Satire and Embodiment: Allegorical Romance on Stage and Page in Mid-Eighteenth-Century Britain

Ros Ballaster

ABSTRACT : Theatrical presentation of character relies on embodiment and mimesis where the novel constructs plausible character through the diegetic presentation of consciousness. This article argues that, with the introduction of stage censorship in the 1730s, allegorical prose romance mediates the transition from theatrical to novelistic modes of rendering plausible embodied character. Theatre and the novel in mid-eighteenth century share a preoccupation with the relation of embodiment to allegorical abstraction, often represented in the figure of the Quixote, who mistakes one for the other. This essay charts the translation of techniques found in Henry Fielding's satirical allegory in his short stage plays of the 1730s with three allegorical romances of 1736 which take the Prince of Wales, Frederick, and his new bride, Princess Augusta of Saxa-Gothe-Altenburg as the hero and heroine: *Celenia and Hyempsal*, *The Adventures of Prince Titi*, and *The Adventures of Eovaai*. Discursive play with the magical reincarnation of 'dead' figures in 'new' forms of embodiment – puppets, ghosts, supernatural visitation -- is central to these acts of generic transformation. Allegory, as we see in Sarah Fielding and Jane Collier's *The Cry* (1754), has an unacknowledged afterlife in the mid-century novel.

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Two playwrights watch their plays in rehearsal. The prompter informs Fustian, the tragic playwright, that one of his players is afflicted with a cough that makes him inaudible beyond the middle of the pit. The player is cast as "first ghost," and Fustian observes that the play will not succeed without him, such is his proficiency in the role; he "was born a Ghost," asserts Fustian. Trapwit, the comic playwright, agrees to rehearse his own play before Fustian's tragedy when Fustian cries in despair: "I would not risque the life of my Ghost on any Account."[1] Not to belabour the joke too far (although Fustian's creator rarely shrunk from doing so), the humour derives from the unlikely image of a snuffling ghost and the real impossibility of bringing about the death of the spirit of one already passed. This is the opening scene of Henry Fielding's most successful play, *Pasquin*, which was the first production of his "Little Theatre" at the Haymarket, running for thirty-nine consecutive nights from 5 March 1736. A *pasquin* is a satirical poem in broad Roman

1 Henry Fielding, *Pasquin*, in *Plays, Volume III, 1734–1742*, ed. Thomas Lockwood (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 254, 255 (act 1, scene 1). References are to this edition.

dialect attached to a battered Hellenistic statue. Fielding's play is a broad satirical attack on corrupt electioneering and on the madness of partisanship, the latter represented through the allegory of the rehearsed tragic play; in this work, the goddess Common Sense is murdered by her minister Law, who has been corrupted by her rival queen, Ignorance.[2] The goddess shares her name with the title of the popular opposition journal, *Common Sense, or the Englishman's Journal,* founded by Fielding's friend George Lyttelton and the opposition leader Philip Stanhope, Lord Chesterfield, in 1737.[3] The extent of Fielding's own partisanship at this point in history is a matter of debate,[4] and it is a familiar story that the play which succeeded it and worked with the same rehearsal formula, *The Historical Register of 1736*, served as the excuse or example for the introduction of the restrictions of the Licensing Act by the Prime Minister Robert Walpole in 1737. That same Act killed Fielding's career as a dramatist and led him to turn to "comic-Epic Poem[s] in Prose,"[5] his mock-romances on quixotic themes of the 1740s: *Joseph Andrews* (1742) and *Tom Jones* (1748). The quixotic theme was dear to Fielding's heart, indeed the lifeblood of all his writings—one of his first plays staged at the theatre that he was eventually to run at the Little Theatre at the Haymarket was *Don Quixote in England*, which brings Don Quixote and Sancho Panza to an English inn to observe with bemusement and contempt the corrupt practices of electioneering in February 1734.

The comic potential of the actor-ghost—the living, breathing body who plays the part of the now-invulnerable dead or brings to life a disembodied abstraction such as Common Sense—is further developed in Fustian's bumbling stage management of his rehearsal late in *Pasquin*. Fustian sends off the ghost of Common Sense in disgust, telling her to wipe the flour from her face (meant to represent the pallor of the ghost) because they have not yet rehearsed the scene in which the living Common Sense meets her end (308). Fustian declares his play "emblematical," and there is concern as to whether the readers will understand the "emblems," but he also admits he has struggled to meet the requirement that a tragedy occupy five acts, ending his own at three: "I spun it out," he says, "as long as I could keep Common-Sense alive; ay, or even her Ghost" (296). Fustian's metaphor imagines the playwright less as nursemaid to his players than as conjurer of revenants. Often, the act of dramatic composition, especially of the history play, is grandiosely conceived as an act of animating the dead. Fustian is especially proud of his prologue—fittingly delivered hysteron proteron at the end of the third act of *Pasquin*—which celebrates this capacity of heroic drama:

> When Death's sharp Scythe has mow'd the Heroe down,
> The Muse again awakes him to Renown;

2 For more on the centrality of this conflict between tragic queens to the stage of the long eighteenth century, see Felicity Nussbaum, *Rival Queens: Actresses, Performance, and the Eighteenth-Century British Stage* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010).

3 See Sophia A. Rosenfeld, *Common Sense: A Political History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011), 17–55.

4 Brian McCrea in *Henry Fielding and the Politics of Eighteenth-Century England* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1981) sees Fielding progressing from political uncertainty to mature commitment, while T.R. Cleary argues that Fielding supported the "Broad-bottom" faction of the Opposition from 1735 in *Henry Fielding, Political Writer* (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1984). J.A. Downie diagnoses Fielding as a staunch Whig throughout his life, albeit of a conservative, old brand in *A Political Biography of Henry Fielding* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2009). Downie concurs with Thomas Lockwood, Fielding's Wesleyan editor, in the determination that Robert Walpole bought Fielding off before the Licensing Act of 1737.

5 Fielding, preface to *Joseph Andrews*, ed. Martin Battestin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), 4.

> She tells proud Fate that all her Darts are vain,
> And bids the Heroe live, and strut about again:
> Nor is she only able to restore,
> But she can make what ne'er was made before:
> Can search the Realms of Fancy, and create
> What never came into the Brain of Fate.
> Forth from these Realms, to entertain to Night,
> She brings imaginary Kings and Queens to light;
> Bids Common-Sense in Person mount the Stage,
> And Harlequin to storm in Tragick Rage. (287–88)

When it re-narrates historical events, drama represents the past in person; in its more emblematic form, drama invents beings, converting aspects of the psyche and polis into allegory brought to life in stage performance.

The aporia of the dead figure at risk of failing to thrive (the player-ghost threatened by a cough in *Pasquin*) and its place in the question of the generic rivalry or complementarity between tragedy and comedy serves as an emblem for the story this essay attempts to tell: of that moment in the history of culture in the late 1730s in Britain when the stage falls victim to a life-threatening form of censorship and writers turn to the printed prose romance as an alternative mode in which to thrive. The novel's challenge to the theatre's capacity to bring character to life acquires new impetus with the (politically motivated) introduction of new powers of state censorship over theatrical productions in the Licensing Act.[6] Prose romances convert the conventions and capacities of mimetic performance to bring the dead to life into diegetic modes and begin to lay claim to the superior powers of the latter. As we shall see, they do so not only by asserting the superior power to represent consciousness in prose fiction by comparison with the stage play (where thought is rendered through speech acts), but also by claiming the new romances' power to move beyond the idealized characterizations of the old, to turn abstractions into plausible personalities.

Quixotic Problematics: Embodying Romance

One member of Fielding's acting company at the Little Theatre played an important role in the development of prose fiction in the 1720s and was to turn to the emblematic romance in the late 1730s: Eliza Haywood. Both Fielding and Haywood had contributed to the satires of Walpole that led him to promote the Licensing Act of 1737; indeed, that Act could itself be seen as an anti-Romance gesture, a Whiggish reaction to what Margaret Anne Doody calls "prescriptive Realism" which attempts to contain the dangerous inflammatory and imitative powers associated with the drama through the introduction of

6 As early as 1735, a bill was introduced to Parliament by John Barnard to suppress the non-patent theatres. This bill only fell because Robert Walpole tried to amend it to give the Lord Chamberlain powers of censorship over the theatres. The Licensing Act might be seen as the product of a series of endeavours to control a satiric theatre than the introduction of draconian censorship in response to local annoyance. Matthew Kinservik observes that the Licensing Act is best seen as a "regulatory, rather than punitive, tool," guiding playwrights to self-censor political content and produce unobjectionable texts. Kinservik, *Disciplining Satire: The Censorship of Satiric Comedy on the Eighteenth-Century London Stage* (London: Associated University Presses, 2002), 10.

state censorship.[7] Haywood was satirized as "Mrs Novel" in Fielding's play of 1730, *The Author's Farce* (revived and amended in 1734). Actors took the parts of puppets in an inset play; the puppets represent the ghosts of various popular phenomena (opera, tragedy, comedy, bookselling, poetry, oratory, pantomime, novels). Puppets not only recall the fantastic nature of romance credulity through the reference to Don Quixote's delusions, but can also represent the victims of partisan ideologies, bodies that dance to the tune of their master-makers. The life-size puppets travel across the Styx where they compete for the favour of the Goddess Nonsense. Both Mrs Novel and her mother, the Goddess Nonsense, are besotted with Signior Opera. The kinship of novel and nonsense is further cemented through the mutual attraction of mother and daughter to the power of pure affect through the song of the castrato. The paradox of the castrato's power to stimulate sexual desire and his assumed inability to fulfil that desire through penetrative and procreative intercourse was, of course, a familiar complaint of early eighteenth-century satire.[8] As we saw in *Pasquin*, Fielding's comedy turns on the representation of modern culture as a reproductive dead end of ghosts, shadows, and infertility.

The stage ghost came to play an important part in the evolution of both romance and its satire in the eighteenth century. Specifically, the stage "fright" of the ghost of the murdered king in Shakespeare's *Hamlet* proves a touchstone. *Hamlet* was one of the forty-five plays whose plots Eliza Haywood selected for summary in her 1735 *The Dramatic Historiographer*. Her summary is more concerned with the story of the death of Hamlet's father than Hamlet's own fate; half of her account is given over to it, and the historiographer is hugely impressed by this "amazing Fantom," "tremendous Shade," and "awful Form."[9] The ghost of Hamlet's father stalks the pages of the novel in the eighteenth century, especially in its quixotic forms and particularly in Fielding's work.[10] In book 16, chapter 5 of *The History of Tom Jones* (1748), Tom and his tutor, the unworldly Benjamin Partridge, attend a performance of Hamlet by David Garrick on the London stage. Partridge is transfixed and moved by the sight of Garrick's portrayal of Hamlet's fear at the vision of the ghost. So absorbed is he by the performance that he loses his sense of a distinction between the real and the performed, concluding that there is nothing especially fine in

7 Doody, *The True Story of the Novel* (London: Fontana, 1998), 288. For more on partisanship and realism in the novel, see Rachel Carnell, *Partisan Politics, Narrative Realism, and the Rise of the British Novel* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

8 See Suzanne Aspden, "'An Infinity of Factions': Opera in Eighteenth-Century Britain and the Undoing of Society," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 9, no. 1 (1997): 1–19, doi: 10.1017/S0954586700005139. Apsden considers the flurry of pamphlets associated with the performances of the castrato Farinelli in 1727 and 1734, noting that as early as 1689, John Dennis in his "Essay on the Operas" had polarized rational response as male and sensuous as female (11). See also, Dennis, "An Essay on the Operas after the Italian Manner," in *Select Works* (London, 1718), 1:457–62.

9 Eliza Haywood, *The Dramatic Historiographer and The Parrot*, ed. Christine Blouch, Alexander Pettit, and Rebecca Sayers Hanson, in *Selected Works of Eliza Haywood*, gen. ed. Alexander Pettit (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2001), set 2, 1:91. The other plays by Shakespeare that Haywood selects are *King Lear, Macbeth, Othello, Timon,* and *Julius Caesar*, with only one comedy, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. Haywood seems to have shared Fielding's enthusiasm for the Quixotic in that she also includes summaries of the three parts of *Don Quixote* by Thomas Durfey (1694–95).

10 The most familiar occasions of the appearance of Hamlet's father's ghost in eighteenth-century fiction are in Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto* (1764), Laurence Sterne's *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy* (1759–67), and Tobias Smollett's *The Life and Adventures of Sir Lancelot Greaves* (1760, see chapter 18), Both Sterne's and Smollett's novels concern quixotic heroes. See Robert B. Hamm, "Hamlet and Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto*," *SEL* 49, no. 3 (2009): 667–92, doi: 10.1353/sel.0.0063; and Robert L. Chibka, "The Hobby-Horse's Epitaph: *Tristram Shandy, Hamlet*, and the Vehicles of Memory," *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 3, no. 2 (1991): 125–52, doi: 10.1353/ecf.1991.0027.

Garrick's acting since any person encountering the ghost of his father would be expected to react in that way. Garrick had a mechanical "fright wig" he wore to play Hamlet, which allowed him to make his hair stand on end at the sight of the ghost.[11] Partridge "fell into so violent a Trembling, that his Knees knocked against each other," and "during the whole Speech of the Ghost, he sat with his Eyes fixed partly on the Ghost and partly on *Hamlet*, and with his Mouth open; the same Passions which succeeded each other in *Hamlet*, succeeding likewise in him."[12] Partridge's quixotic reaction is to imitate in his own person the very fear he sees portrayed on the stage.

When prose fiction (often but not always published with the sobriquet of "novel") began to flourish in London at the end of the seventeenth century, the parallel was often drawn with this capacity of the drama to bring imaginary beings to life, and hence prompting the kind of affective response epitomised by Partridge. The new prose fiction of the novel sought to emulate that experience of being close to a real person, a body with powers of affect in voice and performance, enjoyed in the drama. The analogy drawn between the difference of the novel from romance and the difference of the comedy from the tragedy was made early in the invention of the category of "novel" in Britain along with these claims to superior plausibility and affectivity. The dramatist William Congreve in his preface to his one short work of prose fiction, *Incognita; Or, Love and Duty Reconcil'd, a Novel* (1692) not only distinguishes between romances and novels, but also sees their distinction as being "in proportion" to that between stage comedies and tragedies: "Romances give more of Wonder, Novels more Delight. And with reverence be it spoken, and the Parallel kept at due distance, there is something of equality in the Proportion which they bear in reference to one another, with that between Comedy and Tragedy; but the Drama is the long extracted from Romance and History: 'tis the possibility of giving that life to the Writing or Repetition of a Story which it has in the Contexture and Result of the Plot. I have not observed it before in a Novel."[13] Congreve here promises to do for the novel what has long been done for the romance. The mimesis of drama takes its plots from the diegesis of the romance or history (and vice versa); plays derive their plots from emblematical romances and accounts of the past. Congreve promises to do the same for the novel: to find plots that will give its readers an experience of "that life" equivalent to the pleasurable experience they take in watching a stage play.

The advent of new forms of rendering the real proves the occasion for a resurgence of interest in the figure of Don Quixote, who is tenaciously attached to a bygone form that has exhausted its powers of plausible storytelling. The confusion of life and art, as well as the competition between different modes of rendering the real in fictional form, is fundamental to quixotic fiction. In chapter 26 of the second book of Cervantes' work, Don Quixote mistakes puppets for real persons; Fielding surely references this quixotic delusion when his dramatic satires include puppet plays performed by real players, as in *The Author's Farce* (1730, revised 1734).[14] Can prose fiction convince the sane reader of the reality of the persons it produces through graphic marks on the page? The Quixote goes further than

11 Joseph Roach, "Hair," chap. 3 in *It* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007).
12 Fielding, *The History of Tom Jones*, ed. Fredson Bowers and Martin Battestin (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), 3:853, 854.
13 William Congreve, *Incognita*, in *The Works of William Congreve*, ed. Donald F. McKenzie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 3:4–5.
14 Fielding, *The Author's Farce*, in *Plays, Volume III, 1734–1742*, II.

mistaking real people for the romance heroes and heroines s/he knows from reading; s/he refuses the real altogether in favour of the imaginary.[15] As Rebecca Tierney-Hynes puts it in *Novel Minds*, "The idea of romance, over the course of the early eighteenth century, becomes a kind of shorthand for all things empirically unverifiable."[16] Tierney-Hynes elaborates, asserting that later in the eighteenth century: " romance comes to figure a discourse that refuses a tidy distinction between language and feeling, and that continues to insist on the entanglement of body and text" (6–7).[17] Throughout the course of the century, the distance between the modes of storytelling in prose fiction and theatre widens. Without the advantage of embodied performance, how can prose fiction make its readers believe they are in the presence of living beings? For mid-century authors of 'novel' fiction, the emblematic prose romance exemplifies one means of embodying real persons (through the representation of abstract ideals as characters in a fiction), but more often an example to be avoided than emulated, because it fosters confusion in the mind of its reader between the real and the fictional that lead to immoral rather than moral action. Not only is the romance commonly identified as the novel's prose fictional ancestor, but it also proleptically warns novelistic fictions of their own likely futures in the mind of their reader(s).

Quixotic Politics: Allegorical Romance, Diegetic Transformation

As the novel establishes its cultural legitimacy towards the middle of the century, interest in the representation of quixotic delusion revives. The Quixote is not always or only a target for ridicule; s/he often speaks for values under threat in a new culture. In Charlotte Lennox's novel *The Female Quixote* (1752), the heroine Arabella, addicted to prose romances from seventeenth-century France, exposes the vices of a bourgeois eighteenth-century England by measuring the world she encounters against the idealism of the imaginative world in her preferred reading. Nonetheless, she is obliged to adjust her expectations and understanding, finding in the genre of the novel a moderate moral alternative to the extreme violence and improbability of the romance. Arabella's creator, Lennox, was an actress and a playwright. Only one year after her *Female Quixote*, she began to publish a collection of translations from William Shakespeare's French and Italian prose fiction sources accompanied by a vigorous defence of their originality and aesthetic superiority to the bard's own plays (*Shakespeare Illustrated* in 1753–54). In Lennox's case too, the rise of the novel seems to be intimately related to an apprenticeship in theatre and a preoccupation with the competing powers of novel and theatre in delivering a compelling story.[18] And that preoccupation was rarely unconnected to the emblematic representation of contemporary political events. Rachel Carnell and Alison Tracy Hale point out that the revival of interest in Quixotism at this moment in literary history may be seen as a

15 See Gillian Brown, "The Quixotic Fallacy," *NOVEL: A Forum on Fiction* 32, no. 2 (1999): 250–73, http://www.jstor.org/stable/1346225. For more on Don Quixote in England, see Susan Staves, "Don Quixote in Eighteenth-Century England," *Comparative Literature* 24, no. 3 (1972): 193–215, http://www.jstor.org/stable/1769895; Ronald Paulson, *Don Quixote in England: The Aesthetics of Laughter* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998); and Wendy Motooka, *The Age of Reasons: Quixotism, Sentimentalism, and Political Economy in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (London: Routledge, 1998).

16 Rebecca Tierney-Hynes, *Novel Minds: Philosophers and Romance Readers, 1680–1740* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 6.

17 Tierney-Hynes, 6–7.

18 See Margaret Anne Doody, "Shakespeare's Novels: Charlotte Lennox Illustrated," *Studies in the Novel* 19, no. 3 (1987): 296–310, http://www.jstor.org/stable/29532509.

conservative response to the revived and quashed romance ambitions associated with the 1745 Jacobite rebellion. Carnell and Hale observe that a "nostalgic and romantic faith in the eventual triumph of Jacobitism was often associated with the mode of romance in literature."[19]

Arabella appears unaware of the flourishing of political romance in England in the decades just before her birth, and the explicit partisanship of these works would certainly not suit her taste.[20] In the 1730s, contiguous with the sudden murder of partisan allegory on the stage, the "allegorical romance" saw a fruitful and energetic resurgence centred on the Patriot opposition and its own romance hero of Frederick, Prince of Wales (1707–51). Frederick—estranged from his father George II and his mother Queen Caroline—was a newlywed at the age of 29 in the spring of 1736, marrying the seventeen-year-old princess Augusta of Saxa-Gothe-Altenburg. The novel's challenge to the theatre's capacity to bring character to life acquires new impetus with the (politically motivated) introduction of new powers of state censorship over theatrical productions in the Licensing Act eventually passed in 1737.[21] Prose romances convert the conventions and capacities of mimetic performance to bring the dead to life into diegetic modes and begin to lay claim to the superior powers of the latter. As we shall see, they do so not only by asserting the superior power to represent consciousness in prose fiction by comparison with the stage play (where thought is rendered through speech acts), but also by claiming the new romances' power to move beyond the idealized characterizations of the old, to turn abstractions into plausible personalities.

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19 Alison Tracy Hale and Rachel Carnell, "Romantic Transports: Tenney's *Female Quixotism*," *Early American Literature* 46, no. 3 (2011): 522–23, doi: 10.1353/eal.2011.0026.

20 The 1730s have not only been neglected by historians of romance but by most historians of fiction in this period. The imbalance has recently been addressed in Lacy Marschalk, Mallory Anne Porch, and Paula Backscheider, "The Empty Decade: English Fiction in the 1730s," *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 26, no. 3 (2014): 375–426, doi: 10.1353/ecf.2014.0001, http://bit.ly/14ssiKi.

21 As early as 1735, a bill was introduced to Parliament by John Barnard to suppress the non-patent theatres. This bill only fell because Robert Walpole tried to amend it to give the Lord Chamberlain powers of censorship over the theatres. The Licensing Act might be seen as the product of a series of endeavours to control a satiric theatre than the introduction of draconian censorship in response to local annoyance. Matthew Kinservik observes that the Licensing Act is best seen as a "regulatory, rather than punitive, tool," guiding playwrights to self-censor political content and produce unobjectionable texts. Kinservik, *Disciplining Satire: The Censorship of Satiric Comedy on the Eighteenth-Century London Stage* (London: Associated University Presses, 2002), 10.

one genre to another, from the human to the animal, from the natural to the supernatural, from the dead to the living.[22]

The capacity of drama to make the dead live and to suggest correspondence with living persons (Hamlet, after all, stages a play at court that reproduces the scene of a crime in order to catch the conscience of his guilty usurping uncle) is imitated in the emblematical romances to which I now turn. *Celenia; Or, the History of Hyempsal King of Numidia*, *The History of Prince Titi, A Royal Allegory* and the *Adventures of Evovaai* were published as part of the concerted attempt to discredit and displace the authority of Prime Minister Walpole and they owe much to the philosophical and political thinking of Henry St John, First Viscount Bolingbroke.[23]. These prose romances of 1736 conjure and dispel the dangerous powers of Walpole by celebrating the patriotic virtues of a new romance hero in Frederick, Prince of Wales. They must necessarily achieve the effects of the drama through diegesis rather than mimesis, through telling rather than showing. We might diagnose these ambitions in the prose fiction of the eighteenth century as themselves quixotic, in their attempt to imitate acts of mimesis that are by virtue of the intrinsic structure of their very mediation outside of their repertoire. Put simply, the most significant element that printed prose fiction lacks by comparison with its literary kin, the stage play, is the body of the actor or actress. However, prose fiction writers ingeniously turn that absence into an asset: the lack of a body leaves room for imaginative projection and the rendering of a thinking, interior self in place of a performative one. Of the three works discussed here, it is perhaps unsurprising—given that we have already seen her close collaboration in Fielding's experiments in satiric romance allegory on stage—that the most inventive transformation of mimesis into diegetic form, and of old into new romance, is found in Eliza Haywood's *The Adventures of Eovaai*. By the 1750s, allegory is itself a shadowy presence in the newly respectable form of the novel. In conclusion, this essay turns to the invocation of the new prose romance's past in dramatic and allegorical technique found in the prefatory material to Sarah Fielding and Jane Collier's hitherto underrated *The Cry*.

The genre of allegory refers through its etymology to one thing speaking for another: it derives from the Greek *allos*, "other," and *agoreuein*, "to speak (in a place of assembly, the agora, the marketplace)"; allegory "is a way of saying one thing and meaning another."[24] Allegory can refer both to a sustained metaphor over an extended narrative and to ironic speech where another meaning is meant and is quite opposite to the one apparently expressed. Fielding uses the terms "allegorical" and "emblematical" interchangeably in his satirical plays of the 1730s to refer to a set of "living" referents invoked by the symbolical stage representations in farces, puppet shows, and rehearsals they depict. Political allegory—the representation of those who govern in the contemporary state through symbolic correlatives in an imaginary romance world—invites its audience to see correspondences with living figures, but it also brings those figures to life for that audience, offering them recognizable types and performances to associate with persons not known to them as real bodies and in their own real lives (usually). After all, London audiences were more familiar with the physical characteristics of actors and actresses than they were with

22 On the claims to greater historical probability in the new romance earlier in the century, see James Grantham Turner, "'Romance' and the Novel in Restoration England," *Review of English Studies* 63 (2011): 58–65, doi: 10.1093/res/hgr041.

24 Jeremy Tambling, *Allegory* (London: Routledge, 2010), 6.

the living members of the governing class that those players represented through emblem and allegory. A satirical representation of Walpole by a familiar actor might well be more recognizable *as* Robert Walpole to a London theatre-goer than the prime minister himself would be in person.

Bolingbroke fled to France in 1735. His political followers, the nephews of Viscount Cobham—George Lyttelton, George Grenville, and William Pitt—were all voted into Parliament in 1734 and rallied around the figure of the estranged heir to the throne, Frederick. A loosely organized literary campaign, including works by James Thomson, David Mallet, Richard Glover, Mark Akenside, and Henry Brooke, articulated Bolingbroke's Whiggish appetite for constrained monarchy energized by a hortatory patriotism that imagined a regenerated Britain under a new and energetic ruler.[25] This rational idealism invoked ancient kingship, especially the figure of King Arthur, to counter what it represented as the dark arts of policy and statecraft. Romance and Quixotism are woven into the fabric of the partisan myths of the mid-1730s and often treated as staged shows of historical or allegorical persons. In 1735, Queen Caroline had William Kent and Charles Bridgeman build an architectural political allegory in the shape of her "Merlin's Cave" at Richmond, in fact a thatched cottage containing a library and wax figures.[26] In *Pasquin*, Fustian comments briefly that his tragedy is "as full of Shew as *Merlin*'s Cave itself" (393). The wax figures in Caroline's "cave" were designed to suggest the legitimacy of the Hanoverian succession through association with the ancient kings of Britain: Merlin himself with his own Sancho Panza, a secretary or squire, alongside Elizabeth I and Elizabeth of York, wife to Henry VII. But they were also coloured by a strong association with romance supernaturalism and feminine sway, not only through the apparent invocation of Don Quixote in Merlin and his squire, but also the two other wax figures of women: Edmund Curll identifies one as Minerva, goddess of wisdom, and the other as the nurse to Elizabeth I "alias *a witch*."[27] Lord Carteret, himself violently opposed to Caroline's favourite, Walpole, produced in 1738 a handsome new version of Cervantes's *Don Quixote* in Spanish with fine illustrations for inclusion in the choice collection of books Caroline requested for her cave at the library: Carteret's work is a small satirical presence within the monument to the Hanoverian ruling monarch, representing the opposition's longing for an alternative version of Arthurian romance. The Spanish language choice, given Carteret's allegiance, supports the promotion of what Opposition writers saw as a just and patriotic war with Spain, steadfastly evaded by Walpole.[28] Opposition leaders set up their own rival political allegories in garden design; Cobham's "Monument of British Worthies" at Stowe and Frederick's botanic garden at Kew were explicit counters to Caroline's vision, promoting the vision of kings in alliance with subjects to promote the latter's natural

25 See Christine Gerrard, *The Patriot Opposition to Walpole: Politics, Poetry, and National Myth, 1725–1742* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).

26 Judith Colton, "Merlin's Cave and Queen Caroline: Garden Art as Political Propaganda," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 10, no. 1 (1976): 1–20, http://www.jstor.org/stable/2737814.

27 Edmund Curll, *The Rarities of Richmond: Being Exact Descriptions of the Royal Hermitage and Merlin's Cave, with His Life and Prophesies* (London, 1736), 8. The identification of these female figures is not certain. Colton concludes that one could be Minerva, Britomart, Brittania, or Bradamante (from Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*); the other could be Queen Elizabeth's nurse, Britomart's nurse, Melissa (the prophetess who travels with Bradamante), or Mother Shipton. The female knight and her nurse mirror the male conjurer and his secretary, as well as Quixote and Sancho Panza.

28 Amanda S. Meixell, "Queen Caroline's Merlin Grotto and the 1738 Lord Carteret Edition of *Don Quijote*: The Matter of Britain and Spain's Arthurian Tradition," *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 25, no. 2 (2005): 59–82, http://www.h-net.org/~cervant/csa/articf05/meixellf05.pdf.

liberties; King Alfred and the Black Prince were memorialized at both sites as founders and keepers of these liberties.[29]

Opposition writers tended to represent Caroline and George as under the spell of a powerful favourite. And they were quick to associate the figure of Merlin with the nefarious doings of Caroline's favourite, Prime Minister Walpole. The same year as Merlin's Cave was unveiled (1735), two important literary works were published that communicated the rational magic of Patriot political principles which might counter the dark arts of the ministry: the first part of James Thomson's long poem dedicated to Prince Frederick and entitled "Liberty," and George Lyttelton's imitation of Montesquieu's *Lettres Persanes*, his *Letters from a Persian in England*. In the same year, Lyttelton in turn received the compliment of imitation with a continuation of his work by an anonymous author still writing in the Patriot spirit. *The Persian Letters Continued, or the Second Volume of Letters from Selim at London to Mirza at Ispahan* (1735) contained an inset series of interspersed letters, which begin at the third letter.[30] This is *The History of Hymempsal, King of Numidia* and it is sent from England to entertain the ladies in Mirza's Persian seraglio by his fellow traveller, Selim. Selim reports that it was sent to him from Tunis and that he gave it to his favoured mistress, Zelis, who has turned it into the work we are reading in order to entertain the other women in the harem. The work was swiftly published in a new edition the following year under a new title, *Celenia; Or, the History of Hyempsal King of Numidia* (1736), its authorship ascribed to "Zelis the Persian."

The translator's preface to *The Persian Letters Continued* is explicit that the tale's ambition is to advocate monarchy without endorsing arbitrary power or tyranny, and that the reading of this story restored the senses of its quixotic and absolutist reader, the Persian traveller Selim, whom the reader had left at the end of Lyttleton's first volume "run mad" in leaning too far towards republicanism and having abandoned the principles of arbitrary power to which he was raised in Persia upon encountering the liberties of Britain.[31] In this same preface, the translator predictably disavows any connection to living persons, which only serves to encourage readers to seek those correspondences. He warns readers not "to dress up Persons now alive, in the Cloths of some who have been, half a century and more, dead and gone" (vi). "As to the *Numidian Story*," the translator adds, "since *Zelis* design'd it for the Entertainment of the *Persian Ladies*, I thought it might be acceptable to those of *England*, for whom I have a great regard" (vi). He goes on to promise that, if the ladies like it, he will give the whole history of Hyempsal and drop Selim's letters. The 1736 *Celenia* is true to the translator's word. Two further editions of 1740 and 1742 are published with the title, *Celenia and Adrastes: With the Delightful History of Hyempsal, King of Numidia; an Allegorical Romance.* Numidia was a Berber-Libyan kingdom in what is now Algeria and a smaller part of western Tunisia in North Africa between 202 BCE and 46 BCE. The allegory of the romance relates to British monarchy and politics, its explicit message to warn against the dangers of succumbing to the influence of favourites. Hyempsal and Celenia represent Prince Frederick and his new bride.

29 See Richard Harry Drayton, *Nature's Government: Science, Imperial Britain, and the "Improvement" of the World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 38–44.

30 On the politics of English translations and imitations of Montesquieu's *Lettres Persanes* (1721), see Ros Ballaster, *Fabulous Orients: Fictions of the East in England 1662–1785* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), 162–71.

31 *The Persian Letters, Continued; Or, the Second Volume of Letters from Selim at London, to Mirza at Ispahan* (London, 1735), iv.

The story concerns the third son of the king of Numidia who escapes the murderous intention of a usurping uncle (the Hamlet story resonates again) through the care of a good minister who raises him in the place of a son who has died. Hyempsal travels to the country of Siconia where he falls in love with the beautiful Christian princess Celenia and converts to her religion. His companion and adopted brother, Achates, wins the heart of Celenia's maid of honour, Cariclia, who is later revealed to be Hyempsal's lost sister, Rosalinda. With the aid of a group of virtuous courtiers in Siconia, Aristogenes and Achates successfully restore to power the virtuous but gullible king Adrastes who has fallen under the sway of evil counsellors and Celenia's wicked governess, Antemora.

We have already observed the centrality of female figures to the life-size wax display at Merlin's Cave at Richmond and to the frame narrative of *Hyempsal*: this is a story sent from Africa via England to a Persian seraglio for transcription by a woman, Zelis, for the edification of female readers. Through progressive changes to the title of the work, Celenia comes to acquire equal billing with her suitor, Hyempsal. Her maid of honour, Cariclia/Rosalinda, is a heroic, witty, and engaging protagonist. Patriot politics countered the image of a feminized king subject to the whims of his wife and chief minister with a robust image of a manly prince able to appreciate and value the rational Christian virtues of women. The romance concludes with Adrastes, his vision cleared, warning Hyempsal to test the loyalty of his favourites with care, including that of his friend, chief general, and soon-to-be brother-in-law, Achates: "The greatest Misfortune to a Prince, and what puts it out of his power to govern with Wisdom or Justice (unless it be by chance) is the *suffering one Man to monopolize his Ear,* and giving up himself to be govern'd by his single Opinion."[32]

Genre classification serves an important function in encouraging readers to seek correspondence (or not) between the remote worlds represented in the fiction and the immediate political climate. The identification of a political satire as a romance is both an explicit denial of allegory and a conventional invitation to look for allegorical meaning. The claim to invent purely fictional characters paradoxically invests them with likely flesh and blood correspondences. This is evident in the preface to *Celenia, or the History of Hyempsal* (1736):

> BUT, it will be objected, that this is a *Romance*; and, since *Don Quixote* so seasonably expos'd the, once prevailing, Humour of *Knight-Errantry*, People are become wiser, than to throw away their Time upon such idle Fooleries. I shall not set out, with a pompous *Appeal*, for the Truth of it; It is a *Romance*; Nor were there ever such Princes in Numidia and Siconia, since the Declension of the *Roman Empire*, as *Hyempsal* and *Celenia*. But the Fiction is innocent, and can give offence to no-body, because it is feigned. And I cannot help thinking, that it will do less Mischief, than more dangerous *Romances*, which are receiv'd for *true Histories*; and ten such *Romances* as *Celenia*, are more tolerable in a Christian Country; than one pretended true *History*, however solemnly introduced; whose Scope is, either by downright Forgeries, or misrepresented Facts, to poison the Principles, and misguide the Judgment of the Reader, and to make *Evil Good*, and *Good Evil*.
>
> THE Wisest of the Ancients us'd to give good Instructions, by way of Fable; and the Stories they thus related, were not receiv'd as true, in every Circumstance, but the main Design was attended to. And as a *Romance* is but a long *Fable*, if the chief Design of it is to

32 *Celenia; Or, the History of Hyempsal King of Numidia* (London, 1736), 2:595. References are to this edition.

> set Virtue and Vice in a proper light, and to give such Examples of Virtue as ought to be imitated, I cannot apprehend any Danger in the Publication, except it be, the *Imputation of Levity*, if it should be known from whence it came, which he is is very little solicitous to conceal. (viii-ix)

The romance functions as the loyal counsellor by contrast with the dangerous favourite, its honesty of purpose reinforced by the candour with which it admits that it is fabricated. The author is a man of "good Understanding, and becoming Gravity" and "he did not think it inconsistent with that Character, to mix some facetious Stories, by way of Episodes, to enliven the History" (ix). The diegesis of prose fiction promises integrity and a capacity to lead a reader to reflective ethical judgement which the proximity of living persons and bodies can often muddle.

Celenia, once it had abandoned its epistolary frame, took the form of a conventional romance, in terms of its narrative structure and its habits of narration; it is constructed as a palimpsest of tales opened and all finally resolved at the end, its political message clearly and unambiguously communicated. With the exception of the interesting framing of the romance within an epistolary work of oriental reverse ethnography in its first publication, it is also adopts the conventions of romance diegesis: it is delivered through a third-person framing narration, combined with inset stories of individual adventures and histories presented by (often female) intradiegetic narrators

The same conventions are observed in the second romance of 1736, which sought to promote patriot ideals and counter the chicanery of the Hanoverian ministry with the natural magic of patriot wise counsel: *The History of Prince Titi, A Royal Allegory*. In fact, Thémiseul de Saint-Hyacinthe's *Histoire de Prince Titi* was translated in two versions in 1736. One was by an by an otherwise unknown female author, Eliza Stanley, and the other was dubiously ascribed by the anecdotist William Seward at the end of the eighteenth century to James Ralph, assistant to Fielding at the Haymarket in 1736 and an opposition political journalist.[33] The connection with Patriot support for Frederick in *Titi* was evident; after all, Saint-Hyacinthe dedicated his work to Frederick, Prince of Wales.[34] Fielding published an advance bill on 25 May 1737 for two plays to be performed on 30 May from his Great Moguls Company at the Little Theatre: "Macheath turn'd Pyrate, or Polly in India. An Opera" along with "a new Farce of two Acts, call'd The King and Titi; or, the Medlears, Taken from the History of Prince Titi. Originally written in French and lately translated into English." The house failed to open on 30 May because Fielding's landlord had taken down the scenery and piled the house with building materials in order to prevent a disloyal performance just six days after the introduction of the first version of the Licensing Act in the Commons. Fielding was never to reopen his theatre.

Titi (Frederick) is the eldest son of Ginguet (George II) and Tripasse (Caroline). He is a paragon of good looks, good temper, and is devoted to his cruel parents who favour a covetous, greedy, younger brother (Triptiloon/the Duke of Cumberland). A good fairy Diamante brings Titi together with a fourteen-year-old commoner, Bibi (Augusta), and

33 The translation ascribed to James Ralph is entitled *The Memoirs and History of Prince Titi, Done from the French by a Person of Quality* (London: A. Dodd, 1736) and Eliza Stanley's *The History of Prince Titi, Translated by a Lady* (London: E. Curll, 1736). Ralph's biographer, John B. Shipley, questions the ascription of the translation to Ralph in "James Ralph, Prince Titi, and the Black Box of Frederick, Prince of Wales,' *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* 71 (1967): 143–57.

34 Gerrard says that the work was "almost certainly" co-authored by Frederick (61).

invests the lovers with the power to assume whatever animal shapes they choose in order to evade persecution. With the aid of his clever page, L'Eveille, the young prince wins such popular support that his father is forced to abdicate in his favour. As Emrys Jones observes, *Titi* is ambivalent in its treatment of friendship;[35] Titi's dependence on L'Eveille, like Hyempsal's on Achates, might be seen to compromise the critique of court favourites so central to the cult of Patriot friendship.

Stanley expands on the role of allegory in the fairy tale she is translating. She appended to her translation "An Essay upon Allegoric: Or Characteristic Writing,"[36] in which she draws attention in similar terms to those used by the anonymous "translator" of *Celenia* to the interpretive ambivalence of allegory. She locates the origins of prose fiction emblematic writing in ancient theatre. It derives, she claims, from Greek comedy and tragedy and from Roman satire, and the tradition from Homer to Theophrastus is revived, she asserts, in the work of Alexander Pope. The work she is translating, she insists, was not written as a specific but a general allegory. Should the reader recognize the recent state affairs in the story, then this is an indictment of the country's corruption rather than an indication of the author's intention:

> Little, I think, could any one have imagined that this Fairy-Tale of Prince TITI, should have any Existence but in Fairy-Land. It is my confirmed Opinion that the Author ... meant no other than a Moral Amusement, tho' his Characters are Allegorized, nominally, from the Crown to the Cottage. And if Hypochondriacs are to turn Judges, it is a most undoubted Truth that the blackest Conspiracies which were ever formed, against all the Kings and Princes on the Terrestrial Globe, may be plainly discovered in *Aesop's Fables*, and *Reynard* the *Fox*.[37]

So the reader who recognizes him or herself in a character must be guilty of the crimes of which that character is accused. Pope, the modern epitome of characteristic or allegoric writing, serves to illustrate this point in the title-page engraving and epigraph. The publisher Curll operates from the Pope's Head in Rose Street. Pope is pictured in his cloth cap below the Latin epigraph: "Qui Capit Ille Facit" ("He who takes it to himself has done it," or "If the cap fits, wear it") (see Figure 1).

In both the fairy tale of Titi and the oriental tale of Celenia and Hyempsal, authors and translators reflect on the allegorical character of their own work, both inviting and disavowing correspondences with the contemporary moment. They imply also a certain Quixotism in the reader who chases down or sees those political correspondences everywhere. Conversely, these correspondences are so obvious that it would be a kind of Quixotism to wilfully ignore them.

A third romance allegory of 1736 foregrounds this conflict between allegorical composition and allegorical interpretation and makes that conflict part of its own diegetic structure. Eliza Haywood's *Adventures of Eovaai* was not identified on its first publication as a work of fiction at all. Neither the word "romance" nor "novel" features in its first title page, which mentions only "adventures" and "occurrences" (see Figure 2). The 1741

35 Emrys Jones, "'Friendship like mine/throws all respects behind it': Male Companionship and the Cult of Frederick, Prince of Wales," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 40 (2011): 172–73.
36 *The History of Prince Titi, Book the Fourth, Translated by a Lady* (London, 1736). References are to this edition.
37 Stanley, *The History of Prince Titi*, x (the essay is separately numbered as an appendix).

edition, which was nothing more than a reissue of remaindered stock,[38] was provided with a new frontispiece that abandoned the generic term "history" and retained only the reference to the "adventures" of the main protagonist interspersed with "several curious and entertaining novels" (see Figure 3). Haywood's name was closely associated with the new generic category of the "novel":[39] as we have seen she had been cast as Mrs Novel in Fielding's *The Author's Farce* of 1730 and her first collected works of 1725 was published under the title *Secret Histories, Novels and Poems*. Haywood herself seems to have conceived of the *Adventures of Eovaai* as a romance. Haywood rarely cross-references her works, but in the second volume of her *Epistles for the Ladies* (1750), a correspondent named Astrea recommends "a little Book, which though it carries the Air of Romance, and is written in that Style, contains a very useful Allegory."[40] This work is *Eovaai*. Astrea concludes that the allegory warns readers not to probe too deeply into the mysteries of religion. Astrea's is a plausible interpretation, and her own retelling of Eovaai's fall from grace accentuates the princess's hubris by comparison with the original. Eovaai is left to govern her kingdom at an early age, her only guidance her dying father's injunction not to be separated from a precious jewel he leaves in her care. Driven by curiosity about some mysterious writing on the stone, the princess opens the case in which it is held, only for the stone to be whisked away by a bird. Astrea adds a condemning detail not found in her source to the account of Eovaai's curiosity: "Well, *cried she to herself peevishly*, what can this mighty Mystery be? ... Surely the Gods do not deal in Riddles with Mankind; but if they do, I should think it rather a Merit than a Crime to endeavour to explain their Meaning" (277). Disaster attends the loss.

Astrea's classification of the work as one of stable moral allegory is vulnerable. The name Astrea (the goddess of Justice) recalls for readers the allegorical figure at the centre of Delarivier Manley's notorious scandal novel, *The New Atalantis* (1709), a virulently Tory satire on Whig government. The romance allegory is evidently political. Eovaai is, after all, only restored to her kingdom when she is saved from the violent pursuit of an aggressive necromancer and prime minister of a neighbouring country (Ochihatou/Walpole) by the virtuous and heroic Prince Adelhu (Frederick). Kathryn King identifies in her important political biography of Haywood, that *Eovaai* is "a satirical-allegorical-Bolingbrokean-romantical oriental tale."[41] The story of Eovaai, princess of Ijaveo, is set in Australia in pre-Adamitic times and concerns a young princess whose adventures chart her shifting attraction to different male figures and political systems: first, to first minister, Ochihatou, of the neighbouring territory of Hypotofa. Ochihatou governs the country by terror and his king by virtue of a magic feather that has sent the king into a permanent stupor. Ochihatou is of mean birth and deformed, but his devotion to the Ypres (devils) has given him command of magic so that he can transform himself "into the reverse of what he was," casting a delusion of personal beauty before the eyes of those who look

38 See Patrick Spedding, *A Bibliography of Eliza Haywood* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2004), 347–48. Spedding speculates from the relatively large number of surviving copies that the work did not sell well and that the publisher of the 1736 *Adventures of Eovaai*, Samuel Baker, sold the copyright to Thomas Wright and James Hodges who then cancelled the title page and issued their own edition, swiftly followed by a second edition, in order to try to shift the stock.

39 Spedding notes that this was the first time in seven years that a work by Haywood had appeared with her name on it (349).

40 Haywood, letter 85 in *Epistles for the Ladies (1749–50)*, ed. Christine Blouch, in *Selected Works of Eliza Haywood*, gen. ed. Alexander Pettit (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2001), set 1, 2:276.

41 King, 75.

on him.[42] Deceived, and tempted by his fantasies of the power of absolute government, Eovaai is aroused by his courtship but is saved by the provision of a magic perspective (telescope) from a guardian angel, which allows her to see Ochihatou's true form.

She walks away from his luxurious palace to encounter a plain castle at the top of a steep hill, its bare halls provided only with statues of Patriot kings and queens. Here, the wise man Alhahuza (Bolingbroke) talks to her of Patriotism and sways her towards its generous principles of service first to the people. He sends her to Oozoff for protection where she is treated to the case for republicanism. Eovaai tries unsuccessfully to make the case for limited rule, but we are told her will is not yet under control enough to achieve the moderate path. Ochihatou tracks her down and has her spirited away. A series of enchantments, wars between neighbouring territories, and threatened rapes are concluded with Ochihatou's death and Eovaai's union with the exiled prince of Hypotofa, Adelhu. In this union, Eovaai can gratify both her passion and her ambitions for a stable, limited monarchy.

So far, so simple and so clearly a Patriot allegory. King summarizes: "Using a variety of elements drawn from the conventions of political allegory, seduction tale, secret history, pornography romance, oriental and fairy tale, she crafted a distinctively feminist critique of Bolingbroke's paternalism-the idea that the ideal king is a virtuous father of his people-is replaced by a heterosexual conjugal model entirely her own. In the process she brings a fascinating Patriot feminist dimension to the themes of female curiosity and desire that had preoccupied her as an amatory novelist from the start."[43] King's discussion overlooks the complicating part played by the diegetic frame of the text which—if it does not tell an entirely different story—destabilizes the apparent easiness of assigning allegorical correspondences, whether moral, political, or both. Haywood finds the diegetic equivalent of the ambivalent play with the animated and embodied politics of theatrical satire with which she was so familiar as an actress herself and in which Fielding demonstrated such proficiency.

Eovaai is purportedly a translation by a Chinese mandarin living in London. The work he translates is itself a translation commissioned by a Chinese emperor of the fifth century, who hired a team of seventy philosophers to work on the annals of the first ages of humanity, which are preserved in Peking. After ninety-seven months of exegetical labour, the philosophers had completed only three of the twenty-one works, of which the history of Eovaai is the finest, before they were disbanded on the Emperor's death. The narrative is provided with explanatory footnotes that incorporate the scholarship of an original author, the cabal of translating philosophers, a commentator called Cafferero, a historian with the comical name of Hahehihotu, and the modern Chinese translator. The latter often agrees with Hahehihotu, and both seek to moderate what they see as the rabid republicanism and misogyny of the cabal. Those comments are mediated to the reader(s) by the modern translator/editor: his footnotes inform us about the content of the commentary of others he has consulted, converting what he characterizes as a work of tedious scholarship into an exciting popular adventure.

Eovaai's preoccupation with the nature of political authority is mirrored in these destabilizing treatments of textual authority. The romance's argument for a sceptical approach to representations of power is also made by reference to the capacity of theatrical

42 Haywood, *The Adventures of Eovaai* (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 1999), 62. References are to this edition.
43 Kathryn King, *A Political Biography of Eliza Haywood* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2012), 73.

performance to convince us that we are in the presence of historical personages who wielded political authority. Patriot politics require that Eovaai, in rejecting absolutism, not embrace republicanism as the only alternative: a measured monarchy led by a virtuous elite rather than by overweening favourites is the preferred political ideal. When she arrives at Oozoff (Holland), she observes the republic with admiration but feels it lacks the "grandeur" with which monarchy can invest a state (110). Her response is not only countered intradiegetically in a conversation Eovaai holds with an old man, but the extradiegetic narrator, the Chinese mandarin, alerts the reader to his suspicion that the cabal translator is himself a republican. The footnote refers to a (missing) comment that lashes the veneration of weak minds for kings:

> The Commentatory, who I shrewdly suspect to have been a Republican in his Principles, 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, a kind of gaudy Shew, to attract and amuse the Vulgar; and the Person thus dress'd up no more, perhaps *less*, brave and honest than the meanest Gazer. I must confess, since my abode in *England*, I have seen some Mock-Monarchs on the Stage, so much resembling those who wear that Title to their Life's End, that I am apt to think, had the Commentator been present, he wou'd have look'd on both alike with his Philosophical Spectacles; and cried out, Where is the essential Difference? Both are Men, made of the same Clay, incident to the same Passions, same Diseases, same Infirmities of Mind and Body: Both equally make it their chief Business to get Money: Both enjoy their Dignity but for a time; and if the one continues longer than the other, yet both alike will have an end, and, after Death, be converted into the same indistinguishable Dust. But this is only my own Imagination; it's possible the Courts of *Europe* might have reformed his Sentiments, and render'd him as very Worshipper of Royalty as a *Frenchman*. (110)

Actors can successfully impersonate the grandeur of kings on the stage, but in doing so they also remind us that kings are physical beings with vulnerabilities and venality. We might think of the tawdry mock kings and monarchs of Fielding's rehearsal plays (the rival Queens Common-Sense and Ignorance). The translator concludes by admitting that this scenario in which the commentator confirms his republican principles by seeing the example of the actor playing the king (and Hamlet's inset play to catch the king must surely resurface here for the literate reader) may only be a construct of his imagination. From a moment of embodiment when the actor serves to remind us of the materiality of the king's body by comparison with his symbolic majesty (and throughout this romance Eovaai's body is vulnerable to attack, abduction and very physical sets of responses whether erotic or painful and often both at the same time), we turn to a moment when the narrator acknowledges that he may only be indulging a fancy, potentially a quixotic one, which the real evidence of history might counter. This example illustrates two aspects of *Eovaai*'s diegetic complexity: first, the role of mock-commentary as a diegetic opening through which the reader is led to question a system of simple allegorical correspondence; and, second, the recurrent use of dramatic analogy as a vehicle to alert us to the invention of fictions of the person which may delude our understanding.

Haywood's transformation of the romance is equivalent to Pope's treatment of the epic in his *Dunciad Variorum* (1729) and Fielding's of the stage genre of tragedy in *Pasquin*.

She not only records the passing of the imaginative sway of a lost ideal form (the modern age cannot sustain the securities of the old romance), but also mocks the form itself, exposing the radical instabilities of imaginative projections which have gone unquestioned in a relatively unselfconscious mode of narration by comparison with the modern novel's nervous apprehension of its reception in the mind of a new class of reader. Eovaai's story is on the surface one of reformed curiosity and its concomitant associations with wilful sexual desire. The heroine acquires wisdom through her trials and learns reason and judgment. These improvements make her fit to govern both the state and the self. However, the conversational exchange between text and paratext, narrative and footnotes, frequently destabilizes this account. And the extent to which Eovaai has learned to contain her passions to fulfil her role as ruler is questioned in the conclusion: "She determined to offer him her Crown and Person, *as she said*, but *in reality* to gratify the Passion she was enflamed with for him" (158). A footnote adds that "The Historian, methinks, might have spared giving his Opinion in this Matter; but, if it were as he suggests, that Passion cou'd not be blameable in *Eovaai*, which had Gratitude for its Source, and was encouraged by an appearance of the greatest Virtue and Bravery in the Object" (158). The modern translator accommodates the story to Patriot principles: the argument for constitutional monarchy is energized by the passionate attraction to the figure of virtuous ruler on the part of his (or her) people.

Quixotic departures: novelistic correction.

Novelistic diegesis, then, becomes a means of distancing readers from the deceptions of theatrical presence (a real body impersonates a real historical personage). Emblematic romance substitutes for theatrical performance, new romance's uncertain protagonists (such as the wayward and self-reflective Eovaai) replace the improbable idealized characters of the old romance. In 1754, Sarah Fielding and Jane Collier capture the strange mixture of the fantastic and the pragmatic, the allegorical substitutions of one by the other, which is the stuff of this new romance. Their co-authored work announced itself as new, emblematic, and dramatic. *The Cry: A New Dramatic Fable* plays with the mutual dependence of the mimetic and diegetic, performance and narration. Its virtuous heroine, Portia, is called before the Cry, a large audience wedded to error; Portia's sole ally is the one virtuous auditor, an allegorical figure named Una (who stands for simplicity or truth). The Cry and Una occupy similar positions in the novel's diegesis to those of *Eovaai's* error-filled cabal and the modern editorial translator. Fielding and Collier reanimate here in their modern hybrid novel the characters of not only Shakespeare's romance dramas—Portia from *The Merchant of Venice* and twins named Ferdinand (*The Tempest*) and Cordelia (*King Lear*)—but also Edmund Spenser's romance epic (Una is the virtuous lady and allegorical embodiment of the Christian church whom the Knight of the Redcrosse protects in the first book of *The Faerie Queene*). Portia's truth telling is contrasted with the error into which her opposite, Cylinda, is led as a result of her intellectual vainglory. *The Cry* "novelizes" stage plots and conventions. Where the Licensing Act appears to have silenced the role of the stage in putting political error on trial, prose fiction offers new consolations. In the world of *The Cry*, a single, virtuous member of the audience (Una) can resist the majority verdict (plays, after all, were only guaranteed a continuing life if the audience clapped sufficiently to secure a further performance the following night). So too a single, apparently errant interpretation can, through diegetic narration, have authority conferred upon it.

This new allegory provides a fiction of an animated mind at work, in place of the theatrical or (old) romance actor whose psychological conflicts are depicted through action and allegorical embodiment. In their preface, Fielding and Collier stage the tension between allegorical intention and allegorical interpretation:

> If the heroine of a romance was to travel through countries, where the castles of giants rise to her view; through gloomy forests, amongst the dens of savage beasts, where at one time she is in danger of being torn and devoured, at another, retarded in her flight by puzzling mazes, and falls at last into the hands of a cruel giant; the reader's fears will be alarmed for her safety; his pleasure will arise on seeing her escape form the teeth of a lion, or the paws of a fierce tiger: ... But the puzzling mazes into which we shall throw our heroine, are the perverse interpretations made upon her words; the lions, tigers, and giants, from which we endeavour to rescue her, are the spiteful and malicious tongues of her enemies.
>
> Thoroughly to unfold the labyrinths of the human mind is an arduous task; and notwithstanding the many skilful and penetrating strokes which are to be found in the best authors, there seems yet to remain some intricate and unopened recesses in the heart of man. In order to dive into those recesses, and lay them open to the reader in a striking and intelligible manner, it is necessary to assume a certain freedom in writing, not strictly perhaps within the limits prescribed by rules. Yet we desire only to be free, and not licentious. We wish to give our imagination leave to play; but within such bounds as not to grow mad. And if we step into allegory, it shall not be out of sight of our reader.[44]

The novel's self-conscious referentiality to the moment of its own reading and consumption is fused with the performative immediacy of the drama and the romance's allegorical realization of the unreal. As we saw in earlier examples, the spectre of quixotic delusion haunts the act of fiction-making. Mid-century experiments in prose fiction promote a moral lesson of self-government: imaginative play must be kept within bounds to stave off madness. *The Cry*'s "step into allegory"—its self-conscious conversion of elements both from the drama and the old romance into a new form of prose fiction—reanimates the ghostly generic past for a novel generation of readers.

This essay has sought to demonstrate that the apparently inward turn of the novel in mid-eighteenth century Britain is achieved not by repudiating but rather incorporating its allegorical and theatrical sources. The act of speaking publically in the marketplace and displaying the depredations of political corruption on a figure of virtue (the *pasquin* of classical authority referenced in Fielding's play) is here re-purposed for the print marketplace of prose fiction. Allegorical satire virtually disappears from the Georgian stage by mid-century, but its voice can still be heard in the printed prose fiction of the same period.

44 Sarah Fielding and Jane Collier, *The Cry: A New Dramatic Fable in Three Volumes* (London, 1754), 1:13–14.

Figure 1. Title page, 1736. From Gale, Eighteenth Century Collections Online. © Gale, a part of Cengage Learning, Inc. This image is reproduced by permission. www.cengage.com/permissions. The original material is in the public domain.

Hiſtoire du Prince TITI,
A. R.

THE
HISTORY
OF
Prince *TITI*,
A
Royal Allegory.

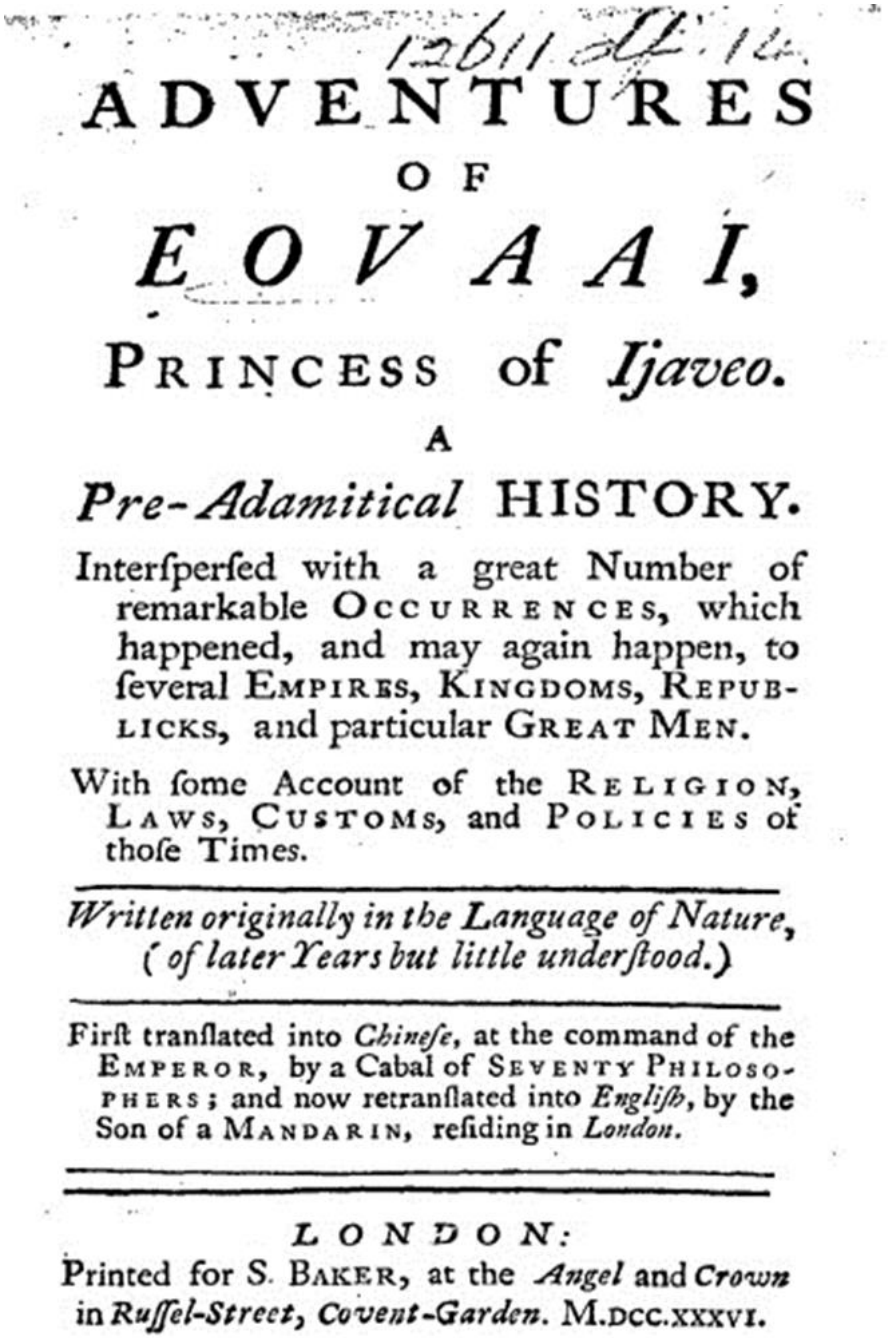
Tranſlated by a LADY.

Qui CAPIT *Ille* FACIT.

M.r POPE

LONDON:
Printed for E. CURLL, at *Pope's Head*, in *Roſe-Street*, *Covent-Garden*, 1736. Pr. 3s.

Figure 2. Title page 1736. From Gale, Eighteenth Century Collections Online. © Gale, a part of Cengage Learning, Inc. This image is reproduced by permission. www.cengage.com/permissions. The original material is in the public domain.



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