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The Development of the Novel in the Prose Fictions of Eliza Haywood

by

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Abstract

Neglected by traditional literary histories or misrepresented in gender-specific criticism, Eliza Haywood is properly a novelist whose innovations can be seen in the works of Defoe and Richardson. This thesis examines selected novels by the London-based Haywood (1693?-1756) in light of their contributions to the novel form. It begins by considering her romance novellas as adaptations of the popular scandal novels of Delariviere Manley. Haywood's early fiction combines the concerns of amatory fiction with the political expediencies of satire. Over the course of her career, Haywood's early romance novellas expanded to become conduct novels. In their endorsement of a prudent conjugal happiness over erotic fulfilment, her later works exemplify the changing proprieties at the heart of the eighteenth-century British novel. The argument of this thesis is the contention that Haywood's prose fiction provides a fresh and significant perspective upon a pivotal period in eighteenth-century British fiction.

Sommaire

Négligée ou mal représentée, dans l'histoire de la littérature, comme étant remarquable seulement par le fait qu'elle ait du succès en dépit de son sexe, Eliza Haywood est une écrivaine dont l'influence peut être lue dans les oeuvres de Defoe, Fielding et Richardson. Cette thèse examine les contributions de certains romans de l'écrivaine londonienne Haywood (1693?-1756), au développement du roman contemporain. Ses premiers romans sont considérés commes les adaptations des romans à scandales populaires de Delariviere Manley. Mais à travers sa carrière ses oeuvres se sont transformés pour devenir des romans de conduites. Ils montrent des héroines arrivants à un bonheur conjugal prudent au lieu de chercher la réalisation d'une vie érotique, et en se faisant ils exemplifient le protocole changeant des romans britanniques du XVIII^{ième} siècle. Cet argument est soutenu par l'assertion que l'ensemble des proses de l'auteur nous fournit une perspective toute nouvelle sur une des périodes pivotales de la fiction britannique de ce siècle.

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Introduction and Critical Overview

William Beatty Warner is right to ask why, on the basis of their basic structural and thematic similarities, novels by Fielding, Defoe, and Richardson quickly became classics, while novels by Delariviere Manley and Eliza Haywood were left to rot on the shelves. Warner identifies a still strangely neglected though seemingly much discussed problem area. But the answer is both more complex than Warner's account of a mid-eighteenth century canonical heist and more tangible than what Dale Spender would argue is society's general indifference to a woman's voice. Eliza Haywood (1693?-1756) was one of the most prolific and commercially successful writers of her period, but until recently her works have hardly ever been considered in light of their contributions to the novel form. This peculiar situation arises from complex causes: once Haywood established a name for herself, she retreated into anonymous authorship, so that for a long while readers did not have a coherent overview of the development of her

authorial career; and she has been dogged by sometimes well-meant but ultimately marginalizing tags such as "scandal writer" and "women's author." However, in allowing debate to center on the determination of why the works were slighted, recent criticism has missed the specific achievement of the texts themselves. It is my contention that only after serious and detailed attention to Haywood's texts can one begin to see why stylistically and artistically she belongs among the premier architects of the eighteenth-century novel.

Few contemporary novelists possessed the range of styles and methods incorporated in Haywood's work. Taken as a whole, her corpus provides an unmatchable illustration of the progress of the novel in Britain in the first half of the eighteenth century. Yet, despite the intercession of feminist criticism,[1] her reputation as innovator remains so unprepossessing that she merits only passing mention in Michael McKeon's recent study The Origins of the English Novel 1600-1740, which shows much the same indifference to Haywood as Ian Watt did nearly forty years ago in The Rise of the Novel. Barring a flickering vogue in the 1920s, when Walter and Clare Jerrold as well as J. B. and Mary Priestly published

selections from the most humorous of her writings with some biographical information, little was written about Haywood's novels until the latter half of this century, and mention of her name has traditionally received either blank stares or scorn.

G. F. Whicher's biography and literary appreciation in 1915, The Life and Romances of Mrs. Eliza Haywood, was the first effort to credit her with a modest role in literary history, and this study was followed by Bridget G. MacCarthy's work in the 1940s and John J. Richetti's Popular Fiction Before Richardson: Narrative Patterns 1700-1739 in 1969. Even with their more favorable emphasis, these as well as subsequent critics of Haywood have tended to gravitate toward a discriminatory evaluation that either denies or awards Haywood's literary merit on the basis of her sex.[2] Popular Fiction and Ros Ballaster's 1992 Seductive Forms: Women's Amatory Fiction from 1684 to 1740 are probably the two most significant commentaries on Haywood to date. Popular Fiction needs no introduction, for it has acted as an indispensable guide to early eighteenth-century British novels for over twenty-five years. Seductive Forms, for its part, was quickly extolled as representing "a new chapter in the history of Anglo-American

literary historiography, advancing readings and arguments that no respectable future work on the early history of the British novel will legitimately be able to ignore" (Pollak 339). Each project starts from the assumption that eighteenth-century women writers deserve more critical scrutiny than they have received in traditional literary histories. Where these two studies fall short, however, is in the attempt to impose a theoretical framework that accommodates the study of individual works by individual authors. As Richetti retrospectively admits, "I am amazed now that I thought I could encompass in one book such an extensive body of diverse fiction" ("Introduction" xi). Although acknowledging social and political motivations in the works of the authors that she studies, Ballaster concentrates her analysis upon the feminized resistance evidenced in the hysteric moments within their writing. Richetti, intent on examining a group of writers that had been ignored by Watt, is unable to give individuals their due, while Ballaster, in addressing the concerns of psychoanalytic feminist criticism, discounts the qualities of early eighteenth-century romantic novels that fall outside its categories of analysis. In other words, Haywood

scholarship still affords ample opportunity for continued critical application and exploration.

The field of eighteenth-century novel criticism is as uneven as its subject. There is no denying that McKeon's Origins, however material a contribution on a historical level, is drily systematic, largely because of its neglect of the works of writers such as Haywood. The current proliferation of book-length studies of "masquerade fiction" by eighteenth-century women authors places too much interpretive pressure upon one minor aspect of the genre of romantic fiction. Two approaches that I have found more conducive to a theoretical understanding of Haywood's novels are J. Paul Hunter's body of work, and Nancy Armstrong's controversial study Desire and Domestic Fiction: A Political History of the Novel (1987). Both critics are directly and deeply influenced by socioeconomic analysis in cultural history, feminism, and Marxism. Their positions, as my main models, deserve some elaboration.

For Hunter, one is best able to see what made the early novel distinctive by first embedding it in its cultural contexts. The Reluctant Pilgrim: Defoe's Emblematic Method and Quest for Form in Robinson Crusoe (1966) and Before Novels: The Cultural

Contexts of Eighteenth-Century Fiction (1990) are both drawn from "a close reading of the text and an intense examination of the literary moment of creation" (Reluctant Pilgrim 202). At a time when economic-based explanations assumed prominence in critical readings, Hunter's study of the new print culture surrounding Defoe led him to conclude that Robinson Crusoe was primarily a spiritual text. Twenty years before sameness and difference became such persistent terms of debate in literary theory, Hunter commented:

> We need, I think, less emphasis on similarities produced by the 'English tradition' and more attention to the very substantial differences in the major early English novelists; we need a rather full reassessment of the various directions which prose fiction took in the hands of its early masters. (Reluctant Pilgrim ix)

Following Hunter's example, it becomes a compelling challenge to try and separate Haywood's body of fiction from the heated polemics that have always swirled around it. As Paula R. Backscheider reiterates, "We may forget that hundreds of French and Spanish tales much like the novellas of Behn, Gildon, and Manley dominated bookstalls" (1984, 144-5). In an attempt to place

Haywood historically, my thesis begins with a study of the influence of Delariviere Manley's scandal novels on Haywood's romantic fiction. I will again allude to the larger community of literary activity when I situate Haywood's Idalia: or, The Unfortunate Mistress within its contemporary setting by invoking a comparison with its French sibling, the abbé de Castera's novel The Lady's Philosopher's Stone; or, The Caprices of Love and Destiny.

Armstrong, like Hunter, emphasizes a culture-rooted account of literary history. "We are taught," she writes, "to divide the political world in two and to detach the practices that belong to a female domain from those that govern the market place" (Ideology 7). Armstrong argues in Desire and in The Ideology of Conduct: Essays on Literature and the History of Sexuality (1987) that the construct of the domestic woman, as it was promoted in Puritan conduct books of the seventeenth century, filtered through later novels to shape the perception of a woman's role in society. The domestic woman, not the aristocratic woman, was installed as a societal ideal. The aristocratic woman's sexuality came to be viewed with distaste and suspicion, and it was replaced by an emphasis upon the so-called womanly traits of industriousness,

home economy, and peace-keeping. This process of social transformation, in which Armstrong argues that the novel played a key role, resulted in a hearth-focused society that celebrated domestic bliss at the expense of political awareness. The trajectory Armstrong perceives is precisely exemplified by the development of Eliza Haywood's novels. Armstrong opens her discussion of the English novel with Richardson's Pamela (1740-1). Since Haywood, however, began by creating and killing sexy, independent heroines and ended (almost forty years later) by proclaiming the values of conformity, security, and a quiet marriage, her works are an ideal alternative site for Armstrong's ideological analysis.

Haywood's novels, misunderstood in piecemeal commentary either as feminist polemics or more frequently as quotidian scandal trash, are instead compendia of innovation and omission through which Haywood modernized the novel from warm tales of innocence gone astray into amusing accounts of the achievement of a settled and peaceful maturity. This thesis encompasses the period from her early popular romances, written in the 1720s, to her better known conduct novels from the late 1740s and early 1750s, with a brief detour through an example of

her political satire written in the 1730s. My concerns along the way are threefold: the origins of her brand of romance in the satiric erotica of Manley; the technical innovations Haywood implemented in her own work; and, finally, the diminishment of the heroine that accompanies these modernizations and increasing concern with the acquisition of a secure social status rather than the attainment of emotional fulfillment. The limited scope of a thesis may make this agenda sound rather breathless, but I hope that this work results in a better understanding of the role that Haywood played in the development of eighteenth-century fiction. Throughout her career, she problematized her controversial postulate that scandal and romance can be educational. Haywood's writings lay a dubious claim to moral exemplarity. Where they excel is in their astute and skillful contribution to the changing form of narrative fiction.

Chapter One: Manley and Haywood: A Comparative Study

Only thirty years ago, William H. McBurney could comment that "Mrs. Mary (sic) Manley of New Atlantis notoriety is less a novelist than a literary gossip-monger" ("Introduction" vii-viii). Recently Lennard J. Davis and Ballaster have complicated this simple belief with their analyses of Delariviere Manley's place in the genealogy of the novel, and Warner compares Manley and Haywood in his reach backwards to explain the canonical ascendancy of Richardson and Fielding. Warner's invocation of these two writers fails to analyse the complex connection between Manley and Haywood. Together, both figures provide a concrete example of the rapid development of the novel form and a clear instance of literary influence and innovation. This chapter posits that a fuller understanding of the relationships between the two writers can begin with an examination of their shared concern with didacticism in romantic fiction.[1]

Manley, referring to Dryden, declares, "What is most essential, and the Soul of Satire, is the scourging of Vice, and Exhortation to Virtue...'Tis an Action of Virtue to make Examples of vicious Men" (New Atalantis 2: [v]). This is one of the least-scrutinized claims in eighteenth-century fiction. The New Atalantis, or to use its complete title, Secret Memoirs and Manners of several Persons of Quality, of Both Sexes. From the New Atalantis, an Island in the Mediteranean (sic) (1709) was a sensation and inspired many imitations. The first edition of The New Atalantis served as effective political criticism; according to G. M. Trevelyan, its satire upon Prime Minister Godolphin cost the Whig government the 1709 election (qtd. in Ballaster 128). Interestingly enough, subsequent imitations of Manley's novel chose to discard its polemical and moral intent. Anonymously published in 1714, The Court of Atalantis. Containing a Four Year History of the Famous Island, Political and Gallant; Intermix't with Fables and Epistles in Verse and Prose announced, "[A]s it is intended for Pleasure and not Instruction, those who want more to be instructed than pleas'd, will do well to have Recourse to more serious Discourses" (vi).

The New Atalantis is structured as a series of vignettes observed by the goddess Astrea, who visits Atalantis in order to collect examples for the edification of her young charge, the Prince. Astrea tours the island under cover of invisibility in the company of her mother, the bedraggled Virtue, and her gossiping sister, Intelligence. Intelligence, the guide, hesitantly explains that "there may be somethings (sic) that are not very proper for so nice an Ear as Virtue, and 'till I receive your Commands in that point, however prompted as you see, by Truth, I am at a loss how to behave myself" (1: 29). Astrea replies that

> Justice must impartially decide, to fit the Person for a Judge, he must be inform'd of the most minute particular, neither can we be polluted but by our own, not the Crimes of others. They stain nor reflect back upon us, but in our approbation of them.

Astrea's license offers the reader both engagement and distance, a seat at the head of the table as well as shelter beneath it. The awkwardness attests to the difficulty of reconciling the pleasure of reading erotica and scandal fiction with the assurances of personal immunity.

This justification is followed by one of the steamiest passages in both volumes of The New Atalantis, the rendezvous of the Dutchess de l'Inconstant with Germanicus. To her lover, Count Fortunatus, their relationship has grown irksome, so he arranges an encounter between the Dutchess and his friend, a newcomer at court. A gorgeous four-page sentence describes the Dutchess's discovery of Germanicus asleep in Fortunatus's boudoir, and the two of them having sex. In addition to its warm and elaborately written description, for which Manley justly congratulates herself elsewhere, this episode contains a sordid and cynical portrayal of human relations. As he has planned, Fortunatus interrupts the pair and seizes the opportunity to break from the Dutchess and the relationship which has elevated him to a position of influence in the court. Germanicus retires into rustic prosperity, the Count becomes a successful courtier and power-broker, while the Dutchess's star fades. "[O]ne Night at an Assembly of the best Quality," the story concludes,

> where the Count Tallied to 'em at Basset, the Dutchess lost all her Mony, and beg'd the favour of him, in a very civil Manner, to lend her twenty Pieces,

> which he absolutely refus'd, tho' he had a thousand upon the Table before him, and told her coldly the Bank never lent any Mony. (1: 43)

This is a great deal more sophisticated than the average seduction plot. The Dutchess is not a country waif led astray but one of the leading influences in her court who is in full control of her sexuality. It was she who had selected Fortunatus to be her lover. Viewing Germanicus, the Dutchess is fooled by her situation's similarity to a seduction plot, with herself as the swash-buckling male lead.[2] But in reality she is trapped in a plan engineered by a souring lover who steps out of his responsibilities, usurps her power, and will not even pick up her tab.

The New Atalantis provides, to borrow Deborah J. Nestor's formulation, countless examples of a "social world that privileges unvirtuous disguise over genuine morality" (583). Ianthe resolves the dilemma of her ugly face and attractive body by wearing a handkerchief over her face during intercourse, since she finds that "the Transparency of the Vehicle, does not forbid her from enjoying the Pleasure of seeing all the Charms of her Adorers, in the Height of their Perfection" (2: 206). Mosco is driven to explain to a

devastated Zara: "[T]he Promises I made you, it would be much greater Madness to perform 'em, neither did I think you seriously expected it; no wise Woman reckons upon the performance of those extravagant things that are said to gain her" (1: 241). The lesbian Cabal was one option available to a bored married woman, for "what Adventures? Good Heaven! none that could in reality wound her Chastity! Her Virtue sacred to her Lord, and the Marriage Bed, was preserv'd Inviolable!" (2: 49). On Ballaster's interpretation, Manley's tales represent "a series of attempts to destabilize the structuring oppositions of contemporary ideology (fact versus fiction, love versus politics, feminine versus masculine) in order to privilege the woman as commentator upon and actor in the political realm" (131). This theory of binary negotiation attributes a gender pioneerism to Manley which I would hesitate to call either the primary impetus or the main critical import of her fiction. Certainly it neglects Manley's stated aim, which was to write as an advocate of moral accountability.

Astrea's declaration of the immunity granted to readers of salacious fiction is similar to the convention employed by Hemingway's tourists in Spain: they can watch the first act of a bull

fight, provided they then leave so that no one can suggest that they liked it. In The Adventures of Rivella; or, the History of the Author of the Atalantis, with Secret Memoirs and Characters of Several considerable Persons her Cotemporaries (1714), an autobiographical narrative, Manley presents a more detailed model of the effects of her writing upon her readers. Sir Charles Lovemore runs through a list of Rivella's, or Manley's, warmest fictional achievements:

> Her Germanicus on the Embroider'd Bugle Bed, naked out of the Bath: -- Her Young and innocent Charlot, transported with the powerful Emotion of a just, kindling Flame, sinking with Delight and Shame upon the Bosom of her Lover in the Gallery of Books; Chevalier Tomaso dying at the feet of Madam de Bedamore, and afterwards possessing Her in that Sylvan Scene of Pleasure the Garden; are such Representatives of Nature, that must warm the coldest Reader; it raises high Ideas of the Dignity of Human Kind, and informs us that we have in our Composition, wherewith to taste sublime and

> transporting Joys: After perusing her Inchanting Descriptions, which of us have not gone in Search of Raptures which she every where tells us, as happy Mortals, we are capable of tasting. (4)

These fulsome comments present Manley's work as a type of conduct book, which was an audacious move given the suspicion that the reading public at the time felt toward fiction. As Backscheider comments, "Both novels and plays in the eighteenth century came under vigorous attack for being 'immoral' and dangerous corrupters of morals, especially of the young" ("Women Writers" 249). Yet when one returns as Lovemore suggests to the scenes Manley highlights, one finds that they are associated with incest, trickery, and disappointed hopes.

Haywood invokes an argument similar to Manley's in explaining her own explicitness regarding the pangs of love. The preface to Lasselia, or, the Self-Abandon'd (1724) contains one of Haywood's most fervent defenses of her fiction, in particular of

> the Too great Warmth, which may perhaps appear in some particular Pages; for without the Expression being invigorated in some way proportioned to the

> Subject, 'twou'd be impossible for a Reader to be sensible how far it touches him, or how probable it is that he is falling into those Inadvertancies which the Examples relate wou'd caution him to avoid. (qtd. in Whicher 18-9)

In retrospect, Manley's and Haywood's defences of their moral agendas seem obligatory in nature. They are, however, persisently reiterated and qualify nearly every work. In 1732, a poetic tribute to Haywood by James Sterling was included in the third edition of Haywood's works. Of this piece Richetti comments that, "placed at the opening of Mrs. Haywood's collected works, it is simply a publisher's blurb whose sincerity is irrelevant" (1969, 181). It contains, however, one of the few surviving poetic tributes to Haywood, and it is an intriguing example of literary salesmanship: "Read ...Pathetic Behn, or Manley's greater Name; / Forget their Sex, and own when Haywood writ, She clos'd the fair Triumverate of Wit" (qtd. in Richetti 1969, 180-1). The verse joins Haywood with two other very popular writers. Sterling is not merely concerned with arranging some antecedents for Haywood, since by 1732 she was firmly established as a successful and indeed notorious writer.[3]

Her Love in Excess (1719) ranked with Robinson Crusoe (1719) and Gulliver's Travels (1726) as one of the three best-selling novels before Richardson's Pamela (1740-1).[4] She published dozens of novels and plays under her own name during the 1720s. Sterling's puff serves as a monument to discriminatory practices. He says "forget their sex" at the same time as he draws it to the reader's attention, for the "Fair Triumverate of Wit" sounds more like a beauty pageant than the appointment of another Octavian, Antony, and Lepidus. Sterling isolates Haywood as well by associating her with women writers famed for the irregularity of their personal lives. At the time of their literary activity, few compared Behn with Congreve, Manley with Swift, or Haywood with Defoe, though their spheres were frequently overlapping or similar. The grouping together of women writers, with a special nod to the most licentious, served in the short term as an attention-getting device, but in the long term contributed little toward their establishment in literary history.[5]

Sterling's verse goes on to make another claim. Haywood, he praises, is "Born to delight as to reform the Age, / she paints Example thro' the shining Page." Instead of emphasizing their

works' value as sources of entertainment, Manley and Haywood, to be followed by Sterling, hampered their romantic fiction with claims of their devotion to instruction. Unfortunately, their avowed intentions were not enough to render their works legitimate and, in some cases, only succeeded in drawing ire from offended moralizers such as Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Swift, Richardson, and Pope. These "scandalous stories," which were seen as heinous because they claimed to be instructional, marked their authors' reputations and obscured recognition of their substantial progress toward, among other things, a modernization of the novel form. Haywood, for example, has often been regarded as a scandal writer, although in fact only four of her more than sixty novels can be regarded as scandal novels.

Manley's "secret histories" are compendia of scandal, both real and imagined, and she makes her point through the bulk and variation of her stories, rather than by a single or deeply motivated plot. Haywood brought the novel into the 1720s by slimming it down: she concentrates on one, or at the most three, protagonists, instead of equally featuring dozens of characters. She also made the protagonist a female (with some exceptions) while in Manley's

case this was true only about sixty percent of the time. Unlike Manley's collections of many adventures, Haywood's novels centered upon only one story. As a result, narrative speed slowed dramatically, and plenty of space became newly available for dialogue, setting, character development, and depiction of internal mechanics or psychologizing. Yet, instead of the extended introspection of a character of Defoe's, Haywood's early heroines marched briskly from family and shelter toward seduction and doom. Haywood concentrated her efforts upon producing a good story. Unlike other writers of the period, she limited her implausible occurrences. In perhaps the most significant step toward realism, the title pages of Haywood's early novels read "A Novel By Mrs Haywood," reversing the common authorial practice of presenting novels as allegedly truthful papers that have been filched and published by an anonymous editor.[6]

Haywood's coup consisted of writing titillating material after the style of Manley, and repackaging it in gauzier language and cleaner incidents. For example, two lovers in The New Atalantis, are the sister and brother, Urania and Polydore. Urania, finding herself pregnant, is stricken with remorse: "The approaching Hour

stared her in the Face; the Hour that was to disclose the incestuous Birth! she rav'd! she tore her Hair! she wrung her Hands in bitterness of Woe!" (2: 33). In a Haywood novel, the pair never would have gone so far as to commit an incestuous act. Her novel The Lucky Rape: or, Fate the Best Disposer (1727) is so titled because the heroine, raped by one man, must marry him instead of the man she prefers, and thus averts an unwitting union with her half-brother. The pain Urania feels after giving way to lust would be experienced by a Haywood heroine during the contemplation of such a prospect. In a harrowing sequence, Urania kills herself by resisting labor because of her determination to kill both herself and her baby. Fantomina, in Haywood's novel of the same name, is denied medical help while in labor until she provides her mother with the name of the baby's father, but her sufferings are neither as acute nor as vividly depicted as those of Manley's Urania. In Manley's scandal world, an illicit act is a commonplace occurrence and fallen innocence is the unexceptional consequence. Haywood dwells on the individual case, making the decision toward sexual activity, adultery, or marriage the crux of the novel and the most significant event in a heroine's life.

Recent critics such as Roy Porter, G. S. Rousseau, and Peter Wagner have paved the way to a re-examination of Haywood's writing in their explorations of the observation that "the age of Enlightenment could well be termed the age of Eros" (Wagner 303). As the queen of romance fiction, Haywood claimed that her novels had educational value, which she expressed in the enactment of her characters' futile struggles toward self-realization. She continually reverted to the message that sexual longing is difficult to avoid and inevitably leads to destruction. She shares in the wholesale pessimism of Manley's scandal sheets. Through the deliberate and personalized nature of her stories, Haywood crafted a gripping, immediate, and tightly focused novel.

Chapter Two: The Role of Amatory Fiction in Haywood's Early Career

Idalia: Or, The Unfortunate Mistress. A Novel. In Three Parts (first published in 1723) is one of Haywood's most accessible and popular novels. It combines a unified plot, a complex and interesting female protagonist, and a series of exciting and not entirely improbable adventures. This chapter argues that while Idalia clearly demonstrates Haywood's mastery of the genre of amatory fiction, it contains gaps or fissures that reveal her dissatisfaction with the form.

Idalia describes the predicament arising when a young woman's personality proves to be larger than the drawing room environment for which it has been bred. Her story dovetails with Nancy K. Miller's observation that "the rule of female experience is the drama of a single misstep" (x). In a brief introductory passage, emphasized by a mock-regretful conditional, Idalia is quickly distinguished from any dutiful heroine of a dull plot:

> Don Bernando de Bellfache, a Nobleman of Venice, had a Daughter whom he esteem'd the Blessing of his Age; and had her Conduct been such as might have been expected from the Elegance of her Genius, and the Improvements of Education, which his Fondness had indulg'd her in, she had indeed been the Wonder of her Sex. (2)

Her flaw is that "the Greatness of her Spirit (which from her Childhood had been untameable, or was render'd so thro' the too-great indulgence of her doating Parents) made her unable to endure Controul, disdainful of Advice, obstinate, and peremptory in following her own Will" (2). As is often the case with a heroine of Haywood's, Idalia also possesses a dangerous naiveté: she assures an indifferent suitor, Florez, that "it was not impossible that she might be prevail'd upon to become his Wife, tho' by it she should lose a Father" (6). Florez, of course, has little interest in the prospect of a fatherless and therefore portionless wife.[1] It is at moments like the one that follows, when Florez has tricked Idalia into a meeting with his patron, Don Ferdinand, that a critic like Richetti, who calls Haywood's writing formulaic and

sensationalized, fails to appreciate the sensitivity sometimes evidenced in her work. In a touching moment of awkwardness, Idalia is caught between pride and embarrassment at the flattering attention of Don Ferdinand, an older man.

Critics agree that Idalia is a fragmented and ultimately doomed character. Ballaster says that "Idalia is simply a mirror onto which male desire is projected...Idalia trails death, disease, and psychic torment everywhere in her wake" (174). Or, as Mary Anne Schofield explains, "Idalia's total submission to and dependence on men leads to her interior fragmentation" (Quiet Rebellion 72). Both critics ignore the impressive extent to which Idalia asserts her independence. She strenuously if unsuccessfully resists her rape by Don Ferdinand, refusing her attendants' attempts at pacification, as well as the consideration of any recourse to her family for assistance. Despite the growing love she feels for Myrtano, she runs away from him when she discovers that he is engaged to someone else and does not intend to marry her. She travels alone across Italy disguised as a man. When she later meets the married Myrtano, Idalia wonders whether love is more important than convention or scruples and begins an affair which

continues until an intervention by the Pope. Finally, she sees and decides to kill Florez. Although her plan fails when she mistakenly stabs Myrtano, throughout the novel her actions are characterized by decisive and not passive behavior. Idalia is committed by fate to a tragic destiny, and she stabs herself once she realizes what she has done to Myrtano, yet she is a self-aware heroine who escapes the claims put upon her by all of the men who lie dead in her wake.

In relation to Haywood's writings, the value of Armstrong's research lies in her articulation of the dwindling presence of female sexual desire. Idalia feels and expresses desire, and she is made to suffer greatly for it. The pleasure in sexuality that Haywood describes in the following sentence will simply cease to exist in the conventional heroine by 1750: "she yielded to all his burning Passion aim'd at, and thought the guilty Joy sufficient Compensation for the Loss of Honour" (Idalia 139).[2] Armstrong convincingly stresses that the novel and society interacted in a way that was continual and mutually conditioning. Novels gained strength and conviction as they increasingly served as conduits for the ideas of Puritan conduct books. This guise allowed novels to play a more prominent and respectable part in the daily lives of

readers. "With the sudden increase in the production of conduct books," Armstrong writes, "there was a decisive shift in the number of those devoted to making women desirable rather than telling men how to assume a high position in life" (258). Desirability came to represented by the qualities implicit in being a good manageress and repository of familial strength. Idalia cannot budget a sou or order a set of china, much less manage a household. Her tragic ending does not stem so much from the fact that she strays from decorum; it comes, rather, from her inability to deal with conventional societal pressures. She leaves her father's house and cannot find one to replace it. Chronologically, this novel is written near the beginning of the mania for servant girl stories, where heroines marry "up" and are rewarded with the run of their husbands' impressive households. Clarissa will be the perfect example of the good woman gone wrong--all that talent for economy wasted. Idalia, as a nobleman's daughter, has no need of upward mobility. It is not insignificant that Defoe, responding in 1724 to Idalia: or, the Unfortunate Mistress, titled the chronicle of his financier heroine, Roxana, The Fortunate Mistress.[3] Idalia depicts the aristocratic woman in full flight.

Haywood's dexterity in handling the romance novel can be distinctly appreciated by comparing her technique with the literary style of such a contemporary writer as Louis-Adrien Du Perron de Castera (1705-52). His novel The Lady's Philosopher's Stone; or, The Caprices of Love and Destiny: an Historical Novel was published in Paris in 1723 and translated from French into English by Haywood two years later. Although it appeared in the same year as Idalia, The Lady's Philosopher's Stone is structured with much less finesse, as it dwells for much of its duration upon one narrative and then veers into other tales, all nominally linked through some association with the stone. The narrative of Idalia, in contrast, is broken by only one digression, "The History of Abdomar and Bellraizia," which is told to underscore Idalia's passion for Myrtano by providing a working illustration of the progress of true love. The manuscript that describes the philosopher's stone obsesses and usually destroys anyone who pries into its secret. Repeated tragedies are capped on a comic note when Gertrude, a beautiful and scholarly young woman, retires to her laboratory to discover the stone's mystery. A visiting French chevalier tricks her into arranging a rendezvous with the god Trismagist, and Gertrude

obediently goes into the garden at midnight, reciting: "A willing offering at thy Sacred Shrine, / Prostrate I lie, both soul and body thine" (90). When "Trismagist" appears decked out in robes, wings, and a fancy hat and insists upon the observance of "the Ceremony of the Salamanders," the narrator is careful to point out that Gertrude enjoyed it so much that she did not mind the deception, and forgot all about the philosopher's stone. The incongruity of her artless happiness, following a series of stories where the philosopher's stone left all who encountered it weltering in their own blood, is one that Haywood comes close to eliminating in her own work. Haywood focuses on her female characters and refrains from the use of humor achieved at their expense. As Ballaster writes, "[t]he business of Haywood's amatory plots is to engage the female reader's sympathy and erotic pleasure" (170). The contrasting in approach between the two writers is indicated by this Haywoodesque description in The Lady's Philosopher's Stone of Gamaliel Eleazer's wife:

> All the Graces seem'd to have bestow'd on her their most engaging Charms, - Her Eyes were large, black, and sprightly, but accompanied with a sweetness

> which cannot be decipher'd: - Her Mouth had Beauties peculiar to itself; - all her Features were finely turn'd and regular, her Shape was the most Exquisite that cou'd be, - her Mein majestick. (14)

Gameliel's wife is nothing more than a perfunctory collection of attributes, a centerfold instead of a person. While Haywood's own heroines are also described by such empty superlatives, the characters are enlarged through her attention to their personalities.

All this is not to say that Haywood commanded the genre of romantic fiction with faultless sensitivity. On the occasions when she does not, we witness an author engaged in appeasing an adoring audience and working at odds with her own developing narrative expertise. Within Idalia, the resolute energy behind the narration at times slips into authorial weariness: "The Reader's Imagination here can only form an Idea of that Confusion, that mingled Rage and Horror, which, at this dreadful Exigence, filled the Soul of the unhappy Idalia! 'Tis not in Words to represent it!" (11). That Haywood was weary is a reasonable assumption, for, as Jerry C. Beasley notes, her "activity through the 1720s is little short of astonishing. Besides seeing two more of her plays through

production and acting in one of them, she published a half dozen translations, a volume of poems, almost forty novels and tales, and two separate collections of her miscellaneous works" ("Haywood" 253). April London is less sympathetic: "Haywood was enough of a hack writer that once having struck upon the winning combination, she rarely deviated from it" (112). London's comments betray an impatience among modern readers who are ill at ease with predictable and unrealistic flights of rhetoric. Robert Adams Day suggests that "the modulation of prose rhythms into blank verse was evidently considered to be a genuine symptom of 'Ardor'" (196-9). Ferdinand assumes this style of declamation when he announces to Idalia that "the god of Love disdains all dull delays" (12). Idalia outdoes these iambic cadences in one of her own most heightened moments, when she discovers Myrtano's infidelity:

> I call just Heaven, and every Saint to witness, I will never consent to see or hear him more...May I be ruin'd, then thrown off to scorn,----driven round the World with no Companion but my Infamy, and not one Friend to pity, or relieve me, till some unlook'd for, horrid kind of Death o'ertakes me, and sinks my Soul,

with all its Load of Guilt, beyond the reach of Mercy.

(55)

This speech, stirring as it is, is a chapter-and-verse repetition of Idalia's earlier indignation over a suggestion that she is in love with Ferdinand (26-7). The sameness of Idalia's reactions shows that she places equivalent importance upon the integrity of her chastity and the integrity of her love. Yet it also hints at the reluctance on the part of the author to generate fresh-sounding prose.

For Richetti, such overlaps are the result of the author's narrative strategy. At times such as this one, particularly when she is detailing moments of seduction, he believes that Haywood is self-consciously writing in a woman's voice, "entirely and deliberately formulaic, a breathless rush of erotic/pathetic clichés that is in a real sense unreadable...designed to be scanned hastily, not to be pondered as language but to evoke by its conventional formulas familiar and thrilling scenes" ("Voice and Gender" 266). In the dedication to The Fatal Secret; or, Constancy in Distress (1724) Haywood explains that "Love is a Topick which I believe few are ignorant of; there requires no aids of learning, no general conversation, no application: a shady grove and purling stream are

all things that's necessary to give us an idea of the tender passion" (qtd. in Backscheider "Women Writers" 254-5). In later novels, love becomes an accomplishment that can only be attained after years of effort, self-scrutiny, and of allowances made for the maturation process.

The lengths to which Haywood carries a formula that had begun to grow stale end up highlighting their nonconformity to the expectations of "formula" romance. For example, with two men already dead as a result of their love for Idalia, Haywood dispatches a third through poison and a broken heart. Idalia hears that "he lost his Hair, Eyebrows, and the finest set of Teeth that could be:----His Strength was very much decay'd, and all the Vivacity and Gaiety of his Temper gone: Nothing of what he was remain'd, but his inextinguishable Passion for you" (135). These lost teeth are a jarring demonstration of a profound love. They exemplify the proximity in literature of the grotesque and the world of the baroque to the most elevated of ideals (see, for example, Romeo and Juliet, or Donne's works). As Walter Benjamin relates in The Origins of German Tragic Drama,

> The function of baroque iconography is not so much to unveil material objects as to strip them naked...It is not only in the loss of limbs, not only in the changes of the aging body, but in all the processes of elimination that everything corpse-like falls away from the body piece by piece. (185, 218)

This emblematic moment in Idalia is an indication of the difficulty of locating Haywood's work within the boundaries of a genre such as amatory fiction. These teeth hark back to Chaucer and point ahead to the Gothic novel. To my knowledge, little critical examination has been made of the baroque strains within Haywood's writing. Until such a study is undertaken, I can only suggest that this moment is a strong indication of Haywood's less-than-fervent attachment to the style of romance writing that she had virtually set up as an industry.

Chapter Three: Erotic Inquiry and Political Satire

Haywood's Adventures of Eovaai, Princess of Ijaveo, published anonymously in 1736, is a political satire and moral inquiry as well as a love story. These three facets form a unique and original novel that would, were it more readily available today, provide an enlightening contrast to the political satire of Jonathan Swift. This chapter explores the hybrid form that Haywood creates in the important transitional stage of her ideas about goodness and fiction.

Haywood distinguished herself throughout the 1720s by the vast quantity of work she produced, and, as already mentioned, most of these books carried her name on the title page. From the start of the next decade, however, she never published under her own name again. One can only imagine the effect that this had on a devoted readership, who were left to piece together a bibliography of books written, euphemistically, "by the author of" such works as Love in Excess. While it is tempting to draw a

connection between Haywood's sudden and definite silence and the impact of Pope's attack in The Dunciad in 1729, this cannot be said conclusively, since, far from shunning the public, Haywood appeared on stage during the 1730s.[1] Eovaai first appeared as a satire aimed at Sir Robert Walpole, the Whig Prime Minister. As an anonymous satirist, Haywood employs a narrative range that is freer than any used before in her circumscribed career as a popular romance novelist. The result is more sexually explicit, overtly political, and aggressively pessimistic in its depiction of moral corruption than a reputation-conscious woman writer could avow herself to be.[2]

Though Manley hid her authorship of The New Atalantis behind the pretense that an anonymous translator rendered from French some manuscripts that a traveler brought over from Italy, she fooled no one and was briefly imprisoned for slander. Unlike this forced alibi, which quickly recedes into the distance, Haywood's account of the origins of The Adventures of Eovaai is a masterpiece of its kind, and it plays an integral role in the development of the book. Her complete title reads:

> The Adventures of Eovaai, Princess of Ijaveo. A Pre-Adamitical History. Interspersed with a great Number of remarkable Occurrences which happened, and may again happen, to several Empires, Kingdoms, Republicks, and particular Great Men.
>
> With Some Account of the Religion, Laws, Customs, and Polecies (sic) of those Times.
>
> Written originally in the Language of Nature (of later Years but little understood:).
>
> First translated into Chinese, at the command of the Emperor, by a Cabal of Seventy Philosophers: and now retranslated into English, by the Son of a Mandarin, residing in London.

Haywood uses the "Pre-Adamitical" setting to encourage comparisons with biblical cataclysms, while the oriental influence, grounded firmly in London, combines exoticism with the ubiquitous presence of the struggling, garret-bound City hack.[3] At key points during the narrative, Haywood recalls the existence of the Cabal and the translator, whom she calls the Commentator, and attributes to them ruminative and often snidely misogynistic observations.

In this provocative recentering of the standard romance plot, Haywood revolves the novel around the young princess Eovaai's attempt to retain her inadequately assimilated political education. Her father Eujau has spared no effort to instill in his daughter an appreciation of the need of a benevolent monarchy in governance:

> He represented to her, that the greatest Glory of a Monarch was the Liberty of the People, his most valuable Treasures in their crowded Coffers, and his securest Guard in their sincere Affection... Remember, [he advised] you are no less bound by Laws, than the meanest of your Subjects; and that even they have a Right to call you to account for any Violation of them; You must not imagine, that it is meerly (sic) for your own Ease you are seated on a Throne; no, it is for the Good of the Multitudes beneath you. (4)

This is the first of many political discourses included in the text, all aimed at endorsing a strong, compassionate monarchy. Haywood maintains that the prosperity of each subject is integral to preserving domestic harmony and preventing unrest, immorality,

and widespread criticism of government. Democracy, she argues, runs the risk of providing a vehicle for a dictator. She perspicaciously offers a case study of the dangers of colonialism in her portrayal of the villainous Ochihatou, who rules through a combination of deception, enchantment, and vice. Upon her father's death, Eovaai takes the throne. "In a short time," Haywood writes, "she 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). Ochihatou, busy usurping power in a nearby country, cannot help but be captivated by her as well.

The Adventures of Eovaai employs familiar story-telling diction. "Thus loved, thus obeyed," for example, "did she live and reign, till the Satellite of Earth had seven times lost and renewed its silver Crescent" (10). At the same time, Eovaai is filled with magic, monsters, and strange otherworldly settings. The satirical result is not unlike that created by William Hogarth's combination of incendiary stereotypes and a bizarre landscape in his engraving "Some of the Principal Inhabitants of Ye Moon" (1724). When the

sacred jewel bequeathed by Eovaai's father is stolen by a shrieking crow, she herself is kidnapped by

> [a] small black Spot which...at length took the Form of a Body, part Fowl, part Fish. From the enormous Sides were stretched out Wings of a prodigious Size, underneath which, instead of Feet, grew Fins, reaching to a Tail, in Shape and Breadth like that of a Leviathan. Head it had none, at least that was discernible; for just above the Neck was placed a Globe of bluish Fire, which, to the astonished Eovaai, seem'd one huge tremendous Eye. (29)

Eovaai is deposited in a strange land which, we are told, is actually a chimera created by Ochihatou. In the midst of the fairy-tale rhetoric, Haywood inserts a realism that is a striking departure from her earlier work. When a heroine such as Idalia faced confrontation and trouble, Haywood described the problem in such melodramatic terms that it sounded more theatrical than real. Here, with eerie realism, Haywood specifies Eovaai's practical dilemma:

> She is more and more struck with the Grandeur and Elegance of every thing she sees, and is so taken up

> with Admiration, that she forgets she is a Stranger, destitute of Servants, Friends, or even the means of supporting herself. Nor had the thoughts, in what manner she shou'd live, once enter'd her Head. (30-1)

Eovaai's ill-founded wonder serves to shelter her from an awareness of her own difficulty in the same way that Idalia's preoccupation with her love for Myrtano prevents her from noticing her frequent peril. The most ludicrous example of this naive distraction occurs when Ymixilla, a minor character in Eovaai, has been forcibly removed from her throne and cast into prison. Starving, alone in a dungeon, and chained by "massy and corrosive Fetters" (58), Ymixilla cannot spare a thought for herself as she worries about her lover. In highlighting this absurdity, I do not mean to disparage what I see as one of the most provocative features of Haywood's novels: her evolving theory of the nature or the role of fiction. In Idalia and her other early novels, Haywood begins by suggesting that the obscurity of fiction is sometimes necessary to protect women from the realization of a dreary or dangerous reality. By the end of her career, she reverses this message to say that one must strip away illusions and fancy before

one is truly mature and capable of enjoying life. Chief among these misconceptions is a susceptibility to romance, fiction, or passion. This novel toys with both of these attitudes but endorses neither. Eovaai's plight is politically as well as sexually based.

In The Adventures of Eovaai political theory serves as more than a hanger for a seduction tale. Eovaai's gradual conversion to some "highly reasonable" (127) Republican principles is given at least as much attention as Ochihatou's attempt on her virginity. In opposition to her father's tenets, Ochihatou tries to teach Eovaai that "every thing was Virtue in the Great" (45-6). Eovaai encounters an old man who is speaking against Ochihatou's authority. "'What Taxes has not he invented,' asks Alhahuza, "'Out of that detestable Maxim, That the way to keep you obedient is to make you poor?'" (98). Stung by the memory of her father's ideals, Eovaai joins the debate, arguing in favor of monarchy over republicanism in a discussion that extends for sixteen pages. Eovaai is a noteworthy exception among early eighteenth-century heroines as a spokeswoman for something other than the misery of unsuccessful love.[4]

Like Manley and countless other political satirists, Haywood chooses to illustrate political misconduct by allegations of sexual licentiousness and immorality. Such smears adhere easily and capture public attention more readily than the revelations of fiscal mismanagement or plans for a new round of patronage appointments. Eovaai's seduction enlarges the boundaries of the usual seduction plot, where the heroine is led to a grassy mound and urged toward compliance by use of varying degrees of force.[5] Ochihatou decides that by eroding Eovaai's moral code he can allow Eovaai to seduce herself. Aided by magic, he hides his physical hideousness behind a very attractive person, and surrounds Eovaai with courtiers who alternately commend Ochihatou and the decadent life. A chorus of bawds posing as helpful maids

> 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 anything 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-----. (36)

However, as Deborah Ross remarks of the escapist qualities of erotic fictional description, "No orange flowers and jessamines and carved Cupids on the bedstead would mitigate the brutality and ugliness of sex in an age in which people thought that bathing was dangerous" (80). Eovaai is presented with several opportunities to witness the seamier aspects of love. In the most graphic and unpleasant, she meets Atmadoul, a woman turned by Ochihatou's enchantment into a monkey. Her love for Ochihatou has prompted Atmadoul to impersonate her beautiful cousin and stage an unsuccessful elopement. As punishment for her lust, she is chained at the foot of Ochihatou's bed, forced to watch his encounters with others, and to fend off the rapacious overtures of an orangutan, while she also labors under the spell of an artificially enhanced love. Even hearing this pitiable story does not dissuade Eovaai from her growing infatuation with Ochihatou, although she does help Atmadoul escape from imprisonment.

Haywood describes in careful detail the voluptuousness Eovaai experiences in prolonged near-intercourse. "If she could not be said to love" Ochihatou, Eovaai "infinitely liked" him (48), and this liking prompts several intense encounters. The magic universe of Eovaai asserts itself when Eovaai is abruptly pulled from Ochihatou's grasp by the interference of kindly spirits. Once out of the sphere of Ochihatou's influence, Eovaai meets another man she truly loves, marries him, and with his help restores a benevolent monarchy to her kingdom. The past misconduct of her all but completed affair, she decides, should be considered a merely sexual and not a moral taint, since she loves Adelhu with a conviction and purity that she never felt for Ochihatou. Idalia wailed, "Can I again appear a Virgin?" (63) and died, since she was restricted by her conception of an implacable kinship between sexuality and love. Eovaai distinguishes arousal from anointed love, invokes the prerogatives of a "technical virgin," and lives happily. The moral ambiguity of the world Haywood presents in The Adventures of Eovaai separates this phase of Haywood's work both from her fixedly tragic predecessors and from her subsequent accounts of cheerful reconciliations with fate.

Chapter Four: Domestic Affinities

Haywood's early novels speak darkly of love. They are united in their concern with the intricacies of societal selfishness and sexual desire. Idalia meets with predatory men and hostile women and dies as a result of exceeding her limited feminine role. Eovaai is lured toward moral corruption, but she escapes through the realization that a pure heart provides its own happiness. In her later novels, Haywood's focus is more upon Eovaai's lesson than Idalia's adventures, as she begins to tell long and earnest stories of the path toward duty, self-knowledge, and married love. The new novels run to four and five volumes; while they are not lugubrious treatises, since they are often comic in tone, they share a seriousness of intent to provide instruction and advice instead of hideous examples of love's route to misery.

The later novels are best described as conduct novels or, to use the current appellation, domestic novels. Examples of Haywood's changing concerns include the fact that Natura, the

protagonist of Life's Progress through the Passions (1748), is a man, not a woman; The History of Jemmy and Jenny Jessamy (1753) is cross-sexually divided; and Betsy Thoughtless's advancement toward happiness in The History of Miss Betsy Thoughtless (1751) is centered around her growth in personal maturity. The earlier novellas' preoccupation with female erotic struggle is notably absent. These later novels signal Haywood's fictional attempt to convey a moral truth that is larger than her previous concern with gender-specific ethical ambiguities.

During the thirty years between 1720 and 1750, Haywood's fiction changed dramatically in both form and content. The unbroken flow of incident and emotion that comprised her early novellas became one narrative divided into chapters of equal length. Typography and spelling assumed a more modern character. Personal excess was modified to become knowledge gained by observation instead of through bitter experience, as when Jenny Jessamy meets a seduced maiden at an inn, and after hearing her story and feeling mortified by the niggardly contributions of her companions, gives her five guineas (2: 143-8). The early heroine existed in striking isolation and derived support

and social contact only from her treacherous seducer. The setting of Haywood's later novels is characterized by a bustling domestic and familial setting. It is the interference of Betsy Thoughtless's family that results in her marriage with the unsuitable Munden. The courtship of Jenny and Jemmy is a picture of cautious steadiness, as they, betrothed from their cradles, meet periodically to discuss their observations upon the obligations of the married state.

The powerful inner directive that Haywood formerly portrayed as nature is now clipped, controlled, and negotiated. When Betsy discovers soon after her first marriage that she is in fact in love with her discarded lover, Trueworth, she experiences a subdued melancholy instead of storms of grief. Following Munden's death, it is her resolve to adopt the most contented celibate life possible that paradoxically leads to her happy re-establishment with Trueworth. Natura's eventual attainment of marital stability[1] in Life's Progress Through the Passions is the culminating event of an increasingly gloomy period of self-discovery. His first two wives are not even supplied with proper names, for Natura is not mature enough to know himself and is therefore incapable of recognizing the individuality of anyone else.

His final courtship and marriage, made in both parties' middle age, are a seemly portrayal of a companionate union, but this outcome is a tepid narrative fulfilment in terms of its romantic appeal.

As one anonymous reviewer states in the 1768 Monthly Review, Haywood's novels are "written in a tawdry style, now utterly exploded; the romances of these days being reduced much nearer the standard of nature, and to the manners of the living world."[2] The reviewer disparages Clementina, Haywood's revision of The Agreeable Caledonian; or Memoirs of Signiora di Morella (1726), with no recognition of the fact that its author was also the author of the modern Betsy Thoughtless.[3] Taking the "romances of these days" to denote the novels of the 1750s, one can observe that the changing concerns of the mid-eighteenth-century novel were manifested in ways that meet on a practical and worldly level. The social setting of Haywood's novels had built very considerably on and gone well beyond her tentative suggestion in the 1720s that it was not always necessary to create a protagonist from royal blood (qtd. in Perry 11). The drawing room that Idalia rejected became the stage for the heroine's journey instead of country roads at twilight, ships' decks, and palace boudoirs. Suitability, in what

Roy Porter has called the horse-trading of marriage (English Society 46), replaced passion as the guiding force behind the revised quest for courtship and matrimony.

Haywood's intention behind her later novels' advocacy of duty and a moral life has been cursorily dismissed by most critics. Even the partisan Ballaster writes that "quite simply, by the mid-century, Haywood could no longer make money by sellling her romances of passion" (197). Warner, on the other hand, observes (588) that Haywood, far from being an opportunistic imitator of fashion, resisted the pull of Richardson's influential Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded so much that she refuted it almost immediately in Anti-Pamela; or, Feign'd Innocence Detected (1741). Haywood's increased realism reflects her society's preoccupation with the morality of fiction. As Beasley writes, "a substantial majority of the works of fiction published in the 1740s deal directly and even obsessively with the abiding question of how to be good in a world of real evils" (Novels 19). Novelists of the 1740s moved en masse in the direction of education and propriety and away from entertainment, titillation, and exploration of desire and sexuality. Few contemporary writers, however, seemed as zealous or

thorough as Haywood in their conversion of fiction into a tool of moral exemplification. Although outside the confines of this discussion, Haywood produced several conduct books such as A Present for a Servant-Maid; or, The Sure Means of Gaining Love and Esteem (1743) which contain minute instructions on cooking, laundry, economy, and good manners. Haywood's early promises that her romances are intended to warn against the dangers of love seem much like perfunctory disclaimers. They are perhaps all too convincingly replaced by the bulky sincerity of her later fiction, in which every incident serves as illustration of the correct path to maturity. By setting her fictions within the comfortable portion of the middle class, she is renouncing the fantastic characteristics of her early fiction, set in otherworldly or foreign locales among the highest nobility. It is one matter to feel transported by the exciting adventures of a fourteen-year-old princess and quite another to commiserate with a young wife, like Betsy Thoughtless, whose husband bullies her over expenditures in the household accounts. As Haywood grimly states in Life's Progress Through the Passions,

> I am an enemy to all romances, and novels, and whatever carries the air of them, tho' disguis'd under

> different appellations; and as it is a real, not fictitious character I am about to present, I think myself obliged...to draw him such as he was, not such as some sanguine imaginations might wish him to have been. (3)

In her final writings, then, Haywood endorses a realistic narrative and repudiates her earlier, proud averments of fictional romance.

There are no ghosts in a realistic novel. Neither are there crimes of passion, love avowed until death, nor seductions as intricate as they are all-important. At least, if there are, these moments usually are not placed at the center of the novel and induced to permeate its every aspect. A novel intended to convey instruction is measured in calculable effects and progressions. Haywood muses in The Female Spectator (1744-1746):

> It is books which dispel the gloomy melancholy our climate but too much inclines us to, and in its room diffuses an enlivening cheerfulness. In fine we are indebted to books for every thing that can profit or delight us. (7: 5)

Haywood's image returns the reader to the hearth and its domestic comforts. In Haywood's later novels, overwhelming female desire, the driving force in her early works, disappears altogether. To some extent, critics still share the sensibilities of the mid-eighteenth-century reader, since, ironically enough, The History of Miss Betsy Thoughtless is critically viewed as her strongest and most significant work--a fact that would doubtless amuse and please the much vilified Haywood, if only she knew.

Conclusion

The past few years have transformed Eliza Haywood from an obscure literary figure into a touchstone for a great deal of critical debate. This is perhaps in the due course of crop rotation, but it certainly results from the commitment shared by Richetti, Doody, Todd, Hunter, and Schofield to reexamining the traditional accounts of the beginnings of the English novel. In Haywood's case, the consequences are gratifying. Current discussions of the eighteenth-century novel now regularly refer to several titles by Haywood, such as The Masqueraders, Fantomina, and The British Recluse, in the casual fashion reserved for established texts. Haywood herself is at present invoked, if only in passing, in almost any discussion which claims engagement with the novel's development in the period.

Throughout this thesis, I have emphasized Haywood's wish to link the romantic nature of her writings with education, didacticism, and the understanding of higher things. By the end of

her career, Haywood concluded that she could best write a novel through the divorce of eroticism from didacticism and the incorporation of a companionate marriage with an inner tranquillity or wisdom. By severing the novel from titillating accounts of sexual risk and pleasure, Haywood played a crucial role in turning the early novel into respectable fiction. It is said that, old and sick, Haywood so feared public scrutiny that she swore a close friend to secrecy about her life and career (Ballaster 159). History has rewarded her caution with recycled innuendoes and slights. The recent surge of critical interest in Haywood's work mitigates the errors of history and signals the growing realization that Eliza Haywood was not inanely prolix or insignificant but in fact one of the major figures in the production and development of the eighteenth-century novel.

There have been several efforts recently to reclaim the romance novel as a particularly female art form (see Ballaster, Langbauer). Richardson at the head of a brood of both female and male romance writers of the period is one indication that gender-specific demarcations applied to the polymorphous genre of romance fiction are ill-advised at best. Such claims skew promising

and unexplored avenues of research. To view such a highly evocative period primarily in terms of its opportunities for women writers will ultimately inhibit an understanding of the continuum of literature. It is on this broader level of literary-historical and cultural inquiry that the full significance of Haywood's writings has yet to be felt.

Notes

Introduction

[1] Recent critics, such as Schofield, Spender, and Spencer, have emphasized the embodiment of attitudes towards women, appeal to women readers, and possible early feminist content of Haywood's novels. Reprints of Haywood's novels and plays are available today almost entirely due to the efforts of these scholars, but a reassessment of Haywood does not need to be limited to a gender-critical analysis.

[2] Haywood calls attention to her gender in relation to her alleged shortcomings as a writer when she explains in the dedication of The Fatal Secret, or Constancy in Distress (1725), "[A]s I am a woman, and consequently deprived of those advantages of education which the other sex enjoy, I cannot so far flatter my desires, as to imagine it in my power to soar to any subject higher than that which nature is not so negligent to teach us" (n.p.).

Chapter One

[1] In examining the self-conscious mechanisms by which these two authors create their didactic agendas, I hope to avoid the pitfall of simple valorization which Richetti identifies in his comments on the current state of eighteenth-century literary criticism. Richetti cautions that "in an attempt to add such [i.e., neglected female] writers to the canon, recent feminist critics grant them literary-moral value that largely negates their importance as part of the commercial beginnings of formula fiction, and returns us, curiously enough, to traditional literary history with its emphasis on the author as individualized creator and self-consciously moral entity" (1992, xxvii).

[2] In this scene, as Toni Bowers points out, the Dutchess closes her eyes, and so does not realize that she is with Germanicus instead of Fortunatus (Bowers 55). In reading this passage, I prefer to emphasize the Dutchess's reaction once she opens them: far from feeling defrauded, she finds that "all her former Enjoyments were imperfect to the Pleasure of this...a new desire for so new and lovely an Object seized her" (1: 34-5).

[3] Biographical information about Haywood is sketchy but provocative. At a young age, she appears to have abandoned her minister husband and supported herself through acting and writing, while poetic evidence suggests her friendship with literary figures of the day, such as Richardson's confidant, Aaron Hill. For a fuller biographical account, see Spencer, "Eliza" 157-60.

[4] Richetti (1966) 179.

[5] Richetti sees Sterling's portrayal as an attempt to "single out Eliza as a female worthy, a champion of all innocence...but she is especially the female prophet of an oppressed and maligned sex against an organized male conspiracy" (1969, 81).

[6] Davis's Factual Fictions provides a detailed argument for the evolution of fiction from journalistic motifs. See also Ruth Perry, "The Social Context of Letters" (63-91).

Chapter Two

[1] Florez, although he occupies only a small portion of the novel, is a character study which rivals Manley at her most cynical. His unsteady nature, which sees no harm in arranging Idalia's rape, is tied to his parents' lackadaisical approach to social preferment.

[2] Another excellent example of a potent feminine sexuality occurs in Fantomina: "to engage him, to hear him sigh, to see him languish, to feel the strenuous Pressures of his eager Arms, to be compelled, to be sweetly forc'd to what she wished with equal Ardor, was what she wanted, and what she formed a Strategem to obtain" (268).

[3] In pursuance of the link between Idalia and other contemporary female characters, see Backscheider ("Genesis" 212-3). Stewart Cooke first made this connection between Idalia and Roxana apparent to me.

Chapter Three

[1] It was T. R. Lounsbury's opinion that "the attack on Mrs. Haywood exceeded all bounds of decency. To the credit of the English race nothing so dastardly and vulgar can be found elsewhere in English literature" (qtd. in Whicher 127). Spencer says that "Pope's work spread her [Haywood's] reputation as a licentious woman. In the following decade she wrote little but appeared in several plays" ("Haywood" 153).

[2] Backscheider suggests that "by charging women writers with immodesty, critics and novelists intensified the idea of immorality--a work produced by an immodest woman could be doubly immoral, for both its content and its composition could be condemned" ("Women Writers" 249).

[3] The use of "Pre-Adamitical" also lends a certain primogenital authenticity to the work.

[4] Conversely, Mona Scheuermann contends that these heroines were preoccupied with realistic issues: "relatively few eighteenth-century female characters spend much time worrying about their virginity. There is much more concern about making a living" (3).

[5] April London's "Placing the Female: The Metonymic Garden in Amatory and Pious Narrative, 1700-1740" explores this topic further.

Chapter Four

[1] Nestor sees Betsy and Trueworth's complicated relationship as containing a rare and subversive example of mature female sexuality in eighteenth-century novels (586-9).

[2] The Monthly Review 38, qtd. in Ballaster 197.

[3] By the 1750s, Haywood's writing was accorded little respect. "A List of all the Dramatic Authors" (1749) notes of Haywood:

> This authoress is now living, and made eminent by several novels, called Love in Excess & C., wrote by her, which were very much approved of by those who delight in that sort of Reading, and had a great Sale; she is likewise distinguished by Mr Pope in his Dunciad.

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