of European consciousness at their centre"—the phrase is Said's (Orientalism 158).

Another usual attribute of Oriental spy fiction is that the imputed reader is an Oriental Other, so Marana's espion turc, Goldsmith's Citizen or Montesquieu's Usbek and Rica address their epistles home to their respective

---

or men who sometimes listen to the stories of the East or travel through the East finding misadventure. Sometimes pirates abduct Occidental characters and sell them into slavery (men) or a seraglio (women). Elizabeth Boyd's The Happy Unfortunate, or the Female Page (1732) encloses a tale of Luvania, who, seduced by Carlo, retires to a convent, where Carlo returns and rapes her again and then sells her into a seraglio in Persia (170-186). For an examination of the seventeenth century equivalent of this type of novel see G.A. Starr, "Escape from Barbary. . .". For the eighteenth century, particularly before 1740, the list of this type of fiction is far too long to even begin to reproduce. Penelope Aubin's The Noble Slaves (1722) is typical. The frame tale of Teresa encloses inset tales where villainous Persians, Turks, Algerines etc. abduct a variety of men and women. Castaway off the coast of Mexico, Teresa meets an Japanese man and his wife and children who speak Chinese, a French man and his spouse, a Spaniard and two Persians. Meanwhile, Turkish pirates have captured her husband. Not all the Orientals are villains: Tanganor is a virtuous Persian with a story to tell.

Oriental cultures, but in the real cultural context of eighteenth-century society, the readers of any Oriental tale were almost uniformly white and European (Said, Culture 66). Haywood's tale is slightly anomalous because her son-of-a-mandarin addresses his comments to the bon ton of eighteenth-century Britain and the discursive construction of the Oriental Other remains in the interplay among various textual hierarchies: the implied British reader, the culturally naïve Oriental commentator and the central story of Eovaai. In all cases the colonizer represents and stands in for the colonial subject, and colonialism manufactures that Oriental culture in the binarism comparing the West to the East and sometimes in the epistolary responses returned from that Oriental culture: focussing on European society, these fictions discursively contrive an Oriental culture which as Said argues is, in fact, a discursive construction of the Occident.

I have also chosen to examine these three longer prose tales in book form because this was the form in which women tended to publish, particularly in the first half of the century, while men published their Oriental bagatelles in periodicals.<sup>15</sup> In the later half of the century, women also published in

---

<sup>15</sup> See these very few of the many Oriental tales original to or adapted by canonical male writers for the periodicals: Joseph Addison's "Metempsychosis of Pugg the Monkey" and "Persian story of Alnaraschin"; Samuel Johnson's "Tale of Seged of Ethiopia"; Alexander Pope's "Fable of the Traveller and the Adder [taken from the Fables of Pilpay]"; Richard Steele's

journals but author ascription remains very problematic.<sup>16</sup> That a periodical Oriental tale was written "by a Lady" or contained in a women's magazine is no guarantee, since men also took advantage of the vogue in women's writing. In short, I am not content to assume female authorship, since historical women and their experience expressed in writing interest me primarily.

Other equally exotic tales that might be included are those such as Aphra Behn's Oroonoko, Graffigny's Letters Written by a Peruvian Princess and its sequel written in English by [Miss] R. Roberts which centre on the Other from Southern Africa and America. This study excludes these tales because the Enlightenment construction of a noble savage clashes with the eighteenth-century fabrication of the erstwhile civilized Oriental. Oroonoko and Zilia are not Oriental because they are inflected by the century as primitive, however noble, savages. Knight's Rasselas and his friend, Dinarbas, are Oriental Africans, who came from a "nation once civilized" but whose culture has now degenerated (emphasis added; Knight, Dinarbas 112). Clearly

---

"Santon Barsisa [taken from Turkish Tales]."

<sup>16</sup> See Alison Adburgham's Women In Print. I have been able to identify only one short Oriental tale published in a journal with a definite ascription to a woman: Mary Hays published "The Hermit, an Oriental Tale," in the Universal. LXXVII, for April and May of 1786 which was reprinted in Letters & Essays.

southern Africa and New Worlds have their own cultures, but they are ones that eighteenth-century England does not acknowledge as having ever been civilized. Whatever the material realities of the civilizations of Other worlds, the fiction of eighteenth-century Britain peoples the West Indies and the Americas and parts of Africa with untutored, natural women and men who are of a very different formulation from the previously enlightened, polite Oriental, who occasionally displays some of her or his former glory. Though England is in her full glory and this colonized Orient is always the lesser, the Orient remains a mirroring but unequal culture.<sup>17</sup> The anonymous Preface to a 1739 collection of Aubin's novels, while also reinforcing the usual categories of utile et dulce, demonstrates this diminished Oriental civilization:

Amusements of this Kind have always been highly approved of in the most polite Nations, both of Europe and Asia: for such is the Nature of the human Mind, that it cannot be satisfied without Variety; and religious Subjects themselves. (Aubin, A Collection of Entertaining Histories and Novels, unnumbered; signed a2).

---

<sup>17</sup> See Appleton, who describes the seventeenth-century controversy surrounding the existence of a primogenital language which was thought to be Chinese and which was still continuing in the eighteenth century, which suggests this devolution (21-36, esp. 32).

And this notion remained relatively stable throughout the century. So, for example, Richard Hole, who wrote a treatise on the Arabian Nights' Entertainments in 1797, observes that while "Europe was immersed in barbarism" Arabia had "polite learning" and a "fully established literary reputation in former days" (2-3). The key words in both cases is "polite" and "former" in Hole.<sup>18</sup> The idea of literacy often inheres in this notion of civilization: in the eighteenth century the Oriental Other has both a code of behaviour and alphabetic or idiographic writing privileged over other forms of communication.<sup>19</sup> Nonetheless, the Oriental culture, because of declining,

---

<sup>18</sup> See also Alexander Dow's "A Dissertation concerning the Customs, Manners, Language, Religion and Philosophy of the Hindoos" where he notes "the present decline of literature in Hindustan" (108). This is echoed by Elizabeth Hamilton in her orientalist "Preliminary Dissertation" to Hindoo Rajah (1796) when she claims the "many monuments . . . remain of their [the Hindus'] former splendour" (xxxvi). Dow, along with Hamilton's brother, Charles, was a member of The Asiatic Society, constituted in the later eighteenth century.

<sup>19</sup> It is worth emphasizing that the West privileges certain kinds of writing. As Michael T. Ryan, in his historical examination of the assimilation of the New World by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Britain, remarks "the prejudice in favour of letters was open and avowed, and the possession of letters an important component of European identity" (532).

may have forgotten how to value its earlier writing. Furthermore because of devolution, it cannot discover the Rosetta stone in order to decode a text. So for example in Haywood's fiction the current Chinese culture no longer understands the language of its founding civilization that existed before the flood, and it has lost the ability translate that ancient language. Earlier translations of this language into Chinese are all that remain, which then require a further translation into English by the mandarin's son and require a patina of scholarship in the footnotes to tell us how to read the text. On the other hand, the culture of the Americas or "darkest Africa" <sup>20</sup> has not faded because it did not have a tradition of letters to begin with: in Enlightenment narrative, the Zulu and the Inca stand orthographically mute and the colonizer must speak for them; in the same narrative, the Oriental must be taught to speak again and must be told what to say when she opens her mouth. Quipus and pictographs do not count as writing, but Sanskrit and Mandarin do. In short, early colonialism disparately essentializes Oriental cultures and "primitive" cultures, but as Michael Harbsmeier notes the racist manoeuvre of othering is the same.

---

<sup>20</sup> See Christopher Miller's Blank Darkness for an analysis of Africanist discourse, where he distinguishes in his formulation from orientalism because of the inscription of the Africa's blankness and darkness (5-10, et passim).

. . . [W]e come to what orientalism and anthropology, what in fact all sorts of European discourse on its 'others,' have in common on a more fundamental level: a mode of writing that not only denies the other the right as well as the ability to speak (and write) for themselves, but also intends both to represent and to replace precisely those qualities of the other which are the very reason for their being denied the right and the ability to present themselves. ("Early Travels" 72)

Europeans insist not only on narcissistically standing in for all Others but also that Oriental cultures are distinct from "natural" ones, enfolding all in the Manichean but asymmetric discourse of early colonialism. The rise of imperialism in the century required that Britain construct less itself as superior to the disparately essentialized 'natural' cultures and devolved Oriental cultures.

Although they homogeneously consigned Orientals to a subaltern place, orientalists and writers of Oriental tales slightly distinguish Oriental cultures almost according to geographic proximity. The more contact England has had with an Oriental culture, the more likely England disapproves of that culture. For example, the Sultan in Dinarbas, despite his late reformation, is a stereotype of the murderous, aggressive, despotic Turk beloved of seventeenth-century drama—he executes the ambitious Bassa of Cairo with very little fuss (63) and makes war with little thought; from a more distant culture, Haywood's



son-of-mandarin is witty, and educated, if slightly naïve about England.

Generally, far-Eastern cultures were considered less inferior than Islamic ones because of the eighteenth-century interest in Confucianism.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, England saw itself as polite and civilized, and saw the Orient, to varying degrees, as having atrophied and devolved. As Said observes, ". . . in all sorts of aesthetic writing and plastic portrayals . . . a trajectory of "Westering" . . . customarily saw the Orient as ceding its historical pre-eminence and importance to the world spirit moving westwards away from Asia and towards Europe" ("Orientalism Reconsidered" 17).<sup>22</sup> Furthermore, the Occident considers the decline of the Orient as predictable and metaphysically necessary because of its moral and intellectual inferiority (Al-Azmeh 9). As will be explained in the following chapters, these ideas about civilization centre on a specific eighteenth-century historical context issuing from political, economic

---

<sup>21</sup> Appleton describes this interest in Confucianism as stemming from the Jesuits' attempt to make Christianity appeal to the pagan and to make the pagan philosophy acceptable to the Christians back home. The end result was that Confucianism appealed to both orthodox Tories and Whigs and heterodox deists (36-52, esp. 41-43).

<sup>22</sup> Elizabeth Hamilton's Hindoo Rajah describes this East/West movement: the "sun of science. . . [which] rose with radiant splendour on our eastern hemisphere now beams it fervid rays upon the regions of the west" (56).

and gender circumstances: the Occident represents the Orient as inferior because of its form of government, its economic immoderation and its treatment of women, signified in Oriental tales by the representation of Oriental despotism, luxury and the harem.

## Chapter 1

### Pre-Texts and Contexts

My heroine falls in love with a young man; quite a divine creature of course, who is obliged to go as an Ambassador to Tripoli. She knows not what to do, but at length determines to hire herself into the family of the Tripoline Ambassador here, to learn the language, and accompany her love as his valet de chambre. . . . But I will not tell you a word more of it, because I will surprise you with the catastrophe, which is quite original; only one event is borrowed from the Arabian Nights, and one description from Sir Charles Grandison.

-Charlotte Smith, Ethelinde qtd. in Schofield, Masking (153).

i

The few discussions of eighteenth-century Oriental tales generally begin in media res with a discussion of Galland's translation of The Arabian Nights' Entertainments. Its translation from the original Arabic into French, publication in Paris in 1704, immediate shipping to England and further translation by an unknown Grub Street hack <sup>1</sup> heralded a tenacious

---

<sup>1</sup> The publication history of The Arabian Nights in English is tortuous. The first English edition is undated but volumes five and six were published in 1706 for A. Bell. See Caracciolo 61, n2 and Duncan B. Macdonald (406).

literary vogue in France and Britain: The Arabian Nights' Entertainments was enormously popular, running to eighteen editions by 1793. But the original has a history which considerably ante-dates Galland. In the wake of Moorish conquest, Christian crusade and general commerce, some of the stories from this collection had circulated in Britain at least since the twelfth century (Caracciolo 5).

Although Galland's translation of the Arabian Nights' comes from an original Arabic manuscript or occasionally a transcription from an oral source,<sup>2</sup> it was long thought to be a hoax, partially because the Westernized texts were only a translation in accordance with eighteenth-century practice regarding ideas of adaptation and translation. For example, Galland omitted almost all the poetry that intersperses the Arabic text, perhaps because he felt it was an intrusion (Caracciolo 6). Furthermore, many of the elaborate descriptions, obscure Moslem customs, and the erotic elements were either expurgated or bowdlerized.<sup>3</sup> The original has no conclusion to the framing story of

---

<sup>2</sup> Galland likely found the manuscript when he was serving in Constantinople as secretary to the French Embassy (Mahmoud 63). See Caracciolo for a table comparing the stories included in various editions beginning with Galland and concluding with Burton (289-315); Galland also occasionally used oral sources for some of the most famous of the Oriental tales like "Sindbad" and "Ali Baba" (Weitzman, "Influence" 1043).

<sup>3</sup> See for example, Galland's demure insistence regarding the

Scheherazade's fight for her life, so Galland created one which was retained in the Grub Street edition (892). He was also selective about those tales he chose to translate and those he chose he interspersed with his own digressions on morals and manners for which no provenance can be found (Weitzman, "Influence" 1843). Galland's tinkering—or what we would now consider tinkering— contributed to the confusion as to their authenticity. Even as late as 1783, James Beattie in his essay "On Fable and Romance" observes that the Arabian Nights' Entertainments

is the work of Mons. Galland of the French Academy, who is said to have translated it from the Arabick original. But whether the tales be really Arabick, or invented by Mons. Galland, I have never been able to learn with certainty. If they be Oriental, they are translated with unwarrantable latitude; <sup>4</sup> the whole tenor of the style is in the French mode; and the Caliph of Bagdat, and the Emperor of China, are addressed in the same terms of

---

adultery of Schahzenan's sister-in-law that "[l]a pudeur ne me permet pas de raconter tout ce qui se passa entre ces femmes et leurs noirs" (in Kabbani 28) which is translated in the Grub Street edition as "Modesty will not allow, nor is it necessary, to relate what passed betwixt the blacks and their ladies" (4).

<sup>4</sup> See Hole also who similarly complains about Galland's translation (9-10).

ceremony, which are usual at the court of France. (Beattie 509-10)

He was absolutely correct in this observation: for the most part Galland's translation of the Arabian Nights' retains little of the Orient and has much more to do with the context of eighteenth-century Europe and its discourse of the exotic Other, as Said argues generally about the trajectory of orientalism. It is not until the near turning of the century that Richard Hole in his Remarks on the Arabian Nights' Entertainments (1797) settles the issue: it was "for a long time considered by the generality of the world as a literary imposition; but at present, I believe, its genuiness is no more disputed" (2).

Oriental tales in general did not begin with Galland's translation. The tracing of the Oriental fashion not only in literature but also in tea-drinking, gardening, furniture, textiles, dress and architecture to the publication of the Arabian Nights' is simply wrongheaded: the fashion and interest developed through a historically sustained social and cultural exchange. For example, other collections of Oriental tales were earlier found in four medieval Latin redactions from genuine sources: Sendebar, The Fables of Bidpai, Disciplina Clericalis and Barlaam and Josaphat (Conant xix-xxii). The provenance of these tales is, in a word, arabesque, since many of them circulated in various versions and languages throughout the East and later in Europe, becoming the basis of folklore and turning up in places such as The

Canterbury Tales.<sup>5</sup> Originally a mirror for Indian princes (Irving ix), the fables of Bidpay (see The Morall Philosophie of Doni), for example, were first translated by Sir Thomas North from the Italian of Doni (who had translated them from Latin) into English in 1570 and again in 1699 from a French version which in turn was taken from a modern Persian translation of the Old Persian from a lost Sanskrit original entitled Panchatantra (Five Books) (See Weitzman, "Influence" 1843). One further example from the tortuous literary genealogy of some of these tales is enough. Sandeban (typically known in the West as the Seven Sages of Rome) survives in eight Eastern versions: three Persian, and in one each of Syriac, Greek, Old Spanish, Arabic and Hebrew (Epstein 329). The Seven Sages of Rome materializes in various versions and lengths in Middle English, probably via Old French and Latin, and later appears in various modern forms such as History of the Seven Wise Masters. Published in 1674 with charming and humorous woodcuts, this version of an Oriental tale and many others are less charming for the woman reader in their misogynist preconceptions. These preconceptions translated from the genuine article not only suited the originary culture of the East but also seventeenth-century Britain which often essentialized a woman as lubricious, unclean and evil in contrast to the essentialization of her sisters at the end of the eighteenth century as virtuous, pious and gentle. The Emperor in The Seven Wise

---

<sup>5</sup> See "The Manciple's Tale" which is partially based on Sandeban or "The Pardoner's Tale," derived from Barlaam and Josaphat (Garrett 26).

Masters, which has a framing device similar to the Arabian Nights and similar misogynist intentions, condemns his son Diocletian to death on the accusations of his second wife, who has sexual designs on her stepson. In an attempt to sway the King, seven wise men relate stories about the evil of women and she tells stories to convince him otherwise. The seven wise men are correct—women are truly evil—and the stepmother is condemned.

These collections of tales not only shared common motifs but also some structures and motifs within those structures. For example, the framing device of story-telling to prevent an immoral act is not confined to the Arabian Nights, where Scheherazade, fighting for her life and the life of other women, tells stories to King Schahriar to prevent further gynecide. The Indian Suskasapatati, translated in the eighteenth century in 1768 as the Tales of A Parrot or Tootinemeh (Conant 362), frames the story of a parrot who tells stories to prevent a woman from committing adultery.<sup>6</sup> These Oriental tales often insist that women are fundamentally immoral, lecherous or downright evil (see also Hermes 10, 12-14).

During the Renaissance some Oriental drama, such as Marlowe's Tamburlaine (1590) and Thomas Preston's A lamentable Tragedie, mixed full of pleasant mirth, containing the life of Cambises king of Persia (1569), was written and produced.<sup>7</sup> But for the most part abbreviated motifs of and

---

<sup>6</sup> This was published by Lane at the Minerva Press in 1792.

<sup>7</sup> Thomas Preston's play is not only interesting because it is part



references to the Orient in drama and poetry are characteristic.<sup>8</sup> For example Shakespeare's Merchant of Venice repeats the fable of the "three coffers" and the "pound of flesh" which form part of a Buddhist repertoire of stories (Schwab 192).

Since Mandeville and Marco Polo, travel accounts of the East also constitute part of the literary inheritance. Travel literature was always popular but this popularity generally increases in line with the expansionism of the Renaissance.<sup>9</sup> The corpus of Renaissance travel literature is enormous, far too large to do it justice here, but it does bear a relationship to the Oriental tale, since many of the reported details of the East became incorporated. As Percy Adams points out, travel literature contributes to the development of the novel and, as he argues, generally contributes to the construction of a bourgeois realism and subjectivity in fiction and in culture (Travel Literature and the

---

modern drama and part Morality play but also because of the treatment of Meretrix, who true to her name, has some sexual stage business, but unlike her later sisters she survives to do it again tomorrow.

<sup>8</sup> See also Macbeth where the first trading mission in 1583 to Tripoli in a merchantman—the Tyger—is alluded to: "Her husband's to Aleppo gone, master o' the Tyger" (Garratt 27; Kabbani 17).

<sup>9</sup> Thomas Curley gives statistics for the popularity of travel literature and finds that eight major encyclopedic collections, forty-five smaller compilations and thousands of individual accounts were published (Ekhtiar 90).

Evolution of the Novel, 100-113). Notwithstanding the change from medievalist apprehensions of a world imbued with spiritual immanence to a world separated from the divine and subject to rational analysis—and to voyages of discovery and plunder—travel accounts sometimes incorporated extravagant falsehoods, frequently repeated, passed on from the medieval period and expected by the contemporary reading audience of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>10</sup> For example, the notion that Islamic women had no souls had a life of its own in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century literature. George Farquhar's The Beaux Stratagem iterates this piece of folklore about

---

<sup>10</sup> Examples abound in the kind of falsehood by which orientalism discredits an Oriental culture but a standard illustration of Mohammed's duplicity is that he trained a bird to eat grain from his ear which resulted in his claim to the credulous populace that the Holy Ghost had visited him. See Sandys A Relation of a Journey begun An Dom: 1610 where Mohammed "taught a pigeon to feed at his eare, affirming it to be the holy Ghost" (53). The consequences of these kinds of textual manoeuvres are twofold: Mohammed is affirmed as a liar and a cheat and the Islamic follower as a naive and foolish child (see Al-Azmeh 1-2). As well as representing Mohammed as a voluptuary and imposter, it was also almost obligatory in many of the travelogues that the sensual nature of the seraglio be described (Kabbani 24). This sensual nature will be discussed in the following chapters.

Turkey, "where women have no soul or property" (IV.i.1-2). Eliza Haywood, adding a particularly female twist in The Female Spectator, comments that this idea may have more to do with Western attitudes than Eastern: "The Turks maintain that Women have no Souls, and there are not wanting some among Christians who lean to the Opinion" (10). This was laid to rest by Lady Mary Wortley Montague when she observes in a letter to Abbé Conti (29 May 1717) that "Our vulgar Notion that they do not own Women to have any Souls is a mistake" (363).<sup>11</sup> Other than these usual "folkloristic absurdities," the discourse of early orientalism affirmed tautological nonsense such as the Turks preferring sodomy because "they loathe the Natural use of the Woman."<sup>12</sup> The establishment of the Muscovy Company in 1555, trading mostly with Persia, the Levant Company in 1581 and the East India Company in 1600 resulted in more details, foolish and factual, filtering back to England from government officials—ambassadors and envoys—and commercial sources—merchants and factors (Byron Smith 18). As a consequence of trade expansion in Asia, a larger number of these accounts of farther away places were published. For example, many East India Company factotums sent back

---

<sup>11</sup> Goldsmith also discounts this notion that Islamic women have no souls in the Citizen of the World (2:394).

<sup>12</sup> See Al-Azmeh, who is quoting from Joseph Pitts, A True and Faithful Account of the Religious and Manners of the Mohammedans, 1704 (1).

letters to their superiors describing not only their commercial activities but also their personal lives and the social conditions of those they had colonized; forming a substantial body of information, these letters fill six volumes (Percy Adams, Travel Literature 175).

While the East India Company refrained from interfering in the potentially volatile religious life of India,<sup>13</sup> the Jesuits, particularly in China and Japan, were explicitly engaged in Christianizing missions. Much of the initial information on the far East came from the Jesuits' letters to the Pope or a superior. After their charter in 1540, they began sending their descriptions of foreign countries back to Rome and to their home countries. For example St. Frances Xavier, one of the earliest Jesuit chroniclers, sent letters home about his mission in 1544 to Southern India. The Jesuits not only sent back annual newsletters but also reports, journals and memoirs about anywhere they had missions: India, Japan, China, Siam, Canada, Peru, Abyssinia, Paraguay (Percy Adams, Travel Literature, 55-57). In the eighteenth century the Jesuits' letters were edited and compiled in many volumes—Lettres édifiantes et curieuses

---

<sup>13</sup> See Viswanathan, who has the interesting thesis that because the British government in the nineteenth century felt that converting the Indian populace to Christianity would cause a violent reaction by the natives, English studies became the preferred method of indoctrination. The study of English Literature—an academic discipline happily divorced from spirituality—was instituted because of this colonial struggle (70).

écrits des missions étrangères (1703-8). The Jesuits Judasz Tadeusz Krusinski and Jean Baptiste Du Halde, who wrote, respectively, the History of the revolution of Persia (1726) and The History of China (1736), were also important sources of early Oriental discourse.<sup>14</sup>

George Sandy's travelled to the Near East and published his Relation of a Journey begun An Dom: 1610 in 1621, but generally in the Restoration and the early part of the eighteenth century fewer Englishmen ventured to the East, so French accounts were more usual. John Chardin, a Frenchman who spent much time in England—he was knighted by Charles II—published Volume One of his Travels to Persia (1686) simultaneously in French and English

---

<sup>14</sup> Pere Du Halde compiled twenty-seven accounts from missionaries to the Far East, including The Orphan of China, a play from the fourteenth-century Yuan dynasty dramatised by William Hatchett and Arthur Murphy in the eighteenth century and also made into a panto (The Chinese Festival) by Garrick in 1755. (It closed after four days and a four-thousand-pound expenditure because the pòpolo exercised their traditional rights by rioting (Appleton 86-8)). As Adams observes:

The number of Jesuit teacher-missionaries of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is perhaps so great as to be incalculable, and even more incalculable is the influence on European ideas of their widely read travel biographies, letters, journals, memoirs. (Adams, Travel Literature 57)

(Percy Adams, Travel Literature 95).<sup>15</sup> It was the standard for many years for a description of Islamic culture (Byron Smith 22; Ekhtiar 96). After the British took over the colonization of India in the second half of the eighteenth century, the accounts became their own (Marshall 4).

Other histories, translations and pamphlets were more ephemeral but also suggest that the preoccupations and concerns of the seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Britons clustered around mercantile interest and Christianizing missions which, in the Near East, Turkish expansionism weakly threatened.<sup>16</sup> After the Restoration, interest in things Eastern was also indicated by the production of much orientalized drama.

Another form of the Oriental tale becomes a vehicle for satire in the hands of Giovanni Paolo Marana, an Italian living in Paris, who wrote the famous and popular<sup>17</sup> Turkish Spy (1687-91). Here, a rather stern, Oriental observer comments in a series of letters on the customs, religion, society and morals of the European savage. This form of Oriental tale had its most famous and droll imitators in Montesquieu's Persian Letters and Goldsmith's Citizen

---

<sup>15</sup> The remaining three volumes of Chardin's travels were not published a "Londres" but in Amsterdam in 1711 (Penzer "Preface" unnumbered).

<sup>16</sup> Suggesting this mercantile interest, see The Turkey merchants and their trade.

<sup>17</sup> The twenty-second edition was published in England in 1734 (Van Roosbroeck 44-45).

and less well-known imitators in Lyttelton's Letters from a Persian to his Friend at Ispahan (1735), Elizabeth Hamilton's Letters of a Hindoo Rajah (1796) and Eliza's Haywood's Eovaai. In all these fictions the narrator is often intelligent and sometimes witty but is also a naïf who misinterprets some of the customs. So for example Goldsmith's Lien Chi Altangi thinks that both celebrants and congregation are worshipping the organ at church (174-6) while Hamilton's Hindoo Rajah is puzzled that the gentle precepts of the English "shaster" diverge so dramatically from the practice (1:241). Seeing a play is also a common pastime for Oriental spies, so Goldsmith's hero complains that the Kings and Queens do not behave like they ought because they are too passionate and sensible and that the play is too busy to sustain pity; Montesquieu's Rica complains that it is just too busy (2:97). They visit Vauxall and Drury Lane, attend dinners and salons, go to Westminster and St Paul's, discourse on the Commons and the King, all from the perspective of the male stranger who usually, if not always, sees more perspicaciously than the inhabitants.

For their Oriental tales, Eliza Haywood, Frances Sheridan and Ellis Cornelia Knight draw from a vast, mostly male and complex literary and political tradition, and a discourse of orientalism where the East is feminine, mysterious and sexual, the one which mostly excludes women, the other which objectifies them. They are also able to draw from their own subjective positions as women in a culture which marginalizes them and their subjects.

## Chapter 2

### Eliza Haywood and the Transformation of Women

Now that the Great Map of  
Mankind is unrolld at once; and  
there is no state or Gradation of  
barbarism, and no mode of  
refinement which we have not at  
the same instant under our View.  
The very different Civility of  
Europe and of China; The  
barbarism of Persia and Abyssinia.  
The erractick manners of Tartary,  
and of Arabia. The Savage State of  
North America and of New  
Zealand. (Burke 3:351)

Although Eliza Haywood has recently received some attention from scholars, her Adventures of Eovaai, Princess of Ijaveo published in 1736 and reissued in 1741 as The Unfortunate Princess has, for the most part, been ignored.<sup>1</sup> The focus of recent eighteenth-century scholarship has generally

---

<sup>1</sup> Until recently, George Frisbie Whicher's (1915) examination of the life and works of Haywood was the only monograph about Haywood; Christine Blouch (1991) has been working lately on Haywood's biography and has suggested among other interesting things that Haywood did not marry Reverend Valentine Haywood (538-9); Mary Anne Schofield has added a



been on examinations of women's domestic culture and, for the most part, the realist fiction describing that culture.<sup>2</sup> Haywood concentrates much of her

---

number of paragraphs to the study of Eovaai and added to the corpus of Haywood scholarship with her Twayne monograph (1985) and the earlier Quiet Rebellion: The Fictional Heroines of Eliza Fowler Haywood (1982), as well as a number of articles. See also Janet Todd (Feminist Literary History, 1988; The Sign of Angelica, 1989) and Melocco (113-118). As always, Jerry Beasley, in "Portraits of a Monster: Robert Walpole and Early English Prose Fiction," has written an interesting and knowledgeable essay which devotes some space to this work. Conant (1908), interpellated by a different academy, unflatteringly describes Eovaai: "Extravagant in describing magic storms and horrible monsters, coarse, didactic, and bombastic, the story is valuable only as exemplifying both the moralizing and the fantastic tendencies under the guise of realism" (52). Other than this, see the usual sources for abbreviated analyses: John J. Richetti, (Popular Fiction Before Richardson, 1969); Jerry C. Beasley (Novels of the 1740s, 1982).

<sup>2</sup> For analyses of domestic fiction see Armstrong's Desire and Domestic Fiction, Green's The Courtship Novel 1740-1820, Brophy's, Women's Lives and the 18<sup>th</sup>-Century English Novel, Yeazell's Fictions of Modesty: Women Courtship and the English Novel. Williamson in Raising Their Voices: British Women Writers, 1650-1750 unaccountably ignores Eovaai when she analyzes the ways in which women textually "protest their own oppression"

prolific talent on novels about middle-class women, and Dale Spender is right in her observation that Haywood's fiction often features the testing of the middle-class heroine—unusual since it concentrates on a heroine and not a hero—and for that reason is a mother and a precursor to Richardson's bourgeois fiction (Mothers 91). But Haywood does not only write bourgeois fiction; she also uses many of the genres that were available to her, and many of these genres, not only Oriental tales, are suggested in Eovaai.<sup>3</sup> Inasmuch as Eovaai does focus on the consciousness of a woman, it is clearly *not* a domestic novel—because it says little about the lives of English middle-class women, except in the spaces—and its classification is troublesome in today's taxonomies and even more so in the early eighteenth-century riot of novels, histories and romances. What is clear is that Eovaai remains at the site of a number of intertextual intersections of Oriental tales, Oriental spy tales, chroniques scandaleuses, and heroic romances. In other words, Eovaai is complex and constructed from a variety of genres, sub-genres and anti-genres. The Oriental

---

(36) since it seems to me that, at times, Haywood's novel does not merely raise its voice but loudly shouts.

<sup>3</sup> Haywood also wrote an Orientalized drama, The Fair Captive (1721): Alphonso goes to Constantinople to rescue fair Isabella, who has been imprisoned in the seraglio; the subplot is about the Vizier's wife and mistress who plot revenge for the Vizier's faithlessness.

tale and Haywood's contribution to the genre were reactionary responses to the developing realist novel, just as, in a similar gesture but different direction, the realist novel was to an extent a response to the French heroic romances of La Calprenède and de Scudéry (see McKeon). Eovaai is clearly part romance in its emphasis on the aristocracy and in the "improbable,"<sup>4</sup> fanciful elements and as part romance it also opposes the developing realist novel. But Eovaai attempts also to distance itself from earlier romance forms by incorporating anti-romance elements.

### **The Struggle for Generic Legitimation**

A number of critics, notably Watt, Belsey, McKeon, Lovell and Armstrong, argue that the struggle among genres displaces, reflects or constructs the struggle between classes or genders or both. They analyze the rise of the domestic/classic/formalist realist novel in the context of the rise of the middle classes, the rise of autonomous subjects or the rise of domestic reading/writing women. Similarly, in Eovaai there is a struggle between genres—in the intertext—and within Eovaai—in the intratext; and this represents

---

<sup>4</sup> See for example Congreve's preface to Incognita where he describes romances as "generally composed of the constant loves and invincible courages of hero's, heroins, kings and queens, mortals of the first rank, and so forth; where lofty language, miraculous contingencies and impossible performances, elevate and surprize the reader . . ." (5).

the struggle for female power, as well as for class and political hegemony. Like romance and realism, women and the rising classes battle to find a space. The arguments between the Oriental tale and the other genres and species—romance, realism, domestic fiction, chronique scandaleuse—represent that struggle.

Haywood was caught in this conflict between classes and genders and their ideologies, and consequently the kind of fiction that she wrote changed over the course of her thirty-year career. She began by writing in the more extravagant license of the earlier period and changed, rather listlessly it seems to me, to the ostensibly more consistent, domestic and sensible romance of the later. As Katherine Green observes in writing about the courtship novel, "the demonstrable fact is that [Haywood] retreated to writing anonymously, eventually turning to genteel courtship plots" (13). In the earlier part of the century, Haywood was a very popular author; later, she was less so. Before Pamela, Haywood's provocative Love in Excess (1719) was as popular as Gulliver's Travels and Robinson Crusoe (McBurney 250), running to six editions in four years. But the times changed and her novels became less financially successful. Clara Reeve, writing in 1785, observes that Haywood initially wrote in the licentious vein of Aphra Behn and Delarivière Manley, who should be forgotten, but Haywood, the reformed heroine of her own story, deserves to be remembered since she "devoted the remainder of her life and labours to the service of virtue" (Progress of Romance 121).

Some critics who have looked at Haywood's work—Reeve included—have tended to see the change in her fiction as a consequence of her pillory in the Dunciad (1728). Largely because of The Secret History of the Court of Caramania (1727), a scandal chronicle about the then Prince of Wales and his affair with Henrietta Howard, Haywood was excoriated by Pope as a lascivious, immoral woman, with two bastard children. That Haywood published little and only anonymously from 1728 to 1742 and that the content of her fiction changed has caused some critics to assume that her disappearance in print and her reformation was a consequence of Pope's spite (see McCarthy 241; Mary Anne Schofield Eliza Haywood 61; Melocco 113; Grieder, Introduction to Eovaai). But Haywood had a living to make and children to support: she did not disappear from public life, but rather devoted her time during the 30's to performing and writing for the theatre, rather than writing novels (Oakleaf 6). Furthermore the reasons for the change in content between her early and later fiction are also not so simple. While not wanting to fully discount personal, female subjectivity and agency, since each woman has different experiences, I think that Haywood's reformation was not only personal—as a partial consequence of Pope's enmity—but also part of a larger contextual and material figuration in the eighteenth century. An everywoman, beginning life in 1700, was vitiated as bold, lascivious, tempting, corrupt; she, dying in 1800, was claustrophobically gendered as domestic, pious, sensible, meek. This is, of course, an overstatement since the gendering of woman is

neither so uniform or certain, the chaste, unpolluted heroine of French heroic romance being one prelapsarian exemplar. During Haywood's early writing career, a heroine could err, (much as Eovaai errs with her garden dalliances with Ochihatou) recover from her mistakes and be accepted back into society, as signified by her marriage to the hero; but after Clarissa if a fictional woman erred or was seen to err, her fate was usually either ostracism or death. Times were changing and Haywood as an ideological subject shifted with them;<sup>5</sup> times were changing and the Oriental tale mediates that change.

Haywood in the initial part of her long career devotes some time and effort to the scandalous chronicle <sup>6</sup> but after the 1730s she no longer writes

---

<sup>5</sup> An anecdote about a woman, related in John Lockhart's Memoirs of the Life of Scott, indicates that these sensibilities changed throughout the century. She requested that Scott send her Behn's novels and then returned them to him, asking that they be burned because she was unable to read through one of them. She remarks, "but is it not a very odd thing that I, an old woman of eighty and upwards, sitting alone, feel ashamed to read a book which, sixty years ago, I have heard read aloud for the amusement of large circles consisting of the first and most creditable society in London?" (qtd. Adburgham 74).

<sup>6</sup> See Haywood's Memoirs of a Certain Island Adjacent to the Kingdom of Utopia (1725-6), Bath Intrigues (1725) and Memoirs of Baron de Brosse (1724) The Secret History of the Present Intrigues of the Court of

pure chronique scandaleuse. After the 1740s the scandalous chronicle has largely reached the end of its life (Beasley, Novels 58). Nonetheless, Eovaai has a claim to a relationship with this kind of fiction. The scandalous chronicle, originally an import from France, is a thinly veiled, often rather scurrilous, roman à clef; Eovaai is an anti-Whig polemic directed at Walpole—a favourite target for Tory and Country disaffection of the period (see Beasley, "Portraits" and Fan). Conventional in the scandalous chronicle and in many heroic and anti-heroic romances, Eovaai hides behind the topos of the discovered manuscript—behind the notion that the manuscript was written long before present civilization.<sup>7</sup> This device has practical, as well as rhetorical, uses. Jerry Beasley suggests that the pretended anonymity of the discovered manuscript in scandalous chronicles protected authors from the libel laws ("Portraits" 412). Legally, anonymity might well protect an author from the

---

Caramania (1727), Letters from the Palace of Fame (1727) (Williamson 288).

<sup>7</sup> The manuscript topos in Eovaai is as follows:

The reader of Eovaai is enjoined, if he refuses to believe that the Chinese civilization is as old as the Chinese account, that he take a trip to Nanquin, where, in the famous Library of Lamazahuma, he will find such authentic Testimonials, as cannot fail of convincing him . . . that the World bears date higher, by many thousand Years, than the narrow chronology of other Nations extends (viii).

charge of libel, but the specific targets were obvious enough. The anonymity of the discovered manuscript is delivered with such ironic deflation that even the most naïve of readers would recognize that the tale was a satirical allegory of England, despite the claims that the story about to be told bears no relationship to eighteenth-century England. And even without the keys, which was unlikely since they were often printed with the book or sometimes sold separately, the mighty butts of the satire and invective were unmistakable. "To claim the allegorical 'disguise' as the grounds of one's defense was thus tantamount to pointing to the most obnoxious aspect of the crime as evidence of one's innocence" (Gallagher 510). Furthermore, the ostensible practical exploitation of the discovered manuscript did not mask the identity of authors very well either, particularly the writing woman who was economically and personally more vulnerable in the conflation of the sexual and the textual. Both Manley and Haywood, who often tendered anonymous histories and exploited the rhetorical convention of the discovered manuscript, were taken into custody for their writing, much as Haywood was taken into the more draconian court of public opinion by Pope. In short, the anonymous discovered manuscript was not very practical for protecting authors.<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup> See for example Manley's The Secret Memoirs and Manners of Several Persons of Quality . . . from The New Atalantis (1709) which was purportedly written originally in Italian and translated—"naturalized"—from the Italian by "some industrious Frenchman" after which it ostensibly travelled to



As a rhetorical device, the discovery of a manuscript has a history.

As a reaction to the charge of unreality, the French romances in the seventeenth century regularly included in their prefaces this claim to antique, and therefore true but unverifiable, history (Richetti, Popular Fiction 174): the events recounted had really happened often in a better, more certain and certainly more aristocratic past. So the pleasures of romance were often allied to the nostalgic awareness of living in a fallen age. Since the reading and

---

Brussels and was put into the hands of the "translator" (1:ii-iii [Koster, ed. 1:269]). Despite this pretence at anonymity, she was jailed for a week. In her letter dated 12 November 1709 Lady Mary Wortley Montague notes Manley's imprisonment and laments "the loss of the other parts which we should have had" (18). Manley had used also a similar technique in her The Secret History of Queen Zarah (1705), another anti-Whig polemic, in which she takes aim at the Marlboroughs, particularly the Duchess—the Zarah (Sarah Jennings)—of the title. Manley uses similar means to achieve the same end, ironic deflation and half-hearted anonymity, as Haywood: the "translator" of this Italian manuscript "lodged in the Vatican in Rome" insists that "the whole story is a fiction, [and] that there is no such country as in the world as Albignon" and furthermore that the "manuscript is so ancient that 'tis suppos'd to be writ by Cain in the land of Nod" (A2-A3 [Koster, ed 124-5]). (See also McKeon 439-40, n.120).

Haywood herself was later arrested in 1747 for the "anonymous" Dalinda: Or the Double Marriage (Blouch 544).

often the writing of fiction was considered, at best, a waste of time and, at worst, a sinful occupation (Backscheider 248-8; Halsband, "Women and Literature . . ." 69), particularly if the text was a "romance"—Orientalized or otherwise—and particularly for women, given their purported inferior intellectual powers,<sup>9</sup> the claim to historicity through a discovered manuscript became an important method for attempting to legitimize the prose fiction that women wrote and read. At the very least, time was not wasted since something about the world was being learned, even if the world was nostalgically distant in time and space. As Michael McKeon observes, "The topos of the discovered manuscript makes an appeal to the past that is based upon the normative values of antiquity, linear community, and succession, and it possesses, itself, a long and illustrious lineage as a means of establishing

---

<sup>9</sup> William Woodfall, writing in 1773 in the Monthly Review, carries this even further to describe the egregious dangers to women's health that the reading of fiction entailed:

[T]hat of all the causes which have injured the health of women, the principal has been the prodigious multiplication of romances within the last century. . . . A young girl, instead of running about and playing, reads, perpetually reads; and at twenty, becomes full of vapours, instead of being qualified for the duties of a good wife, or nurse" (Ioan Williams, ed. 279).

narrative authority" (56). The finding of a manuscript and its translation from another language became one of the self-authenticating engines for the fanciful romance of either the Oriental or non-Oriental variety. And yet this device also undercut the truth of romance.

Through the machinery of the introduction in Eovaai the ancient existence, the truth and therefore the value of the manuscript is proved. But Eovaai, like many other eighteenth-century prose fictions, while claiming antique historicity also internalizes a modestly self-reflexive critique by parodying this discovered manuscript topos. Eovaai produces a literary paradox whereby it claims but also discounts its own verisimilitude. It claims legitimacy by using the convention of the discovered manuscript, but it also claims legitimacy by distancing itself from romance forms through parody. The machinery and the deflation of humour establishes the truth of Haywood's manuscript. Just as Noah's civilization was destroyed by water, Eovaai's civilization may well have been destroyed by other Epicurean elements, perhaps air.

. . . why may we not as well suppose, [the earth] formerly experienced some such revolution by air . . . might not that powerful body diffuse itself, by imperceptible degrees into the bowels of the earth, where gathering greater strength, by being confined and receiving permission from the author of nature, it

at last burst open its prison-doors, and, by a general earthquake,  
overturned all that opposed its passage. (ix)

This passage, while superficially plausible and rational, might appeal to Swift's Aeolists.

This mild parody of the world prior to the deluge also calls on an earlier context. In the mid-seventeenth century, "incipient deists" and "cavilling scholars" produced a biblical exegesis claiming that Noah settled in China and that Chinese is the original 'Adamitic' language (see Appleton 25). These scholars and their wild interpretation were still topical enough for Goldsmith to satirize in the 1760s in The Citizen of the World (Ryan 534).<sup>10</sup> Haywood in the 1730s makes claims in the preface and the title page for a "Pre-Adamitical History" and a pre-adamitical "Language of Nature." This pre-pre-lapsarian, originary language of Eovaai's story has "grown obsolete" by the "length of time and the remissness of former [Chinese] Emperors." Some of these texts were translated on the orders of an unremiss Chinese Emperor, who was apparently only a temporary brake in the downward slide of the Oriental culture, since after his death no further scholarship was done (xiv-xv). The

---

<sup>10</sup> "But another of the learned . . . will have the Chinese to be a colony planted by Noah just after the deluge" (2:363). See also, for example, John Webb's (1669) straight-faced An Historical Essay Endeavouring a Probability That the Language of the Empire of China Is the Primitive Language (Appleton 27).

"Translator's Preface" confirms the eighteenth-century idea that China had a much older, polite civilization, which antedates English civilization, but which has fallen into disrepair. The long-dead translators of this manuscript from this forgotten language into Chinese were a "Cabal" of seventy international philosophers on orders from this Chinese emperor.<sup>11</sup> This devolution of the civilization of the Orient is necessary for rising imperialism to discursively construct itself as superior to the culture of the Other.

Legitimizing the narrative by a variety of methods, most being unstable and arguing for conflicting rhetorical positions, is one direction that novels tended toward; ethical issues were another matter. Particularly as the century progressed, it was not enough that fictions be true—as attested by history or by mock scholarly machinery; they were required to be morally salutary.<sup>12</sup> Like those novels of the other two-thirds of the bawdy and "fair

---

<sup>11</sup> Here, the text likely alludes to the Septuagint, the version of the Old Testament redacted by seventy Greek scholars.

<sup>12</sup> See, for example, Defoe, in the early part of the century (1722), who normally stresses that his works are literally true, insisting rather on the morality and virtue of his Colonel Jack (1722): "if discouraging every thing that is evil and encouraging every thing that is vertuous [sic] and good . . . appear[s] to be the whole scope and design of the publishing this story, no objection can lye against it, neither is it of least moment to enquire whether the Colonel hath told his own story true or not" (Day, ed. 112). See also Johnson's

triumvirate of wit," Behn and Manley, Haywood's earlier fiction, while ultimately rewarding virtue, often has scenes of sensual titillation along the way, which disappear in her later writings. For example, Eovaai is morally inconsistent—she mixes vice and virtue in a way that society found more acceptable at the beginning of the century but in a way that Dr. Johnson would not likely later approve.

Similar to romance and realism's narrative instability, a number of instabilities also exist which destabilize the binarism between the romance of the Oriental tale, and the realistic aspects of Oriental spy tale (and Haywood's version of the Oriental spy in Eovaai).<sup>13</sup> In Oriental tales such as Nourjahad,

---

famous sentence from the Rambler No 4: "If the world be promiscuously described, I cannot see of what use it can be to read the account; or why it may not be as safe to turn the eye immediately upon man kind, as upon a mirror which shows all that presents itself without discrimination (70)."

McKeon describes this movement as being between questions of virtue and questions of truth.

<sup>13</sup> During the eighteenth century the spy novel was fairly popular, both in Oriental and non-Oriental forms. Without claiming a linear genealogy to the non-Oriental forms one could make a gesture towards Apuleius's Golden Ass where Lucius, changed into an ass, proceeds to observe the everyday life around him, or to a twentieth-century incarnation, the 1965 movie The Yellow Rolls Royce where the car is the talisman in which a variety of disjunctive

as distinguished from Oriental spy tales, the heroines and heroes are noble, and supernatural components are conventional, suggesting a reference backwards to romance and a voice opposing the developing realist fiction. Similarly, the main story in Eovaai centres on a Princess and her struggle with the neighbouring kingdom, temporarily controlled by Ochihatou and ruled not by legitimate succession but by wizardry. But spies, Oriental or otherwise, do not usually come from the nobility because they have to be able to move unnoticed through the culture. Despite Eovaai's son-of-a-mandarin coming from a superior class, he officiates, nevertheless, as a spy on the text of Eovaai and ultimately as a spy on English society because he operates from the margins of that text.

Oriental spy stories usually take place in the contemporary Occident. The narrating spy, originating from some Oriental culture, is a distanced observer, reporting back to an Oriental audience. For example Marana's spy originates in Turkey and corresponds with friends and various members of the government back home. Generally, spy fictions represent an antiheroic gloss on contemporary, often quotidian life and do not incorporate magic. Fabulous

---

romantic episodes take place. As in Apuleius's fiction, sometimes the story centres on a human consciousness similar to Mr. Spectator or Marana's Turkish Spy (trans. 1687-94) or Goldsmith's Citizen of the World (1760) or an invisible, sentient object, often a signifier of wealth, a yellow Rolls Royce, or a guinea (Charles Johnstone's The Adventures of a Guinea).

Oriental romance, at least partially, looks nostalgically backward to an era when kings were only answerable to God, not Parliament and when privilege and education was based on birth; spy fiction centres on the present, where mercantile classes are on the move, where bourgeois virtue and middle-class merit demand access to a previously much-restricted privilege. Haywood's spy resides in London but, unlike the usual spy, he makes only the occasional direct comment on English society.<sup>14</sup> The slender pretence is that his comments are chiefly reserved for Eovaai and her society. But like any scandal chronicle or Oriental spy tale (or any orientalist text, as Said argues), the references are clearly to an eighteenth-century English society: Hypotosa is England. The text also flatters the reader because she understands that this story is really about her culture. Haywood relies on the gap between the Oriental Other's occasional misunderstanding and the knowing, 'superior,' and flattered English reader able to interpret what the Oriental misinterprets, for example that women are lusty (74). The central story of the Princess of Ijaveo is plot-based and adventurous—a romance, at least on the surface—but the story told in the margins and in the allegorical representation is a critique of realistic contemporary English politics and society by the imputed author and by the

---

<sup>14</sup> Reinforcing unequal, colonialist binarism, see for example his direct comments on the superiority of European women as compared to the women in Hypotosa (11).



nameless translating son-of-a-mandarin and by the reader who colludes with the son-of-a-mandarin. Bourgeois common-sense frames romance in Eovaai.

Similar to most Oriental spies, this one is witty and perspicacious, if occasionally ignorant about the 'superior' civilization in which he is temporarily living. But unlike other fictional spies he is not only the Orientalized Other standing on the margins of society, periodically participating, but more often commenting, as does Goldsmith's Citizen. In Haywood's novel, being found only at the bottom margin of the page and in the initial pages of the preface marginalizes him further. He never directly participates in the narrative; he participates only in semiosis. He often opposes but sometimes colludes in the anti-feminism,<sup>15</sup> found in the text proper and in other metatextual elements—in the comments by Hahehihotou, the "Commentator" or the other commentators. For example after Eovaai has lost the carcanet, the dialogue between the Commentator on the Chinese translation and the son of the Mandarin begins: the dialogization initiates a conversation between the rather stuffy and antediluvian Commentator and the thoroughly modern young man, living in London and seeing the sights. With him we, as interpellated readers, may conspire; behind him the narrator, the author and her society reside. So, for example, insisting on Eovaai's hubris in imagining that she could translate the

---

<sup>15</sup> See for example the Translator's anti-feminist aspersions about old "coquettes" (153).

words on the carcanet, the Commentator perceives her as vain and self-sufficient. He

infers . . . that it is an error to trust women with too much learning; as the brain in that sex being of a very delicate texture, renders them, for the most part, incalculable of making solid reflections, or comparing the little they can possibly arrive at the knowledge of, with the Infinity of what is beyond their reach.

But the reader and the translating Mandarin's son, responding in the margins, reject out-of-hand the Commentator's outrageous, anti-feminist bias.

But as old a man, and as rigid a philosopher as he was, I am apt to think, he wou'd have spared this part of his animadversions, had he been honour'd with the acquaintance of some European ladies. (11)

The Mandarin's son and the commentators are spies on the text, but the Mandarin's son is superior to all other voices in the text, except the imputed author's, since he makes observations on all societies: the "pre-Adamitic" one of the central story, the past Chinese society of the Commentator and the present society where we reside. From a position of alterity, he has authority and exists on an ontologically superior plane to other hierarchies of the text. This translating semiotician illustrates the real position of women in society. He is feminist, he is sometimes anti-feminist; he does

not participate very much in the world before him, he is an authority by virtue of his separation.

This narrative receives further legitimization by this machinery of footnotes where these discussing and competing voices of the translator, the Commentator, Hahehihotou and others—Quinpindol, Cafferero, Tatragraoutho, Usquimlac, even Aristotle—comment on, concur with, and disagree about Eovaai's story.<sup>16</sup> For example, the Mandarin's son has obviously done his homework by first examining and then reporting on the various comments made by other scholars. In a note to the description of Ochihatou's extravagance he observes:

The judicious Hahehihotu, in Volume the first, pag. 32d of his remarks on this history, takes notice that our author might have saved himself the trouble of particularizing in what manner Ochihatou apply'd the nation's money. . . . (22n)

This puts in place a scholarly and, therefore, an authenticating patina, only partially parodic of the novelistic discourse. The novel, like the middle classes and women, is struggling for legitimization.

---

<sup>16</sup> For example, many of these metatextual commentators comment on the oration of the old republican and Eovaai's responses to his "harangue" regarding the relative merits of a republican government versus a limited monarchy (110-26).

For Oriental tales in general, authors more frequently used such explanatory paraphernalia and found manuscript topoi before the mid-century, sometimes as parody of the form, sometimes as satire of contemporary figures and sometimes as both. After the mid-century, particularly after the 1760s, the use of the manuscript topoi sharply dropped off except as an occasional and clear satire, usually of contemporary figures.<sup>17</sup>

In order to prove legitimacy, Eovaai also attempts to erase its own fictionality, though by doing so it paradoxically draws attention to the fictionality. The metatextual commentators discuss whether Eovaai tells her new love, Adelhu, about her dalliance in the garden with Ochihatou, reasoning that someone must have known about it for it to be included in the story (as a third-person narration). The Commentator imagines that she concealed this from Adelhu but Hahehihotu, the unsophisticated empiricist (see McKeon), wonders how this could be so if the "Historian," (i.e. narrator of Eovaai) knows

---

<sup>17</sup> For example Christoforo Armeno's The Travels and adventures of three princes of Sarendip (1722) is Translated from the Persian into French and from thence done into English or Anne Claude Phillipe, Comte de Caylus' Oriental Tales (1745) is collected from an Arabian Manuscript in the Library of the King of France. Whereas the irony and the satire in William Beckford's Vathek (1786) is still debatable, I read much of the extravagant use of footnotes and the Orientalist refinement as satire. (See also Mannsåker, 186-7 and Folsom).

and writes about the incident. The translator, another naïve empiricist, argues against Hahehihotu by insisting that someone might have heard them in the garden or perhaps Ochihatou divulged his near conquest to some friend (222-3). Here the text asserts that the tale is possible and historically true, hence valuable, but also that "it's only a story" through the obvious irony.

### **The Struggle for Political Legitimation**

As well as enacting the struggle for generic legitimization, Eovaai also battles for the legitimization of the limitation placed on the monarchy. In this conflict, Haywood reproduces one of the more orthodox pieties of the century: an injunction against arbitrary power. First, Haywood's text reveals some lingering anxiety about the role of the monarchy since the purpose and value of the monarchy became far less certain after the Bloodless Revolution of 1688 and the Act of Settlement of 1701. Notwithstanding, a reactionary skirmish is fought in the literature of the first few decades of the century that attempts to maintain the fiction of a benevolent, paternal, divinely-sanctioned king. If one of the Georges is directly named or if an Oriental king in the literature of the period is allegorically mapped onto an English monarch then, most often, the anxiety about and concomitant rejection of the monarchy is metonymically contiguous and displaced onto a lesser player who is near the throne such as the Marlboroughs under Queen Anne, or Walpole.<sup>18</sup> So in

---

<sup>18</sup> See for example, Manley's Zarah, in which the Queen Albania

Haywood's text Oeros, the king of Hypotosa (the allegorical stand-in for George II) and Eojeau, Eovaa's father and the ruler of Ijaveo, as well as the various rulers in the hero's gallery at Alhahuza castle, are fundamentally good.<sup>19</sup> Oeros is

generous, benevolent, compassionate, and full of all those virtues that render kings a kind of gods [sic] on earth. His royal heart wou'd weep tears of blood, to know one half of [the] sufferings [of the people of Hypotosa,] but . . . he is entirely ignorant of what is acted in his name. (100-1)

The people of Hypotosa "are represented to him as . . . factious, and repining without a cause, depreciating his authority, and forming plots against his government" (100-101). The divinely-sanctioned king emerges as the kindly

---

[–Anne] is the "best woman in the world" (The Second Part . . . of Queen Zarah 14 [Koster ed. 134]) and the eponymous anti-heroine is a self-centred opportunist and manipulator.

<sup>19</sup> Ijaveo has not experienced revolution or war for fifteen-hundred years because of the long and consistent succession of Eovaa's family to the throne, which perhaps hints at George II's weak claim to the throne of England (2). Nonetheless, Oeros is a "prince whose heart abounded with justice, clemency, magnanimity, and every kingly virtue" (23). Among other model monarchs are Glaza and Ibla—benevolent in ruling, brave in battle, magnanimous in victory, who preceded Oeros to the throne (87).

but foolish dupe of his First Minster; the First Minister materializes as a Machiavellian monster, responsible for all the ills of the country. In this way Haywood preserves the institution of the monarchy. Still, some residual anxiety from 1688 and 1701 lingers in Haywood's story; Oeros is also weak and vain—Ochihatou usurps his power because of the king's sartorial folly. And the question of Hanoverian legitimacy, usually remaining subtextual, is raised by implication and quickly dropped in the description of past—not present—(Oriental) excesses that caused an earlier ruin of Hypotosa:

A different branch of the royal family pretended a right to the crown; the reigning Prince was weak, wholly ruled by his Queen and Minster, who regarded more their private interest than the public-good, and were suspected to live in a more than becoming intimacy: by this means the royal authority fell into contempt.  
(89) <sup>20</sup>

---

<sup>20</sup> This is also a fairly conventional expression of Oriental indulgence. See for example, Salmon's Modern History (1739):

The Prince chose to live an indolent unactive life among his women in the haram [sic], leaving the administration of the government entirely to his ministers, who placed and displaced whom they saw fit, oppressed the subjects with taxes and impositions. . . ([i, 381] in Collins 110, n.4).

In other words, considerable instability exists in Haywood's text: on the one hand, kings are patriarchally benevolent; on the other, weak and mindless.

General concerns about the monarchy are directly raised in Eovaai while displaced onto lesser fictional players. But concerns about ministerial abuse also had a very specific basis in material conditions. In the early part of the century some of the king's power decreased through transfer to the ministerial cabinet, and this spectre of possible ministerial abuse appears here in Haywood's text.<sup>21</sup> Also appearing in Locke's second treatise of Two

---

<sup>21</sup> Eovaai furnishes many instances of ministerial abuse and imperial inattention but see, for example, Eojeau's lecture to Eovaai on kingship: a ruler should "beware of favourites, for favour naturally implies partiality, and partiality is but another name for injustice." Furthermore, a Prince is "unpardonable" if he allows himself to be guided by a minister who has "incurr'd the general hatred" (Haywood 5). The evil vizier, such as Ochihatou, in British fiction generally signifies ministerial corruption and often necromantic omnipotence. In his imitation of Montesquieu, Letters from a Persian to his Friend in Ispahan (1735), Lyttelton also pillories Walpole as a vizier who is a "man of great, natural cunning" and who "will extinguish every Spark" of liberty because the people are more interested in "money" than in freedom (59-61). Evil is signified by the appellation of Prime Minister in Haywood's text. Cf. Hawkesworth's vizier, Omar, who is honourable and wise.



Treatises of Government (1690) is an insistence that the exercise of arbitrary power by the prince or the people was an offense against morality and good government.<sup>22</sup> Although the Whigs paid lip service to these Lockean ideals, particularly in the period following the Revolution, the reality is, as Jerry Beasley observes, that "Whig leaders were generally authoritarian and committed to a program of maintaining their position by the shrewd use of the powers of the legislative branch of the government. . . . The Whigs became oligarchic and mercenary, with no thought for reform, toleration or popular participation in government" (Beasley, "Portraits" 413). Ochihatou represents the consequences of this absolute Prime Ministerial power, which, unlike royal power, is necessarily despotic.

The direct representation of a revolution against the monarchy is unusual in eighteenth-century literature; nonetheless, Alhahuza, the court of the last resort for the disaffected citizens of Hypotosa, uses a rather blunt and incendiary oration where he urges the citizens of Hypotosa to protest the policies and corruption of the Prime Minister.

. . . whom but Ochihatou is at once your undoer, your betrayer,  
and your scourge! and on whom but Ochihatou ought you to

---

<sup>22</sup> See for example, "whoever . . . by force goes about to invade the rights of either Prince or People, and lays the foundation for overturning the Constitution and frame of any just government, is guilty of the greatest crime . . . a man is capable of" (Locke 436).

seek revenge? Rouze then, for shame, encounter the oppressor,  
while there is yet any thing to save! (101)

This just stops short of a incitement to complete revolution. The eighteenth century was very anxious about arbitrary power, whether kingly or ministerial.<sup>23</sup>

But not every king in Eovaai is a model of benevolent, absolutist rule and the interpolated narrative about the trials of Yxmilla outlines one of the contradictions of patriarchal, political doctrine. The various monarchs encountered in the interpolated tale are all absolute. For example, Queen Yxmilla, after being captured, claims the divine right of kings, since she says that it is "to the World above alone, I ought to be accountable" and not to her kidnappers. Yet "principles of self-interest or partial favour," which motivate the Kings Broscomin, Oudescar and others, cause ruin through unjust and mercenary wars and ultimately cause the desperate unhappiness of Yxmilla (53). There is no suggestion that these kings were not born to rule—unlike Ochihatou who is of "mean" extraction—so there is no reason why they should be bad kings or why they should be more bellicose or avaricious. In other

---

<sup>23</sup> See also the anxiety over general civil conflict as suggested in Haywood's rather lurid description of the civil war in Ijaveo: "The streets were so encumbered with the dead, the living had not room to pass, but over the bodies of their slaughtered friends" (16).

words, they are immoral by that ideological keyword "nature," and the unsaid of Haywood's text is that the theory of paternalistic monarchy is contradictory. Despite being born to rule, their 'natural' inclinations are immoral—a very different formulation than the traditional and nostalgic humanism of Shaftesbury or John Brown, which insists that those who rule inherently possess principles and probity.<sup>24</sup>

The text begins by asserting traditional humanist values but it subtextually also contradicts those values; then these contradictions move to the

---

<sup>24</sup> Shaftesbury's model of benevolent paternalism avers that the aristocracy should continue to govern because of its innate moral qualities. These innate qualities demand that nobles be placed at the head of society (Copley, "Introduction" 5). Writing in the mid-century, John Brown also articulates an aristocratic paternalism analogous to Shaftesbury's.

For though the sum total of a nation's immediate happiness must arise, and be estimated, from the manners and principles of the whole; yet the manners and principles of those who lead, not of those who are led; of those who govern, not of those who are governed; of those, in short, who make laws or execute them, will ever determine the strength or weakness, and therefore the continuance or dissolution of a state. ("Of the Ruling Manners of the Times." (An Estimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times, Copley, ed. 94)

foreground, as the narrative recounts the textual struggle between Eovaai and the old republican, the respective representatives of the old and the new, the dominant and emergent, ancients and moderns, humanists and capitalists, aristocrats and the bourgeoisie.

Eovaai argues that the leadership of a country brings about moral and material prosperity or poverty for the populace. Although Oeros shoulders the responsibility for losing his power, he is not to blame for the chaos and adversity in Hypotosa. Ochihatou is guilty for all, even the destruction of the natural environment:

No cattle browz'd, nor cheerful bird sought food on the  
inhospitable wild; but as far, as the eye cou'd reach, rough  
craggy stones, and parch'd up sands, confess'd a barren soil and  
inclement clime. (79-80)

After Eovaai escapes from Ochihatou to the good republic of Ozoff, the narrative is temporarily suspended in favour of an exercise in the rhetoric of oration that increasingly becomes more assertive against absolutist monarchy and for a republican form of government. Eovaai begins by musing that Ozoff, while a very nice country, lacks some of the "Grandeur" of a monarchy (109). This comment apparently irritates the Commentator and the metatext is invoked via the translator, who observes

The Commentator, who I shrewdly suspect to have been a  
Republican . . . lays hold on this passage to lash with a good

deal of severity that veneration which weak minds, as he calls them, pay to kings merely as kings. The crown, the sceptre, the robes, and other formalities of regal state being, he says, no more than pageantry, [are] a kind of gaudy shew . . . .(109 n.)

The metatextual commentators are invoked with a vengeance in this section. Hahehihotu, a clear republican, believes that "all" kings are bad and suggests that the Cabal may be partisan because emperor pays them; he claims that the Cabal softened the republican's anti-monarchial stance to a lesser proscription of "arbitrary will"—that usual bugbear of eighteenth-century political discourse (115-6n).

Eovaai argues for monarchies where "power is limited by laws" (118). The old republican responds that such a country exists only in theory because the king maintains his power in practice through the creation of nobles, and those nobles likely act in accordance with a Hobbesian self-interest. He praises the judicial, governmental beneficence of the republic of Ozoff—equitable and just laws and magistrates, unostentatious government, and honours which cannot be entailed (124-5). All the metatextual commentators—"the Commentator, Hahehihotu and almost every author"—agree that honours should not be entailed (125). Eovaai, silenced by this concluding argument, "forbears to say any thing that might give rise to arguments she found herself so little able to confute" (127). The essence of Eovaai's

silencing—while a representation of the usual dismissal experienced by women then and now—also supports the constitution of a republic, that is contradicted by the conclusion of Eovaai: ultimately, Oeros is restored to his absolute throne and Eovaai to hers, although she has promised to institute limitations to her rule. The arguments reveal the contradictions that inhere in the political discourse of Haywood's text, on the one hand supporting benign, patriarchal, absolute monarchy—unworkable because it can be subverted by an Ochihatou—and, on the other, letting the rather unintegrated, rhetorical set-piece supporting republicanism disappear into the text.

Another argument, also remaining unresolved, about human essentialism takes place among the various hegemonies of the text: the old republican argues that humanity from hoi aristoi to hoi polloi is fundamentally self-interested and that kings are unnecessary; Eovaai argues that the aristocrat and the ruler are fundamentally good. The text starts out chiefly expounding a notion of humanism similar to Shaftesbury's, which suggests a nostalgia for aristocratic paternalism, but it continues with the idea of civic virtue restrained by laws. However, it concludes with a return to the old forms that proved unworkable. Contradictions abound and these contradictions will be examined in the next section.

### Struggle for Class Legitimation

Over and above the direct effects on the monarchy of the Hanoverian settlement were a number of more generalized effects in society whereby the superior valuation of inherited property and title and the innate virtue of the aristocrat was discounted by other considerations such as money, talent and merit: the normative standard was shifting in emphasis from the nobility to the median classes. While Haywood's *Eovaai* reveals a contextual anxiety about the roles of the monarchy and the executive and legislative branches of government after the turmoil of previous years, "luxury" in her fiction is as ideologically loaded as any discussion or description—hers or others—of "arbitrary" power. Here, the lines are drawn mainly according to class. Unlike Mandeville, who sees luxury as a private vice with public benefit—consumption of any sort creates exchange value and has a positive influence on society—Haywood begins by iterating a flat discourse against luxury and uncontrolled indulgence where "private Luxury . . . occasion[s] public misery" (80). She nostalgically places aristocratic sumptuary distinction against the rising monied interests and virtually articulates a request for the re-institution of sumptuary laws, which is certainly coherent with conservative authors and thinkers of her time.<sup>25</sup> So, for example, when Eovaai is first introduced to the

---

<sup>25</sup> See for instance Bishop Berkeley's "An Essay toward prevention of the Ruin of Great Britain" (1721) written in the wake of the scandal of the

nouveaux riches of Hypotosa, she is unable to decode the outward signification of their inward nobility. She

found the antechambers crouded with a gay multitude, attired in various-fashioned habits, but all so rich in gold and jewels, that she took each of them for no less than a sovereign prince; . . . she asked him [Ochihatou] of what rank and country those persons were? He told her . . . that they were all Hypotosans, and creatures entirely devoted to his will. (40)

---

South Sea Bubble. Berkeley suggests that luxury and wealth will result in the collapse of Britain because they lead to vice in the upper classes (193-211). He also suggests the re-institution of sumptuary laws. Similar to Berkeley, Goldsmith in "The Deserted Village" (1770) represents an opposing voice to Mandeville.

O luxury! Thou curst by heaven's decree,  
How ill exchanged are things like these for thee! . . .  
Kingdoms by thee, to sickly greatness grown,  
Boast of a florid vigour not their own  
At every draught more large and large they grow  
A bloated mass of rank unwieldy woe;  
Till sapped their strength, and every part unsound,  
Down, down they sink, and spread a ruin round. (385-94).

See also Letter LII, Citizen of the World (217).



This passage continues by describing the destruction of the eternal verities of class distinction: religion and aristocratic spectacle are related since they both have become as changeable as clothing fashions in Hypotosa.

Throughout the text the conflict is between conservative claims to the outward significations of preeminent status, based on primogeniture, and claims by the rising classes to the use and also reconstitution of those aristocratic signs of value.<sup>26</sup> In other words, the organization of capitalism does not only demand that the bourgeoisie save for reinvestment but also that it spend beyond the requirements for living. Those traditional claims for the outward signification of status were originally ideologically enforced but in order to restrict the effects in the movement from feudalism to capitalism through (absolutist) mercantilism and to restrict the accompanying social miscegenation, sumptuary laws were instituted beginning in the fourteenth century (see Sekora 58 and McKeon, "Historicizing Patriarchy" 305). And

---

<sup>26</sup> The laments about the dissolutions of outward significations of inner (blood) worth contrast to Mandeville's insistence that "sumptuary laws may be of use to an indigent country, after great calamities of war, pestilence, or famine, when work has stood still, and the labour of the poor has been interrupted" but that their introduction into an "opulent kingdom," [i.e. Britain] would have a negative effect on trade since "Eastern people" would be unable to buy English cloth if England had not purchased "Asiatic silks" ("Remark Y" 251).

yet, as suggested by the necessity of that legislation, those not to the manner born continued appropriating those signs. In the seventeenth century, as the constitution of society changes further and secularization increases, wealth becomes more of a visible signature of moral virtue for those median classes. Haywood again mediates the instability of these discourses; "luxury" becomes the negatively and ideologically-freighted keyword in this discourse. However, the nobility's possession of wealth is something different again. Ochihatou, as the upstart First Minister, stands at the centre of her discourse against luxury.

Ochihatou has no 'natural' advantages since he is of "mean extraction" and since he is so ugly that not even his own "parents cou'd look on him with satisfaction." They attempt to compensate for his imperfections by giving him a good education (18). Their efforts, of course, fail—'nature' is against him—and he becomes a master of opportunism at court. The translator suggests the classist and aristocratic rationale for mean extraction ensuring that he is unfit to lead:

. . . it is the sudden and unexpected transition from meanness to grandeur, which according to the received opinion, intoxicates the brain, and renders them so raised insolent, cruel avaricious, and full of all the dispositions of a tyrant (128).<sup>27</sup>

---

<sup>27</sup> This duplicates Charles I's pronouncements in 1642 who warns that giving the Commons power

The text outlines Ochihatou's (Walpole's) rise to power, his raising of taxes, his use of public money to support his luxurious lifestyle and the creation of a standing army (22)—the last targeted by Haywood as a particularly egregious sin committed by Walpole and his junta, since it was an affront to the peacetime freedom of a True Born Englishman.<sup>28</sup> In short, Ochihatou's essential "nature"—in other words his class—will always override any cultural compensation such as education and Ochihatou's humble origins are manifest in his lavish will-to-sensuousness.

---

will undoubtedly intoxicate persons who were not born to it . . . till at last the common people . . . discover . . . that all this was done by them, but not for them, . . . and set up for themselves, destroy all rights and properties, all distinctions of families and merit and end . . . the long line of our many noble ancestors in a Jack Cade or a Wat Tyler. (qtd. McKeon 180)

<sup>28</sup> One the of lasting legacies of the Interregnum was a fear of standing armies, since "Cromwell's army had as little respect for the sovereignty of Parliament as Charles I" (Christopher Hill 189) and after the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697—after peace had broken out—the Tories as well as old Whigs wanted the standing army reduced (Speck, Society 18).

Primarily, the arriviste Ochihatou desires power not as its own end, but rather as a means to an end, the end being luxury. He is unfit to rule because he is unfit to consume. Ochihatou offers his casuistry for indulgence.

An elevated station is therefore chiefly to be desired, as it is a sanction to all our actions, indulges the gratification of each luxurious wish, and gives a privilege not only of doing, but also of glorying in those things which are criminal and shameful in the vulgar:—bound by no Laws, subjected by no fears, we give a loose to all the gay delights of sense; and if like the wandering stars, our motions seem a little irregular to those beneath, the wonder we occasion but serves to add to our contentment. (45)

Haywood in describing Ochihatou articulates conservative complaints circulating around Mandeville, who insists that “avarice and luxury” are both necessary and useful—are “inseparable companions”—to a healthy economy (Mandeville, “Remark Q” 185). While Mandeville resolves to show that the contemporary humanist discourse against vice is duplicitous and vice, particularly the vice of consumption, is responsible for the maintenance and growth of society, Haywood demonstrates through Ochihatou that the value-free and nascent capitalism of Mandeville is immoral, profligate and will result in social deterioration.

First, the source of this luxury is the “gold and luxury of a conquered nation . . . [which] undid their conquerors, corrupted the lower class

of people, and envy and ambition divided the great" (89).<sup>29</sup> As I suggested earlier, aristocratic discourse assumes that those at the top are the most able to rule while Mandeville insists those at the top have no inherent moral superiority but have only utilitarian value as consumers.<sup>30</sup> The aristocratic

---

<sup>29</sup> This complaint probably applies more to the old style empires of Spain and Portugal (and Rome) which brought gold home in exchange for nothing than to England which, for the most part, was involved in trading with colonies, however much that trade was subject to disparities in might and monopolistic mercantile practices (Bunn 317). British imperial domination was motivated more by the desire for sustainability than loot which inevitably runs out (Said, Culture 89-90). Notwithstanding, the elder Pitt in a speech (1770) to the House of Lords utters a similar complaint.

For some years past there has been an influx of wealth in this country, which has been attended with many fatal consequences, because it has not been the regular, natural produce of labour and industry. The riches of Asia have been poured in upon us, and have brought with them not only Asiatic luxury but Asiatic principles of government. Without connections, without any natural interest in the soil, the importers of foreign gold have forced their way into Parliament. (qtd. Bunn 317)

<sup>30</sup> See Mandeville's, "A Search into the Nature of Society:"

It is the sensual courtier that sets no limits to his luxury; the

complaint against Mandeville, suggested in the quotation from Haywood above, is first that the vice of avarice will infect the lower section of the hierarchy. Similarly, Fielding argues that if "luxury could be confined to the palaces of the great, the society would not perhaps be much affected with it" but he also argues that this is impossible since "this vice [will] descend downward to the tradesman, the mechanic, and the labourer"—to the median and lower classes and will therefore occasion crime (Copley, ed. 185-6).<sup>31</sup> Haywood, in line

---

fickle strumpet that invents new fashions every week; the haughty dutchess that in equipage, entertainments, and all her behaviour would imitate a princess; the profuse rake and lavish heir that scatter about their money without wit or judgement. . . [who are] the prey and proper food of a full grown Leviathan. . . . He that gives most trouble to thousands of his neighbours, and invents the most operose manufactures is, right or wrong, the greatest friend to society. (emphasis added 355-6)

<sup>31</sup> See also Cowper's The Task: luxury "taints downward all the graduated scale/of Order, from the chariot to the plough" (IV. 585-6).

Goldsmith also outlines this distinction very clearly in The Bee (1759).

Of all the follies and absurdities which this great metropolis labours under, there is not one, I believe, at present, appears in a more glaring and ridiculous light than the pride and luxury of the middling class of people; their eager desire of being seen in

with Fielding, discounts that Mandevillian discourse by articulating a patriarchal, aristocratic one, so that she describes the end point of current perceptions of Mandeville's ideas in the true state of affairs in Hypotosa—with clear reference to England.

These now unfruitful lands, not many ages since, produced every necessary for the support of man; but pride and idleness having spread a general corruption thro' the owners [sic] hearts, each grew above his honest labour, forsook his home, to wait at the levees of the great, and preferred slavery, accompanied with splendour, to the plain and simple freedom of his ancestor. Thus was all husbandry, all trade, all honest occupations lost, and in their room a shining beggary, a painted wretchedness established.

(80)

---

a sphere far above their capacities and circumstances, is daily, nay hourly instanced by the prodigious numbers of mechanics, who flock to the races, and gaming tables, brothels and all public diversions this fashionable town affords. (emphasis added, 1:486).

The concept of "class" was rudimentary in the eighteenth century. Most often contemporaries used "middling ranks," "middling sort," or "middling strata" (Davidoff 471, n10), so Goldsmith is unusual in his use of "class" although his use of the adjective is conventional.

This is not to say that these two discourses are absolute contradictions, since they both assume a natural hierarchy, the one describing it in mechanical terms, the other in ethical terms. Both agree that the labouring poor are necessary. While Mandeville moves the discourse away from morality toward mechanics—the poor should labour so that the rich can consume<sup>32</sup>—Haywood asserts that the lower class should labour because “honest occupations” are a naturally “good” life. Both Mandeville and Haywood focus on the industrious “bee,” but while the former moves the discussion towards pragmatics and mechanism, Haywood insists that a moral component is innate, as indicated by the good country Ozoff:

---

<sup>32</sup> See also:

The poor should be kept strictly to work. . . . [I]t [is] prudence to relieve their wants, but folly to cure them. (“Remark Y” 248)

and

It is impossible that a society can long subsist and suffer many of its members to live in idleness . . . without having at the same time great multitudes of people that to make good this defect will condescend to be quite the reverse, and by use and patience inure their bodies to work for others and, themselves besides” (Copley, ed. 140).

See also Hobbes: “Frugality . . . in poor men [is] a Vertue” (51).



All pride, all vanity, all ostentation, were banish'd hence; 'tis true, the desire of riches seem'd the ruling and universal passion among them; but then, they sought not the gratification by mean arts, or projects destructive to their fellow-citizens, or shameful to their country, but by honest care, and painful labour; by adhering strictly to their promises; by being just in all their dealings abroad, and frugal at home; by never delaying till to-morrow, what was in their power to accomplish to-day; and by suffering no drones to eat up what the others laboured for. Thus every individual, like the industrious Bee, while he acted for his own interest, acted also for that of the publick. (emphasis added 106-7)

Over and above the obvious sentimentalizing of the life of the labourer, the narrative reveals instability in the cluster of meanings surrounding "the desire of riches." On the one hand, desire for wealth is a "ruling and universal passion"; on the other hand, morality, also innate, restrains that universal passion to consume. Here, Haywood mediates two discourses: the one, aristocratic and traditional; the other, bourgeois and on the rise. So for example one of the avuncular and bourgeois morals for kings is that certain cities should be retained in the kingdom "which [are] of service to . . . commerce" (87). The suggestion here is that the Court is in partnership with the City and the former should be mindful of the commercial interests of the

latter.<sup>33</sup> The absence of a middle class in *Hypotosa* is another rehearsal of bourgeois ideology slipping into Haywood's mainly conservative political discourse: "In *Hypotosa*, nothing [is] seen but excessive grandeur or extreme wretchedness; for a fruitless attempt to arrive at the one, naturally produce[s] the other" (106). Haywood's text tells us that the middle classes are required but those classes should not adopt significations beyond their class origins. She also tells us that middle-class mores are emerging in writing.

And yet her articulation of these conservative complaints about the "excesses" of bourgeois expenditure, which, as suggested above, have an extended history in earlier aristocratic discourses, form a necessary part of the rise of capitalism. The rising classes must be convinced that frugality is a virtue because they must save for re-investment; paradoxically those middle classes must also spend and it is this extravagance, this universal "desire for riches," which is both put forward and discounted in Haywood's tale. A

---

<sup>33</sup> A similar insistence is found in Defoe, that bourgeois voice of nascent capitalism:

The equality, however, being thus preserved, and a perfect good understanding between the Court and city having so long flourished, this union contributes greatly to the flourishing circumstances of both and the publick credit is greatly raised by it . . . (Defoe, "A Tour thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain" 338).

bourgeois will-to-thrift, is as necessary as aristocratic will-to-luxury, particularly if the middle-class wants to signify a superior status. Furthermore, it is women who are increasingly gendered as the natural possessors of those frugal virtues but who are also in charge of consumption for their households.

### **The Struggle for Gender Legitimation**

As Haywood's text circulates around the political and class discourse of arbitrary power and luxury, much of her discourse on women protests the cultural constructions of women in the gaze of patriarchy, a gaze denying women a space.

Eovaai (like Queen Anne) is an anomaly in the patriarchy of kingship. Haywood's heroine is gendered as woman but her education and status are masculine. Eovaai's father, a patriarch to his daughter and his kingdom and therefore a model monarch, trains Eovaai in the virtues of good government and in the mode of aristocratic men. She is educated not as an aristocratic female, since she is not taught the gendered, patrician and ornamental accomplishments of "singing, dancing, playing on the music," which her father outlines and dismisses (3), nor as a domestic heroine, since the virtues of home management are not yet part of aristocratic education.<sup>34</sup>

---

<sup>34</sup> Accomplishments in French, music, dancing, and painting were also intrinsic for the proper middle-class woman: a leisured, patrician existence was signified through the imitation of values, "attitudes and habits of landed

Her father teaches her the "virtues of the mind"—moral rectitude, generosity, impartiality, religion—which are the makings of a ruler which "alone" could make her "happy" (5,7), the implication being that women's education should include these "masculine" virtues. Queen Anne aside, eighteenth-century women rarely govern themselves, much less a kingdom, but when they do, the text suggests that they are at least equal to the task.

Eovaai . . . was look'd upon as a prodigy of wit and learning;  
and her beauty, tho' far superior to that of any woman of her  
time, was scarce ever mention'd, so greatly was the world taken  
up with admiring the more truly valuable accomplishments of  
her mind. (6)

However much Eovaai is valued for her mental accomplishments, however much we would wish this for her, women—as text—are also valued for the very slippery signification of beauty. Despite being a prodigy of wit and learning and despite her father's insistence that she not be constructed in vanity because

---

society" (Williamson 26). These accomplishments were also important since they "continued to be essential primarily for catching a husband" (Todd, Angelica 212). But any evidence of a superior ability was considered vulgar, since a woman would have "employed more time in it than is consistent with her learning all the other parts of a complete education" (The Polite Lady (1760) qtd. Brophy 43, 45).

of her natural "beauty" and "endowment of the body,"(3) "Eovaai" also signifies the "delight of eyes" (6n) and this pulchritude is currency in the economy of love, so that, despite losing her wealth, power and status as a consequence of the civil war in Ijaveo, her intellectual accomplishments disappear into the text.<sup>35</sup> "Her Beauty" still "reign[s] its empire" over Ochihatou's "heart" (17). While Eovaai is not yet vain of her natural and superior beauty, it will come to this. An ideological contradiction ambushes her: the value of women correlates to a shifting and unstable standard of beauty, but women are also automatically discounted as vain if personally assured of their beauty.

Eovaai, who is representative of the contradictions clustering around the signification of female physical vanity, also has a cluster of significations around intellectual vanity. The narrative tells us that she loses the carcanet—the magic source of power for the rulers of Ijaveo—because she wonders about the meaning of the inscription and wonders if she could

---

<sup>35</sup> See for example the obligatory female humility topos, which contrasts to earlier assertions that Eovaai was perfectly capable of ruling. After Eovaai loses the jewel she berates herself:

why was it intrusted to one of my weak sex? Why was it not rather enclos'd in a brazen tower, guarded by fiery dragons, and inaccessible to all the efforts of man, or beast, or fiend? (13)

translate it. The translator ascribes her failure to not being European, to her racial inferiority (11). The Commentator ascribes her failure to "vanity" and bluestocking hubris specific to women, since their brains are too "delicate" for the deep thought required to assess what is beyond their reach: Eovaai overreaches the 'natural' capacity of her gender, despite her 'masculine' training and ability, and commits Eve's (anachronistic) original sin of searching for knowledge. She is, on the one hand, trained to "the virtues of the mind" while, on the other hand, she is discounted as vain for using them.

Just as women are constructed by beauty and then discounted as vain, they are constructed as sexually desirable but disparaged if desiring. Throughout the novel, the reader is presented with scenes of conspicuous consumption and sexual license—with scenes of vice—which refer to the eighteenth-century discourse about a luxurious and lascivious Orient, inevitably corrupt and corrupting.<sup>36</sup> But a texture of desire unfolds in many of them. On the one hand the reader is asked to luxuriate in various scenes—the

---

<sup>36</sup> Oriental fiction abounds with descriptions of Oriental despotism.

The Oriental despot was a conventional figure in Restoration drama, in Oriental fiction and in politics. See Rowe's Tamerlaine or Beckford's Vathek or the elder Pitt (note 29, *supra*) who warns that the luxury of trade with the Orient will corrupt the political system of England.

enormous wealth, the near orgy at the palace, the garden seductions—but on the other hand that pleasure is morally forbidden.

One such scene, initiating her downward slide to moral turpitude, begins after Eovaai escapes from the civil war in Ijaveo to Hypotosa, the setting of all luxury, concupiscence and power. Ochihatou's female attendants show her to her bedroom in the palace and then particularize Ochihatou's "virtues," including his being a good lover.<sup>37</sup> Then they fetishize her through the gaze.

From the praises of Ochihatou, they proceeded to the most gross flattery of her beauty; and laying her on the bed, the canopy of which was lined with looking glass: \* cast up your eyes, most lovely princess, said one of them and behold a sight more worthy the admiration, even of yourself, than any thing this sumptuous palace or the whole world can shew.—Your own heavenly person.—Ah, what a ravishing proportion!—What fine-turned limbs!—How formed for love is every part!—What legs!—What arms!—What breasts!—What—She was going on, as one may imagine, to particularize every charm, but Eovaai, whose modesty would not allow her to seem pleased with

---

<sup>37</sup> Her nights would be "doubly bless'd" in his arms (35).

discourses of this nature, desired to be covered, and left to her repose. (36)

In this part of Haywood's text, the exoticism, the all female contingent, the homo- and auto-eroticism, barely suppressed under the "whats" but displayed for Eovaai, her women and the male and female reader unveil the Oriental, sybaritic, sensual seraglio. But this kind of eroticism—imputed to the Oriental Other—in Haywood's hands inverts the gendered hierarchy of English culture. Usually in the representations of the harem, male authors underline the fear and prurient fascination represented there.<sup>38</sup> For example, George Sandys indicates his extravagant fear of lesbianism: "Much unnatural and filthie lust is said to be committed daily in the remote closets of the darksome Bannias [baths]: yea women with women; a thing incredible" (99).<sup>39</sup> In Haywood's

---

<sup>38</sup> For example, Robert Withers in his Description of the Grand Signors [sic] Seraglio (1650), while confessing that no Western man is ever admitted to the seraglio, does not hesitate then to describe melodramatically the exotic sexuality and uncivilized behaviour which characterizes writing about the Turkish harem (Lowe 38). Sandys also admits that "so strictly are they [Turkish women] guarded as seldom seene to looke out at their doores" but then continues describing them as "elegant beauties, for the most part ruddy, cleare, and smooth as the polished ivory" (67).

<sup>39</sup> See also the male fear of and fascination with lesbianism as constituted in general representations of the Orient as illustrated by Bassabi da



hands this kind of sexuality destabilizes the patriarchal authority and at least partially renders the central male figure irrelevant.

The scopic pleasure/fear of the Western male observer is not only of female homosexuality but also of female autoeroticism: Robert Withers in A Description of the Grand Seigniors [sic] Seraglio insists that

it is not lawful for any one to bring ought in unto them [harem women] with which they may commit the deeds of beastly and

---

Zara's (c 1530-40) description of the baths and pruriently reiterated by Norman Penzer, an early twentieth-century orientalist:

But it is common knowledge that as a result of this familiarity in washing and massaging, women fall very much in love with another one just like a man and woman. And I have known Greek and Turkish women, on seeing a lovely young girl, seek occasion to wash with her just to see her naked and handle her. And many women go to the baths outside their own neighbourhood to do this. . . . (qtd. Penzer, Harem 220-1)

See also Chardin:

Les femmes Orientales ont toujours passé pour Tribades [lesbians]. J'ai ouï assurer si souvent, et à tant de gens, qu'elles le sont, et qu'elles ont des voyes de contenter mutuellement leurs passions, que je le tiens pour fort certain" (in Douthwaite 131; Kabbani 26)

unnaturall uncleanness; so that if they have a will to eat radishes, cucumbers, gourds, or such like meats; they are sent in unto them sliced to deprive them of the means of playing the wantons. (59)

Pope wryly reiterates this autoeroticism in a letter to Lady Mary Wortley Montague, as well as insisting on Eastern women being the objects of oppression: Turkey is a place where "the unhappy women converse with none but Eunuchs, and where the very cucumbers are brought in cutt" to the harem women (1:368). In short, much foolishness and downright sexism and racism is asserted in various male representations of the Oriental harem that Haywood reproduces but also undercuts. Her descriptions, while suggesting sensual allure, do not suggest a texture of fear, disgust or reprehension.

Here, in her chamber as she is laid on the bed looking into a mirror, Eovaai constructs herself in the mirror while also being constructed as an object through a gaze. Nancy Miller assures us that a gaze is a gendered and gendering asymmetrical subjectivity that structures power relations (Subject 166). Typically, women see themselves through the eyes of men—as a reflection of male desire in male scrutiny. Ostensibly concerned to further his interest in Eovaai, Ochihatou's female attendants are the homoerotic representatives of his visual, probing will. The power relations are in place since Eovaai is pleased with the performance of the gaze but modesty demands that she must not "seem pleased." But Eovaai's gaze is also female and

autoerotic. She takes, but must not seem to take pleasure, not only from the female gaze but also her own. She is self-surveying but must not seem to be self-authenticating according to the demands of society, where power relations are impressed on the female body. By self-authentication she resists and interrogates the gendering as a subordinate other by Ochihatou's representatives. She is constructed as object. She constructs herself as object but in that movement she also constructs herself as subject—as a gendered and autonomous sexual woman and, on awakening, she exercises this power—the self-preservative power of 'vanity.' She

considered the perfections of her person. She viewed herself with pleasure. She no longer doubted if the repeated panegyrics of her insinuating attendants were just<sup>\*</sup>; and, from this moment, assumed an innate vanity, and outward haughtiness.  
 . . .(37)

The construction of female vanity has an almost emblematic quality here, but again Haywood twists it. John Berger details the hypocritical voyeurism in the painting of female nudes and observes that the conceit of a woman looking at herself in a mirror, as Eovaai does here, implicates her in the process.

You painted a naked woman because you enjoyed looking at her, you put a mirror in her hand and you called the painting Vanity, thus morally condemning the woman whose nakedness you had depicted for your own pleasure.

The real function of the mirror was otherwise. It was to make the woman connive in treating herself as, first and foremost, a sight (51).

Analogous to males observing and commenting on the painting of female vanity, the voyeuristic narrator, Commentator, Mandarin's son and perhaps the reader are representatives of that hypocritical social power, constructing, refracting and reflecting the image of female vanity. The Commentator through the indirect discourse of the translator registers this anti-feminism at the asterisk in the above passage.

This passage gives the Commentator an opportunity of exerting his usual severity. He makes a long dissertation, to prove vanity is so much a part of women, that tho' precepts of education may prevent its appearance for a time, it will sooner or later burst into a blaze; and often on, the most trifling encouragement. (37)

But Eovaai's 'vanity'—the toyshop of her heart—saves her, in the first instance, from Ochihatou's sexual advances: because she has authenticated herself through her own gaze, she as a subject refuses him. The text insists "that pride, which the sudden consciousness of her own beauty had inspired, was now, perhaps, of more service to her than all the grave lessons of virtue and philosophy she had been so long instructed in . . ." (38). Attempting to counter this, the translator observes that he would have omitted this anti-feminism, if possible, but to do so would risk the censure of a presumably later

"unfair Translator" (38) who would apparently translate/reflect 'accurately' the gender-essential character of female vanity. In other words, our representative, the translating mandarin's son, would have ignored the gendered and gendering textual aspersions, but society would not let him. The anti-feminist bias is pitted against the defending translator behind, which Haywood's signature constructs female desire, constructs the "nature and inclination" of female sexuality (38) that Eovaai ought to deny. In other words there is a double movement here: while Eovaai connives in her own objectification and we connive with her, she creates an autonomous, perhaps illusory, position from which to insist upon and define her own sexuality. Here, then, is the creation of a female sexual space.<sup>40</sup>

---

<sup>40</sup> Here I am disagreeing with Foucault in his History of Sexuality Volume 1 who claims that instinctual drives or what we describe as instinctual drives only mask the operations of power (read: ideology) and that desire and its repression have been constructed by discourse over the past centuries (81-3). In other words he is claiming that discourse creates and precedes reality. This of course posits an originary position for discourse which I see as an egg/chicken argument. As Derrida has demonstrated in Of Grammatology, it is very difficult to argue anything without beginning from some originary position—in his case the deconstruction of origins (or the "law" of supplementarity, differance, his privileging of writing over speech, etc.), or to

After his rejection, Ochihatou decides in the best 'uncourtly' tradition to resume his assault on her chastity. The signifiers of power and desire are offered to the reader: Eovaai experiences a rich banquet; the courtiers perform a lascivious dance; Eovaai sees that Ochihatou has absolute power over the Hypotosans and—sealing her seduction—he promises that she will have absolute power over him after marriage, the usual promise made to women in fiction, the unsaid being that this was rarely practised in life.<sup>41</sup> She will have it all—clearly seductions that are hard to resist. To reiterate: one of the central contradictions of capitalism is that it requires the provident business and professional class to spend over and above its daily needs. As outlined above, Haywood's text iterates the primarily conservative and aristocratic philosophy that those middling ranks should be frugal but it also, as Oriental tale, tenders

---

argue from a position of extreme relativism that there is no Truth, which in itself is a Truth. I would softly argue that "reality," including sexual desire, is never unmediated by language but I would prefer to historicize the relations between literature, the female writer and her society as a highly responsive dialectic—not a traditionally Marxist formulation of superstructure and base.

<sup>41</sup> As Haywood would write in The Wife, "The tables, after marriage, are reversed, the goddess now stripped of all her divinity;—it is no more her province to impose laws, but to receive them" (qtd. Schofield, Eliza Haywood 114).

the pleasures of profligacy, not only sexual but also material. While she iterates conservative complaints about luxury, she also silhouettes in lovingly seductive detail the impetus to spend and concomitantly denies the seduction. The text tantalizes with description and further mediates the politics of desire.

After such excitements, the sweetness and privacy of the recess they were in, could not fail of inspiring her with that dissolving softness which Ochihatou wished to find in her. . . . beauties which till then he knew but in idea, her treacherous robes too loosely girt revealed; his eager Hands were seconds to his sight and travell'd over all; while she, in gentle sighs and faltering accents, confessed she received a pleasure not inferior to that she gave. (48)

The text conventionally reproduces the subjected position of women—the legitimating enlightenment narrative that Eovaai's "reason" and "virtue" have been lulled asleep by her "vanity" discovered in the mirror and by the promise of power (83). Again the text suggests instability. The text constructs a woman with desires that to fulfil would ruin her. At this point, Haywood interjects an interpolated tale, bearing little relevance to where we left Eovaai and her lover seemingly headed somewhere east of Eden. When we return to the story proper, politics further interrupts coitus and Ochihatou must leave Eovaai to hold his military coalition together.<sup>42</sup> Whether textuality interrupts-

---

<sup>42</sup> Ros Ballaster observes that this interruption of the sexual act by

or at least hides from the reader-sexuality or whether political incursion interrupts the textually sexual Eovaai, she is left wandering in the garden and we are left wandering for twenty pages.

Those warm inclinations which the behaviour of Ochihatou had raised, demanded gratification; she languished for his return, and was beginning to feel\* such emotions as might very well deserve the nature of painful. . . . (74)

The metatext is invoked at the asterisk, where the Cabal (of men) seem to be unable to understand the "author's meaning." They then consult other women and are assured that women are free from "any inquietudes of that nature." Haywood is having us on; women do have desires and Haywood tells us that they do, however much those desires are mediated by discourse. Inevitably she must make a nod to *the* female virtue—chastity—so she tells us that "short are the joys which have not virtue for their guide" (74). Short and incomplete indeed.

Here and again Haywood's text reproduces one of the necessities of developing capitalism. While it is true that the new economic organization requires both frugality and an ethic of hard work, it also requires an ethic of spending based on a principle of deferred pleasure. "Frugality becomes not so much a way of life as gratification deferred—the promise of moments of

---

political or textual incursion is a reproduction of the deferred eroticism, characteristic of French romance (Ballaster 50).



hedonism/leisure which punctuate periods of work" (Lovell 33). The bourgeoisie must save not only for re-investment but also to buy things. Haywood demonstrates exactly this principle of deferred gratification in this scene with Ochihatou, which seduces Eovaai and the reader with promises that are sure to remain unfulfilled. After rambling in the garden or text waiting for Ochihatou's return, Eovaai is saved by the deus ex machina intervention of a female genie who gives her a "perspective" with which to see Ochihatou as he really is. Here Eovaai becomes the surveyor rather than seeing herself through the gaze of male desire. And she sees her lover as he truly is. She escapes from Hypotosa but also laments the lament of female desire: she has lost the "pleasure she had experienced in loving" (78).

After Ochihatou recaptures Eovaai he attempts to rape her. He gives her an hour to prepare for his assault with the injunction that if she wants to regain any of his favour she must contrive some

. . . method of heighthing [sic] the raptures of enjoyment, out-do all I have ever found in the warmest and most artful of your sex, be more that ever woman was, and force me in unexperienced extacies to pardon what is past and own you merit future favour. (134).

Again Eovaai is forced to collude in her own objectification, here as a victim of rape.<sup>43</sup> But she refuses her objectification and becomes the objectifier.

---

<sup>43</sup> Another attempt to coerce Eovaai to collude in her objectification

While Eovaai waits for the hour to be up, she meets Atamadoul whom Ochihatou changed into a monkey, and she tells her story—another nested tale. She is an exemplar of the eighteenth-century construction of coquette whose vanity has outlasted her charms, as she tells us.

. . . [N]o lady about the court was treated with more respect . . . by her lovers, or had a more numerous train of them. Had they been fewer, and their devoirs less flattering, perhaps I had not been the wretch I am, but my vanity was swell'd till it overwhelm'd my reason: I began to fancy myself born only to be adored. . . . I looked on all the overtures of marriage . . . as so many indignities to my beauty's prerogative; and declared myself . . . an enemy to that state. . . . (139)

Again the Commentator, the patriarchal voyeur, observes that in the "character of Atamadoul, that of her whole sex is decyphered," and that a "woman is the first in believing herself handsome, and the last in finding she grows old."

Referring to English women, the translator ironically observes that this only occurred in "former ages" since no antiquated coquettes are currently found in his era (139). The message is clear: in the economy of love, women's

---

occurs near the end of the narrative when Ochihatou again promises to rape Eovaai but insists that if she goes along he will 'respect' her (in the morning) (192). She refuses.

currency is youthful beauty and yet when they internalize this capital they are vain coquettes.

Atamadoul's story is as follows: she fell in love with Ochihatou and substituted herself for a princess who agreed to run away with him. In his rage when he discovered the substitution, he transformed Atamadoul into a monkey, her punishment being that she will have a shape that is denied by society as female and as desirable and yet continue to be female and desiring, the same fate of many older woman. While earlier Atamadoul as coquette was watched and took her own selfhood from her reflection in other's eyes, now that gaze is denied and the monkey/old coquette is marginalized to only watching the objectification of other women, not participating but not colluding again in her own objectification: Ochihatou forces her to watch his sexual exploits with other women. But for a brief moment, before a further metempsychosis, she triumphs by taking Eovaai's place in Ochihatou's bed and turns the tables by using and objectifying Ochihatou; all the while Eovaai watches through her magic perspective and becomes the voyeur to their lovemaking. The Commentator, who is censored through the indirect discourse of the translator, also is a hypocritical surveyor: he "employs no less than three whole pages in the most bitter invectives on this propensity, which, he will have it, is only natural to woman-kind" (161); nonetheless, he and the readers are guilty of and implicated in the same voyeurism. We find ourselves once again in the hall of textual mirrors. The coquette watches herself (being watched in the eyes of

men); the aging coquette watches herself (being rejected in the eyes of men); she watches. Eovaai watches herself being watched; Eovaai surveys herself; she watches. Haywood protests the objectification of women by a reversal of roles. Finally, women do the objectifying here.

Haywood's fiction concludes with Eovaai breaking Ochihatou's phallic power by breaking his wand. The tale ends with Ochihatou's suicide, Alhahuza's restoration of the monarchy in Hypotosa, Adelhu's, the Oeros's son's, rescue of Eovaai and returning her precious carcanet. Eovaai's jewel as it travels throughout the narrative is a metonym for her virginity: she almost loses it forever through curiosity; her father attempts through education to protect it from loss; her suitor returns it to her and it fits "exactly" into the "socket." Oeros, once he is sensible, behaves as ideology would have it: taxes were removed, wrongs righted, treasures reclaimed, the standing army disbanded (177). The nobility, because they are of noble blood, return to the court. The mean go back to labouring with their hands. Order is restored, and in Haywood's text it is restored with a suspiciously dispassionate alacrity.

Both mediating and mediated, the layering of the formal elements, the polyphony of voices, the polyvalency of meanings and the infinite refraction of sights in Eovaai simultaneously contests and affirms transhistorical notions of the English monarchy, class system, and the subordination of women and England's Others. It seems to me that to ask anything more of a text—that

it be, for example, "feminist" or "conscious of class" or post colonial is to impose the cultural context of the late twentieth century upon the eighteenth, however much that earlier context is "always already" unrecoverable and imposition is unavoidable. Still and all, it does seem that Eovaai is politically conservative while also revealing contradictions in the spaces. I also think that Haywood's text largely protests directly and indirectly the objectification of women. The reversal of gendered roles where the objectifying libertine becomes the objectified in the gaze of Atamadoul and Eovaai and where he is rendered first emasculate and finally dead seems to be, at least to me, very angry wish-fulfilment.

Haywood's text also mediates the life of her female reader by warning them about seductions—the seductions of power, the seductions of wealth, the seductions of desire. But over and above the cautionary nature of her tale, she also delights in those economically necessary pleasures and desires, for which the progressively strict morality of the century will make most fictional women pay for—at least—by ostracism and mortification and—at most—by their deaths.

### Chapter 3

#### The Home the Seraglio and the Self:

##### Frances Sheridan's History of Nourjahad

Nord und West Süd zersplittern,  
Throne bersten, Reiche zittern,  
Flute du, in reinen Osten  
Patriarchenluft zu kosten!  
Goethe, "Hegire,"  
Westöstlicher Diwan <sup>1</sup>

Frances Sheridan's Nourjahad, published after her death in 1767, is the next long Oriental tale signed by a woman following Haywood's Eovaai. Sheridan, celebrated for her Memoirs of Miss Sidney Bidulph (Pt.I, 1761; Pt.II, 1767) (Doody 325), also had considerable success with Nourjahad, going through no fewer than five editions before the end of century (Mack "I," "Introduction," Nourjahad). <sup>2</sup> Since her husband, the theatre manager and

---

<sup>1</sup> (North, West and South split asunder,

Thrones burst, empires quake

Fly away, in the pure East

The patriarchs' air to taste)

<sup>2</sup> It was also published in complete form in the Novelist's Magazine [XXIII, 1788] and in epitome in the Universal Magazine of

rhetorician Thomas Sheridan, was regularly in financial difficulty, Sheridan wrote her plays and novels because she needed the money—one of the few excuses that allowed women to brave publication (Todd, Angelica 163).<sup>3</sup> She also had a good run of seventeen nights with her comedy The Discovery (1763) while The Dupe was less successful, with only a run of several performances (1764) (Hogan and Beasley 22, 24). Perhaps making up for the belief of her father, an Anglican Archdeacon of Ireland, that women really need not be literate, she was encouraged in these efforts by two cultural icons—Richardson and Johnson.

In 1824 her granddaughter, Alicia LeFanu, wrote the only biography on Sheridan. While scholars are recently beginning to devote more time and space to Haywood's works, Sheridan remains one of the forgotten women; her famous son, Richard Brinsley, and less famous husband have clearly overshadowed her in the writing of literary history.<sup>4</sup>

---

Knowledge and Pleasure [XLI, August, 1767] (Mayo 521).

<sup>3</sup> As Janet Todd observes: "Preface after preface finds the female author writing at the bedside of a dying husband or parent or rocking the cradle of a fatherless child (Todd, Angelica 126)." For example, Eliza Parsons (History of Miss Meredith, 1790) takes up her pen to support her eight dear fatherless children, "assuring her patrons that inclination had no share in her feeble attempts to entertain the Public" (Tompkins 117-8).

<sup>4</sup> Felicity Nussbaum in her recent Torrid Zones devotes a few

### Struggle for Generic Legitimation

Until the 1760s, for both men and women the essay-length tales of the early periodicals, spy tales in epistolary form, and the short tales within a larger frame narrative such as The Arabian Nights were the more usual form of the Oriental fiction. As far as I know, between Nourjahad and Eovaai—between 1736 and 1767—there is no longer Oriental tale signed by a woman.

The movement from Eovaai to Nourjahad or from The Turkish Spy to Rasselas, for that matter, reveals an increasing degree of composure with the

---

pages to Nourjahad: she reads it as a romance which asserts the transformative power of romance, since it is through romance that Nourjahad changes (129-32). Meloccoaro reads it as an "overt refutation of the marvellous thus becom[ing] an expression of pessimistic despair" (129-32). The only critical essay that devotes some space to Nourjahad is Doody's "Frances Sheridan: Morality and Annihilated Time." Other than LeFanu's biography, no monograph devoted to Sheridan yet exists. Janet Todd sees LeFanu's biography as insipid and confining because it reproduces the nineteenth-century commonplaces about the domestic duties and inclinations of women, which according to LeFanu, were always Sheridan's primary concern (Angelica 164). Dale Spender adds to the above list Eugenia and Adelaide, a novel written when she was fifteen but not published until twenty-four years after her death.



novel form and increasing degree of discursive Oriental colonization. While Haywood's earlier *Mandarin's son* is limited to the spaces of the margin, Sheridan's *Nourjahad* is the representation of a fuller presence. In other words, through an increasing satisfaction and ease with the novel format and with its ability to represent the other, the Oriental Other, the representation of location and character is more thoroughly orientalized in language than *Eovaai*.

As in *Eovaai*, the struggle for generic legitimization in *Nourjahad* involves a struggle which both avows and disavows a relation to earlier prose forms. *Eovaai* and other earlier novels often make prefatory claims to historicity, however desultory or parodic, through the 'tangible' evidence of a manuscript from a distant past or place. But by the mid-century many—if not most—novels, including *Nourjahad*, make fewer prefatory claims that they are true and use fewer markers such as the discovered manuscript. Disreputable fictions, such as gothic and Oriental tales however, tend to look to extra-narrative authority for proof of legitimacy, as did the earlier forms. For example, Beckford (*Vathek*), Ridley (*Tales of the Genii*) and Collins (*Oriental Eclogues*) use the discovered manuscript topos as does Horace Walpole in his Preface to the first edition of *The Castle of Otranto* (1764).<sup>5</sup> Sophia Lee's

---

<sup>5</sup> Walpole makes similar claims to those earlier made by Manley in *Queen Zarah*: they both allege that the work is a translation from an earlier Italian manuscript which really happened years before (Manley t.p.; Walpole

gothic The Recess also makes a claim to authenticity through the discovery of an "obsolete manuscript" dating from the reign of Elizabeth I (Roberts 87; Lee [n.pag.] "Advertisement"). Notwithstanding the occasional appearance of similar claims, they decreased as the century progressed both in realist novels and in these doubly marginalized forms of women's gothic and Oriental tales. Clara Reeve in the preface to her gothic novel, The Old English Baron (1778)—no preface was published in its first appearance as The Champion of Virtue, a Gothic Story (1777), which is significant in itself—admits that her

---

3). Later, in the Preface to the second edition, Walpole freely admits the fictionality of his creation: he asks "the pardon of his readers for having offered his work to them under the borrowed personage of a translator" (7). This corresponds to Manley's parody, which also deflates the fictional balloon of her continuation of Zarah, since it was written by "Cain in the Land of Nod" (A3). Collins claims that the Oriental Eclogues were received from "the hands of a merchant" and "written originally for the entertainment of the ladies of Tauris and now translated" (2); Beckford, that "the original of the following story . . . collected in the East by a man of letters, was communicated to the Editor above three years ago," which he then transcribed and translated (a2). James Ridley claims that Sir Charles Morell, the translator, read The Tales of the Genii and later encountered its author in India. The pretence is dismissed in the last few pages, when he admits the fictionality of his creation.

gothic tale is "fictitious" (Reeve 3), much as M.G. Lewis freely admits of his gothic tale. But with the exception of the humility topoi,<sup>6</sup> more necessary for women's prefaces than men's, fewer legitimizing techniques were demanded by the mid-century.

The legacy of romance to Nourjahad still imposes a focus on aristocratic characters, but unlike those in Eovaai they are only nominally aristocratic because many of the encoded values are those of the bourgeoisie; moreover, Sheridan's novel has no prefatory claim to antique historicity or any scholarly, legitimating marginalia. The narrative itself internally claims legitimacy.<sup>7</sup> Sheridan has less need of the self-authorizing machinery of earlier fiction. The truth she tells signifies not literal truth but the kind of particularized truth possible in fiction to describe the truth of individual subjectivity.

---

<sup>6</sup> See for example Lee's Recess:

To the hearts of both sexes nature has enriched with sensibility  
and experience with refinement, this tale is humbly offered. . . .  
(n.pag. "Advertisement")

<sup>7</sup> The first time that Nourjahad indulges in the sensuousness which occasions his first hibernation, one crack in the narratorial façade does appear, which bears some resemblance to Haywood's frequent references to external, legitimizing authority: "intoxicated with pleasure, the historian who writes his life, affirms that this night Nourjahad for the first time got drunk" (136).

Fantastic fictions, such as the gothic, often use the formal device of naturalizing the magic and marvellous in their bid for legitimacy. In Nourjahad the reader learns at the conclusion of the story that Nourjahad's apparently magical gift from the genius of fabulous wealth and immortality is a perfectly ordinary trick orchestrated by the Sultan Schemzeddin to bring Nourjahad back to his right mind and virtuous path (192).<sup>8</sup> In the face of the tyranny of the realist novel, this naturalization may well have been frequently incumbent on female authors of fantastic fiction, since many other women who wrote gothic and Oriental fiction tend to explain away the supernatural in their novels. For instance, Clara Reeve in her gothic novel, The Old English Baron, naturalizes the supernatural<sup>9</sup> and tells us in the preface—after complaining about improbabilities in The Castle of Otranto such as a "skeleton ghost in a hermit's cowl" or a "sword so large as to require an hundred men to life it"—that she intends to remain "within certain limits of credibility" (Reeve 4-5). (This intention does not include an explanation of the groaning corpse under the

---

<sup>8</sup> Cf. the complaints of an anonymous reviewer, who rather than damning Nourjahad as improbable, condemns it for not being "reconcilable to life" (Critical Review, 24<sup>th</sup> of July, 1767, 39).

<sup>9</sup> Later in the century, the English Jacobins in their philosophic tales also employ the retrospective explanation which enlightens and demystifies which is similar to Sheridan's device (Kelly, English Fiction 27).

floorboards (Ross 140)—suggesting once again that probability is highly contextual.)<sup>10</sup> And yet this naturalization in Nourjahad creates another hall of textual mirrors: because of the concluding naturalization, the reader's experience replicates Nourjahad's experience. Nourjahad experiences the

---

<sup>10</sup> William Enfield suggests this social sanctioning of the "explained supernatural" in a review of Anne Radcliffe's Mysteries of Udolpho:

Without introducing into her narrative any thing really supernatural, Mrs. Radcliffe has contrived to produce as powerful an effect as if the invisible world had been obedient to her magic spell; and the reader experiences in perfection the strange luxury of artificial terror, without being obliged for a moment to hoodwink his reason, or to yield to the weakness of superstitious credulity. (Monthly Review, 281)

Unfortunately Radcliffe has not fared as well at the hands of twentieth-century critics who find her attention to "petty realism" tiresome (see Ross 141-3 and Castle 231-2). Charlotte Smith also uses this formal appliance of naturalizing the supernatural in the Old Manor House (1793). On the other hand, male writers of gothic fiction such as Walpole (Otranto, 1764) and Lewis (The Monk, 1796) and of Oriental tales by Walpole (Hieroglyphic Tales, 1785), Beckford (Vathek, 1786) and Hawkesworth (Almorán and Hamet, 1761) disdain 'rational' explanation, as does Sophia Lee (The Recess, 1783-5; Roberts 116, 84-5).

expansion of fourteen months, and we experience the expansion of several hours of reading into 60 years of novel time (see Doody). The conclusion revealing this draws self-referential attention to the fictionality of the novel.

Nourjahad parallels earlier aristocratic romance in its use of generic identification—the rosebud birth mark. Typically in the older form, such a device is an overdetermined code identifying the male possessor as the true and rightful heir in a narrative of confused parentage.<sup>11</sup> The romantic resolution of uncertain parentage, uncertain parentage being so detrimental to male aristocratic interests—Johnson’s “confusion of progeny (Boswell 393)—is replaced in Nourjahad by an emphasis on the confusion and misidentification of the gendered, objectified woman: the birthmark on Cadiga’s “breast” is a synecdoche, signifying an antediluvian woman, one of Nourjahad’s harem favourites, who has grown old while he has slept for sixty-four years. But this

---

<sup>11</sup> See for example Aristotle who complains about this “least artistic form, which, from poverty of wit is most commonly employed—recognition by signs.” He notes that a scar identifies Odysseus (Poetics, XVI.1-3). In Cymbeline the king identifies his long-lost son, Guiderius, by a “mole, a sanguine star” (V.v 364) and in The Conquest of Granada the Duke of Arcos identifies Almanzor by a birthmark. An eighteenth-century example is the strawberry birthmark which identifies Fielding’s Joseph Andrews.

signifier also incorporates its opposite, because at the conclusion it turns out that no one has aged more than fourteen months which undercuts the romantic convention (153, 192). The romantic convention proves false. Although he no longer wants her as a mate, Nourjahad restores her to her position in the harem hierarchy. But this Cadiga is not simply an aristocratic, orientalized ornament; she embodies Nourjahad's middle-class conscience, engendered in culture and writing as female. She constitutes both an object of desire with a (tele)scopic birthmark, breast, body, and a subject with internally constituted values, who supervises the morality and religion in her family/seraglio. Cadiga's responsibilities correspond to that of middle-class women in later eighteenth-century British culture.<sup>12</sup> She reminds Nourjahad not only of his accountability to God and the Prophet, but also of his obedience to the "laws of society" and his culpability "for the sufferings of [his] fellow creatures" who "groan every day under [his] cruelty" (162). Nourjahad is an incompetent king because he attempts to rule by divine right and a sinful man because he

---

<sup>12</sup> See Ellen Pollak who observes that as the

burden of productivity fell increasingly on men, woman became the embodiment of moral value, exemplifying at her best a passive and contemplative . . . ideal. The paterfamilias gradually became removed from what Christopher Hill has called the "spiritualized household," which now became the woman's domain. (42)

torments those below him. He must be tutored out of his bad behaviour. The old rules of royal privilege no longer dominate. As a result, women emerge as contingent superintendents placed within a gendered sphere of influence—the home—even in decidedly undomestic Oriental tales, which generally do not explore to the same extent those inner depths of subjectivity which are the focus in novels of courtship, manners, sentiment, what have you.

### **The Gendered Struggle for Political Legitimation**

The increasing separation into different spheres of the masculine/public and the feminine/private essentialized women as having certain positive qualities but also constructed them as unalterably distinct from the domain of polity and state economics, also essentialized as masculine. The personal and female was not the political and masculine, so the argument went. As Nancy Miller insists one of the chief contributions of feminist criticism is the taking of the "personal and the political, the private and the public together as concatenated scenes of operation" (Subject 170).<sup>13</sup>

---

<sup>13</sup> I am, of course, arguing here that the personal is very political and to neglect women and their texts tells only one very small part of the narrative of literary history. See also Nancy Armstrong who writes that

history is not only incomplete but also inaccurate when . . .

analysis proceeds as if the only event that can be considered



It is a truth universally acknowledged that Jane Austen has been criticized because outside her early nineteenth-century drawing-room window the Battle of Waterloo blustered. What seems clear is that, provincial upbringings aside, by 1815 sexual difference had become more firmly entrenched in society. Women became inscribed within the space of the drawing room and the house, and texts such as Nourjahad and Emma similarly reproduce, construct as well as react against this space, whether the story told is exotic or domestic. So, for example, the use of novel space in Nourjahad represents the circumscribed, domestic space allotted to British women after the mid-century and, as such, differs from that of Eovaai: while Eovaai roams through many kingdoms, Nourjahad and the women of his harem are immured within the interior spaces of his palaces and within those palaces largely in the seraglio of middle-class consciousness. Nourjahad's wives—Mandana and Cadiga—exemplify modern women who reside in this domestic space separated from the public, 'political' one. Unlike Eovaai, who concludes the narrative with many of the same characteristics that she begins, Nourjahad must change

---

historically important is one engineered by men, their labour, or the institutions they have traditionally overseen. For such histories relegate women and their labour to a private domain detached from political history and yet utterly contingent upon it (Desire, 101).

and learn to emulate these women—he must be disciplined in the virtues of contemporary women—in order to become a worthy member of society. He must learn the virtues of the domesticity, represented by Mandana, who “husband[s] Nourjahad’s] fortune with oeconomy and . . . keep[s] order and harmony in his family” (138) and “prudent Cadiga,” his conscience, who domesticates him to know his duty to those above and below him and to feel “pity for the sufferings of [his] fellow creatures” (162). He must be partially feminized to internalize these positive virtues of women and to know the appropriate behaviour at home and the office.

It is an historical commonplace that eighteenth-century Britain was unstable.<sup>14</sup> In the public sphere, the development of capitalism moved forward apace, restively first trotting and then galloping into the last decades, and the movement towards a factory and wage-based economy and agricultural rationalization occasioned significant social dislocation, particularly among the

---

<sup>14</sup> Britain experienced much external turmoil in the form of various wars with France and America. Domestically, various civil eruptions—rebellions and riots—as well as generalized turmoil in the lofty business of governing an unruly and recalcitrant populace guaranteed that British life for all classes was often nasty, frequently short and, in the lower reaches, usually brutish. On the political turmoil see John Bender (“Prison Reform” 175).

lower orders (see Roy Porter 328, 115-120). Economically, the conclusion of the Seven Years War had the consequence that England acquired an even greater trading empire, particularly in India (Todd, Angelica 102); however, her domestic economy remained primarily agricultural until the 1790s. At home, the labouring classes remained mostly beasts of burden, the difference being that labouring women were paid less for their burden <sup>15</sup>; middle and upper-class men directed politics, colonialism, proto-industrialization, mercantile capitalism and the collection of rents from tenants; middle- and upper-class women commonly participated in these activities from a subaltern and gendered province. For example, while Queen Caroline, wife to George II, had meaningful if covert power in English politics—she was often lampooned for this—Charlotte, the wife of George III retreated into the background of English political life at the mid-century (see Todd, Angelica 104).

In foreign affairs, the Seven Years' War was over a few years prior to the publication of Nourjahad; nonetheless, the French presence in the colonies "continued to be a dire menace even after 1763 and . . . until the end of the Napoleonic Wars at least, the British remained obsessed with the threat

---

<sup>15</sup> See Dorothy George, who observes that when "we reach the level of the 'labouring poor' it can almost be said that there is no work too heavy or disagreeable to be done by women provided it is also ill-paid" (qtd. Nussbaum, Autobiographical Subject 148).

posed by the French" (Das 40). For Nourjahad, published following the accession of George III, shows less awareness than Eovaai of the political, social and, particularly, economic tumult (see Speck, Stability 62) occurring outside the Oriental garden; women, as writers and subjects, became increasingly inscribed in a different, domestic sphere removed from this political and economic turbulence. Writing, which placed them there, defined women as having certain positive qualities but also marked them as unequivocally gendered (see Armstrong, Desire 88). Women were assigned gender-essential characteristics such as "modesty," "meekness," "compassion," "affability" and "piety," chapter headings in The Ladies Calling, a very popular conduct book, published in 1673 but reprinted frequently throughout the eighteenth century (Allestree n. pag; see also Pollak 42 and Brophy 7-11). This text is one of the many, many texts for, about and sometimes by women that initiated for the radical changes in eighteenth-century culture through the gendering of different domains. This gendering not only materializes in conduct literature, or the courtship novel—more obvious choices for the gendered private sphere; it is an essential element in Sheridan's Oriental tale. Specifically, the foregrounding of the political analysis and the focus on protest and transgression in the Oriental tale of Haywood's period retreat into the background in the sensible, mid-century fictions like Sheridan's, where the gendered privacy of both courtship and the female Orient becomes entrenched.

Women novelists write of the sexual power inherent in courtship with the unsaid—the writing beyond the ending, to echo Rachael Duplessis—being the dissipation of this power in the material reality of their lives; similarly, the access to a more asexual power in these three Oriental tales dissipates when the last page is turned. The convention of marrying off the heroines and heroes exists in both courtship and Oriental fiction, but in these tales it becomes little more than a preemptory nod to domesticity. They differ in emphasis from the more circumspect domestic tales. They are rather more extravagant fantasies, providing a temporary access to certain kinds of power usually unavailable to women in their lives—power to rule over kingdoms (Eovaai) or the cosmos (Nourjahad); power to directly criticize society (Eovaai); power to have adventures not circumscribed by gender (Eovaai); power to experience a lifetime in several hours (all); power to write themselves into history and, in so doing, to both quietly contest and affirm this enclosure within a domestic framework. Similarly, domestic and amatory fiction also turns back on itself by the inherently public act of writing about different kinds of power, even if women inscribe that power only tangentially and despite their frequent insistence that they would never brave publication if not for necessity. Both Haywood's and Sheridan's, and to a lesser extent Knight's Oriental tales are subtly seditious: a strategy by which these women challenged and obstructed their gendering as inferior Others. These Others may be constructed in symbolic practise as lascivious, ferocious and competent, or chaste, yielding

and retiring, the trajectory here representing a change in the gendering of women in the century and the direction of these three Oriental romances. Mid-century women were supposed to reside in the private space of the English domestic seraglio, but writing women, such as Sheridan and Knight, encroach upon the masculine public sphere through the exhibitionism of writing and through the content and themes of their writing.

These female authors approach this public, male world by creating an Oriental fantasy world while simultaneously constructing, reproducing and contesting the changing nature of familial and social relations of eighteenth-century Britain. For example, in Nourjahad the positive portrayal of the Sultan as a stabilizing influence reaffirms the continuing popularity of George III and reaffirms the hierarchy of gendered relations within the family. On the face of things, there is little doubt in Sheridan's story that the 'good' sultan, Schemzeddin, leads the country. For example, Schemzeddin dismisses his ministers because they have accused Nourjahad, Schemzeddin's favourite, of avarice, sybaritism and irreligion, but this dismissal does not occasion any kingly retribution nor does anyone lose his/her head; counsellors merely see "how impolitic a thing it was to oppose the will of their sovereign" (118). Furthermore, Schemzeddin decides to test Nourjahad—he accepts that his ministers may be right about his favourite because "the age and experience of these men doubtless has furnished them with more sagacity" (118). These episodes parallel, if not directly reproduce, the state of affairs between George

III and his ministers: despite the Constitution and Commons, the king still retained immense powers in appointing ministers, shaping policy, disposing of the privy purse and selecting the civil list of over 1,000 appointments to the royal household; nonetheless, "the Georges did not make the Stuart mistake of neglecting the politicians" (Roy Porter 129).<sup>16</sup> In other words, George III is the powerful but not absolute, divinely-sanctioned monarch and, similar to George III and England, Schemzeddin and his kingdom will flourish because he, too, is sensible and decisive.

Through its household exoticism, this novel also replicates and constructs the state of affairs between English men and women. An intersecting node between the male, public world of men and this female, private world of the Oriental tale resides in the debates over contractarianism

---

<sup>16</sup> That the text is aware of the continuing strength of the monarchy, as well as its power to provide for its supporters, is also suggested by Nourjahad's egoistic lamentation after the Sultan has placed him under house arrest:

Unfortunate that I am, cried he, what will riches or length of days avail me, if I am thus to be miserably immured within the walls of my own dwelling? Would it not have been better for me to have requested the genius to restore me to the favour of my prince? Schemzeddin always loved me, and would not fail to have promoted me to wealth and honours. . . . (134-5)

and patriarchalism, the latter having a long and dusty history throughout politics and women's lives. Based on arguments from scripture, the initial formulation of the Jacobean homology states that the King is to his subjects as a patriarch is to his family—his wife, children, apprentices, servants.<sup>17</sup> This meant that a subject was completely subordinate to his king, and a wife was completely subjugated under the common law doctrine of coverture by her husband.<sup>18</sup> This basic premise was then extended to include a contractual

---

<sup>17</sup> See Robert Filmer's Patriarcha that notable but admittedly moribund blueprint of patriarchy—moribund since it was written much earlier (?1638) than published (1680) when its claims were far less credible and far more reactionary. Drawing from the "authority of the Scripture" he observes that

As the Father over one family, so the King as Father over many families, extends his care to preserve, feed, clothe, instruct and defend the whole commonwealth. (63)

<sup>18</sup> See William Blackstone the defender of coverture, who argues in his Commentaries on the Laws of England (1753) that

By marriage, the husband and wife are one person in law: that is the very being, or legal existence of the woman is suspended during the marriage, or at least is incorporated and consolidated



element, whereby, so the Royalists argued, once the rights of a subject were ceded by tacit contract to a king, they could not be reclaimed. This contractarianism also applied to marriage. Mary Lyndon Shanley argues in "The Marriage and Social Contract in Seventeenth-Century English Political Thought" that in

1640, virtually all writers still spoke of the contractual element in marriage as being simply the consent of each party to marry the other. . . . The man's role was that of head and governor, the woman's role that of obedient follower. To contract a marriage was to consent to a status that in its essence was hierarchical and unalterable (81).

By the end of the seventeenth century this notion had been challenged by the events of 1642 and 1688 and also by critics of patriarchalism. So, for example, Mary Astell in Some Reflections Upon Marriage, basing her arguments on this homology, argues that

if absolute sovereignty be not necessary in a state, how comes it to be so in a family? Or if in a family why not in a state; since no reason can be alleged for the one that will not hold more strongly for the other? (39)

---

into that of the husband: under whose wing, protection and cover she performs every thing. . . . (430)

Locke also insists that the relationship between husband and wife, like the one between and king and his subjects, is a secular contract and not a given, as was insisted by patriarchalists (Williamson 35; Shanley 81). He argues that the marriage contract, like contracts in general, is negotiable and consequently does not necessarily entail women's subordination:

But there is . . . no . . . Law to oblige a woman to such a Subjection, if the circumstances either of her condition or contract with her husband should exempt her from it. . . . (First Treatise 191) <sup>19</sup>

Women are 'free' to define their own relations through consent. <sup>20</sup> Though political patriarchalism lost much of its force, this theoretical freedom for

---

<sup>19</sup> See also

But this reaching but to the things of their common interest and property, leaves the wife in the full and free possession of what by contract is her peculiar right, and gives the husband no more power over her life, than she has over his. The power of the husband being so far from that of an absolute Monarch, that the wife has, in many cases, a liberty to separate from him; where natural right, or their contract allows it. . . . (Second Treatise 339)

<sup>20</sup> The problem with this is women are hardly 'free' from the damaging effects of sexism within their culture.

women in marriage certainly did not become even a partial reality for women until late in the nineteenth century (Pateman 119-20), because women's subjection to their husbands had a "foundation in nature"—the phrase belongs to Locke—if not in society or law (emphasis added, First Treatise, 192). Nonetheless, the "theoretical arguments," concludes Shanley, "that emerged from these debates [between Parliamentarians and Royalists] over political sovereignty eventually—although very slowly—became the bases for liberal arguments about female equality and marriage" (81).

But a paradox also emerges here. Haywood was part of not only a staunchly royalist and conservative culture but also a sexually defiant one of female transgression which became unimagined at the end of the century. Her culture allowed some personal, as distinguished from political, freedom from patriarchalism.<sup>21</sup> Eovaai, by losing her father and her king, becomes free from patriarchal and monarchal authority. Despite being generally threatened by her culture's violence toward women—pursued and nearly raped by Ochihatou—she is less subject to a patriarch than Nourjahad, who is clearly

---

<sup>21</sup> This female culture, which included Aphra Behn—"Astrea"—and Delarivière Manley, tended to oppose the decorous refinement and retirement of Katherine Phillips—"Orinda"—and her circle, a distinction noted and employed by a number of feminist scholars like Todd (Angelica 41) and Williamson.

subject to his Sultan. The patriarchalism of the Sultan embodies the social relations governing Nourjahad.<sup>22</sup> Through a positive portrayal of the Sultan, Sheridan reproduces the hierarchy of English society, but she also contests this hierarchy by similarly representing the Sultan as a tyrant. Patriarchy is, at once, given lip service but also undercut.

The Sultan puts Nourjahad under house arrest, under pain of death, for ostensibly lying about the source of his wealth—the guardian genius who has supposedly given Nourjahad unlimited riches and immortality. His confinement lasts until the Sultan's death, sixty-four years later and indeed continues afterwards, since a period of mourning should last twenty days and in that twenty days no "business of any kind is to be transacted" (172). (Nourjahad breaks this proscription in his charitable zeal to feed the hungry, reward the talented, cure the sick, comfort the aged.) The monarch's inherent 'good nature,' so the text tells us, forbids him to abuse his power—to really treat Nourjahad or any of his subjects, for that matter, unfairly or even harshly. In

---

<sup>22</sup> This representation of the familial hierarchy occurs in much Oriental fiction of the period (Ekhtiar 309-10). For example Goldsmith's *Citizen* remarks that "by this the whole state may be said to resemble a family, of which the Emperor is the protector, father and friend: (2:177) and Johnson's *Nekayah* comments that "if a kingdom be . . . a great family, a family is likewise a little kingdom" (Rasselas 657).

the end all is revealed as an illusion and the Sultan magisterially forgives the reformed Nourjahad's disrespect, lies and excesses. And yet until the discovery of Schemzeddin's subterfuge, the narrative indicates that the monarch is tyrannous, greedy, murderous and deaf to Cosro's apparently legitimate complaints about the injustice and corruption of the Sultan's soldiers. In short, the Sultan's world is where one is "sure of meeting nothing but oppression, treachery and disappointments [and] where mercy is construed into treason and charity is called sedition" (178-9). For instance, the Sultan's soldiers attempt to extort money from Cosro but, when he refuses, they jail him and claim that he assaulted them, as well as engaging in treason. Furthermore, Schemzeddin threatens Nourjahad with death for "lying," when, as Schemzeddin knows, he tells the truth as he knows it. Schemzeddin then puts him under house arrest for apparently more than sixty years (179), occasioning Nourjahad's self-pitying but legitimate animadversions:

What a world is this . . . where he who ought to be the rewarder of truth, and the dispenser of justice, shuts his ears against convictions, and condemns an innocent man for endeavouring to set him right? (146)

The Sultan is also "covetous," being "surrounded by needy favourites." He 'executes' Cosro and proposes to execute Nourjahad to satisfy his own and these favourites' greed for gold (182). The narrative contradicts the explicit beneficence and magnanimity of the king, suggesting that the king does not

deserve patriarchal fealty according to Locke's re-formulation of contractarian political philosophy—he has broken the 'contract' by malfeasance.<sup>23</sup> It is within this tension between the two manifestations of the king—as a despot and a benefactor—that Sheridan obliquely contests not only the superiority of monarch but also her inferior status as a woman: a woman does not automatically owe obedience and submission to men any more than a subject does to his king.<sup>24</sup> By this manoeuvre she also resists the insistence that

---

<sup>23</sup> See also Richard Price, friend to Joseph Priestly and a Dissenting minister, who wrote a sermon, Discourse on the Love of our Country, delivered on 4 Nov. 1789, where he claims that the King of England owes his throne to the people of England and that they have the "right to chuse" their "own governors" and to "cashier them for misconduct" (Price 34).

<sup>24</sup> See for example Mary Astell's forthright insistence that women are not bound by contract as subjects to their husbands anymore than men are to their king:

The domestick sovereign is without dispute elected, and the stipulations and contract are mutual; is it not then partial in man . . . to contend for, and practise that arbitrary dominion in their families, which they abhor and exclaim against in the state. For if arbitrary power is evil in it self, and an improper method of governing rational and free agents, it ought not be practis'd any

politics detaches from women's lives. If a man is a tyrant, he is a tyrant at home and the office.

Nourjahad also resists the hierarchy inherent in absolutist political doctrine through a representation of middle-class consciousness. This point is clear when Nourjahad stands before the Sultan accused of sedition—he gave money to the poor, an act which the Sultan interprets as buying affection for himself and disaffection for the legitimate sovereign. Nourjahad, a Protestant English gentleman, relies on his unmediated conscience as a guide and justification, and on his God as an unmediated presence:

Nourjahad stood before him [the Sultan] with his eyes bent to the ground; and however awed he might be at the presence of his royal master, and the august assembly which surrounded him, yet the dignity of conscious innocence, and the perfect reliance he had on the Supreme Judge of his judge, rendered him superior to every thing. His deportment was modest and respectful, yet did he discover no symptom of fear. (184) <sup>25</sup>

---

where. . . . If all men are born free, how is it that all women are born slaves? (39)

<sup>25</sup> Nourjahad's assertion that the "soul of Cosro raised him infinitely more above [the vizier], than the rank of the sultan of Persia lifts him above the meanest of his subjects" (187) also suggests that inner personal virtues remain paramount in determining value.

While the king is near to God, Nourjahad has also a direct channel to that God because he boasts a "superior," individualistic consciousness of anti-aristocratic, autonomous value. Sheridan's text confronts the monarch as the pinnacle of human value and replaces him with the values of those of the middling sort. In short through the representation of a worthy middle-class consciousness, which opposes the Sultan's, and through the representation of an oppressive, avaricious monarch, Sheridan contradicts patriarchal political doctrine. Such repudiation is central to the development of the middle class and capitalism and the gendering of the domestic woman is central to both these movements.

### **The Gendered Struggle for Class Legitimation**

In Haywood's fiction, the contradictory support of aristocratic paternalism and bourgeois capitalism circulates around the polyvalent signifier "luxury": luxury occasions social miscegenation; luxury is antipathetic to the middle-class ethos of hard work and sober living. In Sheridan's text, Oriental luxury is a social evil of these wanton aristocrats disdaining middle-class virtues. Haywood paddles about a good deal in her sensuous (and sensual, for that matter) description, and mediates between two discourses, but Sheridan uses luxury as almost a uniformly negative sign of excess and corruption: luxury opposes the gendered and classed discourse of frugality and philanthropy. This attitude represents and constitutes eighteenth-century



culture. A capitalist economy necessitates saving for subsequent investment and the rationalizing of waged labour; it also requires consumption.

Eighteenth-century middle-class women were central to the creation and re-enforcement of frugality in the culture; they were central to the rationalization of labour, since only the labour of a middle-class man working in the City was defined as productive and deserving of compensation; they were also responsible for household management, including purchases for the home. Despite Nourjahad beginning the narrative as a covetous, selfish, profligate, Orientalized rake, a model of an over-reaching English aristocrat, the story concludes with Nourjahad being a representation of those eighteenth-century, British,

feminized virtues required by developing capitalism:

frugality and consumption.

In culture and symbolic practices, eighteenth-century women must supervise their households in the avoidance of luxury and installation of the feminized virtues. Women's supervisory capacity in their families is partially accomplished through the creation of psychological surface and depth in the 'autonomous' woman and through the need to survey those depths.<sup>26</sup> Sheridan,

---

<sup>26</sup> Foucault theorizes the creation of surface and depth and the need to survey those depths throughout much of his work but see, for example, his History of Sexuality.

Discourse, therefore, had to trace the meeting line of the body

reproducing and generating eighteenth-century pieties about the passions, implies that all, including the not-as-yet-feminized Nourjahad, who bury the inner self under extravagance are not yet socialized in the way of the modern world.

. . . for who can always be guarded against the starts of passion,  
or what man is attentive to that impertinent monitor within, as to  
hear his whispers amidst the hurry of tumultuous pleasures?

(140)

This internal monitor, the act of self-regulation, buried under the lavishness, is an example of the inscription of surface and depth in an individual consciousness, particularly a female individual consciousness, and the need to self-survey those personal, inner recesses.

---

and the soul: . . . beneath the surface of the sins, it would lay  
bare the unbroken nervure of the flesh. Under the authority of a  
language that had been carefully expurgated so that it was no  
longer directly named, sex was taken charge of, tracked down as  
it were, by a discourse that aimed to allow it no obscurity. (20)

The repression of sex, argues Foucault, has the opposite effect of bringing it to the forefront. See also his Discipline and Punish:

Our society is one not of spectacle, but of surveillance; under the  
surface of images, one invests bodies in depth. . . . (217)

Nourjahad, as an unfeminized representative of the aristocracy, fails in understanding his inner recesses and therefore acts immorally: he does not know himself—he has not examined his inner depths—for he means “to enjoy all the pleasures that life can bestow” while claiming that he is yet “a stranger to” his “own heart” if he is “ever led . . . to the wilful commission of a crime” (124). Despite Nourjahad’s asseveration, he

[gives] himself up to pleasures, he [throws] off all restraint, he plunge[s] at once into a tide of luxurious enjoyments; he [forgets] his duty towards God, and neglect[s] all the laws of his prophet. He [grows] lazy and effeminate. . . . (131)

Generally, his lack of knowledge of his hidden self and lack of adequate personal willpower are responsible for his misfortunes but three specific actions precipitate his three extended hibernations: he drinks wine and sleeps for four years; he attempts to create a heaven on earth and sleeps for forty years; he murders Cadiga and sleeps for twenty years. The first two events are both irreligious and immoderate; the last is an instance of domestic violence—a representation of male brutality for which Nourjahad ‘pays’ only twenty years in comparison to the forty years he pays for sacrilege. Nourjahad’s greed for gold and immortality is, as the text admonishes us, an “ill judged and pernicious choice” from beginning to end (130) and antipathetic to the sober, saving virtues exemplified by women. These virtues must be learned by the model female citizen. When the narrative concludes Nourjahad has become a

feminized representative of these virtues. Sheridan anchors her text in culture.<sup>27</sup>

In Nourjahad there is also a continuing adherence to what was once an aristocratic duty but now has become a bourgeois one—the obligation to give alms to the deserving poor as opposed to the idle poor. Charity becomes in Nourjahad the curative pharmakon to poisonous luxury: Nourjahad will “find more true luxury” in the ability “to diffuse blessings amongst mankind” than in “all the gratifications wherewith [he] has indulged [his] appetites.”<sup>28</sup>

---

<sup>27</sup> See also McKeon:

[T]he significance of the sensible Man of Feeling may be that, as a fully feminized hero, he strategically reclaimed a now recognizably feminine model of virtue as a distinctively male possession, re-incorporating the newly normative gender traits within what a patriarchal culture persisted in seeing as the normative sex (“Historicizing Patriarchy” 314).

<sup>28</sup> See also

The delicacies and profusion in which he himself wallowed, made him forget that there were wants or miseries amongst his fellow-creatures; and as he had but little intercourse with mankind, except with those who flattered his follies, or administered to his loose pleasures, he became hardened to all the social affections. (148)

He is directed to dissolve his luxurious selfhood in the luxury of charity. His devolution into vice halts when he resolves to

Enquire out every family in Ormuz whom calamity hath overtaken, and provided they did not bring on their distresses by their own wilful misconduct, restore them to prosperity. Seek out the helpless and the innocent; and by a timely supply of their wants, secure them against the attacks of poverty, or temptations of vice. Search for such as you [Cosro] think have talents which will render them useful to society; but who, for want of the goods of fortune, are condemned to obscurity; relieve their necessities, and enable them to answer the purposes for which nature designed them. . . . I will have hospitals built for the reception of the aged and the sick and my tables shall be spread for the refreshment of the weary traveller. (170)

This expression of philanthropy is clearly tied to notions of the deserving poor and the utilitarian value of some members of society who are in need of expansive paternalism. Here, poverty is not a result of external, determinative inadequacies in politics, culture or economics but rather a function of individual misfortune, personal deterioration and individual "wilful misconduct." The distribution of largesse is on a case-by-case basis.<sup>29</sup> The

---

<sup>29</sup> Although institutional charity, mostly funded by the upper

philanthrope must survey individuals to determine their personal responsibility for misfortune and on that basis apply charity. Focusing on personal magnanimity, Richardson's Pamela is a similar surveyor when she hopes that B will

look through [his] poor acquaintances and neighbours, and let me have a list of such honest industrious poor as may be true objects of charity and have no other assistance; particularly such as are blind, lame, or sickly, with their several cases; and also such poor families and housekeepers as are reduced by misfortunes. . . . I long to be making a beginning, with the kind quarterly benevolence my dear good benefactor has bestowed upon me for such good purposes. (500-501) <sup>30</sup>

---

classes, had been around since the fifteenth century (Wuthnow 43) the eighteenth century witnessed a rise in institutional and conspicuously public charity in, for example, the organization of philanthropic societies which were often the endeavours of middle-class men (Davidoff and Hall 419, 432-3).

<sup>30</sup> For another example from the end of the century see also Jane West's The Advantages of Education, or, The History of Maria Williams (1793) where the mother of the central character is less interested in her daughter's "possession of shewey accomplishments" which would make her more valuable in the marriage market than instilling the virtues of charity and forbearance (227).

Similar to Nourjahad, Pamela's insistence on merit is based on bourgeois ideas of individuality and industry and does not recognize external social and economic forces. Unlike Pamela, Nourjahad, who is gendered male although he ends as a feminized male, is able to establish an institutional form of charity in his plan to build hospitals (See Armstrong, "The Rise of the Domestic Woman" 133).

Since the opportunities for women to earn a living had become much more restricted, middle-class women's profession became good works, particularly after the 1790s. The ground was paved for this development at least from the "middle of the century" when "Christian charity . . . and a vague benevolence" was "enjoined on them" (Todd, Angelica 205). The feminized Nourjahad plans to devote all his time to good works; a religious devotion to and a benevolent profession for the charity work of women is explicitly a feminine virtue in Hannah More's Coelebs in Search of a Wife (1809): "Charity is the calling of a lady; the care of the poor is her profession" (2:21).<sup>31</sup> Increasingly women took over the duties of the benevolent aristocrat

---

<sup>31</sup> Similar to Nourjahad and Pamela, in Colebs a "large portion" of those experiencing "poverty and disease" are in this condition because of "vice," because of some personal, individual failure. More proposes to infuse "a religious principle, which shall check idleness, drinking, and extravagance," (2:28) not a very effective treatment for endemic typhus or industrial silicosis or the appeal to lethe by the gin mill.

and became agents of private (and later public) charity, delivering that benevolent paternalism. This feminized operation is recognized and defined as central in Nourjahad.

Furthermore, this life of good works for middle-class women had another effect of hypostatizing her position within the house. As Nancy Armstrong observes, this "notion of charity was inexorably linked to the female role of household overseer" (Armstrong, "Rise" 133). But this movement is double and contradictory. Clearly in a superior position, women identified the 'deserving' objects of their charity—the lower classes—as helpless and childlike. However, they were also, as Judith Newton observes, "urged to relinquish self-definition"—autonomy—by that identification of their "services to others."<sup>32</sup> This inconsistency suggests that women in Sheridan's novel are superior by class but inferior by gendering.<sup>33</sup>

---

<sup>32</sup> Newton only identifies the construction of women's devotion and ignores the paternal aspects of women's good works (Women, Power . . . 4).

<sup>33</sup> For further evidence of this contradiction see Pamela, who expostulates regarding charity that it "is almost a hard thing to lie under the weight of such deep obligation on one side, and such a sense of one's own unworthiness on the other (329).



## The Struggle for Gender Legitimation

In Nourjahad the private, female space of the seraglio/home is subject to the regulatory gaze of the state, represented through the almost absolute omniscience of Sheridan's narrator and reproduced in the absolute omniscience of the Sultan Schemzeddin. This all-seeing supervisor also receives textual embodiment in Jeremy Bentham's prison inspector in the "Panopticon." Sheridan's narrator, her Sultan and Bentham's inspector all constitute an over-arching textual representation of power inscribed in the modern subject. So in Nourjahad, Schemzeddin begins as the absolute inspector but then this power is, much as Bentham envisions, internalized and inscribed in the feminized subject, Nourjahad.

In 1791 in a series of letters, Jeremy Bentham conceived of "Penitentiary Panopticon," an architectural plan applicable to "prisons for confinement before trial, or penitentiary-houses, or houses of correction or work houses or manufactories or mad-houses or hospitals or schools" (40). Bentham's architectural design and textual description envisions not only visual but also acoustic surveillance.<sup>34</sup> The omphalos is an observation tower that

---

<sup>34</sup> Similar to Bentham but more than a century earlier, Leibnitz conceived of an educational thought experiment where

buildings will be constructed in such a way that the master of the house will be able to hear and see everything that is said and done without himself being perceived, by means of mirrors and

allows the supervisor to see "without being seen" into all the backlit cells on the periphery (44). The atomization and isolation of each prisoner in his cell is the purpose—in the original formulation no inmate is to see another (40)—which, according to Foucault, induces "in the inmate a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power . . . in short, that the inmates should be caught-up in a power situation of which they are themselves the bearers" (Discipline 200-201). In Bentham's words:

The persons to be inspected should always feel themselves as if under inspection, at least as standing a great chance of being so. . . . [T]he greater chance there is, of a given person's being at a given time actually under inspection, the more strong will be the persuasion—the more intense . . . the feeling, he has of his being so. (Bentham's italics 44)

While Schemzeddin does not have such an elaborate architectural/textual reification of power, his method of control is almost as effective. He tells Nourjahad that

---

pipes, which will be a most important thing for the State, and a kind of political confessional. (qtd. Bender, Penitentiary 40)

Similarly, Bentham also envisioned acoustic surveillance by which a "small tin tube might reach from each cell to the inspector's lodge" (41) but later abandoned this as unworkable (84-5). (See Bender, Penitentiary 40.)

the confinement I laid you under was for no other end than to cut off all intercourse between you and any others than those of your own household, every one of whom were of my placing about you.

. . . .

There was not an action of thy life but I was made acquainted with; and whilst thou didst triumph in the joys of my successful illusion, I sometimes pitied thy weakness and sometimes laughed at thy extravagance (191)

Here, in what Foucault would call the capillary operations, power is constructed in the symbolic practices of culture. Nourjahad is first isolated, observed in his home/seraglio and then finally changed to internalize that regulatory gaze. He begins by needing supervision; having learned his lessons, he concludes as a feminized supervisor of himself and as a supervisor of the those who are classed as beneath him.

The text begins by using the extended trope of Eastern despotism as constituted in the relations of the seraglio. This is a manoeuvre depicting the Oriental Other that initially insists on difference from Britain in the not-as-yet feminized Nourjahad and concludes in similitude to Britain though the feminized Nourjahad. The seraglio has a long genealogy in Western representations of the Oriental Other. Olivier Richon's observation about the

Eurocentric narcissism in nineteenth-century academic orientalist painting applies to writing at the mid-eighteenth century:

The harem is the exclusive domain of one being, the Despot.

The order of the harem is organised around the limitless pleasure of the Master, above all his sexual pleasure which starts with his scopical privilege. Only the Prince has the privilege of seeing women. (9)

But that voyeuristic privilege is also created by and for the Western eye in orientalist painting and in writing. In both, it refers to other representations, not reality, for few Western observers were ever admitted to the women's quarters (Ahmed 524). For example, Herbert (Travels in Persia, 1627-1629) comments that the women of the East "veil their faces in public" and then continues on to describe those faces (235). Similarly, Jean Dumont (New Voyage to the Levant (1696)) admits that a servant may live twenty years in a family and never see his Mistress's face, since she is veiled (268), but he then describes Turkish women: they wear a "Tiffany or gauze," which provides the "ravish'd beholder" an "unclouded view of all the most charming beauties that are so carefully concealed" by European women. Like her Western sisters, Turkish women also paint (271; see also Lowe, 39-40). He concludes by observing that

Turkish Women are the most charming creatures in the World:

they seem to be made for love; their actions, gestures, discourse,

and looks are all amorous, and admirably well fitted to kindle a soft and lasting passion (273).<sup>35</sup>

Just as the topos of the seraglio is the sight of sexual pleasure which is never seen, it is also the site of imagined Eastern despotism. Unlike her Western corollary, the Eastern woman as figured in the harem is the object of terrible oppression in Western orientalist writing. Dumont complains that "there is no slavery equal to that of the Turkish women" (268) and that Turks are barbarous despots because they enslave their women in the seraglio: the Sultan's wives are treated with "severity . . . by the white and black Eunuchs, who never permit 'em to enjoy the least shadow of liberty." He also assures us of the truth of this because others have also reported the same things: "all the relations of travellers are full of stories and reflections on this subject" (167; see also Lowe, 39-40). In the writings signed by eighteenth-century men, the harem not only signifies Oriental despotism but may also suggest despotism in state affairs at home. Some critics have identified the treatment of harem women in Montesquieu's Lettres persanes as example of Oriental despotism that refers to domestic affairs: they emphasize totalitarian repression rather

---

<sup>35</sup> See also Douthwaite who observes that Chardin in Travels in Persia noted the difficulty in penetrating the harem: "It is thus very difficult to know anything certain of what goes on in the harem . . ." and then goes on to satisfy the readers prurient fascination with the forbidden sexuality of the women's quarters (81).

than the subjugation of women (Pucci 150; Harari 92; Strong 168).<sup>36</sup> In Sheridan's representation of the Oriental seraglio and virtually all Western representations, as Edward Said argues, Oriental despotism is a form of a power/knowledge matrix of Western culture: it is an Occidental representation of the Other by which England constitutes herself and appropriates the Oriental Other's ability for self-representation. In the hands of male authors, such as Montesquieu, the Oriental harem often signifies Eastern despotism, oppressing women in a way that Europe does not, but signifying political despotism at home through analogy. To this, female writers add a cross-cultural identification with women immured in the harem, eliding the differences between women and unifying all men as examples of despots.<sup>37</sup> In other

---

<sup>36</sup> Lowe also sees in Lettres persanes a heterogenous sympathy in Montesquieu for women's oppression.

<sup>37</sup> Susan Morgan, writing about Victorian women's travels to South East Asia, has come to a similar conclusion. Morgan says that, in general, Victorian women writers were more sensitive and responsive "to many elements of their experiences in the East which often subsumes the unexamined racist assumptions" of western orientalism. According to Morgan, the orientalism which Said examines is primarily a male tradition and she argues that Raymond Schwab's thesis in the Oriental Renaissance—the West's turning toward the East being a humanistic activity emphasizing similarity—is closer to the activity of these women (192-3). According to Lisa Lowe in Critical

words, women writers tend to elide the differences between East and West while male writers tend to exaggerate them. For instance, Catherine Mccaulay Graham in Letters on Education (1790) plans to educate women "to act a rational part in the world, and not to fill up a niche in the seraglio of a sultan" (220)—the point being that British women are caught in a similar hierarchy of gender relations as exemplified by the seraglio. Judith Drake, the writer of "An Essay in Defence of the Female Sex" (1696), also uses the same trope:

As the world grew more populous, and mens [sic] necessities whetted their inventions, so it increased their jealousy, and sharpen'd their tyranny over us, till by degrees, it came to that height of severity, I may say cruelty, it is now at in all the eastern parts of the World, where the Women, like our Negroes in our western plantations, are born slaves, and live prisoners all their lives. Nay, so far has this barbarous humour prevail'd and spread it self, that in some parts of Europe, which pretend to be most refin'd and civilize'd, in spite of Christianity . . . our condition is not very much better. (Drake 30)

---

Terrains, Lady Mary in her Turkish Embassy Letters also employs "both the rhetoric of identification, most frequently in her descriptions of Turkish court women, and the rhetoric of differentiation with regard to other aspects of Turkish society in general" (32).

Mary Wollstonecraft in Vindication of the Rights of Woman (1792) also equates the treatment of women in the seraglio with the treatment of women in the West because both are educated only to be "fit for a seraglio" (76).<sup>38</sup>

Sheridan frequently uses the conventional, orientalist topos of the harem—the descriptions are lush, women are bought and sold and displayed for Western scopic pleasure (127, 131 159); in short, she participates in the discourse of orientalism. But she also protests it as well. Nourjahad begins with an hierarchical, gendered seraglio in which he wields the discursive power of the phallus but as the narrative progresses the gendering blurs: Nourjahad becomes increasingly impotent and his seraglio comes unglued because he cannot regulate its operations. For example, just prior to his first hibernation, he orders a banquet that reproduces the orientalist fantasy of bejewelled

---

<sup>38</sup> Wollstonecraft also complains that women's affectation of delicacy and weakness are as much practised in the seraglio as the English home (98). The anonymous writer of The Hardships of English Laws in relation to Wives (1735) also complains that a man

may be as despotic as the Grand Seignior in his seraglio, with this difference only, that the English husband has but one vassal to treat according to his variable humour, whereas the Grand Seignior having many it may be supposed, that some of them at some times may be suffered to be at quiet. (Vivian Jones, ed. 218)



women, a "thousand torches, composed of odoriferous gums," a silver canopy, and so on (135-6). When he regains consciousness four years later, the seraglio has deteriorated—he is losing his power—and he is "enraged" at the neglect because no slaves are in "waiting" (136). Hasem, presumably a eunuch although this is never stated, has tended his seraglio nearly as well as Mandana: she, as a female supervisor of her family gendered in writing and culture, "kept order and harmony in his family"; he kept the women of his harem "immured within the walls of the seraglio" but less happily than Mandana for they "murmur at their situation" (138-9). Both Mandana and Hasem are gendered by their lack—their otherness to Nourjahad.

Sheridan's seraglio includes a subtle display of 'lawless' sexuality, further undermining Nourjahad's power while he sleeps. After waking from his second sleep, Nourjahad worries that the women of his seraglio had been "indulging themselves in liberties without that restraint to which they were accustomed in his presence"—his phallic presence (emphasis added 153). As Nourjahad's potency wanes and he becomes more Eastern as encoded in the texts of orientalism—sybaritic, effeminate, cruel, capricious—he loses sovereignty over them and the (sexual) lawlessness increases. Following Nourjahad's final hibernation, Cosro observes to Nourjahad

Thou hadst rendered thyself so odious to thy women that not one of them retained the smallest degree of love or fidelity towards thee. In spite of my vigilance they made thy hated seraglio the

scene of their unlawful pleasures; and at length having bribed the eunuchs who guarded them, they all . . . fled. (emphasis added, 166)

Conventional in accounts of the harem, these "unlawful pleasures" and unrestrained "liberties" refer to orientalism's "universe of generalized perversions"—Malek Alloula's description of orientalist representation—and, as Leask observes, make the "absorption of the East" in an otherworldly "dream of licentiousness" ripe "for moral and economic appropriation by European colonial power" (21).<sup>39</sup> While Alloula is certainly correct in his assessment of orientalism's prurient fascination with objectification of Algerian women, which he analyzes in the context of the French soft-porn postcards and which is generally true of orientalism—in, for instance, Burton's obvious salacious

---

<sup>39</sup> See Alloula's chapter, from which this quotation is drawn, on the representation of "Oriental Sapphism," which is ordered around the "absence of the phallus" but also "has the peculiar ability of fulfilling the scopophilic instinct (voyeurism) without neutralizing or cancelling the sexual instinct in the process" (96). He does not suggest that lesbianism may disrupt the power relations. Montesquieu also represents the general deterioration of the harem as sexual: Zachi is "caught in bed with one of her female slaves," a young man is "found in the garden of the seraglio" and the harem women having left "masculine and severe virtue" behind and discover some "new kind of pleasure and joyfulness" (287, 293).

footnoting of Arabian Nights' (see Kabbani 45-66) as well as in the more understated eighteenth-century Oriental tale, including Sheridan's—his discourse is primarily, as Perera observes, a "male transaction," (141, n. 24) which excludes women, while it purports to speak for them. In this respect, it bears a similarity to Said's totalizing propensity.<sup>40</sup> To put it another way, the objectification of Oriental women harms women, not only the post-colonial (male) subject as Alloula argues and, while the female writers of Oriental tales appropriate the voice of the Oriental Other, they also provide sites of resistance to the Western totalizing and exclusionary politics of male orientalism as figured by Said.<sup>41</sup> Alloula complains about colonialism's objectification and

---

<sup>40</sup> See also Morgan who observes that if

we use Said's insights alone to approach a genre . . . we simply overlay a male construct on what was a female construct. And who then silences a woman's voice, the Victorians or us? (194)

In "Orientalism Reconsidered," published six years after his signal study, Said seems, at least partially, to admit his totalizing tendency by observing that "Orientalism is a praxis of the same sort, albeit in different territories, as male gender dominance or patriarchy in metropolitan societies" (23). Nonetheless, Said in his recent Culture and Imperialism, continues to ignore gender as a category which influences colonial relations.

<sup>41</sup> Lowe has also noted Said's monolithic construction of orientalism's terms (ix-x). See also O'Hanlon who approves of Said's

exploitation of Eastern women by systems of representation, specifically the French postcard, but colonialism is not solely responsible for this: patriarchal discourses stage a similar subaltern contingency on women in general. The female colonial subject is not the only woman who is objectified here. Alloula's male dignity is at issue in the visual deflowering of Algerian womanhood and his stance is fundamentally patriarchal. These women do not speak for themselves; he must speak for them and protect them and express his outrage.

One of the places of resistance where Sheridan's tale destabilizes this masculine perspective is in the representation of sapphism—her understated "unlawful pleasures": it contests the central organization of the harem around the phallus by excluding male privilege, by contesting this harem hierarchy, and in that manoeuvre controverts the oppression of women.

---

totalization and argues that what gives

Orientalism its power was precisely its ability to reinterpret, within a single framework, core elements in the European intellectual and political tradition for a very long period and, indeed, to reinterpret them in ways that obscured internal relations of contestation and resistance in Western cultures (157).

I am here interested more in those sites of contestation and resistance in women's writing.

The textual objectifying of naked or near-naked women is also a conventional theme of both men and women writing of the Oriental harem. So in Sheridan's text Nourjahad plans an entertainment where the women of his seraglio are to impersonate the houris, Nourjahad is to play Mohammed, and a favourite, to represent the prophet's wife, Cadiga. A discussion follows where

some of the ladies gave it as their opinion that went naked. . . .

After many disputes . . . they struck a sort of medium, and agreed to be attired in loose robes of the thinnest Persian gauze, with chaplets of flowers on their heads. (150)

Sheridan's readers are invited to collude with orientalism's objectification of women, marked by the gaze of Nourjahad and "some of the ladies." When Nourjahad awakes, he finds that these "beautiful Houris" are "wrinkled and deformed old hags" (151). Nourjahad tells the women to "begone . . . and rid my sight of such hideous aspects."

Miserable wretches that we are, said they, beating their withered breasts, it had been happy for us if we had all died in our youth, rather than have thus out-lived our lord's affections! (152)

Nourjahad then assigns Cadiga, one of his favourites, the job of finding replacements for his harem. At this point, the disgusted gaze is stable, masculine and Western in the exclusionary practices of orientalism and sexism. But at the conclusion, the perspective changes; Mandana, who is revealed both as the subject and object of scopic pleasure, claims it. First, she was

Nourjahad's omnipotent guardian genius, deflating him with laughter, when his discomfiture is revealed (186); second, it was she who selected Nourjahad as her mate and not the other way around. Schemzeddin

had a mind to make trial of thy [Nourjahad's] heart, and for this purpose made choice of this charming virgin [Mandana], for whom I own I had entertained a passion, but found I could not gain her affections. She had seen you from the windows of the women's apartments . . . and had conceived a tenderness for you, which she frankly confessed to me, declaring at the same time, she would never give her love to any other. Though she was my slave, I would not put a constraint upon her inclinations; but told her, if she would assist me faithfully in a design I had formed, I would reward her, by bestowing her on you. (189)

Mandana, while still bearing the traces of chattel and gender slavery bestowed on Nourjahad for good behaviour, is also the site of scopic privilege and pleasure and chooses her mate by looking from her window. She disrupts the power relations by constituting herself as powerful subject.

Sheridan writes about the Orient and insists that British women are not much less oppressed than their Eastern counterparts as figured in orientalist writing. She erases the male Oriental fantasy of one man to many women as

figured in the harem by virtually marrying Nourjahad to Mandana and making her the one who chooses her mate.

Sheridan also figures the Eastern woman as physically constrained by seraglio walls and eunuchs loyal only to the Sultan. But Sheridan constructs and represents oppression in which the power relations are impressed upon and inscribed within the gendered body of women. Women felt (and feel) that they are constantly the object of the omniscient gaze of someone like Bentham's Inspector and have internalized much of the sexism and gender stereotypes. Bentham was perhaps not far wrong when he observed that the Turks could learn a few things about the governance of the seraglio from his "Penitentiary Panopticon."

Neither do I mean to give any instructions to the Turks for applying the inspection principle to their seraglios: No, . . . notwithstanding the great saving it would make in the article of eunuchs, of whom one trusty one in the inspection-lodge would be as good as half a hundred. The price of that kind of cattle could not fail of falling at least ten per cent., and the insurance upon marital honour at least as much, upon the bare hint given of such an establishment in any of the Constantinople papers.

(65)

In the eighteenth century women had certain gender essential characteristics ascribed to them by writing and it was (and is) through the

inscription of those values within the female subject that those characteristics are enforced, through using a discursive and non-corporeal architecture of power. Sheridan's responses to political patriarchalism, classism sexism and chauvinism are heterogeneous. The modest position of female subjecthood colludes with and protests the voyeuristic representations of the harem, where women are at once both subject and object. The contestatory practices of women are heterogeneous—sometimes sexist, sometimes not. As Cora Kaplan observes

There is no feminism that can stand wholly outside femininity as it is posed in a given historical moment. All feminisms give some ideological hostage to femininities and are constructed through the gender sexuality of their day as well as standing in opposition to them. ("Wild Nights" 177)

Writing women at the mid-eighteenth century were inscribing and being inscribed in an increasingly gendered and separate province from the political world of men. This development was not accomplished with uniform acceptance. Sheridan's text is heterogeneous because it both affirms and contests the patriarchal structures in her culture. Sheridan also writes from the perspective of the male subject, Nourjahad. This strategy is understandable since this gives her a temporary access to a masculine power unavailable to women in their lives. But Nourjahad also concludes the narrative as a representative of female virtues as inscribed in writing and culture. However



much we may find those virtues claustrophobic and essentializing, the representation of those 'naturally' feminine virtues gives them a positive valuation. Nourjahad begins in omnipotent immorality, lubricity and wilfulness, but concludes in self-affirmed benevolence, godliness and obedience. He begins as needing supervision; he concludes as externally supervising others and internally monitoring of himself. Moving themselves from the position of objects, women wrote themselves and were written as subjects with positive attributes. But the feminization of culture in the eighteenth century is not the same thing as having a feminist consciousness: while Nourjahad concludes the narrative as a feminized man he is not feminist in any immediately apparent sense.

In being subjects inscribed in culture, women such as Sheridan also surveyed and assessed the poor. They did so in a manoeuvre of objectification from a position gendered as inferior but classed as superior. Were the objects of their philanthropy misfortunate, responsible, deserving? Were women subjectively fit to serve? Only a recourse to subjective surveillance could answer the latter; only a recourse to objective surveillance, the former.

## Chapter 4

Late Eighteenth-Century Sensibility and the

Modern Woman in Ellis Cornelia Knight's

Dinarbas; A Tale Being a Continuation of Rasselas

The Foundation of Empire is Art &  
Science. Remove them or Degrade  
them & the Empire is no more.  
Empire follows Art & Not Vice  
Versa as Englishmen suppose.

William Blake [Annotations  
to Reynolds' Discourses on  
Art 1509]

As a young woman Ellis Cornelia Knight knew some of the most important artists and intellectuals of the middle and later eighteenth century. In her own words, "Johnson was a very intimate at our house" while her family knew Reynolds, Elizabeth Montague, Burke and Goldsmith (Autobiography 1: 8-12). Acclaimed in her forties as "Nelson's poet laureate" after composing panegyrics on Nelson's military victories, and known as a reader, writer and translator of modern and ancient languages, she was acknowledged in the late eighteenth century as a learned woman: Lady Hamilton, writing to Lady Nelson, observes that "Miss K is very clever in everything she undertakes"

(Luttrell 105) and Hester Thrale, describing Dinarbas, observes that "tis written by the learned Miss Knight, with whom I had the honour to be acquainted with at Naples" (2:779). She also wrote an epistolary novel about Augustan Rome, Marcus Flamminius; or a View of the Military, Political and Social Life of the Romans . . . (1793); an Italian historical romance, Sir Guy de Lusignan (1833); a travelogue displaying a knowledge of classical literature and illustrated with twenty of her own sepia etchings, A Description of Latium (1805); and an incomplete manuscript of her autobiography, compiled and published in 1861 by J.W. Kaye (Autobiography 1:ix-x). This manuscript centres on the years that she was attached to the royal household as a companion to the Princess of Wales, but does not mention her novels (Autobiography 1:98, 100).

### **Struggle for Generic Legitimation**

Beginning where Rasselas left off—the "inundation" of the Nile has "subsided"—Dinarbas continues with the characters' resolutions not to return merely to Abyssinia, which is Johnson's ambiguous conclusion, but "to return to their former dwelling [in the Happy Valley] and pass the remainder of their lives in study" because they are disappointed in finding "a choice of the state of life most conducive to happiness" (17). The search for a "choice of life," that resounds and may ultimately prove futile in Johnson's Rasselas, is fully futile in Dinarbas since "inconstancy will attend . . . desire" and, when "choice is allowed," caprice will "direct . . . actions" (41). Rather than "choice,"

Dinarbas reverberates with "resignation" and "duty," particularly quietistic and, as figured by Knight, Christian virtues incumbent on both genders but particularly on women denied equality and overt power and confined to their 'natural' station—the private and the personal—in eighteenth-century culture.<sup>1</sup> Duty in Dinarbas must be done "with firmness and resignation" (18) and done frequently in submission to the "will of Heaven" (43).<sup>2</sup> In comparison to Rasselas, Knight's Oriental novel has a lesser emphasis on personal freedom and greater emphasis on events which pull the intrepid male characters in various interesting and unpredictable ways. These ways may beget in the male characters the response of resignation when no action is possible or resistance when something is to be done. So Arabs seize and imprison Knight's Rasselas in a tower where he subjectively explores resignation, but he also reluctantly fights a number of battles with various aggressors, often his brothers, all according to heaven's plan. In comparison to Johnson's tale, Knight provides a

---

<sup>1</sup> Nekayah, for instance, is "persuaded that happiness [is] unattainable and this persuasion . . . is often useful to the unhappy" because being "devoid of hope and of fear and having experienced their vicissitudes, she [feels] the advantages of tranquility" (83).

<sup>2</sup> Examples of the importance of resignation abound in the novel but see, for example, "[r]esignation should be the favourite study of the wise and the principal virtue of the brave" (41-2) and it is "resignation to the will of Heaven" which saves Amalphis from despair after the death of his son (43).

neater resolution to her fiction—Rasselas institutes good government and the central characters marry. Despite her ending, resignation to Divine Will constitutes the proper response because various vicissitudes may not always bring felicity in this life.<sup>3</sup> Knight's characters include the original cast of the Prince and Princess of Abyssinia, Rasselas and Nekayah; the Princess's lady-in-waiting, Pekuah; the poet, Imlac; and the nameless astronomer, all of whom, as re-written by Knight, have given up trying to control and direct their lives by attempting to make choices informed by observation and conversation. To this cast Knight has added Dinarbas, Rasselas' friend and comrade at arms; Amalphis, Dinarbas' father; and Zilia, Dinarbas' sister. In Rasselas, until Lady Pekuah is abducted at the pyramid and life intrudes dramatically on the travellers and demands involvement, they are a little like the Orientalized spies of Marana, Goldsmith, Lyttelton and Montesquieu: distanced observers, investigating and discussing various theoretical topics of interest and choosing not to be involved in the life that passes before them (see also Messenger 203). By Chapters Two and Three of Dinarbas—tellingly entitled "The Prince Is No

---

<sup>3</sup> Dinarbas concludes with Rasselas again asserting the goodness of resignation and submission to God:

our search after happiness . . . had taught us resignation. . . .

Much is to be suffered in our journey through life; but conscious virtue, active fortitude, the balm of sympathy and submission to the Divine Will, can support us through the painful trial. (138)

Longer Left to his Own Choice" and "The Prince Embraces a New State of Life"—Rasselas is no longer a mere observer and experimenter to determine a "choice of life"; events have overtaken him and he has become heroically involved in the world. He and Dinarbas must do their duty (and their pleasure, in this case) by riding off to fight the Egyptians.

But this novel is also clearly gendered.<sup>4</sup> All Knight's characters must be resigned to the will of heaven but the women must practice more resignation because they do little more than occasionally converse but more frequently loiter and weep waiting for the heroes to return from the dead or an adventure. Even Johnson's Lady Pekuah finds herself an adventure because she is kidnapped, although her escapade in the seraglio ultimately proves tedious.

---

<sup>4</sup> See Melocco who similarly observes that "Dinarbus [sic] thus subtly shifts the distinction between romance and reality in Rasselas to a distinction between reading romance and living it—that is, to behaving in such a way that will forestall disappointment." She concludes that Knight

reappropriates Johnson's appropriations of orientalist romance conventions specifically for the experience of women. . . . [and] revises Johnson's basic framework for the use of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century upper-class women, who were entering an era of unprecedented restriction to their wallpapered rooms. (190, 196).

The female reader who would see herself in a position of power in Knight's novel must identify with the male heroes because Nekayah, Pekuah and Zilia form a small, inactive island in a sea of pursuits typically gendered as male.

The literature and gender context of Dinarbas differs from the Oriental novels of the mid-century as written by either Johnson or Sheridan. In the intervening years between Johnson and Knight, the characters have lost much agency—they must after all practise much resignation—and their gaze has become inwardly focussed on the subjective self. In line with general trends in eighteenth-century culture, the events in Knight's tale have a greater impact on the subjectivities of the novelized characters. For example, reason is not its own virtue but acts as a regulatory superego which warmer motives like "emanations of the heart" should inspire (14), something that Dr Johnson would likely find self-indulgent but which becomes essential for the gendering of late eighteenth-century women.<sup>5</sup> Comparable to Johnson's, Knight's various characters spend much time examining morality and ethical conduct; unlike Johnson's they explore their feelings as the basis for ethical behaviour. While Dinarbas centres on the feelings and emotions of the self in a way that Dr Johnson would not approve (See Rambler No. 4), it is, however, more

---

<sup>5</sup> Despite Johnson's likely disapproval, here Knight expresses the fairly conventional relationship between reason and passion. See also, for example, Hume: "reason is, and ought only to be the slave of the passions, and can never pretend to any other office than to serve and obey them" (462).

adventurous than Rasselas but less explorative of those subjective depths, less inward-looking, than Nourjahad. The central character—still Rasselas, despite Knight's title—need not be gendered from the inside out, as must Nourjahad. Knight's Rasselas already possesses a bourgeois, social and personal conscience that only needs further development through experience and through marriage to the right woman. Nourjahad requires the inscription of a certain set of middle-class, individualistic values; Knight's Rasselas only requires refinement of these values through experience and a little analysis of his subjective self to make him a good king and a good husband. Dinarbas is also more specific in its architecture of novel time and space than either Nourjahad or Rasselas. While Nourjahad is set in a timeless Persian past and Rasselas, a timeless north African, Dinarbas has an expanded but specific positioning: the middle of the seventeenth century (87) and primarily in Abyssinia and Egypt, with forays into Turkey and Greece by Dinarbas, who eventually becomes the ruler of Serbia. This specificity also suggests a greater acquaintance with the East by a late eighteenth-century society on the inception of its colonial imperative.

Dinarbas is also generically a novel of ideas, more related to Voltaire's Candide and Rasselas than to the late Enlightenment philosophical novels by the Jacobins. The formal structure of Dinarbas (as well as that of Rasselas) is discrete and paratactic in the sense that some chapters are discursive, "Simplicity", for example, or plot-based, "History of Elphenor," but could be moved without much violence to the story. This discursive structure



is conventional in Oriental spy tales (and philosophic tales); the inset narrative is characteristic in picaresque fiction and often novels, Oriental or otherwise. Far more plot action occurs in Knight's narratives than in Johnson's. Both discourse on abstract topics, but Johnson's characters then travel onward, and Knight's male characters ride yet again to battle or meet another calamity to determine who should rule and what the structure of government should be in Abyssinia.

Romance conventions such as the birthmark identifying the woman, Cadiga, in Nourjahad or the convention of power residing in a talisman, Eovaai's carcanet, have disappeared, as has the supernatural, naturalized in Nourjahad and legitimated by textual machinery in Eovaai. As in Johnson's tale, the impossible has vanished. Romance does remain in the form of courtship, absent in Johnson's tale, between Rasselas and Zilia, and Dinarbas and Nekayah. By including a sexual plot but working with Rasselas as a palimpsest—as a point of comparison to Johnson's Oriental tale—Knight genders her Oriental tale. In short, the vestigial aristocratic ancestor of heroic romance is mediated with an attention to the philosophic tale—male, aloof, legitimate and patrician—that is in turn mediated by the sentimental courtship plot—female, subjective, fatherless and middle-class.

First, Knight attempts to legitimize her narrative by reference in her "Introduction" to the monumental figure presiding at mid-century: Samuel Johnson. Similar to Johnson's Oriental tale, Dinarbas, published in 1790, was

written because of financial need resulting from the death of a family member: Johnson wrote Rasselas to settle his mother's debts and pay for her funeral, and Knight, according to her mother's correspondence, wrote Dinarbas to "make up . . . the reduction in our little pittance" that was consequent on her father's death fifteen years earlier,<sup>6</sup> and also as a diversion for her confined and ailing mother (Luttrell 84). In the "Introduction" to Dinarbas Knight does not mention her mother's privation, financial or social, as reasons for continuing Johnson's tale. She claims that she wants to continue Rasselas as Johnson had planned:

Sir John Hawkins, in his life of Dr. Johnson says, "that the writer had an intention of marrying his hero, and placing him in a state of permanent felicity." This passage suggested the idea of the continuation now offered. . . .(9)<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>6</sup> Cornelia's father, beginning as a Captain, was promoted Rear Admiral of the White five months before his death in 1775. He willed the bulk of his estate to Cornelia and her half-sister Suki. Lady Knight was denied her petition for her husband's military pension because she could prove only moderate rather than dire financial exigency and because the First Lord of the Admiralty, John Montagu Earl of Sandwich, did not approve of the Knights' Whig partisanship (Luttrell 112n, 38).

<sup>7</sup> Knight slightly misquotes Hawkins: ". . . Johnson had meditated a second part, in which he meant to marry his hero [sic] and place him in a state of permanent felicity. . . ." (372). (Both Knight and Hawkins and many

In Knight's continuation, Rasselas fights sundry battles, resulting in the restoration of the rightful monarch, escapes from assorted prisons and marries Zilia, Dinarbas' sister and the daughter of his father's trusted border commander. Knight's novel has a greater emphasis on plot, romance and adventure than Johnson's.

Knight experienced some financial success with Dinarbas—it was published five times during her lifetime (1790, 1792, 1793, 1800, 1811), translated into French and Italian in 1791 (Luttrell 87), and bound and published intermittently with Johnson's Rasselas until the middle of the nineteenth century, when they permanently parted company ("Forward" 5; "Editor's Introduction" vii). It was last published on its own in 1892 (vii).

Notwithstanding its success, she also received much negative criticism for her continuation. By gesturing towards Johnson, Knight attempts to legitimize her fiction, but the attempt to establish credibility was not a success because most criticism tends to focus on its relationship to Rasselas. Past and recent critics

---

subsequent critics, who repeat this peculiar observation, overlook the obvious difficulty in consummating the relationship.) Examining Knight's stated intentions, Robert Uphaus argues for her continuation being mainly a refutation of Rasselas because Johnson had offended her (437-8) but Ann Messenger, who focuses on a comparison of Rasselas and Dinarbas, is more inclusive and reads the latter as both a site of confrontation and agreement with Rasselas which presents a different "angle of vision" to Johnson's (221).

of Dinarbas tend to be ambivalent, at best, but in comparison to Rasselas—which Knight invites since it is a continuation—they almost all judge and find it wanting. For example, Mary Wollstonecraft, writing in the Analytical Review,<sup>8</sup> is equivocal about Dinarbas: it has “considerable merit” and exhibits “good sense” but suffers because it is a continuation of Rasselas:

We have very seldom met with a continuation of any dramatic writer or novelist which did not appear laboured and spiritless, and the remark may be extended to most productions that are distinguished by the cold correctness and insipid uniformity which points out the measured lines of the copyist.

(Wollstonecraft 7: 257-8)<sup>9</sup>

Writing in 1861, J.W. Kaye, the editor of Knight’s autobiography, similarly sets the tone for much criticism of Dinarbas and along the way also anxiously

---

<sup>8</sup> Because this review is unsigned, Wollstonecraft’s authorship remains uncertain. See Todd, et alia, eds., (“Prefatory Note” in Wollstonecraft 7:86).

<sup>9</sup> Uphaus takes issue with modern Johnsonians who, like Wollstonecraft, complain about Knight’s temerity in “defiling” the “sacred text” of Rasselas by remarking that “in a century where imitation was so widely practised one wonders why it was so audacious to write an imitation of Samuel Johnson” (433-4); however, this quotation from Wollstonecraft’s review suggests that the century’s enthusiasm for imitation was fading.

disowns his century's literary ancestors:

. . . it appears to me that the very qualities which impart so much value to her narration of facts incapacitated her for the achievement of success as a writer of fiction. She was, in truth, anything but an imaginative person. The works which she published have little in them to attract the present generation, but in that respect they do not differ much from the writings of most of her contemporaries. (xi)

Analogous to Sheridan's and Haywood's Oriental tales, the popularity of Dinarbas, Knight's gender and its sub-genre almost ensure that her continuation receives little recent critical attention. Of the few modern Johnsonians who note the existence of Knight's Oriental tale, almost all disapprove. Publishing in 1986, Edward Tomarken is typical: Dinarbas, revealing "artistic inadequacies," exemplifies "the inappropriateness" of the conclusion where something rather than nothing is concluded, the latter being Johnson's conclusion and the focus of much Johnson scholarship (9).<sup>10</sup>

---

<sup>10</sup> Carey McIntosh, writing in the 50s also disapproves of Knight's continuation—it is "the result of one reader's total inability to live with the ending as written" (198n). See also Conant: "Dinarbas is obviously inferior to its predecessor: its value is not literary but historical—as an evidence of the desire to moralize everything. . ." (104). See Robert Uphaus who gives a brief

One-half of the recent critics who apportion more than the occasional dismissive sentence to Dinarbas (Rawson, Uphaus, Messenger, Lutrell) are as ambivalent as Wollstonecraft about Knight's effort. Barbara Lutrell, writing the only biography of Knight, insists that she does not realize the "full extent" of her "deficiencies" and that Dinarbas is "a failure both in degree and concept." But she also observes that "her story has its own merits: a neat plot action, . . . and at least an attempt at convincing characterization" (86). C.J. Rawson approves of Dinarbas as "discreet and competent"—"an agreeable enough book" with a certain "amiable neatness of its own"(94)—but also assesses it as a "modest and superficial" "failure to provide a convincing sequel" (87) and a "usually glib and perfunctory" response to Johnson's less cheerful apologue (92). Robert Uphaus takes specific issue with Rawson's assessment of Dinarbas as glib and perfunctory and insists that "Knight's characters are not just going to endure; they intend to enjoy, though in a responsible way" (441-3). Ann Messenger, like Uphaus, admires Dinarbas and finds it "an entertaining 'Oriental yarn'. . . with more action and a more satisfactory conclusion than Rasselas contains" (198). In short, critics recent and past have examined and found Dinarbas wanting in comparison to Rasselas, and generally, if not always, have focused on its relationship to the

---

sample of the eighteenth century's mixed reception and modern Johnsonian's disparagement of Dinarbas (433-4, 441).

philosophical novels of ideas, where Rasselas tends to be classified. While true that Dinarbas is a novel of ideas, it is also an adventure story and also a late eighteenth-century novel of sentiment that is more moderate in its lachrymose victimization of women, its repetition of sentimental tableaux and its reliance on emotionalism than much popular fiction, particularly in the 60s and 70s (see Todd, Sensibility 131).

As the century progresses and the introductory reference to a discovered manuscript fades, it becomes almost mandatory in the preface of a writing woman to signal her subjective modesty, meekness and inadequacy because she must not seem to want publicity. As mentioned in Chapter One, one frequent version of the humility topos is that something dreadful has happened to the female author which has left her short of money. For example, a husband dies, leaving destitute the modest wife and her twelve small children.<sup>11</sup> Braving the social (and gendered) aspersions, she is forced

---

<sup>11</sup> Hyperbole aside, see the dedication of Emmeline: The Orphan of the Castle by Charlotte Smith, who bore twelve children, although only nine survived, and who finally left her improvident, unreformed rake of a husband after twenty years of misery.

To My Children

. . .

Languid despondency, and vain regret,

Must my exhausted spirit struggle yet?

into abandoning her natural sanctuary—the home—and forced into publication. An aged, impoverished and ailing mother is almost as good. Knight had just such a mother but she eschews this temptation in her Introduction and instead falls back on the second line of defense available to the writing woman: anonymity, apology and modest petition for the reader's forbearance and charity. She submits her continuation with "the greatest diffidence. . . . under the veil of concealment" (9,10), insists that she lacks "genius," disclaims any "thought of a vain and presumptuous comparison" to Johnson's fiction and "anxiously awaits the judgement of the critic" (9-10). But as many writing women before and since, she also dismantles this humility topos. In her Introduction and despite her protestation to the contrary, Knight confronts the massive, male, mid-century figure; she admonishes Dr. Johnson for not providing "consolation or relief to the wretched traveller, terrified and disheartened at the rugged paths of life."<sup>12</sup> She intends to correct his error.

---

Yes! robb'd myself of all that Fortune gave,

Of every hope—but shelter in the grave;

. . .

Recall my hapless days in sad review

The long calamities I bore for you,

And, with an happier fate, resolve to prove

How well ye merited your mother's love!

<sup>12</sup> Similarly, Knight also undercuts Johnson by having Rasselas



More modestly, she also casts Johnson as Ulysses and herself as one of Penelope's inadequate suitors, unable to bend Ulysses' bow. Here, while observing that she could not possibly match Johnson and then undermining him, she appropriates a masculine discourse, the formal education of men in Greek, a discipline which she would return to later in her writing. While not quoting the Greek, although she could (Luttrell 25), she counterpoints her modesty with her erudition. Despite having begun her "Introduction" insisting on her shyness and that she had no "thought of a vain and presumptuous comparison" to Rasselas, she also concludes by assuring us that she is not "wholly without ambition" that her fiction will be approved (10). In short, her Preface is subversive.

### **The Struggle for Political Legitimation**

In Dinarbas, the representation of the monarchy in the Emperor, a bungling sybarite, directly rather than indirectly questions the king as the pinnacle of eighteenth-century political society. In Nourjahad and Eovaai much anxiety about the monarchy is displaced onto the representatives—the courtier, aristocrat or First Minister—of old corruption in new and high places.

---

describe his state at the end of Rasselas as being "no wiser" than when they began or one of "mere vegetation, . . . [which is] the highest degree of felicity" to be expected in this world" (13). Knight, while superficially praising Caesar, has also come to bury him.

Sheridan's and Haywood's texts interrogate the fiction of a beneficent, absolute monarch through submerged contradictions and significant silences. On the other hand, Dinarbas directly targets the Emperor, Rasselas' father, who consistently makes foolish choices and exhibits weak behaviour: subject to sublunary appetites, he fails to transcend worldly pettiness and passion, and fails to control his capacious appetite. Dinarbas questions his ultimate place in an ephemeral hierarchy, questions the infallibility of kings and fathers, and at least partially questions patriarchal structures. The Emperor feels, even after he has recognized his excesses and acknowledged his errors, that nothing exists above him in the hierarchy. He teaches the Prince that when he becomes "absolute master of vast dominions" he will have "nothing to control him" and "no obstacle to [his] will" (104).<sup>13</sup>

In the political culture of Britain in the last decades of the century, this is a plainly preposterous mirror for Princes, given the discrediting of divinely-sanctioned, imperial power implicit in the 1788-9 celebration of

---

<sup>13</sup> Nevertheless Dinarbas describes a Christian hierarchy of values and beliefs—the Divinity is well represented, perhaps slightly deistically because of the necessity for Oriental colouring. See for example: "Our creator alone knows how many years, months or days will revolve before we become inhabitants of this silent mansion; but as his goodness permits us a free agency in this life, let us endeavour to act so as to obtain more than a bare memorial that we have existed" (105).

centenary of the Glorious Revolution. Adding to the uncertainty, the king's mortal body was precariously unwell. George III had become unequivocally unhinged, reviving civil anxiety latent for one-hundred years that Parliament would need not only to sack the king but perhaps disestablish the line, since the alternative to the popular monarch was the unpopular Prince of Wales. It was all happening again. But when George III temporarily regained his sanity, events taking place in the political culture of France—a neighbour by which the English had defined themselves throughout the century both in opposition as well as correspondence—further contributed to British apprehensions about the endurance of their own monarchy. Although Knight's text does not directly represent this late eighteenth-century factionalism, revolutionary and expansionist wars are central to her narrative, as they were between Britain and France and slightly earlier between Britain and America. The monarchy in Knight's Abyssinia weathers the upheavals, although its society changes under Rasselas' re-structuring, which echoes and constructs many Britons' aspirations for change in France before the Terror. Early on, France was seen as undergoing an unpleasant but necessary change similar to England's Bloodless Revolution, reproducing 1688; later she was caught in her own bloody civil war, simulating 1640.

Knight's depiction of the weakness of the monarchy is far less delicate than either Haywood's or Sheridan's. Despite Knight's avowed Bourbon sympathies, Rasselas indicates that his father is almost felonious when

he describes in general terms what an ideal monarch should or should not do. His novelistic gesture to his own personal intentions involves perhaps a exoteric gesture by Knight to the Prince of Wales: "he who sacrifices his time, even to innocent pursuits, when they call him off from his duty, is criminal." A monarch, Rasselas observes with reference to his own rule, "should have a general knowledge of all, without sacrificing his life to any in particular, however useful or pleasing" (122). In Dinarbas the Emperor has a deathbed recognition that he is guilty of this crime of arty particularity indirectly charged to him by his son:

a mind not uninformed nor incurious led me naturally to the love of arts and sciences; but this inclination has been falsely turned to those of luxury and amusement, rather than to those of political or moral utility. (103)

He admits, in fine, that "by indolence," he has brought his kingdom "into greater distresses, than the most cruel and avaricious tyrants have ever occasioned" (103). These "distresses" include two rebellions by the Emperor's two sons—resulting in personal and national tragedy, the death of three out of five Princes Royal—several battles waged in a war between an expansionist Egypt and a defending Abyssinia, and the near development of another war with Turkey after Turkey delivers Abyssinia from the second rebellion. This Turkish army has remained in Abyssinia, causing considerable turmoil:

The officers were haughty and extravagant in their demands, the

men riotous and avaricious; the highways were infested by their outrages, nor were the houses of the inhabitants of the city protected from their lawless insolence. (100)

Rasselas worries that the rescuing foreign army's "want of discipline should infect his army, and their magnificence and luxury" (the inevitable vice coded in the representation of Oriental political systems) should "renew a desire for that splendour, which had been carried to the most reprehensible height during the reign of his father" (109). Here, the disseminators of the disease are not only superior as in both Sheridan's and Haywood's narratives but common, Oriental Others such as Turkish soldiers. Luxury, still the *bête noire* at the end of the century, is internally disseminated from the top down—from the king, through the grumbling hive to the common soldier—and horizontally from the Oriental Other to England. The implication is that the country will be lost by being either enervated by luxury or destroyed by the Turkish troops themselves—a fear founded, perhaps, in British worries about the French (109).<sup>14</sup> Both Haywood and Sheridan warn against luxury by warning those

---

<sup>14</sup> Military luxury, orientalized or otherwise, is often censured throughout the century. See, for example, Gibbon, who has a similar view to Knight's, of the dangers of military luxury. He describes Theodosius, who ruled in Asia Minor during the fourth century:

The effeminate luxury, which infected the manners of courts and

who would over-reach their natural class—Nourjahad and Ochihatou, first ministers both, who would be kings—and warn that these dangers could be spread then to the general population; Knight's text censures generalized conspicuous consumption initiated by king or the exotic Other.<sup>15</sup> This

---

cities, had instilled a secret and destructive poison into the camps of the legions. . . . The enervated soldiers abandoned their own and the public defence; and their pusillanimous indolence may be considered as the immediate cause of the downfall of the empire. (404-5)

Often this military indolence is ascribed to the Orient; see for example Salmon's Modern History (1739):

The Persian Kings have given themselves up to a luxurious indolent life, and so neglected the discipline of their troops, as well as the government of the state . . . (i, 421-2). qtd editor's notes to Collins' Persian Eclogues p. 110, n.IV

<sup>15</sup> Knight's Whiggish narrative, in the main, aims at old corruption, although it does occasionally target the upstart who has "risen above his equals by the caprice of fortune, and whose ambition makes him still aim at loftier distinctions . . . [and] fears lest affability and ease should again sink him to his former station" and "thinks himself obliged to support [his greatness] by artificial means" because "it is only comparative" (86).

construction of luxury hints that more is at stake than mere military competence.

At various points in Dinarbas Abyssinia represents England because it is defined through difference to another Oriental Other, despite being itself an Oriental Other and extra to England. Abyssinia appears noble, brave, indefatigable and corresponds to Britain when successfully repulsing Oriental Others such as the rebellious brothers, tyrannical, manipulative and self-indulgent, and Arabia, Egypt and Turkey, indolent, dissipated and despotic.<sup>16</sup> At other times Abyssinia is unequivocally not England but an inferior Oriental Other, for instance when under Rasselas's father it becomes its own Levant—conventionally excessive and oppressive and a stereotype surviving from the Middle Ages and the Crusades. The government under Rasselas' father requires complete reformation from the top down in order to make it resemble Britain, and this requires the installation of the unimpeachable Rasselas on the throne.

---

<sup>16</sup> Sarza is "haughty," "violent," "prodigal," and gripped by the "arms of pleasure"; Menas, "surreptitiously" planning to take the crown from Sarza, "more cautiously conceal[s] his "love of pleasure" (70) until after taking the throne he becomes "immersed in pleasure and insensibility" (89). The Turks are "lawless and ungenerous" (101); the Arabs are "desultory" (37) and subject to "avidity" (39); the Egyptians "indolent" (37).

Generally, Knight's Abyssinia also dissolves into difference—Abyssinia is not England, but an Oriental Other—in the sections where she compares cultures: when Amalphis observes, for instance, that the "motive of curiosity, . . . though laudable is . . . uncommon in this country" (16); or, following Dinarbas' account on the superiority of the Ancients, Rasselas comments that he has considered Abyssinia's "total ignorance of other countries as one the greatest misfortunes that attends our government" (92). Here, the discussion of the beauties and beneficence of ancient Greece and Rome reasserts the orientalist binarism between East and West, or the binarism between the ostensible seat of all civilization fundamental to English culture and the culturally indigent, ignorant Orient. Late eighteenth-century English culture needed a justification for its programmatic economic colonization of the Oriental Other that was beginning in earnest, since money and goods were moving far more freely than during the mercantilist phase, now waning. The seeds of la mission civilisatrice emanate from this text's vain insistence that Oriental Others require enlightenment through learning about England's own intellectual and ideological foundations, here the Hellenistic beauties of Greece. The unequal affiliation between England and its Oriental Other created here in Knight's text is far more subtle and sustainable than conquest and mercantile colonialism which are underpinned by dramatically asymmetric trading relations, restrictions on the free movement of goods and capital, and often outright thievery in the early part of colonialism. (See supra 29n, Chapter 2).



If the Oriental society is constructed in nearly perfect difference by being the seat of all barbarism, decadence and despotism and thus utterly distinct from Britain, then that culture must be conquered because nothing is salvageable; if similitudinally different, then it is tutored to become more like Britain.

Greater differences require larger transmutations; therefore, Rasselas radically reforms Abyssinian government. Smaller differences require subtler changes; therefore, white man's burden is to reform culture by enlightening the Oriental Other as to superiority of the Western culture. Dinarbas is the perfect spokesman for British colonialism.

He, who built the mosque of Santa Sophia, undoubtedly supposed he had raised an edifice that would show how far the elegance of the golden age . . . was superior to the barbarism of that which saw the elevation of the temple the Theseus. It has ever been the irremediable error of weak minds and degenerate nations, to substitute ornament for proportion, curious minuteness for majestic beauty and heterogeneous variety for harmony and grace. . . .

Our spires, our turrets, and our many coloured roofs, are become odious to my eyes, since I have beheld simplicity and elegance on the desolate shores of Greece. . . .

I am not surprised at the policy of our courts, which usually excluded their subjects from all communication with the

knowledge of Europe: in order to convince us to narrow views, to indolent magnificence, and, if I may so express it, to living by the day: this is the surest foundation for despotism: the mind being easily reduced to inactivity, when its flights are not allowed to go beyond a certain extent. (95-6)

This is a kind of textual transference, since it accuses the Oriental Other of its own offense against illumination. Here, the Oriental subject is weak, degenerate, narrow and despotic; the Oriental culture needs to model itself on a clearly superior, enlightened England. Elsewhere, Knight's Abyssinia epitomises Britain by its assiduity, nobility, and sensibility.

Just as the government under the Emperor needs drastic reformation and the culture of Abyssinia demands enlightenment, the familial sensibilities at court, constructed in difference, demand attention because they are unreasonable, confused and misplaced. The Emperor is, for instance, foolishly fond of his eldest son and he puts his kingdom in jeopardy by his grief over his death. During the first attempted palace coup, Zengris, the defending heir to the throne, is killed and the Emperor retires to the capital to mourn, taking his best troops with him, thereby depleting his resources and leaving his army to be led by others who command less authority and respect (61). The country would have fallen to the rebels, if not for heroic Rasselas. Knight's text tells us that affection is required of family members but this affection should not be at the expense of duty because the family is subordinate to a Benthamite

accountability to the greater number of people. This is suggested in a parallel situation. Amalphis, who apparently loses his valiant son because of wounds sustained in battle, reacts correctly to personal tragedy. Nekayah accuses him of not having the true, affective "feelings of nature" because he does not openly mourn his son's loss (43). However, she is tutored in seemly behaviour by his lecture and example; he continues to do his "duty" to his country and his daughter not as a stoic who invests in ineffective emotional anesthetic,<sup>17</sup> but one who refuses "exterior proofs of . . . affliction" (43). Unlike his literary ancestors of the mid-century, there is no uncontrollable weeping for this dutiful and dignified hero until, unable to bear his tribulation, he dissolves at his son's funeral. He quietly but deeply mourns his loss but continues to act with strength-of-will and honour, a lesson that the Emperor, as a father and leader, should have learned from his border lieutenant prior to his deathbed insights. Knight represents and constructs familial relations and their relations to the state and implicitly argues that the personal *is* the political.

The correct familial sensibility that the Emperor lacks by being overly fond of Zengris has a history in relation to the major political movements in the 1790s, Jacobinism and Anti-Jacobinism. The conservative backlash at the end of the century saw sensibility, according to Gary Kelly, "as

---

<sup>17</sup> Here Knight seems to be again confronting Johnson by responding to his earlier stoic, who came unhinged at his daughter's death (Johnson 646).

a contributory factor in the outbreak of the French Revolution": sensibility was associated with aristocratic libertinism, "things 'not English,'" and "excess and transgression justified by delusive or impractical ideals" (English Fiction 63; see also Todd, Sensibility 131).<sup>18</sup> So the struggle for the de-legitimation of sensibility, or at least some of its most flagrant excesses, was a political struggle involving the solidification of England as distinct from France and the monarchy as distinct from the Republic. Nonetheless, sensibility does not completely disappear but rather becomes more restrained in its effusions in the last decades of the century and Dinarbas represents this restrained sensibility.

In general the Emperor's affective feelings for his family are inconsistent: he is overly fond of the Crown Prince but less than affectionate towards his other sons, particularly Rasselas. Consequently, he places his country in jeopardy. First, Rasselas' father claims that "blind affection might lead" him "to spare" (67) Sarza, the imprudent pawn of his brother Menas, but the text also tells us that the Emperor and father wants to execute his son—"to sacrifice Sarza to his resentment, or rather to the counsels of his ministers" (74). Demonstrating the appropriate, familial (and Christian) attitude of forgiveness, Rasselas dissuades his father from taking this action (79).

---

<sup>18</sup> This cultural prohibition of late eighteenth-century sensibility is frequent but see for instance, Gilray's famous cartoon, "Sensibility," who is clutching her Rousseau and weeping over a lifeless bird but is utterly indifferent to Louis XVI's severed head steadying her foot.

Furthermore, the death of his other rebellious son, Menas, makes "little impression on" the Emperor, but Rasselas and Nekayah ostensibly show the proper, if Spartan, response: in the same sentence that Menas dies, they claim to be "deeply affected" before going forward with their lives by immediately travelling to the capital of Abyssinia (99). Not only is the Emperor indifferent, except at his deathbed repentance, to the decimation of his family, he also mistreats Rasselas for example by imprisoning him and initially refusing Rasselas' earthly happiness through marriage to Zilia, who is clearly a model, if status-inferior, woman for the 90s and a perfect mate for Rasselas (75).

The Emperor also imprisons Rasselas and questions his son's honour, even though Rasselas is the single son who has faultlessly acquitted himself. After Rasselas has stopped the first rebellion, "danger" engages the Emperor "to offer the resignation of his throne to Rasselas" (80) but Rasselas selflessly refuses it because his father is the rightful ruler. He willingly withdraws to the Happy Valley, leaving his father in full possession of the throne, uncomplicated by his superior skills and heart and the people's greater esteem for him as a leader (74). The Emperor then unwisely crowns Menas, the indisputable culprit for the rebellions who, according to his plans, clears "himself from the imputation of any share in the rebellion by throwing the whole blame on Sarza," (80). Despite Rasselas having stopped the first rebellion, Menas convinces his father that Rasselas, Nekayah and their friends are fomenting revolution from their place of retirement. So the Emperor

imprisons the remainder of his family, excepting Menas, in the Happy Valley and later becomes imprisoned himself (81). To have the Emperor re-installed as ruler, another rebellion occurs and Menas is killed. In short, the Emperor's domestic and social affections are badly distorted and his family and his country suffer as a result.

### **Struggle for Class Legitimation**

The late eighteenth-century national and international brawl over the textual body of sensibility embraces classes as well. In Dinarbas what identifies the bourgeois woman and man is their possession of a superior heart, but this heart practices restraint in its somatic display and effusions. Dinarbas is able to say he knows that the Prince and Princess are clearly of a superior "rank," not only because of the way others react to them but because of their refinement of "sentiment" (23). This sentiment, which may identify for him the aristocrat, marks for eighteenth-century readers an aristocracy of feeling—the middle class sentimentalizing their economically necessary goodness of heart and sentimentalizing their consequentialist, ethical conduct. New money needed the benediction of virtue and rectitude, for the foreign and domestic merchant's financial success depended on his own good name (Roy Porter 324), rather than on the traditional bonds and sanctions provided by an aristocratic genealogy. How the self-made entrepreneur acquired money and estate—whether through the selling of slaves, cane or daughters—mattered less

than his character as a scrupulous yet sensible man of business.

In line with cultural trends that saw restraint practised in the last decades, Knight insists that this middle-class sentiment should, nevertheless, not overwhelm reason, except in extreme cases as witnessed by Elphenor's autobiography and Dinarbas' death and resurrection. Elphenor, the sacerdotal paragon, explains that his station in life was thrust upon him by an event beyond his control: his wife-to-be was struck by a "flash of lightning" at the altar and "reduced" to a pile of "ashes," clearly inconvenient for consummating marriage vows. He takes orders and devotes the remainder of his sad life to God and his fellow man (116). Dinarbas' funeral is comparably sensible. Amalphis, admirably containing his grief over his son's death, eventually succumbs: tears trickle "in abundance down his venerable cheeks," "the chiefs of the army" run to "embrace his knees" and "the soldiers, whom respect detain . . . from approaching," fill "the air with exclamations of grief" (47). As in other texts, the overdetermined sentimental tableau here carries in language its ideological freight by making visible and almost statically reifying the knowledge of sensibility. We are taught the uniform, affective, middle-class feelings of nature in the motionless spectacle, and the visually passive image generates and reproduces the core to the bourgeois subjective self, particularly the female self, constructed in meek receptiveness. Though Knight's heroes and heroines are sentimental enough, the history of Elphenor, Dinarbas' death and the three heroines' occasional hand-wringing and tears—mostly when

threatened by external military force—constitute the emotional exhibitionism in Dinarbas. They do not sensationally wallow page after page in the sensible depth and refinement of feeling current several decades earlier.<sup>19</sup>

The bourgeoisie emerges in the centre of culture not only because it generally sentimentalizes itself but also because it sentimentally denies its economic basis. In practical terms the middle class dominates in foreign and domestic markets, but, as Raymond Williams argues in The Country and the City, it also repudiates its very constitutive, commercial ancestry in that move up and out. Just as the middle-classes, having made enough money, decamped to the verdant countryside, Knight's text similarly dodges its economic origins and bourgeois roots in favour of a nostalgic, occasionally sentimental and vaguely feudal narrative that pretends to a higher station in life. To Knight's ideological exemplar, Rasselas, commerce, is vulgar and, more importantly, "a very dangerous trial for the principles of its followers" because of its dependence on "luxury," a necessary evil. Nevertheless, his nominally aristocratic manifesto includes tolerating and even encouraging commerce while

---

<sup>19</sup> Sentiment and its more extravagant consort, sensibility, clearly have their own overdetermined codes in the period which often involve floods of tears, a single perfect tear dropping on an eleemosynary hand, the embracing of knees, or any of the unsanitary or physically demanding actions of the eighteenth-century novel of sentiment. Nonetheless, they trigger an emotional response through repetition—the basis of representational overdetermination.



always aspiring to strict probity in order to protect citizens. Finally, what reveals Rasselas' discourse on economics as neither mercantilist nor patrician but fundamentally bourgeois is that he includes the maintenance of free markets in the same category as professional honesty, all values necessary for the new economic order:

. . . commerce must therefore be encouraged; but it is our duty to endeavour . . . to prevent fraud and monopoly. (132-3)

Luxury as described in Knight's text is both economically essential and personally reprehensible, again reflecting a basic conflict between saving and spending in capitalism. Businessmen must save, but others must spend. The battle between the Emperor's profligacy and Rasselas' prudence results in a victory for prudence and also recessively incorporates profligacy, as Rasselas suggests above. The reader of Dinarbas is disciplined in these middle-class values, much as Rasselas introduces the bourgeois values of "discipline and frugality" (69-70) into his troops. And the text, while discounting luxury, also displays it those highly-charged passages overflowing with powerful emotion.

### **The Struggle for the Legitimation of Gender**

Although authentic sentiment identifies classes and distinguishes nations, it is primarily essentialized as natural to women, so in Dinarbas the women faint (29, 47), kneel (29), embrace someone else's knees (26), weep (29, 25, 52, 79) and generally behave as sensible young women deeply affected

at scenes of extreme joy and affliction. And one of the ways that eighteenth-century culture creates the sensible writer and reader is through epistolary writing. For instance, Zilia's sensible, self-effacing, teary offer to release Rasselas from his promise of marriage results in his sentimental sensations which are "impossible to describe" but which are, in turn, described as "unabated fondness and unshaken constancy" since the letter reinforces Zilia's virtues and her "delicacy of sentiments" (108). Both characters are revealed as sensible and the reader learns both the genuine construction of and the response to the true feelings of nature. Also revealing the (re)formative power of epistolary writing, the bellicose Turkish Sultan decides not make war after being deeply affected by the correspondence between Rasselas and Zilia that he has ignobly stolen (135). The letters of the abducted servant girl Pamela have much the same effect on B as Nekayah, Dinarbas and Rasselas's letters to Zilia have on the Turkish Sultan: the discourse of sentiment transforms the malefactor into a benefactor, since the Sultan renounces his dubious claim to a prosperous Red Sea harbour belonging to Abyssinia (135). Here the text tutors the reader in the ostensible puissance of the language of sentiment. She learns that sentiment is the superior compensation for and the correct response to a life of oppression and absence of external control, so Nekayah, immediately after Amalphis tutors her in the correct sensibility—telling in its formal placement—apostrophizes, "O power, how dangerous art thou to all. . . [and H]ow little to be trusted in the hands of woman! (44).

Knight's novel has a clear separation into the different spheres of activity based on gender. In Knight's fiction, the heroines have less agency than their precursors examined here: while Eovaai travels far and wide and while Cadiga and Mandana have the responsibility for and control of many the events in Nourjahad's household, Zilia and Nekayah have fewer active subject positions than the men. Rasselas says that Nekayah has "a calm and serene part to act through life" that is "less difficult than" his (105). When the Egyptians and Arabs threaten the border fortress, Nekayah comments that the duty of men is "to repulse the enemy" and the duty of women is "to pray for [their] success, and to await the event with patience" (26). This gendering into different spheres in Dinarbas is at times valorized, so Amalphis observes that the "good or bad dispositions of women have a very extensive influence in society" (123), but at other times this valorization dissolves into testimony about their subsidiary and lesser roles. For instance Rasselas, who is also obviously worried about his affections for Zilia, observes that "women, if not beings of an inferior class, were at least not worthy of gaining too great an ascendancy over the minds of men. . ." (20).<sup>20</sup> Nonetheless, women, who unequivocally belong to the personal and the private, have influence over the public world of men though the Lockean education of their sons.

If women . . . frequently do great hurt by interposing in affairs

---

<sup>20</sup> This subordinate position of women is suggested at a number of places but see domestic life as being concerned with "petty pursuits" (17).

which seem foreign to their sex, how useful are they when they turn their thoughts to the education of their children. . . . The first impressions are difficult to efface, and the first impressions are given by women; their mistaken tenderness has formed cowards, and their capricious anger has reared up tyrants. If therefore they deserve our censure for the ill qualities which their children have imbibed from them, let us not deny them our praises for many of the virtues which make men an honour to their age and to their nation. (123-4)

In short, the primary occupations of the male characters, making war and serving in the army, distinguish someone who is "really important" and "useful to his country," (according to Rasselas (20)) from women whose primary influence is on their sons who have not yet reached the age of majority.<sup>21</sup> Women have little overt political and military power: they are patient and pious and bound for marriage.

A portion of Knight's narrative centres on this marriage plot, and two contestatory matters must be resolved for Amalphis' children to marry into

---

<sup>21</sup> See also Imlac who observes

. . . in moments of repose and tranquility we are pleased with the man who can instruct or amuse us; but, in the hour of distress and danger, we neglect him if he cannot be essentially useful. (22)

the Abyssinian Royal House. First, Nekayah needs gender discipline to become self-effacing and modest, that is she must personally lose her sexual haughteur and her class snobbery. Second, despite Rasselas' political reformation of his society, Knight's text suggests that class boundaries should remain in place, so Dinarbas and Zilia must rise in class in order to match their proposed mates. That women must learn to judge others on the basis of personal merit but that society should maintain class boundaries represents an unresolved aporia in Dinarbas.

Two things block the marriage between Nekayah and Dinarbas. The least threatening is Nekayah's sexual pride, leading into and reinforcing a second and more significant hinderance, class disparity. Nekayah first must be domesticated. She plays the coquette and if she does not behave herself she might well remain a spinster, an estate which, as Haywood suggests, is to be avoided in eighteenth-century culture. Initially, Nekayah's "first care was to please and interest" Dinarbas, but when he becomes sexually interested in her she torments him and assumes "the air of haughty superiority and of mortifying indifference" (44). Because Dinarbas nearly dies, Nekayah realizes her error, relinquishes her hauteur, affirms her affections for Dinarbas and becomes all that the affective and affecting heroine should be: weak with attachment to him, she flies to Dinarbas for "counsel and support" (51), since she does not trust her own strength-of-will.

Unlike modest Zilia, who is perfect in every way, Rasselas' sister is

also a snob and overly concerned with her status as a Princess Royal. Despite travelling incognito, she complains "not treat her with that respect which the distance between them . . . have inspired her with" (22). Rasselas points out the speciousness of complaints and tutors her in individualistic, middle-class sentiments; he takes concealing class results in being treated with "disinterested regard" based on her own "nature" and individual "industry" (23). Divested of ancestral rank and true, autonomous value shines forth, again reinforcing and valorizing certain unaristocratic characteristics claimed by the bourgeoisie as their own. Nekayah learns that differences in classes are not as important as individual excellence, which becomes even clearer in the sexual plot.

While Nekayah personally assimilates Rasselas' levelling lessons, class prejudice remains inscribed and intact in Abyssinian society throughout the narrative. The marriage of Nekayah to Dinarbas is troublesome because of this. She is royal; he is bourgeois; their marriage would be contrary to "the universal custom of the ages" supported by the "multitude [who] is governed by prejudice" (51). One tenet in eighteenth-century culture, suggested here, is that a woman ought not to marry beneath her because she takes her status from her husband and therefore would experience a reduction in rank through marriage to a subordinate. This is particularly important in the upper-classes, as suggested by Anna Seward, resulting in less freedom of choice in marriage for an upper-class woman (see p. 13 *supra*; in Williams, ed. 359). The Turkish

Sultan resolves this complication by making Dinarbas "despot" of Serbia (88): Dinarbas rises in status not because he was born to the governing class but precisely because of his individual merits in leading Turkish troops to conquer the chief port of Crete (87). Class disparity and the multitude's objections evaporate since Dinarbas moves upward. After a few plot bumps, the Despot and the Princess marry and move to Serbia (137).

Another tenet the late eighteenth-century marriage practises is that women should be allowed, at the very least, veto power over the choice of their mate. First, Amalphis discloses to Rasselas that middle-class women should have veto power.

. . . [C]ontrary to the custom of our country, I disclaim all right over the choice of Zilia: if she consents, I shall be happy to bestow her on a man, whose conduct and principles I have ever esteemed: . . . permit me to consult her inclination; Zilia is sincere, and will soon determine my answer. (68)

Women are again the textual body over which orientalism is fought: orientalism disparages the unenlightened Oriental because he oppresses his women in a way that Britons do not by not allowing women their choice of a spouse. But the oppression of women is also manifest since having veto power is different from having a choice of a mate, which in real terms often means the choice of a life. The negotiations for Zilia's person take place among the men—Rasselas, Amalphis and the Emperor—without her knowledge or

involvement, which in itself is not very unusual. Rasselas asks her father for her hand but—and this is unusual—he does this without parental approval (75), suggesting that he has more “choice” than she. This choice of a mate requires parental ratification which is not immediately forthcoming: the Emperor makes “vague promises” which he does not intend to “fulfil” (75).

This marriage of Zilia to Rasselas is less problematic than that of Nekayah to Dinarbas because Zilia’s gender makes her inferior class less bothersome, but individual male merit, again on the part of heroic Dinarbas, is what allows the Emperor to relent and sanctions the marriage of Zilia and Rasselas. As in other places in the novel, it is not the claims to superior breeding but rather the profession of middle-class virtues which identify the individual as worthy and, in this case, worthy of upward mobility into the Abyssinian dynasty. Dinarbas’ rescue of the Emperor is the crucial factor allowing the Emperor’s assent to the marriage: “As she was the sister of his [the Emperor’s] deliverer, whom he loaded with praises and thanks, he no longer considered the alliance as derogatory from his dignity” (100). In the marriage plot, Knight assures us that the merits of individual action—the conventional valorization of the bourgeois individual—annul those of primogeniture. Individual merit allows upward mobility and Dinarbas’ actions reflect back on his sister.<sup>22</sup>

---

<sup>22</sup> Rasselas, as a sensible man himself, also recognizes Dinarbas’



Nonetheless Zilia has her own bourgeois value because she engenders the perfect woman and the perfect wife: she never interferes "in public business; her voice often direct[s] establishments of charity, and her taste frequently decide[s] on the protection to be given to genius" (137).<sup>23</sup> Not much charity work is directed, so Zilia remains remarkably silent, except for the occasional expression of dismay, throughout the novel. She is particularly silent in the extended, calm discussions on various topics succeeding the turmoil establishing Rasselas as monarch (Chapters 42-47). Although Rasselas, Imlac, Amalphis and the astronomer are more loquacious and unquestionably dominate, Pekuah and Nekayah take an abbreviated part and enter into the discussions fairly early on (Chapter 44), but Zilia contributes one sentence three paragraphs before the conversation ends (132). Zilia, after a

---

personal worth because he advises him to go to the emperor as the son of his trusted ally, Amalphis as the representative of individual worth but not as the ambassador of the powerful Sultan, to "convince the Emperor" of Rasselas' "innocence" and to convince him to resume the throne as the legitimate sovereign (89).

<sup>23</sup> She is also "unconscious of her charms"; her mind is "cultivated by her father with assiduous care"; her "sentiments, naturally liberal, had received from education the dignity of superior virtue; she neither avoids nor seeks out "the conversation of the strangers; yet all were interested by her" (20).

very cursory marriage to the hero, also shows peculiar regard for those women "whose minds were well-informed without vain pretensions to a display of learning" (137). Even allowing for latent anxieties about Jacobin intellectual immoderation, this is an extraordinary statement from a very learned author, and it indicates the kind of pressure that women endured in order to make themselves marriageable and the kind of conflicts they experienced in their culture.

The appeal of conservative women such as Knight who effectively negotiate their culture can sometimes be lost—all that piety and virtue and circumspection and self-denial can, at times, become cloying and tiresome. But denying their conservatism also denies their historical context (see Todd, "Jane Austin, Politics and Sensibility" 76) and homogenizes their history. Eighteenth-century writing women were diverse and equivocal in their responses, as Knight is here, but feminist critics sometimes thematically reinforce the dichotomy between conservative and revolutionary women authors by placing Astrea against Orinda or revolutionaries and triumvirates of wit against demure lady novelists and poets, often implicitly suggesting that the former were more useful in the struggle for female emancipation. But conservatism has nurtured all different kinds of political, literary and personal reactions. At the end of the seventeenth century and in the early part of the next, staunch royalist conservatism nurtured diverse, sometimes unruly,

recalcitrant and unrepentant women such as Cavendish, Behn, Haywood, Manley and, to a certain extent, Astell; at the end, it nurtured virtuous, conventional women such as Knight, Hannah More, and Elizabeth Hamilton. Suggesting a fairly deep and damaging dissonance between their culture and their lives, these conservative women periodically preach female contingency, sometimes write courtship novels and lecture on female domestic relations, as Knight does here, while remaining independent spinsters throughout their careers.

Dissonance aside, many writing women had a living to make, and maintaining that circumspection and upholding their culture's gender and class values in their writing avoided the loss of income and the kind of social sanctions and downright pillory that Hays and Wollstonecraft experienced and which arguably may have more successful in the struggle against patriarchal structures. Although subscribing to the ideology of separate spheres, those revolutionary women such as Mary Hays, Mary Wollstonecraft and Helen Maria Williams are often at self-declared odds with a culture which gendered them as dependent and they are, on the whole, more immediately appealing than their more obedient sisters. But radical feminists, such as they, were not the only women who were critical and robust elements in the struggle for women's emancipation. Female writers like Knight wrote didactic works "not because they wanted to preach female subordination but because this tradition could be used for the development of female character" (Spencer 143). These

writers, professional or amateur, virtuous or dissolute, placed women as writers and readers and characters in the centre of their culture both through subversion and outright protest.

## Conclusion

### Genre, Politics, Class, Gender, Race

Those writers who have wished to exalt the abilities of their own sex, by depreciating the mental faculties of ours, have endeavoured to prove, that the female mind is neither calculated for sustaining misfortunes with resignation, or calamities with fortitude; imagining there must be a natural connection between delicacy of body and weakness of mind. Though softness and sensibility are certainly the characteristics of our sex, yet those amiable qualities are often united with a firmness to endure, and a capability to sustain the greatest hardships.

-Mary Pilkington (A Mirror for the Female Sex, 1798, 78).

Literary criticism of eighteenth-century novels over the last half of this century, particularly in the last fifteen years, has been fraught terrain, often a narrative of differing claims, claims about the nature of literary traditions from which the novel developed, claims about its formal features and consequently claims about first authorial fathers and mothers, based on the other two. Focussing on history, some critics observe that sometimes the novel is a descendant or a mixture of romance and letter writing, for example. Focussing on formal features, others note the conventional

essences, which sometimes result in a taxonomy of realism and sometimes in an insistence that the novel must exhibit certain qualities to be a novel. These intricate discussions and disagreements are likely to continue, since we will probably never agree about the formal features of the novel or its ancestry. Nevertheless, I would like to make a few concluding remarks about this interesting and complex topography.

First, criticism of the novel which centres on formal essences describes various qualities—perhaps in combinations, perhaps in isolation—which are necessary for prose fiction to move up the scale to become a novel. After an obligatory nod to various aspects of the novel being utterly conventional, an act of critical legerdemain produces observations about a second order of literary legerdemain that produces the conventional illusion of human life or consciousness before the conventions are established; the whole effect is dizzying and confusing. Critics observe that of course a novel endures as only a series of conventions and is not real life—the first slight-of-hand—but they then go on to argue about the necessity for the second authorial slight-of-hand which offers a “full and authentic report of human experience”—the description may be some forty years old (Watt’s) but it has stuck. For example, J. Paul Hunter and Nancy Armstrong, two very different but well-respected contemporary critics, claim that women were not really writing novels before Richardson because they do not have enough of the right kind or amount of these various essences. No one would probably argue that Nourjahad is not a novel, or in any case a short novel, although it does not represent a consciousness in the same way as Pamela. But both

Eovaai and Dinarbas present problems, the first because Eovaai's characterization is limited and the second because the plot's formal structure is episodic.

Next, the illusion of human consciousness, though a first person letter-writer or through an objective narrator, who shapes a character or characters, does not establish essences but accumulates a number of individual descriptors, often quantitatively greater in the former case than the latter. For example, Eovaai, written near the terminus ad quem of ostensibly unnovelistic prose fiction and which would probably be described as a romance, if anyone had written about it, exhibits only a few characteristics—hubris and passion, for example—cleaving to the “unfortunate Princess” rather than the many that stick to Pamela or Tom. As Barthes observes, the attaching and reinforcing of various qualities create character.

When identical semes [units of character meaning] traverse the same proper name several times and appear to settle upon it, a character is created. Thus the character is a product of combinations: the combination is relatively stable (denoted by the recurrence of the semes) and more or less complex (involving more or less congruent, more or less contradictory figures). . . . (67)

The authentic report of humanity at the centre of a novel is only a number of different characteristics differently expressed and differently numbered which attach themselves to a proper name (See also Davis 115).

In all fairness, part of the reason for the determination of what constitutes a (realist) novel (Pamela) and what constitutes a romance (Eovaai) is the century's own

confusion over terms and the general disparagement of the romance, based on the shady French heroic romance and the valorization of classic realism. Fiction had to negotiate the perils of possibility, probability and morality, and French romance was thought to fail on most counts, but particularly the second. Believing it longwinded, digressive and consequently lacking in verisimilitude, readers and critics condemned French heroic romance. They also damned it because women, who might mistake a libertine for a hero or generally expect men to behave as romantic heroes, might be lead into error and immorality.

Formally Dinarbas's plot is episodic and, again in all fairness, it is more episodic than Tom Jones, for example. While that both contain inset narratives—the "History of Elphenor" or the "The History of Mrs. Fitzpatrick"—Dinarbas places less emphasis on what Lennard Davis describes as a "teleogenic plot"<sup>1</sup> which is the

revelation of information direct[ing] the reader to the end which then reshapes the information already read. In most teleogenic plots the

---

<sup>1</sup> Narratology is a fairly complex object of critical endeavour which is often, with notable exceptions like Susan Lanser's Fictions of Authority, divorced from studies on gender, race and class—the triad of cultural studies. It concentrates on formal elements but does not place them in an ideological context. Lennard Davis' Resisting Novels also puts an ideological spin on formal issues and his explanation of a novel's plot structure seems to me to be the most convincing.



reshaping of past information will happen all along at strategic plot points and not just at the end. (Resisting 206-7).

So not only does the concluding discovery of Tom Jones' noble but illegitimate blood reformulate and confirm various elements—the hypocrisy, for instance, of Bridget—but at about mid-point in the temporal sequence of the novel the discovery that Mrs Waters, ex post facto of Tom's sexual relations with her, is Jenny Jones, his supposed mother, dramatically reformulates his previous actions as incestuous. Nourjahad dramatically restructures itself because of the ending. Eovaai, dragging the reader along the plot line but also reinforcing what the reader already knows, comes to a progressive realization just what a nasty character Ochihatou is; early on we know this, but his immorality, cruelty and lubricity are both expanded and reinforced as the plot moves forward. Dinarbas, the least teleogenic of the three, restructures itself only occasionally and only in a minor way—when, for instance, Rasselas observes that women are "inferior" while later it is clear that his affections for Zilia are at the base of his misogynist aspersion: he fears being in love with her.<sup>2</sup> Again, the difference constitutes one of degree: both Tom Jones and Dinarbas reshape what has gone

---

<sup>2</sup> Interestingly, Dinarbas reformulates Rasselas in fairly profound ways.

Dinarbas is teleogenic of Rasselas when he re-encounters the dissolute young men from Cairo or the shepherds. Knight concludes that in both cases it was Rasselas' judgemental hauteur which, on the one hand, had rendered the young men of Cairo incorrigible and, on the other, that pushed the rustics to behaving brutishly.

before, but the former enacts this more frequently and at a level that is more embedded in the plot.

Another way of looking at the novel is to focus on the historical elements that went into the formation of the foundling. Various critics have seen the novel developing from and an extension of travel literature, spiritual and criminal biography and autobiography, picaresque fiction, conduct literature, letter writing, journalism, and/or romance.<sup>3</sup> The problem with some of these studies is that often, if not always, they tell a part of the story by discussing one aspect to the exclusion of another. This is understandable. Critical monographs on the history of the novel tend to have theses because, to state it circularly, this is what critics do: a book is organized around something and by their nature they tend to be exclusionary. And in that sense claims, sometimes implicitly (i.e. Perry) or explicitly (i.e. Adams), highlight one historical aspect of novel formation.

Occasionally these claims are deliberately exclusionary and sometimes extravagant based on differing views of formal features or the history of novel formation or the political agendas of critics, often to do with "firsts": Richardson is the first novelist because he constructs the autonomous consciousness of a human or the consciousness of the modern woman, the central figure in the new social and economic order; Defoe is the first novelist because of his verisimilitude; Behn is the

---

<sup>3</sup> For travel fiction see, for example, Percy Adams; autobiography G.A. Starr (Defoe); conduct literature, Nancy Armstrong; epistolarity, Ruth Perry; journalism, Lennard Davis (Factual Fictions); romance, Hubert McDermott.

first novelist because she did what Richardson did in Love Letters between a Nobleman and his Sister<sup>4</sup> or because of the verisimilitude in Oroonoko. If a critic centres on Richardson, then the focus will be on epistolarity and the confessional aspects of autobiography, if on Defoe, then on travel literature and autobiography and if on these two works of Behn's, then respectively on epistolarity and travel literature and generally on recent criticism discussing the politics of gender.

Critics of the twentieth century worry less about whether some work of fiction is a novel, but in eighteenth-century criticism the determination of generic boundaries remains highly charged. Few seem to care that Julian Barnes' History of the World in Ten and a Half Chapters, for example, is not realist but episodic and that the slender narrative thread (or supernatural worm) is halted in favour of a discursive digression about the nature of human relationships that is every bit as digressively philosophic as Dinabas or Rasselas and unreal as Eovaai. Novels have become even baggier, more ill-mannered, fantastic and amorphously formed than before, but their generic identification and affiliation is not at issue. The decision about who is an innovator or hack or who deserves a Bronx cheer or a Booker is not based a printed object having certain essential qualities or lineage. A twentieth-century women writer is not necessarily denied critical approval because she writes Oriental romances, although she may be excluded for other unfair and prejudiced reasons.

---

<sup>4</sup> This is probably only true in the first part of the novel because Behn later introduces a narrator.

The point is that novels are aggregates both formally and historically (Davis, Resisting 192). Oriental tales, like other novels, are generic conglomerations which incorporate but are not limited to romance, travel literature and picaresque fiction. Most place less emphasis on confessional autobiography than Pamela, yet Nourjahad focuses on the ethical individual and shoulders the baggage of conduct literature, as well as romance in the supernatural. By including Zilia's letter to Rasselas and conceding its power through reforming the aggressive Sultan, even Dinarbas acknowledges the importance of epistolarity and its concomitant illusion of unmediated consciousness. Eovaai emphasizes romance in its fantasy, and picaresque fiction in its episodic structure; Dinarbas, travel and picaresque literature. Nourjahad and Eovaai make claims to truth, respectively through an internal mechanism—naturalization—or through an external mechanism—a preface. By the time of Dinarbas's publication, verisimilitude did not need domestic or extraneous authorization because fiction had established its own truth, not absolute truth but truth to life. Still the conventions of realism demanded as a condition of respectability that the supernatural be eschewed and it is telling that no supernatural forces encroach on Knight's narrative. And yet the three Oriental tales examined here maintain a debt to journalism in their relations to, for example, travel literature, and the general cultural context of the century's interest in accurate and objective representation (See Davis, Factual Fictions).

In the political culture of the seventeenth century, the traditional and ostensibly immutable patriarchal bonds between king and subject dissolved and,

because of the homological relations thought to inhere between political and family structures, the patriarchal relations between husbands and wives slowly lumbered towards the liberal paradigm of sexual equality: if one did not automatically owe allegiance to a king, one did not automatically owe obedience to a husband either. Nonetheless, no one, including Locke, who wrote before- or after-the-fact rationalizations about disestablishment of the Stuarts and the establishment of the Hanoverians ever imagined that those arguments might apply to those considered naturally inferior such as women, the working classes or colonial subjects. During the century itself, Rousseau and other enlightenment philosophers argued for individual, democratic rights but it is clear that those universal rights of man were never meant to include women (or slaves and servants). Considering women as naturally unreasonable and intellectually inferior but superior in virtue and morality, according to the doctrine of separate spheres, they were blind to the conflict and contradiction between leaving patriarchy in place and their championing of individual rights (see Lanser 33-4). Nevertheless, the writing woman may confront gender inequalities through bourgeois individualism, which places emphasis on individual merit rather than on rights by blood.

This dissertation also traces these three novels' engagement with political culture at the beginning middle and end of the century. It is probably worth re-stating that women who participated in partisan controversies and debates were increasingly described as abnormal and unnatural rather than perverted or immoral; they committed crimes against nature rather than against men. In the first decades of the century,

royalist women such as Manley, Haywood and Behn wrote about politics, the latter even spying for her government, and, while often denigrated, they also were more central in this factional discourse than the radical women at the end of the century. For example, while Pope slanders Haywood in the Dunciad because she is immoral, having two bastard children, and makes her the prize in a urinating contest between Osbourne and Curll (Dunciad Bk.II: 156-190), her exclusion might well have been more damning and marginalizing, since the poem often reads as a who's who of eighteenth century culture. At the end of the century, radical women such as Wollstonecraft, Hays and Williams also contributed to political discussions, but they contributed from a place further from the centre, being exiled to a more extreme, deviant, immoderate alterity. They were, according to Richard Polwhele in his Unsex'd Females: A Poem a "female band despising nature's law" which he glosses by observing that "the women, who has no regard to nature, either in the decoration of her person, or the culture of her mind, will soon 'walk after the flesh, in the lust of uncleanness, and despise government'" (l. 2; note a). But those women who wrote directly and overtly about politics were not the only ones who wrote politically. Both Knight and Sheridan also contributed through their representations of good and bad government and its isomorphic relations to the family and its members.

A persistent theoretical grounding throughout this study is that Oriental romances, such as Haywood's, Sheridan's and Knight's, represent, through a second-order distancing, the imaginary relationships of individuals to their real conditions of existence, to paraphrase Althusser (152-3); and one of the ways this has played itself

out in these three novels is through the relationships among realism and romance; frugality and luxury; class; and gender. To restate the argument: it is conventional wisdom that the rising middle-class man needed to save his surplus profits for future re-investment but sober, saving citizens also needed others to spend their surplus on buying goods and services not necessary for day-to-day living. A corollary is that the virtue of frugality is based on the principle of deferred gratification: money is saved so that it may be spent on buying things at a later date (Lovell 31-33). My argument is that novels inscribe both the virtues of frugality and profligacy, realism emphasizing the former and romance the latter. All the narratives examined here discuss the dangers of luxury—this spending on the unnecessary—but the strategic function of that Oriental culture and the women who narrated it is more than just another discourse enmeshing England's immoderate Other as an inferior alterity and a discourse which says more about England than Asia. The three novels discussed here counsel moderation and prudence, but they also develop a texture of desire in and luxuriate over sumptuous description, particularly in Haywood's and Sheridan's novels: their novels proffer orientalism's sybaritic fantasy of the Other but also forswear it. Although Knight's Oriental tale lingers to a lesser degree over Oriental luxury, even *Rasselas* acknowledges its social utility (132-3).

As it progresses, the century increasingly genders women as the guiding apotheosis of morality, so it is not surprising that they wrote novels which emphasized domestic virtue, internally generated from within the individual, but it is also not surprising that women wrote in genres such as the Oriental romance (and gothic)

because they were in charge of consumption for their households, and consumption was also as requisite for the developing social order as frugality.

This dissertation is organized around the triad of gender, race and class. It is received wisdom that the each of the social categories of gender, race and class defines itself with/in reference to its Other, however much that other is inferior to the originary term and however much post-structuralist theory complicates the relationship. Women are alterior to men; Orientals to Europeans; the lower classes to the middle classes. But what also seems clear is that these dualities sometimes resolve themselves into triads occurring among these various hierarchies, so that the gendered category of woman is not strictly defined as a lack, as a not-man. And one of the ways that these dichotomies are interrupted is through the lawless female sexuality which is only very delicately hinted at in Sheridan's text and more explicitly asserted in Haywood's as female autoeroticism and homosexuality. Women in their relations with other women or with themselves do not organize themselves around and define themselves in relation to the central patriarch. This utterly disappears in Dinarbas because, I believe, the gender categorization has been naturalized and solidified such that by the end of the century lawless sexuality was so unnaturally other that it remained unimagined and unspoken. As Randolph Trumbach argues, by the end of the century four genders were available as subject positions—heterosexual men and women (who desired the opposite gender); mollies (homosexual men); and tommies (lesbians) (Trumbach 131, 135-6). In short, the gendering of women was not only more circumscribed and discrete in terms of various personal characteristics deemed



natural to women but also in terms of their sexuality. Sapphism was so different that it denied utterance. Furthermore, sapphism was so immoral that the women who lived through 1800 could not possibly put forward any notion as extreme as lesbianism in an era when, as G.S. Rousseau observes, perhaps hyperbolically, "Richardson was considered an evil author unfit for innocent females" (154).

Just as women's homo- and auto-erotics may provide a intermediary term which disrupts absolute sexual difference, women in general further unsettle the symmetrical but unequal relations between European/Oriental by cross-culturally identifying with their female Oriental counterparts. Haywood, Sheridan and Knight (although the latter identifies to a lesser extent) observe that an affinity exists among women because they are the pan-cultural objects of patriarchal oppression. In male generated orientalism, the Oriental woman, imprisoned in the harem, emerges as the object of dreadful domestic oppression and contrasts to the Occidental woman, unfettered by her enlightened European society. The discipline of orientalism uses this ostensible oppression of Oriental women as a justification for colonialism while also luxuriating in the salacious fantasy of one man to many women. Orientalism and even some of its current critics such as Said and Alloula continue to enact a totalizing power which excludes women and their voices, but what is apparent is that women were also players in, sometimes protesting but sometimes supporting, the staging of the colonialist drama through many centuries and countries and cultures. It is important to ask the question whether Western women's identification with Eastern women has helped in the latter's emancipation, and I think that the answer is probably

no or, at best, not very much. Moira Ferguson in her very detailed study of British women writers and their involvement in abolition concludes that, while they were fundamental in repealing slavery, they probably harmed the cause of equality because Africans were inscribed as inferior and childlike (Subject to Others), which is how Haywood, Knight, and Sheridan sometimes write their Oriental characters (and the under classes, for that matter). These three women write of the similarities between Oriental and Occidental women and suggest that they are equally oppressed,<sup>5</sup> but they also write of the inferiority of those Other worlds to Britain and implicitly and sometimes explicitly of the inferiority of Other women.

The use of novel space in these novels also changes as the century progresses. Before the incarnation of Richardsonian female virtue, Eovaai travels through Hypotosa, Ozoff, and Ijaveo and even roams the skies; afterward, Nourjahad, Cadiga, Mandana, Nekeyah, Pekuah and Zilia remain within the decidedly circumscribed female space of the harem and Oriental palace. Even Rasselas, who roams the countryside fighting various aggressors, is caged in sundry prisons. Incarceration, confinement and isolation define the relationship of Knight's and Sheridan's characters, particularly the women, to their physical space and more importantly sharply demarcate their subjectivity to what lies outside that personal space: minds trapped within bodies trapped within walls. And those minds, particularly Knight's, also carry within them those power relations impressed on the

---

<sup>5</sup> See Ahmed and Nader for the real harm that contemporary feminism has enacted on Muslim women.

female body. As Knight writes her Oriental tale, there is less need for the kind of external, objective surveillance of the (female) subject as imagined in Bentham's penitentiary; she has become her own prison inspector, internally monitoring her own subjectivity's correspondence to her culture's objective reality, the objective reality of the natural female subject. The intensifying claustrophobia and subjective isolation in the architecture of these novels marks eighteenth-century cultural modifications to the gendering of women and this claustrophobia and isolation labours concentrically, moving progressively inward and downward into the hearts of women.

We should not discard any of the writing of an author because she is temporally and spatially Eurocentric or because she is a woman increasingly inscribed within the domestic space separated from the Court and the City. She needs to be thought about and written about to decide the way she articulates and negotiates prevailing and prevalent British attitudes about the relations between realism and romance, the private and the public, the middle class and its superiors and inferiors, England and its Others.

### Works Cited

- Adams, Percy G. "Perception and the Eighteenth-Century Traveller." The Eighteenth Century: Theory and Interpretation 26 (1985): 139-57.
- . Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel. Lexington: U of Kentucky P, 1983.
- Adburgham, Alison. Women in Print: Writing Women and Women's Magazines From the Restoration to the Accession of Victoria. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1972.
- Addison, Joseph. "Metempsychosis of Pugg the Monkey." Spectator No 343. 3 April 1712.
- . "Persian story of Alnaraschin." The Guardian, No. 167. 22 September 1713.
- Ahmed, Leila. "Western Ethnocentrism and Perception of the Harem." Feminist Studies. 8.3 (1982): 521-4.
- Al-Azmeh, Aziz. "Islamic Studies and the European Imagination." Exeter: U of Exeter, 1986.
- Alfonsi, Petrus. The Disciplina Clericalis of Petrus Alfonsi. Trans. and ed. Eberhard Hermes. London and Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977.

Allestree, Richard. The Ladies Calling In Two Parts By the Author of the Whole Duty of Man . . . . 1673. Ann Arbor: UMI, 1978.

Alloula, Malek. The Colonial Harem. Trans. Myrna Godzich and Wlad Godzich. 1981. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1986.

Althusser, Louis. Lenin and Philosophy, and Other Essays. Trans. Ben Brewster. London: NLB, 1971.

Appleton, William W. A Cycle of Cathay: The Chinese Vogue in England During the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. New York: Octagon Books, 1951.

Apuleius. The Golden Ass. Trans. Robert Graves. New York: Farrar, Straus & Young, 1951.

Arabian Nights' Entertainments. 1706-14. Ed. Robert Mack. New York: OUP, 1995.

Aristotle. Poetics. Critical Theory Since Plato. Ed. Hazard Adams. New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1971.

Armeno, Christoforo [pseud?]. The Travels and the adventures of three princes of Sarendip. Intermixed with Eight Delightful and Entertaining Novels Translated from the Persian into French and from thence done into English. To which is added Amazonta, or the Politic Wife, A Novel. Adorned with Cuts. London: W. Chetwood, 1722.

Armstrong, Nancy. Desire and Domestic Fiction: A Political History of the Novel. New York: Oxford U P, 1987.

- . "Introduction: Literature as Women's History II." Genre. 20 (1987): 101-110.
- . "The Rise of the Domestic Woman." The Ideology of Conduct: Essays on Literature and the History of Sexuality. Eds. Nancy Armstrong and Leonard Tennenhouse. New York: Methuen, 1987. 96-141.
- Astell, Mary. Appendix to Some Reflections Upon Marriage. The Other Eighteenth Century: English Women of Letters, 1660-1800. Eds. Robert W. Uphaus and Gretchen M. Foster. East Lansing: Colleagues P, 1991. 33-49.
- Aubin, Penelope. The Noble Slaves; or, The lives and adventures of two lords and ladies who were shipwreck'd and cast upon a desolate island near the East Indies, in the Year 1710 . . . . By Mrs. Aubin. 1722. New Haven: George Bunce, 1798.
- . A Collection of Entertaining Histories and Novels Designed to promote the Cause of Virtue and Honour . . . . 3 vols. London: D. Midwinter, A. Bettesworth and J. Hitch, et. al., 1739.
- Backscheider, Paula R. "Women Writers and the Chains of Identification." Studies in the Novel. 19.3 (1987): 245-262.
- Ballaster, Ros. Seductive Forms: Women's Amatory Fiction From 1684-1740. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1992.
- Barbauld, Anna Laetitia, ed. The British Novelists. 50 vols. London: Rivington, et al., 1820.

- Barker, Francis, et al., eds. Europe and its Others. 2 vols. Colchester: U of Essex, 1985.
- Barnes, Julian. A History of the World in 10 1/2 Chapters. New York: Knopf, 1989.
- Barthes, Roland. S/Z. Richard Miller, trans. New York: Hill and Wang, 1974.
- Beattie, James. "On Fable and Romance." Dissertations Moral and Critical. 1783. New York: Garland Publishing, 1971. 505-575.
- Beasley, Jerry C. "Portraits of a Monster: Robert Walpole and Early English Prose Fiction." ECS. 14 (1981): 406-31.
- . Novels of the 1740s. Athens: U of Georgia P, 1982.
- Beckford, William. 1786. Vathek, An Arabian Tale. Menston: Scholar P, 1971.
- Behn, Aphra. Love Letters between a Nobleman and his Sister. London: Virago, 1989.
- . Oronooko or the Royal Slave. Ed. Lore Metzger. 1688. New York: Norton, 1973.
- Belsey, Catherine. The Subject of Tragedy: Identity and Difference in Renaissance Drama. New York: Methuen, 1985.
- . "Constructing the Subject: Deconstructing the Text." Feminist Criticism and Social Change: Sex, Class and Race in Literature and Culture. Eds.

Judith Newton and Deborah Rosenfelt. New York and London:  
Methuen, 1985. 45-64.

Bender, John. Imagining the Penitentiary: Fiction and the Architecture of Mind in Eighteenth-Century England. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1987.

---. "Prison Reform and the Sentence of Narration." The New Eighteenth Century: Theory, Politics, English Literature. Eds. Felicity Nussbaum, et al. New York: Methuen, 1987: 168-188.

Bentham, Jeremy. The Works of Jeremy Bentham. Ed. John Bowring. 11 vols. Edinburgh: William Tait, 1838-1843. Vol 4.

Berkeley, George, D.D. The Works of George Berkeley, D.D. Ed. Alexander Campbell Fraser. 4 vols. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1871. Vol. 3.

Berger, John. Ways of Seeing. 1972. London and Harmondsworth: BBC & Penguin, 1977.

Bhabha, Homi. "Difference, Discrimination and the Discourse of Colonialism." The Politics of Theory. Europe and Its Others. Eds. Frances Barker, et al. Colchester: U of Essex, 1985. 194-211.

---. "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse." October 29 (1984): 125-38.

---. "Signs Taken for Wonders: Questions of Ambivalence and Authority Under A Tree Outside Delhi, May 1817." Europe and Its Others. Eds. Francis Barker, et al. 2 vols. Colchester: University of Essex, 1985. Vol. 1.



- Bidpai. The Morall Philosophie of Doni . . . englished out of Italian by Thomas North. . . . London: Henry Denham, n.d. [colophon dated: 1570].
- Blackstone, William. Commentaries on the Laws of England. 4 vols. Chicago: Chicago UP, 1979. Vol. 1.
- Blake, William. [Annotations to Reynolds' Discourses on Art]. Eds. Paul Fussell, Jr., et al. Eighteenth Century Literature. San Diego: HBJ, 1969.
- Blouch, Christine. "Eliza Haywood and the Romance of Obscurity." SEL 31 (1992): 535-551.
- Boswell, James. Boswell's Life of Johnson. London: Oxford U P, 1953.
- Boyd, Elizabeth. The Happy Unfortunate, or the Female Page. 1732. New York: Garland, 1972.
- Brophy, Elizabeth. Women's Lives and the Eighteenth-Century Novel. Tampa: U of South Florida P, 1991.
- Bunn, James H. "The Aesthetics of British Mercantilism." NLH 11 (1980): 303-21.
- Burke, Edmund. The Correspondence of Edmund Burke. Ed. G.H. Guttridge. 10 vols. Cambridge U P; Cambridge, 1961. Vol. 3.
- [Busbecq, Ogier Ghislain de]. The four epistles . . . concerning his embassy into Turkey . . . To which is added, his advice how to manage war against the Turks. Done into English. London: J. Taylor, 1694.

Castle, Terry. "The Spectralization of the Other in The Mysteries of Udolpho.

The New Eighteenth Century: Theory, Politics, English Literature. Eds.

Felicity Nussbaum, et al. New York: Methuen, 1987.

Caracciolo, Peter L. The Arabian Nights in English Literature: Studies in the Reception of The Thousand and One Nights into British Culture.

Houndmills, Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1988.

Caylus, Anne Claude Phillipe Comte de. Oriental Tales, collected from an Arabian Manuscript in the Library of the King of France. 2 vols.

1743. London: T. Trye, W. Shropshire, M. Cooper. 1745.

Collins, William. Oriental Eclogues. The Works of William Collins. Eds.

Richard Wendorf and Charles Ryskamp, Oxford: Clarendon P, 1979.

Conant, Martha Pike. The Oriental Tale in England in the Eighteenth Century.

1908. New York: Octagon Books, 1966.

Copley, Stephen, ed. Literature and the Social Order in Eighteenth Century England. London: Croom Helm, 1984.

Congreve, William. "The Preface to the Reader." Incognita or Love and Duty Reconciled. Ed. H.F.B. Brett-Smith. Oxford: Blackwell, 1922.

Critical Review, or Annals of Literature 24 (July 1767): 33-44.

Davidoff, Leonore and Catherine Hall. Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1987.

Davis, Lennard J. Factual Fictions: The Origins of the English Novel. New York: Columbia U P, 1983.

---. Resisting Novels. New York: Methuen, 1987.

Das, Sudipta. "British Reactions to the French Bugbear in India, 1763-83."

European History Quarterly. 22 (1992): 39-65.

Davenant, Charles. An Essay on the East-India-Trade. . . . London: n.p.,  
1696.

Day, Geoffrey, ed. From Fiction to the Novel. London and New York:  
Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987.

Defoe, Daniel. "Letter V Containing a Description of the City of London. . .".

A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain. Eds. G.D.H. Cole  
and D.C. Browning. London: J.M. Dent, 1974: 314-376.

Derrida, Jacques. Of Grammatology. Trans. Gayatri Chakrovorty Spivak.  
Baltimore: Johns Hopkins U P, 1976.

Doody, Margaret. "Frances Sheridan and Annihilated Time." Fetter'd or Free?  
British Women Novelists, 1690-1815. Eds. Mary Anne Schofield and  
Ceclia Macheski. Athens: Ohio U P, 1986. 324-358.

Donovan, Josephine. "Women and the Rise of the Novel: Feminist-Marxist  
Theory." Signs 16.3 (1991): 441-462.

Douthwaite, Julia V. Exotic Women: Literary Heroines and Cultural Strategies  
in Ancien Régime France. Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1992.

Dow, Alexander. "A Dissertation concerning the Customs, Manners,

- Language, Religion and Philosophy of the Hindoos." The British Discovery of Hinduism in the Eighteenth Century. Ed P.J. Marshall. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1970.
- Drake, Judith. "An Essay in Defense of the Female Sex." The Other Eighteenth Century: English Women of Letters, 1660-1800. Eds. Robert W. Uphaus and Gretchen M. Foster. East Lansing: Colleagues P, 1991: 23-31.
- Drew, John. India and the Romantic Imagination. Delhi: Oxford U P, 1987.
- Dumont, Jean. New Voyage to the Levant. 1696. Ann Arbor: UMI, 1975.
- DuPlessis, Rachael Blau. Writing Beyond the Ending: Narrative Strategies of Twentieth-Century Women Writers. Bloomington: Indiana U P, 1985.
- Ekhtiar, Rochelle Suzette. "Fictions of Enlightenment: The Oriental Tale in Eighteenth England." Diss. Brandeis U, 1985.
- Ellis, Kate Ferguson. The Contested Castle: Gothic Novels and The Subversion of Domestic Ideology. Urbana and Chicago: U of Illinois P, 1989.
- Elshtain, Jean Bethke. "Introduction: Toward a Theory of the Family and Politics." The Family in Political Thought. Ed. Jean Bethke Elshtain. Amherst: U of Massachusetts P, 1982.
- Enfield, William. Monthly Review or Literary Journal, Enlarged, Series 2, XV (1794): 276-285.

- Epstein, Morris, trans. and ed. Introduction. Tales of Sendebār: an Edition and Translation of the Hebrew Version of the Seven Sages. . . .  
Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1967.
- Farquhar, George. The Beaux Stratagem. Six Restoration Plays. Ed. John Harold Wilson. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1959.
- Fan, T.C. "Chinese Fables and Anti-Walpolean Journalism." RES. 25 (1949): 141-151.
- Ferguson, Moira, ed. First Feminists: British Women Writers in England, 1578-1799. Bloomington: Indiana U P, 1985.
- . Subject to Others: British Women Writers and Colonial Slavery, 1670-1834. New York: Routledge, 1992.
- Filmer, Sir Robert. Patriarcha, and Other Political Works of Sir Robert Filmer. Ed. Peter Laslett. Oxford: Blackwell, 1949.
- Fleenor, Juliann E. The Female Gothic. Montreal and London: Eden P, 1983.
- Folsom, James K. "Beckford's Vathek and the Tradition of Oriental Satire." Criticism 6 (1964): 53-69.
- Foucault, Michel. Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison. Trans. Alan Sheridan. New York: Vintage Books-Random House, 1979.
- . The History of Sexuality: An Introduction, Volume I. Trans. Robert Hurley. New York: Vintage Books-Random House, 1990.

- Gallagher, Catherine. "Political Crimes and Fictional Alibis: The Case of Delarivier [Delarivière] Manley." ECS. 23.4 (1990): 502-521.
- Garrett, G.T., ed. Legacy of India. Clarendon: Oxford, 1951.
- Gibbon, Edward. The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. Eds. Dean Milman, M. Guizot and William Smith. 8 vols. London: John Murray, 1854. Vol. 3
- Goldsmith, Oliver. Collected Works of Oliver Goldsmith. Ed. Arthur Friedman. 6 vols. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1966. Vol. 1-2.
- . "The Deserted Village." Eighteenth Century Literature. Eds. Paul Fussell, Jr., et al. San Diego: HBJ, 1969: 1252-1257.
- Graffigny, Françoise d'Issembourg d'Happencourt de (1695-1758). Letters of a Peruvian Princess. London: Brindley, 1740.
- Green, Katherine Sobba. The Courtship Novel, 1740-1820: A Feminized Genre. Lexington, Ky: The U P of Kentucky, 1991.
- Halsband, Robert. "Women and Literature in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century." Woman in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century and Other Essays. Eds. Paul Fritz and Richard Morton. Toronto: A.M. Hakkert, 1976.
- Hamilton, Elizabeth. Translation of the Letters of a Hindoo Rajah; Written previous to, and during the Period of his Residence in England. To which is prefixed a preliminary dissertation on the History, Religion, And Manners of the Hindoos. 2 vols. London: G.G. and J. Robinson, 1796.

Hammani, Reza. "Feminist Orientalism and Orientalist Marxism." NLR  
(1988).

Harari, Josué V. Scenarios of the Imaginary. Ithaca and London: Cornell U  
P, 1987.

Harbsmeier, Michael. "Early Travels to Europe: Some Remarks on the Magic  
of Writing." Europe and Its Others. Eds. Frances Barker, et al.  
Colchester: U of Essex, 1985.

Hatchett, William. The Chinese Orphan: an historical tragedy. Alter'd from a  
specimen of the Chinese tragedy, in Du Halde's History of China.  
Interspersed with songs, after the Chinese manner. London: C. Corbett,  
1741.

Hawkins, Sir John. The Life of Samuel Johnson, L.L.D. 1787. New York:  
Garland, 1974.

Hawkesworth, John. Almorán and Hamet: An Oriental Tale. New York:  
Garland 1974

Haywood, Eliza. Adventures of Eovaai, Princess of Ijaveo. 1736. New York:  
Garland, 1972.

---. The Female Spectator. 4 vols. London: Mellac, Law and Coter, 1775.

---. Letters from the Palace of Fame. Written by a First Minister in the  
Regions of Air To An Inhabitant of this World. Translated from an  
Arabian Manuscript. London: J. Roberts, 1727.

---. The Secret History of the Present Intrigues of the Court of Caramania.

1726. New York: Garland, 1792.

Hays, Mary. "The Hermit, an Oriental Tale." Letters and Essays, Moral and Miscellaneous. New York: Garland, 1974: 219-153.

Hermes, Eberhard, trans. and ed. Introduction. The Disciplina Clericalis of Petrus Alfonsus. London and Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977.  
3-99.

Hill, Christopher. The Century of Revolution, 1603-1714. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., Inc, 1966. History of Seven Wise Masters of Rome. Now Newly Corrected, Better explained . . . and Enlarged with Many Pretty Pictures. [London: Wotton and Conyers, 1687.] Ann Arbor: UMI, 1975.

Hobbes, Thomas. Leviathan. Ed. K.R. Monogue. London: J.M. Dent, 1973.

Hogan, Robert and Jerry Beasley. Introduction. The Plays of Frances Sheridan. Newark: U of Delaware P, 1984. 13-31.

Hole, Richard. Remarks on the Arabian Nights Entertainments, in which the origin of Sindbad's voyage . . . is particularly considered. London, 1797.

Honour, Hugh. Chinoiserie: The Vision of Cathay. London, 1961.

Hume, David. A Treatise of Human Nature. Ed. Ernest C. Mossner. 1739 & 1740. Hammondsworth: Penguin, 1969.



- Hunter, J. Paul. Before Novels: The Cultural Contexts of Eighteenth-Century Fiction. New York: Norton, 1990.
- Irving, Thomas Ballantine, trans. and ed. Kalilah and Dimnah: an English Version of Bidpai's Fables. Based on Ancient Arabic and Spanish Manuscripts. Newark, Delaware: Juan de la Cuesta, 1980.
- Jameson, Fredric. The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act. Ithaca: Cornell U P, 1981.
- Johnson, Samuel. History of Rasselas, Prince of Abissinia. Samuel Johnson: Rasselas, Poems and Selected Prose. Ed. Bertrand H. Bronson. 3rd ed. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971.
- . Rambler No. 4. Saturday, 31 March 1750. Samuel Johnson: Rasselas, Poems and Selected Prose. Ed. Bertrand H. Bronson. 3rd ed. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971: 67-72.
- Johnson, Samuel. "Tale of Seged of Ethiopia." The Rambler Nos. 204-5. 29 February-3 March 1752.
- Johnstone, Charles. Chrysal; or the Adventures of a Guinea. 4 vols. 1760. 2nd ed. London: Becket and De Hondt, 1767-73.
- Jones, Vivien, ed. Women in the Eighteenth Century: Constructions of Femininity. London and New York: Routledge, 1991.
- Kabbani, Rana. Europe's Myths of the Orient: Devise and Rule. London: Macmillan, 1986.

- Kaplan, Cora. "Wild Nights: Pleasure/Sexuality/Feminism." The Ideology of Conduct: Essays on Literature and the History of Sexuality. Eds. Nancy Armstrong and Leonard Tennenhouse. New York: Methuen, 1987: 160-184.
- Kelly, Gary. English Fiction of the Romantic Period, 1789-1830. London and New York: Longman, 1989.
- . "Social Conflict, Nation and Empire: From Gothicism to Romantic Orientalism." Ariel: A Review of International English Literature 20.2 (1989): 3-18.
- . Women, Writing and Revolution, 1790-1827. Oxford: OUP, 1993.
- Knight, Ellis Cornelia. Autobiography of Miss Cornelia Knight, Lady Companion to the Princess Charlotte of Wales with extracts from her Journals and Anecdote Books. Ed. J.W. Kaye. 3rd ed. 2 vols. London: W.H. Allen, 1861.
- . Dinarbas; A Tale being a continuation of Rasselas, Prince of Abissinia. Ed. Ann Messenger. 1790. East Lansing: Colleagues P, 1993.
- Knipp, Charles Christopher. "The Arabian Nights in England: Galland's Translation and its Successors." Journal of Arabic Literature. 5 (1974): 44-54.
- . "Types of Orientalism in Eighteenth-Century England." Diss. U of California, Berkeley, 1974.

- Lanser, Susan Sniader. Fiction of Authority: Women Writers and Narrative Voice. Ithaca and London: Cornell U P, 1992.
- Leask, Nigel. British Romantic Writers and the East: Anxieties of Empire. Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 1992.
- Lee, Sophia. The Recess or, a Tale of Other Times. 1783-5. 3 vols. New York: Arno P, 1972.
- Lewis, M. G. The Monk, a Romance. 1796. London: Oxford U P, 1973.
- Liu, Alan. "Toward a Theory of Common Sense: Beckford's *Vathek* and Johnson's *Rasselas*." Texas Studies in Literature and Language. 26.2 (1984): 183-217.
- Locke, John. Two Treatises of Government. Ed. Peter Laslett, 1967. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 1967.
- Lovell, Terry. Consuming Fiction. London: Verso, 1987.
- Lowe, Lisa. Critical Terrains: French and British Orientalism. Ithaca and London: Cornell U P, 1991.
- Luttrell, Barbara. The Prim Romantic: A Biography of Ellis Cornelia Knight. London: Chatto & Windus, 1965.
- Lyttelton, George. Letters from a Persian in England to his Friend at Ispahan. 2nd ed. London: for J. Millan, 1735.
- Macaulay, Catharine. Letters on Education, With an Observation on Religious and Metaphysical Subjects. 1790. New York and London: Garland, 1974.

- Macdonald, Duncan B. "A Bibliographical and Literary Study of the First Appearance of the Arabian Nights in Europe." Library Quarterly 2.4 (1932): 387-406.
- Mack, Robert L., ed. Introduction. Oriental Tales. Oxford: World's Classics-Oxford U P, 1992. vii-xlviii.
- Majeed, Javed. Ungoverned Imaginings: James Mill's History of British India and Orientalism. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1992.
- Manns aker, Frances. "Elegancy and Wildness: Reflections of the East in the Eighteenth-century Imagination." Exoticism in the Enlightenment. Eds. G.S. Rousseau and Roy Porter. Manchester: Manchester U P, 1990.
- Mandeville, Bernard. The Fable of the Bees: or Private Vices, Public Benefits. 2 vols. Ed. F.B. Kaye. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1957. Vol. 1.
- Manley, Delarivi re. The Second Part, or a Continuation of the Secret History of Queen Zarah and the Zarazians. 1705. The Novels of Mary Delarivi re Manley. Ed. Patricia Koster. 2 vols. Gainesville: Scholar's Facsimiles & Reprints, 1971. Vol. 1
- . The Secret History of Queen Zarah and the Zarazians . . . 1705. The Novels of Mary Delarivi re Manley. Ed. Patricia Koster. 2 vols. Gainesville: Scholar's Facsimiles & Reprints, 1971. Vol. 1
- . Secret Memoirs and Manners of Several Persons of Quality of Both Sexes from the New Atalantis, an Island in the Mediterranean. 1709. The

- Novels of Mary Delarivière Manley. Ed. Patricia Koster. 2 vols.  
Gainsville: Scholar's Facsimiles & Reprints, 1971. Vol. 1
- Manzalaoui, Mahmoud A. "Pseudo-Orientalism in Translation: The Age of  
Vathek." William Beckford of Fonthill . . . . Ed. Fatma Moussa-  
Mahmoud. Cairo: Cairo Studies in English, 1960.
- Marshall, P.J. Introduction. The British Discovery of Hinduism in the  
Eighteenth Century. Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 1970.
- Marana, Giovanni P. Letters Writ By A Turkish Spy. Ed. Arthur J.  
Weitzman. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970.
- Mayo, Robert. The English Novel in the Magazines, 1740-1815, with a  
Catalogue 1375 Magazine Novels an Novelettes. Evanston:  
Northwestern U P, 1962.
- McBurney, William H. "Mrs Penelope Aubin and the Early Eighteenth-  
Century English Novel." Huntington Library Quarterly 20 (1957): 250.
- McCarthy, Bridget G. Women Writers. Their Contributions to the English  
Novel, 1621-1744. New York: William Salloch, 1948.
- McDermott, Hubert. Novel and Romance: The Odyssey to Tom Jones.  
London: Macmillan P, 1989.
- McKeon, Michael. The Origins of the English Novel, 1600- 1740. Baltimore:  
Johns Hopkins U P, 1987.
- . "Historicizing Patriarchy: The Emergence of Gender Difference in  
England, 1660-1760." ECS. 28.1 (1995): 295-322.

- McIntosh, Carey. The Choice of Life. New Haven and London: Yale U P, 1973.
- Melocco, Lynne. "Orientalism and the Oriental Tale: Gender, Genre and Cultural Identity." Diss. Rutgers, 1992.
- Messenger, Ann. "Choices of Life: Samuel Johnson and Ellis Cornelia Knight." His and Hers: Essays in Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Literature. Lexington: The U P of Kentucky, 1986: 197-221.
- Miller, Christopher. Blank Darkness: Africanist Discourse in French. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1985.
- Miller, Nancy K. Subject to Change: Reading Feminist Writing. New York: Columbia U P, 1988.
- Mills, Sara. Discourse of difference: an Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism. London: Routledge, 1991
- Mills, Sara, Lynne Pearce, et al. Feminist Readings/Feminists Reading. New York: Harvester-Wheatsheaf, 1989.
- Mingay, G.E. English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963.
- Montague, Lady Mary Wortley. The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montague. Ed. Robert Halsband. 3 vols. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1965.  
Vol. 1
- Montesquieu, Charles Louis de Secondat, baron de La Brède et de. Persian Letters. Trans. John Ozell. 1722. New York, Garland, 1972.

More, Hannah. Coelebs in Search of a Wife. 2 vols. 1809. London: For T.

Cadell and W. Davies, 1813.

Morgan, Susan. "Victorian Women, Wisdom, and Southeast Asia." Victorian

Sages and Cultural Discourse: Renegotiating Gender and Power. New

Brunswick: Rutgers U P, 1990: 207-224.

Moussa-Mahmoud, Fatma. "Beckford, Vathek and the Oriental Tale."

Beckford of Fonthill, 1760-1844: Bicentenary Essays. Ed. Fatma

Moussa-Mahmoud. Cairo: Cairo Studies in English, 1960.

Muhsin, Jassim Ali. "The Arabian Nights in Eighteenth-Century English

Criticism." Muslim World 67 (Jan 1977): 12-32.

Murphy, Arthur. The Orphan of China, a tragedy, as it is performed at the

Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane. London: P. Vaillant, 1759.

Nader, Laura. "Orientalism, Occidentalism and the Control of Women."

Cultural Dynamics. 2.3 (1989): 112-143.

National Union Catalogue, pre-1956 Imprints. London: Mansell, 1968-81.

Newton, Judith. Women Power, and Subversion: Social Strategies In British

Fiction, 1778-1860. Athens: U of Georgia P, 1981.

Newton, Judith and Deborah Rosenfelt, eds. Feminist Criticism and Social

Change: Sex, Class and Race in Literature and Culture. New York and

London: Methuen, 1985.

Nussbaum, Felicity. "Heteroclitics: The Gender of Character in the Scandalous

Memoirs." The New Eighteenth Century: Theory, Politics, English

- Literature. Eds. Felicity Nussbaum and Laura Brown. New York: Methuen, 1987.
- . Torrid Zones: Maternity, Sexuality, and Empire in Eighteenth-Century Narratives. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins U P, 1995.
- Oakleaf, David, ed. Introduction. Love in Excess. Eliza Haywood. 1719. Peterborough: Broadview Literary Texts, 1994: 3-25.
- O'Hanlon, Rosalind and David Washbrook. "After Orientalism: Culture, Criticism, and Politics in the Third World." Comparative Studies In Society and History. 1.34 (1992): 141-167.
- Pateman, Carole. The Sexual Contract. Stanford: Stanford U P, 1988.
- Penzer, N.M. The Harēm: An Account of the Institution as it Existed in the Palace of the Turkish Sultans with a History of the Grand Seraglio from its Foundation to Modern Times. 1936. London: Spring Books, 1965.
- . "Preface." Sir John Chardin's Travels in Persia. 1927. New York: AMS P, 1972.
- Perry, Ruth. Women, Letters and the Novel. New York: AMS P, 1980.
- Perera, Suvendrini. Reaches of Empire: The English Novel from Edgeworth to Dickens. New York: Columbia U P 1991.
- Pitcher, Edward W. "The Short Story in Anthology and Miscellany, 1750-1800: A Response to Robert Mayo." Studies in Short Fiction 14 (1977): 1-11.



- Pilkington, Mary. A Mirror for the Female Sex. Historical Beauties for Young Ladies. Intended to Lead the Female Mind to the Love and Practice of Moral Goodness. Designed Principally for the Use of Ladies' Schools. 1798. 2nd ed. London: Vernor and Hood, 1799.
- Pollak, Ellen. The Politics of Sexual Myth: Gender and Ideology in the Verse of Swift and Pope. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1985.
- Polwhele, Richard. The Unsex'd Females: A Poem. New York: Garland, 1974.
- Pope, Alexander. Correspondence. 5 vols. Ed. George Sherburn. Oxford: Clarendon, 1956. Vol. 1
- . "Fable of the Traveller and the Adder [taken from the Fables of Bidpai]." The Guardian, 61. 21 May 1713.
- Porter, Dennis. "Orientalism and its Problems." The Politics of Theory. Eds. Francis Barker, et al. Colchester: U of Essex, 1983. 179-192.
- Porter, Roy. English Society in the Eighteenth Century. London: Allen Lane/Penguin, 1982.
- Price, Richard. "A Discourse on the Love of our Country, Delivered on Nov. 4, 1789, at the Meetinghouse in the Old Jewry, to the Society for Commemorating the Revolution in Great Britain. . . ". 1790. Louisville: Lost Cause Press, 1962. [Microcard by Edward E. Powars, Boston, 1790.]

Princess Coquedoeuf and Prince Bonbon, a history as ancient as it is authentic.

Translated from the Neustrian tongue into French by M. Degbacobub  
and, from the French into English by R.C. London. London: Elmsly,  
 1796.

Preston, Thomas. A Lamentable Tragedie, Mixed Full of Pleasant Mirth,  
Containing the Life of Cambises [Cambyses] King of Persia . . . .

1569. n.p.: Old English Drama/Students Facsimile Edition, 1910. vol  
 8.

Pucci, Suzanne Rodin. "Orientalism and the Representations of Exteriority in  
 Montesquieu's Lettres Persanes." The Eighteenth-Century: Theory And  
Interpretation. 26 (1985): 263-79.

---. "The Discrete Charms of the Exotic: Fictions of the Harem in Eighteenth-  
 Century France. Exoticism in the Enlightenment. Eds. Rousseau, G.S.  
 and Roy Porter. Manchester: Manchester U P, 1990.

Rawson, C.J. "The Continuation of Rasselas." Bicentenary Essays on  
Rasselas. Ed. Magdi Wahba. Cairo: S.O.P. Press, 1959: 85-95.

Richardson, Samuel. Pamela or Virtue Rewarded. New York: W.W. Norton,  
 & Co. Inc., 1958.

Ridley, James. The Tales of The Genii: or the Delightful Lessons of Horam,  
the Son of Asmar. Translated form the Persian by Sir Charles Morell.  
 London: Henry G. Bohn, 1861.

Reeve, Clara. Old English Baron. London: Oxford U P, 1967.

---. Progress of Romance, through Times, Countries and Manners . . . . 1785.

New York: Garland, 1970.

Richetti, John J. Popular Fiction Before Richardson: Narrative Patterns, 1700-1739. Oxford: Clarendon, 1969.

---. "Voice and Gender in Eighteenth-Century Fiction: Haywood to Burney."  
Studies in the Novel. 19.3 (1987): 263-272.

Richon, Olivier. "Representation, the Despot and the Harem: Some Questions  
Around an Academic Orientalist Painting by Lecomte-du-Nouÿ."  
Europe and its Others. Eds. Frances Barker, et al. Colchester: U of  
Essex, 1985. Vol. 1.

Roberts, Bette B. The Gothic Romance: Its Appeal to Women Writer and  
reader in Later Eighteenth-Century England. New York: Arno P, 1980.

Roberts, Miss R. Peruvian Letters translated from the original French of  
[Françoise de Graffigny] with an additional volume. By R. Roberts.  
[Trans. and bound with de Graffigny's Peruvian Letters and Hugary de  
la Marche-Courmant, Letters of Aza]. 2 vols. London: T. Cadell,  
1774.

Ross, Deborah. The Excellence of Falsehood: Romance, Realism, and  
Women's Contribution to the Novel. np: U P of Kentucky, 1991.

Rousseau, G.S. Enlightenment Crossings: Pre- and Post-Modern Discourses:  
Anthropological. Manchester: Manchester U P, 1991.

Rousseau, G.S. and Roy Porter, eds. Exoticism in the Enlightenment.

- Manchester: Manchester U P, 1990.
- Rowe, Nicholas. Tamerlane: a Tragedy. London: Tonson, 1735.
- Rycaut, Sir Paul. The History of the Turks. Beginning with the year 1679.  
Being a full relation of the last troubles in Hungary, with the sieges of  
Vienna and Buda . . . . London: Robert Clavell, and Abel Roper,  
 1700.
- Ryan. Michael T. "Assimilating New Worlds in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." Comparative Studies in Society and History. 23 (1981): 519-539.
- Said, Edward W. Culture and Imperialism. 1993. New York: Vintage, 1994.
- . Orientalism. 1978. New York: Vintage, 1979.
- . "Orientalism Reconsidered." Europe and its Others. Frances Barker, et al. eds. Colchester: U of Essex, 1985. Vol. 1.
- Salzman, Paul. English Prose Fiction, 1558-1700. Oxford: Oxford U P, 1985.
- Sambrook, James. The Eighteenth Century: The Intellectual and Cultural Context of English Literature, 1700-1789. London: Longman, 1986.
- Sandys, George. A Relation of a Journey begun An Dom: 1610. 1621. Ann Arbor: UMI, 1974.
- Schaul, Uta Liebmann. "Foucault's Oriental Subtext." PMLA 103.3 (1989): 306-316.
- Schofield, Mary Anne. "Descending Angels, Salubrious Sluts and Pretty Prostitutes in Haywood's Fiction." Fetter'd or Free? British Women

Novelists, 1690-1815. Eds. Mary Anne Schofield and Cecilia Macheski.

Athens: Ohio U P, 1986.

---. Eliza Haywood. Boston: Twayne Publishers-G.K. Hall, 1985.

---. "Exposé of the Popular Heroine: The Female Protagonists of Eliza

Haywood. Studies in Eighteenth Century Culture. 12 (1983): 93-103.

---. Quiet Rebellion: The Fictional Heroines of Eliza Haywood. Newark, U of Delaware P, 1982.

---. Masking and Unmasking the Female Mind: Disguising Romances in Feminine Fiction, 1713-1799. Newark, U of Delaware P, 1990.

Schwab, Raymond. The Oriental Renaissance. New York: Columbia U P, 1984.

Sekora, John. Luxury: The Concept in Western Thought: Eden to Smollett. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins U P, 1977.

Sencourt, Robert. India in English Literature. 1923. Port Washington, N.Y., 1978.

Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of. Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times, etc. 1711. Ed. John M. Robertson. 2 vols. Gloucester, Mass.: P. Smith, 1963. Vol. 1.

Shanley, Mary Lyndon. "Marriage Contract and Social Contract in Seventeenth-Century English Political Thought." The Family in Political Thought. Ed. Jean Bethke Elshtain. Amherst: U of Massachusetts P, 1982.

- Sharpe, Jenny. Allegories of Empire: the Figure of Woman in the Colonial Text. Minneapolis: U of Minneapolis P, 1993.
- Sheridan, Frances. The History of Nourjahad. Oriental Tales. Ed. Robert L. Mack. Oxford: Oxford-World's Classics UP, 1992.
- . Memoirs of Miss Sidney Bidulph. 1761/1767. London: Pandora, 1987.
- Smith, Byron Porter. Islam in English Literature. 1939. 2nd ed. Eds. S.B. Bushri and Anahid Melikian. Delmar, N.Y.: Caravan, 1977.
- Smith, Charlotte. Ethlinde, or the Recluse of the Lake. 5 vols. 1789. np: Library Resources Inc, 1978. vols 1-3.
- . The Old Manor House, A Novel. 1793. Ed. Anne Henry Ehrenpreis. London: Oxford U P, 1969.
- . "To My Children." Emmeline: The Orphan of the Castle. Ed. Anne Henry Ehrenpreis. 1788. London: Oxford U P, 1971: xvi.
- Speck, W.A. Society and Literature in England, 1700-60. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan Humanities P, 1983.
- . Stability and Strife: England 1714-1760. London: Edward Hill, 1977.
- Spencer, Jane. The Rise of the Woman Novelist: From Aphra Behn to Jane Austen. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986.
- Spender, Dale. Mothers of the Novel. London and New York: Pandora, 1986.
- Spivak, Gaytri Chakravorty. In Other Worlds: Essays in Cultural Politics. New York: Methuen, 1987.

- Staves, Susan. "British Seduced Maidens." ECS. 14: 1980-1: 109-34.
- Starr, G.A. Defoe and Spiritual Autobiography. Princeton: Princeton U P, 1965.
- . "Escape from Barbary: A Seventeenth-Century Genre." Huntington Library Quarterly 29 (1965): 35-52.
- Stratton, Jon. The Virgin Text: Fiction, Sexuality and Ideology. Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 1987.
- Steele, Richard. "Santon Barsisa." The Guardian No. 148. 31 August 1713.
- Strong, Susan C. "Why a Secret Chain? Oriental Topoi and the Essential Mystery of the Lettres Persanes. Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century. 230 (1985): 167 -179.
- Sypher, Wylie. Guinea's Captive Kings: British Anti-Slavery Literature of the XVIIIth Century. 1942. New York, 1969.
- Tales of a Parrot; done into English, from a Persian Manuscript, Intitled Tooti Nameh. By a Teacher of the Persic, Arabic, Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldaic, Greek, Latin, Italian, French and English Languages. London: Minerva Press, 1792.
- Thrale, Hester. Thraliana: The Diary of Mrs. Hester Lynch Thrale [later Mrs. Piozzi], 1770-1809. Ed. Katherine C. Balderston. 2nd ed. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1951.
- Todd, Janet M. Feminist Literary History. New York: Routledge, 1988.

- . "Jane Austin, Politics and Sensibility." Feminist Criticism. Ed. Susan Sellers. Toronto: U of Toronto, 1991.
- . "Life After Sex: The Fictional Autobiography of Delarivier [Delarivière] Manley." Women's Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal. 15.1-3 (1988): 43-55.
- . Sensibility: An Introduction. London and New York: Methuen, 1986.
- . The Sign of Angelica: Women, Writing and Fiction, 1660-1800. London: Virago, 1989.
- Tomarken, Edward. Johnson, Rasselas, and the Choice of Criticism. Lexington, Ky.: The U P of Kentucky, 1989.
- Tompkins, Joyce M.S. The Popular Novel in England, 1770-1800. Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1932.
- Trumbach, Randolph. "The Fourth Sex." Third Sex, Third Gender: Beyond Sexual Dimorphism in Culture and History. Ed. Gilbert Herdt. New York: Zone Books, 1994.
- Turner, Cheryl. Living by the Pen: Women Writers in the Eighteenth Century. London and New York: Routledge, 1992.
- The Turkey merchants and their trade vindicated from the aspersions and unjust reproaches cast on them . . . in the names of the Italian merchants. By a merchant. [London:] n.p., 1720. [Concerns importation of silk by way of Italy and the bill relating to it.]



Uphaus, Robert W. "Cornelia Knight's Dinarbas: A Sequel to Rasselas."

Philological Quarterly. 65.4 (1986): 433-446.

Van Roosbroeck, G.L. Persian Letters before Montesquieu. New York:

Lenox Hill, 1972.

Van Sant, Jessie. Eighteenth-Century Sensibility and the Novel. New York:

Cambridge UP, 1993.

Viswanathan, Gauri. Masks of Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule.

New York: Columbia U P, 1989.

Walpole, Horace. "Preface to the First Edition." The Castle of Otranto. Ed.

W.S. Lewis. London: Oxford U P, 1964: 3-6.

---. "Preface to the Second Edition." The Castle of Otranto. Ed. W.S. Lewis.

London: Oxford U P, 1964: 7-12.

---. Hieroglyphic Tales. 1785. Augustan Reprint Society, no. 212-213. Los

Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1982.

Watt, Ian. The Rise of the Novel: Studies in the Defoe, Richardson, and

Fielding. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968.

West, Jane. The Advantages of Education Or, the History of Maria Williams.

1793. 2 vols. New York and London: Garland Publishing Inc., 1974.

Vol. 2.

Weisshaupt, Winifred. Europe sieht sich mit fremden Blick. Weke nach dem

schema der Lettre Persanes in der europäischen, insbesondere der

deutschen literatur des 18. Jahrhunderts. 3 vols. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1979.

Weitzman, Arthur J. "The Oriental Tale in the Eighteenth Century: A Reconsideration." Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century 59 (1967): 1839-55.

---. "The Influence of the Middle East on English Prose Fiction, 1600-1725." DAI (1964): S0146. New York U.

Whicher, George Frisbie. The Life and Romances of Mrs. Eliza Haywood. New York: Columbia U P, 1915.

White, Hayden. Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins U P, 1978.

Williams, Ioan, ed. Novel and Romance, 1700-1800: A Documentary Record. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1970.

Williams, Raymond. The Country and the City. London: Chatto & Windus, 1973.

Williamson, Marilyn L. Raising Their Voices: British Women Writers, 1650-1750. Detroit: Wayne State U P, 1990.

Withers, Robert, trans. A Description of the Grand Signors [sic] Seraglio. 1650. Ann Arbor: UMI, 1980.

Wollstonecraft, Mary. The Works of Mary Wollstonecraft. Eds. Janet Todd and Marilyn Butler. 7 vols. London: Pickering & Chatto, 1989.

Wolstenholme, Susan. Gothic (Re)Vision: Writing Women as Readers. New York: State U of New York P, 1993.

Wuthnow, Robert. Communities of Discourse: Ideology and Social Structure in the Reformation, the Enlightenment and European Socialism. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard U P, 1989.

Yeasell, Ruth Bernard. Fictions of Modesty: Women and Courtship and the English Novel. Chicago and London: U of Chicago P, 1991.

Zach, Wolfgang. "Mrs. Aubin and Richardson's Earliest Literary Manifesto (1739)." English Studies: A Journal of English Language and Literature. 62.3 (1981): 271-281.