

Notes

Introduction: From Passions to Language

1. William Congreve, *Incognita* (1692; rpt Menston: Scolar, 1971), Preface.
2. See, for example, Maximillian E. Novak, 'Congreve's "Incognita" and the Art of the Novella', *Criticism* 11 (1969): 329–42. Novak argues that Congreve sees comedy and the novel as 'aesthetic[ally] superior[] ... to romance and tragedy' (333).
3. See Michael McKeon, *The Origins of the English Novel 1600–1740* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987). McKeon declines to examine the preface in detail, focusing instead on the neglected novella itself, which he deploys as an example of antiromance (61–3).
4. Joseph Bartolomeo calls this Congreve's 'affective stylistics' (*A New Species of Criticism: Eighteenth-Century Discourse on the Novel* [Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1994], 22).
5. William Congreve, *Amendments of Mr. Collier's False and Imperfect Citations* (1698; rpt New York and London: Garland, 1972), 8.
6. McKeon, *Origins*, 15.
7. David Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature*, ed. David Fate Norton and Mary J. Norton (Oxford University Press, 2000), 1.3.7: 68.
8. This is William Warner's term for the perceived dangers of novel-reading in the eighteenth century. See Warner, *Licensing Entertainment: The Elevation of Novel-Reading in Britain, 1684–1750* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998) and 'Staging Readers Reading', *Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, Special Issue: 'Reconsidering the Rise of the Novel', 12.2 (2000), 391–416.
9. See Cynthia Wall's introduction to the Norton edition (John Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, ed. Cynthia Wall [New York and London: Norton, 2009], ix–x).
10. Anthony Ashley Cooper, 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury, *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*, ed. Lawrence E. Klein (Cambridge University Press, 1999), 153.
11. Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Stanford University Press, 1994), 17.
12. For the first account, see Deidre Lynch, 'On Going Steady with Novels', *The Eighteenth Century: Theory and Interpretation*, Special Issue: 'Technologies of Emotion', 50.2–3 (2009), 207–19; for the second, see Lee Morrissey, *The Constitution of Literature: Literacy, Democracy, and Early English Literary Criticism* (Stanford University Press, 2008).

13. Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. Richard Tuck (Cambridge University Press, 1996), I.ii: 16.
14. Jonathan Kramnick has observed that 'thought often occurs in eighteenth-century fiction as a process of reciprocal image association also imagined to obtain in the process of reading' ('Empiricism, Cognitive Science, and the Novel', *The Eighteenth Century: Theory and Interpretation* 48.3 [2007], 280). I will argue that this 'image association' is simultaneously deployed to rescue language from its indeterminacy, and to figure the seductive possibilities of reading. As a result, accounts of reading in eighteenth-century fiction and philosophy increasingly demand a focus on the textuality of the text and a suppression of its visual elements, which are often imagined as theatrical.
15. Peter De Bolla, in *The Discourse of the Sublime* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), writes of the 'transport of the reader' in late eighteenth-century theories of reading, but he is using the phrase metaphorically. We can see here that this notion of 'transport' begins more literally – in Congreve's tongue-in-cheek usage we can see a deliberately ironic echo of seventeenth-century discourses of romance. See Adrian Johns's discussion of Robert Boyle's analysis of his own physiological responses to romance in ch. 6: 'The Physiology of Reading', in *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (University of Chicago Press, 1998).
16. Corneille's *Discourse on Tragedy* (1660), modifying Aristotle's *Poetics*, argued that Aristotelian catharsis enabled the audience to resist giving in to the passions that brought about the downfall of tragic characters, and was thus a moral 'purgation'.
17. Warner, *Licensing Entertainment*, 224.
18. See, for example, Addison's *Spectator* 37, which describes the contents of 'Leonora's' library. Her library contains, along with a nearly untouched copy of Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, several pseudo-pornographic texts and a romance that 'opened of it self' to the page describing 'two Lovers in a Bower'. *Spectator* 37, in Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, *The Spectator*, 5 vols, ed. Donald F. Bond (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965), I: 156.
19. See Frances Ferguson, *Solitude and the Sublime: Romanticism and the Aesthetics of Individuation* (New York and London: Routledge, 1992).
20. A note on terminology is required here: I will use the term 'emotion' in its fully modern sense in this book, though it does not arrive properly at this meaning until 1762 in Henry Home, Lord Kames's *Elements of Criticism*. In the seventeenth century, 'emotion' referred to an inward turbulence. 'The passions' is the term most often used in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries to discuss something akin to what we now think of as emotions. But passions differ in important ways from contemporary emotions. While emotions are internal, passions sit somewhere between physiological and psychological concepts in this period. They can be 'read' on the body, though they may also be internally produced, and they are billed specifically as responses to present or past sensation.

Thus, when I talk about seventeenth- or eighteenth-century 'emotion', I am extrapolating a whole group of concepts, including 'affect' and 'affections', the former still used in psychology to discuss emotional disposition, and the latter used in the eighteenth century in the same way, or interchangeably with 'passions'. I am assuming a continuity between the passions and the emotions, and arguing that, when the passions were replaced with text, they moved inward to become emotions.

21. Rei Terada, *Feeling in Theory: Emotion after the 'Death of the Subject'* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2001); Julie Ellison, *Cato's Tears and the Making of Anglo-American Emotion* (University of Chicago Press, 1999); Daniel Gross, *The Secret History of Emotion: From Aristotle's 'Rhetoric' to Modern Brain Science* (University of Chicago Press, 2006); Sianne Ngai, *Ugly Feelings* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005); Philip Fisher, *The Vehement Passions* (Princeton University Press, 2002); Kramnick, 'Empiricism, Cognitive Science, and the Novel'; Mary Thomas Crane, *Shakespeare's Brain: Reading with Cognitive Theory* (Princeton University Press, 2001); Gail Kern Paster, *Humoring the Body: Emotions and the Shakespearean Stage* (University of Chicago Press, 2004), and Paster, Katherine Rowe, and Mary Floyd-Wilson, eds, *Reading the Early Modern Passions: Essays in the Cultural History of Emotion* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); Lisa Zunshine, *Why We Read Fiction: Theory of Mind and the Novel* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2006); Susan James, *Passion and Action: The Emotions in Seventeenth-Century Philosophy* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997); Amélie O. Rorty, ed., *Explaining Emotions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980) and 'From Passions to Emotions and Sentiments', *Philosophy* 57 (1982), 159–72; Annette C. Baier, *A Progress of Sentiments: Reflections on Hume's Treatise* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991); Adela Pinch, *Strange Fits of Passion: Epistemologies of Emotion, Hume to Austen* (Stanford University Press, 1996); Johns, *The Nature of the Book*; De Bolla, *The Discourse of the Sublime*; Roger Chartier, *Inscription and Erasure: Literature and Written Culture from the Eleventh to the Eighteenth Century*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).
22. Nancy Armstrong's *How Novels Think: The Limits of British Individualism from 1719–1900* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005) articulates this position, arguing that individualism emerges out of the novel's definition of character.
23. I have chosen not to take up explicitly, here, the distinction between speech and writing that has characterized discussions of language in the eighteenth century, discussions that are the legacy of Derrida and Walter Ong. This distinction has been very ably examined by numerous others. I hope it is clear that this book is, in some ways, designed to refute both Ong's progressivist history of an increasingly disembodied culture of language and Derrida's simplistic characterization of a naïve enlightenment desiring the imaginary self-presence of speech.

24. Deidre Lynch, *The Economy of Character: Novels, Market Culture, and the Business of Inner Meaning* (University of Chicago Press, 1998); Dror Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004).
25. Hobbes, *Leviathan*, I.vi: 46.
26. John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, ed. Peter H. Nidditch (Oxford: Clarendon, 1975), III.vii.4: 472.
27. This chapter, 'Of Identity and Diversity', was added to the second edition of the *Essay* in 1694.
28. Hobbes, *Leviathan*, I.iii: 20–1.
29. The first proposition has been explored by theorists from Foucault, in *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (New York: Random House, 1970), to Horkheimer and Adorno, in *Dialectic of Enlightenment: Philosophical Fragments*, trans. Edmund Jephcott, ed. Gunzelin Schmid Noerr (Stanford University Press, 2002), and literary critics and historians of language including Murray Cohen (*Sensible Words: Linguistic Practice in England, 1640–1785* [Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977]), Richard W.F. Kroll (*The Material Word: Literate Culture in the Restoration and Early Eighteenth Century* [Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991]), Rose Zimbardo (*At Zero Point: Discourse, Culture, and Satire in Restoration England* [Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1998]), and historians of seventeenth-century identity like Michael Schoenfeldt (*Bodies and Selves in Early Modern England: Physiology and Inwardness in Spenser, Shakespeare, Herbert, and Milton* [Cambridge University Press, 1999]). The second proposition has been considered by, among others, Lynch and Wahrman.
30. Nancy Selleck, *The Interpersonal Idiom in Shakespeare, Donne, and Early Modern Culture* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).
31. The clearest example of the new emphasis on passion and impression in literary theory is the rise in popularity of Longinian aesthetics, which emphasize what Longinus calls *phantasia*. This visual production is reimagined in the context of reading. Philosophical interest in the seventeenth century is registered by an interest in Descartes and such treatises as Jean-François Senault's *The Use of Passions (L'Usage des passions* [1641]) in France, and in England by Hobbes's *Leviathan* (1651), and other home-grown treatises like Walter Charleton's *Natural History of the Passions* (London, 1674). In the eighteenth century, Francis Hutcheson founds moral sense theory in treatises on aesthetics and the passions. Hutcheson influences Hume's discussion of the passions in his *Treatise of Human Nature* (1739–40).
32. M.H. Abrams, *The Mirror and the Lamp: Romantic Theory and the Critical Tradition* (Oxford University Press, 1953), 14.
33. René Descartes, *The Passions of the Soul*, in *The Philosophical Writings of Descartes*, 2 vols, ed. and trans. John Cottingham, Robert Stoothoff, and Dugald Murdoch (Cambridge University Press), I: 335, Art. 17. See also p. 337, Art. 25.

34. I.e. that instruction is more effective when it is couched in a pleasurable form. Horace's 'spoonful of sugar' theory is conflated with Aristotle's theory of tragedy in the *Poetics* in the late seventeenth century in both France and England. Corneille's *Discourse on Tragedy* (1660), modifying Aristotle's *Poetics*, argued that Aristotelian catharsis enabled the audience to resist giving in to the passions that brought about the downfall of tragic characters, and was thus a moral 'purgation'.
35. Rosalind Ballaster, *Seductive Forms: Women's Amatory Fiction from 1684 to 1740* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), 47.
36. Ros Ballaster's typology of seventeenth-century French romance and its impact on the early English novel in *Seductive Forms* is still the seminal work of criticism on this topic.
37. On painting, see, for example, Stephanie Ross, 'Painting the Passions: Charles LeBrun's *Conférence sur L'Expression*', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 45 (1984), 25–47 and Christopher Allen's essay on Charles Le Brun's *Conférence sur l'expression générale et particulière* and Descartes's *Passions of the Soul*, 'Painting the Passions: The *Passions de l'Âme* as a Basis for Pictorial Expression', in *The Soft Underbelly of Reason: The Passions in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Stephen Gaukroger (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 79–111. On acting, see Alan Hughes, 'Art and Eighteenth-Century Acting Style: Part III: Passions', *Theatre Notebook* 41 (1987), 128–39, and Michael Shortland, 'Unnatural Acts: Art and Passion on the Mid-Eighteenth-Century Stage', *Theatre Research International* 12 (1987), 93–110.
38. John Bender, *Imagining the Penitentiary: Fiction and the Architecture of Mind in Eighteenth-Century England* (University of Chicago Press, 1987), 11.
39. Francis Bacon, 'Of Love', in *Francis Bacon: The Major Works*, ed. Brian Vickers (Oxford University Press, 1996), 358.
40. Giorgio Agamben, 'Eros at the Mirror', in *Stanzas: Word and Phantasm in Western Culture*, trans. Ronald L. Martinez (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1993).
41. Descartes called vision 'the noblest sense', and both he and Newton undertook serious studies of optics. For a history of how vision was imagined and theorized in this period, see Martin Jay, *Downcast Eyes: The Denigration of Vision in Twentieth-Century French Thought* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1993). Jay argues that French theory in the twentieth century was responsible for a 'denigration of vision' that follows the 'visual primacy' that characterizes modernity. I argue here that in fact modernity's treatment of the visual has always incorporated its own critique, and that it is the presence of this critique, framed in terms of the new dominance of text, rather than 'visual primacy', that sets the terms for modernity. The poststructuralist critics whom Jay cites as responsible for the denigration of vision are seizing on a discursive thread that, as they would themselves argue, has always been present. Joanna Picciotto's book *Labors of Innocence in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2010)

also assesses the role of vision in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century empiricism.

42. Bacon, 'The Advancement of Learning, Book One', in *Francis Bacon*, 139.
43. Agamben, *Stanzas*, 82.
44. Descartes, *Passions*, I: 336, Art. 20–1.
45. Hobbes, *Leviathan*, I.ii: 15.
46. See Ch. 1, n. 24, below.
47. Longinus, *On Sublimity*, trans. D.A. Russell (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965), 20.
48. David Gladish, introduction to *Sir William Davenant's Gondibert*, ed. David F. Gladish (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971), x.
49. Thomas Hobbes, 'The Answer of Mr. Hobbes to Sir Will. D'Avenant's Preface before Gondibert', in *Davenant's Gondibert*, 49.
50. Morrissey, in *The Constitution of Literature*, has cogently argued that the discipline of literary criticism arises, in the Restoration and eighteenth century, out of an attempt to circumscribe interpretive possibilities in the wake of the explosive productivity of presses during and after the Civil Wars.
51. See, for an important history of this shift in definitions of the imagination, James Engell, *The Creative Imagination: Enlightenment to Romanticism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981).
52. John Dryden, *Annus Mirabilis*, in *The Works of John Dryden*, vol. 1: *Poems 1649–1680*, ed. Edward Niles Hooker and H.T. Swedenberg, Jr. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1956), 53.
53. These are commonplaces of seventeenth-century approaches to language and language-theory. Murray Cohen observes that seventeenth-century theories of language were driven by the desire 'not simply to analyze the elements of language but to show how these reflect the structure of nature itself' (*Sensible Words*, xxiii). Nicholas Hudson observes that for seventeenth-century theorists of writing, '[t]he alphabet ... exemplified their understanding of the physical universe' (*Writing and European Thought, 1600–1830* [Cambridge University Press, 1994], 39). Michel Foucault calls this system of relations 'resemblance' (*The Order of Things*, 17), though he assigns it to the sixteenth century; Horkheimer and Adorno call it 'myth', and argue that art is the last remaining emanation of that system of analogic sympathies: 'the appearance of the whole in the particular' (*Dialectic of Enlightenment*, 14).
54. This seventeenth-century idea is tidily summed up by Adrian Johns, who quotes Meric Casaubon, in 1655, describing the experience of reading as like beholding a 'coloured, or carved representation of some excellent Artist' (*Nature of the Book*, 422).
55. James Engell argues that Dryden may be among the first critics to have 'thought consciously and systematically about the special circumstances of inscribing and interpreting texts' (*Forming the Critical Mind: Dryden to Coleridge* [Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1989], 36).

56. Ovid's fascination with recording, not the heroic and militaristic aspects of his own Augustan age, but rather his own sexual exploits and those of others in what was a relatively permissive regime, found its echo in the restoration of a king educated in France, compared frequently to Caesar Augustus, and notorious for the publicity and number of his affairs. Dryden edited a collection of translations of Ovid's *Heroides* (as *Ovid's Epistles*) in 1680, to which Aphra Behn, Alexander Pope, Thomas Otway, Nahum Tate, and Abraham Cowley, among others, all contributed. Ovid's *Ars Amatoria*, for which he was banished by Octavian, is a handbook for would-be seducers.
57. Mary Floyd-Wilson observes that early modern passions are 'an ecological or physiological force that moves in and out of the body' ('English Mettle', in *Reading the Early Modern Passions*, 134). Hobbes calls the passions, or 'Endeavour', 'the small beginnings of Motion, within the Body of Man, before they appear in ... visible actions' (*Leviathan*, I.vi: 38).
58. Rei Terada, *Feeling in Theory*, 31.
59. John Dryden, *An Essay of Dramatick Poesie*, in *The Works of John Dryden*, vol. 17: *Prose 1668–1691*, ed. Samuel Holt Monk (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), 31.
60. See Introduction, n. 20, above.
61. See Katharine Eisaman Maus, *Inwardness and Theater in the English Renaissance* (University of Chicago Press, 1995).
62. Henry Fielding, *Joseph Andrews and Shamela*, ed. Douglas Brooks-Davies and Martin Battestin (Oxford University Press, 1970), 167, 4.
63. Delarivier Manley, *New Atalantis*, ed. Rosalind Ballaster (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991), 35.
64. The 1672 translation is anonymous, though published with a lengthy introduction, presumably by the translator. The 1715 translation by Stephen Lewis, which I've used here, appeared again in a 1720 novel anthology.
65. Pierre-Daniel Huet, *The History of Romances*, trans. Stephen Lewis (London, 1715), 121.
66. [Mary de la Rivière Manley], 'Preface to *The Secret History of Queen Zarah ... 1705*', in *Novel and Romance 1700–1800: A Documentary Record*, ed. Ioan Williams (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970), 33–9. The preface is wrongly attributed; for the correct attribution, see John L. Sutton, Jr, 'The Source of Mrs. Manley's Preface to *Queen Zarah*', *Modern Philology* 82.2 (1984), 167–72.
67. Plato, *Theaetetus*, trans. F.M. Cornford, in *The Collected Dialogues of Plato*, ed. Edith Hamilton and Huntington Cairns (Princeton University Press, 1961), 897.
68. See Ch. 2, below.
69. Shaun Irlam, *Elations: The Poetics of Enthusiasm in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Stanford University Press, 1999), 104.
70. Addison, *Spectator* 411, III: 537.

71. Neil Saccamano, 'The Sublime Force of Words in Addison's "Pleasures"', *ELH: English Literary History* 58 (1991), 85.
72. Nicholas Hudson, 'Philosophy/Non-Philosophy and Derrida's (Non) Relations with Eighteenth-Century Empiricism', in *Theory and Practice in the Eighteenth Century: Writing Between Philosophy and Literature*, ed. Alexander Dick and Christina Lupton (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2008), 17.
73. This is, as Hudson notes, precisely the opposite of Derrida's claims about the Enlightenment. Where Derrida argues for a denigration of writing and a worship of the imaginary immediacy of speech and presence in the eighteenth century, Hudson observes in empirical philosophy a profound fascination with and reliance upon the written word. (See Hudson, *Writing and European Thought*.) My argument suggests that this fascination is driven by the new connection between affect and text epitomized by particular reading practices.
74. John Dennis, 'The Advancement and Reformation of Modern Poetry', in *The Critical Works of John Dennis*, 2 vols, ed. Edward Niles Hooker (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1939), I: 215.
75. Ian Watt, *The Rise of the Novel: Studies in Defoe, Richardson, and Fielding* (London: Hogarth, 1957), 173.

1 Locke: Metaphorical Romances

1. Catharine Trotter Cockburn, *A Defence of Mr. Locke's Essay of Human Understanding ...* in *Philosophical Writings*, ed. Patricia Sheridan (Peterborough, ON: Broadview, 2006), 35.
2. Richard Steele, *Spectator* 37, in Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, *The Spectator*, 5 vols, ed. Donald F. Bond (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965), I: 153, 155.
3. John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, ed. Peter H. Nidditch (Clarendon: Oxford, 1975), II.i.1: 104.
4. This newly vernacular intellectual culture is evidenced not simply in the increased production of philosophical, literary critical, even medical, texts in English, but also by the industrious translation of Greek and Latin, as well as French, Spanish, and Italian texts in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. See Mary Helen McMurrin, *The Spread of Novels: Translation and Prose Fiction in the Eighteenth Century* (Princeton University Press, 2010).
5. Berkeley, taking a mistrust of language to even greater extremes, goes so far as nearly to deny the influence of his writing on his reader's mind, insisting that his reader pause and detach himself from the words of the dialogue to recreate Berkeley's reasoning in his own mind. See John Richetti's discussion of Berkeley and style in *Philosophical Writing: Locke, Berkeley, Hume* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983), 19–20.

6. Plato, *Theaetetus*, trans. F.M. Cornford, in *The Collected Dialogues of Plato*, ed. Edith Hamilton and Huntington Cairns (Princeton University Press, 1961), 897, 900–1.
7. In this Locke is influenced by Hobbes, who understood thought to be material traces made in the mind. See Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. Richard Tuck (Cambridge University Press, 1996), I.ii: 13–14.
8. See Paul de Man, 'The Epistemology of Metaphor', *Critical Inquiry* 5 (1978), 13–30, and Hans Aarsleff, *From Locke to Saussure: Essays on the Study of Language and Intellectual History* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982).
9. Addison, *Spectator* 37, I: 154–5.
10. Locke, *Essay*, 'Epistle': 11.
11. *Ibid.*, I.iv.25: 103, II.i.1: 104, II.viii.5: 133, II.xviii.5: 224.
12. *Ibid.*, II.xxiii.13: 304.
13. *Ibid.*, II.xxxii.15: 389.
14. *Ibid.*, III.ix.23: 489–90, III.x.2: 491, III.xi.27: 524, IV.i.9: 530.
15. For Congreve, in *The Way of the World* (1700), the distinction between a 'Truewit' and a 'Witwoud' is the Truewit's ability to make clever similitudes suited to the immediate context of the dialogue, and in which the terms of the simile are harmonious; for Pope, in 'Essay on Criticism' (1711), wit and judgement are aligned with the faculties of the poet and the critic respectively, and ought ideally to be conjoined in the same person.
16. Hobbes, *Leviathan*, I.viii: 50–1.
17. On seventeenth-century definitions of wit, see Michael Werth Gelber, 'Dryden's Theory of Comedy', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 26.2 (1992–93), 261–83, and Thomas Fujimura, *The Restoration Comedy of Wit* (Princeton University Press, 1952). Fujimura barely mentions Locke because he is pursuing a thesis that equates wit and judgement. Locke's contrast between wit and judgement, however, was quoted verbatim by Addison in *Spectator* 62, and became thereby a critical commonplace. On eighteenth-century definitions of wit, see M.A. Goldberg, 'Wit and the Imagination in Eighteenth-Century Aesthetics', *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 16 (1958), 503–9.
18. John Dryden, 'Letter to Howard', prefacing *Annus Mirabilis*, in *The Works of John Dryden*, vol. 1: *Poems 1649–1680*, ed. Edward Niles Hooker and H.T. Swedenborg, Jr. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1956), 53.
19. For key discussions of the implication of the empirical in the rhetorical, see Richetti, *Philosophical Writing*, and Cathy Caruth, *Empirical Truths and Critical Fictions: Locke, Wordsworth, Kant, Freud* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991).
20. On the significance of Locke's metaphors of the labouring mind, see William Walker, *Locke, Literary Criticism, and Philosophy* (Cambridge University Press, 1994).
21. See Giorgio Agamben, *Stanzas: Word and Phantasm in Western Culture*, trans. Ronald L. Martinez (Minneapolis and London: University of

- Minnesota Press, 1993); M.H. Abrams, *The Mirror and the Lamp: Romantic Theory and the Critical Tradition* (Oxford University Press, 1953); Martin Jay, *Downcast Eyes: The Denigration of Vision in Twentieth-Century French Thought* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1993).
22. Richard Rorty, *Philosophy and the Mirror of Nature* (Princeton University Press, 1979).
 23. See, for careful and thorough refutations of Derrida's inaccurate charge upon Locke, Nicholas Hudson, *Writing and European Thought, 1600–1830* (Cambridge University Press, 1994) and Richetti, *Philosophical Writing*.
 24. It should be noted that Locke uses 'passion' in another important sense, though one not completely distinct from the sense in which he uses it here. He espouses the common seventeenth-century usage of 'passion' in Book II, ch. XX, on 'Modes of Pleasure and Pain': 'The Passions too have most of them in most Persons operations on the Body, and cause various changes in it: Which not being always sensible, do not make a necessary part of the *Idea* of each Passion' (II.xx.17: 232). The passions, here, in accordance with common usage, are physical agitations, perceptible or imperceptible, caused by emotion. Later in Book II, however, in a discussion of power and mixed modes, Locke uses 'passion' to describe the passive effect on corporeal substance of any action, or the passive effect on the mind of the introduction of simple ideas: 'The *efficacy* whereby the new Substance or *Idea* is produced, is called, in the subject exerting that Power, *Action*; but in the subject, wherein any simple Idea is changed or produced, it is called *Passion*' (II.xxiii.11: 294). 'Passion' in this case seems to indicate simple shifts in substance, corporeal or mental, on the introduction of an active principle. The meanings are reconcilable, however, if we think of the seventeenth-century understanding of how ideas related to bodily functioning: the impact of an idea could have a physical effect; the passions of a pregnant woman, for example, affected her foetus. Thus a mental shift caused by the impact of a simple idea, according to Locke, always results in more or less physical agitation, a notion not dissimilar to the way we think of neurons firing as we apprehend a new idea or sensation.
 25. Mary Astell, *A Serious Proposal to the Ladies*, ed. Patricia Springborg (Peterborough, ON: Broadview, 2002), 197.
 26. Sir George Mackenzie, 'Apologie for Romances', prefixed to *Aretina, the Serious Romance* (1660; rpt Los Angeles: University of California Press, Augustan Reprint Society, 1953), 10.
 27. Tassie Gwilliam, 'Cosmetic Poetics: Coloring Faces in the Eighteenth Century', in *Body and Text in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Veronica Kelly and Dorothea von Mücke (Stanford University Press, 1994), 146. Gwilliam's essay interrogates the politics of 'the use of cosmetics as the source for metaphors and analogies in visual and verbal art'. She observes that '[r]hetoric as a form of "painting" and painting as a form of makeup' reveal eighteenth-century cultural anxieties about race and duplicitous femininity (144).

28. Political pornography, as Rachel Weil and, more recently, James Turner have pointed out, had, by the Restoration, made 'political satire and the discourse of prostitution ... interchangeable' (James Grantham Turner, *Libertines and Radicals in Early Modern London* [Cambridge University Press, 2002], 121). See also Rachel Weil, 'Sometimes a Scepter is Only a Scepter: Pornography and Politics in Restoration England', in *The Invention of Pornography: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity, 1500–1800*, ed. Lynn Hunt (New York: Zone, 1993), 125–53.
29. Locke, 'Dec. 87: Immediate Inspiration', in *John Locke: Writings on Religion*, ed. Victor Nuovo (Oxford: Clarendon, 2002), 40.
30. Locke, '92/Scriptura Sacra', notes on William Lowth's *Vindication of the Divine Authority*, in *Writings on Religion*, 42.
31. Aarsleff, *From Locke to Saussure*, 22, 24.
32. Clifford Siskin, *The Work of Writing: Literature and Social Change in Britain, 1700–1830* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 174.
33. See, for example, Catherine Ingrassia's study of early eighteenth-century finance and the feminization of economics, *Authorship, Commerce, and Gender in Early Eighteenth-Century England: A Culture of Paper Credit* (Cambridge University Press, 1998), and Nancy Armstrong, *Desire and Domestic Fiction: A Political History of the Novel* (Oxford University Press, 1987), especially ch. 2: 'The Rise of the Domestic Woman'.
34. John Corry, *The Gardener's Daughter of Worcester; or the Miseries of Seduction. A Moral Tale* (London, [1800]), 7.
35. Thomas Reid, *Essays on the Intellectual Powers of Man* (Edinburgh, 1785), 411.
36. See Dustin Griffin, *Literary Patronage in England 1650–1800* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), 201.
37. Mary Leapor, 'Mopsus; or, the Castle-Builder', in *Poems upon Several Occasions*, 2 vols (London, 1751), 21.
38. For discussions of the last two of these problems with Locke and consciousness, see, among many others: Edwin McCann, 'Locke on Identity: Matter, Life, and Consciousness', in *The Empiricists: Critical Essays on Locke, Berkeley, and Hume*, ed. Margaret Atherton (Lanham, MD, and Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999), 63–88 (esp. 75–83); 'Locke's Theory of Personal Identity', pp. 260–8 in the second volume, *Ontology*, of Michael Ayers's *Locke*, 2 vols (London and New York: Routledge, 1991); J.L. Mackie, *Problems from Locke* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976); for a very important attempt to resolve the interrupted consciousness problem, see Harold Noonan's 'Locke on Personal Identity', *Philosophy* 53 (1978), 343–51. For an important discussion of the first problem, the history of the criticism of which goes back to Hartley and Condillac in the eighteenth century, see Ernst Cassirer's *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment*, trans. Fritz C.A. Koelln and James P. Pettegrove (Princeton University Press, 1951), 17–18.

39. See Daniel Cardinal, 'Between Locke and Leibniz: Condillac and the *camera obscura*', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 378 (1999), 183–99.
40. Hans Aarsleff, 'Locke's Influence', in *The Cambridge Companion to Locke*, ed. Vere Chappell (Cambridge University Press, 1994), 268.
41. René Descartes, 'Optics', in *The Philosophical Writings of Descartes*, 2 vols, ed. and trans. John Cottingham, Robert Stoothoff, and Dugald Murdoch (Cambridge University Press, 1985), I: 152.
42. See David Hume, 'Of Essay-Writing', and 'Of Eloquence', in *Essays: Moral, Political, and Literary*, ed. Eugene F. Miller (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1985), and Samuel Richardson, 'To Sophia Westcomb': 'I see you, I sit with you ... your smiling obligingness, your polite and easy expression ... are all in my eye and ear as I read', writes Richardson, and then declares 'absence ... the soul' (*Selected Letters of Samuel Richardson*, ed. John Carroll [Oxford: Clarendon, 1964], 65).
43. Ernest Lee Tuveson, *The Imagination as a Means of Grace: Locke and the Aesthetics of Romanticism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960), 21.
44. Christopher Fox has noted, at length, the uneasy relationship of the Scriblerians to Locke's philosophy of personal identity. See Fox, *Locke and the Scriblerians: Identity and Consciousness in Early Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1988).
45. Deidre Lynch observes of this passage that it demonstrates Locke's bizarre and monstrous overdetermination of language ('Overloaded Portraits: The Excesses of Character and Countenance', in *Body and Text in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Veronica Kelly and Dorothea von Mücke [Stanford University Press, 1994], 124).
46. See Selleck's ch. 3: 'Shakespeare's Mirrors and Other Perspectives' in *Interpersonal Idiom*.
47. Caruth writes that Locke's vision of the mind is 'an anxiety-ridden story in which the empirical world *solicits* or seduces and then forces itself upon an unsuspecting mind' (14).

2 Behn: Romance from the Stage to the Letter

1. For a fuller account of generic change and its relationship to dramatic theory in the period, see Brian Corman's *Genre and Generic Change in English Comedy, 1660–1710* (University of Toronto Press, 1993).
2. For an account of Caroline drama and the politics behind the closing of the theatres by Parliament in 1642, see Martin Butler's *Theatre and Crisis, 1632–1642* (Cambridge University Press, 1984); for a case study of the anxiety generated by a politicized audience to a particular play during the Restoration, see Jessica Munns's *Restoration Politics and Drama: The Plays of Thomas Otway, 1675–1683* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1995).
3. William Davenant, 'A Proposition for Advancement of Moralitie, By a New Way of Entertainment of the People', in James R. Jacob and Timothy Raylor, 'Opera and Obedience', *The Seventeenth Century* 6 (1991), 244.

4. Killigrew was related to Thomas Killigrew, who held one of the two royal theatre patents at the Restoration. The other was held by William Davenant.
5. See Judith Milhous, 'Theatre Companies and Regulation', in *The Cambridge History of British Theatre*, vol. 2: 1660–1895, ed. Joseph Donohue (Cambridge University Press, 2004), 108–25.
6. John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, 'Satyr', in *The Works of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester*, ed. Harold Love (Oxford University Press, 1999), 85–90; see the dedication to the second volume of Delarivier Manley's *New Atalantis*, ed. Rosalind Ballaster (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991), 131–2.
7. See Paula R. Backscheider, *Spectacular Politics: Theatrical Power and Mass Culture in Early Modern England* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), esp. Pt 1, 'Charles II's London as National Theatre'.
8. Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989), 51.
9. Robert Boyle, *The Martyrdom of Theodora*, in *The Works of Robert Boyle*, 12 vols, ed. Michael Hunter and Edward B. Davis (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2000), II: 8.
10. John Dennis, *The Usefulness of the Stage*, in *The Critical Works of John Dennis*, 2 vols, ed. Edward Niles Hooker (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1939), I: 185. Dennis is getting this medical model of the social utility of tragedy most immediately from Thomas Rymer, who called tragedy 'the Physick of the mind' that includes a 'purging of the passions' in his 'Tragedies of the Last Age', in *The Critical Works of Thomas Rymer*, ed. Curt A. Zimansky (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1956), 75, and from Milton's preface to *Samson Agonistes*, the first unequivocal use of Aristotle's theories of tragedy in England. It should be noted, too, that Aristotle's *Poetics*, on which this theory is loosely based, discussed the raising of the passions as having of itself a moral value; the medical analogy is Milton's. There was some debate over the correct translation of Aristotle's text. Dacier argued that the French 'purger' actually meant something closer to 'refine' than the medicalized 'purge', while Milton, Rymer, and Dennis clearly interpret the verb as medical.
11. David Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature*, ed. David Fate Norton and Mary J. Norton (Oxford University Press, 2000), 1.3.10: 84.
12. 'Our eye-beams twisted, and did thred / Our eyes, upon one double string.' John Donne, 'The Extasie', in *The Divine Poems*, 2nd edn, ed. Helen Gardner (Oxford: Clarendon, 1978), I: 51.
13. Robert Boyle, *Some Uncommon Observations about Vitiated Sight*, in *The Works of Robert Boyle*, II: 163.
14. Plato, *Phaedrus*, trans. R. Hackforth, in *The Collected Dialogues of Plato*, ed. Edith Hamilton and Huntington Cairns (Princeton University Press, 1961), 497. 'Platonic friendship' between the sexes, as it came to be called in the eighteenth century, became increasingly a topic of warning to

- young women: to engage in a Platonic friendship was to invite seduction. See, for example, *Spectator* 400 and Susanna Centlivre's play *The Platonick Lady* (1706).
15. George Farquhar, *The Beaux Stratagem*, in *The Works of George Farquhar*, 2 vols, ed. Shirley Strum Kenny (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988), II: 181; II.ii.152–3.
 16. Nicholas Rowe, *The Fair Penitent*, ed. Malcolm Goldstein (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1969), V.i.87: 63–4.
 17. John Dennis, *The Advancement and Reformation of Modern Poetry*, in *The Critical Works of John Dennis*, I: 218.
 18. Rose A. Zimbardo, *At Zero Point: Discourse, Culture, and Satire in Restoration England* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1998). See esp. ch. 1: "'From Words to Experimental Philosophy': Language and Logic at Restoration Zero Point'.
 19. Maximillian E. Novak, 'Some Notes Toward a History of Fictional Forms: From Aphra Behn to Daniel Defoe', *Novel* 6 (1972), 127.
 20. Elkanah Settle, *A Farther Defence of Dramatick Poetry* (1698; rpt New York and London: Garland, 1972), 56.
 21. *Ibid.*, 75.
 22. Deirdre Lynch, *The Economy of Character: Novels, Market Culture, and the Business of Inner Meaning* (University of Chicago Press, 1998), 34.
 23. John Dryden, 'Discourse concerning the Original and Progress of Satire', in *The Works of John Dryden*, vol. 4: *Poems 1693–1696*, ed. A.B. Chambers and William Frost (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974).
 24. Rosalind Ballaster, *Seductive Forms: Women's Amatory Fiction from 1684 to 1740* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), 69.
 25. Janet Todd, *The Sign of Angellica: Women, Writing, and Fiction, 1660–1800* (London: Virago, 1989).
 26. Aphra Behn, *Oroonoko*, ed. Joanna Lipking (New York and London: Norton, 1997), 48.
 27. Rose A. Zimbardo, *A Mirror to Nature: Transformations in Drama and Aesthetics 1660–1732* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1986), 200.
 28. Aphra Behn, *Love-Letters Between a Nobleman and His Sister*, ed. Janet Todd (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1996), 426.
 29. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Pantheon, 1977), 34.
 30. Aphra Behn, *The Fair Jilt*, in *The Works of Aphra Behn*, 7 vols, ed. Janet Todd (London: Pickering, 1995), III: 35.
 31. Novak, 'Fictional Forms', 124.
 32. Janet Todd, 'Fatal Fluency: Behn's Fiction and the Restoration Letter', *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 12 (2000), 418, 428.
 33. Janet Altman, *Epistolarity: Approaches to a Form* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1982), 15.
 34. Catherine Gallagher, 'Who Was That Masked Woman? The Prostitute and the Playwright in the Comedies of Aphra Behn', in *Rereading Aphra*

- Behn: History, Theory, and Criticism*, ed. Heidi Hutner (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1993), 68–9.
35. Jacqueline Pearson and Margaret Ferguson have both commented on the complex play of authorial power and gender that Behn deploys in her novels. See Pearson, 'Gender and Narrative in the Fiction of Aphra Behn', *Review of English Studies* 42 (1991), 40–56; 179–90, and Ferguson, 'The Authorial Ciphers of Aphra Behn', in *The Cambridge Companion to English Literature 1650–1740*, ed. Steven N. Zwicker (Cambridge University Press, 1998), 225–49.
 36. Aphra Behn, *The Dumb Virgin, or, The Force of Imagination*, in *The Works of Aphra Behn*, III: 351. Also quoted in Ballaster, *Seductive Forms*, 88.
 37. See Pearson, 'Gender and Narrative', 44–5, and Jacqueline Pearson, *Women's Reading in Britain, 1750–1835: A Dangerous Recreation* (Cambridge University Press, 1999).
 38. See Chapter 3, below.
 39. *The Unfortunate Bride* was printed in 1698, but not published until it appeared together with *The Dumb Virgin*.
 40. In an essay that argues that Behn and Defoe transform definitions of the imagination by figuring objects that cannot be present to the senses, Gabrielle Starr uses Celesia as an example of the way Behn figures the imagination when 'sensory limits and sensual imaginings are put under pressure, and vision folds into thought' ('Objects, Imaginings, and Facts: Going beyond Genre in Behn and Defoe', *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 16.4 [2004], 510). Celesia signals both the potential expansiveness of the imagination beyond sensory limits, and the 'radical limit of knowledge' (510).
 41. Catherine Gallagher, *Nobody's Story: The Vanishing Acts of Women Writers in the Marketplace, 1670–1820* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994), 61.
 42. Pearson, 'Gender and Narrative', 43.
 43. Sir John Suckling, 'Against Fruition [I]', in *The Works of Sir John Suckling: The Non-Dramatic Works*, ed. Thomas Clayton (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971), pp. 37–8, ll. 19–22.
 44. See Introduction, 'Seeing passion', above, p. 17.
 45. Edmund Waller, 'Against Fruition I: In Answer of Sir John Sucklins Verses', in *The Works of Sir John Suckling: The Non-Dramatic Works*, Appendix A, pp. 181–3.
 46. John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, 'A Letter from Artemiza in the Towne to Chloe in the Countrey', in *The Works of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester*, p. 64, ll. 26–7.
 47. Pat Rogers, 'The Breeches Part', in *Sexuality in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Paul-Gabriel Boucé (Manchester University Press, 1982), 244–58.
 48. Jane Spencer, *Aphra Behn's Afterlife* (Oxford University Press, 2000), 5.
 49. Donald R. Wehrs, 'Eros, Ethics, Identity: Royalist Feminism and the Politics of Desire in Aphra Behn's *Love Letters*', *SEL: Studies in English Literature 1500–1900* 32 (1992), 462.

50. See Robert A. Erickson, *The Language of the Heart, 1600–1750* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997). Erickson notes Behn's familiarity with Lucretius, assessing her intervention in a medicalized discourse of the body.
51. John Dryden, *Cymon and Iphigenia*, in *The Works of John Dryden*, vol. 7: *Poems 1697–1700*, ed. Vinton A. Dearing (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), l. 33, 514; l. 213, 519.
52. Laurie Finke, 'Aphra Behn and the Ideological Construction of Restoration Literary Theory', in *Rereading Aphra Behn: History, Theory, and Criticism*, ed. Heidi Hutner (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1993), 33.
53. Charles Gildon, dedication to *Miscellaneous Letters and Essays* (1694; rpt New York and London: Garland, 1973).

3 Shaftesbury: Conversation and the Psychology of Romance

1. Isabel Rivers, *Reason, Grace, and Sentiment: A Study of the Language of Religion and Ethics in England, 1660–1780* (Cambridge University Press, 2000), II: 141.
2. See *Miscellaneous Reflections*, in Anthony Ashley Cooper, 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury, *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*, ed. Lawrence E. Klein (Cambridge University Press, 1999). The chapter heading to Miscellany IV, ch. I reads: 'Philosophy in form. Metaphysics. Egoity. Identity. Moral footing. Proof and discipline of the fancies. Settlement or opinion. Anatomy of the mind' (419). The original edition of the *Characteristics* was in three volumes, the first containing *A Letter Concerning Enthusiasm, Sensus Communis*, and *Soliloquy*, the second containing *An Inquiry Concerning Virtue* and *The Moralists*, and the third devoted to *Miscellaneous Reflections*.
3. See Robert Marsh, 'Shaftesbury's Theory of Poetry: The Importance of the "Inward Colloquy"', *ELH: English Literary History* 28 (1961), 54–69.
4. John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, ed. Peter H. Nidditch (Oxford: Clarendon, 1975), I.ii.15: 55.
5. Lawrence E. Klein, *Shaftesbury and the Culture of Politeness: Moral Discourse and Cultural Politics in Early Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge University Press, 1994), 89.
6. See Shaftesbury's *Inquiry Concerning Virtue or Merit* in *Characteristics* on 'partial' and 'entire affection' (II.ii.1: 205–6).
7. Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989), 51.
8. Numerous critics of the novel, in their interest in its origins and 'rise', have examined the narrative models available to early novelists. Among the most often cited are Lennard Davis, who looks to what he calls

a 'news/novels discourse' in early modern ballads and journalistic writings (*Factual Fictions: The Origins of the English Novel* [1983; rpt Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996]); J. Paul Hunter, who examines a wide range of narrative forms, from sermons to fiction (*Before Novels: The Cultural Contexts of Eighteenth-Century English Fiction* [New York: Norton, 1990]); Ros Ballaster, who examines seventeenth-century French and English romance and scandal narratives (*Seductive Forms: Women's Amatory Fiction from 1684 to 1740* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1992]); Patricia Meyer Spacks, who examines the intersections of autobiography and the novel (*Imagining a Self: Autobiography and Novel in Eighteenth-Century England* [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976]); Nancy Armstrong, who looks at conduct-books (*Desire and Domestic Fiction: A Political History of the Novel* [Oxford University Press, 1987]); Maximillian Novak, who looks to criminal biography (*Realism, Myth, and History in Defoe's Fiction* [Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983]); Margaret Doody, who looks as far back as the Greek prose romance (*The True Story of the Novel* [New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1996]); and, most recently, Robert Erickson and Geoffrey Sill, who examine medical discourses (*The Language of the Heart, 1600–1750* [Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997] and *The Cure of the Passions and the Origins of the English Novel* [Cambridge University Press, 2001]).

9. Michael Prince, *Philosophical Dialogue in the British Enlightenment: Theology, Aesthetics, and the Novel* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), 41.
10. Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, 'Precepts for Advancing the Sciences and Arts', in Leibniz, *Selections*, ed. and trans. Philip P. Weiner (New York: Scribner's, 1951), 30.
11. William Warner, *Licensing Entertainment: The Elevation of Novel-Reading in Britain, 1684–1750* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 135.
12. The French original reads: 'encor [les petits livres] servent à former l'esprit et le langage' [Leibniz, 'IX: Préceptes pour avancer les sciences', in *Die Philosophischen Schriften. 7 Banden*, ed. C.J. Gerhardt (Berlin: Georg Olms, 1961), VII: 161] and might also be translated: 'also [the little books] serve to shape [or mould] the mind [or spirit] and language'.
13. See, for example, Henry Home, Lord Kames's discussion of the moral function of reading in his 1762 *Elements of Criticism* (2 vols, ed. Peter Jones [Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2005]), 'Sympathetic Emotion of Virtue, and its Cause', 48–52, and 'Emotions Caused by Fiction', 66–77).
14. Clara Reeve, *The Progress of Romance*, 2 vols (1785; rpt Plan de la Tour: Éditions d'Aujourd'hui, 1980), I.6.
15. Shaftesbury, 'Soliloquy, or Advice to an Author', in *Characteristics*, 136–7.
16. The Stoic emperor Marcus Aurelius' first-century *Meditations or Writings to Himself* is the most obviously influential text, here; Epictetus' fervent moralism is also an obvious source of Shaftesbury's commitment to diatribe.
17. Shaftesbury's redefinition was quite extraordinarily successful, despite George Berkeley's ridicule of it in *Alciphron* (1732); William Collins, for

- example, would, in 1742, permanently enshrine it as a crucial part of the authorial persona in his 'Ode on the Poetical Character'.
18. Prince, *Philosophical Dialogue*, 69, and Eve Tavor, *Scepticism, Society, and the Eighteenth-Century Novel* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1987), 98.
 19. Aphra Behn, *Love-Letters Between a Nobleman and His Sister*, ed. Janet Todd (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1996), 193–4.
 20. This poem was based on Paul Tallemant's 1663 *Voyage de l'Isle d'Amour*.
 21. Aphra Behn, *A Voyage to the Isle of Love*, in *The Works of Aphra Behn*, 7 vols, ed. Janet Todd (London: Pickering, 1993), I: 132–3.
 22. John Mullan, 'Hypochondria and Hysteria: Sensibility and the Physicians', *The Eighteenth Century: Theory and Interpretation* 25.2 (1984), 141.
 23. Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language* (1755; rpt London: Times Books, 1979), s.v. 'sensibility'.
 24. Fanny Burney, *Camilla*, ed. Edward A. Bloom and Lillian D. Bloom (Oxford University Press, 1983), 359–60.
 25. Edward Phillips, *The New World of English Words, or a Generall Dictionary* (1658; rpt Menston: Scolar, 1969), s.v. 'sentiment'.
 26. Joseph Addison, *Spectator* 37, in Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, *The Spectator*, 5 vols, ed. Donald F. Bond (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965), I: 156.
 27. Eliza Haywood, *Love in Excess; or The Fatal Enquiry*, ed. David Oakleaf (Peterborough: Broadview, 1994), 206.
 28. John Dryden, *An Essay of Dramatick Poesie*, in *The Works of John Dryden*, vol. 17: *Prose 1668–1691*, ed. Samuel Holt Monk (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), 80.
 29. See Delarivier Manley's Preface to part II of the *New Atalantis*, ed. Rosalind Ballaster (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991), 131–2, wherein she defends her work as a Varronian (Menippean) satire, citing Dryden's *Discourse Concerning the Original and Progress of Satire* (1693).
 30. See Manley's *New Atalantis*, 35; Charlot is seduced by the duke, her guardian, after being allowed, after a sheltered girlhood, to read the story of Cinyras and Myrrha, in which Myrrha falls in love with her father, Cinyras, in Book X.
 31. Warner, *Licensing Entertainment*, 21.
 32. Philip Ayres, in his Oxford edition of the *Characteristics*, argues that this is an extended metaphor for masturbation, beginning with his mention of the 'secret Practice and Habit' of poets (*Soliloquy*, in *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*, 2 vols, ed. Ayres [Oxford: Clarendon, 1999], I.89, note to lines 21–2).
 33. Lawrence Klein lists, in his edition of the *Characteristics*, a number of published 'meditations', many of them religious in nature, though he also includes titles like the suggestive *The Artless Midnight Thoughts of a Gentleman at Court* (1684). Religious meditations were an extremely popular form, and Shaftesbury is indeed aiming at these, as well as at romance and scandal narratives. I will show, however, that Shaftesbury considered there to be a close kinship between these two genres, much as the medical and the pornographic had a distinct kinship in this period

of insecurely bounded genres. It is partly the confusion and permeability of genre itself that disturbs Shaftesbury.

34. Manley, *New Atalantis*, 140.
35. Sir George Mackenzie, 'To All the Ladies of this Nation', in *Prefaces to Four Seventeenth-Century Romances* (1655; 1660; 1660; 1687; rpt Los Angeles, University of California: Augustan Reprint Society, 1953).
36. Mackenzie, 'Apologie for Romances'.
37. See Rivers, *Reason*, II: 91, for Shaftesbury's anti-scholasticism; see his 'Letter Concerning Enthusiasm', and its earlier draft, 'The Adept Ladys', for his views on Quakers and the radical French Protestants called Camisards.
38. Shaftesbury, *The Adept Ladys*, in Anthony Ashley Cooper, *Third Earl of Shaftesbury: Standard Edition*, vol. 1, pt 1, ed. Gerd Hemmerich and Wolfram Benda (Stuttgart: Frommann Holzboog, 1981), I.i.416.
39. Characters like Young Maggot in Shadwell's *True Widow* (1679), who 'runs mad after Wit, pretending much to Love' (Thomas Shadwell, *The True Widow*, in *The Complete Works of Thomas Shadwell*, 3 vols, ed. Montague Summers [London: Fortune, 1927], 287), parody this stereotype of the libertine gentleman addicted to love and constantly courting a mistress in some sort of pastoral verse.
40. Plato, *Theaetetus*, trans. F.M. Cornford, in *The Collected Dialogues of Plato*, ed. Edith Hamilton and Huntington Cairns (Princeton University Press, 1961), 855.
41. Homer and Socrates.
42. Animalculist theory, in the 1690s, had begun to challenge the 'ovist' theories propounded by Harvey in *De Generatione Animalium* (1651). The former theory argued that homunculi, or complete, miniature, preformed human beings, were carried in the sperm; the latter argued that the homunculi, or something like them, originated in the ovum, and were enlivened by the male generative principle. The attractions of the animalculist theory to Shaftesbury are clear in this passage. For a full exposition of the eighteenth-century debate between the two schools, see Louis Landa's 'The Shandean Homunculus: The Background of Sterne's "Little Gentleman"', in *Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Literature: Essays in Honor of Alan Dugald McKillop*, ed. Carroll Camden (University of Chicago Press, 1963), 49–68.

4 Hume: Reading Romance, Writing the Self

1. Jerome Christensen, *Practicing Enlightenment: Hume and the Formation of a Literary Career* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), 10.
2. Stephen Copley, 'Commerce, Conversation and Politeness in the Early Eighteenth-Century Periodical', *British Journal of Eighteenth-Century Studies* 18 (1995), 67.
3. David Hume, 'Of Essay-Writing', in *Essays: Moral, Political, and Literary*, ed. Eugene F. Miller (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1985), 533.

4. For an analysis of the relationship between politeness, conversation, and gender in the early part of the century, see Lawrence Klein's 'Gender, Conversation, and the Public Sphere in Early Eighteenth-Century England', in *Textuality and Sexuality: Reading Theories and Practices*, ed. Judith Still and Michael Worton (Manchester University Press, 1993), 100–15. Klein's important analysis quarrels with the broad characterization of eighteenth-century constructions of femininity as necessarily private and domestic; in the process of usefully complicating this trope of women's history, however, Klein tends to gloss over, or even entirely overlook the implications of a strong tradition in the early eighteenth century of rejecting French *salons* as appropriate models of sociability. Instead, he emphasizes the continuity between seventeenth-century French *salons* and their late eighteenth-century counterparts without attending to the fact that the creators of the latter set themselves firmly against the values of the former.
5. Eliza Haywood, *Love in Excess: or The Fatal Enquiry*, ed. David Oakleaf (Peterborough: Broadview, 1994). The conversations of Haywood's numerous and almost interchangeable characters are invariably full of 'tender passages', implying an invitation to the hero to acquire 'the boldness to acquaint [the heroine] with [his] passion' (197–8). See also, for example, p. 234, and especially p. 249, when 'conversation' involves a visit at midnight.
6. Delarivier Manley, *New Atalantis*, ed. Rosalind Ballaster (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991), 223–4.
7. John Kersey, *Dictionarium Anglo-Britannicum* (1708; rpt Menston: Scolar, 1969), s.v. 'conversation'.
8. J. Paul Hunter, 'The World as Stage and Closet', in *British Theatre and Other Arts, 1660–1800*, ed. Shirley Strum Kenny (Washington, DC: Folger, 1984), 271–87.
9. William B. Warner, *Licensing Entertainment: The Elevation of Novel-Reading in Britain, 1684–1750* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 137.
10. For an analysis of Manley's writing as pornographic, and a discussion of the centrality of pornographic narratives to the development of the novel, see Bradford Keyes Mudge's *The Whore's Story: Women, Pornography, and the British Novel, 1684–1830* (Oxford University Press, 2000).
11. Hume, 'Of Essay-Writing', in *Essays*, 536, 534.
12. Hume, 'Preface' to the 'Abstract' of the *Treatise*, in *A Treatise of Human Nature*, ed. David Fate Norton and Mary J. Norton (Oxford University Press, 2000), 405.
13. Donald T. Siebert, 'Chivalry and Romance in the Age of Hume', *Eighteenth-Century Life* 21.1 (1997), 65.
14. Hume, 'An Historical Essay on Chivalry and Modern Honour', in Ernest Campbell Mossner, 'David Hume's "An Historical Essay on Chivalry and Modern Honour"', *Modern Philology* 45.1 (1947), 54–60.
15. See Shaftesbury's *Soliloquy: or Advice to an Author*, in his *Characteristics* (1711), and Steele's 'Gentleman, or Man of Conversation' (*Tatler* 21, in Richard Steele, *The Tatler*, 3 vols, ed. Donald F. Bond [Oxford: Clarendon,

- 1987]), presented in opposition to Addison's 'Leonora', whose library reveals her taste for the pornographic elements of romances and novels (*Spectator* 37).
16. Adam Potkay, *The Fate of Eloquence in the Age of Hume* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 1994), 75.
 17. *Ibid.*, 82. Potkay argues that Hume's essay, 'Of Eloquence', ought not to be read as a real indication that he was championing classical oratory. Potkay's nuanced reading, in the first chapter of *Fate of Eloquence*, is convincing, but I still find his notion that Hume embraces conversation wholeheartedly as an alternative to oratory somewhat too simplistic an analysis, particularly as 'Of Eloquence' stayed in the Humean canon as Hume himself conceived of it, despite undergoing changes, while 'Of Essay-Writing' was dropped entirely.
 18. Hume, 'Of the Rise and Progress of the Arts and Sciences', in *Essays*, 134.
 19. *Ibid.*, 131.
 20. Hume, 'On Chivalry', 59, 57.
 21. Gilles Deleuze, *Empiricism and Subjectivity*, trans. Constantin V. Boundas (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 40.
 22. For an examination of the problems and ambivalences of the discourse of gallantry for the women who were pressed into its service, see Laura Runge's 'Beauty and Gallantry: A Model of Polite Conversation Revisited', *Eighteenth-Century Life* 25 (2001), 43–63.
 23. J. Paul Hunter, *Before Novels: The Cultural Contexts of Eighteenth-Century English Fiction* (New York: Norton, 1990), 11. In fact, I would argue that Richardson and Fielding are the third wave of claims to novelistic difference; the second wave was at the turn of the century and was defined by novelists like Behn, Manley, and Congreve, who emphasized dramatic characterization and recent history, while the first wave began as early as the mid-seventeenth century, and focused on a version of the French *vraisemblance*, or truth to nature, while simultaneously putting the fictional nature of romance-writing to the fore. See, for example, Sir George Mackenzie's 'Apologie for Romances', prefixed to *Aretina, the Serious Romance* (1660; rpt Los Angeles: University of California Press, Augustan Reprint Society, 1953), in which he distinguishes his new brand of romance against those of Amadis de Gaule and Palmerin de Oliva, who 'stuffed their Books with things impracticable' (8).
 24. Michael McKeon, *The Origins of the English Novel, 1600–1740* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987).
 25. Hume, 'Of the Study of History', in *Essays*, 564.
 26. See Kathryn Temple, "'Manly Composition": Hume and the History of England', in *Feminist Interpretations of David Hume*, ed. Anne Jaap Jacobson (University Park: Pennsylvania University Press, 2000), 263–82.
 27. Hume, 'Of the Study of History', in *Essays*, 564.
 28. See, for example, Manley, *New Atalantis*, 224, 37.
 29. Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature*, 2.3.10: 286. Subsequent parenthetical references to the *Treatise* (*T*) will indicate the book, part, and section, as well as the page number in this Oxford edition.

30. John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, ed. Peter H. Nidditch (Oxford: Clarendon, 1975), 6. David Fate Norton and Mary J. Norton note that the hunting analogy is also used by Erasmus and Pascal (T 2.3.10: 289 n. 1, *Annotations* 532).
31. Critics have very frequently noted the passage in Hume's short autobiography, 'My Own Life' (in Hume, *Essays*), in which he says that he 'was seized very early with a passion for literature' (xxxii–xxxiii), noting also that 'literature' in this case does not mean belletristic writing.
32. Susan Manning, 'Eloquence and Evasion: Hume's Elusive Wit', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 266 (1989), 344.
33. Leo Damrosch, *Fictions of Reality in the Age of Hume and Johnson* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989).
34. John J. Richetti, *Philosophical Writing: Locke, Berkeley, Hume* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983).
35. David Hume, *The Letters of David Hume*, 2 vols, ed. J.Y.T. Greig (Oxford: Clarendon, 1932), L.3, 1:12–18.
36. See Robin Valenza's 'Editing the Self: David Hume's Narrative Theory', *The Eighteenth Century: Theory and Interpretation* 43 (2002), 137–60, for a cogent analysis of the relationship between Hume's autobiographical writings, his philosophy, and narrative theories of selfhood.
37. Adela Pinch, *Strange Fits of Passion: Epistemologies of Emotion, Hume to Austen* (Stanford University Press, 1996), 40.
38. Annette C. Baier, *A Progress of Sentiments: Reflections on Hume's Treatise* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), 1.
39. Hume, *Letters*, L.3, 1:16–17. His earlier affliction, at 18, was ascribed to an excessively strict adherence to Shaftesbury's principles of Stoic virtue (Stephen Buckle, 'Introduction' to Hume, *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding*, ed. Buckle [Cambridge University Press, 2007], xii).
40. This self-diagnosis of heightened sensibility due to excessive learning has a long and involved medical history that includes, for example, Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621). An early English medical treatise deals with this kind of diagnosis: Bernard Mandeville's unoriginal *Treatise of the Hypochondriack and Hysterick Diseases* (1711). For a mid-century example, see also Samuel Richardson's letters to his physician, Dr Cheney.
41. Hume, *Enquiry*, 22.
42. Valenza, 'Editing', 141. Valenza's analysis focuses on the curative possibilities, for Hume, of self-fashioning through narrative.
43. Catherine Gallagher, *Nobody's Story: The Vanishing Acts of Women Writers in the Marketplace 1670–1820* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994), 170–1.
44. Neil Saccamano, 'Parting with Prejudice: Hume, Identity, and Aesthetic Universality', in *Politics and the Passions, 1500–1850*, ed. Victoria Kahn, Saccamano, and Daniela Coli (Princeton University Press, 2006), 190.
45. Robin Valenza and John Bender point out, in their essay, 'Hume's Learned and Conversable Worlds', in *Just Being Difficult?: Academic Writing in the Public Arena*, ed. Jonathan Culler and Kevin Lamb (Stanford University

Press, 2003), 29–42, that the *Treatise* was in part a narrative of Hume's running 'up against the fundamental difference between disciplines that do their work on and in natural languages and those that work on physical objects or through mathematical representations' (30), leaving him no choice but to fall back on other critical materials to describe the effects of 'natural language' itself.

46. Patricia Meyer Spacks, *Imagining a Self: Autobiography and Novel in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976), 3.
47. Jane L. McIntyre, in an article called 'Personal Identity and the Passions', *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 27 (1989), 545–57, has argued that Hume divides personal identity into two components, one of which exists in reference to the imagination, the other in reference to the passions. McIntyre's skilful argument interprets Hume's theory of the passions as a completion of his argument about personal identity. She claims that while the imagination completes our (false) sense of self in the past and present, the passions enable us to extend that sense of self into the future. While I agree with McIntyre's general claim that the passions are an essential element in Hume's moral theories – as she observes, they balance the influence of the too-ambitious imagination, and, as I have argued, sympathy and the imagination are integrally linked – I cannot agree that Hume limits the influence of the imagination to our past and present sense of self. It seems clear to me that when Hume refers to our belief in the continued existence of body, he must be referring to the future as well.
48. It was first published in 1757 in *Four Dissertations*, along with 'Of Tragedy', and incorporated into the 1758 edition of *Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects* (*Essays*, xiv).
49. For a thorough discussion of the shift in the gendering of sentiment in the late eighteenth century, see Claudia L. Johnson's *Equivocal Beings: Politics, Gender, and Sentimentality in the 1790s: Wollstonecraft, Radcliffe, Burney, Austen* (University of Chicago Press, 1995). Johnson argues that sentiment shifted, in the late eighteenth century, from a feminized to a masculinized concept.
50. John D. Dussinger, *The Discourse of the Mind in Eighteenth-Century Fiction* (The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1974), 12.
51. Warner, *Licensing Entertainment*.
52. Donald W. Livingston, *Philosophical Melancholy and Delirium: Hume's Pathology of Philosophy* (University of Chicago Press, 1998), 42, 28.

5 Richardson: How to Read Romance

1. Samuel Richardson, *The Apprentice's Vade Mecum: or, Young Man's Pocket-Companion*, in *Richardsoniana I* (London, 1735; rpt New York and London: Garland, 1974), i.
2. Amusingly, Giffard would stage his *Pamela. A Comedy* at Goodman's Fields in November of 1741.

3. See Arthur H. Scouten, ed., *The London Stage 1660–1800, Part 3: 1729–1747*, 5 vols (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1961).
4. Tom Keymer, *Richardson's Clarissa and the Eighteenth-Century Reader* (Cambridge University Press, 1992), 74.
5. For an examination of Richardson's anti-theatricalism and its relation to his civic vision, see *ibid.*, 146–9.
6. Samuel Richardson, *A Seasonable Examination of the ... Play-Houses in Richardsoniana I* (London, 1735; rpt New York and London: Garland, 1974), 18. This passage echoes, almost word for word, a passage in the *Apprentice's Vade Mecum* (13).
7. Again, this passage also appears in the *Apprentice's Vade Mecum* (10).
8. *Ibid.*, 11–12.
9. Keymer and Wakely, the editors of the Oxford edition of *Pamela*, observe that Richardson had been the printer of the *Weekly Miscellany*, and had forgiven Webster a sizeable debt just before *Pamela's* printing. This letter also appeared in the *Miscellany* before the novel was published.
10. Jean Baptiste de Freval, in Samuel Richardson, *Pamela: or, Virtue Rewarded*, ed. Thomas Keymer and Alice Wakely (Oxford University Press, 2001), 5–6.
11. Ian Watt's hugely influential study, *The Rise of the Novel: Studies in Defoe, Richardson, and Fielding* (London: Hogarth, 1957), was followed in this stream of thinking by Michael McKeon's *The Origins of the English Novel, 1600–1740* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), which takes full account of the role of romance in this tension. Among many others, Lennard Davis's *Factual Fictions: The Origins of the English Novel* (1983; rpt Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996) and John Richetti's *The English Novel in History 1700–1780* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999) take up this tension between experiential truth and romantic fancy.
12. William Warner, *Licensing Entertainment: The Elevation of Novel-Reading in Britain, 1684–1750* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 180.
13. Samuel Richardson, *Clarissa*, ed. Angus Ross (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985), 73.
14. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, 'Saturday: The Small-Pox', *Town Eclogues* (wr. 1716), in *Essays and Poems and Simplicity, a Comedy*, ed. Robert Halsband and Isobel Grundy (Oxford: Clarendon, 1977).
15. Though Bruce Redford, in *The Converse of the Pen: Acts of Intimacy in the Eighteenth-Century Familiar Letter* (University of Chicago Press, 1986), argues that letter-writing in the eighteenth century is always a performance, this rhetorical aspect of epistolarity, though exploited by Richardson, is nonetheless overtly resisted in his discussion of the letter.
16. For a full account of the *Pamela* controversy, see Thomas Keymer and Peter Sabor, *Pamela in the Marketplace: Literary Controversy and Print Culture in Eighteenth-Century Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge University Press, 2005).
17. The title-page is dated 1742, but Keymer and Sabor, in *ibid.*, have dated the edition to 1741 (220).
18. Samuel Richardson, *Selected Letters of Samuel Richardson*, ed. John Carroll (Oxford: Clarendon, 1964), 47, 43.

19. Jocelyn Harris, *Samuel Richardson* (Cambridge University Press, 1987), 38.
20. Samuel Richardson, *Pamela ... in her Exalted Condition*, 3 vols (London, 1742), III: 108.
21. *Pamela II*, III: 109. I will refer to *Pamela ... in her Exalted Condition* as *Pamela II* hereafter. II refers to the continuation, rather than to the volume number.
22. For a discussion of Rabelais's reputation and his significance, particularly to Sterne, in the eighteenth century, see Shaun Regan, 'Translating Rabelais: Sterne, Motteux, and the Culture of Politeness', *Translation and Literature* 10 (2001), 174–99.
23. Richardson, *Selected Letters*, 43. The first, unedited version of this letter to Leake is reprinted in Keymer and Sabor's *Pamela in the Marketplace* (56–7).
24. Keymer and Sabor reproduce this illustration in *Pamela in the Marketplace* (160).
25. See my discussions, in Chapters 3 and 4 respectively, of Manley's autobiographical narrative in her *New Atalantis*, and Hume's narrative of female novel-reading in 'Of the Study of History'.
26. James Grantham Turner, 'Novel Panic: Picture and Performance in the Reception of Richardson's *Pamela*', *Representations* 48 (1994), 70.
27. Quoted in Keymer and Sabor, *Pamela in the Marketplace*, 152; *ibid.*, 153.
28. See Chapter 1, above.
29. [Thomas Brown], 'Preface' to Jane Barker, *The Adventures of Lindamira, a Lady of Quality* (1702; rpt New York and London: Garland, 1972).
30. Penelope Aubin, *The Strange Adventures of the Count de Vinevil and his Family* (1721; rpt New York and London: Garland, 1973), 'Preface to the Reader'.
31. Eliza Haywood, *The Tea-Table: or, A Conversation between Some Polite Persons of Both Sexes*, in *Fantomina and Other Works*, ed. Alexander Pettit, Margaret Case Croskery, and Anna C. Patchias (Peterborough: Broadview, 2004), 104–5.
32. John B. Pierce, 'Pamela's Textual Authority', *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 7 (1995), 131.
33. Deidre Lynch, *The Economy of Character: Novels, Market Culture, and the Business of Inner Meaning* (University of Chicago Press, 1998), 8.
34. Richardson, *Pamela*, 234–5. See Ruth Perry, *Women, Letters, and the Novel* (New York: AMS Press, 1980), 131. See esp. the chapter, 'The Self as Word', for a comprehensive examination of epistolary novels in which the letter seduces as effectively as its writer.
35. Watt, *Rise of the Novel*, 173.
36. Richetti, *The English Novel in History*, 98.
37. Margaret Anne Doody, *A Natural Passion: A Study of the Novels of Samuel Richardson* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1974), 24. Richetti, in the study above, *The English Novel in History*, includes Doody's dictum about the 'minor tradition', but excises the beginning of the quotation, replacing it with his own assessment that Doody is 'tracing Pamela's divergence', as well as her consistent reference to the 'love-stories' of this 'minor tradition' as novels (84, n. 1).

38. Thomas Keymer, 'Introduction', in Richardson, *Pamela*, xvi.
39. D.C. Muecke has observed that Pamela's name is a romance-name, and Colbrand is 'not *Monsieur* Colbrand at all but "Colbrand the giant, that same mighty man" from [the popular legend] *Guy of Warwick*' ('Beauty and Mr. B', *SEL: Studies in English Literature 1500–1900* 7 [1967], 469).
40. Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex, and Marriage in England, 1500–1800* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1977).
41. That the novel was initially seen as a bastardization of the 'higher' form of romance, which claimed a classical provenance, is most famously indicated in Congreve's preface to *Incognita* (1692), which parallels tragedy and romance, comedy and the novel.
42. Delarivier Manley, *New Atalantis*, ed. Rosalind Ballaster (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1992), 150.
43. Richardson, *Seasonable Examination*, 18.
44. See Keymer, 'Introduction', subhead 'After *Pamela*: Controversy and Revision', in Richardson, *Pamela*, xxii–xxxiv.
45. Terry Castle, *Masquerade and Civilization: The Carnavalesque in Eighteenth-Century English Culture and Fiction* (Stanford University Press, 1986), 137–8.
46. Richardson was in the process of writing a conduct manual, *Letters Written to and for Particular Friends* (1741), when he began *Pamela* (see Keymer, 'Introduction', in *Pamela*, xiii).
47. Nancy Armstrong, *Desire and Domestic Fiction: A Political History of the Novel* (Oxford University Press, 1987), 110.
48. Lady Davers requests Pamela's letters at the end of the novel, and shares them with friends in *Pamela II*.
49. Patricia Meyer Spacks, *Imagining a Self: Autobiography and Novel in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976), 210.
50. Clara Reeve, *The Progress of Romance*, 2 vols (1785; rpt Plan de la Tour: Éditions d'Aujourd'hui, 1980), Preface.
51. Richardson, *Pamela*, 93.
52. See Introduction, above, pp. 6–7.
53. Roy Roussel, 'Reflections on the Letter: The Reconciliation of Distance and Presence in *Pamela*', *ELH: English Literary History* 41 (1974), 396.
54. Eliza Haywood, *Fantomina and Other Works*, ed. Alexander Pettit, Margaret Case Croskery, and Anna C. Patchias (Peterborough: Broadview, 2004), 57.
55. 'Fancy' is a contraction of 'fantasy', from the Greek *phantasia*, meaning phantom or apparition; perception; or imagination.
56. Lynn Festa, 'Sentimental Bonds and Revolutionary Characters: Richardson's *Pamela* in England and France', in *The Literary Channel: The Inter-National Invention of the Novel*, ed. Margaret Cohen and Carolyn Dever (Princeton University Press, 2002), 88.
57. On the connection between *Pamela* and Richardson's edition of *Aesop's Fables*, see Murray L. Brown on 'Richardson's emblematic rhetoric' (133),

- 'Learning to Read Richardson: *Pamela*, "Speaking Pictures", and the Visual Hermeneutic', *Studies in the Novel* 25 (1993), 129–51.
58. In 'the larger instability of Richardson's narrative', observes McKeon, 'questions of virtue cannot be unraveled from questions of truth' (378).
 59. Keymer, *Richardson's Clarissa*, 22.
 60. Armstrong, *Desire and Domestic Fiction*, 77, 98.
 61. See Dryden's essay, 'A Parallel betwixt Painting and Poetry'. Preface to *De Arte Graphica*, in *The Works of John Dryden*, vol. 20: *Prose 1691–1698*, ed. A.E. Wallace Maurer (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989). For Dryden, it is more perfect because the mind's eye calls up more compelling images than can any painter. Richardson uses this familiar formula to subsume or overwrite, rather than to idealize, visual representation.
 62. Festa, 'Sentimental Bonds', 88.
 63. See Chapter 3, above.
 64. Geoffrey Sill, *The Cure of the Passions and the Origins of the English Novel* (Cambridge University Press, 2001), 172.
 65. See Chapter 2, above, esp. my discussion of *The Dumb Virgin*.
 66. On Pamela's hypocrisy, see Tassie Gwilliam, *Samuel Richardson's Fictions of Gender* (Stanford University Press, 1993), and Jenny Davidson, *Hypocrisy and the Politics of Politeness: Manners and Morals from Locke to Austen* (Cambridge University Press, 2004). Both argue that Pamela's hypocrisy is a social necessity. Gwilliam sees it as a reiteration of ideologies of feminine duplicity; Davidson as the gendering and privatizing of what was previously a political strategy.
 67. Kristina Straub, 'Reconstructing the Gaze: Voyeurism in Richardson's *Pamela*', *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 18 (1988), 427.
 68. See Chapter 4, above.
 69. Peter Sabor observes that 'Richardson is ... eager to demonstrate a link between his childhood letter-writing and his much later epistolary fiction' ("Such Extraordinary Tokens": Samuel Richardson's Correspondence with Johannes Stinstra', in *New Essays on Samuel Richardson*, ed. Albert J. Rivero [New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996], 6).
 70. John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, ed. Peter H. Nidditch (Oxford: Clarendon, 1975), II.i.2: 104.
 71. For a careful unravelling of the medieval concept of imagination and its relation to love-theory, see Giorgio Agamben, 'Eros at the Mirror', in *Stanzas: Word and Phantasm in Western Culture*, trans. Ronald L. Martinez (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1993).

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Index

- Aarsleff, Hans, 35, 47–8, 51
Abrams, M.H., 11
absorptive reading, 3, 173n8
 and extensive reading, 4
 and intensive reading, 4
 and romance, 5
 and self-knowledge, 25
 and visual imagination, 67
acting, and the passions, 11–12
Addison, Joseph, 26–7, 96, 103
 and Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, 32–3
 and 'The Pleasures of the Imagination', 26–7
Adorno, Theodor, 178n53
adultery, 118
aesthetics, 63–4
 and Addison, 26
 and Boyle, 63–4
 and Hume, 129, 131
Agamben, Giorgio, 12–13, 14
Altman, Janet, 77
animalculist theory of generation, 115, 191n43
Arbuthnot, John, 125, 126
Aristotle, 11, 24, 129
Armstrong, Nancy, 156, 163
Astell, Mary, 43–5
 and rhetoric, 43–4
 and *Serious Proposal to the Ladies*, 43–4
Aubin, Penelope, 150
Avicenna, 14
Ayres, Philip, 190n32

Backscheider, Paula, 60
Bacon, Francis
 and *The Advancement of Learning*, 13
 and language, 13, 14
 and love, 12, 14
 and 'Of Love', 12
 and the passions, 12
 and vision, 13, 65
Baier, Annette, 8, 126
Ballaster, Rosalind, 11, 71, 77–8, 79, 82, 86
Behn, Aphra, 29, 35
 and attack on academic writing, 89
 and authorship as prostitution, 85, 86
 and chivalric forms of narrative, 78
 and circulation of images, 74
 and comedy, 89
 and defence of dramatic practice, 86
 and Descartes, 87, 88
 and desire, 82, 83
 and *A Discovery of New Worlds*, 88
 as dramatist, 58
 and *The Dumb Virgin, or, The Force of Imagination*, 78–81
 and *The Dutch Lover*, 85, 86, 89
 and epistolary form, 74; alienation of language, 77; calculated use of, 75–6; conventions of, 76; as form of masking, 77; rhetoric of romance, 77; seductive power of letters, 77
 and execution scenes, 72
 and *The Fair Jilt*, 72–3, 87–8; confession, 73; execution scene, 72
 and female characters, 78
 and female narrative voice, 78
 and genre, 89–90
 and identity, 85–6
 and indistinguishability of body and text, 74

- Behn, Aphra, – *continued*
 and insertion of herself into her works, 71, 78
 and literary cross-dressing, 77–8, 86–7
 and love, 87–9, 102, 106
 and *Love-Letters Between a Nobleman and his Sister*, 59, 71–2, 76–7, 102;
 characterization in, 76;
 dedication to, 86–7; eroticized writing, 75; passions, 74; raving style of letters, 73–4; readers' knowledge of story, 76; rhetoric of love, 74–5
 and *The Luckey Chance*, 85, 86
 and male characters, 78
 and mutable identity as playwright and novelist, 72
 and nature of drama, 85
 and *Oroonoko*, 71
 and poetry, 87, 89–90, 106
 and rhetoric, 74
 and romance writing as dramatic act, 85
 and text as externalization of fancy, 82
 and textuality, 81
 and *The Unfortunate Bride, or, The Blind Lady a Beauty*, 81–4; deception, 82–3; externalization of desire, 82; internalization of the imagination, 82; narrator as spy, 82; substitution of text for sight, 83; translation of sight, 83; women's contradictory nature, 83–4
 and use of visual and the spectacular, 81
 and visual signification, 81
 and *A Voyage to the Isle of Love*, 102
 and women as perfect authors, 84
- Bellegarde, Morvan de, 24
 Bender, John, 12
- Berkeley, George
 and *Alciphron*, 96
 and mistrust of language, 180n5
 and reality, 128
- Berkeley, Lady Henrietta, 71, 76
- Bible, and intensive reading of, 4
- body
 and alienation from, 8
 and Behn, 73, 74, 81, 83, 90
 and Hobbes, 9
 and the passions, 20, 21–2
 and reader's body, 6
 and Richardson, 151, 156, 167
 and Shaftesbury, 113
 and text, 8, 10, 18
- Bold, Henry, 84
- Boyle, Robert, 16, 35, 158
 and aesthetic model, 63–4
 and colour blindness, 64–5
 and critical reading model, 63
 and inclusiveness of writing, 63
 and *The Martyrdom of Theodora*, 61–3
 and the passions, 61–2
 and style of, 62–3
- breeches-roles, 87
- Burney, Fanny, 103
- Caruth, Cathy, 51, 184n47
- Casaubon, Meric, 178n54
 'castle-building', 48–9, 135
- Castle, Terry, 155
- catharsis, 6, 174n16, 177n34
- censorship, 59–60
- Certeau, Michel de, 4
- character, and Manley, 24–5
- Charleton, Walter, 176n31
- Chartier, Roger, 4, 8
- Christensen, Jerome, 116, 117
- cognition, and Locke, 68
- cognitive theory, 8, 9
- Cohen, Murray, 178n53
- Collier, Jeremy, and objections to drama, 58, 67, 68
- colour blindness, 64–5
- Condillac, Étienne Bonnot de, 51

- Condon, Thomas, 87
 Congreve, William, 36, 158
 as dramatist, 58
 and *Incognita*, 1
 and novel/romance distinction,
 1–2
 and reader's body, 6
 and responses to reading romance
 and novels, 2
 and wit, 181n15
 consciousness, and Locke, 50–1, 52
 conversation
 and eighteenth-century emphasis
 on polite, 96
 and the feminine, 139
 and Hume, 117–18; women,
 121–2
 and imagination, 118
 and Leibniz, 94, 119
 and multiple meanings, 118
 and novel-reading, 94–5, 139
 as oppressive atmospheric
 force, 118
 and Reeve, 96–7
 and romance, 118
 and Shaftesbury, 97, 99
 Copley, Stephen, 117
 Corneille, Pierre, 177n34
 correspondence, and Hume, 116
 Corry, John, 49
 cosmetics, and rhetoric, 44–5
 Crane, Mary, 8
 Crane, R.S., 109
 criminal conversation, 118

 Damrosch, Leo, 124–5, 130
 Darnton, Robert, 4
 Davenant, William, 16, 58–9, 185n4
 De Bolla, Peter, 174n15
 deconstructionist theory, 8–9
 Deleuze, Gilles, 121, 130, 131
 Dennis, John, 26, 29, 61, 70,
 185n10
 and poetry, 67
 and visual imagination, 66–7
 Derrida, Jacques, 175n23, 180n73

 Descartes, René
 and Behn, 87, 88
 and imagination, 15
 and the passions, 11
 and vision, 51, 65–6, 177n41
 desire
 and Behn, 82, 83
 and Locke, 42
 and Shaftesbury, 104, 105
 dialogue
 and romance, 100–1, 102
 and Shaftesbury, 92–3, 96, 100;
 contradiction in use of, 113–14;
 intention behind use by, 114
 Donne, John, 64
 Doody, Margaret, 151, 152
 drama
 and absurdity of banning, 67–8
 and Behn's view of, 85
 and censorship, 59
 and Collier's objections to, 68
 and hierarchy of literary forms, 58
 and the passions, 68
 and political use of, 58–9, 60
 and reading, comparison with,
 67–70
 and Richardson's attack on
 theatre, 141; concern over
 audience susceptibilities, 142–3
 and Settle's defence of, 67–9
 and seventeenth-century theories
 of, 58
 and unlicensed theatres, 141
 Dryden, John, 5, 13, 87
 and connotative status of
 words, 18, 19
 and emotion, 22
 and *Essay of Dramatick Poesie*,
 20–1, 104
 and fancy, 69
 and imagination, 18
 and language, 19
 and love, 20–1, 89
 and Ovid, 19–20
 and the passions, 19–20, 21–2
 and poetry, 19

- Dryden, John, – *continued*
 and reading: as bodily experience, 19; conflation with playgoing, 21; as seeing, 18, 19
 and satirists, 107
 and wit, 18, 36
 D'Urfé, Honoré, 35, 102, 154
 Dussinger, John, 139
- Ellison, Julie, 7
- emotion
 and contrast with passions, 174n20
 and Dryden, 22
 and Manley, 25
 and meaning of, 174n20
 and reading, 6–7, 8
 and recent theoretical approaches to, 7–8
 and the self, 20
see also passions
- empiricism, 3
 and fiction and fantasy, 6
 and nature of, 12
 and new concepts of self, 4
 and optimism of, 139
 and paradox within, 48
 and the passions, 12
 and reading, 3
 and romance readers, 5–6, 7
- Engell, James, 178n55
- entertainment, and anxieties about, 94
- Epictetus, 189n16
- Exclusion Crisis (1678–83), 59, 105
- experience, and knowledge, 3
- extensive reading, 4
- fancy, 26
 and Dryden, 69
 and the passions, 62
see also imagination
- Farquhar, George, 65
- femininity, and sensibility, 102–3
- Festa, Lynn, 162
- fiction
 and collaborative production of image, 61
 and identity, 159–60
 and imagination, 67
 and the passions, 61; Boyle, 61–4
 and spectacle, 61
see also novels
- Fielding, Henry, 22, 71, 122, 141, 146
- figurative language
 and distrust of, 13
 and Locke, 28, 37, 38, 42–3, 70
 and seductive potential of, 19
- Finke, Laurie, 89
- Fisher, Philip, 7
- Floyd-Wilson, Mary, 179n57
- Fontenelle, Bernard le Bovier de, 88
- Foucault, Michel, 47, 72, 178n53
- Freval, Jean Baptiste de, 144
- Gallagher, Catherine, 77, 83, 85–6, 130
- gallantry, 115
 and Hume, 121, 122
 and Shaftesbury, 108
- genre, 2
 and Behn, 89–90
- Giffard, Henry, 141
- Gildon, Charles, 90
- Grey, Ford Lord, 71, 76
- Gross, Daniel, 7, 8
- Guilleragues, Gabriel Joseph de
 Lavergne, vicomte de, 35, 75, 101, 153
- Gwilliam, Tassie, 44–5
- Habermas, Jürgen, 60
- Harris, Jocelyn, 146
- Haywood, Eliza, 146
 and conversation, 118
 and defence of romance, 104
 and *Fantomina*, 159–60
 and moral function of novels, 150
 and sensibility, 103–4
 and *Tea-Table*, 150
- Hill, Aaron, 146, 165, 166, 170

- Hobbes, Thomas
 and the body, 9
 and Davenant's *Gondibert*,
 16–17
 and imagination, 5, 15, 16
 and *Leviathan*, 9
 and memory, 16, 17
 and the passions, 15
 and poetic language, 17–18
 and similarities of poets and
 philosophers, 16–17
 and wit, 36
- Hogarth, William, 149
- Home, Henry, Lord Kames,
 174n20
- Horace, 11, 177n34
- Horkheimer, Max, 178n53
- Howard, Sir Robert, 18
- Hudson, Nicholas, 28, 178n53
- Huet, Pierre-Daniel, 22–3
- Hume, David, 3, 30, 51, 62
 and aesthetics, 129, 131
 and autobiographical narratives,
 125, 194n31
 and belief, 132, 133, 135; disorder
 of, 136
 and castle-builder's ideas, 135
 and constitution of Humean
 self, 125
 and conversation, 117–18; of
 women, 121
 and conversible world, 119;
 production of, 121
 and correspondence, 116
 and custom and habit,
 132, 133
 and differentiation of words and
 ideas, 127
 and *An Enquiry Concerning Human
 Understanding*, 129
 and femininity, 117
 and gallantry, 121, 122
 and 'Historical Essay on Chivalry
 and Modern Honour', 120, 121
 and history, 122
 and illness of, 126–7
 and imagination, 128, 131, 132,
 133–4, 140; disordered, 136,
 138; women, 137
 and language, 140
 and liars, 132, 134
 and literary affect, 132
 and memory, 128, 131–2, 134
 and 'My Own Life', 194n31
 and novels: dismissal of, 122,
 123; novel reader as icon of the
 antisocial, 139
 and 'Of Eloquence', 139–40,
 193n17
 and 'Of Essay-Writing', 120, 121,
 137, 139
 and 'Of the Standard of Taste',
 137–8
 and 'Of the Study of History', 122,
 135
 and oratory, 139–40
 and the passions, 123–4
 and personal identity, 127–9, 134,
 195n47
 and philosophy, 124
 and pity, 130, 131, 132
 and reasoning, 127
 and romance: anxiety about,
 127; dismissal of, 122, 123;
 naïve reader, 135, 136–7,
 138; sophisticated reader,
 135–6
 and scholarly learning, 120–1
 and sympathy, 116, 117, 129–31,
 134
 and taste, 131, 137–8;
 physiological influences on,
 137–8; standard of, 137;
 women, 137–8
 and *Treatise of Human Nature*,
 127–37; as exploration of his
 own mind, 125–6; paradox
 addressed by, 124–5; portrayal
 of himself, 126; significance
 of conclusion to Book 1, 126;
 as study of a discomposed
 mind, 127

- Hume, David, – *continued*
 and truth: distinguishing
 from falsehood, 132, 133,
 135, 136–7, 138; love of, 124;
 utilitarian rationale for
 desire for, 124
 and unification of conversation
 and learning, 120–1
 and women: conversation, 121–2;
 misreading by, 137–8; role in
 regulation of literary taste,
 119–20; taste, 137–8; unruly
 imagination, 137
- Hunter, J. Paul, 118, 122
- Hutcheson, Francis, 176n31
- identity
 and fiction, 159–60
 and Locke, 128
 and production through writing,
 158–60
 and Richardson's *Pamela*, 158–9
see also personal identity
- imagination
 and Addison, 26–7
 and Avicenna, 14
 and conversation, 118
 and Descartes, 15
 and Dryden, 18
 and early novel theory, 15–16
 and Hobbes, 5, 15, 16
 and Hume, 128, 131, 132, 133–4,
 138, 140
 and Locke, 15
 and medieval philosophy, 14
 and the passions, 15
 and prose fiction, 67
 and reading, 69–70, 172
 and reading romance, 5
 and recreation as text, 22
 and Richardson, 172
 and romance, 16–17
 and visual imagination, 66–7
- individualism, and the sublime, 7
- intensive reading, 3–4
- Irlam, Shaun, 26
- James, Susan, 8
- Jay, Martin, 177n41
- Jenner, Charles, 49
- Johns, Adrian, 8, 178n54
- Johnson, Samuel, 102
- judgement, and Locke, 36–7
- Kelly, John, 146
- Keymer, Tom, 141–2, 150, 151, 152,
 162–3
- Killigrew, Charles, 59, 185n4
- Klein, Lawrence, 93, 96, 190n33,
 192n4
- knowledge
 and experience, 3
 and Locke, 47, 53–4;
 demonstrative, 54; intuitive,
 53–4
- Kramnick, Jonathan, 8, 174n14
- La Calprenède, Gauthier de Costes,
 seigneur de, 103, 154
- Lafayette, Marie de, 35, 74, 154
- language
 and acquisition of ideas, 3
 and Bacon, 13, 14
 and Dryden: connotative status
 of words, 18, 19; as embodied
 performance, 19
 and Hobbes on poetic language,
 17–18
 and Locke, 9, 25–6, 35, 51,
 52; functionality of, 41;
 new ways of engaging with,
 35; as obscuring/enabling
 medium, 39–40; systems of, 48;
 taxonomy, 53, 56; vulgar use,
 40–1; words, 39
 and power of, 2
 and seventeenth-century theories
 of, 178n53
- Latitudinarians, 109
- Leake, James, 147, 150
- Leapor, Mary, 49
- Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm, 94, 118,
 119

- Lennox, Charlotte, 158
 L'Estrange, Roger, 101
 Licensing Act (1737), 59, 141
 Lillo, George, 155
 Livingston, Donald, 139
 Locke, John, 28–9
 and accessibility of, 32, 33
 and cognition, 68
 and consciousness, 50–1, 52
 and desire, 42
 and *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, 9; Addison's view of, 32–3; eighteenth-century assessments of, 32; significance in early modern linguistics, 48
 and figurative language, 28, 37, 38, 42–3, 70
 and identity, 128
 and imagination, 15
 and impressive mind, 34–5, 55–6
 and inward eye, 52
 and judgement, 36–7; affiliation with distinction, 36, 37
 and knowledge, 47, 53–4; demonstrative, 54; intuitive, 53–4
 and language, 9, 25–6, 35, 51, 52; functionality of, 41; new ways of engaging with, 35; as obscuring/enabling medium, 39–40; systems of, 48; taxonomy, 53, 56; vulgar use, 40–1; words, 39
 and memory, 56
 and metaphorical language, 42
 and military imagery, 49–50
 and mirror analogy, 55–6
 and movement from sensation to nature of knowledge, 35
 and the passions, 182n24; effects on the mind, 42
 and personal identity, 50
 and philosophical discourse, 38
 and philosophy, 124
 and rationality, 37
 and readers: engagement with, 36; provoking critical process in, 38; separating kinds of, 35
 and reading, 33–4, 38; effects of wit, 37; separating kinds of, 35
 and reason as narrative process, 54
 and religious enthusiasm, 45–6
 and rhetoric, 41–3
 and romance language, 42–3, 48
 and romance, seductive nature of, 28, 35
 and scientific model of causation, 47
 and seeing, 38
 and the self, 48, 50, 52–3, 54
 and self-evident statements, 43
 and self-knowledge, 92
 and sensory perception, 34, 47
 and substances, 129
 and vision, 51–2; man with 'microscopical' eyes, 56–7; unreliability of visual information, 56; use of visual metaphors, 51
 and wit, 36–7; affiliation with relation, 36, 37; types of readers, 37
 and writing, 55–6
 Longinus, 15, 70, 176n31
 Lord Chamberlain, 59
 love
 and Bacon on, 12, 14
 and Behn, 87–9, 102, 106
 and classical and medieval theories of, 14
 and Dryden, 20–1, 89
 as idolatry, 12–13
 and Platonic love theory, 64, 65
 and vision, 64, 65
 Loveday, Robert, 103
 Lynch, Deidre, 9, 68, 150, 160, 184n45
 Mackenzie, George, 44, 108
 Manley, Delarivier, 22

- Manley, Delarivier, – *continued*
 and character, 24–5
 and conversation, 118
 and emotion, 25
 and eroticism of old romances,
 118, 119
 and jailing of, 60
 and ‘little Histories’, 24–5, 26
 and *The New Atalantis*, 59–60,
 105, 108, 118, 119, 154
 and the passions, 25
 and preface to *Secret History of
 Queen Zarah*, 23–6
 and romance, 24
 and satire, 59
- Manley, John, 118
- Manning, Susan, 124, 126
- de Man, Paul, 35, 47
- Marcus Aurelius, 110, 189n16
- Marsh, Robert, 92, 113
- Mary II, 58
- Master of the Revels, 59
- McKeon, Michael, 2, 122, 152, 153,
 162
- memory
 and Hobbes, 16, 17
 and Hume, 129, 131–2, 134
 and imagination, 15
 and intensive reading, 4
 and Locke, 56
- Milton, John, 185n10
- mind
 and Locke, 9
 as mirror, 38; Locke, 55–6
- mirrors, 9, 38, 55–6
 and female authorship, 79–80
 and female vanity, 145
 and mind as, 38, 55–6
 and Richardson: in *Clarissa*, 145;
 in *Pamela*, 167, 169–70, 171
 and Shaftesbury, 97–100
- Morrissey, Lee, 10, 178n50
- Mullan, John, 102
- Newton, Isaac, 65
- Ngai, Sianne, 7
- Novak, Maximillian E., 67, 75, 76
- novels
 and change in attitudes towards,
 122
 and Congreve on novel/romance
 distinction, 1–2
 and conversation, 94–5
 and Hume, dismissed by, 122, 123
 and imagination and the passions,
 15–16
see also fiction
- Ong, Walter, 175n23
- Osborne, Dorothy, 11
- Ovid
 and *Ars Amatoria*, 19
 and Dryden’s discussion of, 19–20
 and *Heroides*, 19, 75
 and *Metamorphoses*, 19
 and Restoration literary
 culture, 19
- painting, and the passions, 11–12
- passions
 and Bacon, 12
 and contrast with emotions,
 174n20
 and Descartes, 11
 and drama, 68
 and Dryden, 19–20, 21–2
 and early novel theory, 15–16
 and empiricism, 12
 and fancy, 62
 and fascination with, 11–12, 15
 and Hobbes, 15
 and Hume, 123–4
 and imagination, 15
 and legibility of, 22
 and literary criticism, 11
 and Locke, 182n24; effects on the
 mind, 42
 and Manley, 25
 and prose fiction, 61; Boyle, 61–4
 and reading, 69, 70
 and Richardson’s *Pamela*, 165–6
 and significance of, 11
 and theatrical purging of, 61
 and visual imagination, 66–7

- Paster, Gail Kern, 7
- Pearson, Jacqueline, 84
- personal identity
 and Hume, 127–9, 134, 195n47
 and Locke, 50
 and Shaftesbury, 99
- phenomenology, 8
- Phillips, Edward, 103
- Pierce, John, 150, 164
- Pinch, Adela, 8, 9, 125–6, 128, 129
- Plato, 14, 24, 34
 and birth metaphor, 112–13
 and imitative function of art, 145
 and love theory, 64, 65
- Platonic friendship, 185n14
- poetry
 and Behn, 87, 89–90, 106
 and Dennis, 67
 and Dryden, 19
 and Hobbes, 17–18
- political unrest, and drama, 58–9
- Pope, Alexander, 36, 70, 145, 153, 181n15
- poststructuralism, 8
- Potkay, Adam, 121, 125, 193n17
- Prince, Michael, 94, 101, 113
- print culture, 60, 85
 and rise of, 4
 and Shaftesbury's suspicions of, 105–6
- public opinion, and spectacle, 60
- public sphere, and emergence
 of, 60
- puritanism, 58
- Rabelais, François, 147
- reading
 and absorptive reading, 3, 173n8
 and Addison's conception of, 27
 and conversation, 95
 and delimiting audience for, 33
 and drama, comparison with, 67–70
 and Dryden: as bodily experience, 19; conflation with playgoing, 21; as seeing, 18, 19
 and eighteenth-century theories
 of, 2
 and emotion, 6–7, 8
 and empiricism, 3
 and extensive reading, 4
 and imagination, 69–70, 172
 and intensive reading, 3–4
 and Locke, 33–4, 38; effects of wit, 37; separating kinds of readers/reading, 35
 and the passions, 69, 70
 and re-envisioning of, 5
 and Richardson, 172
 and self-construction, 4
 and self-knowledge, 25
 and Settle on, 68–70
 and sexualized reading by women, 118
 and Shaftesbury, 98, 99
 and visual imagination, 68–9
- Reeve, Clara, 16, 95–6, 96–7, 158
- Reid, Thomas, 49
- religion
 and intensive reading, 3–4
 and Shaftesbury, 109–10
- religious enthusiasm
 and Locke, 45–6
 and Shaftesbury, 45, 100, 110–11
- rhetoric
 and Astell, 43–4
 and Behn, 74
 and deceptive language, 45
 and Locke, 41–3
 and seduction, 45
- Richardson, Samuel, 30–1, 51, 122
 and *Apprentice's Vade Mecum*, 141, 142
 and audience and reader psychology, 143
 and *Clarissa*, 142, 145; letters as mirrors, 145
 and epistolary form, 170–2
 and frustrated moral intentions, 147
 and function of writing, 160
 and letter-writing, 170–1
 and novel as moral genre, 143–4

- Richardson, Samuel, – *continued*
 and *Pamela*: appearances, 166–8; balance between text and spectacle, 164; class boundaries, 122, 155; commitment to *Pamela* as author, 150–1; competing texts, 163; contemporary reaction to, 146; demonization of images, 145–6; erasing of spectacle, 163–4; as exemplary novel, 156; hypocrisy, 166–7, 169; identity, 158–9; imagination, 172; importance of, 144; indeterminacy of, 151; influence of romance novels, 151–2; letters in, 171–2; manipulation of language, 157; mirrors, 145, 167, 169–70, 171; model of female authorship, 163–4; passions, 165–6; plotting in, 152–3; as popularization of moral purpose, 156; prefaces to, 144; religiosity, 162–3; romance, 153–8; self, 172; spiritual authority, 163; temptation to suicide, 156–7; trajectory of, 152; truth, 160–3, 164–5; voyeurism, 168
 and *Pamela ... in her Exalted Condition*, 146; book-throwing episode, 146–8, 149; class, 155; contest between good and bad reading, 148; illustrations, 149–50; as moral romance, 156
 and psychology of reader-response, 142
 and reading, 172
 and relationship of word and image, 149–50, 151
 and *Seasonable Examination*, 141
 and theatre: attack on, 141; concern over audience susceptibilities, 142–3
 and theory of fiction, 141–2
 and visual culture, 149
- Richetti, John, 125, 151–2
 Rich, John, 141
 Rivers, Isabel, 92, 109
 Rogers, Pat, 87
- romance
 and absorptive reading, 5
 and affectations produced by, 95
 and anxieties about, 5
 and birth metaphor, 108
 and ‘castle-building’, 48–9
 and characterization as affect-laden, 11
 and Congreve: novel/romance distinction, 1–2; reader’s response to, 2
 and conversation, 118
 and deceptive language, 45
 and dialogue, 100–1, 102
 and emotional intimacy between lovers, 101
 and empiricism, 5–6, 7
 and eroticism, 118, 119
 and formative capacity of, 23
 and Huet on, 22–3
 and Hume: anxiety about, 127; dismissed by, 122, 123
 and ideal style for, 44
 and linguistic practice, 95
 and Locke, 42–3, 48; seductive nature of, 28, 35
 and Manley, 24
 as mode of speech and behaviour, 95
 and ornamental status of, 23
 and philosophical theories of the imagination, 16–17
 and Richardson, *Pamela*, 153–8
 and sensibility, 102
 and Shaftesbury, 94; attacked by, 105, 107, 108–9, 114; resisted by, 45, 115
 and visual imagery, 64
- Rorty, Amélie, 8
 Rorty, Richard, 38, 55
 Roussel, Roy, 158–9

- Rowe, Nicholas, 65, 72–3
 Rymer, Thomas, 185n10
- Sabor, Peter, 150
 Saccamano, Neil, 27, 130–1
 satire, 59
 and Dryden on, 107
 Scudéry, Madeleine de, 11, 44, 103, 154
 self
 and early novel, 7
 and emotion, 20
 and literary models, 7
 and Locke, 48, 50, 52–3, 54
 and new concepts of, 4
 and reading in construction of, 4
 and Renaissance models of, 48
 and Richardson's *Pamela*, 172
 self-determination, and Shaftesbury, 99
 self-examination, and Shaftesbury, 97–100, 107
 self-knowledge
 and reading, 25
 and Shaftesbury, 92–3
 Selleck, Nancy, 10, 48
 Senault, Jean-François, 176n31
 sensation, 3
 and Addison, 26
 and Hobbes, 9
 and the image, 66
 and Locke, 9, 34, 35, 39, 47, 50, 55
 and Richardson, 142, 143, 172
 and romance, 102
 sensibility, 101–2
 and beauty, 104
 and femininity, 102–3
 and Haywood's definition of, 103
 and Johnson's definition of, 102–3
 and sentiment, 103
 and sexuality, 105
 and Shaftesbury, 104
 sentiment, 102, 103
 and Phillips' definition of, 103
 and sensibility, 103
 sentimental novel, 101, 162
- Settle, Elkanah, 67–9
 and reading, 68–70
 Shaftesbury, 3rd Earl of (Anthony Ashley Cooper), 29–30, 99
 and *The Adept Ladys*, 100, 110, 111
 and authorship, 93, 101; absence of desire, 105; courtship of the public, 106–7; embodiment of theory of, 114; narcissism, 114; questionable nature of being in print, 105–6; self-seduction, 113; virtue, 104
 and birth metaphor, 107–8, 112, 113
 and *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*, 92, 93, 96
 and conflation of fancy with desire, 104–5
 and conversation, 97, 99
 and criticism, 99
 and desire, 104, 105
 and dialogue, 92–3, 96, 100; contradiction in use of, 113–14; intention behind use of, 114
 and gallantry, 108
 and immorality, 98
 and *An Inquiry Concerning Virtue*, 93
 and *A Letter Concerning Enthusiasm*, 100, 110
 and mirror analogy, 97–100
 and *Miscellaneous Reflections*, 93, 104, 110–11
 and *The Moralists*, 93, 96, 105, 110, 111–12, 114–15
 and moral sentiment, 105
 and narrative forms, 93–4
 and objections to Locke's sensationalist philosophy, 112
 and personal identity, 99
 and philosophical enthusiasm, 111–12
 and philosophy, 97, 100
 and reading, 98, 99
 and religion, 109–10

- Shaftesbury, 3rd Earl – *continued*
 and religious enthusiasm, 45, 100, 110–11
 and romance, 94; attacks on, 105, 107, 108–9, 114; resistance to, 45, 115
 and satire, 107
 and scorn for extensive reading, 4
 and self-determination, 99
 and self-examination, 97–100, 107
 and self-knowledge, 92–3
 and sensibility, 104
 and sentimental novel, 101
 and sexual excess, 110–11
 and *The Sociable Enthusiast*, 110
 as social psychologist, 92
 and *Soliloquy; or, Advice to an Author*, 92, 93, 97–100, 104, 115
 and Stoicism, 100, 110
 and teleology of literary development, 115
 and virtue, 104, 110
 and women's role, 114–15
- Shandy, Walter, 32
- Siebert, Donald, 120, 121
- sight, 64–5; *see also* vision
- Sill, Geoffrey, 165
- Siskin, Clifford, 48, 49
- Southerne, Thomas, 71
- Spacks, Patricia Meyer, 131–2, 140, 157
- spectacle
 and prose fiction, 61
 and public opinion, 60
 as tool of political control, 58–9, 60
- speech, and writing, 175n23
- Spencer, Jane, 87
- Steele, Richard, 44, 49, 96, 120
- Sterne, Laurence, 103
- Stinstra, Johannes, 171
- Stoicism, and Shaftesbury, 100, 110
- Stone, Lawrence, 154
- Straub, Kristina, 168
- subjectivity, 8, 9, 10
- sublime, and individualism, 7
- Suckling, Sir John, 84–5
- Swift, Jonathan, 28, 32, 53
 sympathy, and Hume, 116, 117, 129–31, 134
- Tavor, Eve, 101
- Temple, Kathryn, 122
- Terada, Rei, 7, 8, 9, 20
- theatre, *see* drama
- Todd, Janet, 71, 76, 88
- tragedy, 11
- Trotter, Catharine, 32
- truth
 and Hume: distinguishing from falsehood, 132, 133, 135, 136–7, 138; love of, 124; utilitarian rationale for desire for, 124
 and Richardson's *Pamela*, 160–3, 164–5
- Turner, James, 149, 164
- Tuveson, Ernest, 51
- Valenza, Robin, 129
- vernacular culture, 33, 180n4
- Virgil, 18
- vision, 177n41
 and Bacon, 13
 and Boyle, 64–5
 and colour blindness, 64–5
 and Locke, 51–2; man with 'microscopical' eyes, 56–7; unreliability of visual information, 56
 and love, 64, 65
 and scientific study of, 65–6
 and visual imagination, 66–7; reading, 68–9
- Wahrman, Dror, 9
- Waller, Edmund, 84–5
- Warburton, William, 160
- Ward, Ned, 71
- Warner, William, 94, 107, 118, 120, 122, 139, 144, 149, 156, 160, 173n8
- Watt, Ian, 30, 164
- Webster, William, 144

- Wehrs, Donald, 87
- Whichcote, Benjamin, 109
- William of Orange, 58
- Wilmot, John, Earl of Rochester,
59, 85
- wit
 - and Dryden, 18, 36
 - and Hobbes, 36
 - and Locke, 36–7
- words, and Locke, 39
- writing
 - and identity, 158–60
 - and Locke, 55–6
 - and Richardson, 160
 - and speech, 175n23
- Zimbardo, Rose, 71
- Zunshine, Lisa, 8