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FEAR OF FICTION:
THE AUTHORIAL RESPONSE TO REALISM IN
SELECTED WORKS BY SWIFT, DEFOE, AND RICHARDSON

by

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Joan Elizabeth RogersABSTRACTFEAR OF FICTION: THE AUTHORIAL RESPONSE TO REALISM IN SELECTED
WORKS BY SWIFT, DEFOE, AND RICHARDSON

If Mrs. Whitehouse produced a pornographic play, it would arouse enormous interest, mainly because of Mrs. Whitehouse's well known views on pornography. It is an ancient fact of English Literature that two of the best known pioneers of the English realistic novel, Daniel Defoe and Samuel Richardson, were Puritans. And there is an almost equally ancient critical tradition which traces the easy path of Puritan literature, in combination with other cultural forces, towards the production of realistic fiction.

The central argument of this thesis is that there was no such easy path. Puritan autobiography was unrealistic in its very nature, while Puritan feeling towards fiction was hostile, with realistic, or verisimilar fiction provoking most hostility because the most deceitful. Thus the writing of a realistic novel was a radical departure for the Puritan, and one that was fraught with tension. It is this tension, or fear of fiction, and its effects on work of the two Puritan novelists, and that odd Anglican Jonathan Swift, that is the subject of this thesis. Swift joins Defoe and Richardson as an author with a special relationship with Defoe, and himself closer to a fearful anti-mimetic "tradition" than the comic tradition in which he is usually placed alongside Fielding and Sterne. Selected works of the three authors reveal their struggle with the intense problems that realism created for them, and their eventual 'solutions'. Hence by the time that Dr. Johnson made his famous critical statement against the fearful potential of realism in his fourth Rambler (31 March 1750), he was actually formalising material that had been well examined in the fiction under discussion, rather than beating an original critical path in response to Fielding's supposedly 'new' verisimilar form.

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DECLARATION

The work described in this thesis has not been submitted for any other degree and is the original work of the author except where acknowledged by reference,

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CHAPTER 1 - Introduction

1.1. Fear of Fiction

Let us begin at the beginning. In the beginning, or just after it, there was a garden with two human creatures in it, Adam and his wife Eve. They were loved and well looked after by a good supernatural being called God. They were also in danger of being troubled by a bad supernatural creature called Satan. In the garden what concerns us is a tree with forbidden fruit on it, called the Tree of Knowledge. Persuaded by Satan, one of the human creatures decided she needed Knowledge very badly. Having gained Knowledge by eating the forbidden fruit, she persuaded her partner to do likewise. They then discovered that Knowledge was evil, literally ashes in the mouth. Their punishment had thus come simultaneously with their prize, inflicted by the righteous God.

Elsewhere (we need not be specific about where) another creature, Prometheus, holds regular intercourse with supernatural beings. Unfortunately, after Prometheus had helped the chief god, Zeus, to win a battle, Zeus decides to destroy the human race. Prometheus then steals the equivalent to Knowledge in the form of the immortal's fire, in order to save humanity. Fire subsequently becomes the source of all discoveries, and of mastery over Nature, the arts, and inventions. Prometheus is punished by the god, as were the two other human creatures we have discussed, the difference being that Zeus is evidently an unrighteous god.

Subsequently Adam, Eve, and Prometheus are redeemed by part mortal, part divine creatures, Christ and Heracles. The first pair however get their redemption at the price of continual submission and repentance for the original sin of gaining Knowledge, which



accumulates around it all other sins. Prometheus however wins his place back as of right once released from his punishment. Meanwhile mankind goes on to greater and greater achievements thanks to his hard won gift of fire (1).

These myths illustrate (among other things) humanity's double edged response to knowledge. It seems that Knowledge is both a desirable thing, leading to truth and to mastery over Nature, and the source of presumption and immorality, especially betrayal and deceit, resulting in a need to labour to get at the truth (which had formerly been clear and easy of access), and producing only cloudy versions of it in the fallen condition. It is thus a rise and a fall to gain knowledge, the best that mankind can attain or the most pernicious evil, depending on which way it is looked at. This thesis is concerned primarily with the response to knowledge as evil since, as the well known story of the garden indicates, the Christian (or perhaps rather the Hebraic) tradition has promulgated the view of knowledge as essentially tainted and of course the authors we are discussing were the product of this tradition.

Knowledge is perhaps most frequently transmitted through books. Our human creatures learned to write, and thus to 'fix' the natural process of speech into permanent form. There is a sense in which the process of learning to write represents itself a kind of Fall, with script secondary, a barrier between the direct correlation of word and thing which opens the ground to falsehood.

Whether producer or product of the Fall therefore, script had a tendency to take on the same ambivalent status as knowledge, whose amanuensis it became, and this despite the fact that strictly speaking knowledge had a double potential for good or bad. The myth grew that

in the Golden Prelapsarian age man spoke, while fallen man writes.

Script had a tendency to be seen as potentially the instrument of corrupt individuals, precisely because script is material, and allows a premeditation that oral communication cannot match. Thus it can be placed on paper, replaced, manipulated, and even forged, and of course it can create quite imaginary tales which may be taken as true accounts. The man who would fear to lie to the face may well find reserves of dubious courage on paper. Script may become object, the page carrying around a sort of 'frozen speech'. It is this quality for example which imbues a book bearing curses with the power of the curse, despite the fact that the book is merely pages between covers. Produce the book and the superstitious perceiver sees it as an object in itself to be feared. Likewise a text containing the recipe for a cure may be seen as itself a source of beneficent power. Thus texts, like knowledge, become the source of double potency. They could be the path to truth, if not truth itself. Alternatively they could be viewed as the source of arcane mysteries, or lies, especially when they take the form of fictional tales. This ambivalent status for the text is perhaps epitomised by the practice of the Medieval church, simultaneously proclaiming the Bible to be God's word, and therefore the truth, yet prohibiting access by the laity, as if aware that even the truth may lead to evil if it is offered in textual form.

But before the Christian church had laid hands on literature, and especially fiction (for it was this form of script that attracted most fear, while other script became accepted as capable of leading to, or representing the truth) Greek philosophy had already formalised these essentially primitive fears about fiction into critical theory,

thereby rationalizing an irrational unease. Plato and Aristotle's literary theories reflect the dual response to literature that we have already seen with regard to knowledge. They are important in that they form the basis for later beliefs and responses to literature.

Plato's theory saw little that was positive in the process of copying nature and passing it back to an audience. Indeed he established a tradition which, had it been followed, would have precluded the writing of creative literature altogether. As it was, it confirmed the pattern of anxiety latent in humanity, especially towards fictional texts. This anxiety was modified in various ways in the succeeding centuries, but was always liable to become active when either renewed confidence about man's access to truth, or primitive superstition, came to the front of society.

The status allocated to fiction in critical theory tends to hinge around where reality, or truth is seen to be located. Plato reduced the status of fiction by locating reality in the transcendental rather than the empirical world. In Platonic theory the material world is itself merely a copy of the transcendent Ideal Forms, and the artist who copies the material world, however brilliantly, produces only a copy of a copy. Hence poetry was at the third remove from reality and since, if it looked sufficiently lifelike it was capable of deceiving that Reason which is given in order to apprehend reality, Plato saw poetry as subversive in its worst sense (2). Plato's theory was thus the first formal critical blow struck against realism:

In the Platonic critique, as the appearance of artistic imitation becomes more convincing, it also becomes more treacherous, and this development entails the diminution of any potential for social value. The simulacrum thus represents not the height of artistry's achievement, but its most despicable product. Not only rhetorical embellishment (as for Locke) but imitation itself is seen as inevitably corrupt and corrupting... The first full-blown critique of mimesis in the West was thus profoundly negative, and in precisely those terms that the continuing dialogue on realism has not yet succeeded in discarding or fully clarifying.(3)

Plato draws the obvious conclusion, at least in his Republic, that his theory promulgates. Fiction and the poets who create it are expelled from the Republic.

Christianity from the first adopted an essentially Platonic, and hostile approach to fiction. The major difference between the Christian and Platonic location of truth was that whereas for Plato the Ideal had always existed transcendentally, Christ's brief sojourn on earth meant that the transcendent had once existed in the world of matter, although the Ascension lifted the location for truth back into the transcendent. The world continued to be seen as essentially a shadowy image of the Divinely True, and Christian theories drew upon Platonic imagery for expression. The period of Christ's earthly visitation had lowered the status of fiction in particular, since this visit had been of all things real, making it critical therefore to divide this piece of history from everything else:

The Hebraic tradition surely gave force to the idea that it was important to distinguish the veritable past from falsehood and fiction. The narrative mode of the Testaments, Eric Auerbach points out, is radically different from that of Homer; the Greek requires no belief, the Hebrew demands it. It did not much matter to the Greeks whether Iphigenia was sacrificed by Agamemnon or miraculously preserved; it mattered a great deal to Christians that Jesus did not die on the cross. When the Odyssey and the Aeneid were read as if they,

like the Bible, were told "for true", they became not merely lies but, since they ascribed divine powers to Zeus and to Venus, damnable lies. So the fathers of the Church described them.

The division of history into true and false associated fiction with the latter and infected it with its moral stain.(4)

In a culture where such an attitude prevails it is a wonder that any fiction was ever written. Certainly the belief that the Bible was the all sufficient, truthful narrative was remarkably persistent, and given new impetus by the Reformation, it survived in English nonconformist circles well into the nineteenth century as Mathew Arnold's warning to nineteenth century "Hebrews" that 'No man, who knows nothing else, knows even his Bible' indicates (5).

Fictional writing did develop in Christian cultures however, despite the 'official' antagonism towards it, and various justifications for it evolved. The first openings for fiction may well have been provided by the early Christians themselves, while still proclaiming narrative 'truth' for their additions. To start with, Christianity was not the sole religion 'on offer' in the postclassical age. Written to confirm the faith of believers, and especially to convert others, the first weakness in the anti-fiction lobby came with the emergence of various:

gospels, epistles, visions, and autobiographical narratives attributed to the Old Testament fathers and prophets, to the apostles, to Joseph, his son James, Mary, and to Jesus himself.(6)

These works demanded to be admitted to the Biblical canon as entirely truthful, historical accounts. They were proclaimed apocryphal by the Church, but continued to be read throughout the Middle Ages, and were often better known than the Scriptures.

Various authenticating devices gradually evolved in their

support. Texts were claimed to have been hidden, buried, or closely guarded, and then 'discovered'. The antiquity of the text was offered as further evidence for its authenticity, together with circumstantial evidence, and claims of the unimpeachable character of the narrator. Eye witnesses were named, or alternatively ancient authorities (7).

Gradually the Church itself made additions to the central Biblical narrative in the form of various theological pronouncements and amendments. These too breached the primacy of Biblical narrative, establishing thereby the important precedent of extra-Biblical truth in Church tradition. It was thereafter a relatively simple step to developing saint's lives into merely exemplary lives and stories, and extra-Biblical truth into moral truths that might arise from other non-Biblical narratives.

This process of evolving tolerance was gradual and was not part of the early years of Church history where the environment was hostile to any extra-Biblical narrative. Centuries later the proponents of the Reformation quite consciously modelled their behaviour upon that of the early Church, including hostility to fiction and an insistence on the testamentary truth of the Bible, as we shall see.

Within the relatively tolerant environment of the Medieval period, sophisticated writers could even make jokes about their pretence of 'truth', Chaucer being an obvious example. For Medieval audiences the whole business of the 'truth' came in fact to lack the urgency of the early Church. When the Bible was struggling to establish itself as the 'Truth' other narratives were dangerous rivals. Once the Bible was accepted as the sole repository of absolute Truth, this

Became almost an encouragement to other narratives:

The unquestionable verity of Biblical story relegated all other histories to the realm of human uncertainty, so that a very large body of apocryphal, hagiological, and quasi-historical narrative, if not demonstrably false or harmful to the soul, could be tolerated as perhaps true. (8)

There were other reasons too why testamentary truth gradually became less urgent to a Church initially very urgent about it. To understand this we need to know something about the Medieval attitude to time, space, and the individual.

Acceptance of the Bible as true brought with it acceptance of the Biblical time scheme. This was essentially a-historical, despite the finite time scheme it offered for things on earth, since behind time lay the reality of eternity. God's plan for the world allowed a single major change for mankind, that from time to eternity, at the Day of Judgement when the world came to an end.

As with Plato's scheme therefore, whatever had happened or would happen was subsumed under the eternal verities. A scheme in which nothing new could be produced discouraged attention to particular events or people, which were after all merely typical. Man exists in an essentially single time scheme, under an unchanging hierarchy:

When time and space have a beginning and an end men are also fixed in status, and the whole message of their culture is to remind them of that place and to warn them that only sorrow can result from any attempt to break the chains that tie them to family, trade, religion, and class. In such a scheme literature and sermon restate old truths, and these truths encourage the audience to think about itself in stereotypic ways.(9)

Within this world view it was unlikely that many would seek alternative truths since the scheme by which man understood his place in the universe was immensely flattering. While the universe was ostensibly theocentric and concerned with the nature of God, it was

in fact primarily anthropocentric. At the centre of things was Man's struggle for salvation, with nature essentially an animistic projection of human attitudes. The cosmos was fixed and known, with a static earth surrounded by planets, all moving within the eighth sphere, which was closed and finite. Above all this was the immutable truth of God, partly visible in the process of Divinely ordered hierachy, or Great Chain of Being.

Within this world view as we have said, fiction of a certain kind could exist and even flourish. Categories of allowable fiction included allegory and the moral and exemplary tale, which were the natural corollary of a scheme in which signification, that is language which has meaning beyond the literal, is all important. Mere verisimilar fiction for its own sake however was unacceptable:

There was no legitimate category of literature into which the verisimilar fiction could fit. The latitude granted by Lactantius and St. Augustine extended only to rhetorical significations of truth,....The imagination itself was distrusted as the faculty which distorted and falsified reality. Yet medieval Christianity recognised that while Truth itself must be reserved to the articles of faith, a great body of narrative which might or might not be true was harmless or even salutary. It could not be very wrong, therefore, to pretend to write history, particularly if some good purpose might be alleged for it. The compiler of a manual for preachers remarks of the exemplary tale: "Whether it is the truth of history or fiction doesn't matter because the example is not supplied for its own sake, but for its signification."(10)

As is well known, this comfortable Medieval cosmology was changed drastically by various scientific discoveries from the late fifteenth century, and especially the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries onwards. These changed perspectives resurrected the old urgency about truth, where it was to be found, and human access to it. As a part of this 'debate' the status of fiction came under scrutiny again, with the latent fears about it bubbling back to the surface.

The effort of the majority of men was to reconcile the new thinking patterns to older patterns, and in particular new empirical truths with 'the Truth'. It was essential that this reconciliation should occur since the alternative seemed to be a Godless universe. That catastrophic loss of faith so noted in Victorian men of letters after the publication of Darwin's Origin of Species (1859) was presaged by equally catastrophic publications in the two centuries previously. Descartes and Newton (to name but two) were as powerful in their impact as Darwin, and this impact was reflected in eighteenth-century literature as much as Darwin's impact was reflected in the nineteenth century. That there was still a faith for the Victorians to lose was due primarily to the efforts of hundreds of ordinary men, philosophers, and divines in the eighteenth century to effect some kind of reconciliation between science and religion.

We must look briefly at the sources of change. Then as now it was the observation of space that started discussion. Copernicus (1473-1543) had "begun" the process of scientific questioning of traditional assumptions by challenging the fixed cosmology of the Ptolemaic universe. He posited a heliocentric universe with an outer sphere not closed and finite, but perhaps infinite and infinitely alterable. The impact of Copernican theory was not as great as might be expected however, perhaps because as Marjorie Nicolson suggested (11), it was an intellectual and mathematical theory rather than one based on sense perception, perhaps because while positing a heliocentric universe Copernicus retained the notion of crystalline spheres, so that Copernican theory was essentially a modification rather than a refutation of earlier cosmology.

Subsequent discoveries confirmed Copernican theory however. The discovery of a 'new star' in 1572 by Tycho Brahe (1546-1601) displaced completely the notion of an immutable heaven, based upon the sensory perception of the new star rather than by theorising a mutable heaven, as Copernicus had done. In 1577 Brahe:

traced a comet's orbit around the sun and outside the orbit of Venus...thus jeopardizing the notion that comets, not being made of 'celestial' substance, could not go above the sphere of the moon as the limit of the elementary world. (12)

In 1604 Johan Kepler (1571-1630) discovered a second 'new star', and in 1609 he abandoned the traditional theory of circular motions for elliptical planetary orbits. He thus established the basis of modern astronomy by combining a sun centred universe with elliptical orbits.

In 1610 Galileo Galilei (1564-1642) in his Sidereus Nuncius set out the discovery that Jupiter had four stars and the Milky Way an infinity of stars. This displaced the tradition that planets could only revolve around the earth since here was a planet (Jupiter) with four planets revolving around it. It also confirmed the suspicion that the world was not unique, but rather there might be a plurality of worlds. Sir Henry Wotton (1568-1639), resident in Venice on the day that Sidereus Nuncius appeared there, communicated the news and the book, to the Earl of Salisbury in England, leaving philosophers in his homeland to work out its implications. Some were merely reactionary, seeing the discoveries as evidence of the sort of disorder to be expected before the end of the world (13). Others were left pondering, and no doubt occasionally looking through the wonderful telescopes that became a common amusement in public parks by the middle years of the seventeenth century.

Others had already begun to question. Philosophy was as yet a single science and the practical discoveries of one group of philosophers stimulated theoretical propositions from others. Sir Francis Bacon (1560-1626) published The Advancement of Learning in 1605. The title is significant since, despite his pious disclaimers, Bacon translated the new discoveries of gunpowder, the compass and printing as well as those of the new astronomy into a progressive view of humanity, with a better future improved by discoveries. Most importantly, Bacon proposed to achieve these advances by a change in the method of approaching learning, based upon empirical observation, not reliance upon ancient authorities as was traditional. The results of such a method would be seen not only as discoveries, but also in social organisation, since the methods of the one science could be applied to the other.

Bacon's work was followed on the Continent by that of René Descartes (1596-1650). Descartes's method differed from that of Bacon in that it was not empiricist but rationalist, based on 'truths of reason' which he then hoped to prove mathematically. Nevertheless, like Bacon, Descartes felt that the world was ultimately knowable, and that this knowledge was not dependent on past modes of thought but on use of the proper method, usually at odds with past methods and thought.

Between them Bacon and Descartes, with the help of other philosophers subsequently, exploded the notion that men's senses are essentially alike, sharing a universal truth. And although their theories were different, Hobbes (1588-1679), Locke (1632-1704), and Berkeley (1685-1753) maintained a similar stance, in that they were all prepared to theorise on their own account rather than accept

ancient tradition.

Meanwhile scientific discoveries and theories proceeded apace, some of it genuine some rather bizarre. Among the genuine were those of the famous Sir Isaac Newton (1642-1727). Building on the mathematically based principles of Galileo, Newton had published the Principia Mathematica (1687 although published without a date). It is difficult to estimate the impact of Newton. His genius was towering, and recognized accordingly at the time. He was President of the Royal Society from 1703 until his death. That great figure of the Enlightenment, Voltaire (1694-1778) attended the funeral and noted the respect in which the great man was held. Pope of course celebrated Newton's 'light', but Pope is merely the best known of the many who received literary inspiration from Newton's science:

By the time of Newton's death in 1727 it became almost obligatory to mention Newton in a poem, on whatever subject, so much so that Somerville rounded off with some lines upon him even that agreeable hunting poem The Chase. Indeed a poem on Newton seemed to the young poets the first step up Parnassus.(14)

It is Newton above all others who gave philosophers of the eighteenth century the grounds upon which they optimistically assumed that they could discover the laws of history, and social and political life:

Newton had performed the unprecedented task of explaining the material world, that is, of making it possible, by means of relatively few fundamental laws of immense scope and power, to determine, at least in principle, the properties and behaviour of every particle of every material body in the universe, and that with a degree of precision and simplicity undreamt of before... It was natural, and indeed almost inevitable, that those who had been liberated by the new sciences should seek to apply their methods and principles to a subject which was clearly in even more desperate need of order than the facts of the external world. ... A science of nature had been created; a

science of mind had yet to be made... To every genuine question there were many false answers, and only one true one; once discovered it was final - it remained for ever true; all that was needed was a reliable method of discovery.(15)

Other changes also evolved from the rapid progression of scientific and technological discoveries, together with their associated changes in philosophical attitudes. A changed perspective on space for example produced an inevitable changed perspective on time. As we saw in both Christian and Platonic tradition, reality had been located in the timeless and universal, with a resultant a-historical attitude to time. With the new concept of an infinite and changing space however, man in one sense lost much of his importance in the cosmic scheme. In another sense however he regained it. He was no longer located, for example, in a universe inevitably winding down, but the reverse, a universe in which change and even progress was possible for the individual. Time now began to matter as the milieu for change. Newton's discovery of gravitation introduced a minutely individuated perspective on time, one in which it was possible to measure the falling of objects in precise time/space locations.

Meanwhile, philosophical thought made its own pronouncements. Descartes had established the primacy of the individual's thought processes, by offering them as the proof of existence in the dictum "cogito, ergo sum". Thereafter while the debate continued as to what constituted the exact nature of personal identity, the principle was established that individual identity existed and mattered.

This emphasis upon the individual self, precisely located in time and space, and important as an individual, resulted in an entirely new vision of man. His individual outpourings became

increasingly important. His personal sufferings too were regarded in an entirely different light. The humanitarian agitation of the eighteenth century evolved from this changed perspective, for physical suffering becomes important and shameful if it is inflicted on the unique flesh of an individual and not merely the temporary house of the soul, as in Medieval thought.

The eventual result was a new interest in the rights of minorities (unique individuals now not mad aberrants), the suppression of the slave trade in British colonies, and a whole mass of nineteenth century social reforms. Without this changed sensibility, the pathos of an early sentimental novel like Clarissa (1747-8) would have been unintelligible, although Clarissa becomes an allegorical exemplary figure at the end of the book, showing Richardson's struggle to accommodate psychological realism with the needs of the older (and less individualistic) form, spiritual autobiography.

In literary terms, the emphasis upon the individual self gradually led to the development of what we now call psychological realism, with its interest in the workings of the individual human mind in various situations. Without this changed view of the self, developing from the sixteenth century onwards, and coming to fruition in the seventeenth and especially eighteenth century, it would also have been impossible to conceive of books like Robinson Crusoe (1719), Moll Flanders (1722), and Roxana (1724), or Pamela (1740). These works owed much to Puritan spiritual autobiography of course, and indeed this form too had at its back a Protestant view of the importance of man's individual relationship to God. But by the time these fictional works were being written,

they were developing quite beyond the confines of the conventional and typical spiritual autobiographical portrayal of the psyche at work, into a more secular, and especially individuated portrayal, concentrating on the self for its own sake with all its subjective idiosyncracies. It was this development beyond the spiritual autobiography and into realism, both circumstantial and psychological, that led to the tensions between the older form and the new that are apparent in these early works of fiction.

Meanwhile, geographical and other discoveries that travellers were making now served to confirm a more precise spatial analysis, eventually leading to the conclusion (in view of some of the peculiarities discovered) that there could be no such things as universal man or general nature (16). Travel literature of all kinds became a means of defining the self in comparison to others. As a result it also became an effective device for satire.

Not everyone was a convert to the emerging individualism of course. There was a longstanding preference for the generalizing tradition throughout the eighteenth century, particularly in literature and the arts, with Johnson's Rasselas (1759) by no means a late example. It is important to realise this, and to see those who preferred the general to the particular not as a rearguard action to the new philosophy, but as a dynamic and creative movement demanding serious attention. But although some would merely reject one or other position, (as with Johnson's trenchant preference for the general, or Blake's acid rejection of it in his Marginalia on Reynold's Discourses, c.1808) attention was being given to the effort to reconcile the seemingly disparate old and new philosophies in the arts as well as in science and religion.

We have of course come on to discuss the effects on literature of the various changes outlined above. They occurred alongside other well documented social changes such as the rising and the expanding of the middle classes, with the growth of commercial interests gradually assuming power from an aristocratic landowning class. The growth of middle class power, leisure, and education led to an increased demand for reading material, with a resultant loss of aristocratic patronage of literature thanks to the growth of a thriving book trade, in which many of the same middle classes made the money that was to give them leisure and power. All of these changes helped to effect that gradual turning away from traditional modes of thought towards individualism in an open society (17).

Those analysing the changes occurring in prose fiction at this time, have tended to relate philosophical and scientific trends to literary trends in a reflexive continuum. In fact, the changed approaches to science and philosophy that occurred in the first half of the seventeenth century produced literary results mainly in the later half of the seventeenth century, and the beginning of the eighteenth century. We may best explain this time lag by positing not a direct movement from science and philosophy into literature, but a movement whereby the changes that were occurring gave renewed emphasis to the truth question. Realism gradually emerged as one of the answers to this question.

The movement from science and philosophy into literature via another issue (the issue of truth) is an important difference from the straight movement of the one to the other. It accounts in part for the defensive posture of authors to the question of truth,

usually manifested in their prefaces. Authors were consciously answering criticism brought about by the changes we have outlined rather than passively responding to that change. The new urgency about truth also accounts, paradoxically, for the resurrection of the old superstitions and attacks on fiction that had appeared in the past. These now reappeared alongside the new "scientific discourses" against fiction, and indeed sometimes formed a part of those discourses.

Thus Bacon's Advancement of learning ushered in alongside his progressive view of society a renewed anxiety about the nature of words. The res et verba controversy, trying to forge a purer language for the needs of science and the discovery of truth, was essentially less an advance and more a regression to that fear of the written word as deviant, secondary, and unnatural that we have already discussed. It is thus interesting to see that what philosophers thought to be the clear light of Reason was actually very close to the darker lights of superstition, producing an almost superstitious reverence for the truth telling side of script, and an exaggerated fear of the lying potential of script.

What Bacon and the members of the Royal Society were attempting to do was to break down the barrier between word and thing, that certain kinds of script especially seemed to create, and restore them to a one to one relationship which was 'natural' and therefore truthful. Thomas Sprat (1635-1713), the historian of the Royal Society, is quite clear about this. He wanted:

to separate the knowledge of Nature, from the colours of Rhetorick, the devices of Fancy, or the delightful deceit of Fables. (18)

Sprat's ideal for language, promulgated among the Members, was to:

reject all the amplifications, digressions, and swellings of style: to return back to the primitive purity, and shortness, when men deliver'd so many things, almost in an equal number of words. (19)

'Primitive' and 'purity' are key words in these passages, with imaginative language seen as morally tainted. This puts fiction (synonyms for which tend to be 'metaphors', 'fable', 'allegory', or 'poetry') back in a very low status, leading men from the truth, which by the proper method of discourse was now thought to be attainable. As a result we find scientists and philosophers inveighing against the metaphoric or fictional use of language. Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) in his Leviathan (1651) opposes 'perspicuous words' leading to the 'benefit of mankind' to 'metaphors, and senseless and ambiguous words' which are 'like ignes fatui' leading to 'innumerable absurdities; and their end, contention and sedition, or contempt' (20).

The imagination under Hobbes's scheme was merely 'decaying sense', with the poet simply rearranging these fading images. Hobbes's follower, Bishop Samuel Parker (1640-1688) wanted metaphors abolished from sermons by act of Parliament (21). Parker was so antagonistic to the obscuring effects of metaphor that he wrote a lengthy treatise, A free and impartiall censure of the Platonick philosophie (1666), a large part of which is concerned with the obscuring effects of metaphorical language on the search for truth. Parker establishes the basis of his dislike of 'Emblems, Fables, Symbols, Parables, heaps of Metaphors, Allegories, and all sorts of Mystical Representations' as being that;

the Powers of Imagination are so great, and the Instances in which one thing may resemble another are so many, that there is scarce anything in nature, in which the Fancie cannot find or make a Varietie of such Symbolising Resemblances. (22)

Parker felt that such abuses as were practised were 'the Catholick Crime of all the Learned World' (23), but he went on to make a particularly interesting attack on two groups of perverse metaphor users:

there is so much Affinity between Rosie-Crucianisme and Enthusiasme, that whoever entertains the one, he may upon the same Reason embrace the other. (24)

Parker considered the crime of these two groups to be their pretence:

to be Natures Secretaries, & to understand all her Intrigues, or to be Heaven's Privadoes, talking of the Transactions there like men lately drop'd thence encircled with Glories, and cloathed with the Garments of Moses & Elias, and yet put us off with nothing but rampant Metaphors, and Pompous Allegories, and other splendid but empty Schemes of Speech. (25)

Parker's distrust of enthusiasm is less a matter of disliking Puritan hyperbole and wild language, and more a dislike of the generally metaphorical cast of the language. This is an important distinction and may help to explain why Puritan narrative continued to be disliked by antagonists even when many Puritan preachers and writers (by and large) had also moved towards a plainer language. However plain, Puritan narrative could not eradicate its essentially metaphorical cast, which antagonists felt was mere fiction, or 'to say no worse, Poets and Romancers' (26).

The effects of the misuse of language, as Parker's imagery indicates, are immoral, fallen, and unclean:

All those Theories in Philosophie which are expressed only in metaphorical Termes, are not real Truths, but the meer Products of Imagination,.... thus their wanton & luxuriant fancies climbing up into the Bed of Reason,

do not only defile it by unchast and illegitimate Embraces, but instead of real conceptions and notices of Things, impregnate the Mind with nothing but Ayrie and Subventaneous Phantasms. (27)

Parker's own language at this point is highly irrational, revealing his fear of written language (especially metaphor, or in other words fictional language) as a deceitful barrier between word and thing, yet expressing this fear in highly metaphorical language. Parker is only one step away from seeing such language as the source magical delusion of the type we have already posited. Thomas Sprat put this fear into words when he announced that metaphors were too 'bewitching, to consist with right practice' (28).

These critics of creative language acknowledged the massive power of the author, but saw this as all the more reason why such usage should be suppressed. Accordingly, John Locke (1632-1704) recommended that if a father discovered poetic talent in his child he:

should labour to have it suppressed as much as may be. (29)

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries then saw the resurrection of earlier anxieties about the deceitful potential of the written word. There was as a result a quite conscious movement away from the exuberant language of the first half of the seventeenth century, and a search for 'purity' (or redemption from the sin of writing) in a one to one relationship between word and object. Those using the 'purified' language in their search for truth began to see in this, and to take on themselves a moral quality too - that of the sincere man or honnête homme. The sincere man discarded the traditional and therefore (by implication) artificial means of expression in favour not only of a strict concurrence between word

and thing, but also of an unpremeditated, (and again by implication) guileless language:

First, the utopian goal toward which many eighteenth-century authors strove was one of perfectly guileless behaviour. But some thinkers went beyond that and visualized the sincere state as an almost prelapsarian condition. So the second meaning of the sincere ideal is a state singularly uncorrupt. Observance of the standard of behaviour was to lead to a state of perfection sometimes identified with divine salvation itself..... a significant intellectual and moral movement in the eighteenth century was the quest for self-perfection and a perfect society, characterized significantly by the virtue of sincerity. (30)

One of the forms this 'sincerity' took in literature was the attempt to minimize the gap between paper and words by getting the words down quickly enough. One can see this operating in the great letter writers of the eighteenth century. Writing to close friends, many of them seem, as a token of that friendship, to emphasise how casual, if not careless their letters were in the composition. This immediate transcription from mind to paper was not an insult, but the highest compliment, for via the rapid transition the 'instant whole man' could be offered, without any of the devious sophistication that Dr. Johnson and others seemed to suspect might otherwise result:

There is, indeed, no transaction which offers stronger temptations to fallacy and sophistication than epistolary intercourse.... a friendly letter is a calm and deliberate performance in the cool of leisure, in the stillness of solitude, and surely no man sits down to depreciate by design his own character. (31)

Few were exempt from these 'spontaneous' urges. Even those two polished Augustans Jonathan Swift and Alexander Pope were infected. Swift, writing to the Countess of Suffolk (26 October 1731) began with the disclaimer:

Your Ladyship's letter made me a little grave, and in going to answer it, I was in great danger of leaning on my elbow, (I mean my left elbow) to consider what

I should write, which posture I never used except when I was under a necessity of writing to Fools, or Lawyers, or Ministers of State, where I am to consider what is to be said. (32)

Later, writing to Pope in 1735, Swift repeated this claim in a rather more earnest tone, as evidence of the 'mere innocent friendship' subsisting between himself and Pope:

I believe we neither of us ever leaned our head upon our left hand to study what we should write next; yet we have held a constant intercourse from your youth and my middle age. (33)

It was partly in an attempt to imitate the immediacy and sincerity of spontaneous script that the first person form came to be so widely adopted in eighteenth century fiction, despite its limitations and difficulties as a form. It was one of the literary responses to the renewed urgency about the dangers of lying script, rather than a primitive naivety about narrative which a later generation of novelists would discard.

Nothing seems so truthful as the 'I' who talks to 'you', whether 'you' is the reader (a very powerful effect) or a listener within the book (34). As a result vast numbers of first person narrators poured out their "truth" from the mid seventeenth century onwards in fictional memoirs, diaries, autobiographies, travelogues, and epistolary collections. At the same time many authors claimed their stories were true by adding a mass of authenticating material such as discovered letters, personal knowledge of the author, or protagonists and the like. The effect was to blur the boundary between fact and fiction at exactly the time various groups were demanding a clear separation. The paradox of realism is that in its efforts to make itself look truthful it had to lie the more.

Many of these first person narratives were passed off as authentic, the most famous cases probably being the authenticity attributed to Defoe's Memoirs of Captain Carlton (1728) by both Samuel Johnson and Sir Walter Scott, or the hugely popular Les Lettres Portugaises (1669) translated into English in 1678 by Sir Roger L'Estrange, with the debate still continuing as to the authenticity of this latter work (35). 'Keys' were often produced to elucidate the hidden personages in many wholly fictitious works, a practice Gulliver (with marvellous irony) complains of bitterly.

It would be an exaggeration to say that the new preoccupation with the truth was pushing all fiction towards the verisimilar. Quite bizarre works were also announcing themselves as 'true' or 'fact', while other authors, as we have seen, held that the truth lay in general representation rather than minutely particular accounts. On the other hand many authors did move towards verisimilar representation. Thus a gradual differentiation evolved between the novel and the romance on the basis that the novel had more 'reality':

The marvellous had long been losing esteem, and writers of romances in the previous century had been accustomed to discuss in their prefaces to what use historical incidents might be put. Thus Sir George Mackenzie, in the preface to his Arctina (1660), had censured those who have 'stuffed their Books with things impracticable, which because they were above the reach of man's power, they should never have fallen within the circle of his observation.' (36)

By 1691 William Congreve was confidently differentiating between the novel and the romance on the same basis. Congreve gave his preference to the novel, and called his own work a novel:

Romances are generally composed of the Constant Loves and invincible Courages of Hero's, Heroins, Kings and Queens, Mortals of the first Rank, and so forth; where lofty Language, miraculous Contingencies and impossible Performances, elevate and surprize the Reader into a giddy Delight which leaves him flat upon the Ground whenever he gives of, (sic)....

Novels are of a more familiar nature; Come near us, and represent to us Intrigues in practice, delight us with Accidents and odd Events, but not such as are wholly unusual or unpresidented, such which not being so distant from our Belief bring also the pleasure nearer us. Romances give more of Wonder, Novels more Delight. (37)

A few years later Mrs. Manley made the same differentiation, showing the growing sense that the novel was a verisimilar form. Mrs. Manley came very close to a full blown statement of the distinguishing features of realism in her preface to Queen Zarah and the Zarazians (1705). Mrs. Manley argued that a minute and accurate rendering of 'the common effects of nature' is the best way of engaging reader attention and sympathy. She also advocated that an author 'ought immediately to take Notice of the Time and Sense where those Accidents happen'd' (38). The author should not keep a reader in suspense for too long and, in effect, 'showing' is better than 'telling':

'tis not by Extravagant Expressions, nor Repeated Praises, that the Reader's Esteem is acquired to the Character of the Heroe's, their Actions ought to plead for them; 'tis by that they are made known, and describe themselves. (39)

Mrs. Manley was a very early proponent of the impartiality of an author:

Every Historian ought to be extremely uninterested; he ought neither to Praise nor Blame those he speaks of; he ought to be contented with Exposing the Actions, leaving an entire Liberty to the Reader to judge as he pleases. (40)

Finally, Mrs. Manley recognized that an author who engages in overt moralizing distracts and bores the reader:

an Historian that amuses himself by Moralizing or Describing, discourages an Impatient Reader, who is in haste to see the End of Intrigues. (41)

Typically Mrs. Manley recommends a 'free and sincere air', 'plainness', and 'simplicity'.

All of these early theorists labour the point that where their work scores is in the area of 'truth'. They come gradually to locate that truth in the familiar world, as these extracts from their theory illustrate. They also distinguished themselves from the romance, a practise that became a commonplace, and a good way to elevate one's own status at the expense of others. Verisimilitude, or truth-seeming became one way in which seventeenth and eighteenth century authors justified the writing of fiction. As a defence it was scrutinised for its efficacy like any other weapon of defence. On the other hand producing material that was so lifelike it could be mistaken for the real could be fraught with more dangers than the recognisably fictitious, an uneasy fear which persisted, and was eventually given critical form in Samuel Johnson's Rambler No. 4 (1750),

1.2: Puritan Fear of Fiction

There was then a broad mistrust of fiction in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a mistrust drawn from many sources and motives, and exacerbated by the newfound confidence in men's ability to attain the 'truth' by empirical experimentation and observation, or by rational inductive methods. These two centuries saw an additional source of mistrust of fiction to the earlier mistrust

on religious grounds. But the religious antagonism to fiction had by no means died away. It too had received new impetus by another potentially subversive movement, the Reformation, a movement whose conscious intention was to revert to the fervour and purity of the early Church. Among the groups most strongly attached to this idea of purity was that group which became known eventually by the rather 'cover all' title of Puritans. Their mistrust of fiction took on a deeper tinge even than the scientist/philosophers, because of the sinfulness they attached to the reading and writing of fiction.

This is ironic in view of what we have seen among their contemporaries, that is the correlation of Puritan narrative with allegory, metaphor, and downright lying. These two antithetical strands, the Puritan mistrust of fiction, and contemporary mistrust of supposed Puritan fictionalising, point to one of the paradoxes at the heart of Puritan life, which was inevitably mirrored in their narrative.

One source of the paradox lies in the fact that the Puritan, like his predecessors of the early Church, believed in the truth of the 'Bible alone', which indeed became their 'call cry' in the seventeenth century:

On the single but sufficient argument that by his Fall man has been rendered odious and impotent, they rejected the claims of natural reason or apostolic succession, inexorably forcing him to use the revealed truth of the Bible alone as the explicit and literal commandment of God on all matters of theology and church discipline. (42)

All the corrupt encrustations of Catholic belief would be scoured off by this simple reliance on Biblical text. This was the shared

aim of all the early Protestants, but it persisted with most vigour among the Puritans, who were eventually to break away from the compromises of the Anglican church.

The paradox of Puritanism lies in the fact that despite their 'official' rejection of all other narratives on the grounds of the sufficiency of the Bible, it is among this group that a huge body of extra-Biblical narrative arose, exactly as it did among their zealous forbears of the early Church. From the Puritan section of society came a huge rush of exemplary 'saints' lives, diaries, and autobiographies, which, (as Swift was shrewdly to point out in A Tale of a Tub, 1704), gave them a strange similarity to the Catholic Church they had rejected. The paradox then is that at the high point of Puritanism, when like Plato before them these eager seekers after truth were expelling the poets from their Republic by shutting the playhouses during the Commonwealth period (1648-1658) and dogmatically proclaiming the truth of the 'Bible alone', the most ardent believers nevertheless felt the need to produce an abundance of other narratives.

This was the result of two urgent but related needs, the one evangelical the other personal. The evangelical need was to awaken dormant souls to their need for conversion. The personal need was to prove to oneself that one was indeed Elect. The paradox of these needs, both active in their orientation, is that they arose from a faith the central tenet of which enforced passivity. Both Luther (1483-1546) and Calvin (1509-1564) had established a belief in predestination as the basis of Protestantism (43). If in effect God alone could elect, quite arbitrarily, the few chosen for

salvation rather than the individual being able to ascend due to any merit of his own, it is logically impossible for evangelising to be effective. A sinner even if awakened to consciousness of his sin, and a desire for salvation, had no hope if he were not destined for election, as the miserable young Bunyan realised:

For I evidently saw that unless the great God of his infinite grace and bounty, had voluntarily chosen me to be a vessel of mercy, though I should desire, and long, and labour until my heart did break, no good could come of it. (44)

But of course the human being could not live in such a despairing prospect. There had to be an outlet for hope for others, and proof for oneself, of the all important election. Narrative proof and narrative example came to be one of the means of creating proof and therefore hope.

This was itself a source of tension however, which harked back to the central tension between human hope and endeavour and the doctrine of passivity, for writing is itself an active process, and the narrative result is the shaping of material; yet for the Puritan only an objective and ostensibly passive (that is undirected by the needs of one's ego) narrative had any validity. Many a sensitive Puritan writer must have felt on occasions, as he wrote to try to prove his election, that he was wresting rather than writing this narrative from the recalcitrant stuff of life. But the implications of such a recognition were fearful. If one had indeed to create to prove that one was elect, this was a damnable effort, usurping the role of the only legitimate Creator, the act of a feigning hypocrite who could lead others astray. Any signs of active creativity that could lead to such dreadful

implications had therefore to be suppressed. The Puritan writer then, without intentional hypocrisy, adopted a variety of devices to eradicate his own dangerous individualism, striving for an effect of passive objectivity. It must have seemed a horrible irony to such writers when contemporaries like Swift and Parker seized upon these very features as evidence of the fictionality of Puritan narrative. In order to understand this strange phenomenon we need to look at the nature of Puritan narrative and the features which pushed it towards a seemingly fictional status when this was the very quality the Puritan most feared.

The most obvious feature pushing the narratives of real Puritans towards looking like fiction ('or to say no worse, Poets and Romancers' as Parker put it) was the sense that the Puritan life in narrative form led always to one conclusion, so that the apparently open potential of a life recorded was actually no such thing. Rather in the manner that Dr. Johnson noted that 'no man sits down to depreciate by design his own character', so perhaps no Puritan would ultimately, however agonised, write a lengthy account proving his forthcoming damnation.

Spiritual autobiography is perhaps the ultimate closed-ending narrative. If one did not actually finish it oneself, the burden of proof was there all along; it only needed an obliging friend to complete it after one's death for a suitable edificatory/evangelical narrative to be ready for circulation (45). This single ending disposes Puritan narrative towards the artificial-looking whatever the author's intention. The newly burgeoning

realism in contrast made its narratives look life like by open endedness, by the sense that, like life, the book may end anywhere. Thus when Crusoe, Pamela, and indeed Gulliver write their narratives in good Puritan style proving their own election, the inevitable response, (ideal for Swift's satiric purposes), was they were lying hypocrites.

Another feature of Puritan narrative which pushed it towards the artificial was its stylization, and this despite the fact that each narrative was meant to be the record of an individual life. It is easy to see how quickly confidence about access to truth, and personal salvation would fade for the individual when he faced his everyday, fluctuating, and contingent experience. Thus the struggling sinner inevitably sought proof, signs in his life which he could rely on as evidence of his election. Such proof could only be established if there were some kind of example against which one could compare one's own experience. Other converted sinners became the pattern, as they had relied on Biblical example, especially St. Paul. If one's own life deviated from the pattern, the fearful thought must inevitably occur that this was evidence that one was damned. It was too risky; as a result the account of salvation became a standard one. St. Paul's words 'This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am the chief' (I.Tim.i.15) became the commonplace claim of autobiographers. Paul Delany names Walter Pringle, John Bunyan, Richard Norwood, and Sarah Wight among the many claimants to the title 'chief of sinners', noting that Sarah Wight 'achieved that bad eminence at

the age of twelve' (46).

The individual writing his autobiography deliberately suppressed those elements we now take for granted in modern autobiographical form, as Delany points out in discussing Sir William Waller's Recollections, which although an extreme example, nevertheless reveals the prevailing tendency:

We find here an extreme example of the Calvinist's tendency to weigh, classify, and compare all the events of his life in order to make it conform to a preconceived pattern. Waller even writes in a Biblical style. Clearly, the development of autobiography towards its modern form was not advanced by such laboured efforts to present one's life as a replica of someone else, no matter how holy or admirable that other person's life might be. The work adds to the evidence that 'Renaissance individualism' will scarcely pass muster as an explanation of much Renaissance autobiography; for Waller - and he is far from alone in this - strives to make his life seem as similar as possible to that of an exemplar, rather than trying to assert the value or singularity of his individual personality. (47)

Owen Watkins notes the same pressure to conform one's life to a pattern:

There were many pressures predisposing these writers to conformity. As well as the clearly defined doctrinal tradition they were brought up in there was the cohesive nature of the gathered church community and the aim of mutual edification which called forth the original narratives. The fear of being unique or eccentric was therefore a potent factor, and it helped to shape experience itself as well as the way it was recorded. (48)

It is this need for 'signs' as the Puritan called them, for proof that one was elect that led to the sort of 'tick list' narratives of which Arthur Dent's The plaine man's pathway to heaven wherein every man may clearly see whether he shall be saved or damned (1612) is an excellent example, as its title suggests.

A shadowy individual did sometimes exist, glimpsed in 'the

tantalizingly meagre facts' about Bunyan's life for example (49), and in the meagre facts of other's lives. But they were in effect desperately trying not to be there, for too much genuinely random fact and thought might well disrupt the pattern of salvation.

The Puritan retired to bed each night, the day's events written into his diary and thus safely accommodated to the right pattern. But his peace was temporary at best. The next day brought fresh events, and fresh detail that might not fit the pattern, that might prove instead (if one let it) one's damnation. This terrifyingly recalcitrant life material had also to be brought under control, and indeed the facts of many individual lives must have seemed to militate against belief in their election. The movement to and fro between a sense of religion and its sudden loss that is a feature of so many spiritual autobiographies, although partly a convention, looks like evidence of the movement in the individual's life between life safely controlled (because written down in a conforming shape) and the fear that sprang up in the face of fresh, unaccommodated events.

The continual loss of shape in one's life is a human experience. Only to the Puritan did this open a chasm beneath the feet. This is a strong motive for eradicating individuality from one's autobiography, and sticking closely to pre-existing patterns. It was also a strong motive for others to decide that the writer was a liar, since the narrative, as a result, was not only stylized, but also always 'proved' a successful, pious, and apparently arrogant assumption of salvation, and in its exemplary allegorical nature took on an inherently artificial look.

Thousands of Puritan narratives must have been written; hundreds certainly survive. They are strange documents for a modern reader to examine, and even stranger to try to classify in relation to their contemporaries in literature:

I was born in the parish of Longham, in the county of Norfolk, the 1st of December, 1652, of reputable parents on both sides; my mother had nine children. I was the seventh; my father died when I was so young, that I can remember little of him. (50)

This is not a carefully selected opening paragraph. This seventeenth-century spiritual autobiography (Quaker in this case) is entirely typical. It has the aura of an individual life account about it, tied as it is to a specificity of time and place. But this is where any similarity with realism ends. As we progress in this narrative it takes on a familiar, conventional sound. Bangs for example has early signs of 'light' or grace, loses them in bad company, despairs, tries alternative religious meetings, and eventually locates himself among the Quakers. He still has doubts, but eventually feels more secure of his conversion. He then travels around converting others, with a series of repetitive, conventionalised phrases always ready at hand to describe the process, usually suggesting a passive emotionality (51). Examples are; 'I had many sweet and comfortable opportunities' (52); 'had a good and peaceable opportunity there' (53); and 'a very tendering opportunity' (54). None of these phrases convey any very real (in modern terms) sense of the human psyche experiencing either elation, despair, or any other emotion, and because they tend to appear in dozens of other autobiographies, their immediacy almost disappears altogether.

It was a language which attracted antagonism, as Owen Watkins points out (55), and the antagonism was similar to Bishop Parker's, attacking its apparent artificiality. Robert South for example expressed his antagonism by examples drawn from Puritan narratives, and drew the inevitable conclusion about those who offered their consciences:

a set of fantastical new-coin'd Phrases, such as Laying hold on Christ, getting into Christ, and rolling themselves upon Christ, and the like; by which if they mean any Thing else but obeying the Precepts of Christ, and a rational Hope of Salvation thereupon, (which, it is certain, that generally they do not mean) it is all but a Jargon of empty, senseless Metaphors. (56)

As Watkins notes:

The danger was that with its [jargon's] constant use men would become more and more facile in expressing the hidden operations of the heart and so it would rapidly become impossible to detect what genuine feelings or attitudes they had, if any. (57)

This was indeed what contemporaries felt, and the use of such language became evidence of the canting hypocrite.

Last among the factors pushing Puritan narrative towards the artificial was an innate tendency in Puritan narrative towards the allegorical, not only by using symbolic vocabulary, but also because Puritan narrative purported to be more than merely itself, being something which 'stood for' the universal and exemplary. This was of course the means of justifying what might otherwise seem to be purely egotistical writing - yet it pushed narrative towards the artificial since the narrative purported to be the life of an individual, yet created something that bore little resemblance to individuality.

1.3. Conclusion

The longstanding fear of fiction we have examined is part of a fear of one side of knowledge, the side which has been associated with treachery and deceit for centuries, as opposed to the 'good' side of knowledge which is called 'truth'. Fear of fiction stems from the fact that it can look like the truthful script, that is a script that is as faithful a copy of reality as script can be, allowing for the fact that any script is a barrier between the direct correlation of word and thing. Such fear has a tendency to come uppermost, ironically enough, at times when there is great confidence about man's ability to attain the truth, whether empirical or transcendental. Whenever truth seems accessible, it becomes more important than ever to eradicate any obscuring features.

Most seventeenth and eighteenth-century thinkers believed in a unified truth which was discoverable, whether through religion, or the new philosophy (and they were not necessarily dichotomies). This confidence renewed the urgency in the debate about truth, and its opposite fiction, that had lain dormant since Medieval times.

Partly because all art responds to cultural influences, and partly as an answer to the antagonism towards fiction, secular literature of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century moved gradually towards what we now call realism, the whole thrust of which was to look as authentically life like as possible.

Puritan narrative in contrast, actually true for the most part, nevertheless had an innate tendency to look artificial, and therefore fictional. Allegorical narratives, conforming to a pattern, with symbolic language, stylized jargon and closed endings, all helped

to create this impression.

These two kinds of narrative are essentially opposed to one another, not the one the easy prelude to the other as has been so often assumed. While elements of what could become realism if used in fiction were present in Puritan narrative, it was these elements (both psychological and circumstantial) that the Puritan strove to suppress, because of their dangerous potential for disrupting the all important pattern of salvation. It was among Puritans too that the most vehement antagonism to fiction emanated, precisely because the truth they held fiction to be obscuring was God's truth.

Bearing all this in mind, it seems far odder than critics have assumed to be the case that pioneering realistic novels should stem from the Puritan pen, which would seem to be at the opposite end of the spectrum from their usual narrative practice.

Perhaps the most obvious reason why Puritan writers turned to writing fictional (as opposed to real) spiritual autobiographies was that it might increase the number of 'saints'. Certainly the didactic function of literature was the declared aim of both our Puritan authors, Defoe and Richardson. Precisely because the work was fictional rather than historical however, it had to be made to look life like, which meant the addition of circumstantial and psychologically credible detail to the exemplary tale. 'Proof' of existence is unnecessary for the real human being. No such proof being available for the fictional character, it has to be created. Bangs, for example, devotes little attention to clothing, habitation, or indeed minutely differentiated psychological states

(except conventionalised oscillations between hope and despair) to prove his existence, which as a real human being is not in question. Richardson in contrast, has to offer much detail about Pamela to make her seem real, however awkwardly this sits with her exemplary narrative.

In addition of course, no writer writes in a cultural vacuum. Realism, psychological and circumstantial, was becoming fashionable, and would (it was hoped) therefore entice readers into a work of moral import before the didactic function of the work had burst upon them. This kind of sleight of hand was felt to be particularly necessary with young readers; it was certainly Richardson's declared hope in publishing Clarissa (58).

Puritan narrative forms had frequently met accusations of being 'Fable'. True to the mood of the age, Defoe and Richardson made use of realism to answer a society increasingly inclined to mock metaphor and allegory. Their narratives would then perhaps look like and therefore be accepted as fact, while it was hoped that the didactic intention would dispel the dangers associated with creating lies that looked like the truth.

Having started to use the new form as an overlay to fictional spiritual autobiography, as a means of attracting young readers, and in response to the spirit of the age, Defoe and Richardson seem nevertheless to have been under the illusion that the older form (which to them represented the 'truth', and indeed the background against which protagonists could be judged for their good or evil) would be the paramount one, and indeed that there would be no dichotomy between the two forms. Defoe and Richardson's first

novels are the evidence for this supposition, while the response to these novels by contemporary critics is evidence that the dichotomy between the forms was not only recognised, but recognised to have contributed to the effect of hypocrisy in Crusoe and Pamela. The conjunction of the two forms emphasised the artificiality of spiritual autobiography as it lay side by side with the randomness, and openendedness of realism. The effect was one of mutual exposure, and an obvious and sometimes mutual inconsistency. As a result, contemporary critics accused both Crusoe and Pamela of lying - a dreadful result to Defoe and Richardson, whose only justification for writing fiction was that it could yield exemplary truths. These authors had stumbled unwittingly into an enterprise that was to result in enormous personal tension and anxiety.

Both men in their later novels tried quite consciously (for their consciousness of the difficulties attaching to the new form had been sharpened by the critical reaction to their earlier works) to use their art to enhance the status of spiritual autobiography as truthful narrative, set against the insidious delusion of realism, in an effort to discredit it. In doing so, they discovered in themselves an obsessive involvement with, and love of the thing they should use sparingly, and only as it contributed to reception of the exemplary, that is a fiction of the most delusive kind, which seemed to investigate life in its random and arbitrary motions with the meaning hard to find - a dreadful shock when their whole effort was to elucidate one particular meaning from a narrative. Both men were to be

successful in using their art to enforce the primacy of the exemplary, but in both cases the success was achieved at great personal cost, a cost no less than the rejection, in narrative, of the fiction they wrote.

Swift's brilliance lies in his early awareness of the tensions in Puritan narrative, and his parody (for his own satiric purposes) of the broken forms that this tension could produce.

Swift stands in a special relation to Defoe, and the broken work that Gulliver produces is a 'proof' of one contemporary's awareness of Puritan narrative tension. I suppose if we wanted another there is Henry Fielding (1707-1754), whose narrator in Tom Jones (1749) acts on the one hand as a sort of Divine Providence, but on the other pretends that Tom may hang in a purely contingent fashion (Book XVII, Ch.I). But Fielding is happy to mock the oscillation of circumstantial realism and artistic pattern. Swift takes his place in this thesis because, despite his satire and mockery, he shares more with those in fear of fiction, and especially realism, than those like Fielding who enjoyed laughing at the new form and its assumptions.

Swift joins Defoe and Richardson (a strange triumvirate certainly) in his love for, and involvement with, a form he ostensibly detested. It is to Swift that we turn first, chronologically, to examine his early and subtle appreciation of the tensions inherent in Puritan narrative at the start of the eighteenth century.

Chapter 2 - A Tale of a Tub

The background to Swift's A tale of a tub (1704) is well known, especially the section on The battle of the books and the whole Phalaris controversy. Nothing very new can be added to this, nor can the targets of Swift's satire be much amended. But although the sections of the Tale satirising abuses in learning are known to parody Modern writers, the form of the Tale has always caused confusion. The Tale appears to parody the work of several authors, but no single work or form. And in recognising the demonic energy, and sense of personality that the Hack projects, there is nevertheless some debate as to how this wildly uncontrolled 'author' could produce the, (initially at least) controlled sections of religious allegory. The assumption has often been that the two parts, that dealing with abuses in religion, and that dealing with abuses in learning, were written at different times and simply yoked together (1).

In the sections satirising the abuses in religion, the targets are obviously Puritanism and Catholicism, together with the 'deep' writings of the Rosicrucian mystics. Swift's point was undoubtedly that all three traditions make use of the mystification inherent in the use of allegorical, emblematic, and metaphorical narratives. It was a connection that we have already seen Bishop Parker and Henry More make.

In his attacks on the Puritans, Swift inherited a long tradition of anti-Puritan satire (2). Few of the charges that Swift makes against Puritan practises are new, therefore. Various critics in recent years have come to see the Hack as a Puritan, rather than

simply an empty satiric vehicle carrying Swift's satire. Ronald

Paulson for example felt that the Hack had:

traces of the virtuoso, the projector, and the Rosicrucian about him, as well as the Puritan and the enthusiast. (3)

Paulson then describes these 'traces' as follows:

Throughout the book, the Hack uses the homely images of domestic or country life, or lanterns, foxes, cheeses, jakeses, and ovens, which echo the Puritan sermon. His approach to life is that of the Puritan for whom the "life of the spirit" is a "pilgrimage and battle", summoning up struggles like the one against the Apollyon - like monster Time - Death, or his war with the wits, or his self-identification with the "true" critic as a warrior. He carries all the images of persecution and suffering nobly for the faith, telling how he posted the works of the moderns and was laughed at, how Gresham and Will's betrayed and slandered him - he is constantly slipping off into spiritual autobiography in the best Puritan manner. He sees himself involved in a drama of temptation and trial, from which he has emerged unscathed, "with great Content of Mind" - and to his "unspeakable Comfort with a Conscience void of Offence". (4)

Paul Korshin in an interesting piece on Swift's use of typology concludes that by the 1650's the use of typology 'was increasingly identified in the popular mind with the theological methods of Puritanism and its various sects' (5). From this he also concludes that the narrator is a 'fanatic Puritan - modern Hack - writer' (6). Korshin then discusses the whole of Section VIII the Digression in praise of digressions in this light. He also points out that typology was usual only in relation to Scriptural and other religious concerns whereas the Hack uses it in relation to modern learning. He concludes that Swift's purpose in doing this was:

because his Hack-narrator personifies all the excesses of modern scholarship, both religious and secular, and partly because Swift is eager to correlate the abuses

of modern learning with the enthusiastic zeal and self-righteousness of the Puritans. (7)

Both Paulson and Korshin see the Hack as at least partly a Puritan, and Korshin touches on the effects this will have on the form of the Tale in linking abuses in learning with abuses in religion.

I would accept the premise that the Hack is a Puritan, and that it is he who provides the link between the satire on religion and the satire on learning. Following this to its logical conclusion I would also argue that if the Hack is a Puritan author his script must be a Puritan script. This script then provides the primary vehicle within which other Modern writers are satirised, most notably the renegade Anglo-Catholic writers John Dryden and Sir Roger L'Estrange (8). The yoking together of targets that might normally be considered entirely unlike is a practice that Swift enjoyed, and was to return to in Gulliver's Travels (1726). It forms the basis of his satire too against occultists and Puritans in the section dealing with the Aeolists (Section VIII), linked as they are by the common denominator of fanaticism about wind. Using the method of yoking like to unlike, satirising the failed forms of Anglo-Catholic writers within the envelope of what Swift would consider to be the failed form of Puritan narrative neatly illustrated Swift's point that:

it was among the great Misfortunes of Jack, to bear a huge Personal Resemblance with his brother Peter. Their Humours and Dispositions were not only the same, but there was a close Analogy in their Shape, their Size, and their Mien. (9)

It is the parody of a recognizable form which is represented as conspicuously a failed form that provides a thematic link between the satire on religion and the satire on learning. The failed form

that stems from one particular religious group (the Puritan nonconformist) exemplifies what Swift saw as a process of failure in religion leading to failure in learning (the failed book that the Tale eventually becomes).

The narrative that the Hack creates is a personal history combined with a history of the growth of religious groups. The personal history is written in the first person, and the history of religion in the third person in the main, so that the effect is of discrete, alternating sections. Gradually however the Hack becomes increasingly involved with, and intrusive in, the sections on the history of religion, which becomes the history of his own sect. The notion of a kind of autobiography comes increasingly to the fore, as the Hack intrudes more of his highly personal interpolations, interpretations, and asides into the sections on religious history, gradually creating the effect of a continuum between the once separate religious history, and his personal history.

Philip Harth attempted to deal with these interpolations of the Hack by seeing them as later attempts to provide links between the (as he saw it) separate (because written at different periods and with different motives) sections on learning and religion:

The purpose of these additions, slight though they were, seems to have been to provide a few mechanical links between the two portions of A Tale of a Tub and thus to serve the same function in the sections devoted to abuses in religion as was performed by the inclusion of the pulpit among the three wooden machines described in "The Introduction", which is otherwise concerned exclusively with abuses in learning. Again, it is not unlikely that the concluding portion of Section IX, which is devoted to finding employment for the inhabitants of Bedlam and is not part of the religious satire at all, was added at a date after the rest of the section was finished. (10)

The problem with this interpretation is that the additions to the sections on religion from the voice of the Hack are not 'slight' but substantial, while the increasing irrelevance of some of them to the matter in hand seems to me to be the very point that Swift was trying to make. Harth and others, in their efforts to tease out of the narrative two internally consistent, separate narratives have missed the point of the one internally inconsistent narrative that we actually have to deal with. Likewise in their efforts to explain away the increasingly intrusive narrator in the sections on religion (who flaws their theory of two separate narratives by appearing in both) these critics, like Harth, have to resort to describing these intrusions as 'mechanical links', and where substantial amounts of narrative are involved, as 'added at a date after the rest of the section was finished' (11).

We have seen in the introduction that the tension in Puritan narrative lay between sections of controlling allegory, in which the individual suppressed himself in order to fit in with a pre-existing scheme, and sections in which the individual burst beyond the allegorical scheme of salvation, either because of especial indignation or other emotion, or simply because the actual detail of his life could not be ordered to fit the scheme, and perhaps even needed expression. To some extent the very form of spiritual autobiography was at odds with itself in that the motivation to talk at length about the self is egotistic and active, while the supposed motivation should be exemplary and passive.

The Hack exemplifies this tendency to move well beyond the bounds of his ostensible narrative purpose, although his purpose

is not meant to be wholly autobiographical. The Hack is clearly fond of allegory and symbol however, and is proud of his own facility in using it, a matter to which he draws the reader's attention on occasion. His own 'sublimest Speculations' are taken up with 'the profound Number THREE' for example (12), and he describes with pride the method employed in his description of the means of raising oneself above others to be heard:

Now this Physico-logical Scheme of Oratorical Receptacles or Machines, contains a great Mystery, being a Type, a Sign, an Emblem, a Shadow, a Symbol, bearing Analogy to the specious Commonwealth of Writers, and to those Methods by which they must exalt themselves to a certain Eminency above the inferiour World. (13)

This sounds very like Puritan writers methods of explicating their dense allegories, as for example Richard Sibbes in The bruised reed and smoaking flax (1630):

And as his coming was modest, so it was mild, which is set down in these words, "A bruised reed shall not break", etc. wherein we may observe these things:

First the condition of those that Christ had to deal with. 1. They were bruised reeds -
2. smoaking flax.

Secondly, Christ's carriage towards them; he brake not the bruised reed, nor quenched the smoaking flex: where more is meant than spoken; for he not only will not break the bruised reed, nor quench, etc. but he will cherish them. (14)

The Hack's language is highly significant too, and especially his use of the possessive 'our' by which he denotes his fellowship with various groups:

By the Pulpit are adumbrated the Writings of our Modern Saints in Great Britain, as they have spiritualized and refined them from the Dross and Grossness of Sense and Human Reason. (15)

The Hack also associates himself with other hacks with familiarity and pride:

it has fared with these Vehicles [types and fables] after the usual Fate of Coaches over-finely painted and gilt; that the transitory Gazers have so dazzled their Eyes, and fill'd their Imaginations with the outward Lustre, as neither to regard or consider, the Person or the Parts of the Owner within. A Misfortune we undergo with somewhat less Reluctancy, because it has been common to us with Pythagorus, Aesop, Socrates, and other of our Predecessors. (16)

The Hack meanwhile has decided that the Grub Street practices are so admirable that it is under their umbrella that he chooses to present his treatise to the world:

It is under this Classis, I have presumed to list my present Treatise, being just come from having the Honor conferred upon me, to be adopted a Member of that Illustrious Fraternity. (17)

Read 'straight', that is without the ironic perceptions that take the Hack beyond his character on occasions, the Hack is a well recognizable enthusiastic Modern Puritan, conveying by types, emblems, and allegory, in this case the history of the Christian Church, and his own role in writing this history.

But the Hack cannot retain control of the allegorical history sections, nor remain within the bounds he has set on his autobiography. The alternating sections of the Tale are a grossly exaggerated parody of the effect sometimes found in Puritan narrative wherever the individual self portrait comes up against the allegorical scheme. Gradually however even the alternations disappear as the Hack's selfhood takes over the whole structure of the work. The start of the work establishes the start of this demonic selfhood.

Thus the Hack, after a lengthy preamble giving his reasons, and hopes, for writing his treatise (in The Preface) goes on to describe his method of proceeding (The Introduction) with various asides about other Grub Street productions, which the Hack says may 'serve to give the Learned Reader an Idea as well as a Taste of what the whole Work is likely to produce' (18), culminating in a defence of his 'Society' from slanderers (a classic Puritan procedure as we shall see in the chapter on Gulliver's Travels):

I am assured from the Reader's Candor, that the brief Specimen I have given, will easily clear all the rest of our Society's Productions from an Aspersion grown, as it is manifest, out of Envy and Ignorance: That they are of little Use or Value to Mankind, beyond the common Entertainments of their Wit and their Style. (19) .

Eventually after much introductory preamble the Hack begins the allegorical history of the church with Section II, the history of the three brothers, and manages at this early stage of the book to leave himself out almost entirely.

Section III, The Digression concerning Criticks, allows the Hack to get into his stride however, with the result that he cannot stop when he begins Section IV, the next section of the history. His own enthusiastic endeavours to collect Lord Peter's inventions together (which he details at large) occupy him at the start of the section. He justifies himself for this digression in true Puritan fashion by his didactic intention:

And so I proceed with great Content of Mind, upon reflecting, how much Emolument this whole Globe of Earth is like to reap by my Labours. (20)

The 'I' increases during this section of the history of Jack, Martin, and Peter, so that the reader becomes more aware of the Hack as creator of the history rather than passive amanuensis. He enthusiastically points out the interesting inventions that Lord Peter has made, nudges the reader in the right direction, and extols his own talents once again, as for example his hope that his treatise will be translated into foreign languages:

I hope, when this Treatise of mine shall be translated into Foreign Languages, (as I may without Vanity affirm, That the Labour of collecting, the Faithfulness in recounting, and the great Usefulness of the Matter to the Publick, will amply deserve that Justice) that the worthy Members of the several Academies abroad, ... will favourably accept these humble Offers, for the Advancement of Universal Knowledge. (21)

The Hack extols the brilliance of his didacticism, his methods in proceeding, and his future exemplary status as a result:

I desire of those whom the Learned among Posterity will appoint for Commentators upon this elaborate Treatise; that they will proceed with great Caution upon certain dark points, And, I am certain, that future Sons of Art, will return large Thanks to my Memory, for so grateful, so useful an Innuendo. (22)

The Hack also looks forward to future sections which he will relate (see for example Tale, p.119), thus drawing attention again to his creative self in the middle of the sections on religious history.

By Section IV the intrusive pointers to the Hack's creative control are uppermost. 'I have placed Lord Peter in a Noble House, given Him a Title to wear, and Money to spend' he announces in a manner preemptive of Fielding's narrative control (23). The Hack assures the reader:

I shall by no means forget my Character of an Historian, to follow the Truth, step by step, whatever happens, or where-ever it may lead me. (24)

But the reader's sense is that by now the Hack will go not where his history leads him, but wherever his creative imagination calls. His personal enthusiasm for Jack leads him completely awry in terms of the history of the three brothers that he purports to be offering the reader, announcing instead that 'a great Part in the Remainder of this Discourse' will be devoted to Jack's 'extraordinary' adventures (25). He then immediately loses his head in his enthusiasm for the word 'Zeal':

which is, perhaps, the most significant Word that hath been ever yet produced in any Language; As, I think, I have fully proved in my excellent Analytical Discourse upon that Subject; wherein I have deduced a Histori-theo-physiological Account of Zeal, shewing how it first proceeded from a Notion into a Word, and from thence in a hot Summer, ripped into a tangible Substance. This Work containing three large Volumes in Folio, I design very shortly to publish by the Modern way of Subscription. (26)

After this short section of history, in which the Hack's intrusions are dominant, the Hack promises a section dealing with the Aeolists, and then promptly digresses in praise of digressions, eventually followed by the section on the Aeolists which moves still further away from the history of religion. The Hack is wildly enthusiastic about this sect, whom he attempts to defend against slanderers, as he had earlier defended the modern critic against the same race:

I have long sought after this Opportunity, of doing Justice to a Society of Men, for whom I have a peculiar Honour, and whose Opinions, as well as Practices, have been extremely misrepresented, and traduced by the Malice or Ignorance of their Adversaries. For, I think it one of the greatest, and best of humane Actions, to remove Prejudices,

and place Things in their truest and fairest Light; which I therefore boldly undertake without any Regards of my own, beside the Conscience, the Honour, and the Thanks. (27)

All this pious sanctimony sounds very like the worst sort of Puritan self justification; there are notes of Pamela, Moll, and even Clarissa in such passages.

The Hack has by now exemplified himself (literally) in his enthusiasms and style, as a seventeenth-century Puritan. The Aeolists are of course obviously Puritan types, the links with Rosicrucianism thrown in, as Philip Harth points out, merely to make the Puritans even more contemptible, with Swift 'not, properly speaking, satirizing the occultists' (28). The Hack enthusiastically endorses the Aeolists. As a result this section too becomes in effect another personal outpouring.

Section IX, the Digression on Madness follows, a section in which the Hack proves to his own satisfaction that it will not:

in any ways detract from the just Reputation of this famous Sect, that its Rise and Institution are owing to such an Author as I have described Jack to be; a Person whose Intellectuals were overturned, and his Brain shaken out of its Natural Position, which we commonly suppose to be a Distemper, and call by the Name of Madness or Phrenzy. (29)

The Hack's personal theory is the 'Phaenomenon of Vapours', which is thus another emanation of himself enthusiastically offered:

Now, I would gladly be informed, how it is possible, to account for such Imaginations as these in particular Men, without Recourse to my Phaenomenon of Vapours..... (30)

It then transpires that the account is indeed a personal justification since the culmination of the piece is the Hack's

announcement that he too has the greatest difficulty controlling his imagination, exactly like Jack (31), as if the reader were in any doubt on this point by now.

By the time the Hack reaches Section XI, his narrative is gaining in energy and incoherence. He expects his readers to remember Jack's story, despite the fact that he 'last parted with them in the Conclusion of a former Section' (32), which by his own admission is rather 'wide a Compass' (33). He then refers affectionately and possessively to 'my renowned Jack' (34), and feels that the narrative about the Aeolists that he is meticulously preparing will:

furnish Plenty of noble Matter for such, whose converting Imaginations dispose them to reduce all Things into Types; who can make Shadows, no thanks to the Sun; and then mold them into Substances, no thanks to Philosophy; whose peculiar Talent lies in fixing Tropes and Allegories to the Letter, and refining what is Literal into Figure and Mystery. (35)

This is an obvious satire on Puritan practise, while the words 'converting Imaginations' cast in two directions. By implication such conversions are not only the product of the imagination, but also imaginary, i.e. non existent.

Finally, having promised the reader yet another of his forthcoming publications, the 'general History of Ears' (36) which will furnish more of Jack's tale (the high spot of which 'History' was the period when 'this Island of ours, was under the Dominion of Grace' as the Hack phrases it, a 'truly pious Age' according to his Puritan perspective) (37), the whole edifice collapses in a rushed résumé of the history of the three brothers

as if the Hack's narrative purpose is suddenly remembered. The Hack then reveals that he has lost his memory:

the Particulars of all these, with several others, which have now slid out of my Memory, are lost beyond all Hopes of Recovery. (38)

Any sense of residual control manifested in the allegorical sections of religious history is finally engulfed in the Hack's personality. He finds that the wild material of his narrative outdoes his life experience itself, and thus entirely destroys even the autobiographical purpose of his work. Feeling his pulse, he descends (or ascends) into madness:

I already discover, that the Issues of my Observanda begin to grow too large for the Receipts. Therefore, I shall here pause awhile, till I find, by feeling the World's Pulse, and my own, that it will be of absolute Necessity for us both, to resume my Pen. (39)

The selfhood of the narrator and his wild, creative imagination, completely absorbs the allegorical history which was his ostensible purpose in writing the book, and eventually outruns even the facts of his life. The Hack leaves off writing in a sort of frightened recognition that his creative imagination is entirely out of control, that the self that ought to be subordinate is totally dominant, with the imagination creating still more from airy nothings. If we follow the Puritan parallel to its logical conclusion, the Hack ends up facing damnation. Swift has inverted the Puritan pattern of 'success', whereby the individual is always finally dovetailed into the didactic scheme, and has shown instead the dangerous potential of individualism, especially the individual psyche (latent indeed in many autobiographies) exploding the whole structure of the book.

Corrupt religion Swift suggests, with its accompanying obscure, metaphorical language, leads to corrupt learning and corrupt literary productions, the evidence of which we have in the Tale in front of us.

It is often said that the Tale looks backwards to the seventeenth century in its targets (40). It seems to me rather to be the case that the Tale looks forward to the eighteenth century in two senses, that is, towards issues that would be current in the early eighteenth century, and towards the methods Swift would use again in his greatest satire Gulliver's Travels. In the Tale Swift had indeed looked backwards to the extent that he had recognized and exposed the latent tension in Puritan narrative. But this was a tension soon to be exacerbated when Puritan authors took to writing not their traditional spiritual autobiographies, but new, fictional ones, using a realistic style.

Insofar as the Tale is a work in which the purported form and purpose collapse under the weight of the hugely creative ego apparently writing the book, it is an augury of a literary pattern that we shall see repeated in the other works analyzed in this thesis. When the Hack breaks off his narrative in perturbed realisation of the catastrophic effects of his imagination, with his imagination held down by no kind of purpose or 'Receipts' from reality, but simply delighting in creation for its own sake, he looks forward to the experience of Defoe and Richardson. This is interesting in that Swift certainly regarded Defoe as the archetypal Hack, fictionalising from no substance that Swift at least recognised.

And finally, when Swift in the Tale satirised such disparate objects as Anglo-Catholic authors, Rosicrucians, and Moderns within a failed form that parodied Puritan narrative in exaggerated manner, he looked forward very much to his own practice a quarter of a century later in Gulliver's Travels. Once again in the later work, Swift's acute observation of the literary forms around him, and especially their failures, allowed him to satirise both the source of those failures and of other apparently disparate targets, by showing their point of connection to lie in similarly damaged (as he saw it) assumptions, and hence forms.

But parody is a strange thing. The Hack breaks off his narrative in fear of his own creative power, a brilliant insight by Swift into the potential of the first person writing narrator to destroy the ostensible purpose of the book, and one which looks forward to Defoe's experience in Robinson Crusoe, and Richardson's experience in Pamela, and Clarissa. This insight suggests Swiftian control of his narrative, a control which orders the narrative to show that the Hack has lost control. But although we understand the Tale to be a controlled exercise, a mock failed form not an actual failure, yet it was not always understood at the time, or indeed since. This cannot always be because the reader is a dullard. Perhaps it is rather that the reader is very acute, and can see less of a separation between Swift and the Hack than Swift imagined that there was. Perhaps this lack of separation occurs not because of a naive confusion on the reader's part, thanks to the use of the first person form, but because there was an actual confusion between Swift's voice and that of the Hack, a suspicion of a strange sympathy that makes

the reader ultimately less confident that it is only the Hack who breaks off the narrative in fear. Certainly Swift was to experience the same sort of antagonistic reaction to his parody of a failed form that Defoe and Richardson were to experience later in their first major works. Swift was driven to make revisions and prefatory statements to the Tale in an endeavour to make his meaning clear, exactly as Defoe and Richardson were driven to add material, and make revisions to enhance the ostensible meaning of their works. Yet significantly, Swift never so far revised his narrator as to destroy his magnificent energy, a feature which, as we shall see, he also shared with Defoe and Richardson, and one which I have taken as evidence of a sympathy or involvement with their protagonists which forbade such destruction, whatever the public misunderstanding of their work.

In this respect too the Tale looks forward to Gulliver's Travels, and it is this sympathy for modern forms within a work that set out to discredit them, a sympathy which led to strange and uncomfortable results for the author, that allows Swift to take his place in a thesis devoted to fear of fiction. Gulliver's Travels was to expose Swift to some of the dangers of the forms and methods he satirised, and the results of that exposure were by no means comfortable.

In the course of its pages, as part of its attack on Puritans the Tale had launched an oblique attack on a hack contemporary with Swift's own Hack, Daniel Defoe (1660-1731). We will return to look at this attack on Defoe in the chapter on Gulliver's Travels, for it established a longstanding quarrel between Swift and Defoe, a quarrel

to which Gulliver's Travels was Swift's last great, parodic retort.

Meanwhile Defoe was discovering, in a manner that was harder to bear than even the loss of a bishopric (which Swift assumed was his punishment from the 'Royal Prude' for writing the Tale) the dangers of writing parody. I refer of course to Defoe's imprisonment and pillorying after the publication of The shortest way with the Dissenters (1702). We must now examine the work of Daniel Defoe, a pioneering author, who was also about to discover the dangers, and hence the fear of writing fiction.

Chapter 3 - Robinson Crusoe

A tale of a tub was thus a prophetic book, taking up what was implicit in the literary trends of the time and developing them to prefigure works that were not yet off the press. Daniel Defoe's Robinson Crusoe (1719) is the major work that most clearly evinces the development of the trends in Puritan literature that Swift had explored in the Tale.

Defoe's literary output certainly seems to follow where the Hack went before, for Defoe shares with the Hack a massive proliferation of fictional and non-fictional material. Indeed no contemporary can match it, even the Hack, for Defoe is credited with nearly 550 works (1). He also shared with the Hack a seemingly buoyant ego, impervious to criticism.

Yet this is not a complete picture of either the Hack or Defoe. The Hack makes a strangely nervous decision to quit his pen at the end of the Tale, as if suddenly aware of something not quite right in creating from nothing except his imagination. This is paralleled by Defoe's fearful rejection of fictional narrative at the end of Roxana. And the Hack's preoccupation with the business of criticism, and the verdicts it has levelled against the Modern author is paralleled by Defoe's equal sensitivity in the face of his critics, despite his seeming insouciance of reply. Defoe was a thoroughgoing Modern, and Swift in both the Tale and Gulliver's Travels exploited the torments of the Modern author that he had so brilliantly discerned.

Defoe claimed in the preface to The serious reflections of Robinson Crusoe that:

I, Robinson Crusoe....do affirm that the Story, though allegorical, is also historical. (2)

It is a claim that has been confusing critics ever since (3). It is a confusion that is central to the whole of Robinson Crusoe (that is, the three volumes), especially parts I and II. This confusion takes two forms. One area of confusion is whether Robinson Crusoe really does 'stand for' Defoe's life. The other is whether the 'history' of Robinson Crusoe can be read allegorically.

I would argue that it is indeed the case that Robinson Crusoe is the allegory of Defoe's life, though there is not the one to one relationship of incidents that a biographer might look for. The relationship between Defoe and Robinson Crusoe arises from the confusion that the book manifests between allegory and 'history', or in modern critical terminology, between the spiritual autobiographical elements of Robinson Crusoe and its realistic elements. With the responsibility for Crusoe's inconsistencies upon his head, enthusiastically pointed out to him by critical contemporaries (and one in particular), Defoe and Crusoe do become alter egos of each other, and it is in this sense that Crusoe's life becomes the image of Defoe's life.

The difficulty of making the spiritual autobiographical elements and the realistic elements of Robinson Crusoe accord became a critical commonplace. Latterly however critics have attempted to press the balance down on one or other 'side' of the book. Ian Watt for example argued that religion does not impinge on the realistic story of homo economicus because Defoe's Puritanism had become 'secularized' (4). J. Paul Hunter on the other hand

placed his emphasis on the dominance of the religious themes of the work, as did G. A. Starr (5). The effect of these two 'schools' of criticism is to make Robinson Crusoe seem to be one of two different kinds of consistent narrative rather than the one inconsistent narrative that the book actually is, an effect very similar to that produced by various critics in their analysis of the Tale, as we have seen.

In this respect perhaps Defoe's contemporary critics were more 'sophisticated' than latterday critics, for Defoe's contemporaries seem to have recognised almost immediately that the work was internally inconsistent. Defoe referred to these critics efforts in an inverted 'puff' in the preface to The farther adventures of Robinson Crusoe:

All the endeavours of envious people to reproach it with being a romance, to search it for errors in geography, inconsistency in the relation and contradictions in the fact have proved abortive, and as impotent as malicious. (6)

This résumé of contemporary criticism is interesting in that it shows Defoe's awareness of what was already becoming a common criticism of his work. But one work of criticism in particular remains to us, offering an exact idea of what contemporaries were saying. This was the work of Charles Gildon (1665-1724), one of Pope's Dunces, but perhaps not as dull as he was made to seem, if his criticism of Robinson Crusoe is anything to judge by. For the conspicuous feature of Gildon's criticism is not its eighteenth-century quality but its remarkable anticipation of the conclusions of later criticism.

Done as a parodic dialogue between Crusoe, Friday and Defoe,

The life and strange surprizing adventures of Mr. D - De F-, of London, Hosier (28 September 1719) was published between the first two parts of Robinson Crusoe (published in 25 April 1719, and 20 August 1719) and The serious reflections (6 August 1720). For what is essentially a piece of personal invective, Gildon's criticism really covers most of the charges made by critics ever since.

The first charge Gildon makes, or rather Gildon makes through the mouthpiece of a supposedly enraged Crusoe, is that Defoe has created Crusoe as:

a strange whimsical, inconsistent Being, in three Weeks losing all the Religion of a Pious Education; and when you bring me again to a Sense of the Want of Religion, you make me quit that upon every Whimsy. (7)

Crusoe also complains that Defoe has created him as a 'Whimsical Dog' apparently content to 'ramble over three Parts of the World after I was sixty five' (8), instead of remaining in the home he had returned to, and had held out as the ultimate good when in enforced absence from it. Gildon claims that Crusoe is not a true penitent because:

it seems he [Crusoe] is not yet come so forward towards a true Repentance, as to take the whole Guilt on himself, which in reality no Body else had any Share in. (9)

Gildon says that the moral of the book is dubious, and the original sin that Crusoe claims that he is being punished for is equally dubious, firstly because it does not seem sinful in itself, and secondly because Crusoe is rewarded for it:

I dare believe that there are few Men who consider justly, that would think the Profession of a Yorkshire Attorney more innocent and beneficial to Mankind than that of a Seaman, or would judge that Robinson Crusoe

was so very criminal in rejecting the former, and choosing the latter, as to provoke the Divine Providence to raise two Storms, and in the last of them to destroy so many Ships and Men, purely to deter him from that Course of Life, to which at last he was to owe so ample a Reward of all his Labours and Fatigues, as the End of this very Book plainly tells us he met with. (10)

Finally Gildon says that the book is 'clog'd with Moral Reflections' apparently 'every where insipid and awkward, and in many Places of no manner of Relation to the Occasion on which they are deliver'd (11). In a resounding finale Gildon affirms that all these contradictions must throw doubt on Defoe's efforts to justify the book as truth, and on Defoe's realistic methods as the means of transforming his narrative into something truthful seeming:

I think we may justly say, that the Design of the Publication of this Book was not sufficient to justify and make Truth of what you allow to be Fiction and Fable; what you mean by Legitimizing, Invention, and Parable, I know not; unless you would have us think, that the manner of your telling a Lie will make it a Truth. (12)

For a Dunce, Gildon's criticism was very shrewd, for it brings out the inconsistency at the heart of Robinson Crusoe, that is the central problem of bringing realism into an exemplary and allegorical structure. The results on the page are on occasions almost as discrete and sectionalised as those to be found in the Tale. They occur because the impulse prompting the production of realism, and the impulse prompting the production of spiritual autobiography are entirely at odds with each other. The realistic novel has a dynamic impulse, the spiritual autobiography a static one. The novel demands circumstantial and psychological detail; spiritual autobiography seeks to avoid it. The prose that Defoe uses in either form is perfectly adequate for its purposes. The problem is not that of

an unimaginative 'Sunday religion' prose facing a secular prose that had captured Defoe's imagination, as Ian Watt supposes (13). The problem is simply that the two kinds of perfectly resonant prose are not mutually compatible, or transposable.

As we have already seen in the Introduction, once the all important stage of conversion is reached it is essential to maintain that state forever. Conversion is the high point of the 'action', which as we have also seen is actually inevitable, and despite the illusion of struggle in some cases, it never partakes of any real contingency or dynamism. The purpose of the narrative is single, and only one ending is possible. The function of such literature from the reader's point of view is to receive material to meditate on.

The purpose of the novel on the other hand is to interest the reader, and to keep him reading thanks to the forward momentum of the plot, which is made interesting by its air of contingency, of open potential, even crude suspense. No one knew better than Defoe that this was the case:

nothing can more invite than the Story it self,
which when the Reader enters into, he will find
it very hard to get out of, 'till he has gone thro'
it. (14)

Crusoe's story (as a novel) is made interesting by the continual variety of incidents (of which Defoe was very proud), but these are created only by jettisoning the traditional values and authority structures of the spiritual autobiography, represented by the return home and submission to the father (15). To make the novel interesting, Crusoe has to be kept away from home which, from the point of view of the spiritual autobiography, means continual

sinning. When Defoe wanted to continue the novel, either after the original homecoming of Robinson Crusoe, or after the second establishment of domesticity in The farther adventures, (happily married as Crusoe is by this time), the only means Defoe has at his disposal is to make Crusoe leave home again, and thus recommit his original sin.

Gildon's criticism that Crusoe is not really converted because he refuses to take all the sin upon himself is thus entirely correct. Taking the sin upon himself after all would have meant submission, and an admission that those in authority were right. Crusoe does this verbally of course - but the whole trend of his action invalidates these words, for Crusoe says one thing and does another over and over again. The result is to make him seem to be the liar that Gildon had already decided that he was (16). And insofar as conversion means remaining in a static condition, Crusoe never can be converted while the novel (which presupposes dynamic action) continues. Crusoe thus remains in a state of active sin while the novel continues - yet he gains the standard reward of the spiritual autobiography. He is therefore effectively rewarded for his sin - another point that Gildon made at the time, and other critics have made ever since.

Gildon's comment too that the book is padded with 'Moral Reflections.....in many Places of no manner of Relation to the Occasion on which they are deliver'd' is also another way of noting the same divergence of forms. Defoe does produce moral reflections that bear little relation to the circumstances in which they appear, often creating an almost satiric effect.

I am labouring to prove the value of Gildon's criticism simply because it seems to me to be substantially correct, and because it is the product of a contemporary. In other words the inconsistency in Robinson Crusoe was immediately obvious at the time of its publication, and was reiterated long afterwards. Latterday attempts to produce a consistent religious or secular work are in danger of both torturing the text, and ignoring the very significant effect that this contemporary criticism had upon Defoe. If any proof were needed of the internal inconsistency apart from Gildon and other critic's opinions, we should find it in some of the notorious examples that the text produces.

We can see the dichotomy between the allegorically based spiritual autobiographical elements, and the dynamic realistic elements at the very beginning of Robinson Crusoe. The all important dictates of the father that are to stand as the backcloth against which Crusoe sins (like the other father figures that stand ominously behind their rebel children as in Clarissa, for example, or Mozart's Don Giovanni, 1787) are about to be delivered to the already errant young Crusoe. Crusoe is called into his father's study, where he tells the reader that his father 'expostulated very warmly with me upon this Subject', the subject being the young Crusoe's imminent departure to sea.

One of the main problems about this section is that it is not speech at all but reported speech, and suffers accordingly, with interpolations of 'He ask'd', 'He told me', 'He bid me observe it' punctuating Crusoe's monologue. There is very little sense of the father as an individual man. It is a speech of resounding

abstractions, reaching a coda in virtual list form at the high point of the argument:

That the middle Station of Life was calculated for all kinds of Vertues and all kinds of Enjoyments; that Peace and Plenty were the Hand-maids of middle Fortune; that Temperance; Moderation, Quietness, Health, Society, all agreeable Diversions, and all desirable Pleasures, were the Blessings attending the middle Station of Life; that this Way Men went silently and smoothly thro' the World, and comfortably out of it. (17)

Clarissa we should remember, also wanted to pass quietly through the world and out of it, according to Anna Howe (18). Had she and Crusoe managed this we should have had two very odd novels. For this is the point: Crusoe's father's speech is measured, balanced and abstract. It is not speech but a treatise, universal and general. It would be possible to 'lift' it direct into a sermon or conduct book. It perfectly suits his function which is not to be an individual man but an exemplar of the status quo, and the hierarchy of authoritarian, patriarchal values. Clarissa's father is similarly unindividuated, speaking scarcely at all in the book, and appearing merely as a dark and lowering presence.

But the young Crusoe is not exemplary, or rather his method of representing himself on many occasions is not one which is appropriate to the exemplary function. Crusoe's sinfulness is thus estimated less by what he actually does, and more by the presence of a literary mode, (spiritual autobiography) which is normally held (by certain groups) to be indicative of goodness.

Crusoe is firmly located in the year 1650, in a house in York, a very individualised young man. Instead of replying to his father in suitably stylised fashion (even of rebellion) Crusoe's reply is typical of much that is to come. Almost as if ironically he tells

the reader 'I was sincerely affected with this Discourse, as indeed who could be otherwise' (19). The answer is clearly Crusoe himself, and no doubt generations of readers enthralled by the story, a fact which would be less glaring if Crusoe's speech had been stylistically appropriate. Crusoe turns away his 'emotion' in a brief transitional phrase of the kind we become familiar with whenever static prose comes up against dynamic prose, and Crusoe (the old reformed Crusoe too it should be remembered) seems to want to move into that vein: 'But alas! a few Days wore it all off' (20). The prose then reverts to the first person, thus establishing the immediacy and intimacy of contact with an individual speaker. The accents of lively speech come up against reported treatise. Crusoe interprets the timeless universality of his father's speech by an impatient, time obsessed activity: 'a few Days wore it all off; and in short,... in a few Weeks after, I resolv'd to run quite away from him', and 'I took my Mother, at a time when I thought her a little pleasanter' he says, and 'I should certainly run away from my Master before my Time was out' followed by, 'I would promise by a double Diligence to recover that Time I had lost' (21). Thus Crusoe inaugurates with impatient energy, which he subsequently calls 'sin', the story that the reader will read with sympathy and interest.

With the reader's involvement in what is in effect the sinful element of the book, that is the forward progressing story, it is difficult for the father's position to achieve anything other than intellectual adherence at best. It is very like the position of God up against Satan in Milton's Paradise Lost (1667). But

whatever conflict does occur in Paradise Lost, at least Adam does not eat two apples (the equivalent of Crusoe's repeating his 'sin' of leaving home), get to stay in Eden with suitable embellishments (the equivalent to Crusoe's apparent reward for his sin), and thereafter enjoy regular intercourse with Satan, who he nevertheless purports to see as his enemy (the equivalent to Crusoe's continuance in 'sin' i.e active dynamism, while also continuing to tell the reader how sinful this is). The reader has little encouragement to see the father's position as the one to which Crusoe is emotionally committed, whatever illusions Crusoe's creator may have had.

In the episode just discussed, the confrontation of forms does at least represent an actual confrontation between two people. The same problem of disparate prose also occurs however when Crusoe is purporting to produce a single, indivisible, truthful prose from within himself. The example offered is a notorious one. It reads like irony, and the debate has always been as to whether or not it actually is irony.

In a climactic piece, Crusoe rejects one of the symbols of worldly abuses, money. This would seem to be one of the occasions when the younger Crusoe turns against his erring ways, and where the older Crusoe who is writing the narrative can represent the symbolic return to the values of the father. Crusoe's rejection of money is certainly couched in a style calculated to give this impression. It is formal, measured rhetoric in a quasi-Biblical tone which lifts the reader out of the precise reality of the shipwreck onto a symbolic plane:

I smil'd to my self at the Sight of this Money,
 O Drug! Said I aloud, what art thou good for, Thou
 art not worth to me, no not the taking off of the
 Ground, one of those Knives is worth all this Heap,
 I have no Manner of use for thee, e'en remain
 where thou art, and go to the Bottom as a Creature
 whose Life is not worth saving. (22)

This is resonant, allusive prose. It points beyond itself symbolically. The 'Heap' suggests a jumbled and dirty chaos, and its effect upon those who traffic in it. The 'Creature' going to the bottom as useless suggests those who are damned, presumably through too much use of this 'Drug', perhaps even those who went to the bottom at the shipwreck while Crusoe remained alive, the 'knife' that was worth all the 'Heap' - a sure pointer to his intended salvation. Crusoe's stance at this point is removed, above the substance he looks at, suggesting an other worldly orientation. He is beginning to seem like a creature whose life is worth saving.

Immediately after the last sentence of the passage quoted, following straight on in a manner which suggests that no dichotomy was intended, comes Crusoe the time bound, factual, dynamic man, turning away from the timeless with another of his cursory remarks:

However, upon Second Thoughts, I took it away, and
 wrapping all this in a Piece of Canvas, I began to
 think of making another Raft. (23)

The prose speeds up, becoming packed with action in this world. It is not that this prose is inherently better than that which has preceded it, but it exercises a different effect, new and exciting, and radically unlike the effect of the earlier passage. The thoughts of a creature whose life is worth saving because he rejects worldly goods are violently dislodged by the thoughts of a creature who does precisely the opposite. Crusoe's unregenerate, humanly understandable

action of retaining the money is marvellous from the point of view of realism. Crusoe seems an entirely authentic human being. But it is an action that is at odds with his proclaimed feelings about money in the exemplary passage quoted.

J. Paul Hunter attempts to overcome this sort of dissonance by emphasising the integrated nature of the prose, glossing things real and things symbolic as ideal mutual representatives:

For Puritanism, things and events in the created world were emblems of spiritual matters. (24).

Puritan practice may well have been to try to make the things of this world yield symbolic meanings, but in prose this will be a successful endeavour only if things real cease to be portrayed as real, and are instead portrayed emblematically, which means hollowing out the meaning of the thing as empirical object, and creating in its place another kind of meaning. An obvious example might be the sea, beloved symbol of the Puritan wayfarer, and indeed a much used image in Crusoe. If the sea is to be used symbolically, it cannot at the same time be used in the Royal Society sense, looked at under a microscope for its empirical content of living organisms, nor indeed as the element that sustains trade missions, with a description of routes, shipping, tides and so on. If this is attempted it might be something like trying to give Defoe's A tour thro' the whole island of Britain (1724) a symbolic meaning. It is simply not possible to use language in this double way simultaneously, without the sort of radical disjunction that we have seen in the passage above from Robinson Crusoe, where Crusoe tries to use money both as money, and as symbol.

What Defoe was trying to do in language, to correlate realism and spiritual autobiography as if there were no incongruity between them, has often been seen as a character trait in Crusoe, that is trying to have his cake (the pious rejection of worldly values) and eat it (the retention of the money as worldly help), with Gildon as one of the earliest censors. It must certainly be passages like these that Gildon had in mind when he referred to 'Moral Reflections ... in many Places of no manner of Relation to the Occasion on which they are deliver'd'.

This kind of disjunction is a constant feature of Robinson Crusoe. Crusoe experiences a 'Distemper', which is a perfectly respectable vehicle for allegorical interpretation (25). He recalls his father's admonition, and gives a cry of spiritual pain, 'Lord be my Help, for I am in great Distress' (26). But Crusoe then proceeds to answer this cry of spiritual pain by effectively reaching for the aspirin. A vast amount of concrete, realistically portrayed items jostle the scene: 'a large square Case Bottle with Water', and 'a Quarter of a Pint of Rum'; 'a Piece of the Goat's Flesh ... broil'd ... on the Coals'; and a 'Supper of three of the Turtle's Eggs, which I roasted in the Ashes, and eat, as we call it, in the Shell' (27). Again the effect is very close to irony as the man with 'no Assistance, no Help, no Comfort' proceeds to pile up around him as much help and comfort as he can.

It is another of Gildon's criticisms, phrased rather differently to my calling it a dichotomy between emblematic prose and realistic prose, but nevertheless this is essentially what Gildon had stumbled

on in his criticism:

And first, on his stated Account of the Good and Evil of his present Condition ... where he says, on the dark side of his Account, I have no Cloaths to cover me. But this is a downright Lie, according to his own Account, by which he brought a considerable Quantity of Linnen and Woollen from on Board the Ship: And then the next Head on the same side is, I am without any Defence, or Means to resist any Violence of any Man or Beast. This is likewise another plain Contradiction of what he told us before, when he let us know, that he had brought on Shore two or three Barrels of Gunpowder, six or seven Guns, and several Pistols, with Shot and Bullets, besides Swords, Axes, Hatches, etc. (28)

Crusoe's 'desolate' island is meant to represent spiritual desolation, but Crusoe's insistence on the material abundance of his island makes Gildon's confusion understandable. On the level of character, Crusoe's marvellous self-sufficiency is at odds with his submission to God and patriarchal authority. On the level of narrative, the static reliance on authority conveyed by an allegorical prose style is at odds with the dynamic prose that promulgates the story. The examples are too many to warrant further discussion: they pervade the first two parts of Robinson Crusoe.

The importance of this disjunction for the purposes of my thesis however is neither its presence in Robinson Crusoe, (which as has been said, has long been recognised), nor that it created a technically 'flawed' book, (although one of far more interest than a perfect work, if this had meant a consistent fictional spiritual autobiography). Its importance lies in the fact that Defoe became aware of the disjunction, and was not, as many critics have assumed, so unaware of it that he went on to reproduce this effect in his subsequent novels.

We may assume that Defoe was aware of Gildon's criticism in

view of its popularity. But we can probably also assume that Defoe attended to Gildon's criticism because of the remarkable accuracy with which Gildon itemized the weak spots in the work, and because of the effect such criticism seems to have had on Defoe.

Gildon's criticism (and perhaps that of others now lost to us) made Defoe suddenly aware of problems that he had either been unaware of, or had sought to suppress his awareness of. Now the fact stood glaringly revealed - Crusoe was internally inconsistent, and thus the moral/didactic intention was not successful. This would have been more devastating to Defoe than to non-Puritan authors perhaps, since if the intention was not clear, pointing the way to salvation, this would have dreadful implications for both Crusoe and his creator, with Crusoe apparently a liar, and Defoe the creator of lying fiction.

I think that it is unlikely that Defoe would adopt hints from Gildon about the use of allegory. It is more likely that, if the first two parts of Robinson Crusoe were failing to carry the intended moral/didactic message (as criticism of the book seemed to indicate), then Defoe wrote The serious reflections claiming that the first two parts of the novel were allegory, in order to tilt the balance of his work firmly in the spiritual autobiographical direction where goodness traditionally resided for the Puritan. If readers took the 'man now living' as himself, and included him on the path to salvation that Crusoe is supposed to be treading, so much the better.

Even the title page to The serious reflections is evidence of

Defoe's endeavour. Whereas the thrust of the title pages to the first two parts of the book is active, the title page to The serious reflections is static and other worldly in orientation, with none of the specific time/space locations of the first two parts:

Serious Reflections during the Life and Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe with his vision of the Angelic World. (29)

Defoe then enlarges on this in the preface to The serious reflections, making the startling claim that:

I come now to acknowledge to my reader that the present work is not merely the product of the two first volumes, but the two first volumes may rather be called the product of this. (30)

If we needed proof that Defoe had become alarmed by the awareness forced on him of the internal inconsistency of the first two parts of Robinson Crusoe this must be it. In effect the preface to The serious reflections attempts to deny all the fictional creativity that had gone before in the first two volumes, and to eradicate the realistic story that was so disastrous to the spiritual autobiography. Defoe seems also to have realised that the inconsistency of the first two parts of the novel had revealed their purely created, fictional nature:

I have heard that the envious and ill-disposed part of the world have raised some objections against the two first volumes, on pretence, for want of a better reason, that (as they say) the story is feigned, that the names are borrowed, and that it is all a romance; that there never were any such man or place, or circumstances in any man's life; that it is all formed and embellished by invention to impose upon the world. (31)

Defoe is trying, by the force of polemic, to make all the subversive, realistic material of the first two parts of Robinson Crusoe docile, and conducive to a pious end, with the extra volume

of The serious reflections seeming to authenticate and enhance the supposed religious direction of the first two parts.

It is just about conceivable that if The serious reflections were a better book, Defoe might have come closer to his aim of pushing the first two parts of Robinson Crusoe back into a religio-didactic direction. It seems unlikely however. For any sequel to be successful in this aim, great changes would have had to be made to the first two parts of the work. Without such changes the religious/allegorical elements, however copious, would still remain standing in isolation from, and in opposition to the assumptions and style of the realistic elements, and vice versa. As it is, so divergent is the material of The serious reflections from that of Robinson Crusoe and The farther adventures of Robinson Crusoe that it serves only to emphasise still more the radical dichotomy between allegory and realism in these works.

Perhaps the most interesting thing to emerge from Defoe's recognition of the 'flaw' in his work is that he would not make the necessary revisions to the first two parts of Robinson Crusoe that might have brought them under control, and made them consistent with the didactic intention, and this despite the fact that the failure to conform the protagonist's life to the expected pattern was fraught with fearful potential for both the protagonist and his creator. Admittedly, revision of work was both against Defoe's practice, and against the sort of schedules he kept in his busy life, and any drastic revision would have been tantamount to admitting that the first two parts of his work were lies. But we will see a similar lack of revision (and this despite all his revisions)

at work with Richardson too. It seems as if neither author would destroy the energy and beauty of their creations. Like Milton then, they became 'of the Devil's party', but as I hope to show, far more 'knowing' of it than Blake thought that Milton was.

The serious reflections were perhaps as close as Defoe would move in the direction of a revision of his work. He must have been aware that it was neither wholehearted nor successful, but rather writ his failure large. It seemed that he had failed to assimilate life and form, the portrait of the real with the image of the ideal, that was also a feature of his life.

A pause in literary activity of any consequence between Robinson Crusoe and the publication of Moll Flanders may indicate that Defoe was assimilating his failure. The result of this pause when it appeared was rather like the result of Defoe's period of personal assimilation after his imprisonment in Newgate, that is a buoyant awareness and exploration of the sources of failure, oscillating with an endeavour to recreate the ideal self image. In Moll Flanders Defoe sought to find a positive value for the creative art that had been exposed by the internal inconsistency of Robinson Crusoe, trying to overcome the negative associations of such a discovery which had led to the accusation that the work was lies or hypocrisy. Moll Flanders as a result is Defoe's most positive statement about fiction.

But we will not turn straight to Moll Flanders, for another work preceded it, in the sense of being a direct response to the tribulations of Robinson Crusoe, although the actual publication date of this work was 1726. I am referring to Gulliver's Travels of course, Swift's final retort to the longstanding quarrel between

himself and Defoe that I mentioned at the end of the chapter on the Tale. It was a parodic retort which proved Swift's subtle appreciation of Defoe's struggle to adapt old forms to new.

In the course of this parody, as earlier with the Tale, other seemingly disparate targets were also included, with some brilliant insights resulting. The conclusion of Swift's experiment however was perhaps as unexpected for him as Defoe's had been previously. It may explain Swift's inclusion here in a triumvirate he would undoubtedly have detested, and assumed that he had nothing in common with.

We will begin by looking at the personal causes of Swift's detestation of Defoe (and vice versa), as manifested in their literary quarrelling. For by the time that Gulliver's Travels was published the two men were indeed old literary enemies - with all the strange intimacy as to motives and methods that enmity sometimes produces.

Chapter 4 - Gulliver's Travels

James Sutherland once posited an interesting near collision between Swift and Defoe 'as Swift walked up by the front door [of Harley's house] Defoe was being let out quietly by the back' (1). While this encounter will remain merely speculative, it is a very good image of the relationship between the two men, close yet never quite touching, thinly veiled on Swift's part, painfully open on Defoe's, but actually equally virulent on both sides. This personal hostility is important since it established a literary relationship whereby each man 'replied', with more or less hostility, to the other man's work. These 'replies' show evidence of considerable familiarity with the opponent's style and literary characteristics. Since, as has long been recognised, each man exemplified those qualities the other most detested (2), their hostilities came to transcend the merely personal or even literary, and became instead mutual attacks on a whole range of assumptions about life and conduct.

Both men expressed their views about one another very early in their literary careers, and there was probably little to be added thereafter, but in the manner of most quarrels it flourished well beyond the first round. It is likely, as W. van Maanen speculated years ago (3), that Swift had set the quarrel going with an oblique jibe at Defoe in Section I of A tale of a tub, in a passage linking pillorys and Dissenting pulpits:

(...by antient Rule, it [a pulpit] ought to be the only uncover'd Vessel in every Assembly where it is rightfully used) by which means, from its near Resemblance to a Pillory, it will ever have a mighty Influence on human Ears. (4)

Technically it is possible of course that Swift intended no insult to Defoe. On the other hand the Tale was published only a year after Defoe's public disgrace, and his connection with the pillory was a long remembered event. Five years after Defoe's pillorying Swift was to evoke the image of Defoe by the simple expedient of mentioning the pillory without needing to name names:

the Fellow that was pilloryed, I have forgot his Name. (5)

Among the many contemporaries of Defoe who kept the 'joke' going long after it had lost its savour, Pope was to refer to it in 1742 in the Dunciad (I, 1.103 and II, 1.147). It is not stretching the imagination too much therefore to suggest that Defoe would inevitably come to mind in a reference to the pillory made in 1704. Whether or not an insult was intended must remain conjectural, but perhaps rather likely. Van Maanen disposed of the difficulties in correlating the date of Defoe's pillorying with the date of the publication of the Tale as follows:

Swift might have hit upon the likeness without alluding to Defoe, for which possibility an argument is provided by the fact that the commentators of the Tale generally agree in dating its composition before 1703, the year of Defoe's public shame. On the other hand it is quite possible that Section I of the Tale was written later than the other Sections, as it does not bear upon the story. Moreover, we know that Swift was employed upon the book at various intervals. For my own part, I rather incline to the latter theory. (6)

What is far less conjectural however is that regardless of Swift's intention in the passage quoted, Defoe understood it as a personal insult. He rose to his own defence hotly and parodically in The consolidator or, memoirs of sundry transactions from the world in the moon (1705). Defoe refers quite openly to the Tale

in his work, describing it as one of many works that have produced 'a strange abyss of dark phenomena' (7). Defoe bounces Swift's parody of dark authors back against him, claiming that Swift's own work was so dark that readers could not understand it - a fact that Swift was rather unhappily discovering for himself. Defoe refers to Swift by naming his 'mechanic operations of the spirit' together with Swift's place of residence, Dublin:

A late happy author, indeed, among his mechanic operations of the spirit, had found out an enthusiasm which, if he could have pursued to its proper extreme, without doubt might, either in the body or out of the body, have landed him hereabout; all his notion dissolved in its native vapour called wind, and flew upward in the blue strakes of a livid flame called blasphemy, which burnt up all the wit and fancy of the author, and left a strange stench behind it that has this unhappy quality in it, that everybody that reads the book smells the author though he be never so far off, nay, though he took shipping to Dublin to secure his friends from the least danger of a conjecture. (8)

The consolidator is for the most part a satire against the Anglican Church, the nub of which is the Anglican claim to have maintained a consistent and principled stand in relation to the monarchy in England, and who therefore had the right to persecute Dissenters who had committed regicide. Defoe demolishes this theory by pointing out the dichotomy between the doctrine of passive obedience and the events of the Glorious Revolution of 1688. It is typical of Defoe that his argument rests less upon vindication of the Dissenters, and more upon proving that the Established Church had committed comparable crimes. No doubt it irritated Swift to have the inconsistencies of his own Church pointed out to him after his triumphant exposure of inconsistencies in the Dissenting tradition. Defoe's targets in The consolidator did not lack

subtlety.

The consolidator is heavily anti-Anglican. Its technique is essentially factual, despite the fantastical sounding title, unlike Swift's imaginative fireworks. Whenever it deals with Swift directly the technique is one of straightforward but not ineffective reversal. In the middle of a passage describing James II's abuse of the various religious factions during his reign, Defoe launched a further attack on Swift. Swift's parody of a Scotch Kirk pulpit as the type of all Dissenting pulpits is parodied by Defoe, in a satirical description of a High Church pulpit. Defoe's parody allows the satire to spill over from a general satire against Anglicans to a particular satire against Swift. Defoe clearly had in mind at this point three Sections of the Tale, that from Section I, part of which has already been quoted, the amplification of Aeolist practices in Section VIII, and The mechanical operation of the spirit. Van Maanen, while noting Defoe's imitation of Swift's Tale, dealt only with Section I, and thus missed Defoe's almost point by point inversion of Swift's attacks on Dissenters. Swift for example had referred to the 'Cavities full of Worms' as a type of the two fates attending the Puritan preacher (9).

Defoe in like manner refers to the 'several cavities' and the 'hollowness and emptiness' of the Anglican pulpit, and the use of these in disseminating noise:

This is a truly strange engine, and when a clergyman gets into the inside of it and beats it, it roars and makes such a terrible noise from the several cavities, that it is heard a long way. (10)

Swift had announced the difficulty he was in when describing the

art of canting:

It is a Point of too much Difficulty, to draw the Principles of this famous Art within the Compass of certain adequate Rules. However, perhaps I may one day, oblige the World with my Critical Essay upon the Art of Canting. (11)

Defoe responded to this by proclaiming his own difficulties in drawing a diagram of an Anglican pulpit:

I had some thoughts to have given the reader a diagram of this piece of art, but as I am a bad draftsman, I have not yet been able so exactly to describe it as that a scheme can be drawn. (12)

Swift had suggested that the Aeolists blow each other up with bellows:

to the Shape and Size of a Tun; and for that Reason, with great Propriety of Speech, did usually call their Bodies, their Vessels. (13)

Recalling the original pulpit image of Section I, Swift then referred to the Aeolist priest entering 'into this Barrel, upon Solemn Days' and again receiving air or 'Inspiration' so that 'you behold him swell immediately to the Shape and Size of his Vessel' (14). Defoe, rather less scatologically, simply fits his clergyman to the size of the vessel without puffing him up with air first:

It is a hollow vessel, large enough to hold the biggest clergyman in the nation. (15)

Swift had of course meant to imply more than the mere shape of the pulpit in using the word 'tun'. Custom had long associated tuns with excessive drinking, the verb 'to tun' having that meaning. Swift thus implies that Puritan preachers are drunkards, a notion he makes explicit in The mechanical operation of the spirit, where he announces:

that the whole Business was nothing more than a Set or (sic) roaring, scouring Companions, over-charg'd with Wine. (16)

Defoe simply takes up the charge wholesale and returns it upon Swift and the Anglican Establishment, accusing them of 'all kinds of ecclesiastic drunkenness and excesses'¹⁷. Van Maanen's feeling that this remark is 'exaggerated if not something worse' is therefore sound, but misses the point that Swift had made similar, and equally unfounded remarks first. Defoe also made use of the associations surrounding the word 'tun' when he described the Anglican pulpit as:

very mathematically contrived, erected on a pedestal of wood like a windmill, and has a pair of winding steps up to it, like those of the great tun at Heidelberg. (18)

Defoe's reference to the windmill is amplified in the paragraph following this, with Defoe once again simply taking the hint from Swift's image, and using it for his own satiric purposes, in a rather unimaginative parody of the Tale.

Swift had described the greatest enemy of the Aeolists as a creature called Moulinavent:

who with four strong Arms, waged eternal Battel with all their Divinities, dextrously turning to avoid their Blows, and repay them with Interest. (19)

Defoe parodies this, making maximum use of the windmill image that Swift had initiated, turned inside out so that Swift's strong defender against the Nonconformists becomes an image of Anglican inconsistency:

That as it is erected on a pedestal like a windmill, so it is no new thing for the clergy, who are the only persons permitted to make use of it, to make it turn round with the wind, and serve to all the points of the compass. (20)

Van Maanen felt that this passage was an attack on Swift's mixed status at this time as a Whig politically, and a Tory in

religion. This may be the case, and would certainly give satiric particularity to Defoe's general satire against Anglican inconsistency, as Swift's jibe about pillories had given satiric point to his general satire against Dissenters. Certainly recognition of the parody of the Tale would bring Swift to mind at this point. Defoe meanwhile made use of The consolidator twice to draw attention to his 'heroic' martyrdom in the pillory on behalf of the Dissenters (21), which probably indicates that the pillory episode, and the antagonist who had raised the issue, was very much in his mind in The consolidator. Thus van Maanen is essentially correct in thinking that:

Defoe's Consolidator is, in a way, an answer to Swift's Tale of a Tub. (22)

It is simply that Defoe's answer was more thoroughgoing than van Maanen appreciated, answering a larger part of the Tale than he had allowed for.

The major differences between the two satires is that where Swift is brilliant and imaginative in his accusations against the Dissenters, Defoe is duller, and essentially more factual, analysing historical events as the basis for his accusations against the Anglican Church.

The next time that the two men came to blows was in 1708. Swift had published A letter concerning the sacramental test in December of that year, in an attempt to repudiate the Earl of Wharton's protégé Dr. Lambert, who had just delivered a sermon to Irish Protestants in London urging a closer union between the Anglican Church and the Dissenters (23). In his Letter Swift attacked 'those weekly libellers', the Review and the Observer, who Swift felt were

likely to be advocates of just such a proposal as Dr. Lambert had made. He went on to make another heavily personal attack of the kind we have seen him launch in Section I of the Tale, casting more doubt as a result on the notion that he had been innocent of malevolent intention in the earlier episode. Once again Swift linked Defoe with the pillory, and attacked Defoe's style:

One of these Authors (the Fellow that was pilloryed, I have forgot his Name) is indeed so grave, sententious, dogmatical a Rogue, that there is no enduring him. (24)

Swift also referred to Defoe as a Presbyterian, a common term of abuse by which Defoe's image was often evoked. Subsequently in Examiner No. 15 (16 Nov 1710) Swift again attacked the Review and the Observer. The two papers were regularly yoked together as 'fellow-laborers in Sedition' (25), and there may be more grounds for this yoking than their political colouring (which did actually differ subtly), since Defoe was writing for the Observer from 19 July to early October 1710 (26).

It has been usual for critics to refer to Swift's patrician attitude to Defoe, claiming that his remarks against Defoe were perfunctory, with the plebeian Defoe the only man to lose sleep about it (27). This seems to be based on the tradition of Swift the aristocratic Tory, rather than the evidence. It is obvious that Swift launched quite as many attacks upon Defoe as Defoe launched upon Swift, and indeed that Swift was often the initiator of these attacks, which seems incompatible with aristocratic hauteur.

L.S. Horsley points out the vehemence of Swift's attack in the Examiner, (although assuming that this attack was 'untypical' in the traditional manner):

it was, in fact, not a cool and casual insult made in passing but, untypically, an entire issue of the Examiner given over to ridiculing the behaviour, intellects, social status, style, principles, and favorite arguments of rival papers, in this case of the Review, the Observer, and to a lesser extent, Charles Leslie's now-abandoned High Tory Rehearsal. Scattered through the piece was a fair amount of semipersonal abuse, sarcasm, and harsh characterization of all three: they were "rough, as well as dirty Hands", running to "mad, ridiculous Extremes", they were "Like a couple of Makebates"; they were "Idiots" spreading malice and falsehood and drawing "absurd Consequences" from their popular maxims. (28)

Read as a whole the Examiner makes the view of another critic, Richard Cook virtually meaningless. Cook surmises that Defoe had magnified Swift's insults 'even going so far as to place words like "Ideot" and "Fool" in his [Swift's] mouth' (29). But Swift had indeed had those words in his mouth, and was evidently far more involved with Defoe than modern critics like to admit, even allowing for the general 'in fighting' that was part of the journalistic scene in eighteenth-century London.

Swift's insults against Defoe in Examiner No. 15 are well known. Lining up the Review and the Observer with 'Fanaticism and Infidelity in Religion; and Anarchy, under the Name of a Commonwealth, in Government' Swift then told the reader:

Now to inform and direct us in our Sentiments, upon these weighty Points; here are on one Side two stupid illiterate Scribblers, both of them Fanaticks by Profession; I mean the Review and Observer. (30)

There is much more of this as has been said. In reply however, Defoe singled out almost obsessively the words 'illiterate' and 'Ideot', responding with the term 'Billingsgate'. The Observer led the way in this respect, so that one cannot help thinking that Defoe was rather thin of invention when he staged his own replies

in the Review. Certainly the Observer was quick off the mark in response to Swift's piece. Observer No. 88 (15-18 Nov 1710) announces:

You have put the Examiner into a mighty fret, Master; he falls to downright Billingsgate, and calling of Names. (31)

There then follow some rather ponderous jibes at Swift's use of Latin at the head of his newsheet. Observer No. 89 (18-22 Nov 1710) follows this with another attack on Billingsgate language and the epithets 'stupid' and 'illiterate':

But when he thinks to lay aside Billingsgate, and to argue like a Gentleman and a Scholar, I will be bound for my good behaviour to treat him as such, how Stupid, illiterate, dirty and rough an Ideot so-ever he is pleas'd to call me. (32)

Defoe was in Scotland at the time these Observers were published (33), which would seem to disqualify him from authorship of these sheets. His own Reviews lack originality, although they make up for it in insistence, for Defoe was obviously sufficiently pained by Swift's attack to devote much of Review No. 113 (14 Dec 1710) and almost the whole of Review No. 114 (16 Dec 1710) to answering Swift. His opening gambit in Review No. 114 is to compare himself to St. Paul at Ephesus, an example of Defoe's capacity for Puritan self-imagining on the basis of saintly example. The Examiner, Moderator, and Rehearsal are likened to the pagan Athenians:

Not able to Contradict by Reasoning the Force of his Words, they bound themselves by an Oath to Murther him - when he came among the Wise, Learned Athenians, they banter'd and Ridicul'd him, call'd him Ideot, and Illiterate, and their EXAMINERS fell upon him with this, We will hear what this Babler says. (34)

Defoe then goes on in classic Puritan manner to refute accusations of spiritual pride, announcing 'I am not comparing the Review to the

Apostle, they cannot take me there', although it is difficult to see what else Defoe is doing at this point, especially since he continues 'The Poor Author of this, has been Treated just like that Blessed Man' (35). One can understand Swift's view of Defoe as a 'grave, sententious, dogmatical...Rogue'. He had hit upon Defoe's most Puritan quality. It is no accident that Gulliver is the man that he is.

Defoe then proceeds to repeat the words 'ideot' and 'illiterate' in a most monotonous manner:

Much Powder I say, much Noise, much ill Language; much Call-names, no Argument - After Ideot, which is the first Mark of Distinction, comes Illiterate - Much Wit in that truly is - How should an Ideot but be Illiterate. (36)

Defoe finishes with a résumé of his own education and its deficiencies in terms of Billingsgate language. The exchange continued until June 1711 when the Examiner ceased publication (37).

The next exchange (apart from those regular occurrences in the pages of their newspapers that we have just looked at) occurred when Swift published The conduct of the allies (1711). Although both men were writing in support of the peace campaign, Defoe seems to have been enraged at the triumph of Swift's piece, especially in view of what he regarded as Swift's gross factual inaccuracies (and indeed Swift's 'facts' are a matter of debate among historians) (38), and the unwarranted (as he saw it) attack on the Scotch. Defoe's response, published anonymously, was a pamphlet called A defence of the allies and the late ministry: or, remarks on the Tories new idol. Being a detection of the manifest frauds and falsities, in a late pamphlet, entitled, 'The conduct of the allies'

(1712). The title seems to say it all. Defoe produces arguments based on trade, morality, and logistics to demolish Swift's argument, giving himself the 'let out' that he too desired peace, but not peace at any price. Defoe even went so far as to reproduce the 'Queen's Declaration of War against France, May 4 1702', and parts of the Dutch declaration of war 'because it will then appear whether we are immediately concern'd in this War or no' (39). This was a typical tactic of Defoe's. Having lined up all the facts, Defoe felt he was able to accuse Swift:

From these Corrupted, False, Foundations
he [Swift] erects a Fabric as Corrupt, founding
the Arguments upon his own bare Narration of Fact
without Evidence, and running on to a mighty
length, in reproaching our Ministry at Home, and
Confederates Abroad, with Injurious Dealings in
all the managing the late War. (40)

Defoe finally concludes by accusing Swift of:

(1) Gross Ignorance of the Fact; and, (2). A Strenuous
soliciting of the Popish and French Interest. (41)

Events repeated themselves two years later in 1714. Swift had attacked Sir Richard Steele in The publick spirit of the Whigs. In attacking Steele, Swift once again attacked the Scotch, emphasising their greed (as he saw it) during the enactment of the Act of Union (1707). Defoe was enraged at what he saw as Swift's grand manner without regard to facts, especially as Defoe regarded himself as instrumental in bringing about the Act of Union. He responded with a pamphlet called The Scots nation and Union vindicated; from the reflections cast on them, in an infamous libel. Entitl'd, the publick spirit of the Whigs, etc. In which the most scandalous paragraphs contain'd therein are fairly quoted, and fully answer'd

(23 Feb 1714). Defoe made the same accusations against Swift as he had made in A defence of the allies, that is that Swift is not sufficiently factually informed, and therefore in holding to his opinions he is a liar and a slanderer. Defoe decided that he could prove Swift a liar on the grounds that:

Matter of Fact and plain Truth, is the solid Fortification of an Argument against Falshood and Slander. (42)

The 'facts' that Defoe produced to substantiate his own case are probably truthful for they are certainly odd. Swift had hinted that authors writing for the Whig cause were well paid for their trouble. To prove Swift factually incorrect and therefore a liar, Defoe produced a list of Whig authors who he says were not well paid, but starved instead, together with a list of Scotch colonels who had fought with Gustavus Adolphus as proof of Scotch bravery, which Swift had also cast aspersions on. Once again, Swift seems to have had the imagination and Defoe the facts. It may be that we prefer the former when the facts have ceased to matter. Perhaps at the time Defoe's material was more effective than it now seems. Swift's final retort to the equation facts = truth of course was to be the factual cataloguer Gulliver, who nevertheless fails to give the reader the truth.

As is well known, the Tory administration of Harley and Bolingbroke collapsed in September 1714; Harley had in fact been ousted by 23 July that year (43). Swift departed into virtual exile in August 1714. Defoe remained to work for the next administration, first vindicating himself by An appeal to honour and justice (1715). Even now however the two men did not stop irritating one another.

Defoe published The secret history of the white staff in October 1714. It seems to have been intended as a defence of Harley, but evidently this was not clear. Writing to Swift (19 Oct 1714)

Arbuthnot told him:

You have read ere this time the History of the white Staff, which is either contriv'd by an enemy or by himself, [ie Harley] to bring down vengeance. (44)

It was almost undoubtedly the publication of this piece of Defoe's that provoked Swift into producing his Memoirs, relating to that change which happened in the year 1710 (1714) as a reply (45). Whether Swift recognised Defoe as the author of The secret history is uncertain. Both Defoe and Harley publicly denied having any part in the piece, which must have aroused Swift's suspicions (46). The tenacious jealousy of Swift and Defoe to have been privy to the secrets of the Tory administration is a point of unwonted union between two men whose paths had crossed so frequently.

Some quarrels die hard. This one reappeared as late as 1725, with Defoe's pained reference yet again to Swift's Examiner No. 15, and the jibe about 'illiterate Scribblers':

I remember an Author in the World, some Years ago, who was generally upbraided with Ignorance, and called an "Illiterate Fellow" by some of the Beau-Monde of the last Age. He was run down in this Manner by some, that upon enquiry, had a much clearer Title to the Character of a Blockhead, by a great deal, than himself. (47)

It would be erroneous to assume that either man had forgiven or forgotten therefore. The Scriblerian circle (of which Swift was an active member) had Defoe very much in their minds as late as 1728 with the publication of Pope's Dunciad, 1729 with the Dunciad Variorum, 1731, with the Grub Street Journal No. 69 (29 Apr 1731)

(48), and of course the final version of the Dunciad in 1742, while Swift was unlikely to forget that his own brilliant first major work of satire had been 'answered' by another work of rather mediocre parody, as well as many other exchanges. The years 1710-1714 were as crucial for Swift as the year 1703 was for Defoe. These were the years when he felt himself to be most politically active and nearest to success and power. In reviving the memory of those years, as Swift was wont to do, he was unlikely to forget his antagonists of that time, of whom Mr. Review was a constant irritant, mystifyingly tolerated by Harley (Swift was apparently unaware that Defoe also worked for Harley).

Swift may often have thought of Defoe therefore, in the intervening years between his exile and the publication of Robinson Crusoe. Moreover Swift, like all of the Scriblerian circle, was an acute observer of the literary scene in which Defoe took an active part. Then in 1719 Defoe published his immensely popular but flawed work, Robinson Crusoe. A year later the scheme that may have been in Swift's head for some time suddenly took shape (49). I believe that Defoe's novel was the catalyst for Swift's literary activity, its broken form offering Swift the opportunity to combine an exposure of the assumptions producing this flawed work with a personal barb. Gulliver's Travels is thus evidence that Swift was still as much involved in the old literary quarrel as Defoe.

The quarrel was every bit as personal as the much better documented quarrel between Richardson and Fielding, and Gulliver's Travels is as thoroughgoing a parody of Robinson Crusoe as ever Shamela (1741) is of Pamela (1740). In effect Gulliver's Travels

is an updated version of the satiric targets of the Tale, that is Puritanism (and other fanatics) in conjunction with Modern forms. It is the culmination of years of observing the enemy in all his weakest literary areas, preparatory for the final attack.

As we approached Robinson Crusoe by way of the critical reaction of contemporaries, so we shall approach Gulliver's Travels by the same route and for the same reasons. We will find that, like the other early criticism we have examined, really all the important aspects of the book were discovered then, and we have sometimes lost the point since. Interestingly, several of these critics remarked on the relationship between Gulliver and Puritanism.

Shortly after the publication of the Travels Edward Dorrington under the pseudonym P.L. or Peter Longueville had published The Hermit: or the unparalleled sufferings and surprising adventures of Mr. Philip Quarll, an Englishman (1727). Dorrington links Robinson Crusoe and the Travels together as travelogues which, although appealing to different classes of readers, are nevertheless works in the same category, a different view from latterday critics who would regard the two works as entirely different species:

Truth and Fiction have, of late, been so promiscuously blended together, in Performances of this Nature; that, in the present Case, it seems absolutely necessary to distinguish the one from the other. If Robinson Crusoe, Moll Flanders, and Collonel Jack have had their Admirers among the lower Rank of Readers; it is as certain that the Morality in Masquerade, which may be discovered, in the Travels of Lemuel Gulliver, has been an equal Entertainment to the superior Class of Mankind. (50)

The only differentiation made between Robinson Crusoe and the Travels by Dorrington is a social one therefore, Robinson Crusoe being 'replete with vulgar Stories' and Gulliver's Travels with a 'Satirical Vein' (51). My surmise is that the Dean of St. Patrick's was among the 'lower Rank of Readers' of Robinson Crusoe.

The following year (1728) Swift's old enemy John Oldmixon, in a piece called The arts of logick and rhetorick, complained that readers 'waste their Time about such Stuff as Robinson Crusoe's, Gullivers, Etc' (52). That the vehement anti-Tory Oldmixon should link the essentially 'Whiggish' fictional spiritual autobiography of Defoe with the Tory political satire of Swift indicates that Oldmixon too had discovered an affinity between the two works.

Again in 1728, another Dunce announced his discovery of the relationship between the Travels and Robinson Crusoe. Jonathon Smedley in his Gulliverania: or, a fourth volume of miscellanies. Being a sequel of three volumes, published by Pope and Swift established a relationship between Swift and Defoe by saying that Swift had imitated Defoe, although he then differentiated the two authors by saying that Gulliver's Travels is incredible while Robinson Crusoe was credible. The very fact that Smedley deals with the two works as being of the same species, and is almost aggrieved that the Travels are not (as he sees it) credible as in the manner of Defoe's work, (which they should be since they are of the same species) indicates his sense that the two books are alike in spirit, in a way that he cannot define:

This pious Author seems to have taken his Hint, if not from the celebrated History of Tom Thumb, from the Author who a few Years ago obliged the World with the Travels of Robinson Crusoe. What the former said was in Nature, and, by the Novelty of the Adventures, reasonably excited the Reader's Curiosity; whereas the Doctor has nothing in his Tale so credible as Fortunatus's Cap.....The World in the Moon seems much more to be a Part of our World, as it has been described to us, than any of Gulliver's Worlds. (53)

One wonders whether Smedley's reference to the 'World in the Moon' was an allusion to The consolidator: or, memoirs of sundry transactions from the world in the moon, of which Defoe had also published three other works with similar titles in 1705 (54). If this is the case then this piece can be read as a criticism of Swift's satire in favour of Defoe's earlier Consolidator. Smedley's idea that Swift had 'taken his Hint' from Robinson Crusoe indicates his sense, which was perhaps not complete recognition however, of Swift's parody.

Perhaps a last interesting parallel made by contemporaries was one between Robinson Crusoe, Gulliver's Travels and the Pilgrim's Progress (1678). Gildon had seen Crusoe's relationship with the earlier Puritan narrative as a source of scorn:

there is not an old Woman that can go to the Price of it, but buys thy Life and Adventures, and leaves it as a Legacy, with the Pilgrims Progress, the Practice of Piety, and God's Revenge against Murther, to her Posterity. (55)

Dr. Arbuthnot, discussing the popularity of Gulliver's Travels, linked Swift's work to Bunyan's great work:

I will make over all my profits to you, for the property of Gulliver's Travels, which I believe, will have as great a Run as John Bunian. (56)

I think that Dr. Arbuthnot's remark is not casual, but the

product of a conscious recognition of the elements of Puritan parody in Gulliver's Travels (57).

Since these remarks by contemporaries related Gulliver's Travels and Robinson Crusoe there have been various other critics who have discussed points of similarity or relationship between the two works, or the two men. This was done in the nineteenth century on the basis of shared verisimilitude (58). After a gap of a century or so, during which time criticism tended to concentrate on the personal qualities of the two authors rather than the literary merits of their works, twentieth-century criticism has shifted to making comparisons of the two men as Tory polemicists (59). Other critics have compared the men as satirists, especially in their shorter works such as The shortest way with the Dissenters, and Swift's Modest Proposal (1728) (60). Other variants have been studies which look at Robinson Crusoe and Gulliver's Travels as studies in the retirement theme or its variant, the theme of flight (61).

Whatever the interest of these studies, they lack one quality of contemporary criticism, and that is the sense that Gulliver's Travels is a direct and parodic response to Robinson Crusoe.

Nigel Dennis came very close to such a recognition while comparing Swift and Defoe, but drew back from finally committing himself to the perception:

To describe Gulliver's Travels as Swift's deliberate retort to Robinson Crusoe would be unwarranted, but if we amuse ourselves by considering it as such, the result is as informative as it is entertaining. (62)

I shall make just such an assumption, although I hope that the

analysis of Swift and Defoe's literary relations before publication of the Travels, together with contemporary critical reaction after the publication, and my own study of the Travels in this chapter, give more warrant for the assumption than Nigel Dennis thought was the case.

As we saw in the chapter on Robinson Crusoe, the key feature of that work, picked up by critics then and later, was the inconsistency within the work created by the narrator, at odds within his own voice, a feature that Defoe was initially unwitting of. The serious reflections are evidence of Defoe's recognition of the problem, and his attempt to deal with it by adding more material of a conventional Puritan kind, which he hoped would push the trilogy in the direction of an exemplary autobiography. My thesis is that Swift in contrast made a quite witting use of the same sort of dichotomy in voice to produce an equally broken form.

The two voices of Gulliver in Gulliver's Travels are apparent within a few pages of the start of the book, although until the addition of the Letter to Sympson nine years after the publication of the Travels this was not quite so evident. The Letter is dated April 2, 1727, that is purportedly six months after the publication of the Travels, as Gulliver points out:

Behold, after above six Months Warning, I cannot learn that my Book hath produced one single Effect according to my Intentions. (63)

It is still a matter of conjecture as to whether the Letter is original material accidentally omitted from the first edition

of the Travels, and finally put back in the 'correct' Faulkner edition of 1735, or a subsequent piece of material given the earlier date for the appearance of consistency with the original publication date.

For the purposes of this chapter it makes very little difference which of these is the case, which is perhaps rather surprising. It may be that Swift wrote the Letter as a 'guide' to the reader after the evidence of nine years of misreading of the Travels. But the Letter only makes more explicit a dichotomy in voices that was always present. Thus although I will deal with the book as it now stands, and the effect of the Letter in making this dichotomy immediately obvious, the overall nature of the book would have been the same without it. We are not therefore dependent on the late appearing document for the meaning of the Travels.

The Letter to Sympson is an odd document to read, especially on first opening the book. The most that a reader might normally expect to see would be a preface where, if any self vindication were going on, the reader at least was exempt from abuse. The Letter in contrast ignores the reader yet conveys an animus against him, thus violating the convention that an author's first object of polite attention is the reader. This speaker conducts instead a fierce quarrel with his 'Cousin Sympson' about the publishing details of a book the reader has not yet read.

The Letter is conducted in the first person which establishes a strong sense of the speaker's personality. The violation of

convention, combined with the sense of personality, especially in Gulliver's urgent tones, challenges the peace of a quiet read, and produces instead an alert reader. Of course most readers are 'in the know' that irony is operating, an irony sharpened by the caption 'Splendide Mendax' beneath the portrait in the 1735 edition. But this does not alter the fact that the response of readers was changed by the Letter. They are less likely to feel complacently 'at one' with the satiric voice, whose animus at this point is felt to be dangerous, or hard to determine.

It is not surprising that the voice arouses confusion, for it is itself confused. While the overall effect is one of humanly emotional hostility and pain, another 'part' of the narrator's voice strives to seem Reasonable and controlled. Violent anger at the unfortunate Sympson, the public, and the publisher, occurs together with a barrage of majestic abstractions designed to create the impression of supreme Reasonable indifference to such unReasonable creatures.

What is already becoming apparent in the Letter to Sympson is the growth of two contradictory voices (conveyed by one narrator however) that are the crucial feature of Gulliver's Travels. One of these voices is the voice of Reason, or rather the voice that Gulliver imagines is the voice of Reason, which he equates to the scientist/traveller, inspired by the ideals of the Royal Society, for Gulliver takes on a stylised and recognisable jargon exactly as his Puritan counterparts adopted a language which they felt came closest to expressing and exemplifying their

ideal. Gulliver's jargon would have been as recognisable to an eighteenth-century reader as the voice of spiritual autobiography, for it was a voice that spoke to them from the pages of the immensely popular travelogues, as well as scientific treatises and the records of the Royal Society. It is a voice that we will look at in some detail, for the same reason that we examined the language used in spiritual autobiography, that is to get at the assumptions behind the narrative mode.

Gulliver's 'other' voice is human, unregenerate, and usually thoroughly unreasonable. This is the voice of the 'old', unconverted Gulliver, which the 'new man', inspired by Reason, imagines to be crushed if not dead within him:

Yahoo as I am, it is well known through all Houyhnhnmland, that by the Instructions and Example of my illustrious Master, I was able in the Compass of two Years (although I confess with the utmost Difficulty) to remove that infernal Habit of Lying, Shuffling, Deceiving, and Equivocating, so deeply rooted in the very Souls of all my Species; especially of the Europeans. (64)

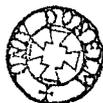
Gulliver has had his conversion experience in Houyhnhnmland (65). He saw there a vision of pure Reason operating in apparently Reasonable creatures. Gulliver saw the light, and was converted. This elevates him to being one of the Elect, who may convert others following the example of others of the Elect:

I write for the noblest End, to inform and instruct Mankind, over whom I may, without Breach of Modesty, pretend to some Superiority, from the Advantages I received by conversing so long among the most accomplished Houyhnhnms. (66)

Swift is very subtle in making Gulliver's conversion shift from the beautiful (where conversion was conventionally held to

lie) to the rational, for he thereby enforces his point that the two apparently totally disparate positions are actually very similar, because they are based upon the same Proud assumptions. Both 'creeds' for example believed that truth was attainable by the individual, and not by reliance on previous authority, whether the authority of the church, or of ancient learning. Ostensibly of course, the Puritan received his truth by Grace and not by personal endeavour, but in practise the abandonment of church tradition meant that the Puritan believed in his own inspiration as much as the scientist believed in his experimentation and observation.

This belief in individually attainable truth rather than reliance on an authority worked out over hundreds of years is the basis of what Swift saw as the Pride of these Moderns, for both groups pretend to being more than they really are, whether as the Elect, or as those who can make scientific, rational 'progress'. What Swift saw was that each becomes effectively less human as a result, whether as a Puritan denying the grosser side of himself, and refusing to acknowledge that he needed the cloak of established religion as a cover for his nastiness, or as a scientist who in his pretence of rational objectivity also believed that he had eradicated the inferior side of his personality. The narrative of the Puritan, and the narrative of the scientist is revealed as partial by Swift's brilliant reintroduction of those grosser, subjective, human elements in the form of the psychological realism of Gulliver's disruptive voice. It was an effect he had already



observed unwittingly at work in Robinson Crusoe, where Crusoe's exemplary voice is disrupted by his human voice (with all that that implies) conveyed by psychological realism.

In terms of the parody of Robinson Crusoe that Swift was effecting, the two voices of Gulliver's Travels relate to Robinson Crusoe, as follows: the converted Puritan voice in Robinson Crusoe conveyed by the stylised, spiritual autobiographical form, relates to Gulliver's voice after his conversion to Reason, conveyed in the factual, objective style of the Royal Society voyager/scientist. The voice of the unregenerate, 'sinful' Crusoe, carried by realism corresponds to the voice of the unregenerate Gulliver, also carried by realism. Gulliver's human voice is as opposed to the ideals of the Royal Society as Crusoe's dynamic individualism is opposed to the assumptions of spiritual autobiography.

It should be stated immediately, least any confusion occur, that Gulliver's human, or in literary terms realistic voice, has little to do with the factual narrative methods of the Royal Society. There is a tendency to assume that realism means the use of facts in narrative. The corollary of this would be that Royal Society factuality equates to realism, which begs the question as to how Gulliver's Royal Society voice could be subverted by his realistic voice since both are the same, if we accept the equation facts = realism.

But such an equation is nonsense, and indeed if accepted would mean that a mass of academic studies analysing realistic works were bizarre exercises in personal fantasy (some are - but

that is a different question). At best factual narrative equates only with circumstantial realism, and the realism I am discussing is concerned with the whole gamut of realism, including psychological realism. Thus when Crusoe decides to take his money away with him, that is not realistic because it deals with facts, but because it is humanly credible as a psychological portrayal. When Gulliver furiously vindicates his reputation, and that of a court lady, calling in an impassioned present tense for Clustril and Drunlo to defend themselves if they can, that is also (apart from its absurdity, since the lady in question is six inches high) psychologically realistic. But both Crusoe and Gulliver's psychological realism is subversive of their ideal self image, as conveyed in the voices of spiritual autobiography, and Royal Society objectivity respectively. Indeed, what these two ideal voices share is precisely what Swift wanted to expose, that is that both try to purify script of its erring human subjectivity, its dross, and indeed (since script is the man in first person narrative) to pretend that these elements no longer exist in the man. When Gulliver and Crusoe's errant human voices appear, they are nails in the coffin of such Pride, as conveyed in two narrative forms that Swift detested, that is Puritan spiritual autobiography and scientific jargon. If Swift had to characterise Royal Society narrative it would be as Royal Society Enthusiasm, not Reason, for his point is that the proponents of this style with their visions of the millenium are exactly like their Enthusiastic brethren the Puritans, and Gulliver's visionary desire to change the world now that he has seen the light is an objective both groups share.

If the subject matter of the Letter to Sympson was startling, so too is the first page of Gulliver's narrative, by virtue of stark contrast. The voice of this page is sober, rational, and factual. After the Letter with its violent contrast in language, it might be a different man speaking. One question as a result demands to be answered, and that is what has happened to the pained, urgent, and highly irrational voice of the Letter to Sympson in this cool, factual narrative.

What Swift was establishing at the start of the Travels is a conspicuous dichotomy in voices of the kind we have seen operating in Robinson Crusoe. I suspect that the Letter was an afterthought, to emphasise this point to duller readers at the start of the work, overly concerned as they had proved themselves (then and now) with searching out the historical persons and events behind the allusions in the book, and failing to notice as a result the importance of the book's form (67). At key moments in the book however it becomes evident that Gulliver's factual narrative breaks down under the impact of a subjective and personal voice, a voice which we see first in the Letter to Sympson.

We must now examine Gulliver's converted voice, that of the voyager/scientist. We have already seen in Chapter 1 the new confidence in the value of gathering empirical data, and in experimentation. In pursuing maximum information of the best quality, the Royal Society from the days of its foundation had begun to take an interest in travellers. Sprat was thoroughly optimistic about the returns that would be forthcoming, and blessed the position of England in enabling this to happen:

in short time, there will scarce a Ship come up the Thames, that does not make some return of Experiments, as well as of Merchandize.

This their care of an Universal Intelligence, is befriended by Nature itself, in the situation of England it is thereby necessarily made, not onely Mistress of the Ocean, but the most proper Seat, for the advancement of Knowledg. (68)

The Royal Society also wanted information, as we have seen, to discover the laws of the universe, natural and divine. This optimism about discoverable laws was based in confidence about their own recommended methods of obtaining data, that is by the factual, objective observation of phenomena reported in the sort of English already outlined, uncoloured by personal prejudice, or comment. It was recognised that if sailors were to prove as helpful as they could be, they too needed to be educated in the correct methods.

In their Transactions for 1665-1666, the Royal Society published Directions for seamen, bound for far voyages, with the specific aim of educating sailors for their new role as fact collectors. While it would be inaccurate to suggest that all sailors became scientists overnight, many travellers were clearly inspired by the aims of the Royal Society. John Josselyn dedicated his Account of two voyages to New England (1674) to the President and Fellows of the Royal Society, as did the famous William Dampier in his New voyage round the world (1699) (69). Others expressed their aim as being 'the promotion of useful knowledge' thereby indicating their debt to the Royal Society (70). Gulliver is thus following a well established precedent when he presents his three gigantic wasp stings to Gresham College (71).

The Directions were reprinted in full in John Churchill's A collection of voyages and travels (1704), together with an 'Introductory Discourse' which 'set down some general Rules which may concern all Travellers to observe'. They are worth repeating because they show exactly what was expected of the traveller now, in addition to his business, and most especially because they show how thoroughly Gulliver's Travels parodied the assumptions of the Royal Society and its followers. There is hardly an item on the list that Gulliver does not at some point offer the reader an account of:

They are in the first place to consider, that they do not go into other Countries to pass through them, and divert themselves with the present sight of such Curiosities as they meet with... If they will make an advantage of their Trouble and Cost, they must not pass through a Country as if they carried an Express, but make a reasonable stay at all places where there are Antiquities, or any Rarities to be observ'd; and not think that because others have writ on that Subject, there is no more to be said.... Let them therefore always have a Table-Book at hand to set down every thing worth remembring, and then at night more methodically transcribe the Notes they have taken in the day. The principal Heads by which to regulate their Observations are these, the Climate, Government, Power, Places of Strength, Cities of note, Religion, Language, Coins, Trade, Manufactures, Wealth, Bishopricks, Universities, Antiquities, Libraries, Collections of Rarities, Arts and Artists, Publick Structures, Roads, Bridges, Woods, Mountains, Customs, Habits, Laws, Privileges, strange Adventures, surprizing Accidents, Rarities both natural and artificial, the Soil, Plants, Animals, and whatsoever may be curious, diverting, or profitable.... Every Traveller ought to carry about him several sorts of Measures, to take the Dimensions of such things as require it; a Watch by which, and the Pace he travels, he may give some guess at the distances of Places.... a Prospective-glass, or rather a great one and a less, to take views of Objects at a greater and less distances; a small Sea-Compass

or Needle, to observe the situation of Places, and a parcel of the best Maps to make curious Remarks of their exactness, and note down where they are faulty. In fine, a Traveller must endeavour to see the Courts of Princes, to keep the best Company, and to converse with the most celebrated Men in all Arts and Sciences. (72)

It is wonderful to imagine the average ship's Master, or even more unlikely the seaman at whom these Directions were aimed, struggling to keep their business together while also keeping to these instructions! Swift's satire at Gulliver's expense is perhaps more pointed than we imagine.

What is especially important to note in both the Royal Society's Directions, and their original Statutes (1663) is that personal comment was specifically excluded:

In all Reports of Experiments to be brought into the Society, the matter of fact shall be barely stated, without any prefaces, apologies, or rhetorical flourishes..... And if any Fellow thinks fit to suggest any conjectures, concerning the causes of phaenomena in such Experiments, the same shall be done 'apart'. (73)

This was passed on to sailors in the Royal Society's Directions and Churchill's 'Heads'. As a result those travellers affected by these instructions endeavoured to operate in the 'correct' manner for gathering useful data:

the average voyager strove to see clearly and to record objectively. The result was a mass of material notable not only for the avowed attempt to present undistorted facts, but also for the scarcity of individual speculation or the airing of private theories. This type of thing was thought to merit little space in a Restoration and early eighteenth-century travel-book. Voyagers and travellers considered themselves collectors, not interpreters, of data. (74)

Interpretation of data was to be left to the 'Virtuosi' presumably of the Royal Society. Charles Wolley followed these instructions

in his A two years journal in New-York (1701) telling his readers:

For my part I humbly submit to the Vituoso's of Natural and Divine Philosophy; rather than embarass and envelop my self in prying within the Curtains of the Primitive Chaos. (75)

Martin Martin in his A description of the Western islands of Scotland (1703) likewise abnegated responsibility for the interpretation of data:

I hold it enough for me to furnish my observations, without accounting for the reason and way those simples produce them: this I leave to the learned in that faculty; and if they would oblige the world with such theorems as these and the like experiments, as might serve for rules upon occasions of this nature, it would be of great advantage to the public. (76)

Thus Gulliver shows his loyalties when he describes the bulky productions of Brobdingnag:

it is manifest, that Nature in the Production of Plants and Animals of so extraordinary a Bulk, is wholly confined to this Continent; of which I leave the Reasons to be determined by Philosophers. (77)

One of the grounds upon which critics have labelled Gulliver a 'persona' is that he lacks the qualities of a fully rounded character. His deficiencies as a rounded character seem to me to have less to do with his being a persona, and more to do with his being a scientist/traveller of the kind we have heard speaking from the pages of their various travelogues, faithfully following the instructions of the Royal Society.

Swift in Gulliver's Travels meticulously parodied the style of the scientist/traveller, the passive recording voice, which abnegates responsibility for interpreting what is observed. It is the perfect vehicle for his moral point, as we gaze without comment Gulliver on phenomena simply demanding comment. Yet to

Gulliver this absence of personal comment is the proof of his superiority. He does not refrain from offering it because he is too stupid to make it, as some critics of the persona persuasion have assumed, but because he regards himself as too intelligent to make it. His blank-faced, neutral observation is proof that he is carrying out the first duty of the Royal Society, their language (he thinks) an image of the most Reasonable society of all, the Houyhnhnms.

The reader of course supplies the necessary moral comment, and indeed emotion, which has a double effect. Initially it allows the reader to judge Gulliver, who is palpably lacking in a moral dimension - a marvellous irony of course since Gulliver is replicating the reader's act of judgement within the book, imagining that he is morally better than the reader by virtue of his pure Reason. Gradually however, especially by Book IV when the assault on Pride becomes inescapable, the reader may recognise that his judgement of Gulliver is as Proud as Gulliver's judgement of him. Indeed, the moral dimension the reader has been supplying reveals his own deficiencies, since the very fact that public executions, lousy beggars, political intrigues, and much else, is there to be observed indicates that his moral indignation has had very little influence thus far on the society of which he is part.

We will now return to our starting point of the connection with Robinson Crusoe, via the inconsistent narrative voices of both books. In Robinson Crusoe the 'whimsical, inconsistent being' (to use Gildon's phrase) was called a liar as a result of his

inconsistency. The serious reflections were Defoe's recognition of the flawed nature of his work, which within the work, since Crusoe is the purported writer, becomes Crusoe's attempt to restore the balance. Similarly the Letter to Sympson is Gulliver's recognition that something is dreadfully wrong with his book. He reviles the reader for this, exactly as 'Crusoe' vindicates himself in the Prefaces to The farther adventures and The serious reflections, yet he is still uneasy. People are not convinced it seems; no one is converted by his example six months after the publication of his work. Gulliver puts this down to the mangling of his facts. Actually the problem is obvious, and exactly like Crusoe's inability to convince the reader he is truly converted, that is because his conduct seems to be at odds with itself, and his exemplary voice is denied by the evidence of the second voice. Like Crusoe, (and could Swift but have known it, Pamela in times to come), Gulliver is called a liar, exactly as Swift intended. Swift certainly made the point clearly enough: Gulliver (that is someone who attempts to fool us about the truth), quoting Sinon as evidence of his veracity, and (in the 1735 edition of the Travels) the 'Splendide Mendax' beneath Gulliver's portrait.

For Gulliver is a liar. He cannot draw the two sides of his narrative together into a consistent whole, but instead leaves them visibly denying each other, and as a result they are evidence of a failure in conduct too. The failure to convince readers of his election, and visible superiority, is evidently as terrifying to Gulliver as it would be to any Puritan. In his case too it

means damnation of sorts, for if he is not a superior being then he must be squarely among the Yahoos who so revolt him. The discovery that his readers think him a liar has struck Gulliver as forcibly as it had struck Crusoe/Defoe earlier. This is why we find Gulliver vehemently insisting on his veracity, both at the beginning of the book in the Letter to Sympson and during its finale:

I imposed on myself as a Maxim, never to be swerved from, that I would strictly adhere to Truth; neither indeed can I ever be under the least Temptation to vary from it, while I retain in my Mind the Lectures and Example of my noble Master, and the other illustrious Houyhnhnms. (78)

The reasons why Gulliver cannot convince his readers are not far to seek, especially after an analysis of Robinson Crusoe. Those glaring lapses from the ideal voice to that of the unregenerate man that mark Crusoe's narrative mark Gulliver's too (as Swift had intended of course). Gulliver is pledged to rationality, taking his example from a race who 'could not understand why Nature should teach us to conceal what Nature had given' (79). And this is Gulliver the rational convert, a very short way into his exemplary narrative, after evacuating his bowels on arrival in Lilliput:

But this was the only Time I was ever guilty of so uncleanly an Action; for which I cannot but hope the candid Reader will give some Allowance, after he hath maturely and impartially considered my Case, and the Distress I was in.... I would not have dwelt so long upon a Circumstance, that perhaps at first Sight may not appear very momentous; if I had not thought it necessary to justify my Character in Point of Cleanliness to the World; which I am told, some of my Maligners have been pleased, upon this and other Occasions, to call in Question. (80)

Apart from its humour, there is much to be gained from reading this piece 'straight' as we might imagine it seems to Gulliver. This is the voice of the Letter to Sympson, striving to remain controlled while it deals obsessively with the 'facts' of his excretion (facts which above all else human Reason would like to ignore) on a note of rising hysteria, defending himself, as in the Letter to Sympson against 'Maligners'. More than anything Gulliver does not want to be thought of as a filthy Yahoo. Like the ethereal Clarissa later, shut up in her room for days, always spotlessly clean and never needing to be excused, Gulliver would like not to have to function in this way (81). Failing this he must ward off maligners who say that he is unclean. That Gulliver's cleanliness is a matter of acute anxiety to him is evidenced by his repetition of the details of his toilet in Brobdingnag (82), with similarly unstable (from the viewpoint of Reason) self-vindication. On this occasion Gulliver's operations are practically invisible to the Brobdingnagian gaze - a point which makes Gulliver's self importance and Pride (which is what his cleanliness, or purity is all about) even more ludicrous.

Subsequently in Book 1 Gulliver vindicates his reputation once again. He has been accused of having an affair with the wife of the Treasurer of Lilliput, an accusation Gulliver refutes, with the voice of the Letter once again in evidence:

I defy the Treasurer, or his two Informers. (I will name them, and let them make their best of it) Clustril and Drunlo, to prove that any Person ever came to me incognito, except the Secretary Reldresal, who was sent by express Command of his Imperial Majesty, as I have before related. I should not have dwelt so long upon this Particular, if it had

not been a Point whêrein the Reputation of a great Lady is so nearly concerned; to say nothing of my own; although I had the Honour to be a Nardac, which the Treasurer himself is not; for all the World knows he is only a Clumglum, a Title inferior by one Degree, as that of a Marquess is to a Duke in England; yet I allow he preceded me in right of his Post. (83)

This is Gulliver discussing events that occurred fourteen years previously - and Gulliver is very aware that chronology has altered his standpoint from that of his early days; 'if I had then known the Nature of Princes and Ministers, which I have since observed in many Courts...' Gulliver says at one point, reminiscing (84).

Yet despite this different perspective, (and after all the whole book is meant to be Gulliver's testimony of his changed perspective) Gulliver is up to his neck in present tense involvement with this old court scandal, agitatedly vindicating himself and the Treasurer's wife, stickling on points of status, and rounding on two informers who are six inches high. The whole piece is shot through with revelations of his unregenerate nature still extant, in the post-Travels 'now' of his authorship. So much for Reason.

Another good example of Gulliver's inconsistency with his later converted point of view, (and indeed with his more magnanimous attitude to the same matter when in Lilliput), occurs in Brobdingnag. Once again it is Gulliver's present tense, i.e. post-Houyhnhmland voice, that speaks. Gulliver has offered the King of Brobdingnag the secret of gunpowder, and been vehemently refused:

. A strange Effect of narrow Principles and short Views! that a Prince possessed of every Quality

which procures Veneration, Love and Esteem; of strong Parts, great Wisdom, and profound Learning; endued with admirable Talents for Government, and almost adored by his Subjects; should from a nice unnecessary Scruple, whereof in Europe we can have no Conception, let slip an Opportunity put into his Hands, that would have made him absolute Master of the Lives, the Liberties, and the Fortunes of his People. (85)

Gulliver, purportedly revolted by Yahoo vice and violence, becomes so involved in the description of his past self offering advice to the Brobdingnagian King that he falls back into the attitudes of the younger man. In this respect Gulliver shows himself to be a true author, if we accept that what may happen in writing a novel may also happen to the autobiographer:

The novel presents a way of remembering, voluntary in some of its decisions, involuntary in others, making a knowing return to the past whose force may be alarmingly or elatingly stronger than we thought we remembered. (86)

Under the impact of recall, Gulliver takes up the mantle of Western man with all his vices again. Of course this is an opportunity for brilliant satire for Swift. But from Gulliver's point of view this is another total contradiction of his converted self image. Gulliver's conversion, exactly like Crusoe's, is so inconsistent that it could never seem thoroughgoing enough to offer an example, or to induce belief. Gulliver is self contradictory to the last, and under the impact of recall reveals a continuum between his past and present self that he would be shocked to discover. The inconsistency in voices in Gulliver's Travels is its meaning, a manifestation in form of Swift's thesis that any man who thinks he is reformed, or elect because he has found the truth is the victim of Pride:

Violent zeal for truth hath an hundred to one odds to be either petulancy, ambition, or pride. (87)

Moreover, such Pride is itself evidence that the unregenerate man is still alive. In Swift's view, any man who thinks he is reformed, or Elect, cannot sustain it, but will continually reveal his deformity by reverting to his unregenerate nature. Thus the Houyhnhnms were quite right to suspect that far from being reformed, Gulliver might at any moment lapse back into his Yahoo nature:

they alledged, That because I had some Rudiments of Reason, added to the natural Pravity of those Animals, it was to be feared, I might be able to seduce them into the woody and mountainous Parts of the Country, and bring them in Troops by Night to destroy the Houyhnhnms Cattle, as being naturally of the ravenous Kind, and averse from Labour. (88)

Swift reveals that this is the case for, as we have seen, Gulliver is continually reverting to his Yahoo nature. Gulliver is naturally ravenous. He is naturally confederate with his fellow Yahoo sinners. The passages showing Gulliver's self vindications, or his relish for gunpowder or adultery, all lapse from the voice of the rational scientist into a voice that is subjective and regrettably human, restoring a perspective Gulliver thinks he has lost. Crusoe's rhapsody on the evils of money, followed by his decision to take it away with him could not make the point any clearer, although like Gulliver, it is not a point he wanted to make.

One of the last occasions when Gulliver manifests an irrational, edgy, and subjective voice at odds with objective Reason occurs when he is allowed to kiss his Master's hoof in farewell on his departure from Houyhnhnmland. Once again Gulliver tells the reader that he must vindicate himself against maligners:

I am not ignorant how much I have been censured for mentioning this last Particular. Detractors are pleased to think it improbable, that so illustrious a Person should descend to give so great a Mark of Distinction to a Creature so inferior as I.... But, if these Censurers were better acquainted with the noble and courteous Disposition of the Houyhnhnms, they would soon change their Opinion. (89)

We should now try to discover exactly who the 'Detractors', and indeed the 'Answerers, Considerers, Observers, Reflecters, Detecters, Remarkers,' (90) that Gulliver is so obsessed with actually are. Discussing 'One particular kind of observer, constant in Puritan prose' Joan Webber offers an answer:

We may call him the Slanderer. Although he has sometimes a local habitation and a name, often he has neither. His purpose is to undermine a man's public position by accusing him of a questionable private life, and especially of indiscretions with women....neither Bunyan nor any other Puritan is able to bear meekly charges which cast doubt on the validity both of his conversion and of his calling, and strike, in him, at the faith he holds. (91)

We can see that this is a perfect description of Gulliver's nameless, and occasionally named (Clustril and Drunlo) detractors and slanderers, whose accusations indeed include sexual looseness and uncleanness (the Hack too we should remember, as part of his Puritanism, had occasion to defend himself against various slanders). Such passages satirise the maddening Puritan habit of seeking out persecution:

He [Jack] would stand in the Turning of a Street, and calling to those who passed by, would cry to One, Worthy Sir, do me the Honour of a good Slap in the Chaps: To another, Honest friend, pray, favour me with a handsom Kick on the Arse:.... And when he had by such earnest Sollicitations, made a shift to procure a Basting sufficient to swell up his Fancy and his Sides, He would return home extremely comforted, and full of terrible Accounts of what he had undergone for the Public Good. (92)

The Houyhnhnms are creatures of pure Reason. Gulliver interprets this as meaning Puritan Rationalist. He does this because he sees that the Houyhnhnms are actually pure, but interprets this in effect as Puritan which merely imitates purity.

The Houyhnhnms meet in Assembly, essentially to agree together, since Reason admits of no deviancy from the rules of Reason:

For they have no Conception how a rational Creature can be compelled, but only advised, or exhorted; because no Person can disobey Reason, without giving up his Claim to be a rational Creature. (93)

The word 'exhorted', italicized for emphasis, is no accident. It is a word that had long been redolent with Puritan associations, as with the word 'Vessel' in the Tale. Gratiano in Shakespeare's The Merchant of Venice (1598) for example uses the word to conjure up Puritan preaching as an image of his own prating:

Come, good Lorenzo.
Fare ye well awhile;
I'll end my exhortation after dinner. (94)

The New Penguin edition notes:

as the Puritan divines continued their long sermons. (95)

Among Puritans, exhortation was regarded as one of their strongest duties. It was their method of keeping the Brethren of their congregations uniform in conduct, on the straight and narrow road. Bunyan, on temporary release from Bedford jail, went to exhort lapsed brethren (96). St. Paul, the great Puritan guide, saw exhortation as a spiritual gift, and referred constantly to exhortation among the acts of the Apostles:

And after the reading of the law and the prophets the rulers of the synagogue sent unto them, saying, Ye men and brethren, if ye have any word of exhortation for the people, say on. (97)

The context of these exhortations is significant, for later Puritans followed the pattern as closely as possible in their church organization. St. Paul speaks of the Apostles and elders meeting to discuss their spiritual welfare and church organization. They then exhorted one another, sending members from one congregation to another for the same purpose:

Then pleased it the apostles and elders, with the whole church, to send chosen men of their own company to Antioch with Paul and Barnabas; namely, Judas surnamed Barsabas, and Silas, chief men among the brethren.

And they wrote letters by them after this manner; The apostles and elders and brethren send greeting unto the brethren which are of the Gentiles in Antioch and Syria and Cilicia;

Forasmuch as we have heard, that certain which went out from us have troubled you with words, subverting your souls. (98)

It will be remembered that Gulliver's Master attends the Assembly where his deviancy in conversing regularly with a Yahoo has become a subject of concern. It is clear to the Assembly that Gulliver's Master is in danger of exactly the sort described in Acts XV.vi, that is the unsettling of the mind with words:

as my [Gulliver's] Discourse had increased his Abhorrence of the whole Species, so he found it gave him a Disturbance in his Mind, to which he was wholly a Stranger before. He thought his Ears being used to such abomoninable Words, might by Degrees admit them with less Detestation. (99)

And the Houyhnhnm Master is indeed suspected of admitting Gulliver's words with less detestation:

as if he could receive some Advantage or Pleasure in my Company. (100)

The Master is given an exhortation to comfort and strengthen him, and bring him back to the fold, for deviancy from the pattern of election casts doubt upon attainment of election (and the Houyhnhnms consider themselves 'the Perfection of Nature'). He is visited by his brethren as a matter of urgency:

My Master added, That he was daily pressed by the Houyhnhnms of the Neighbourhood to have the Assembly's Exhortation executed, which he could not put off much longer. (101)

The final comment on exhortation comes from St. Paul again. Discussing exhortation as a spiritual gift, he offers the classic warning against spiritual pride in those who consider that they possess such gifts:

For I say, through the grace given unto me, to every man that is among you, not to think of himself more highly than he ought to think, but to think soberly, according as God hath dealt to every man the measure of faith....

Having then gifts differing according to the grace that is given to us, whether prophecy, let us prophesy according to the proportion of faith....

Or he that exhorteth, on exhortation: he that giveth, let him do it with simplicity. (102)

St. Paul's recognition that the person who believed they possessed a special gift was in danger of being Proud, was a shrewd insight into human nature.

The Houyhnhnms are decent, sober, industrious animals, living contentedly in their hierarchical society in a sort of Commonwealth, sharing everything where there is a need. However unattractive they sometimes seem, (probably because they are inhuman in the sense that they are simply not human) the Houyhnhnms have the right to exhort one another, for they are creatures of pure Reason. Through Gulliver's misinterpretation of their significance for himself,

Swift reinforces his yoking together of the Puritan and the Rationalist as targets of the Travels, for Gulliver becomes, as we have seen, a Puritan Rationalist, fanatical about Reason, which is not the same thing as the Houyhnhnms at all although he thinks that it is. Because Gulliver cannot be pure while he is human, he falls into the inevitable corruption we have seen, his unregenerate humanity ironically becoming the champion against his hideous Pride. It was not that Swift admired the human in Gulliver - he shows it to be a very unregenerate thing. But his point was that the human being cannot pretend to leave this side of himself out of the picture, and if he does the resultant Pride will reveal a worse (because lacking a humble recognition) and often inhuman (because it denies the full human spectrum in which the moral sense as well as unregeneracy lies) depravity:

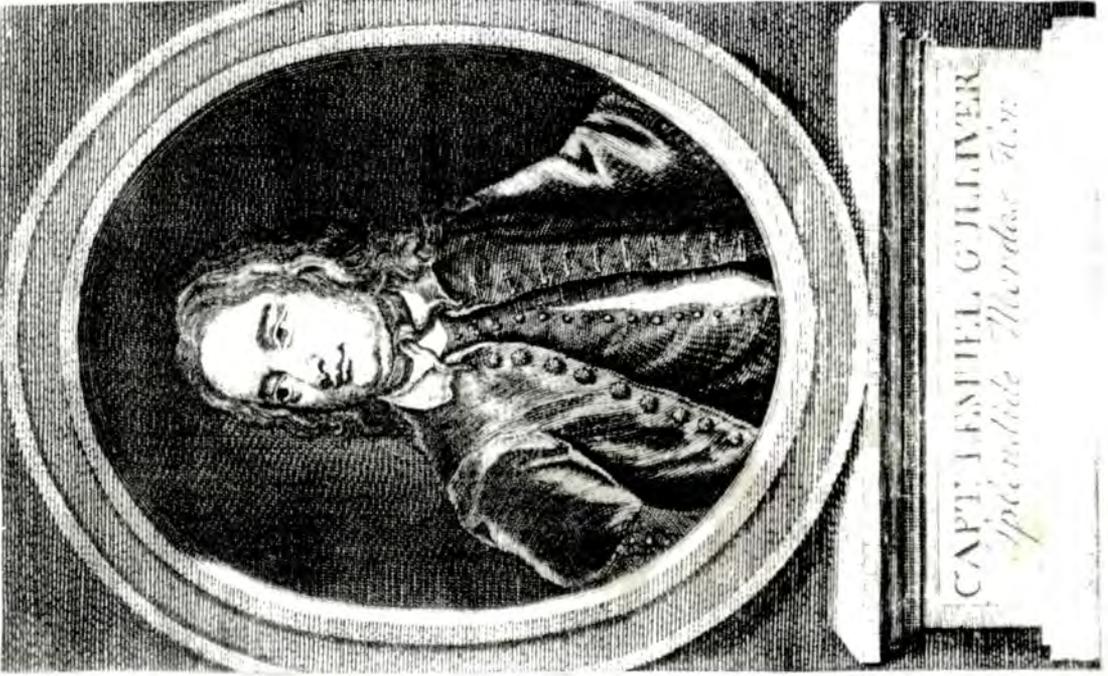
But the Houyhnhnms, who live under the Government of Reason, are no more proud of the good Qualities they possess, than I should be for not wanting a Leg or an Arm, which no Man in his Wits would boast of, although he must be miserable without them. I dwell the longer upon this Subject from the Desire I have to make the Society of an English Yahoo by any Means not insupportable; and therefore I here intreat those who have any Tincture of this absurd Vice, that they will not presume to appear in my Sight. (103)

But we will not end this chapter at the familiar climax of Gulliver's Pride, and Swift's warning against it, especially among Modern 'Puritans' of all sorts. The inconsistent voices in Gulliver's Travels are the most obvious, and pointed means by which Swift parodied Robinson Crusoe. In the broken form that resulted from these voices Swift made his point about the human

inability to attain any pure ideal, and its ability to imagine that it has. But his parody of Crusoe was more thoroughgoing even than this. If Swift was going to expose the weakness of the Modern position he would do it thoroughly in his last great onslaught. The parallels between Gulliver's Travels and Robinson Crusoe are minutely detailed: the result is a meticulous rejection of everything that Crusoe stands for. Thus the parodic broken form we have analyzed embodies the theme of man's failure: this structural parody then surrounds a theme parodying what actually happens in Robinson Crusoe.

As a start, Swift parodied Defoe's claim that Crusoe was the allegorical image of his life by making Gulliver's life conspicuously resemble his (i.e. Swift's) own in its outline. Crusoe had drawn attention in true Puritan fashion to the coincidence of significant dates in his life (104). Most notable perhaps in connection with Defoe is the fact that Crusoe landed on his island on 30 September 1659. Nine months later Crusoe is reborn after his conversion experience on 4 July 1660. One cannot help speculating whether this was Defoe's own birthday. James Sutherland pointed out that Defoe was born in the Summer of 1660, but could only guess at September as the month in question (105). Crusoe's conversion date may offer a more precise date for his author's birth.

Gulliver is clearly meant to bring his author to mind. The first edition of the Travels was advertised as being published on 28 October 1726 (106). Gulliver's portrait to this edition announces that he is 'Aetat 58', a heavy handed innuendo as this



was Swift's own age at the time (Swift was born on 30th November 1667). The portrait of Gulliver engraved for the Faulkner edition of the Travels reinforces the point of relationship between Swift and Gulliver, parodying Puritan and specifically Defoe's practice. The second portrait of Gulliver is conspicuously like the famous portrait of Swift by Charles Jervas of 1718, with small details of clothing modified as more suitable for a sailor than a cleric, and the whole thing reversed (see illustration opposite).

The dates of Gulliver's Travels too are obviously based on the significant period of Swift's life. Gulliver sets out on his journey in May 1699, the period when the young Swift was hopeful of earning preferment in Lord Berkeley's household (107). Gulliver then makes his final disillusioned return to England in 1715, a period when the equally disillusioned Swift had settled his mind to exile in Dublin.

Swift goes some way towards establishing Gulliver as the image of 'a man alive, and well known too, the actions of whose life are the just subject of these volumes' (108) in parody of Defoe's practice in Robinson Crusoe. He then pursues other allusions, ready for the final reversal.

The two men, Crusoe and Gulliver, start out from remarkably similar positions, using a very similar style:

It is commonly said that the style of 'Gulliver's Travels' is patterned after that of Dampier's 'Voyages'. But the first paragraph, with its minute factual details, and with its explicit statement that Gulliver was (like Crusoe) the third son of the family, is transparently a burlesque of 'Robinson Crusoe'. In the very next paragraph Swift adds a direct hit at Defoe in person.

It will be recalled that Defoe had married an heiress named Mary Tuffley, and had run through her very considerable dowry of £3,700; that he had been confined for more than five months in Newgate Prison; and that his former trade as a hose factor had given rise to the familiar slur whereby his dignified name, "Daniel De Foe, Gent.," became for his enemies "Daniel De Foe, Hosier." Swift belittles the bride's dowry and brings up the other points when Gulliver tells the reader:

....I married Mrs. Mary Burton, second daughter of Mrs. Edmund Burton, hosier, in Newgate-street, with whom I received four hundred pounds for a portion. (109)

Moore's point is substantially correct, and is another piece of evidence for the fact that the quarrel between Defoe and Swift was by no means dead. In fact the allusion can be taken further than Moore suggested, both against Defoe and against Puritan targets generally. Gulliver is educated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, a notorious hot-bed of Puritanism in the seventeenth century. He is also attached to a surgeon called Mr. James Bates. One has only to recall, for example, the well known Dissenting preacher William Bates (110), 'the silver tongued Divine', thought to be the son of a physician to see the Puritan connection with Gulliver. Bates had also been educated at Emmanuel College - an ideal master for Gulliver one might say.

Gulliver also marries a Burton - another famous Puritan name. Henry Burton had been pilloried together with William Prynne and John Bastwick in 1637. It was this famous earlier pillorying that Pope used as an image of Defoe in his Dunciad (1742) in the line 'She saw old Pryn in restless Daniel shine', (Book I, 1.103). It seems likely that Swift too was making use of the famous episode, and the name of Burton to allude to the pillory, and Defoe's

connection with it. Swift was in fact making allusions to Defoe's pillorying, financially careful marriage, Presbyterianism, 'low' calling in life, and imprisonment in Newgate, by the use of judiciously placed street names, occupations, connections and relationships, while at the same time establishing a strongly Puritan/Crusoesque context for Gulliver.

Other Crusoesque mannerisms are established. Gulliver insists for example upon offering the minute details of his monetary affairs, as with the provision and cost of his education (111), or his domestic economy in providing for his family at the start of his voyage to Brobdingnag:

I left fifteen Hundred Pounds with my Wife, and fixed her in a good House at Redriff. My remaining Stock I carried with me, Part in Money, and Part in Goods, in Hopes to improve my Fortunes. My eldest Uncle, John, had left me an Estate in Land, near Epping, of about Thirty Pounds a Year; and I had a long Lease of the Black-Bull in Fetter-Lane, which yielded me as much more: So that I was not in any Danger of leaving my Family upon the Parish. (112)

Gulliver also tells the reader of his successful sale of Lilliputian cattle and sheep (113), and the eleven hundred pounds he makes for the sale of a red diamond given him by the King of Luggnag (114).

Both Crusoe and Gulliver, apart from their similar origins, share cultural assumptions, at least at the start of their voyages. Both men share Western man's faith in gunpowder and the gun for supremacy over the 'natives' of the lands they discover. Crusoe creates dreadful confusion when he first fires a gun in front of some 'Negroes' on shore:

It is impossible to express the Astonishment of these poor Creatures at the Noise and the Fire of my Gun; some of them were even ready to dye for Fear, and fell down as Dead with the very Terror. (115)

Gulliver in a similar manner demonstrates the use of his pistol among the natives of Lilliput:

I first cautioned the Emperor not to be afraid; and then I let it off in the Air. The Astonishment here was much greater than at the Sight of my Scymiter. Hundreds fell down as if they had been struck dead. (116)

Thus far the motives of the two men are the same, cowing the natives by one of the Baconian symbols of civilized prowess. Because of its symbolic importance, gunpowder figures prominently in both books. Crusoe brings European Knowledge to Paradise by firing his gun on the island where none has ever been heard before, creating chaos where it seems there is harmony:

I shot at a great Bird which I saw sitting upon a Tree on the Side of a great Wood, I believe it was the first Gun that had ever been fir'd there since the Creation of the World; I had no sooner fir'd, but from all the Parts of the Wood there arose an innumerable Number of Fowls of many Sorts, making a confused Screaming. (117)

Subsequently it transpires that the island is not so Paradisal, and the gun becomes one of the primary methods of bringing the virtues of order and 'civilisation' to the island, and those who visit it. Ultimately it effects Crusoe's delivery by rescuing the English captain from mutineers, and thus gaining access to his ship. The captain readily accedes to Crusoe's claim to be the 'Govenour' of the island on seeing the evidence of what has already been subdued there. The gun in Robinson Crusoe thus becomes the apogee of Crusoe's experience, and the source of his triumph.

Since Crusoe lays all this at the feet of God and his Providence the inherent assumption of the book must be that God puts the same value on the gun as Crusoe.

Gulliver is under the same illusions as Crusoe at the start of his travels, that is that the gun will subdue everything. He offers consequently to introduce it into virgin territory, blasting it off as a show of strength in Lilliput as we have seen, and offering it to his keepers in Brobdingnag, and Houyhnhmland as a means of increasing his personal power. The results of these offers are well known, and the reverse of the awe that Crusoe's gun inspires. Friday is ready to worship the man with the gun, and its destructive power. His feelings are those that Western man has always expected from those less 'sophisticated' than himself:

[Friday] thought that there must be some wonderful Fund of Death and Destruction in that Thing, [the gun] able to kill Man, Beast, Bird, or any Thing near, or far off; and the Astonishment this created in him was such, as could not wear off for a Long Time; and I believe, if I would have let him, he would have worshipp'd me and my Gun. (118)

The King of Brobdingnag and the Houyhnhnm 'Master' (a parody surely of the title that Friday reverentially adopts for Crusoe) both feel that their astonishment will not wear off for a long time either. But the King of Brobdingnag feels that he:

would rather lose Half his Kingdom than be privy to such a Secret; which he commanded me, as I valued my Life, never to mention any more. (119)

The Houyhnhnm Master likewise feels that the less he hears of this kind of thing the better:

He added, That he had heard too much upon the Subject of War, both in this, and some former Discourses. (120)

Gulliver and Crusoe both look after their powder at the start of their adventures (121), but their final positions are very different, with Crusoe as dependent as ever on his gun for success, while Gulliver is in complete reaction against all weapons, at least in his ideal image of himself.

Other contrasts occur in this parodic exercise of Swift's. The first European that one of Crusoe's 'poor Savages' meets shoots him dead with a gun while he is still preparing to shoot Crusoe with a 'Bow and Arrow' (122). Thereafter Crusoe reigns supreme. The first 'Savages' that Gulliver meets with outside of Houyhnhnmland shoot him in the leg with an arrow, a mark which Gulliver carries to the grave (123).

Everything that Crusoe's Modernity stands for is systematically rejected in Houyhnhnmland, and an entirely different perspective cast upon it from the triumphant aspect it wore in Robinson Crusoe. The three great symbols of European prowess and progress since the Renaissance, that is gunpowder, the compass, and printing, are explicitly rejected in Gulliver's Travels. The Houyhnhnms do not even write, let alone print; they are shocked to confusion as we have seen by Gulliver's description of gunpowder, and they never understand the principles of shipping (124), pocket glasses, or navigation (125). Their lives, the exemplary lives that Gulliver thinks that he mirrors, are the reverse of the Baconian optimism that informs the language he uses.

Apart from this thematic reversal based on the gunpowder motif, other verbal echoes in Gulliver's Travels continually recall and parody Robinson Crusoe, pressing the point of their

different conclusions. Gulliver's arrival in Lilliput recalls that of Crusoe on his island, since both men are shipwrecked after a storm in which all their companions are lost. Crusoe, weakened by the experience and having nothing else to do, goes to sleep:

I took up my Lodging [in a tree] , and having been excessively fatigu'd, I fell fast asleep, and slept as comfortably as, I believe, few could have done in my Condition, and found myself the most refresh'd with it, that I think I ever was on such an Occasion. (126)

Gulliver, similarly exhausted, lies down to sleep:

I lay down on the Grass, which was very short and soft; where I slept sounder than I ever remember to have done in my Life, and as I reckoned, above Nine Hours. (127)

Crusoe, on looking round his island, realises that it is really rather beautiful, and especially garden-like:

the Country appear'd so fresh, so green, so flourishing, everything being in a constant Verdure, or Flourish of Spring, that it looked like a planted Garden. (128)

Gulliver, rising to his feet for the first time in Lilliput, sees a similar prospect:

The Country round appeared like a continued Garden; and the inclosed Fields, which were generally Forty Foot square, resembled so many Beds of Flowers. (129)

Subsequently, Gulliver like Crusoe finds that this idyllic garden is actually the scene of depravity among the 'natives', who have not the excuse of ignorance that even Crusoe eventually recognises has to be made for his 'savages', for the Lilliputians are very 'sophisticated' and Europeanised 'natives' indeed.

When Crusoe has tamed one of his savages, he sets about

converting him to European manners, as well as religion. This is expressed in the business of eating salt. By implication Friday's dislike of salt is a primitive deficiency which Crusoe can never quite eradicate, although he does his best:

he [Friday] made a Sign to me, that the Salt was not good to eat, and putting a little into his own Mouth, he seem'd to nauseate it, and would spit and sputter at it, washing his Mouth with fresh Water after it; on the other hand, I took some Meat in my Mouth without Salt, and I pretended to spit and sputter for want of Salt, as fast as he had done at the Salt; but it would not do, he would never care for Salt with his Meat, or in his Broth; at least not a great while, and then but a very little. (130)

Gulliver on the other hand comes to reject salt, as a European corruption:

I was at first at a great Loss for Salt; but Custom soon reconciled the Want of it; and I am confident that the frequent Use of Salt among us is an Effect of Luxury, and was first introduced as a Provocative to Drink;.. For we observe no Animal to be fond of it but Man: And as to myself, when I left this Country, it was a great while before I could endure the Taste of it in any thing that I eat. (131)

Clothing the body assumes great significance too in Gulliver's rejection of all the European appurtenances that Crusoe reconstructs on his island, and eventually delightedly, and with symbolic purpose regains. Crusoe starts his twenty eight year stay on the island loaded with European clothing (132). After five years on the island however these begin to 'decay', as Crusoe puts it. Crusoe then does his best to tailor what is left of the European clothing, but also makes a 'Suit of Cloaths wholly out of ... Skins' (133), a cap against the weather, and an umbrella. Crusoe's acceptance

of skins for clothing is a necessary mortification, a submissive acquiescence in God's punishment on him. Crusoe feels that his spiritual state on the island is manifested in this slowly arrived at domestication:

Thus I liv'd mighty comfortably, my Mind being entirely composed by resigning to the will of God. (134)

One of Crusoe's first acts with regard to Friday is to clothe him, thus bringing him to the same level of civilisation as himself (135). As Crusoe's clothing may be seen as one of the symbols of his submission to God, Friday's clothing is the first of a series of acts that bring him to submission in front of the great European that he practically worships.

Gulliver's clothing, at least in the climactic Houyhnhnm episode, is the reverse of this. Gulliver delightedly puts off the last shreds of his European clothing for a selection of skins after his conversion. Like Crusoe, Gulliver realises that clothing is what distinguishes him from 'savages' who are in all other respects his fellow men:

I had hitherto concealed the Secret of my Dress, in order to distinguish myself as much as possible, from that cursed Race of Yahoos; but now I found it in vain to do so any longer. (136)

Unfortunately, clothing is also what distinguishes Gulliver from the exemplary Houyhnhnms, who as 'natives' of a different sort, also go completely naked. Try as he will to become a Houyhnhnm, this is simply another area where Gulliver cannot do as his Master does. In this respect Gulliver equates to Friday in his relationship to the Master, although the Houyhnhnms do not

equate to Crusoe. Like Crusoe then, Gulliver retains his separateness from savages in the matter of clothing, whereas Crusoe undoubtedly felt innately different to savages whatever he wore, Gulliver's eventual terrified recognition is that his clothing is maintaining an outward difference only. In all other respects he is indeed a Yahoo.

Crusoe is anxious to insist that the creatures that he wears on his back are 'four-footed ones' (137). Gulliver, in a terrible reversal of this, has so little regard for the contemptible Yahoos, that he supplies parts of his clothing 'by some Contrivance from the Hides of Yahoos' (138), although only on his feet, not on his precious back (139).

The high point of this parodic reversal of Crusoe's clothing symbolism occurs when Gulliver, like Crusoe, meets his rescuing ship's captain. Crusoe delightedly reclaims his European heritage immediately upon being rescued by the English captain. Recognising that clothing symbolises the man, the status he has always aspired to as the 'Govenour' of the island becomes fact as soon as he receives European clothing again:

After some time, I came thither dress'd
in my new Habit, and now I was call'd Govenour
again. (140)

As a symbol of God's newfound forgiveness, Crusoe is clothed from head to foot:

But besides these, and what was a thousand times more useful to me, he [the captain] brought me six clean new Shirts, six very good Neckcloaths, two Pair of Gloves, one Pair of Shoes, a Hat, and one Pair of Stocking, and a very good Suit of Cloaths of his own, which had been worn but very little: In a Word, he cloathed me from Head to Foot. (141)

Gulliver's reaction to the clothing provided by Pedro de Mendez brilliantly parodies, but reverses, everything that Crusoe feels about European clothing. To Crusoe the resumption of European clothing is the high spot of his experience, his reward after years of submission, representing a purified return to his earlier status which he had forfeited by sin. To Gulliver it is the low spot of his experience, a dreadful acknowledgement that he is back among Yahoos:

The Captain had often intreated me to strip myself of my savage Dress, and offered to lend me the best Suit of Cloaths he had. This I would not be prevailed on to accept, abhorring to cover myself with any thing that had been on the Back of a Yahoo. I only desired he would lend me two clean Shirts, which having been washed since he wore them, I believed would not so much defile me. These I changed every second Day, and washed them myself. (142)

Eventually, like Crusoe, Gulliver accepts a 'Suit of Cloaths', but unlike Crusoe, he cleans this suit by the same elaborate process as his shirts.

And so the 'Govenour' and the mock-Houyhnhnm return to their homes, both convinced of their election to a superior breed as the result of their experiences. Both now feel that they can legitimately preach to others through their narrative, and both fail to convince anyone of their conversion thanks to their inconsistent voices, by which the unregenerate man in them seems to come uppermost too often. But there is a difference:

As one writer has stated it, Robinson Crusoe and Lemuel Gulliver "are unaccommodated man, poor, bare, and forked mankind stripped of its lendings." But the point is that Gulliver took off his clothes while Crusoe put them on. (143)

In Robinson Crusoe the Portuguese captain restores Crusoe

to wealth and all the goods of his previous life. This is Crusoe's reward. Gulliver in stark contrast is almost forcibly restored to his former life and goods by his Portuguese captain, and faints when his wife kisses him. He ends up as out of communion with his kind as Crusoe is in communion:

To this Hour they [his family] dare not presume to touch my Bread, or drink out of the same Cup; neither was I ever able to let one of them take me by the Hand. (144)

So Swift offered his final answer to his ancient antagonist Defoe, parodically as was his wont, producing a book as internally inconsistent in structure as Robinson Crusoe. This flawed structure, made up of two mutually subversive voices, is the most recognisable element of the parody of Robinson Crusoe. Through this structure Swift makes his thematic point that no conversion can ever be total, nor the convert correspondingly superior or 'elect' while he remained human. The voice of election in Gulliver's Travels is that of the Modern scientist/traveller, but this is shown to share many qualities with a Puritan voice in the sense that it shares the same Proud assumptions. As in the earlier Tale, Swift manages to combine diverse satiric targets, revealing their assumptions to be based on the same Pride, and the result of both to be similarly inhuman.

The voice that disrupts the voice of election is the same in both works, that is the voice of a psychologically realistic, credible human being, who as a result manifests all too human qualities that are the antithesis of the converted self image.

In Defoe's case this second voice was unwittingly subversive. In Swift's case the two voices are quite consciously worked against one another for satiric purposes, starting with the Letter to Sympson and the opening page of the book as a means of emphasising the dichotomy. Gulliver is revealed as a liar as a result, exactly like Crusoe, because he fails to show a consistent image of his converted self.

Yet having revealed the flawed nature of Gulliver's conversion, and indeed the immorality of the position he had interpreted as being closest to that of the Reasonable Houyhnhnms (which is not to say that the Houyhnhnms are immoral: they are simply not human, whereas Gulliver has become inhuman), Swift, by a variety of other allusions to, and echoes of, Robinson Crusoe, comes to effect 'a strange sympathy with Gulliver in his final position. For although Gulliver's final position is on the one hand the same as Crusoe's, that is a zealous, proud convert, and a liar if his narrative is to be used as evidence, on the other hand it is the reverse of Crusoe's optimistic reclaiming of his European self.

And this was something that Swift was in sympathy with, so that Gulliver in a strange way (as has often been recognised) did become the image of his equally disillusioned creator:

Finally, Swift brings Gulliver to the point where he can no longer bear to have any communion with humanity. I am not sure that it is a mistake to think that he never allowed Gulliver to represent his own view. (145)

In this sense, Swift came to share something with Defoe and Richardson that would probably have surprised him, that is

the fear of fiction that arises from finding oneself in sympathy with a creature who ought to provoke only revulsion. For Swift meant to crush Crusoe's 'converted' position (and indeed that of all converts) by revealing its flaws. Gulliver's realistic voice is the means by which this is done, subverting the ideal voice by revealing much of the old, human and unregenerate man to be still alive in him. This voice was not meant to be admirable however - it was meant to be unregenerate and unattractive, so that in effect one unpleasant voice was being disrupted by another unpleasant voice. Swift after all was unlikely to admire realism (very much a Modern form) any more than Puritanism, or rationalism. But two things occur in the course of using the new form which thwart Swift's own intentions almost as much as Gulliver's intentions are thwarted.

One of these is that the realistic voice is a sort of 'champion' against Gulliver's rationality and inhumanity. This voice represents as realistic a picture of the human being as possible, which means including the warts and all that were precisely the elements that the ideal voice left out. So the realistic voice is perfect for Swift's satiric purpose, which was to force reader's to humbly acknowledge their complete humanity. But by being recognisably human even where that is meant to be unattractive, and by being the means of subverting the horrible, inhuman voice of the scientist, the psychologically realistic voice of Gulliver inevitably takes on an attractive aspect even where it was meant to be, and in many ways is, very unattractive.

The second thing to occur results from the very adequacy of realism as a means of subverting Gulliver's inhumanly two dimensional voice. For in the process of creating a realistic voice, and entering into the part of a fully rounded character, who also carries one's own message, I believe that Swift as well as the reader came to feel a sympathy for Gulliver that was essentially at odds with his literary purpose.

In the following description of the dichotomy in voices in Book IV of Gulliver's Travels and the effect of sympathy this may create, Ian Watt assumes that Gulliver's function is that of a persona. My own views of course disagree with this, since I regard the supposed persona as the voice of an eighteenth-century scientist/traveller deliberately leaving one dimension of his personality out of the narrative. Still, the passage is a good description of the process whereby an author's creative ability, and sympathy with his creature may be at odds with his literary purpose (a purpose we judge from the tenor of the rest of the book):

Swift, I have little doubt, merely intended Gulliver to exhibit a climactic reaction to a never-before-glimpsed vision of the squalors of passion - the Yahoos, - and the splendors of reason - the Houyhnhnms: and the blinding brightness of the vision was to be brought home by making his persona end his days in a comically hyperbolic revulsion from the human scene. But - in the very process of shattering the complacency of the dullest reader - Swift's narrative genius gave the episode a psychological reality so deeply disturbing that many initiated readers find it difficult not to allow their gaze to be deflected from the relentless intellectual pressure of Swift's ironic tenor

to the pathos of the fate of its literary vehicle; in so far as Swift made Gulliver convincing as a character, our possession of his logical meaning was necessarily disturbed by our sorrow that a fellow human being, who had, after all, no harm in him, should, as the fruit of his labors in life, have become a candidate for the madhouse. (146)

This passage is itself a marvellous example of exactly how sympathy for Gulliver as a realistic character can distort Swift's message. For surely we are not supposed to think that Gulliver 'had, after all, no harm in him'. Yet so it becomes for some readers, and indeed authors, once they become sympathetic to 'a fellow human being'.

Watt emphasises the 'relentless intellectual pressure of Swift's ironic tenor'. Satire is of course what Gulliver's Travels is about; but when Gulliver is seen as a full character, satire takes place within the context of tragedy. Gulliver is no longer merely a persona, but a man who falls by the recognised path of Pride, whose fall is watched with sympathy. This may not have been the effect that Swift thought he wanted, but it is a greater thing than mere satire nevertheless. It is also perfectly consistent with Swift's view of humanity's need for Christian redemption, and indeed with what he may well have suspected happened to himself while writing the Travels. For Swift's creativity unleashed by the character of Gulliver, could have become so strong as to destroy the ostensible purpose of his book. But Swift just about keeps his purpose uppermost, and the reader just about keeps Swift's target in focus. And it is just insofar as this occurs that we can say that Swift managed to curb the dangerous selfhood of practically unlimited

creative genius for a due humility. In so doing he discovered exactly how compellingly attractive the new realism was, and exactly how much subversive energy it released in its creator. The struggle that had occurred in the Tale, where Swift's energy has long been suspected of tilting the balance of that work into a sympathy with the abominable Hack, was at last won in Gulliver's Travels, but Swift knew (exactly as Defoe and Richardson knew) that it was won at great personal cost.

And this is why Swift is included in a thesis about authorial fear of fiction. He is here because of his subtle recognition in Gulliver's Travels of this fear in his fellow authors, watching Defoe especially as he wrestled with his creature Crusoe, who had got so far out of the orbit of his creator's purposes that even a Dunce like Gildon could recognise it. But Swift is also here because, in the process of parody, and the endeavour to expose every weakness of the Crusoesque and other Modern positions (who he believed were linked in their assumptions) Swift discovered the dangerous impact realistic fiction could have on both author and reader. The greatest irony is that Swift should have come to this position while endeavouring to expose precisely this weakness in another author. But in the process of watching another's literary creation, as Clarissa was later to discover:

who knows but that my own sinful compliances
with a man,.... might taint my own morals,
and make me, instead of a reformer, an
imitator of him? For who can touch pitch,
and not be defiled? (147)

Chapter 5 - Moll Flanders : the Triumph of Fiction

Robinson Crusoe and Gulliver's Travels form a neat package, as works where an exemplary voice (which forms the ideal self image of the narrator), conveyed by one kind of narrative form is subverted by a thoroughly unexemplary, human voice, (in literary terms a psychologically realistic voice) which corresponds to the unregenerate self of the narrator. They form this neat package because Swift wanted them to, for the double satiric purpose of exposing certain Modern positions which assumed that it was possible for man to attain an ideal on earth, and to expose the narrative of an old enemy who seemed to typify these assumptions, and who had obligingly produced a flawed literary work, the nature of which practically begged for a satirical interpretation.

We have already examined the nature of the flawed work, Robinson Crusoe, in detail, and I hope I have proved that Gulliver's Travels was begun in 1720, as a direct response to it. But Defoe's critics (especially Charles Gildon) did not wait until the publication of the Travels in 1726 to point the problem out to Defoe, as we have seen. The serious reflections are evidence of Defoe's recognition of the flawed nature of Robinson Crusoe and of his attempt to deal with it. Thereafter he had time to think before he produced another major work of fiction. The memoirs of a cavalier (1720) predate The serious reflections, and thus predate any of Defoe's anxieties about the nature of his work. Moreover, the Mémoires are fictional only in the technical

sense that the protagonist is not (so far as we know) an historical personage. Otherwise they would pass muster among genuine memoirs, following history with marvellous accuracy. Apparently the Memoirs were 'taken as a genuine historical document by many eighteenth-century readers' (1). Captain Singleton (1720) is conspicuous only for being an inferior version of Robinson Crusoe, with the structural flaw of Crusoe reduced to caricature, and a patently hollow moral appended to an extremely dull tale. The year 1721 saw very little literary production by Defoe's standards (2). Much that was to come in 1722 was perhaps being developed; still, there was a pause in activity.

I think we should assume when discussing literary giants, that they do not combine extreme brilliance in their working processes with delightful obliviousness about their work. Moreover, had this been the case with Defoe (which I very much doubt), vociferous critics had pointed out the flawed nature of Robinson Crusoe to him, and Gildon had specifically located this flaw as lying in Crusoe's internal inconsistency. For both of these reasons therefore, I think we should not imagine that Defoe went on to replicate this flaw in later works, being somehow incapable of the sophisticated analysis that Swift or even contemporary critics had managed, while nevertheless continuing to produce works of genius. If Defoe remains a loose kind of writer in his methods he had, at the very least, the capacity to understand what had practically been pointed out to him.

Swift was a satirist, whose satiric vehicle was irony.

Irony presupposes a controlling voice, or perspective. What Swift saw in the flawed form of Crusoe was that it was so constructed as to resemble a satire, yet it was a satire without a satirist, being a concurrence of two voices, one of which subverted the other, but without the controlling perspective that assures the reader that this subversion is done with a purpose. It is this lack of confidence as to purpose that has led modern critics to debate whether or not Defoe is being ironic in many passages in Crusoe. When Crusoe takes his money away with him in a humanly realistic manner, after rejecting it in an exemplary manner, the reader does not feel confident that there is a purpose for this lapse. The tenor of the book seems to require that Crusoe be accepted as an exemplary, reformed man, yet such passages seem to deny this. Without an apparent motive, the reader concludes that Defoe has nodded. When Gulliver manifests a similar inconsistency however, the reader has never been in any doubt that Swift had a purpose for this.

It is perfectly possible of course for a controlling perspective to operate for purposes other than satire. There are dozens of examples of narrators whose own perspective is deliberately limited, with a different perspective to their own ultimately prevailing. The crucial point however is that something is actually done with this different perspective, that the reader feels that it is operating intentionally, and that he can understand the reason for its presence.

If Swift could find his way to using the inconsistency in voice within Robinson Crusoe for satiric purposes, by creating

a 'third', controlling perspective, I think we can assume that Defoe was capable of coming to a similar understanding, but for a different, and non-satiric purpose.

Anticipating Swift's Letter to Sympson by several years, Defoe began Moll Flanders with a preface designed as a guide to the reader:

Defoe's preface is not merely a justification for a salacious book but also a guide to the reader. While insisting on the authenticity of Moll's memoirs, the preface calls attention to editorial interventions. Although the story is Moll's, the language and moralizing are in part the editor's: "In a Word, as the whole Relation is carefully garbl'd of all the Levity, and Looseness that was in it: So it is all applied, and with the utmost care to vertuous and religious Uses". Furthermore, the preface warns the reader against accepting Moll's perspective:... Defoe prepares the reader to understand more than Moll does. (3)

Defoe certainly prepares the reader to understand more than Moll. What I do not agree with in Everett Zimmerman's analysis of Moll Flanders is the 'carefully defined ironic perspective' that Zimmerman thinks is the result of the separation of Moll and the editor, a perspective which Zimmerman thinks finally 'succumbs to the formlessness of Moll's mind' (4). I do not see any defined ironic perspective operating in Moll Flanders. There is none of that tonal variance that makes a reader sure that he is in the presence of irony. Moll and Defoe tell different stories, but the purpose of this separation is not ironic.

Moll tells her story in her own words, which in literary terms, since Moll is not the actual author of the book, is a realistic voice. She tries to find a moral interpretation for

her life story, which is part of her repentant, exemplary self image. Her attempts to find the pattern in her life are usually inadequate, the moral conclusions she draws never quite hitting the mark, sometimes positively hollow. But this does not have to mean that Moll is being satirised. This interpretation occurs only where critics see no purpose for a separation between author and narrator other than irony. In the course of Moll's story, certain key words emerge, and are repeated with variants in subsequent episodes. These key words point to, and create, the controlling perspective that was lacking in Crusoe, but it is a perspective, as we shall see, that is not satiric.

Moll (and indeed the reader), is continually modifying her understanding of vocabulary, and in interpreting, or 'reading' the story that is her life, she ultimately comes to the same conclusion as the reader's interpretation of her story, that is that her life has pattern and meaning. It might then be asked why Moll needs to be presented as having an inadequate understanding at all, since she and the reader still reach the same, presumably correct conclusion. The answer has to do once again with the failure of Robinson Crusoe and the conclusions Defoe had drawn from that failure. For the source of Crusoe's being a liar, as Gildon called him, lay in his inconsistent voice. But Crusoe had endeavoured to prove himself consistent, pointing out the Providential connections in his life and how his conduct was affected by them. To the critical reader, this pointing out of the pattern in one's life could be called self creation, and indeed many Anglican (and other) critics had called spiritual

autobiographers 'to say no worse, Poets and Romancers'.

Moll in contrast never succeeds in pointing with any clarity to the pattern in her life, for she only dimly discerns it. As a result Moll, coming to the right conclusion about her life without the full sense of pattern that the reader has, leaves her free of the charge of creating that pattern. Defoe thus leaves Moll as something of an ingenue not for satiric purposes, but in order to protect her from the charge that seemed to attach to the knowledgeable creator.

In Moll Flanders therefore Defoe tried to use the failure of form in Robinson Crusoe to positive effect, creating a controlling perspective which would suggest the workings of Providence. In effect, Defoe set out to 'justify the ways of God to men', and thus to use fiction for the highest purpose a Puritan could offer, which was particularly important after Robinson Crusoe had seemed to confirm that fiction was delusive lies. There were to be severe problems ultimately for Defoe in suggestively pressing his own artistic pattern closer and closer to Providential pattern. In fact, Defoe seemed to solve the problem of accommodating realistic randomness with idealistic pattern only to discover others. But the resolution of Moll Flanders indicates Defoe was able to maintain his confidence in art as a means of 'showing' the truth sufficiently at least for the duration of the book.

Moll seeks the pattern in her life, unaware of the pattern that forms in front of the reader. As a result, Moll's narrative remains entirely plausible and in character. One of the

commonest features of the human psyche is its incessant return to certain themes while itself remaining oblivious of this fact. Yet from Moll's inadequate moral interpretation of her narrative a visibly organised structure becomes apparent to the reader. This double capacity within the narrative for randomness, but also for structure has become two schools of criticism, as if it were possible for the book to be only random, or artistically ordered, but not both. This is a strange assumption since the whole endeavour of realism is to accommodate the random within structure. It is this accommodation that makes Defoe the pioneer of realism in the novel, and not the mere inclusion of circumstantial detail. Having dealt, I hope once and for all, with the business of irony, we will now look at the preface as the reader's guide.

The preface sets up oppositions within itself: 'Novels and Romance' as opposed to 'a private History' (5); Moll and the 'editor', whose intentions are polarised between 'the End of the Writer' and the 'Life of the Person written of', which is the same as the opposition drawn between the 'Moral' and 'the Fable', 'the Application' and the 'Relation', and between the 'criminal Part' and the 'penitent Part'. This internal opposition is passed onto readers, who are divided between 'those who know how to Read it' (the book) and those who do not, because of their 'Gust and Palate' (6). In effect, the conflict between realism (the fable) and spiritual autobiography (the moral) that was latent in Robinson Crusoe is now consciously drawn into two opposing camps. The editor seems to be on the side of the 'Moral'.

He offers the reader a series of moral dicta as a justification for entering the novel (7), concluding that he has proved his point:

These are a few of the serious Inferences which we are led by the Hand to in this Book, and these are fully sufficient to Justifie any Man in recommending it to the World, and much more to Justifie the Publication of it. (8)

But the editor then describes the wicked part, in comparison to the penitent part in a rather odd manner:

It is suggested there cannot be the same Life, the same Brightness and Beauty, in relating the penitent Part, as in the criminal Part. (9)

'Life, 'Brightness and Beauty'. In other words, energy, which the penitent part will achieve only 'if related with equal Spirit and Life' (10). These are extraordinary terms to apply to the part of the story which we are supposed to reprobate. That 'if' is a fatal word, seeming to acknowledge that the penitent part is lacking this luminous energy. The editor also promises the reader that:

There are two of the most beautiful Parts still behind, which this Story gives some idea of. (11)

These beautiful parts turn out to be the rather unlovely tales (morally speaking anyway) of Jemmy and Mother Midnight. Around the wicked part then, or the 'Fable' as Defoe calls it in his demarcation scheme, is an energy, and a strange beauty. We see this operating in miniature in the description of Mother Midnight's activities, with a massive forward thrust of tantalising nouns leading the reader into the tempting story,

with only a tail piece of morality to keep him on the right track:

The Life of her Governess, as she calls her, who had run thro', it seems in a few Years all the eminent degrees of a Gentlewoman, a Whore, and a Bawd; a Midwife, and a Midwife-keeper, as they are call'd, a Pawn-broker, a Child-taker, a Receiver of Thieves, and of Thieves purchase, that is to say, of stolen Goods; and in a Word, her self a Thief, a Breeder up of Thieves, and the like, and yet at last a Penitent. (12)

Jemmy's tale escapes even the moral application, containing only the exciting promise of 'incredible Variety'. The editor is so keen on these stories that he would like to bring them out by themselves, if only they were not too lengthy. The editor is thus failing his own moral dicta even as he offers them, being excited by the story regardless of its moral application.

And the entire preface is haunted by hints of failure: 'the Moral 'tis hop'd will keep the Reader serious, even where the Story might incline him to be otherwise' (13); 'these are Parts, which to a just Discernment will appear to have more real Beauty in them' (14); 'Upon this Foundation this Book is recommended to the Reader...if he pleases to make use of it' (15). Everything seems to have some contingency about it, some uncertain condition which may or may not be fulfilled. Even the 'Advocates for the Stage', drawn in as examples to prove that Art can be used to 'vertuous Purposes' fail to achieve any such results:

and were it true that they did so, and that they constantly adhered to that Rule, as the Test of their acting on the Théâtre, much might be said in their Favour. (16)

So it seems that the editor and others have been strongly tempted, even given into, the delights of the story, or fable. Another failure in the preface is Moll herself, for Moll was 'not so extraordinary a Penitent, as she was at first'(17). Moll, the editor, and others (such as the advocates of the stage) all seem to have been seduced in the battle for moral virtue. This is apparently for different reasons however, Moll being tempted by life, and the editor, and the stage advocates being tempted by the story, or in other words by art.

Finally, another shadowy audience is continually hinted at as likely to fail to be moral, and give in instead to their 'Gust and Palate'. That audience turns out to be the reader himself. Like the editor and others after all, he is tempted into the book by the luminous fable and not the rather lack lustre efforts at morality.

How will all this act as a guide to the reader? Well, to some extent, the experience of temptation from art, (in the form of the editor's descriptions of the attractions of the fable), even if it offers only a glimpse of the ease with which one might oneself be seduced by vicious beauty, may discourage simplistic judgements, and perhaps even arouse sympathy for Moll at the start of the book. In this context, it is interesting to see that the book begins with society's harsh judgement against Moll, in which 'even without Exceptions and reserve of Persons or Crimes' (18) she is not to be forgiven. Moll attempts to turn this judgement into understanding, comparing English practises in dealing with the children of condemned criminals to those of the French, although it seems rather a thin

plea (19). Yet it is by this plea that Moll tries to express her sense that the judgement is too harsh, and too narrow to explain the whole context of her life.

Moll's inadequate moral interpretations are something we shall become familiar with. Here as in other instances however, Defoe actually confirms her dim sense that this judgement is not enough. For the book ends with a date, 1686. Even on first publication this date would have placed Moll among those who were long dead, and gone to another judgement, one in which all would be understood. The book therefore in effect traces a progress between judgement as condemnation, and judgement as understanding, and the preface is the first of many means by which understanding is enhanced, in the form of a sympathy for Moll's fall into sin by creating a sense of fellowship in temptation.

But the full meaning of the preface does not become clear until the reader has begun to read the first episode. For on a first reading of the preface, what the editor and reader seem to share with Moll is the business of being tempted. The actual temptations themselves however seem to have all the comforting difference of art and life, for the reader is being tempted at worst vicariously by vicious fictionality, while Moll has actually been seduced by life, in the form of greed, respectability, wealth, lust - the usual sort of thing.

The events of the first episode (which set up the pattern for succeeding episodes) cut across this neat separation of art and life, however. The sympathy for Moll engendered from recognition of one's own temptation by the story is absolutely enforced by the

events of the first episode. For the first episode reveals that Moll is not tempted simply by life, but by art, by 'stories'. As a result, the tempting story that lured the reader into the book is actually very like Moll's temptation in life, and the clear separation between Moll's sin and what the reader might have supposed was his merely vicarious sin is blurred. The realisation that Moll in her life is tempted by stories makes the point too that perhaps the reader, tempted by the story in the preface, was also engaging in a certain kind of life activity. And indeed, when the reader accepted the inadequate moral dicta as his justification for entering the book, perhaps he was engaging in the same sort of desire for respectability that Moll engages in on many occasions. When his palate was titillated by the hints of much salaciousness to come perhaps he was engaging in the same sort of lust that later afflicts Moll.

The struggle with stories which the first episode establishes, repeated as a pattern throughout the book, is shown to be a struggle that encompasses life's delusive temptations. The business of reading stories which the preface outlines is shown to be absolutely central. And it is not some esoteric little game, but the very stuff of life, appropriate to Moll's character and vigour, and the reader, engaged in the same endeavour in reading the story, is engaged in the same activity and challenge. Such judgements as the reader comes to about Moll too may well be judgements that he must also apply to himself. The linking of Moll and the reader through the business of 'reading' stories subjects the reader to the sort of moral analysis that Defoe had in mind when he said:

You are an honest man, you say! Pray, sir, was you ever try'd? (20)

In examining the story-telling structure of Moll Flanders I shall look at three elements: the first is Moll's story, which is made up in large part of her interpretations of the stories that others tell her, and the events that arise from her own story telling. This story is thus made up almost entirely of lying stories except in certain crucial instances. The second element is Moll's moral interpretation of her story. These two elements correspond to the two voices of Robinson Crusoe, and as we shall see, they hang together almost as uneasily as the two voices of Crusoe. The third element I have called Defoe's story, a controlling perspective that was missing from Crusoe, but which now makes positive use of the disparity between Moll's story and her moral interpretation to establish a pattern which seems to confirm a Providential view of the world.

The danger of examining the three elements as they work in each episode is that it may seem repetitive. To curtail the number of episodes examined might seem to be the solution, but the element that I have called Defoe's story in particular depends for its effect on the changing qualities and interpretations of key words in each episode, and would be incomplete without this full examination through every episode. On the basis that what is revealed is interesting, I have concluded that the quantity of the material is warranted.

Moll begins her story by describing her mother's conviction for felony:

my Mother was convicted of Felony for a certain petty Theft, scarce worth naming, (viz.) Having an opportunity of borrowing three Pieces of fine Holland, of a certain Draper in Cheapside. (21)

This sets the scene of course for Moll's own conviction for a similar offence years later, while her mother's being reprieved of her sentence to one of transportation prefigures Moll's own reprieve of sentence years later. Moll wanders as a child with some gypsies until the magistrates in Colchester take her up. She then tells them her story:

I gave an Account, that I came into the Town with the Gypsies, but that I would not go any farther with them, and that so they had left me, Compassion mov'd the Magistrates of the Town to order some Care to be taken of me, and I became one of their own, as much as if I had been born in the Place. (22)

Again it is a marvellous prefiguring of Moll's later history, taken up as she is by other magistrates (23) and placed in Newgate, a place which like Colchester becomes as familiar 'as if indeed I had been born there' (24), which of course she has. The second time around however the magistrates show no compassion, despite the fact that Moll 'could see it mov'd others to Tears that heard me' (25). It only remains to add that as the Colchester magistrates reprieve Moll's going into service, an idea which 'terrifies' her, after the intervention of the 'Ladies' who have heard of her plight from the 'sober pious Woman' who is her nurse (26), so the Recorder years later gives a favourable report of Moll to the Secretary of State on the intervention of the minister, a 'serious pious good Man' (27), which effects a reprieve of the death sentence for Moll, another idea which not unnaturally also terrifies her.

This repetition of a pattern which has been established in the first pages of the book, with significant variation and a deepening of tone is typical of the intricacy of episodic and verbal patterning that pervades the book, although it does not pervade Moll's consciousness. The three elements outlined earlier are thus already operating - Moll's story (which includes a story she has heard about her mother), her moral interpretation of this story (if only things were different in England for the children of condemned criminals) and Defoe's controlling story, the implications of which have been outlined for illustrative purposes before their chronological appearance in the book actually makes the patterning apparent.

Moll says that she had no 'Understanding' of her case. The whole of the first episode at Colchester is concerned with her attainment of understanding of some sort. In the process the reader gains understanding too, although his understanding is different, and more complete than Moll's. Moll portrays her young self as pitifully innocent and ignorant of the meaning of words. She does not understand the meaning of the word 'Service' for example, and is terrified at the mere idea (28). Moll decides she wants instead to be a 'Gentlewoman'. She is entirely ignorant of the meaning of this word too, imagining that it refers simply to not having to go into service. As a result, Moll's nurse and the Mayoress to whom her story is told do not understand Moll, nor she them:

Now all this while, my good old Nurse, Mrs. Mayoress, and all the rest of them did not understand me at all, for they meant one Sort of thing, by the

Word Gentlewoman, and I meant quite another; for alas, all I understood by being a Gentlewoman, was to be able to Work for myself, and get enough to keep me without that terrible Bug-bear going to Service, whereas they meant to live Great, Rich, and High, and I know not what. (29)

Her ignorance also leads her to mistake the town bawd for a gentlewoman, on the grounds that she does no housework and is called 'Madam':

for says I, there is such a one, naming a Woman that mended Lace, and wash'd the Ladies Lac'd-heads, she, says I, is a Gentlewoman, and they call her Madam.

Poor Child, says my good old Nurse, you may soon be such a Gentlewoman as that, for she is a Person of ill Fame, and has had two or three Bastards.

I Did not understand any thing of that; but I answer'd, I am sure they call her Madam, and she does not go to Service, nor do House-Work, and therefore I insisted that she was a Gentlewoman, and I would be such a Gentlewoman as that. (30)

As subsequent events prove, the correlation of the two kinds of 'madam' is not necessarily wrong, and indeed Moll does become 'such a Gentlewoman as that'.

The young Moll thinks she reaches a new understanding about the word 'gentlewoman' after a near brush with destitution on the death of her motherly nurse. Money it seems is the quality that divides the gentlewoman off from other women:

Now was I a poor Gentlewoman indeed, and I was just that very Night to be turn'd into the wide World; The fright of my Condition had made such an Impression upon me, that I did not want now to be a Gentlewoman, but was very willing to be a Servant, and that any kind of Servant they thought fit to have me be. (31)

Subsequently however, Moll discovers additional qualities which it seems are also necessary to be a gentlewoman, that is a

suitable education, and 'the Character too of a very sober, modest, and vertuous young Woman' (32)

Lacking money had seemed to debar Moll from being a gentlewoman, yet the town bawd had money and was not a gentlewoman either. Logically then virtue must be the requisite quality; but Moll discovers that she has virtue and is still not a gentlewoman. Moll then concludes that birth is the key quality. Moll's 'Ladies' are her 'Superiors' (33). And then Moll finds that even this is not the quality required. She is back to square one, and it seems that money is indeed the key, from what the elder sister tells Moll:

if a young Woman have Beauty, Birth, Breeding, Wit, Sense, Manners, Modesty, and all these to an Extream; yet if she have not Money, she's no Body, she had as good want them all, for nothing but Money now recommends a Woman. (34)

It is scarcely surprising that the young Moll is confused, with no very definite principles operating in her life. It is in fact society's confusion. 'Gentlewoman' is a key word, and its gradual accretion of meaning is part of the reader's attainment of understanding. Moll gains a kind of understanding too, although it has less of real comprehension, and more of being a marvellous mirror (as Moll so often is) of society's confusion. Society of course does not recognise that it is confused in its criteria for designating 'gentlewomen', or indeed in designating many other categories. Society is under the illusion that it operates with perfect clarity. Moll too seems almost completely unaware of the inconsistencies of meaning she is here exposing, simply changing her perspective as these changes in the meaning of the word were presented to her younger self. Later episodes reveal that she

continues to function in a confused way, for the understanding she has developed is that of the 'sence of the nation', which is effectively socially useful non-sense. Moll suspects after the first episode that money is the element that makes for gentility (35), while continuing to be obsessed with the idea of innate gentility, and the manners of a gentleman or woman, and while also suspecting that there exists somewhere 'real' gentlewomanliness, based upon virtue. Moll oscillates all of these views in successive episodes, while also imagining (like the rest of society) that she understands a definable meaning for the word.

For the reader the repetition of the word in significantly varied circumstances devastatingly exposes its no-meaning, in the world's sense. Yet because of the way the word moves through Moll's story, it comes gradually to acquire meaning, although not a strict definition. What the word achieves is a meaning within Moll's story, as a word with which she is obsessed, and which affects key episodes in her life, pushing her forward finally to a kind of resolution of all the constituent elements the word has accreted around it. The reader thus acquires an understanding from the privileged perspective that Defoe's story creates, an understanding which includes an understanding of why Moll is confused, and which therefore includes sympathy.

Before Moll comes to any understanding of the word however, and therefore crucially, before she has any of the vocabulary to enable her to cope, she is subjected to the first tempting story

teller in her story. The elder brother arrives with his 'glozing tales', destroying Moll's innocence with his knowledge.

Moll hears that he has been 'talking a great deal of good, and a great many fine Things have been said of Mrs. Betty' (36), all of which 'serv'd to prompt my Vanity' (37). It is 'His Words' that first fired Moll's blood (38). 'Love' is now the term that Moll thinks she understands. The elder brother's fictions work on Moll until, like Eve, she has delirious dreams:

From this time my Head run upon strange
Things, and I may truly say, I was not myself. (39)

The elder brother is well versed in what Defoe called the 'sence of the nation':

it is the most necessary Thing in the World, that
Custom shou'd allow Men to go on in a Method of
Speaking without Signification... above all in
Matters of Love, Gallantry, and Paying of Debts. (40)

The young Moll, as the old Moll frequently tells the Reader, does not understand any of this. Her own speech is thus almost entirely taken over by the elder brother:

I said little to him again, but easily discover'd
that I was a Fool, and that I did not in the least
perceive what he meant. (41)

and:

I was still all on fire with his first visit,
and said little, he did as it were put Words in
my Mouth, telling me how passionately he lov'd me,
and that tho' he could not mention such a thing,
till he came to his Estate, yet he was resolv'd to
make me happy then, and himself too; that is to
say, to Marry me, and abundance of such fine
things, which I poor Fool did not understand the
drift of, but acted as if there was no such thing
as any kind of Love, but that which tended to
Matrimony. (42)

As a result, Moll's imagination responds avidly to the story:

'Never poor vain Creature was so wrapt up with every part of the Story, as I was'. (43). The young Moll is being tempted by fiction, by the luminous 'fable' the elder brother tells. Those who have entered the book by way of the preface will recognise the sensation.

There is a difference of course between the reader's temptation and the young Moll's, arising from Moll's complete innocence. For the reader recognises that he is in the presence of fiction, while the young Moll is under the illusion that she sees fact. And indeed, had the elder brother married her, the story would indeed have been truth. What Moll is up against therefore is realistic fiction, that is material that looks very much like the truth, but is not finally reality itself. The most delusive fiction is being practised upon her therefore, that is fiction that looks both morally good, and lifelike or convincing, but is actually being used for bad purposes. After this first episode however, Moll's new understanding is that every story is a fiction, and every teller is a cheat, her only aim being to 'Deceive the Deceiver'.

Back in the story, Moll is still far from understanding. She fears that she may be turned out of the house as a result of the younger brother Robin's proclamations of love for her. She tells the elder brother she is afraid she may be left destitute. He seizes instead on the technical matter of whether or not they have been discovered. Once again Moll fails to understand what he is getting at, which is to cast her off onto Robin:

This is a Mystery I cannot understand, says I,
or how it should be to my Satisfaction, that I am
to be turn'd out of Doors. (44)

The elder brother offers as guidance to Moll some excellent double
speech:

[he] desir'd I would not give my Consent to his
Brother, nor yet give him a flat Denial, but that
I would hold him in Suspence a while. (45)

Moll begins to insist on 'real' meaning to his words, imagining
that there is a consistent social agreement about the meaning
of words:

he had all along told me, I was his Wife, and I
look'd upon myself as effectually so, as if the
Ceremony had pass'd; and that it was from his own
Mouth that I did so, he having all along persuaded
me to call myself his Wife. (46)

The words that the elder brother had put into the young Moll's
mouth are hurled back at him - but Moll fails to see that precisely
because they are the elder brother's terms, operating in a
realistic fiction only, they will not pass back into reality.

In response to Moll's insistence that there is meaning to the
word 'wife', he talks of being a 'husband' in a manner that reveals
his own awareness that he is creating a look-alike world, and
nothing else:

Well, my Dear says he, don't be Concern'd
at that now, if I am not your Husband, I'll be
as good as a Husband to you, and do not let these
things Trouble you now. (47)

The dreadful tussle for meaning goes on. Moll insists once
again that she is married to the elder brother and cannot therefore
marry Robin. He is shocked at Moll's insistence on the word
'married':

He smil'd a little too at the Word, but I could see it Startled him, and he could not hide the disorder it put him into; however, he return'd, Why tho' that may be true in some Sense, yet I suppose you are but in Jest, when you talk of giving such an Answer as that, it may not be Convenient on many Accounts. (48)

She is in earnest; he is in jest. She insists on meaning, trying to inject reality into his realism; he compounds for 'true in some Sense'. The elder brother actually tries to change the story, making it disappear in the manner of stories, and another one take its place in which Moll changes from mistress to 'Sister' in a nice, respectable little tale:

But here my Dear, says he, you may come into a safe Station, and appear with Honour, and with splendor at once, and the Remembrance of what we have done, may be wrapt up in an eternal Silence, as if it had never happen'd; you shall always have my Respect, and my sincere Affection, only then it shall be Honest, and perfectly Just to my Brother, you shall be my Dear Sister, as ~~now~~ you are my Dear - and there he stop'd. (49)

Moll then throws back at him all his 'words' and story telling, manifesting a new comprehension that is close to complete understanding of what the elder brother is about, as an 'author' who has expended great pains making his story look real:

Your Dear whore, says I, you would have said, if you had gone on; and you might as well have said it; but I understand you: However, I desire you to remember the long Discourses you have had with me, and the many Hours pains you have taken to persuade me to believe myself an honest Woman; and that I was your Wife intentionally, tho' not in the Eye of the World;... you know and cannot but remember, that these have been your own Words to me. (50)

Understandably the elder brother finds that this 'was a little too close upon him'. For the first time he runs out of 'story' and 'stood stock still for a while, and said nothing'.

The family meanwhile believe that Robin's 'story' is the one they are engaged upon, failing completely to see that this is merely a sub plot to the elder brother's narrative:

You may easily believe, that when the Plot was thus, as they thought broke out, and that every one thought they knew how Things were carried: it was not so Difficult, or so Dangerous, for the elder Brother, who no body suspected of any thing, to have a freer Access to me than before. (51)

The elder brother sets about Moll in his customary manner after his temporary hiatus. He prevents Moll from speaking by telling his own story again:

Then he told me the whole Story between Robin, as he call'd him, and his Mother, and Sisters, and himself. (52)

The older Moll can still recall how moving this 'story' was. She then reminds the reader simultaneously that he too is listening to 'the story':

He spoke this in so much more moving Terms than it is possible for me to Express, and with so much greater force of Argument than I can repeat, that I only recommend it to those who Read the Story, to suppose, that as he held me above an Hour and Half in that Discourse, so he answer'd all my Objections, and fortified his Discourse with all the Arguments, that humane Wit and Art could Devise. (53)

This passage operates rather like a play within a play, as Moll tells a story about a man telling her a story. It lends 'reality' to her story, and places her on a level with the reader, since both she and the reader are listening to a story. These stories are wrought up to as high a pitch as possible, the elder brother relying on the assistance of the highly imaginative young Moll, as Moll now relies on the reader's imagination:

Thus he wrought me up, in short, to a kind of Hesitation in the Matter; having the Dangers on one Side represented

in lively Figures, and indeed heightn'd by my Imagination of being turn'd out to the wide World, a meer cast off Whore; for it was no less, ... all this terrify'd me to the last Degree, and he took care upon all Occasions to lay it home to me, in the worst Colours that it could be possible to be drawn in; on the other Hand, he fail'd not to set forth the easy prosperous Life, which I was going to live. (54)

The difference between the reader's experience, and the young Moll's as they listen to the stories is that Moll is stirring the reader's imagination for a 'good' purpose (sympathy for her), while the elder brother is telling his story in order to facilitate abandoning her. The potential of stories for good and evil is thus being explored, with the reader at this point seeing both operating together.

Moll finally understands that she has been the passive victim/reader of the elder brother's 'story', with the elder brother in control of the ending, down to the smallest details of the marriage bed. The only thing he cannot control however is Moll's imagination, which carries on functioning around his story. On the authorial level meanwhile Defoe continues to play with variations around this key episode long after the elder brother might think he had neatly tied up all the ends. The young Moll's imagination had lent reality to the elder brother's fiction, while her failure to understand the malleability of words in stories increased her vulnerability.

Out of the first story that Moll listens to she develops an understanding of three terms, 'money', 'love' and 'marriage':

The Case was alter'd with me, I had Money in my Pocket, and had nothing to say to them: I had been trick'd once by that Cheat call'd LOVE, but the

Game was over; I was resolv'd now to be Married,
or Nothing, and to be well Married, or not at all. (55)

So the story has had some meaning to Moll, and this is the paradoxical one that the world operates by a system of no-meaning speech.

But Moll's story works in two directions, and if the young Moll had concluded after this episode that life was all lies, the old Moll is anxious to prove that she has discovered life's truth, which she tries to promulgate in her moral interpretation of her story.

Not all of Moll's moral interpretations work as well as she would like however. It is not one of Defoe's purposes to represent Moll as one of life's morally simple folk, who merely fail to 'understand', for that would be a 'criminal' rather in the manner that Oliver Twist is a 'criminal'. Moll must appear to have been a real sinner, and that can only be so where there is also knowledge. Moll's rather obvious hypocrisy on occasions reveals her 'reformed' self as having sufficient of the sins of the flesh still about it to prove a genuine need for repentance on Moll's part. It also proves the still continuing attractions of her morally reprehensible story, as opposed to the moral interpretation of it that she is trying to endorse. Defoe seems to show that where life continues, so too does story telling, as an image almost of life.

Examples of Moll's hypocritical moral interpretations are many. They occur mainly as pious one or two line utterances, sometimes even half a line. They are Moll's attempt to dissipate the rising energy of her 'story', and to resume a virtuous position, but they are wedged into contexts that make them suspect, and indeed very obviously suspect. During the first episode for example, Moll gives a description of the elder brother's amorous advances:

We had not sat long, but he got up, and
 stoping my very Breath with Kisses, threw me
 upon the Bed again. (56)

This is all pretty explicit. Then in the next half sentence Moll completely withdraws further information:

but then being both well warm'd, he went farther
 with me than Decency permits me to mention. (57)

The sudden appearance of 'Decency' amidst all this indecency draws attention to the word. It is in fact a very dense device operating both for and against Moll. The word 'Decency' recalls the young, genuinely decent Moll at almost the last point in the book when she has any claim to that quality. The old Moll thus arouses maximum sympathy for the fall of her innocent younger self. In addition, the old, reformed Moll, by recognising what decency is, almost returns to her earlier innocence by becoming morally modest at this point. Both of these are effects we would assume Moll would wish to achieve.

But the word 'Decency' is also coyly incongruous here. The reader after all is in little doubt about what is going on, so that Moll's reticence serves little real moral purpose. Rather the reverse, like a thin veil over proceedings it titillates the imagination into maximum activity at the very point that it purports to quell it. Moll's 'Decency' not only shows something of the nature of the old Moll's virtue, but also her continuing fascination with indecency. This effect leads to the conclusion that has (in the main) always been made - that Moll is a hypocrite.

Moll's moral interpolations have the same effect when she describes her marriage bed with 'Brother Robin'. Moll has already described in detail how the elder brother contrives to make Robin sufficiently drunk

before his first night in bed with Moll as to be able 'to make no Judgement of the difference between a Maid and a married Woman' (58). She then repeats this a page later, yet incongruously prefaces her remarks by another moral aphorism 'Modesty forbids me to reveal the Secrets of the Marriage Bed' (59). Since the reader has been told all the 'secrets' of the marriage bed, this remark once again hides nothing but rather reveals the older Moll's attempts to simulate virtue.

The most remarkable feature of these efforts however is not that they are being made by Moll, for this is part of her strategy for regaining a place in respectable society. The remarkable feature about them is their obviousness. Critics who continue to debate whether Moll is or is not a hypocrite really labour at the obvious. It is not an issue since the editor is at pains to point Moll's hypocrisy out to the reader in the preface, telling him that Moll was:

more like one still in Newgate, than one grown Penitent and Humble, as she afterwards pretends to be. (60)

'Discovering' that Moll is a hypocrite, apart from being no discovery at all, is perhaps as helpful as discovering that Dorothea Brooke is a masochist, and Elizabeth Bennett a flirt. It is of course the 'truth' in one way. But more important than this is the question why authors should have decided that their characters should be thus, what effect this has on the meaning of the work, which is a manner of asking what impact this characterisation has upon the reader. In the case of Moll's hypocrisy the purpose is to show the erring, sinning mortal still alive in her. And this continuing temptation by sin is not all negative in effect. It makes Moll's

genuine efforts at a moral interpretation for her life more moving (because so frail), and indeed more genuine, for Moll never gives up the effort to try to see some kind of moral cause and effect, even if that understanding is hemmed about by the vicissitudes and temptations of life, or the story, which indeed come increasingly to be one and the same thing.

Hence some of Moll's moral interpretations of her story take on a nobler aspect than those aphorisms which I have called 'one-liners'. With these nobler attempts Moll tries to shape her life's story, not merely for respectability and readmittance to society, but to give the seemingly random chaos some meaning.

As is well known, Moll fails in this endeavour. But the psychic effort revealed is a very different thing to her one-liners. They pointed to that element of Moll's story in which rogues tell stories to rogues. They confirmed her early understanding that the world operates by lies. The second kind of moral interpretation that Moll offers however points towards the larger level of story that Moll cannot see, that is Defoe's story. This authorial level confirms for the reader the old Moll's understanding that life has meaning.

The old Moll still finds it difficult to discover a meaning for the first episode apart from the one we have already discussed, that is that life is a pack of cards shuffled by knaves. She manages to turn up two however, and offers them in serious voice to the reader. About to lose her 'virtue', she draws the classic eighteenth-century conclusion that she is ruined:

thus I finish'd my own Destruction at once, for
from this Day, being forsaken of my Vertue, and

my Modesty, I had nothing of Value left to recommend me, either to God's Blessing, or Man's Assistance. (61)

The rest of the book is a testimony to just how many men are prepared to come to Moll's 'Assistance', and exactly how much 'of Value' was left to her, usually told out in the palm of her hand, or a mental account book. At the end of the first episode Moll is left with £1200. Since she was well on the way to 'ruin' by her own and the world's assessment because of her initial poverty, and money seemed to be a key element in both of those ambiguous terms 'gentlewoman' and 'marriage', Moll might rather be said to be made than ruined. But Moll is not precisely a hypocrite when she makes this announcement. She is trying to convey that something significant had happened during this episode, something which did indeed change her moral perspective forever, and in that sense did set up the chain of future events, although each event could not strictly speaking be laid individually at the feet of her loss of 'virtue'.

We are now in a better position to understand Moll's curious conclusion, offered to the reader in the first page of the book, that if things had been differently ordered in England all would have been well for Moll. Her conclusion is evidently misplaced and inadequate; yet it does not reveal itself as patently hollow in the manner of Moll's aphorisms. Moll clearly offers it as a serious attempt to explain her life's course. Moll clearly feels that it was in some way significant that she was born in Newgate. The interlocking pattern of her mother and herself that is clear to the reader by the end of the book is not clear to Moll. This odd comparison of French and English

practices, like her conclusion that she was 'ruined' is simply the best Moll can muster to explain her sense of its significance. Moll is an example of the continuing sense of muddle in the individual life even where the individual thinks a pattern is discerned. It is the privilege of art to shape the muddle into a clearer pattern, in the case of Moll Flanders in a manner that mirrors Defoe's sense of a Providential universe.

Discovering in the first episode the weirdly incestuous pattern that is to dominate her life, Moll tries to give this experience a moral shape too:

thus diligently did he [the elder brother] cheat him [Robin], and had the Thanks of a faithful Friend for shifting off his Whore into his Brothers Arms for a Wife. So certainly does Interest banish all manner of Affection, and so naturally do Men give up Honour and Justice, Humanity, and even Christianity, to secure themselves. (62)

Again the rhetoric is not incongruous like Moll's one-liners in their overtly dubious contexts. It is simply that it is inadequate to 'explain' this particular episode, and wholly inadequate when this episode takes its place in the larger 'story'. Poor Moll in the midst of seeming chaos and flux can never psychically rise to the proper shaping of her life. She has at best a photographic memory and total chronological recall. Onto this she loosely 'hangs' various endeavours at moral explanation, including the important one of her repentance. Somehow, they all slide over the surface of Moll's life, a continuing testimony to Moll's serious efforts, but ultimate failure to find the pattern in her life.

The reader is more fortunate - at least if he is one who 'knows how to Read it'. For in Moll Flanders Defoe uses the inconsistency

between the story and the moral elements that had been a glaring feature of Robinson Crusoe to draw the reader's attention to the pattern that he is representing in his story. Moll's nobler moral interpretations find their confirmation in Defoe's story, with its pattern of key words and episodes and verbal echoes knitting Moll's seemingly random narrative into a tight structure.

Yet the tight structure remains part of a realistic story. Defoe's pattern arises directly from the stuff of Moll's life, not imposed from without as with Moll's own efforts to create a pattern. Defoe maintains a strict integrity towards the seeming chaos of life, while confirming a Providential order. In this respect Defoe's narrative practise is the reverse of Fielding's, for Fielding confirms Providential order by creating intricately patterned, but wholly uncontingent looking narratives, so that one wonders why he is included in the 'canon' of realism.

We have referred to Defoe's story several times while examining Moll's story, and Moll's moral interpretation of her story, for these three elements are so integrated that a discussion of one is almost meaningless without relating it to its supporting elements. We will now examine Defoe's story as it relates to the first Colchester episode.

Defoe's story depends for its effect upon the accumulation of key words and verbal echoes throughout the book. As a result it is difficult to examine the key words discretely in the first episode without looking at their later development, although some of these key words do set up reverberations even within that episode. The clearest method of exposition is to establish what the key terms are,

and something of their development in the first episode. We will then deal with their subsequent development as we come to each episode, integrating in each episode the three elements of Moll's story, Moll's moral interpretations, and Defoe's story.

'Story' is of course a key term in the first episode, establishing the important story-telling theme. This becomes the most powerful element of the book, affecting the reader's relationship with the book and its themes, as well as being a crucial aspect of Moll's life. 'Gentlewoman' is another of the key terms we have already looked at.

'Mother' is another key term introduced in the first episode, where Moll has in effect three mothers, the mother who abandons her in Newgate, the 'good Motherly Nurse' (63), and the woman who takes Moll in when the nurse dies, who becomes a mother to Moll on her marriage to Robin. Moll's mother/nurse is the opposite of Moll's natural mother, taking up where she left off, and giving an honest example where Moll's mother gives a dishonest example:

This Woman had also a little School, which she kept to teach Children to Read and to Work; and having, as I have said, liv'd before that in good Fashion, she bred up the Children she took with a great deal of Art, as well as with a great deal of Care. (64)

These phrases may not seem to mean much on their own within the first episode. Later however they take their place within subsequent episodes, with continual variation in, and accumulation of, meaning, serving to confirm the pattern in Moll's life.

'Magistrates' as we have also seen, is a term of importance, although again its significance is not obvious when the word first appears. Even so, Moll's mother is reprieved from her sentence of

death to one of transportation, and Moll is reprieved from 'service' only a few pages further on, so that a pattern begins to emerge in the early stages of the book.

'Brother' is of course a key word in the first episode, a central concept around which Moll is deceived again in the future. The elder brother has no name in the story. The crux of his relationship with Moll occurs when he tries to turn Moll into his 'sister'. Married to brother Robin, Moll then commits incestuous adultery in her mind:

In short, I committed Adultery and Incest with him every Day in my Desires, which without doubt, was as effectually Criminal in the Nature of the Guilt, as if I had actually done it. (65)

The old Moll feels guilty about this desire, while the young Moll feels only the desire. The young Moll need not have worried. She does get to 'do it' with her brother, but that remains for a future episode to elucidate.

Two other key terms deriving from the first episode are 'jest' and 'earnest', with their variants 'protestation' and 'sincerity'. The old Moll for example is quite clear as to the source of the trouble between herself and the elder brother:

the Mistake lay here, that Mrs. Betty was in Earnest, and the Gentleman was not. (66)

The young Moll does not have this insight however. It seems as if the elder brother is the only one who understands the word 'earnest' in its no-meaning sense, for the entire family believe that Robin, who is completely in earnest, is in jest about Moll. The elder brother uses the word 'earnest' for his own purposes, changing its meaning within replica situations which ought therefore to have

a consistent meaning. In the first episode an 'earnest' is given to Moll to prove the elder brother's desire to care for her:

what if you should be with Child, is not that it?
 Why then, says he, I'll take Care of you, and
 Provide for you, and the Child too, and that you
 may see I am not in Jest, says he, here's an
 Earnest for you; and with that he pulls out a
 silk Purse, with an Hundred Guineas in it, and
 gave it me. (67)

In the later event he gives an 'earnest' of the same kind to Moll, but now its meaning is to prove that he wants to be rid of her:

I shall always be your sincere Friend, without any
 Inclination to nearer Intimacy, when you become my
 Sister; and we shall have all the honest part of
 Conversation without any Reproaches between us, of
 having done amiss: and to satisfie you that I
 am Sincere, added he, I here offer you 500l. in
 Money, to make you some Amends for the Freedoms I
 have taken with you. (68)

The words 'jest' and 'earnest' are repeated in later episodes, revealing both Moll's understanding, and indeed to her continued lack of understanding of the words. The reader meanwhile, seeing these words repeated in changed contexts, gains not so much a defined understanding of the words, as an understanding of the roles they play in Moll's life. They, like the other key terms, act as markers, recalling earlier episodes, and showing Moll's changed moral status as she gets deeper into deceit. They enable the reader to trace a pattern that is not mere chronology, right back to Moll's early days, enforcing the sense that Moll's life is not random and contingent, but meaningful, even predestined.

There are many other verbal echoes throughout the book as one episode recalls and reflects on another. Nevertheless the key terms discussed here, 'story'; 'understanding'; 'gentlewoman' (with its concomitant 'gentleman'); 'brother' (and its concomitant 'sister');

'mother'; 'jest' and 'earnest' (and their variants 'protestation' and 'sincerity'); are conspicuous in that some one or two of them at least recur in every episode that follows. They form the backbone of the structure around which other verbal echoes cohere in variants within each episode. The result is that Defoe's story arises from Moll's story, but is finally different to hers, with Moll's linguistic understanding never quite the same as Defoe's and the reader's.

Moll's next failure of understanding occurs around the word 'gentleman'. Moll never completely understands this word, and indeed as we have seen in relation to 'gentlewoman', the whole point is that it cannot be defined, either socially in the 'sence of the nation', or personally for Moll. To Moll these words have a massive psychic compulsion, representing her deepest desires for status, security, gentility and breeding, money, and indeed for a whole cluster of meanings far beyond any definition that might be offered for the word. So on this second entrance into the world Moll finds herself:

hurried on (by my Fancy to a Gentleman) to Ruin my
self in the grossest Manner that ever Woman did. (69)

It should be noted that Moll has also modified her understanding of the word 'ruin' by this second episode since in the previous episode it meant loss of virginity, or virtue in the classic equation, while in the second episode it means only loss of funds. The old Moll indicates the nature of the young Moll's error in her vocabulary, or rather her lack of vocabulary, for there is no terminology to describe the man she marries:

Well, at last I found this amphibious Creature,
this Land-water-thing, call'd, a Gentleman-Tradesman. (70)

Moll is back in the centre of the ambivalence surrounding the word 'gentleman', for although this man has no money, and would therefore seem to be no gentleman, according to her understanding from the first episode, nevertheless Moll's imagination is caught by the sound of the word, just as in the previous episode the words 'love' and 'marriage' had made her imagination run riot and lend substance to airy words. Significantly, Moll's only memory of this man, apart from his eventual bankruptcy, is of their journey to Oxford, he masquerading as a 'Lord' and Moll as 'her Honour, the Countess' (71).

Yet despite her scorn for her 'Gentleman-Tradesman' Moll's imagination is evidently still so much engaged that, even amidst her later contempt, there is a strange insistence on the gentlemanly qualities of her one time husband:

He said some very handsome Things to me indeed at Parting; for I told you he was a Gentleman, and that was all the benefit I had of his being so; that he used me very handsomely, and with good Manners upon all Occasions, even to the last, only spent all I had, and left me to Rob the Creditors for something to Subsist on. (72)

and:

My Husband was so civil to me, for still I say, he was much of a Gentleman, that in the first Letter he wrote me from France, he let me know where he had Pawn'd 20 Pieces of fine Holland for 30l. (73)

Moll later manifests the same insistence on Jemmy's being a gentleman in their final episode together in Virginia, mingled with a sort of contempt and a desire to be rid of him when she inherits the estate her mother has left her. Moll oscillates continuously between psychic fascination for 'real' gentlemanly qualities, and a desire

for that other 'real' thing, that is money. Of course she hopes to find them combined, and with the third element too, that is marriage.

On the level of Moll's story it is the Oxford journey, and the bankruptcy - both powerful imaginative elements to Moll - that carry the action forward. The old Moll however attempts, as always, to offer some kind of moral summary. Like the Colchester episode, the whole tenor of Moll's story about the 'Gentleman-Tradesman' has confirmed the power of cheating, fantasy and fiction in the world. Moralising therefore, especially in an effort to prove that some kind of truth is operating in her life, is difficult for Moll. As a result her moralising is a little off centre. Where previously she had moralised about the power of interest to destroy all principles (not entirely relevant to her case) so now her moral involves the men she meets in the Mint, and the horror of their cycle of sin:

nothing was more easie than to see how Sighs would interrupt their Songs, and paleness, and anguish sit upon their Brows, in spite of the forc'd Smiles they put on; nay, sometimes it would break out at their very Mouths, when they had parted with their Money for a lewd Treat, or a wicked Embrace; I have heard them, turning about, fetch a deep Sigh, and cry what a Dog am I! Well Betty, my Dear, I'll drink thy Health tho', meaning the Honest Wife, that perhaps had not a Half a Crown for herself and three or four Children: The next Morning they are at their Penitentials again. (74)

This is a perfectly serious piece of moral rhetoric. Moll's imagination is even caught by it. The 'Honest Wife' is called Betty, Moll's own name at this point in the story, even though Moll has to use an aside to explain who this refers to. Evidently she

sees herself in this role. Yet the passage does not quite fit, for it is not really the appropriate moral interpretation to draw from the sin of allowing the imagination to run riot around words like 'gentleman'.

The practical conclusion the young Moll draws is one she has drawn before in relation to the word 'gentlewoman', that is the entirely secular one that the word 'gentleman' is insubstantial without money and that she had better aim for that commodity next time. This understanding is confirmation of Moll's sense of the world as a fantasy in which the best liar wins. Her attempts to correct this younger self's conclusion cannot be attained by telling a different story, which is effectively what the story about the imaginary 'Betty' is. On the other hand this off centre morality cannot simply be 'explained away' by the formula that Moll is a hypocrite either. Evidently her experience in this episode had a profound influence on her, which she feels is in some way portentous, like her loss of virginity. What she is unable to do is to apply the experience directly to herself, or discern any real pattern, although her naming the destitute heroine of her story 'Betty' reveals that Moll is dimly aware that there is some sort of personal application to be drawn from her marriage, and the dangerous imaginative elements it engendered.

In Defoe's story however this episode sets a scene which will repeat itself very obviously for the reader. The debtors in the Mint are 'at their Penitentials'. Subsequently Moll gives up her 'virtue' to her Bath lover, and they find themselves 'both at our Penitentials' the next morning. Like the debtors in the Mint too,

Moll and her lover sin on, 'the way being thus clear'd, and the bars of Virtue and Conscience thus removed, we had the less difficulty afterwards to struggle with' (75).

Later still, Moll meets the drunken baronet, a man who is always penitent after his debauches, but nevertheless sins on:

When these thoughts were upon him he would go away, and perhaps not come again in a Months time or longer; but then as the serious part wore off, the lewd Part would wear in, and then he came prepar'd for the wick'd Part. (76)

Finally of course, Moll herself decides to sin on during her life of thieving, despite the penitence she feels on several occasions (77). Eventually she ceases to feel penitent at all until committed to Newgate:

Now I reproach'd myself with the many hints I had had, as I have mentioned above, from my own Reason, from the Sense of my good Circumstances, and of the many Dangers I had escap'd to leave off while I was well, and how I had withstood them all, and hardened my Thoughts against all Fear; it seem'd to me that I was hurried on by an inevitable and unseen Fate to this Day of Misery. (78)

Moll is quite correct in her conclusion. What she does not see however is that she has actually had a whole range of opportunities in which to draw this conclusion, throughout her life, and not merely during her thieving days, which is what she is referring to in the passage above. Defoe's art in repeating Moll's irrelevant Mint formula through other episodes where it has both relevance, and a relationship with each earlier episode, makes the pattern of Moll's life, which is unclear to Moll, quite clear to the reader.

Moll emerges from the second episode of the 'Gentleman-Tradesman' and proceeds to some story telling on her own behalf. Having been

twice deluded by her imagination both responding to a story (the elder brother's) and spinning stories (about a 'gentleman' and the journey to Oxford), and having 'learned' in the world's sense, she proceeds to delude others. Moll meets a woman who has been rejected by a young ship's captain, because she had enquired about his character. Moll tells the woman she will put about a 'story' that the young woman had rejected the suitor on account of his bad morals. The story spreads fast; other people it seems are receptive to stories:

for telling her Story in general to a Couple of Gossips in the Neighbourhood, it was the Chat of the Tea Table all over that part of the Town, and I [Moll] met with it where ever I visited. (79)

Moll and her friend then set about an additional 'story' about the friend's being courted by another man. This story also works, and the young captain is caught by his own 'no-meaning speech' when he comes to propose in earnest:

he had made so many Protestations of his Passion for her, that he could ask no more but her Hand to his grand Request, and the like ramble according to the Custom of Lovers: In short, he left himself no room to ask any more questions about her Estate, and she took the advantage of it like a prudent Woman. (80)

Moll has by this stage progressed far in her understanding of the 'sence of the nation' for she can create stories, and auditors as credulous as she had earlier been. Her aim is 'to Deceive the Deceiver' (81). The old Moll's imagination is evidently caught by the story she tells the reader about how to catch a man, for she reiterates her advice to the 'Ladies' (82), even though her own story about catching a husband resulted in the bizarrely unhappy Virginia

episode. Evidently for Moll, once in the grip of story telling, she finds it difficult to keep her moral purpose in view.

Moll and her friend repeat the 'success' of Moll's first story, and Moll too catches a man on the strength of his 'Protestations' that he does not care whether she is rich or poor. Moll gets her man by manipulating protestation as she had earlier been manipulated. Discovering that his wife is worth less than he had thought, Moll's husband talks of his plantations in Virginia. Moll begins to 'understand his meaning' (83), a phrase which has an ominous ring to it when we recall the previous contexts in which it appears, and that it is by at last 'understanding' the elder brother's meaning that Moll commits herself to a kind of incest in Colchester. Moll shortens the story of her journey to America three times 'To bring the story short'; 'To make this part of the story short'; and 'To give an account of the manner of our Voyage ... is out of my way' (84). Evidently mere travel does not capture Moll's imagination. She shortens one story in avid anticipation of another, for Moll has scarcely arrived in Virginia before she finds herself listening to a story that certainly captures her imagination. Moll's mother in law (actually her mother) is made in the same mould as Moll for she begins her relationship with Moll by telling stories:

My Mother was a mighty chearful good humour'd old Woman, ... I say she was very pleasant, good Company, and us'd to entertain me, in particular, with abundance of Stories to divert me, as well of the Country we were in, as of the People. (85)

The italicised phrase 'me, in particular' is not fortuitous. It is inevitable that Moll's mother should tell stories of great significance to Moll, confirming the pattern becoming apparent in

Moll's life. Like Moll, she tells stories within stories, as she becomes carried away by narrative momentum:

She was going on with that part of the Story,
when her own part in it interrupted her. (86)

Moll's mother tells Moll that she has been a criminal transported to Virginia, and proves it by the indelible brand mark in her hand. Moll finds that 'This Story was very moving to me' (87). The young Moll's imagination is intuitively before her intellect at this point, while the old Moll can still recall the story's impact. Moll asks her mother 'in an intimate kind of way ... to tell me something of her own Story' (88). The story goes on for rather a long time, for Moll's mother is imaginatively caught by it. The effect is to make Moll 'very uneasy'.

The result of this story is grotesquely appropriate for Moll. She has told a fictional story to get where she is. Now she is forced to remain listening to a story which is true, the contents of which have no need to be manufactured or manipulated, the proof of which is at any time apparent, branded into flesh. Moll's lying stories turn against her. All that she wants to do at this point is tell a true story, and she cannot. The pages are dense with the word 'story' drawing attention to its importance as a motif:

Here she went on with her own Story so long,
and in so particular a manner, that I began to be
very uneasy,...she perceived I was out of order,
and asked me if I was not well, and what ail'd me?
I told her I was so affected with the melancholy
Story she had told, ... that it had overcome me;
and I beg'd of her to talk no more of it:...
Then she went on to tell me...

I Heard this part of the Story with very little
attention,...O had the Story never been told me,
all had been well;...

I Had now such a load on my Mind that it kept me perpetually waking; to reveal it, which would have been some ease to me, I could not find wou'd be to any purpose, and yet to conceal it wou'd be next to impossible;...

During this time my Mother used to be frequently telling me old Stories of her former Adventures, which however were no ways pleasant to me. (89)

Moll's fictional story to the planter turns out to be true in part; she does have money for example, for she is related to a rich woman. Yet where previously Moll would have loved the stories to be true - the elder brother to actually be offering marriage, the gentleman-tradesman to actually be a gentleman with money - here is one story Moll would love to revert to fiction.

Moll's 'mother' is indeed her mother, and thus her husband is her half brother. In a verbal echo from the Colchester episode Moll announces that she lived 'in open avowed Incest and Whoredom, and all under the appearance of an honest Wife' (90). All the lying stories the elder brother had told had led to this very unpleasant suppressed truth. Moll now finds that her own first excursion into fiction yields the same result. She is forced to continue in the marriage she had lied her way into, yearning to tell the truth, while like a nightmare the mother and son/brother/husband are the most credulous audience that Moll could earlier have wished for, continuing to believe the story she had wanted them to believe. Moll finds that her story telling propensity fades beside her need to tell the truth, which ultimately bursts out beyond her control:

in the mean time, another Quarrel with my Husband happen'd, which came up to such a mad Extream as almost push'd me on to tell it him all to his Face; but tho' I kept it in so as not

to come to the particulars, I spoke so much as to put him into the utmost Confusion, and at the End brought out the whole Story. (91)

The brother, seeing the whole thing as 'some Mystery yet unfolded' goes off with his 'story' to his mother:

At length he tells all this Story to his Mother, and sets her upon me to get the main Secret out of me. (92)

Moll and her mother then meet to get the story sorted out:

...I began and told her the whole Story: First I told her how much she was concern'd in all the unhappy breach which had happen'd between her Son and me, by telling me her own Story, and her London name; and that the surprize she see I was in, was upon that Occasion: Then I told her my own Story and my Name, and assur'd her that by such other Tokens as she could not deny that I was no other, nor more or less than her own Child, her Daughter, born of her Body in Newgate. (93)

It is such a ghastly 'story' that Moll's mother at first refuses to believe it, and then tries to forget it (94), in order to convince herself and Moll that the two stories do not coincide. But the crux is the brand in the hand, the truth of a story that cannot be manipulated like Moll's fictions. True stories in fact persist doggedly, as we shall see in Roxana too. There is a terrible irony to Moll's 'Aversion to lying with my own Brother' (95), since she came to that position by lying to him. Moll finds she cannot continue lying with him or to him. She tells him the story 'which requires long Explanation' (96) and destroys the fiction in the only way possible, by telling the truth.

At this point the story finishes and a new 'Scene of Misfortunes' (97) opens for Moll. But Moll's interpretation of the brother/husband story cannot carry all of its meaning. As always when her

imagination is caught, Moll finds it difficult to apply a moral to the tale. Two of the key words of this episode (apart from 'story' of course) are once again 'Mother' and 'Brother'. Moll is abandoned by her mother in Newgate before the story opens. She is then taken up by the motherly nurse, and the elder brother's mother, whom Moll subsequently abandons. In Virginia Moll repeats the pattern of finding a mother, but upon that mother becoming a substantial version of the word instead of some more token relationship, Moll abandons her. The old Moll cannot see the meaning of this, as the young Moll abandons the first substantial word she has discovered and returns instead to the 'no-meaning speech' she had discovered during the elder brother episode, although Defoe's story eventually shows some kind of resolution of the word 'mother'. A last dreadful echo lingers from Colchester to Virginia, as Moll's brother agrees to call her 'sister', to support her financially, and to pretend to hear that Moll is dead so that he may remarry (98). The elder brother had also called Moll 'Sister' and offered to be her 'sincere Friend, without any Inclination to nearer Intimacy, when you become my Sister', and similarly offered to consider their previous sexual encounter 'buried and forgotten' (99).

Douglas Brooks also points out some of the detailed mirroring of the Colchester episode, and its impact on meaning:

Each detail here [as Moll tells her brother the incestuous nature of their relationship] matches one in the first episode. Just as Moll's brother 'turn[s] pale as death' and nearly faints, so does Moll when the elder brother begins to suggest that she might marry Robin (turning 'pale as death' she nearly sinks out of her chair (p.44)); and just as Moll's brother becomes ill when he hears of his

incest so, we recall, does Moll when the elder brother, on another visit, attempts to persuade her to accept Robin's proposal. Anticipating her brother's illness almost exactly, Moll becomes melancholy, it is feared that she will 'go into a consumption; and which vexed [her] most, they gave it as their opinion that [her] mind was oppressed.

.....the most important thing to emerge is the contrast with what happened the first time. It is not really Moll who suffers at all - she does not become ill; her brother does. She has treated her brother as the elder brother treated her, so that in causing his illness by revealing their incestuous relationship she has had her revenge. A man must suffer as she suffered; and the only man who can so suffer is her own brother. (100)

These parallels seem to me to be substantially correct, although whether revenge is the precise motive for Moll's actions is debatable. If anyone suffers (apart from her brother) it is Moll, living under 'the greatest Pressure imaginable for three Year more' after the discovery (101), and finding herself destitute at the end of it, as she had feared she would be after her relationship with the elder brother. Revenge, if this is Moll's motive, is anything but sweet.

There are other verbal echoes, arising from the use of key terms. In the Colchester episode for example the problem was that the young Moll had been in earnest while the elder brother was in jest. In the later episode, it is Moll who is in jest while the lover/brother is in earnest:

Besides, tho' I had jested with him, as he suppos'd it, so often about my Poverty, yet, when he found it to be true, he had fore-closed all manner of objection, seeing whether he was in jest or in earnest, he had declar'd he took me without any regard to my Portion, and whether I was in jest or in earnest, I had declar'd my self to be very Poor, so that in a word, I had him fast both ways. (102)

In a word indeed.

In another echo, but reversal, where Moll innocently told the

elder brother 'I had no Reason to question the Sincerity of his Love to me, after so many Protestations' (103), she subsequently catches her brother/husband by 'pretend[ing] on all occasions to doubt his Sincerity', which her lover/brother responds to very much in the elder brother manner, for he 'stop'd my Mouth in that part, with the Thunder of his Protestations' (104). The difference in the later episode is that the second time around Moll wants her mouth stopped. What the old Moll does not see is how the terms cast backwards and forwards, offering a story and a pattern to her life, and indeed indicating a control that is beyond her control. Defoe is the master of this story, and his aim is to simulate Providential control.

After leaving Virginia, Moll goes to Bath where she picks up with another female confidante who helps her to yet another liaison. This woman too recalls an earlier episode. Immediately after the Colchester episode Moll had lived with a woman who introduces Moll to the wild company which leads to her eventual marriage with the 'Gentleman-Tradesman':

my Landlord's Sister being one of the Madest, Gayest things alive, and not so much Mistress of her Vertue, as I thought at first she had been: She brought me into a World of wild Company, and even brought home several Persons, such as she lik'd well enough to Gratifie, to see her pretty Widow. (105)

In Bath Moll replicates this situation, though as usual she is unable to see this herself:

However I went this length the first Season, (viz.) I contracted an Acquaintance with a Woman in whose House I Lodg'd, who tho' she did not keep an ill House, as we call it, yet had none of the best Principles in herself. (106)

The Bath gentleman starts to tell Moll a story about his regard for her, although, as Moll's double meaning phrases indicate, the younger Moll as well as the old Moll are both completely aware of what he is about:

he was a compleat Gentleman, that must be confess'd, and his Company was very agreeable to me, as mine, if I might believe him, was to him; ... he had such an Opinion of my Virtue, that as he often profess'd, he believ'd if he should offer any thing else, I should reject him with Contempt. (107)

A particularly good example of the way Moll and her friend 'understand' their double-meaning speech is Moll's denial that she wants reward, followed by the friend's perfect comprehension and pledge to positive action:

I told her I had not given him the least occasion to think I wanted it, [money] or that I would accept of it from him; she told me she would take that part upon her, and she did so, and manag'd it so dextrously.... (108)

In such speeches Moll shows that she understands the world, in an instinctive, gutter shrewd kind of way. What she does not understand is how this double speech seems to the reader, who is able to connect this language with the occasions on which it has been used in the past. The outcome of all these excursions into fictionalising have not been propitious, and now they sound another warning note that Moll (both old and young) does not hear.

After the friend has 'manag'd' the gentleman a little, he 'understands' sufficiently well to get information from Moll about her need for money, thereby offering Moll the chance to indicate what she will and will not think is acceptable.

Having been promised 'a true Friend' by the gentleman, Moll

replies suitably with heavy double-meaning:

I Omitted nothing that was fit to be said by one infinitely oblig'd, to let him know, that I had a due Sense of his Kindness. (109)

Moll's 'story' to the gentleman is that she is able to live with some retrenchments; it is suitably 'understood' by the gentleman when he makes Moll take 'a whole handful' of guineas from a drawer containing, as Moll with marvellously innocent obliquity informs us, 'near 200 Guineas, but I knew not how much'. The old Moll is delighted with this story, once again without the full understanding that her words have for the reader who recalls the elder brother starting his affair with Moll by putting 'almost a Handful of Gold in my Hand' (110). Defoe, by creating these verbal echoes, is able to amplify the baldest of Moll's statements into areas of meaning that she has no idea of.

Moll lives with her Bath gentleman for nearly two years in the extraordinary technical 'virtue' of 'all the familiarities between Man and Wife...yet he never once offered to go any farther', conduct which Moll finds 'perfectly amazing' (111). Moll then gets drunk one night, and hints that she will discharge the gentleman of his pledge. The gentleman takes Moll at her word. It seems that words can be understood very plainly where the desire (literally in this case) suits..

Moll then, as usual, tries to apply some kind of 'moral' to the 'story', based on her later understanding that the world has some kind of truth as well as lies:

I have often observ'd since, and leave it as a caution to the Readers of this Story; that we ought to be cautious of gratifying our Inclinations

in loose and lewd Freedoms, least we find our
Resolutions of Virtue fail us in the juncture
when their Assistance should be most necessary.
(112)

It is another of those morals drawn by Moll out of inadequacy rather than hypocrisy. But it is the very inadequacy of Moll's moral interpretations of the episodes in her life (as differentiated from her one liners) that point the reader in the direction of the meaning. Moll is reliving the first episode again, the bizarre sexual abstinence the Bath gentleman indulges recalling the brotherly sexuality Moll has now experienced twice before.

Moll travels to Gloucester with her gentleman, and puts up at an inn where only one room is available. The Bath gentleman then turns Moll into a sort of sister:

we are too near a kin to lye together, tho' we may
Lodge near one another. (113)

Once again therefore Moll commits a strange kind of incest. Further parallels between the Colchester episode and others both past and to come are also to be found. The Bath gentleman, indulging in this curious 'incestuous' sexuality becomes 'very ill of a Fever, and kept his Bed five Weeks' (114). Moll had taken to her bed 'near five Weeks' when she realised that the elder brother was trying to make her his sister, and had become 'light Headed' and 'Melancholly' (115). Her brother had become 'Pensive and Melancholly' and 'a little Distemper'd in his Head' (116) on discovering the incestuous nature of their relationships. Bearing in mind the strangely incestuous relationship the Bath gentleman tries to establish with Moll, it is interesting to note that, in addition to his own five week illness, his wife is 'distemper'd in her Head' (117). This seems

to hint at the kind of sexual relationship the Bath gentleman may have been imposing on his wife.

Eventually, after his own illness, the Bath lover repents, and leaves Moll, who then starts up the familiar 'story' about being worth 'Three or Four Thousand Pounds, if not more' with her estate in her own hands, and 'a new Scene open'd' for her (118). Before setting off on this new scene however, Moll deposits what money she has left with a banker. Again the story telling begins. Moll tells the banker her story (119); he responds by telling her his story (120). Again it seems he has 'a Wife, and no Wife' like the Bath lover (121), and indeed Moll herself who had 'a Husband, and no Husband' when the gentleman-tradesman deserted her (122). Again Moll tries to differentiate between jest and earnest in a manner which recalls her relationship with the elder brother and her real brother:

He said some things in Jest that were very handsome and mannerly, and would have pleas'd me very well if they had been in earnest; but that pass'd over. (123)

Moll enters into a sort of agreement with the banker to marry him if he obtains a divorce, but her instinct is still 'to Play the Hypocrite a little more with him' (124). Before anything can come of this however, Moll's imagination is caught again by a 'gentleman', the 'Brother' of the woman friend Moll lodges with. The key feature of this 'Brother' too is his verbal ability, which recalls that of the elder brother in Colchester who talked so well of marriage that he made Moll believe it had actually happened:

he was Tall, well Shap'd, and had an extraordinary Address; talk'd as naturally of his Park, and his Stables; of his Horses, his Game-Keepers, his Woods,

his Tenants, and his Servants, as if we had been in the Mansion-House, and I had seen them all about me. (125)

Again however, Moll fails to learn from her previous encounters. Her imagination gives substance to another's fiction in words that recall her over stimulated imagination in Colchester and her 'Fancy' being 'hurried on' by the 'Gentleman-Tradesman':

But the glittering show of a great Estate, and of fine Things, which the deceived Creature that was now my Deceiver represented every Hour to my Imagination, hurried me away. (126)

As Moll had earlier tried to 'Deceive the Deceiver', this woman, who is deceived, now tries to deceive Moll, who is also both deceived and deceiver, in a double complex of roguery. Moll discovers that she has fallen victim once again to the word 'gentleman', and again without getting the gold.

Pregnant by her new husband Jemmy, Moll moves on once more to telling stories. She is introduced to Mother Midnight, yet again by a discrete landlady who is not so virtuous as she at first seems:

It seems the Mistress of the House was not so great a Stranger to such Cases as mine was, as I thought at first she had been, as will appear presently, and she sent for a Midwife of the right sort, that is to say, the right sort for me. (127)

The by now pretty learned Moll, in terms of 'the sence of the nation', still has language to learn in the world. Mother Midnight, an expert, helps Moll to an 'understanding' but, recognising the uses of ignorance, recommends that Moll maintain her apparent incomprehension if it is of benefit:

I believe this Lady's Trouble is of a kind that is prety much in your way, and therefore if you can do any thing for her, pray do, for she is a very civil Gentlewoman...

I Really did not understand her, but my Mother Midnight began very seriously to explain what she meant, as soon as she was gone: Madam, says she, you seem not to understand what your Landlady means, and when you do understand it, you need not let her know at all that you do so. (128)

Mother Midnight is so expert at understanding double speech that she cuts straight through Moll's story about her husband (129). What follows conveys with marvellous subtlety the manoeuvring between Moll and the midwife in a double speech which nevertheless leads to 'understanding' between these two 'madams':

I trouble you with all this, Madam, said I, not that, as you said before, it is much to the purpose in your Affair, but this is to the purpose, namely, that I am not in any pain about being seen, or being publick or conceal'd, for 'tis perfectly indifferent to me; but my difficulty is, that I have no Acquaintance in this part of the Nation.

I Understand you, Madam, says she, you have no Security to bring to prevent the Parish Impertinences usual in such Cases; and perhaps, says she, do not know very well how to dispose of the Child when it comes;..... I have but one Question to ask in the whole Affair, Madam, says she, and if that be answer'd, you shall be entirely easie for all the rest.

I presently understood what she meant, and told her, Madam, I believe I understand you; I thank God, tho' I want Friends in this Part of the World, I do not want Money, so far as may be Necessary, tho' I do not abound in that neither. (130)

Delivered of her baby, Moll is at a loss how to proceed with the Banker's proposal of marriage now that she is married to Jemmy. Mother Midnight 'importunes' Moll for several days to get this story out of her, in a manner that recalls Moll's real mother's endeavours to extract the incest story from Moll (131). Once again, it is the eloquent tongue that works with Moll:

She had Arguments for this at the tip of her Tongue, and in short, reason'd me out of my Reason. (132)

These words from the expert in double speech also recall the elder brother who had 'Reason'd me out of my Reason' so many years before (133). It is an interesting echo, but also a reversal of patterning of the kind we have now seen often enough in Moll's story. Moll is abandoned by her mother as a new born child, leaving her ultimately vulnerable to a deceiving lover, who reasons her out of her reason and into a marriage with a 'brother' that she does not want. Now a mother 'caring' for Moll reasons her out of her reason out of a marriage she does not want with a brother of sorts, and into a marriage that requires betraying the husband, and abandoning a new born child.

Mother Midnight reveals her expertise in 'understanding' Moll's (and indeed society's) polite euphemisms (such as 'Wife, and no Wife') which mask bigamy and adultery. She cuts through Moll's delicate word play, and indeed the whole 'Story' Moll is trying to set up about caring for her new born child, but not wanting to care for the child:

A Fine Story! says the Governess, you would see the Child, and you would not see the Child; you would be Conceal'd and Discover'd both together; these are things impossible. (134)

Yet even Mother Midnight stops short of calling Moll anything other than a 'conscientious Mother'. In a passage that recalls Moll's translation of the elder brother's euphemism 'Dear Sister' into the plain meaning 'Dear whore', Moll translates this polite euphemism of Mother Midnight's in the same way:

I understood what she meant by conscientious Mothers, she would have said conscientious Whores. (135)

Nothing reveals the deepening pattern of moral degradation in Moll's life more clearly than these verbal echoes, for whereas previously Moll had cut through the elder brother's euphemism in a passionate battle to prevent herself being betrayed by a deceiver, now she cuts through Mother Midnight's euphemism merely to show that she understands it. As her next speech reveals, she is well versed in euphemism herself by the time she meets Mother Midnight:

really in this Case I was not a Whore, because
legally Married, the Force of my former Marriage
excepted. (136)

The whole episode with Mother Midnight in conjunction with Moll's own motherhood brings together at this middle point of the book the pattern of mothers that has been a recurring key word.

Moll has just given birth to Jemmy's child, and wants to be rid of it without murder. Moll calls Mother Midnight her 'Governess, who I had now learn'd to call Mother' (137). Reversing the pattern of instruction in virtue that Moll receives from her motherly nurse in Colchester, Moll now receives instruction in the vice of abandoning children from a 'motherly' midwife:

Do you think there are not Women, who as it is their Trade, and they get their Bread by it, value themselves upon their being as careful of Children, as their own Mothers can be, and understand it rather better? Yes, yes, Child, says she, fear it not, How were we Nurs'd ourselves? Are you sure, you was Nurs'd up by your own Mother? and yet you look fat, and fair Child, says the old Beldam, and with that she stroak'd me over the Face; never be concern'd Child, says she, going on in her drolling way; I have no Murtherers about me; I employ the best, and the honestest Nurses that can be had; and have as few Children miscarry under their Hands, as there would, if they were all Nurs'd by Mothers; we want neither Care nor Skill.

She touch'd me to the Quick, when she ask'd if I was sure that I was Nurs'd by my own Mother; on the contrary I was sure I was not; and I trembled, and look'd pale at the very Expression. (138)

The word 'mother' is a nodal cluster thick on the pages, bringing the word to the forefront of the book's pattern and meaning. Even Moll gets a sense of the continuum of mothers, and indeed of mothers abandoning children. Moll is abandoning a child here, and has abandoned another five in the course of the story. The number becomes vague however; the fact itself sharpens in this nexus of children. Until Moll can resolve the pattern of abandonment by mothers, it continues to repeat itself in her life.

Having got rid of the baby, Moll departs to put her 'Cheats and Abuses' on the banker. Her feelings towards the banker recall her feelings towards Robin years earlier:

[Robin] came big with the News [his mother's consent] to me, and told me the whole Story of it, with a Sincerity so visible, that I must confess it griev'd me, that I must be the Instrument to abuse so honest a Gentleman; but there was no Remedy, he would have me, and I was not oblig'd to tell him, that I was his Brother's Whore. (139)

In the later episode this becomes:

Then it occur'd to me what an abominable Creature am I! and how is this innocent Gentleman going to be abus'd by me! How little does he think, that having Divorc'd a Whore, he is throwing himself into the Arms of another! that he is going to Marry one that has lain with two Brothers, and has had three Children by her own Brother! one that was born in Newgate, whose Mother was a Whore, and is now a transported Thief; one that has lain with thirteen Men, and has had a Child since he saw me! ... After this reproaching my self was over, it followed thus: Well, if I must be his Wife, if it please God to give me Grace, I'll be a true Wife to him. (140)

Moll seems to touch on something of the pattern in her life here, in the correlation of her incestuous relationship at Colchester with the later marriage to her real brother. But she does not see the link between the unfortunate dupe Robin, and the unfortunate dupe of a banker, both deceived after Moll herself has been deceived in

relationships with big talking men who stir her imagination. Nor does she see the pattern of mothers, and of abandoned children that is also part of this nexus of key words.

In the middle of the honeymoon, Moll is staggered to see Jemmy fleeing from the law while she is staying at an inn. It is fascinating to see that this is the only point in the course of her marriage with the banker that her imagination is vividly engaged, out of all proportion to the event:

sometimes my Imagination form'd an Idea of one
frightful thing, sometimes of another; sometimes
I thought he had discover'd me, and was come to
upbraid me with Ingratitude and Breach of Honour;
and every Moment I fancied he was coming up the
Stairs to Insult me; and innumerable fancies came
into my Head of what was never in his Head, nor
ever could be, unless the Devil had reveal'd it
to him. (141)

It is just as well that the banker turned up to meet Moll in 'a very handsome (Gentleman's) Coach and four Horses' (142) or we feel Moll might well have cried off! Moll fabricates another story to get the hue and cry off Jemmy's tail, and then settles down to what is a very dull piece of narrative, whatever Moll says of its virtue. Clearly it does not engage her imagination in the way that a glimpse of the storytelling Jemmy does. It is a classic example of the power of Moll's narrative energy over her didactic purpose. Fortunately it is short. Five years are covered in a rather shorter space than five minutes with Jemmy seen from an inn window. Her virtuous marriage to the banker is itself another echo of Moll's first marriage to the virtuous Robin, which also lasted five years, produced two children, and was equally rushed in terms of narrative space, and dull in terms of narrative energy.

After this there follows the lengthy history of Moll's five year spell of thieving. Five minutes, five years, and another five years; the different narrative lengths and energies show Moll's imaginative engagement or otherwise. The imaginative energy of the thieving years is such that many readers think only of these when recalling the book:

Readers thus have the strongest encouragement to remember only Moll's criminal years when thinking about her (or the novel), as Richetti has noticed does in fact happen so far as most readers are concerned. (143)

It is as if this excursion into theft, like Moll's many other deceits, creates a psychic nexus of deceit that engages Moll's storytelling power (which in the Puritan equation is also deceit) to the full. Moll certainly feels that the temptation to steal is so strong that the Devil must be involved (144). The image of the Devil, the Master of lies (a Master Defoe too was often likened to, in his capacity as story teller) thus reveals 'deceiving, which includes thieving and fictionalising, as promulgated from the same psychic source, and surrounded by the same lambent power. Interestingly the two other people at this point in the story who engage Moll's imagination fully are also associated with the Devil. Moll fears that Mother Midnight may 'be a Witch, or have ... Conversation with a Spirit' (45), and Jemmy is credited with similar abilities as we have seen. It is certainly the case that Moll cannot stop telling stories about her thieving days, despite the fact that they subvert any moral message she is trying to bring to bear. Moll recognises this herself and tries to conclude her story, but cannot stop her compulsive storytelling:

In this Condition, harden'd by Success, and resolving to go on, I fell into the Snare in which I was appointed to meet with my last Reward for this kind of Life: But even this was not yet, for I met with several successful Adventures more in this way of being undone. (146)

In the midst of this story telling, Moll tries to promulgate various moral interpretations. The more her imagination is engaged with the story however, the harder she finds it to produce 'reasons'. Moll's stories about stealing gold watches for example are translated into slightly off centre warnings about how to avoid pickpockets. Moll then tells the story of her 'Governess', ostensibly for the same purpose, to put 'this Matter out of doubt, and which may be an Instruction for Posterity in the Case of a Pick-pocket' (147). But instead Moll becomes involved in the story of her governess pure and simple, finishing with a quite different moral, and a quite different reason for telling the story:

I mention thus much of the History of this Woman here, the better to account for the concern she had in the wicked Life I was now leading. (148)

An excellent example of story being added to story for its own sake is that of Moll's encounter with the drunken baronet. This episode contains what is thought to be the well known oversight on Defoe's part, whereby Moll says that after robbing the baronet in a coach she 'never heard more of them' (149), and then proceeds to relate a great deal more about him. The omission of this phrase in the second edition of the work has been taken as evidence of Defoe's correction of this oversight (150). Yet there is much that is characteristic of Moll in this practice of seeming to finish a story, and then compulsively continuing it. This is not the first instance

the reader has had where Moll seems to draw a line under an adventure and produces the final moral, only to discover that her imagination is not stopped by this means (151). Moll usually then either adds more material to the episode, or a fresh story, almost in the manner of word suggestion. In the adventure with the baronet, a lengthy moral is drawn about the absurdity of the drunken man, and the dangers accompanying such conduct (152). This is then expanded into an inside view of what the thief thinks of her victim (153), and then in a seemingly inevitable process of imaginative connection, Moll shifts to another story about another woman who robs victims while indulging their sexual appetites. As if this succession of stories were not enough, Moll even adds intricate details about this creature's 'sham Gold Watch, that is a Watch of Silver Guilt, and a purse of Counters in her Pocket to be ready on all such Occasions' (154). In other words Moll is embroidering a story which is quite over the top to the moral purpose she is supposed to have in mind here, which is lost to view.

Any precursors to Tristram Shandy (1759-1767) must include Defoe's novels, especially Moll Flanders. Critics have noted Defoe's knowledge of Locke's theories of language, which included the theory of the association of ideas (155), but Locke's influence can be seen to have extended far beyond merely formal concerns into the creative material of Defoe's art, exactly as with Sterne. The comic interest in Locke's theories which Tristram Shandy produced seems to have obscured those works which deal seriously with these theories. The associations surrounding certain words for Moll are capable of vast

expansion into imaginatively exciting fantasies which are almost substantial to Moll. She is always led away by 'fine words' because of their associations. Likewise certain phrases trigger off more stories and ideas for Moll, which is one reason why they burst beyond her moral scheme so often. Like Tristram, Moll tries to control her stories, but the reverberations of her stories extend beyond her ability to control her narrative.

Sterne and Defoe show that the association of ideas is a source of massive creative power, and even of obsession. Like Sterne, Defoe makes use of the same association of ideas to control the work, even while for Moll (like Tristram) it is out of control, for by the repetition of key words and phrases Defoe utilises the reader's associational powers to recall previous episodes, and hence to give the book imaginative coherence.

Both Sterne and Defoe explore the uses of art through the double vision of the writing narrator coming up against the controlling hand of the Godlike author. Unfortunately for Defoe, the role of Godlike author sat less easily on him than on Sterne, for to the Puritan, however imitative of Providential pattern the artistic pattern tried to be, the dangerous connection of story telling with deceit could make the assumption of Godlike powers seem to be done in the Devil's cause.

Having told the reader the story of the drunken baronet, together with the additional stories it provokes, Moll returns home to tell her 'Governess' the 'Story'. The governess is 'so affected' by the story Moll relates that she wants to hear more of it (156). She therefore sends a friend to visit the baronet's house, to discover

what story he has concocted to explain away the robbery (157). The governess then adds her story to this one, and returns to Moll 'and tells me this Story' (158). Eventually, so fascinated by the story is the governess, she gets her friend to introduce her to the baronet to tell him a story. Once again her skill at storytelling is emphasised:

She was a Woman of an admirable Address, and wanted no Body to introduce her; she told her Tale much better than I shall be able to tell it for her, for she was a Mistress of her Tongue, as I have said already. (159)

It is evident that like Moll before him the baronet will soon open out under Mother Midnight's eloquence. As with previous episodes, the pages become thick with storytelling; 'I told her the Story' (160); 'Away she comes to me and tells me this Story' (161); 'she told her Tale' (162); 'Then he entered into a long Tale with her...she form'd a long Talk of that part' (163). The baronet can hardly stop repeating the story, and applying the moral to himself:

He would often make just Reflections also upon the Crime itself, and upon the particular Circumstances of it, with respect to himself; ... and he made the Moral always himself. (164)

But not we should note, and in this he is like Moll, sufficient to change his conduct for very long.

During her five years of thieving the word 'mother' receives another twist in the strange pattern that is forming. This occurs in the famous encounter that Moll has with a solitary child in the streets of London. It is a well known episode, for its imaginative power is great, and it is often held up as an example of Moll's 'hypocrisy' because of the inadequate moral she draws from it.

Again however, this conclusion offers little in the way of elucidating what is actually going on during this incident. It is a powerful incident, not only as it represents the most horrible crime Moll ever contemplates, but also in its effect upon Moll, for it is entirely untypical, as Moll points out. As with other incidents that really engage Moll's imagination, Moll sees this incident as the work of the Devil upon her mind:

the Devil put a Snare in my way of a dreadful Nature indeed, and such a one as I have never had before or since. (165)

What Moll does not see is that although the incident is untypical, it is not unrelated to the pattern of her life, especially the pattern of mothers. Moll tells the reader that 'the Devil put me upon killing the Child in the dark Alley, that it might not Cry' (166). She is aghast at her thoughts 'the very thought frightened me so that I was ready to drop down'. What Moll never asks is why such a thought occurred to her, for she has transferred its power to the Devil. But the intended act is her own thought, and it seems entirely unnecessary, for the child is neither frightened nor crying.

It has been suggested that Susan's hounding of Roxana is the revenge of all the children Roxana abandons (167). Moll also abandons her children because they pose a threat to her identity, to the next 'story' she wants to set up in a new disguise. This child is the equivalent to Moll of what Susan represents to Roxana, and as a result Moll attaches a threatening potential to the child that has nothing to do with anything the child is doing or saying. Moll contemplates killing the child in sudden terror of a cry that has not yet come. She feels she must eradicate this threat to her

identity. Yet she and the child are alone together. It seems to take Moll much twisting and turning through the alleyways of London before she encounters a 'Crowd of People' again (168). Then there is no threat.

In a later incident, Moll robs two other children in St. James's Park (169). Yet this incident assumes none of the magnitude of the incident with the solitary child, and Moll is evidently quite at ease about it, even to the extent of joking about not visiting 'Lady Betty'. Moll is in far more danger in the Park, for if the children had cried out she is surrounded by people who might catch her. But she feels safe in a crowd. It is when she faces a child alone that terror overtakes her.

The self justifications of Moll and her moralising after this incident are especially interesting, for she immediately imagines that the parents are negligent, effectively abandoning their child in fact. She then creates a further figure, the maid, and then her 'Fellow' who are also negligent of the child, so that they too become part of the child's abandonment. Simultaneously by the use of certain adjectives Moll builds up an image of her own motherly, caring attitudes towards children:

The last Affair left no great Concern upon me,
for as I did the poor Child no harm, I only
said to my self, I had given the Parents a just
Reproof for their Negligence in leaving the poor
little Lamb to come home by it self, and it would
teach them to take more Care of it another time. (170)

The moral that Moll draws is a marvellous example of her inadequacy nevertheless acting to point out the patterns of the book. Clearly she feels the episode is significant, and her imagination is fully engaged.

Her moralising tries to offer meaning, and to recreate some innocence for herself. Like most of Moll's moralisings however, they point quite beyond the 'moral' spectrum that she is trying to re-enter, that is society with its petty deceits and respectabilities, towards the larger Providential scheme that Defoe's pattern represents. The problem is that Moll lacks the power to see or recreate this pattern in 'her' narrative, and that she correlates the secular moral sphere with that which is beyond it. This is why her understanding is always inadequate. Moll's contemplated murder of a child, and her attempt to push child abandonment off onto other figures she has created, points to the fact that for both the old and the younger Moll, there is no resolution to the pattern of mothers who abandon their children, and indeed no note taken of the Providential warnings being offered. Moll finally resolves this pattern symbolically, by reclaiming a single child at the end of her story, but even the Moll who has seen sufficient of the workings of Providence to have a conversion experience, never sees the resolutions of patterns that the reader sees.

Back in the story, Moll continues stealing, and especially telling all the stories that enable her to steal. She who had been the victim of a 'cock and bull story' in Colchester learned the lesson thereafter of the value of fictionalising. Committed at last to Newgate, Moll tells a desperate story to plead for her life, claiming that the offence for which she has been charged is her first offence. Moll is sure that her story is effective; she has the story teller's need to be believed. Nevertheless, it has no effect upon her judges:

I cou'd see it mov'd others to Tears that heard me.

The Judges sat Grave and Mute, gave me an easy Hearing, and time to say all that I would, but saying neither Yes, or No to it, Pronounc'd the Sentence of Death upon me. (171)

This is of course another echo, but also a reversal, of Moll's first encounter with magistrates at Colchester, where Moll's story had been effective, and Moll had been taken in at Colchester 'as much as if I had been born in the Place' (172). Now Moll's judges are unmoved by the story of a woman who has become 'as naturally pleas'd and easie with the Place [Newgate], as if indeed I had been Born there' (173). The last jest Moll hears too comes from the court at her trial. As they do not believe Moll's 'story', so they jest about her earnest tale:

The Court would not allow that by any means, and made a kind of Jest of my intending to buy the Goods, that being no Shop for the Selling of any thing, and as to carrying them to the Door to look at them, the Maids made their impudent Mocks upon that, and spent their Wit upon it very much. (174)

The only antidote to this 'jest' against Moll is her own earnestness, and after a lifetime of simulated earnestness this attempt to return to the moral level of her young self at Colchester is not believed by the court.

Moll begins to repent. There is one word now that Moll does not 'understand', and it is not capable of double meaning or manipulation, only fixedly incomprehensible:

The Word Eternity represented itself with all its incomprehensible Additions, and I had such extended Notions of it, that I know not how to express them. (175)

Under the influence of this new word, and the minister who represents it to her, Moll tells her whole story to him:

In a word, I gave him an Abridgement of this whole History; I gave him the Picture of my Conduct for 50 Years in Miniature. (176)

The minister in turn is able to point out some kind of pattern, or meaning to Moll's story, lining her story up with another story:

[the minister] drew out such a Scheme of infinite Mercy, proclaim'd from Heaven to Sinners of the greatest Magnitude, that he left me nothing to say, that look'd like despair or doubting of being accepted. (177)

Moll's narrative at this point enters a stasis, for faced with Eternity, the deceitful story telling that is correlated with life in this book also stops. It is relieved by Moll's reprieve from the death sentence. Pushed back from eternity to 'Spirit and Life', Moll begins the process of story telling again, and the narrative picks up momentum.

Moll discovers another link with the past while in prison, finding Jemmy among the prisoners. Despite her penitence, she cannot tell the whole truth about herself. She tells a story instead that she has been mistaken for Moll Flanders, an old offender. Restored to life Moll has to create, or as the young minister puts it:

[he prayed] that my coming back as it were into Life again, might not be a returning to the Follies of Life. (178)

We have seen that art, or story telling in Defoe's Puritan scheme of things becomes a metaphor for life itself, forward moving but deceitful, both socially in the way that people manipulate language, and in its impermanence in the face of the truth of eternity. It is certainly the case that Moll seems inevitably to return to story telling as soon as she is returned to life.

Jemmy tells his 'History' which Moll repeats to the reader in some detail, noting that it is 'infinitely diverting' (179), despite its inappropriateness on a moral level. She almost gives the reader the history of the 'Gang of Thirteen' who are transported with her, having met another compulsive story teller in the ship's captain:

it would really well take up a History longer than mine to describe the degrees of Impudence, and audacious Villany that those Thirteen were arriv'd to; and the manner of their behaviour in the Voyage; of which I have a very diverting Account by me, which the Captain of the Ship, who carried them over gave me the Minutes of, and which he caus'd his Mate to write down at large. (180)

Of course the shadow of the compulsive story teller Defoe may be falling over Moll at this point too, for Defoe may well have seen a further publication in view. Yet it is entirely in character with Moll, and with Moll's experience of meeting story tellers and story collectors wherever she goes, for that is the nature of life.

The word 'money' which seems by now pretty well defined, nevertheless takes on a new meaning for Moll. She worries about being transported, and the minister worries about her relapse into sin if she is transported with the 'dreadful Gang' of fellow prisoners. Mother Midnight suggestively proffers the word 'Money' as an alleviation of the problem:

Why, you have Money, have you not? did you ever know one in your Life that was Transported, and had a Hundred Pound in his Pocket, I'll warrant you Child, says she. (181)

This passage is itself a verbal echo, for Moll responds to this suggestive innuendo with 'I Understood her presently'. This recalls the previous occasion when Mother Midnight had hinted at money as

the solution to Moll's problems (182), and Moll had also 'presently understood what she meant'. Moll is unaware of the significance of this phrase, as ever, but for the reader it sets the mother/child abandonment motif reverberating again. This is not fortuitous, and the reason is soon revealed, for Moll is off to Virginia where she will reclaim her son by her brother. In the earlier episode Moll had been about to abandon a child, one of many she abandons in the course of the book. Defoe thus sets up the mechanism of key words to recall the earlier episode, prior to the resolution of the mother/son/brother motif.

On board the ship, Moll discovers that the possession of money really is sufficient to make a 'gentlewoman', for a sight of Moll's money transforms her from transported felon to gentlewoman overnight:

Here says the Boatswain to him that was writing, is the Gentlewoman that the Captain spoke to you of. (183)

Jemmy proves himself fit mate for Moll, being keener if anything than Moll to hear the word 'gentleman' applied to himself. The moral Moll draws regarding Jemmy's reactions is one that the reader can only take seriously in the context of the understanding he now has of how luminous the words 'gentleman' and 'gentlewoman' are to Moll:

[Jemmy] was so reviv'd with the Account I gave him of the Reception we were like to have in the Ship, that he was quite another Man, and new vigour and Courage appear'd in his very Countenance; so true is it, that the greatest of Spirits, when overwhelm'd by their Afflictions, are subject to the greatest Dejections, and are the most apt to Despair and give themselves up. (184)

Jemmy seems to be another of the 'great' men of eighteenth century literature, like Fielding's Jonathon Wilde (1743), or the heroes of

Gay's Beggar's Opera (1728) whose attitudes reflect satirically on the values of their society, whose views they hold. Certainly those views have been exposed in Moll Flanders, under the impact of the changes of meaning given to words, and by the comparison of the stories told by Moll and Defoe respectively.

One of the last stories Moll hears is about her own past life in Virginia. It affects her extremely (185), as did the story her mother first told her about her transportation to Virginia. Moll is doubtful whether she should tell this story about her earlier days in Virginia, a doubt which recalls her doubt in the first Virginia episode as to whether she could reveal the story of her incest. As in the earlier episode, Moll's decision to keep the story secret from Jemmy as she had earlier kept the story of her incest secret from her brother/husband for a long while, puts her under immense pressure until she is forced to let it out:

It lay heavy upon my mind Night, and Day, and I could neither Sleep or Converse, so that my Husband perceiv'd it, and wonder'd what ail'd me, strove to divert me, but it was all to no purpose; he press'd me to tell him what it was troubled me, but I put it off, till at last importuning me continually, I was forc'd to form a Story, which yet had a plain Truth to lay it upon too;..... It was not a Story, as I thought that would bear telling, nor could I tell what might be the Consequences of it. (186)

It is a story however that resolves the pattern of mothers that runs through the book, which at last ceases to be a pattern of abandonment. Moll's mother had abandoned Moll, but subsequently found Moll again in the strange pattern in Moll's life. Moll then abandons her mother on discovering the incestuous nature of her marriage (itself a repeat of the Colchester episode of course) and at the same time abandons her children by this marriage, as she had abandoned her

children in Colchester, and as her mother had abandoned her.

Mother Midnight in a mirror image of Moll's real mother, had mothered Moll during Moll's delivery, and abandons Moll at the same time as Moll abandons her own child. Later however, Moll reclaims this 'mother', making another discovery at the same time which is another verbal echo, since Mother Midnight 'had a Sort of People about her, that were none of the honest ones that I had met with there before' (187). This strange 'mother' stays 'faithful to the last Moment' (188) to Moll, which partially lays to rest the image of Moll as an abandoned child which opened the book, and which followed Moll as an image throughout the book. This paves the way for Moll's mother to reclaim her. Years later in Virginia, Moll's mother reclaims Moll, albeit posthumously, by leaving Moll the legacy of an estate. The destitution that has always dogged Moll as another psychically terrifying possibility is finally laid to rest by a belated motherly provision.

Finally Moll herself, symbolically since she can only reclaim one child not all, also reclaims one of her abandoned children in Virginia, significantly the son of her brother/husband. Out of a dogged pattern of mothers, brothers, and abandoned children comes some kind of resolution.

The word 'gentlewoman' also receives its final interpretation during this episode. Money has restored Moll to the status of 'gentlewoman' on board the ship. Moll's 'understanding' of the word seems to rest on the side of the bawd with money in Colchester. Yet in Virginia the penitent Moll comes as close to a resolution of the word on the side of virtue as it is possible for her to do. The matter is

left gently ambivalent, in a passage that (as well as resolving the mother/child theme) is the last of many she does not quite 'understand', but where her lack of understanding is shown to have a positive outcome where complete comprehension might not:

my Son was at the Heels of the Messenger, and coming up into my Lodgings, ask'd the Fellow at the Door something, I suppose it was, for I did not hear it, so as to understand it, which was the Gentlewoman that sent him, for the Messenger said, there she is Sir, at which he comes directly up to me, kisses me, took me in his Arms, and embrac'd me with so much Passion, that he could not speak, but I could feel his Breast heave and throb like a Child that Cries, but Sobs, and cannot cry it out.

I Can neither express or describe the Joy, that touch'd my very Soul, when I found, for it was easy to discover that Part, that he came not as a Stranger, but as a Son to a Mother, and indeed as a Son, who had never before known what a Mother of his own was. (189)

Those who see Defoe as a primitive writer must be among those who do not know 'how to read' his work, for this is a passage of immense subtlety and tenderness. It is created from the changes in meaning that have accumulated around the word 'gentlewoman', so that when it appears in this last, verbally simple context, a whole range of emotions and echoes accompany it, drawing the young, confused Moll in Colchester through the whole range of episodes she has appeared in, until she is once again innocently confused about the word 'gentlewoman'. It is a merciful stroke that has much to do with the way the whole book tries to obviate judgement by understanding. Once again the reader understands more than Moll, and that understanding by now means more than mere comprehension, and takes on the meaning of sympathetic understanding.

So virtue is at last allied to the word 'gentlewoman', and to Moll, while insofar as Moll's reclaiming her son is a resolution of one of the patterns in Moll's story with all that it has shown the reader about hypocrisy, society, and life, Moll is not perhaps so far from that quality as might at first seem to be the case. The last pages of the book, and of Moll's story, are thick with variants on the words 'earnest' and 'sincerity'. And that is where Moll chooses to leave off her story, making a sort of resolution for another of the key terms in her book:

in sincere Penitence, for the wicked Lives we
have lived. (190)

Conclusion

It might be argued that Moll's regained virtue and sincerity at the end of her 'story' are but shabby affairs. This would be a judgement of the kind that Moll's book opens with, harsh, and with no reservations or exceptions that come from understanding. But the judgement that might seem to be warranted by this conclusion is obviated by structural elements in the book we have examined. It is obviated first by sympathy, by the involvement created by Moll's 'story', vigorously told from childhood to old age. It will also be obviated by the 'understanding' that Moll's story enforces, that the world is indeed made up of sham, shabby fronts, and storytellers. When Moll had virtue and sincerity she had been the pathetic dupe of society and other expert storytellers. The best she can manage at last is only an approximate virtue and a sincerity in terms of

the ideal, but Moll's story seems to indicate that such an ideal exists only on an ideal plane too, and not the real world.

Few other novels are so entirely concerned with people telling stories. One part of Moll Flanders is thus about fiction as it operates in life, as part of life. There is a sense in which Moll's contacts are less with people than with people's stories. The nature of society is revealed as a sham for the most part, the stories people tell forming the mask that they wear to meet a society of fellow storytellers. Moll has told, listened to, and interpreted, lying stories which Defoe reveals to be at times almost Devilish. He therefore examines the ugliest side of fiction, at its most dangerous and delusive when it looks most real.

But Moll is also trying to tell a true story, giving the reader both the truth about her deceitful life story, and a true interpretation of it. She is after all trying to write a spiritual autobiography. Unlike Crusoe however, she is one of those souls who has had a conversion experience, but is never able to see the whole pattern of her life so as to be able to lay it clearly before the reader. Defoe created Moll with this ignorance to overcome the problem that Crusoe, and indeed many real life spiritual autobiographers had incurred, whereby their efforts to point out, or as they would see it, to reveal the Providential pattern in their lives had been seen by critics as a wilful creation of those patterns.

Moll's inadequate grasp of Providential pattern has the beneficial effect of showing her to be always seeking to understand

the pattern, rather than being herself its knowledgeable creator. That 'hypocrisy' that Moll has so long been accused of, the result of her moral interpretations never quite squaring with her story, is in fact her certificate of honesty. Where Crusoe's moralisings were seen as evidence of his hypocrisy, pointing out patterns in his story that were indeed there, but as a result seeming, far more than Moll, to be the actual controlling agent of 'his' book, Moll in contrast never succeeds in pointing out any real patterns. Even the starkly obvious mother/brother pattern eludes her grasp.

So in a strange way Defoe rescues his arch-hypocrite from the accusation of lying, at least as regards manipulating her story to manifest the recognised pattern of salvation which had been a feature of so many spiritual autobiographies, and indeed of Crusoe's narrative. It is this paradox which accounts for the confused sense among critics that even while Moll is a hypocrite (not anyway a discovery since the editor points this out in the preface) she is also oddly truthful. The very fact that she continually misses seeing the pattern in full means that she is certainly not the 'artful' creator of meaning which had labelled Crusoe, and was to label Pamela, liars.

Defoe is the creator of the patterning by which he sought to confirm Moll's sense of truth in her life. This is the highest estimate of fiction, with Defoe acting as the artist imitating Providential pattern. In Moll Flanders Defoe seems to have held the balance between art as deceit, and art as the purveyor of truth. He is pulling the strings so an affirmatory view of art

triumphs, and one which endorsed a Providential view of life.

But after all, pulling the strings through art is all that is happening. Having saved his heroine from seeming to create (and therefore to fictionalise) her life pattern, Defoe himself was left with the burden of artistic creation. And however hard Defoe tried to push his artistic pattern towards an approximation of Providential pattern, his work could only be a creation and not a discovery. It was therefore ultimately a lie, if subjected to harsh analysis, and if a lie, one that was dangerously close to blasphemy.

It must have been an uneasy exercise for Defoe, and Roxana moves away from such an affirmatory view of art, back into the sort of view that justified the burning of novels. Roxana exemplifies the fear of fiction I am examining in this thesis, a fear which produced works of fiction which ultimately reject the practice of fiction. Defoe wrote Roxana, and in a brilliant denouement exposed the evil basis of fiction (as he saw it) in a manner that makes it as much of a felt experience as Moll's story had been. After Roxana Defoe wrote no more major works of fiction. How could he indeed, when Roxana had gone so deeply into the workings of the artist's mind, and shown it to be a place of frighteningly amoral creativity? In the next chapter we will examine what happens to the Puritan author when fear of fiction triumphs over the affirmation of fiction that Moll Flanders had been.

Chapter 6 - Roxana

In Moll Flanders as we have seen, the book sets up a creative tension between Moll's double understanding (that is that the world is all lies, and that the world has its truth) and the reader's double but larger understanding that a depraved world is indeed all lies, but that a pattern manifesting Providential truth may inhere in those very lies. As we have also seen, Defoe achieves this effect from the structural patterning that is evident in Moll's apparently purely sequential story. Moll Flanders is thus a genuinely pioneering novel, establishing structural patterns as a feature of the realistic novel that was to become the 'norm' in the nineteenth-century novel. Fiction could be used to convey truth it seemed, and the claim continued to be valid for a later century even when the truth had become (for many writers) a more relative quality than God's Providential truth.

Roxana is evidence however that for Defoe this justification for the writing of fiction was not so easy as it was to become for a later generation of novelists. If he had created an image of Providence operating in the world, it was nevertheless his creation. Roxana is evidence that Defoe was happier when he set his protagonists about burning books rather than writing them. Roxana takes the results of the very moderate experiment in fictional justification that Moll Flanders represents, and ruthlessly destroys it, showing fiction instead as glitteringly beautiful, but entirely evil, which has therefore to be destroyed. Defoe thus used the vehicle of a realistic novel to warn readers against the dangers of fiction, and

especially of realistic fiction. In this respect his endeavour was the same as that of Samuel Richardson over twenty years later, and their two anti-realistic works, Roxana and Clarissa show marked similarities of theme. Clearly for both of these authors the accommodation of the Puritan with the novelist was very uneasy, and it was one which could ultimately take place only in works the aim of which was to discredit the writing of fiction.

Much more than Moll, whose world is social, Roxana is about the interior creativity of the artist's mind. Roxana is the true Muse of Defoe, the woman in whom his deep seated fear, and his equally deep seated love of fiction came together. Because of his fear of fiction, Defoe had to maintain control over Roxana, and not only reject her himself in order to carry his warnings against fiction, but also to give the reader good cause to reject her. In this respect Defoe was more successful than Richardson, for many readers find it difficult to reject Lovelace whereas few find it difficult to reject Roxana. We owe this to two things, one of which is the reader's periodic awareness of Defoe's latent control of Roxana (and this despite the total world she tries to create in 'her' narrative), the other of which (an aspect of the first) is the strange but brilliant ending to the book. Defoe seems to have been aware of the attractions of Roxana's art, but without falling into the Devil's party himself. This control of his didactic purpose was a development of Moll Flanders where, as we have seen, Defoe maintained a Godlike authorial control through the structure of the book, and thus kept it progressing steadily towards the Providential

theme he wanted to endorse. In Roxana however Defoe dropped the omnipresent nature of his control for an apparently partial control, appearing at crucial points only in the narrative. This was no accident, but the means Defoe adopted in order to maintain authorial distance, and to allow Roxana room in effect to practise her evil narrative arts and control.

In order to examine the separation Defoe set up between himself and Roxana, we will start once again with the title page and preface to the work. One of the obvious features of the title page to Roxana, unlike the title page to Robinson Crusoe or Moll Flanders for example, is that it is entirely concerned with names rather than incident: 'Roxana', 'the Fortunate Mistress', 'Mademoiselle de Beleau', 'the Countess de Wintesheim', 'Being the Person known by the Name of the Lady Roxana in the time of Charles II'. The preface immediately following this then makes the following extraordinary announcement, in view of all the names that have preceded it:

The Scene is laid so near the Place where the Main Part of it was transacted, that it was necessary to conceal Names and Persons;...

It is not always necessary that the Names of Persons should be discover'd, tho' the History may be many Ways useful. (1)

The only explanation I can offer for this phenomenon is that Defoe was trying to establish a separation between himself as the author who in effect 'knows all', and the 'Beautiful Lady' Roxana, who has a different purpose and wants to keep certain things secret. Knowing the names, locations, and times of Roxana's story from the title page places the author and reader in a different position to

Roxana, who is trying to mask these facts.

We can assume that Roxana does want to mask these facts, and that the 'editor' is doing her bidding in effect, because the remainder of the book, which is very much under Roxana's apparent control, also fails to disclose names or places. The person who does disclose the names, and is therefore in the know all position of real author, is also someone with very different aims to Roxana. At the start of the book in fact, the author is exposing Roxana's arts by thrusting the truth into her narrative - a feature that returns at key points.

Another indication that Defoe meant to effect a separation at the start of the book lies in the opening paragraph of the book when compared to the title page. Roxana announces that she was brought to England when she was 'about ten Years old' (2), by her parents who fled from religious persecution in France 'about the Year 1683' (3). This means that the year of Roxana's birth was 1673. The title page had announced that Roxana was 'the Person known by the Name of the Lady Roxana in the time of Charles II'. The discrepancy between Roxana's own declaration of her birth date and the time that she is meant from the title page to have been a full grown woman at the court of Charles II is as obvious as the title page's list of names, followed by a denial of all names. Charles II died in early 1685, and even the precocious Roxana was not likely to have been a 'Lady' at his court at the age of twelve, and certainly not the sort of 'Lady' that Roxana shows herself to be at court. Either the date or the king is incorrect. It is a 'mistake' however that Defoe intended to make.

Paul Alkon suggests that Defoe deliberately blurred the reigns of Charles II and George I (in whose reign Roxana could indeed have been a 'Lady' according to a chronology that starts in 1673) in order to suggest the corruption pertaining at the court of George I by reference to the earlier corrupt reign:

His [Defoe's] anachronisms in Roxana are "events ... misplaced with regard to each other," not with respect to calendar time outside the novel.

On that misplacement depends Defoe's formal intention of satirizing eighteenth-century society by showing ways in which it is no better than the court of Charles II. If the scene is put entirely in the eighteenth century, the satiric force of comparisons with a notoriously dissolute period vanish, although Roxana would still be a devastating picture of eighteenth-century high life. Conversely the implicit satirical meaning would either vanish or diminish in power if Roxana had been set entirely in the seventeenth century. (4)

This seems to me to be exactly what Defoe was trying to do. The interest from the point of view of this chapter however lies not in the social comment Defoe was making, but rather in the fact that it is Defoe who is making it, i.e. that he is the artist, and is definitely separate from Roxana, who obviously could not have decided to operate in two time spheres in order to make a social comment.

Thus at the start of the narrative two major discrepancies occur between the content of the book, and the title page. These were intended to set up a similar kind of separation between the author, and the narrator, as was operating in Moll Flanders. The difference between the two works is that in Moll Flanders the separation is visibly maintained in the structure of the book, whenever Moll's story and inadequate moral interpretations come up

against Defoe's story, with its patterning of key words and episodes. In Roxana however, after the initial separation established in the opening pages, Roxana reverts to controlling 'her' own narrative. This happens because Defoe wanted to reinforce the sense of Roxana as artist, which was intended to be a symbol of, and indeed the vehicle for, her evil and deceit.

Defoe's separation from Roxana which he establishes at the start of the book does not become a forgotten feature of the narrative however, for Defoe assumes (or resumes) his control at critical points in the narrative, as we have said. These reappearances serve to remind the reader of Defoe's authorial presence, and thus to distance the reader from Roxana's narrative control. In the case of the final authorial appearance at the end of the book, Defoe thereby exposes not only Roxana's pretensions, but especially the dangerous pretensions of the realistic artist. In order to make his point as forcibly as possible however, it was important that Roxana should seem to be autonomous for large stretches of the book, and appear to be an artist with an artist's power, not a mere authorially controlled character. It was also important that the reader experience for himself the magnificent delusions and temptations of art, in order that his rejection, when it occurred, should have the vehemence that accompanies experience. Defoe knew as well as any author that didacticism alone was not enough, and like a good satirist he knew that for moralism to have real impact, the reader must be implicated and involved.

After his initial appearance then, Defoe leaves Roxana to set up 'her' own narrative. And very brilliantly she does it, which was

of course Defoe's intention.

As Roxana shapes the world around her, so she shapes the narrative that describes that world. The reader is continually made aware that Roxana is apparently writing the narrative that he is reading. Direct apostrophes are made to the reader, many of them highly rhetorical or directional. Roxana discusses her editorial policy, what should be omitted, or added, and what is 'indecent', or otherwise fit or unfit for the reader. She also points out the connections between various parts of her narrative, drawing out the parallels that were left implicit in Moll Flanders, linking past and present in a way that indicates that everything in her story is known, and prepared for reader presentation. On one level, Roxana is effectively about Roxana's artistic control and its effects, and we must examine this in detail to understand the book.

Roxana effects her control on two levels, that of reader control, and control of situations and characters within the book, which is synonymous with her life. These two levels are not of course always readily distinguishable since a sophisticated mechanism of control in life may well effect control on the reader when turned into narrative. The key feature noted in Moll Flanders as evidence of Defoe's control of the book was the business of repeating episodes and words, worked out in intricate detail with an insistence almost amounting to the obvious, which nevertheless escaped Moll.

Roxana in contrast is a far more self conscious artist. It is to her that the reader seems to owe his sense of structure in

the work. Evidence of narrative planning for example occurs in references forwards and backwards to previous and forthcoming actions. In this connection certain phrases, and their variants are repeated over and over again: 'But of that hereafter' (5); 'But to return to my Story' (6); 'But to shorten the Story' (7); 'As shall appear by and by, in its Place' (8); 'But I shall come to this again' (9); 'I must remember it here' (10); 'I should in this Place mention' (11); 'But of that hereafter. I must now go back to another Scene, and join it to this End of my Story' (12).

These phrases cut across any sense that Roxana's narrative is loose, or unprepared. Within two pages of the opening of the book for example, Roxana is pointing to its connection with 'the Sequel':

Being to give my own Character, I must be excus'd to give it as impartially as possible, and as if I was speaking of another-body; and the Sequel will lead you to judge whether I flatter myself or no. (13)

Since Roxana knows, and is therefore in control of the means of representation of 'the Sequel', we could not strictly speaking say that it will confirm her impartiality, as she here suggests. Rather this paragraph offers more evidence of her artistic control and manipulation.

Similarly, commenting on Amy's extreme fidelity as a servant during Roxana's period of destitution, Roxana points ahead to Amy's last, terrible act of loyalty at the end of the book:

tho' I acknowledg'd her Kindness and Fidelity, yet it was but a bad Coin that she was paid in at last, as will appear in its Place. (14)

Roxana repeats this with slight variation a few pages later:

I have often wonder'd at the faithful Temper of
the poor Girl; for which I but ill requited her
at last. (15)

Subsequently Roxana reasserts her responsibility for Amy's evil
acts yet again, when she takes the jeweller as a lover:

never was a Maid so true to a Mistress in such
dreadful Circumstances as I was in; nor was what
follow'd more her own Fault than mine, who led
her almost into it at first, and quite into it
at last. (16)

The first-time reader does not know what 'it' is at this stage
('it' refers to Roxana putting Amy into bed with the jeweller, who
is at this stage her own lover). He might be forgiven therefore
for assuming that 'it' refers once again to 'the Sequel'. And in
a way it does, since Amy's descent into sin via the same path as
her mistress is what creates Amy's sense of total kinship with
Roxana. Thereafter as Roxana's 'agent', all of Amy's acts become
in effect Roxana's acts. There is little surprise about Roxana's
last bad act, (although its exact nature may take the breath away)
for it is well prepared for by her constant references to 'the
Sequel'.

Other episodes are linked to future actions in the same way.
After the death of the jeweller, Roxana confirms the rumour that
he was murdered, and his jewels taken away by the murderers, in
order to conceal the fact that the jewels were in fact left in her
keeping. This as she also explains, was to have consequences in
the future; 'But I sorely repented this Part afterward, as you shall
hear' (17). As a result this episode is not quite finished and
forgotten with the murder, but is instead fed into the reader's memory
by Roxana's connecting phrases, ready for retrieval and placing at

the appropriate point in the story.

The all important Turkish dress and Turkish mannerisms, which play such a large part in Roxana's story and the last terrible 'Sequel', make their first appearance much earlier, during Roxana's 'Grand Tour' with the Prince. Lest the reader were in any doubt about their significance however, Roxana points it out:

Here [Naples] my Lord bought me a little Female Turkish Slave, who being Taken at Sea by a Malthese Man of War, was brought in there; and of her I learnt the Turkish language; their Way of Dressing, and Dancing, and some Turkish or rather Moorish Songs, of which I made Use, to my Advantage, on an extraordinary Occasion, some Years after, as you shall hear in its Place. (18)

Narrative organisation comes thick on the pages of this episode. Roxana reminds the reader that she is writing the narrative, by telling him of her decision not to write about her travels (19). She draws attention to her editing process with the 'tag' 'I must not, however, omit' (20), and finally she points to the future, and hints at the eventual outcome of her affair with the Prince. Little is left to chance, or mere chronology with Roxana:

I have often thought of this Noble Person, on that Account; had he been but half so true, so faithful and constant to the Best Lady in the World, I mean his Princess; how glorious a Virtue had it been in him? and how free had he been from those just Reflections which touch'd him, in her behalf, when it was too late. (21)

Roxana's narrative is so well organised that even seeming errors of the kind that Moll makes, announcing that an episode is finished but then referring to it again, and adding material to it, are perfectly well accounted for by Roxana. Thus for example, Roxana announces after her brewer husband disappears 'I never saw my Husband more'; but all is well, for she adds three crucial words

'except as hereafter' (22).

Roxana is thoroughly aware of the need to arrange thematic coherence and unity in her book. 'I must go on a little with that Part' says Roxana at the point where she is trying to find her children, 'in order to bring the subsequent Parts of my Story together' (23). And bring them together she does, so that the reader has a sense not only of Roxana's writing, formed by her apostrophes and editorial link phrases which point out the connections between episodes, but also a sense that her book is a very good book, controlled, structured, and unified.

So Roxana achieves the literary coup that neither Robinson Crusoe nor Moll could manage, and that is the effective imaginative integration of all the parts of her story. There is no need for Roxana to promise books of sermons to reinforce her moral message as both Crusoe and Moll are obliged to. The preface too, in appreciation of this, makes no doubtful comparison of one part against another, rightly pointing out that Roxana reproaches herself 'in the most passionate Manner' (24). Roxana indulges in no one line clichés about her 'Case', as Moll does. She is altogether a more intelligent (and therefore in the Puritan equation depraved) artist. As a result, the judgements she does make about the various episodes are conspicuous for being appropriate:

I have, I confess, wonder'd at the Stupidity
that my intellectual Part was under all that while;
what Lethargick Fumes doz'd the Soul; and how it
was possible that I, who in the Case before, where
the Temptation was many ways more forcible, and the
Arguments stronger, and more irresistable, was yet
under a continued Inquietude on account of the wicked
Life I led, could now live in the most profound
Tranquillity, and with an uninterrupted Peace, nay,

even rising up to Satisfaction, and Joy, and yet in a more palpable State of Adultery than before; for before, my Gentleman who call'd me Wife, had the Pretence of his Wife being parted from him, refusing to do the Duty of her Office as a Wife to him; as for me, my Circumstances were the same; but as for the Prince, as he had a fine and extraordinary Lady, or Princess, of his own; so he had two or three Mistresses more besides me, and made no Scruple of it at all. (25)

In this passage Roxana compares her two love affairs with the landlord/jeweller, and the Prince, but with none of that inadequate incongruity that Moll evokes as she tries to draw sense from her relationship with the Bath lover, without even noticing echoes from her previous relationships. Roxana's artistic ability is such that she can relate and compare these two episodes (which follow one another like nature and its mirror) and form a judgement that is entirely appropriate and indeed exactly what an intelligent reader would make of these two episodes.

Finally, like everything else in Roxana's book, her judgements are integrated with the rest of the narrative by being prepared for. Thus Roxana's acquiescence in the Prince's rejection of her after the death of his wife, and the moral judgement she makes on herself for not following his example and repenting might seem arbitrary, and perhaps 'tacked on' for effect in the manner of Moll's one liners, were it not that one part of Roxana's relationship with the Prince was always her strange desire, expressed on several occasions, that the Prince should repent and leave her (26). Similarly, and most importantly, Roxana's repeated claim to take responsibility for Amy's actions prepares the way for the reader to accept her final judgement on herself that 'the Blast of Heaven

seem'd to follow the Injury done the poor Girl, by us both' (27), when an initial, and unprepared analysis of the event might seem to exempt Roxana from the guilt of the act.

Thus Roxana's writing has all the signs of being a well organized, structured, and imaginatively cohesive work. This structuring is the means by which Roxana effects both character and reader control. Her motivation for this narrative control is quite straightforward. Firstly as the narrative itself reveals, controlling those around her by her own carefully prepared art works is endemic to Roxana. Although her story seems to work against her, Roxana's preparation, and perfectly adequate judgements upon herself in effect prevent a worse judgement. Her effort is to enclose the book, admitting only those conclusions that Roxana has allowed, enacting on the reader the same control over their vision that has been her entire motivation in life. The book becomes another of her 'retreats' (of which we shall say more), her narrative the performance she gives.

For the inner audience of the book, and for the reader, Roxana is always staging 'scenes'. What is so interesting about these scenes is that they are based on two formative experiences of her early life. These experiences are her destitution, and her relief from destitution by the landlord/jeweller. Thereafter all further representations of a similar nature are realistic not real, drawing from the materials of nature in the two seminal actions at the beginning of the work. Even this formative material can be ordered and manipulated, since Roxana writes from a retrospective point of view, but the repetition of these 'scenes' in increasingly artificial

forms indicates the nature of these experiences as the bedrock of 'real' experience from which Roxana the artist draws her material.

The first occasion the reader sees Roxana in a little 'scene', she sets it up like a tableau ready prepared for the addition of the requisite moral conclusion. Typically however, the reader is not the only audience, since part of the effectiveness of the scene resides in its being viewed 'simultaneously' by an audience within the work, whose reactions Roxana draws attention to as cues to the reader. The reader by this means becomes in effect part of the same audience watching Roxana, like those within the book, thus breaking down the barriers between life and art, though ironically in order to give maximum artistic effect to the 'scene'. For the reader the experience is peculiarly acute. The sense of then and now, inner and outer, disappear into one contemporary audience, looking at one particular, memorable 'scene'. Roxana establishes herself as an emblem. The old aunt, together with the 'poor Woman in her Company', form the inner audience, and the reader joins them in looking on, invited by Roxana to 'judge' the scene:

You shall judge a little of my present Distress by the Posture she found me in: I had five little Children, the Eldest was under ten Years old, and I had not one Shilling in the House to buy them Victuals, but had sent Amy out with a Silver Spoon, to sell it, and bring home something from the Butcher's; and I was in a Parlour, sitting on the Ground, with a great Heap of old Rags, Linnen, and other things about me, looking them over, to see if I had any thing among them that would Sell or Pawn for a little Money, and had been crying ready to burst myself, to think what I should do next. (28)

The inner audience reacts suitably to the scene. Roxana even implicitly recognises the reader as being present at the scene for she increases the number of witnesses to three, although there were only two actually present on this occasion:

when they saw me; how I look'd, for my Eyes were swell'd with crying, and what a Condition I was in as to the House, and the Heaps of Things that were about me, and especially when I told them what I was doing, and on what Occasion, they sat down like Job's three Comforters, and said not one Word to me for a great while, but both of them cry'd as fast, and as heartily as I did. (29)

Roxana repeats this image of herself later in the book, purportedly in order to make a moral point. Bearing in mind the effect this 'scene' had had on the audience previously, it might well be thought that Roxana stages the scene again in order to recall the previous benevolent reaction even while she ostensibly judges herself:

I, that knew what this Carcass of mine had been but a few Years before; how overwhelm'd with Grief, drown'd in Tears, frighted with the Prospect of Beggary, and surrounded with Rags, and Fatherless Children; that was pawning and selling the Rags that cover'd me, for a Dinner, and sat on the Ground, despairing of Help, and expecting to be starv'd, till my Children were snatch'd from me, to be kept by the Parish; ... I, that was left so entirely desolate, friendless, and helpless, that I knew not how to get the least Help to keep me from starving; that I should be carress'd by a Prince, for the Honour of having the scandalous Use of my Prostituted Body, common before to his Inferiours. (30)

Thus the original scene of destitution is being recreated over and over again for Roxana's purposes, with Roxana thoroughly aware of the sympathy that is recreated with the repetition of a scene in which the reader had been one of a participating audience.

Because of Roxana's controlling apparatus, most especially the link phrases she interpolates to establish thematic unity, the reader is never able to forget, even when Roxana's narrative seems closest to spontaneity, that she is recalling, recreating and controlling. Not surprisingly therefore, the last time Roxana recreates this scene she is self-consciously using it, this time to prove to the reader that among all her wickedness she had done something that 'had the Face of doing good':

I must go back here, after telling openly the wicked things I did, to mention something, which however, had the Face of doing good; I remember'd, that when I went from England, which was fifteen Years before, I had left five little Children, turn'd out, as it were, to the wide World, and to the Charity of their Father's Relations; the Eldest was not six Years old, for we had not been marry'd full seven Years when their Father went away.

After my coming to England, I was greatly desirous to hear how things stood with them; and whether they were all alive or not; and in what Manner they had been maintain'd; and yet I resolv'd not to discover myself to them, in the least. (31)

This is a classic example of Roxana's strange manipulative control. 'I must go back here' is an authorial link which creates thematic unity, recalling once again the earlier episode, and drawing it forward for the next stage in the narrative. Roxana also introduces a special plea for herself, in that she openly admits the wicked actions of her life. By that 'honesty' however, Roxana makes a convoluted bid for sympathy. Once again therefore the sense of artifice is strong, although the image Roxana offers is that of an actual event in her life. This action is both a real psychic force to her, and the source of creative power, for Roxana's artistry is natural to her. The words 'Face', 'scene' and 'act'

reinforce this sense of an artifice that is the most natural element in Roxana's character.

The passage prepares for her future evil act too, for this act has only the 'Face' of good, and ultimately it harms Susan, her daughter, dreadfully. Yet to the first-time reader a benevolent impression is created. Like Roxana's double speech, Roxana cannot be accused of lying, for she in a manner admits it is not actually a good act - yet since this fact is not clear until later, she is certainly not telling the truth.

Thus with Roxana we always have the image of the natural, rather than mere naturalness, and frequently we have the image of an image. Immediately following her desertion by the brewer Roxana, as we have seen, is relieved by the jeweller/landlord. This episode is also a seminal one, like the original scene of destitution. Roxana uses it as the creative source from which she draws material for later 'scenes' which she constructs, controls and manipulates. We can best see the nature of this encounter as the source of subsequent material if we, like Roxana, compare it with the episode which immediately follows it, that of Roxana's liaison with the Prince.

In the first episode for example, the landlord had realised that Roxana was really starving. He had immediately replenished her, paying for a meal of 'a large very good Leg of Veal; the other a Piece of the Fore-Ribs of Roasting Beef' costing '11s and 3d' (32). Roxana is embarrassed at the lack of a dinner service to eat this food from:

it was happy there was none to Dine but he and I, for I had but six Plates left in the House, and but two Dishes. (33)

The landlord tells Roxana that she need not worry about this

(genuine) lack of plates:

he knew how things were, and bade me make no
Scruple about bringing out what I had, he hop'd
to see me in a better Plight. (34)

He also makes Roxana drink 'three or four Glasses of Wine' to cheer her up, and the relief for Roxana is real and heartfelt.

Subsequently in the staged version of destitution relieved that Roxana sets up with the Prince, the Prince produces a table set with:

two Decanters, one of Champaign, and the other of
Water, six Silver Plates, and a Service of fine
Sweet-Meats in fine China Dishes, on a Sett of
Rings standing up about twenty Inches high, one
above another; below, was three roasted Partridges,
and a Quail. (35)

The fare is altogether more luxurious where the need is altogether less, the six plates of silver now, the meat more exotic. But Roxana draws from the original scene, replicating her part there, apologising once again for the inadequacy of her supply of plates:

I told him, I believ'd his Highness wou'd not take
it ill, that I was not Furnish'd fit to Entertain
a Person of his Rank. (36)

The Prince, like the landlord, makes up this 'deficiency' by offering Roxana his own plate. The difference of course is that in the earlier episode the need was real. In the later episode the need is only realistic, with Roxana brilliantly and believably recreating material drawn from life.

In the same way, the landlord/jeweller, recognising Roxana's financial need, and striving to hint at future abundance 'pull'd

out a silk Purse, which had three-score Guineas in it, and threw them into my Lap' (37). In the second episode, Roxana's altogether more artificial need promotes a more symbolic gesture from the unwitting Prince, who simply 'pour'd the Sweet-Meats into my Lap' as a symbol of his abundance (38).

In the second episode too, Roxana acts the part of desolate widow under 'obligations' which had been a reality (except as to literal widowing) in the first episode. The differences between the early episode and the later are subtle but marked. Roxana admits that her tears are 'a little forc'd' (39) in the second episode, her 'obligations' more apparent than real since she is actually very well provided for. Yet Roxana has learned how effective the earlier material was in achieving its desired end, and from that episode she creates the second. Thus her clothing in the first encounter was enforcedly simple:

I had good Linnen left still, yet I had but a poor Head-Dress, and no Knots, but old Fragments; no Necklace, no Ear-Rings; all those things were gone long ago for meer Bread.

However, I was tight and clean, and in better Plight than he had seen me in a great while. (40)

In the second encounter Roxana has learned that such costume can gain a protector. The simplicity of her costume in this episode is all part of a carefully prepared realism:

I was dress'd in a kind of half-Mourning, had turn'd off my Weeds, and my Head, tho' I had yet no Ribbands or Lace, was so dress'd, as fail'd not to set me out with Advantage enough, for I began to understand his Meaning. (41)

In the first episode too, the landlord/jeweller had promised Roxana 'Kindness and Tenderness' (42), and has the good sense to

add money to the 'usual Courtship of Words, which were often found to have very little Meaning' (43). He arrives with a:

Contract in Writing, wherein he engag'd himself to me; to cohabit constantly with me; to provide for me in all Respects as a Wife. (44)

In the second episode, the Prince falls into Roxana's carefully prepared realistic reproduction of the earlier episode:

I prepar'd not my Rooms only, but myself;...

When he came into my Room, I fell down at his Feet, before he cou'd come to salute me, and with Words that I had prepar'd, full of Duty and Respect, thank'd him for his Bounty and Goodness to a poor desolate Woman, oppress'd under the Weight of so terrible a Disaster, and refus'd to rise till he would allow me the Honour to kiss his Hand. (45)

As a result of Roxana's repeating the original episode with such strategic realism, the Prince unwittingly repeats the jeweller's actions. He too promises to be a 'Friend' (46), and puts this in writing, like the jeweller's 'Contract', by sending his servant 'with a Warrant to his Banker to pay me two Thousand Livres a Year, during my Stay in Paris' (47)

In the earlier encounter, Roxana had been worried by the disparity in social circumstances between herself and the jeweller. The difference is a real one, as Roxana points out:

There was a vast Difference between our Circumstances, and that in the most essential Part; namely, That he was Rich, and I was Poor; that he was above the World, and I infinitely below it; that his Circumstances were very easie, mine miserable, and this was an Inequality the most essential that cou'd be imagin'd. (48)

The Prince in contrast himself points out Roxana's inequality in status, but like the jeweller he restores Roxana to equality, albeit on the grounds of her beauty rather than the harsh reality

of money which had been the barrier in the first episode:

Now, Madam, says the Prince, give me leave to lay aside my Character; let us talk together with the Freedom of Equals; my Quality sets me at a Distance from you, and makes you ceremonious; your Beauty exalts you to more than an Equality. (49)

Finally, in a last series of parallels, both men make their pretext for staying the night with Roxana 'A Night's Lodging' and a 'spare Lodging for one Night' (50). In both cases the 'Lodging' is a euphemism, and in both cases Roxana yields at first asking, with a little show of reluctance, under the pressure of her real (in the early episode) and artificial (in the second) 'infinite Obligations' (51).

The parallels between 'these two such particular Cases' as Roxana calls them (52) are marked, but lest the reader were in any doubt, it is Roxana who presses the point home, making comparisons between the two episodes and pointing out connections in a manner that encourages if not enforces the reader to do the same. It is Roxana too who points out that the temptations of poverty experienced in the first episode are similar in their effect to the different temptations of vanity and pride which assailed her in the second episode, and it is she too who makes the connections between the 'first Attack' and the 'second':

I had now no Poverty attending me; on the contrary, I was Mistress of ten Thousand Pounds before the Prince did any thing for me; had I been Mistress of my Resolution; had I been less obliging, and rejected the first Attack, all had been safe; but my Virtue was lost before, and the Devil, who had found the Way to break-in upon me by one Temptation, easily master'd me now, by another; and I gave myself up to a Person, who, tho' a Man of high Dignity, was yet the most tempting and obliging, that ever I met with in my Life. (53)

Immediately after this passage Roxana presses the connections between the two episodes still harder, by pointing out that her scruples as to 'yielding' at the first request were the same on both occasions:

I had the same Particular to insist upon here with the Prince, that I had with my Gentleman before; I hesitated much at consenting, at first asking. (54)

Roxana's comparisons of the two episodes recognises the reality of the first which the second lacks. For the artist Roxana however, it is the second episode which offers more pleasure, even joy, and puts her under far less pressure. Clearly where Roxana feels in control because the 'work' is of her own creation, she feels no fear. As we shall see later with regard to Susan, it is the truthful and real that evoke the deepest anxiety in Roxana.

Roxana draws the two stories together to emphasise the moral, pointing out that the episodes are images of one another:

It is for this Reason, that I have so largely set down the Particulars of the Caresses I was treated with by the Jeweller, and also by this Prince; not to make the Story an Incentive to the Vice,... but to draw the just Picture of a Man enslav'd to the Rage of his vicious Appetite. (55)

Drawing the picture is of course exactly what Roxana is doing. Her book is the created image of the images she has created. Placing the episodes side by side in this way concentrates the reader's attention on both the similarities and the differences. But it is a single difference that is really crucial, and that difference lies in a single fact, and that is that the basis for both scenes is Roxana's poverty, and this is real in the first episode and artificial in the second. The second episode is a very realistic

version; it convinces the Prince. As for Roxana, she had observed herself carefully and minutely in the first 'scene' with the jeweller/landlord, and reproduced it for her own purposes. She is an artist in life situations, creating with a sort of con-man brilliance (like Lovelace later) the sort of career she wants. Like Lovelace too, she relies on realism in her creation, that is, she relies on creating material that looks as life-like, or natural, as possible. Unlike Lovelace however, she uses the material of the first episode throughout her life, for this is effectively the only completely natural experience Roxana passes through. As a result, it forms the source of real experience on which she draws for her realistic representations, unlike Lovelace, who has a mass of experience and creativity to draw upon. Roxana's realism, performed for the inner protagonists of the book, is then passed on to the reader. He too never receives the reality of Roxana, only the realism, that is a central, factual core, which is never falsified (Roxana is not for example a sempstress fantasising a life), transmuted into a realistic interpretation of her life, with its patterns drawn out and displayed, and independent judgement by the reader circumvented as far as possible.

Another side to Roxana's art is her pleasure in seeing what she has created, and admiring her own art objects. There is much of the voyeur in her observing and reproducing her own gestures. This is most obvious in the scene where Roxana puts Amy to bed with the jeweller. Amy's loyalty has already received considerable emphasis from Roxana. She is 'faithful to me, as the Skin on my Back' (56) according to Roxana. It is this high degree of

interchangeability and sympathy between the two women that ensures their perfect comprehension of each other even when they are engaged in euphemistic double-speech designed to mask their cruder purposes. Roxana frequently calls Amy her 'Agent', the one person who 'knew all the Secret History of my Life; had been in all the Intrigues of it, and had been a Party in both Evil and Good' (57). This is why, as we have said, the reader accepts Roxana's culpability for the murder of Susan although technically Amy is the prime mover.

During the jeweller/landlord's courtship of Roxana, Amy had often described what she would do in similar circumstances as a means of encouraging Roxana's course of action (58). Amy is 'half distracted' with joy at the thought of Roxana sleeping with the landlord, which as Roxana says is 'a Testimony still of her violent Affection for her Mistress, in which no Servant ever went beyond her' (59). When Roxana takes Amy's protestations literally, and puts her to bed with the jeweller/landlord, the motives for this action are quite clear. Watching Amy in bed with her lover 'for I stood-by all the while' is like watching herself to see what she looks like when engaged in the same act. Moreover any independence that Amy might have retained at this time is completely destroyed by making her literally the image of her mistress by this enforced recreation of her mistress's acts:

as I thought myself a Whore, I cannot say but that it was something design'd in my Thoughts, that my Maid should be a Whore too, and should not reproach me with it. (60)

There is a great deal more of this kind of self observation - indeed the whole book is an exercise in self observation and self portrayal.

Moll in contrast, although technically observing herself in the same manner as Roxana in that she is writing a book about herself, is keenly concerned with those around her, their stories, and the incidents of their lives. For Roxana, other people and events are important only insofar as they are the witnesses and audience of her acts, allowing her to project herself, and to control those performing within her scenes.

In the same way that Roxana loves to watch her own acts, or come as close to it as she can in the form of surrogate 'agents', so she also loves watching herself in the mirror. She has no happier choice of lover in this than the Prince, who is a devotee of art. Acting out her little scene of destitute widow with the Prince (who understands it all very well it seems, answering her only 'with an Air of Concern') he proves to Roxana by showing her an image of herself, that she cannot return to Poictou:

He stood up, and taking me by the Hand, led me to a large Looking-Class, which made up the Peir in the Front of the Parlour; Look there, Madam, said he; Is it fit that Face, pointing to my Figure in the Glass, should go back to Poictou? (61)

The effect here is of mirrors within mirrors, as the reader watches a scene recreated by Roxana, in which she looks at an image of herself recreated by a mirror at the behest of the Prince whom she has formed with interests that mirror her own. The reader and the older Roxana watch the young Roxana watching herself as the Prince watches her. The effect is as dense as the earlier tableau set up by Roxana of herself as destitute woman, watched by the old aunt, herself, and the reader.

Roxana repeats this experience later when the Prince gives her

a diamond necklace. Evidently he enjoys watching Roxana as much as she enjoys watching herself: she is a perfect art object to him:

I love, Child, says he, to see every thing suitable; a fine Gown and Petticoat; a fine lac'd Head; a fine Face and Neck, and no Necklace, would not have made the Object perfect. (62)

Years later, terrified with the story that Susan is telling (the 'Sequel' as Roxana has always called it) Roxana is nevertheless so fascinated at hearing her Court escapade recreated that she is compelled to ask questions, even though she dreads the consequences:

I cannot help confessing what a Reserve of Pride still was left in me; and tho' I dreaded the Sequel of the Story, yet when she talk'd how handsome and how fine a Lady this Roxana was, I cou'd not help being pleas'd and tickl'd with it; and put in Questions two or three times, of how handsome she was? and was she really so fine a Woman as they talk'd of? and the like, on purpose to hear her repeat what the People's Opinion of me was, and how I had behav'd. (63)

But Roxana discovers that however many 'questions' she puts she cannot control this story, for it is told by someone else and that other person, with tragic irony, vouches continually for the truth of Roxana's story and even her character (64).

Where Roxana cannot recreate the image of herself watching herself, she recreates the carefully prepared scenes she once staged for others. The one thing Roxana hates is not being able to prepare her scenes. We see this repeatedly in the course of the narrative. It is a feature that makes Roxana's careful preparation of each section of the book, by her pointers and link phrases peculiarly appropriate to her character. The one thing the reader is not allowed to do, any more than the other characters on her

stage, is to stumble upon Roxana unprepared. As we have seen, Roxana prepares her rooms, herself, and her words for the Prince at his second visit by getting his 'Gentleman' to give her notice of any forthcoming visit (65). In the same way she prepares for her final seduction by the Prince by changing her mourning for 'une Deshabile':

I took this time to undress me, and to come in a new Dress, which was, in a manner, une Deshabile, but so fine, and all about me so clean, and so agreeable, that he seem'd surpriz'd: I thought, says he, you could not have dress'd to more Advantage, than you had done before; but now, says he, you Charm me a thousand times more, if that be possible. (66)

Years later at Court, Roxana is disappointed that she cannot do all the preparation in the scene she wants to stage for the King:

I had now the next Tuesday to provide for the like Company; but alas! it was all taken out of my Hand. (67)

It is worth noting too that even this scene at Court is a faint, debased echo of the destitution that we have seen recreated so often. Once again Roxana's fare is insufficient, and once again the future munificence of the next provider is hinted at by an overflow of good food and drink, while Roxana's deficient plate is also made good:

I say, three of them [servants] came, and brought Bottles of all sorts of Wines, and Hampers of Sweet-Meats to such a Quantity, it appear'd they design'd to hold the Trade on more than once, and that they wou'd furnish every-thing to a Profusion. also I bought a handsome Quantity of Plate, necessary to have serv'd all the Side-boards, but the Gentlemen would not suffer any of it to be us'd; telling me, they had bought fine China Dishes and Plates for the whole Service. (68)

In addition to the need to prepare one's 'scenes' there is another conspicuous feature of all of Roxana's relationships, and that is her desire for 'retreat' as she calls it. Thus living with the landlord/jeweller, Roxana tells the reader that she lived in seclusion:

because I car'd for as little Company as possible;
nor had I kept up my neighbourly Acquaintance. (69)

Roxana comes out of this seclusion in order to travel abroad, a pattern she repeats exactly, as with so many other basic elements from the first episode, with the Prince and others.

With the Prince Roxana offers to live with the house 'shut up'(70), as if she had returned to England. Initially this is done for prudential reasons. Later it seems that they both enjoy it. It allows Roxana to cut herself off from all social contact, or reality, and live in the strange construct that she creates with the Prince, watching him watching her, and giving in effect, private performances. At one point they both shut themselves in the house for a fortnight together, in a weirdly interior setting (71). Roxana dresses herself in beautiful clothes that no one but the Prince will see (72), and is perfectly content with this limited, controllable audience. The process of dressing up becomes its own performance, as she dresses herself in the clothes that she imagines the Prince will like best. As with her earlier change into deshabelle, and her later performances in the Turkish dress, the Prince is 'astonish'd' (73). At the high point of her performance for the Prince, Roxana repeats yet again the tearful scene of destitute woman:

I beseech you to believe me; they are not Tears of Sorrow, but Tears of Joy; it is impossible for me to see myself snatch'd from the Misery I was fallen into, and at once to be in the Arms of a Prince of such Goodness, such immense Bounty, and be treated in such a Manner. (74)

Ironically, Roxana feels that:

It wou'd look a little too much like a Romance here, to repeat all the kind things he said to me, on that Occasion. (75)

Despite her art, Roxana wants the scene to appear natural, not a 'Romance' that is an unnatural performance. This is why she 'can't omit one Passage' - a passage that summarises her aesthetic principles. The Prince is afraid of wiping Roxana's tears with his handkerchief, lest he disturb her make up. The attention Roxana devotes to this incident, like those of the dresses and the diamond necklace before, is minutely detailed. She is fascinated by the whole business of dressing and display, of turning the body and the self into an art object. Yet the art must look like nature if it is to be complete in its convincing, and therefore controlling power:

I put a Handkerchief into his Hand, and taking his Hand into mine, I made him wipe my Face so hard, that he was unwilling to do it, for fear of hurting me.

He appear'd surpriz'd, more than ever, and swore,...that he cou'd not have believ'd there was any such Skin, without Paint, in the World: Well, my Lord, said I, Your Highness shall have a farther Demonstration than this; as to that which you are pleas'd to accept for Beauty, that it is the meer Work of Nature; and with that, I stept to the Door, and rung a little Bell, for my Woman, Amy, and bade her bring me a Cup-full of hot Water, which she did; and when it was come, I desir'd his Highness to feel if it was warm; which he did, and I immediately wash'd my Face all over with it, before him; this was, indeed, more than Satisfaction, that is to say, than Believing; for it was an undeniable Demonstration, and he

kiss'd my Cheeks and Breasts a thousand times,
with Expressions of the greatest Surprize
imaginable. (76)

Roxana 'retreats' into a world removed from reality, where she dresses up and performs privately. Yet in the midst of this twilight existence nature must be the basis of her art, and believed to be nature itself by observers. In this respect the Prince is the perfect audience, being more than content to confuse art and nature:

he told me, I had either perfectly studied the
Art of Humour, or else, what was the greatest
Difficulty to others, was Natural to me. (77)

Years later, living in another 'retreat' with the Quaker woman, Roxana is similarly delighted at the naturalness of her copy of Quaker speech and manners:

I talk'd like a QUAKER too, as readily and naturally
as if I had been born among them;...there was not a
QUAKER in the Town look'd less like a Counterfeit
than I did. (78)

Of course the scene that is most artificial in every sense is that set in the court of Charles II/George I. Roxana comes back from the Continent, and establishes herself in a house in Pall Mall. She immediately displays herself to the public, bursting upon the astonished world much in the manner of her frequent appearances to stunned male admirers from behind 'Folding Doors' (79). Roxana is intensely aware that costume makes the woman and that the world takes the appearance for the real. Once again therefore she pays elaborate attention to her clothes. We can see how important clothing and performance are to Roxana if we compare her to Moll. Except when she puts on male attire or rags we would be hard put to say what Moll was wearing on any occasion, although she is not above using

clothing to deceive. But to Roxana it is the first 'prop' in the scene she is staging:

I dress'd to the height of every Mode; went extremely rich in Cloaths; and as for Jewels, I wanted none; I gave a very good Livery lac'd with Silver, and as rich as any-body below the Nobility, cou'd be seen with: And thus I appear'd, leaving the World to guess who or what I was, without offering to put myself forward.

I walk'd sometimes in the Mall with my Woman, Amy; but I kept no Company, and made no Acquaintances, only made as gay a Show as I was able to do, and that upon all Occasions. (80)

The 'World' (by which Roxana means the court) starts to watch this performance. Roxana then prepares to complete her impact by a change of costume. She changes into the magnificent Turkish costume for a display of 'Turkish' dancing. It is as thoroughly artificial as anything can be, but even here Roxana's audience thinks it is 'nature':

being perfectly new [her dance], it pleas'd the Company exceedingly, and they all thought it had been Turkish; nay, one Gentleman had the Folly to expose himself so much, as to say, and I think swore too, that he had seen it danc'd at Constantinople. (81)

The courtiers are masked, and Roxana is disguised by Turkish dress. Yet still she insists on a basis in nature 'I had no Mask, neither did I paint' (82).

She tries in fact to make her art even finer than nature, the endeavour of many artists. She is convinced that her 'show' will produce an effect, and is passionately aware that she has found her milieu:

I was now in my Element; I was as much talk'd of as anybody cou'd desire, and I did not doubt but something or other wou'd come of it. (83)

Something does 'come of it'. Once again, Roxana makes a 'glorious Retreat' (84), and performs in private:

There is a Scene which came in here, which I must cover from humane Eyes or Ears; for three Years and about a Month, Roxana liv'd retir'd, having been oblig'd to make an Excursion, in a Manner, and with a Person, which Duty, and private Vows, obliges her not to reveal, at least, not yet. (85)

Roxana then reappears, somewhat 'tarnish'd and discolour'd' (86), and takes a new lover, or rather an old lord. Roxana becomes altogether cruder in her later years, in the sense that money becomes more obviously important to her. Nevertheless, even with the old lord Roxana repeats the old performance of 'obligation', and a supposed worry at having 'given in' at the first asking. It has by now become almost formulaic, yet Roxana feels it is a part she must play, based upon the single reality of the first episode, and it is good enough still to convince her lover:

When he had obtain'd his End that way, I told him my Mind: Now you see, my Lord, said I, how weakly I have acted, namely, to yield to you without any Capitulation, or any-thing secur'd to me, but that which you may cease to allow, when you please; if I am the less valued for such a Confidence, I shall be injur'd in a Manner that I will endeavour not to deserve. (87)

Having got the finances sorted out, ('the main thing, I mean the Money' (88) as Roxana baldly puts it) Roxana shuts herself up as usual in yet another 'retreat' in another house (89), and makes even more money. At one point the old lord almost repeats the episode where Amy had gone to bed with Roxana's lover, a parallel that does not escape Roxana's notice in the way that it would probably have escaped Moll's notice:

Well, he fell foul of poor Amy, and indeed, I thought once he wou'd have carry'd the Jest on before my Face, as was once done in a like Case. (90)

Eventually after eight years of this 'wicked Scene of Life', even Roxana is surfeited with private performances, the nature of which have evidently become decidedly bizarre in the hidden, interior setting that Roxana always prefers:

he [the old lord] grew old, and fretful, and captious, and I must add, which made the Vice itself begin to grow surfeiting and nauseous to me, he grew worse and wickeder the older he grew, and that to such Degree, as is not fit to write of. (91)

During the period of Roxana's setting herself up at court Amy has been tasked by Roxana with the finding of her children by the brewer. Amy finds the children, and once again counterfeits sorrow for her old mistress, reproducing the old story of destitution (92). Roxana's bad actions at court thus run parallel to Amy's 'good' actions, as Roxana points out:

All this was acted in the first Years of my setting-up my new Figure here in Town, and while the Masks and Balls were in Agitation. (93)

Ironically it is from this piece of acting that the truth, which Roxana dreads because she cannot control it, comes to light. Thus while the most artificial time of Roxana's life is in 'agitation', the truth is also being uncovered. Amy's repetition of the sad old story is done once too often. One of the unwitting actors begins to sift the scene for herself, out of the control of the stage manager and author.

If the word 'story' was a key word in Moll Flanders, in Roxana the key term is 'scene'. She visualizes her life as a

'scene' in which she has acted. One morning while still involved with the old lord, it suddenly occurs to Roxana to question why she is acting in scenes:

the Sence of things, and the Knowledge I had of the World, and the vast Variety of Scenes that I had acted my Part in, began to work upon my Sences, and it came so very strong upon my Mind one Morning, when I had been lying awake some Time in my Bed, as if somebody had ask'd me the Question, What was I a Whore for now? (94)

The question obsesses Roxana. She repeats it four times in the course of two pages, admitting that there is no sense in it now that she is rich, and does not even enjoy her current part. Her working out of this problem is fascinating, for Roxana admits the difference there is between her outward performances to others, and the interior of her own mind. She can control others by her art it seems, but not herself:

the Question remain'd still unanswer'd, Why am I a Whore now? Nor indeed, had I any-thing to say for myself, even to myself; I cou'd not without blushing, as wicked as I was, answer, that I lov'd it for the sake of the Vice, and that I delighted in being a Whore, as such; I say, I cou'd not say this, even to myself, and all alone, nor indeed, wou'd it have been true. (95)

Roxana's personality begins to totter when there is no validating audience to check for their reaction to her scenes, and confirm that it looks real enough to pass off as true. The phrase 'even to myself, and all alone' emphasises Roxana's awareness of her solitary, and therefore frightening, state. The question obsesses her because it calls into doubt not merely her whoredom, but her whole life style. She concludes that what she wants is to be able to show herself openly to her children (96). What has

actually happened is that she has become tired of repeating the same scene, of destitute woman relieved, drawn from the single stock of real experience she has ever allowed to occur in her life before she took control. She must also be aware that it is a scene that will soon cease to be convincing to an audience, for Roxana is growing older, and it is not a part that can be played with any credibility beyond the sexually active years. As her subsequent action reveals however, it is only a new part that she wants, not fresh, uncontrolled experience (though that is what she gets). Her plans to show herself openly to her children involve an immediate retreat, and renewed disguise in new clothing. Her very language reveals the innateness of her acting and all the while she is controlling the narrative too:

I had begun a little, as I have said above,
to reflect upon my Manner of Living, and to think
of putting a new Face upon it. (97)

All the things Roxana has carefully prepared for 'show' in her previous scenes have to be 'put off' - significantly, as Amy recognises, down even to her face, artificial whether or not it is painted:

you must put off all your Equipages, and Servants,
Coaches, and Horses; change your Liveries, nay,
your own Cloaths, and if it was possible, your
very Face. (98)

It never passes through either Amy's or Roxana's minds to simply tell the children the truth, although Susan later reveals that she is perfectly content with, even admiring of, her mother's suspected past (99).

Once again Roxana goes off to create a new 'scene' in another 'perfect Retreat indeed' (100), with a new audience to play to. One of the things that decides Roxana on her choice of residence is the Quaker landlady's 'conversation'. Like Roxana she manages to be all things to all people at all times, despite the apparent contrariety of intention:

in short, the most agreeable Conversation that ever I met with; and which was worth all, so grave, and yet so pleasant and so merry, that 'tis scarce possible for me to express how I was pleas'd and delighted with her Company; and particularly, I was so pleas'd, that I wou'd go away no more; so I e'en took up my Lodging there the very first Night. (101)

What we are seeing here is Roxana's pleasure in recognising a fellow spirit. In all her scenes, there has always been a pimp or bawd who understands the business as Roxana calls it: Amy in the first episode, the Prince's gentleman who 'understood his Business very well, and his Lord's Business too' (102); the 'old Madam-, who thorowly understood her Business' (103), who accompanies Roxana and the Prince on their travels; the 'old Lady or two, who were now become my Intimates' (104), who introduce courtiers to Roxana. Now Roxana learns the Quaker's language, but the Quaker already knows and understands Roxana's. Roxana bribes the Quaker with gifts, and she becomes a very good 'agent'. The language that describes the giving of these presents is itself an excellent example of double speech, with a surface tenor of honesty and an undertone of meaning 'understood' by those who speak the language. Like the Quaker's own 'truth' it allows Roxana to present whatever facts she wants, yet never allows her

to be called a liar:

my End was answer'd another Way; for by this I
 engag'd her so, that as I found her a Woman of
 Understanding, and of Honesty too, I might,
 upon any Occasion, have a Confidence in her,
 which was indeed, what I very much wanted. (105)

By 'understanding' Roxana, the Quaker is as assiduous in tracing the Dutch merchant in London as Amy is trying to trace him abroad. When the merchant finally visits Roxana, the Quaker is as quick as any bawd in understanding the situation, and Roxana as quick to appreciate that this leaves her free of the burden of responsibility:

Well, while I was in this Hurry, my Friend the
 QUAKER, comes up again, and perceiving the
 Confusion I was in, she runs to her Closet,
 and fetch'd me a little pleasant Cordial, but
 I wou'd not taste it: O says she, I understand
Thee, be not uneasie, I'll give thee something
shall take off all the Smell of it; if he kisses
Thee a thousand times, he shall be no wiser; I
 thought with myself, Thou art perfectly acquainted
 with Affairs of this Nature, I think you must
 govern me now. (106)

Roxana has no time to prepare herself for this scene; even retrospectively it still surprises her into pointing out that her awkwardness 'was really unfeign'd'. She has only seconds in which to prepare her part, but the habits of a lifetime hold firm, and she quickly adopts a role:

I stood up, but was confounded with a sudden
 Enquiry in my Thoughts, how I shou'd receive him?
 and with a Resolution as swift as Lightning, in
 Answer to it, said to myself, It shall be COLDLY;
 so, on a sudden, I put on an Air of Stiffness and
 Ceremony, and held it for about two Minutes. (107)

Earlier in the book, Roxana had said that she did not want to 'chop upon' the brewer 'by Chance, and so be surpriz'd into a

Discovery' (108). But it is not what could be revealed by surprise that could be 'fatal', as Roxana says it would be. It is that Roxana might be surprised into a discovery of herself, of her own nature, or rather her lack of self, a recognition which would destroy her confident manipulation of others. That sense of a firm boundary to the self that others have is not one that Roxana shares. Without a prepared part, she has no self. She is a creator of roles, and left alone, as when she questioned her role as whore, she is in danger of collapsing into unreality. Roxana's experience as a creator of roles is that she may consist of nothing at the heart of it. If ever Defoe had a Muse, Roxana is it.

The Quaker plays the bawd, like Amy and others before her, and eventually gets Roxana into bed with the Dutch merchant. Her pleasure in this achievement is as voyeuristic as Roxana is in relation to her creations. Any doubts as to the double meaning attached to words like 'understand', 'conversation', and 'good manners' are dispelled by Roxana's euphemistic double speech when the Quaker visits herself and the Dutch merchant in bed together the morning after their wedding:

In the Morning my QUAKER-Landlady came and visited us, before we were up, and made us eat Cakes, and drink Chocolate in-Bed; and then left us again, and bid us take a Nap upon it, which I believe we did; in short, she treated us so handsomly, and with such an agreeable Chearfulness, as well as Plenty, as made it appear to me, that QUAKERS may, and that this QUAKER did, understand Good-Manners, as well as any-other People. (109)

The Quaker again receives suitable reward, and again the language that Roxana uses to describe the Quakers' speech reveals

her perfect comprehension of its potential. At the same time Roxana's language is operating in two directions, simultaneously pointing out, and denying the quality of doubleness in the Quakers' language:

She spoke this in a very good kind of Manner, in her own way, but which was very agreeable indeed, and had as much apparent Sincerity, and I verily believe as real, as was possible to be express'd. (110)

It is impossible to know exactly what Roxana means here; and so her purposes are served.

Perhaps this is a good point to summarise again what these purposes are. What Roxana wants is to be in control of those around her in order to verify her own role playing existence. She tries to construct enclosed worlds, refusing to admit a free play of events. She is in effect constantly constructing fictional worlds, in which (unlike the stuff of reality), she can impose the meaning of events, and indeed the order of events. Once participants are immersed in this world, they find it difficult to exercise independent judgement or control. Power has always been a human urge. Control of others is perhaps also a desire to protect the self by confirming and enhancing the self image. Both of these motives lie in Roxana's character as we see it. But there is another motive that has more to do with the nature of the artist pure and simple, the artist that Roxana obviously is.

Nicholas Urfe in John Fowles's book The Magus (1977 revised edition) always wants to know why Conchis, the Magus, is

constructing the whole splendid show for his benefit. At the end of the book Urfe is offered the 'reason' for the elaborate fiction that has been created for his benefit, a fiction which he still feels is otherwise 'evil' (111). He is offered a rather tenuous moral intention as the 'reason' for the creative activity he has witnessed. It is all a performance put on to enlarge Urfe's moral awareness leading to the richer life that the other protagonists all try to lead, presumably in order to improve his life with the elusive Alison: 'That it allows the duds like me freedom to become a little less imperfect?' (112). This is what Urfe concludes is the purpose of Conchis's fiction. It is probably the sort of 'reason' we would all give for reading fiction.

Like all morals, it comes nowhere near to explaining the gigantic panorama of stories that Urfe has been told. Yet without this 'reason' for its existence, the book would become a mass of vivid fictions, generated for nothing. Perhaps it would even be the 'evil' thing that Urfe suspects it is if without a purpose, simply deluding but nothing more. Somehow authors must have a purpose, without which the fictions will be 'wrong'. And yet the 'meaning' does not explain the fictions, nor all that the author has done.

Several fictional studies of the artist testify to the inadequacy of the moral intention to explain the nature of the artist. The motivation for Iago's destructive creation is thin and contradictory; Lovelace's motivation is similarly thin if not

ridiculous (the test for purity that he conducts on Clarissa); and Conchis's 'reason' for the yearly performances (the one book a year of the average author?) is almost equally inadequate, even while it purports to be the moral purpose for his art.

Moll always tried to bind her stories to a moral, yet as we saw, her moral interpretations were usually inadequate. At other times however, Moll's stories simply proliferated compulsively out of other stories, with Moll herself surprised by them, and unable to give an effective 'reason' for their existence.

Roxana significantly never gets to present her moral, the 'Sequel' that is the 'reason' for the book's existence. The whole book is a massive betrayal of the reader's expectations, which have been established by the evidence of her artistic control that he sees throughout the book. It is as if Defoe, made suspicious of fiction by his heritage, and trying to justify his own fictions by taking on a Godlike moral role which he could not be easy in, nor hide his own delight and fascination in story-telling, came in Roxana to reverse the whole edifice of the moral purpose for fiction. If Roxana has a moral purpose, it is the paradoxical one of warning the reader against the reading of fiction; for the artist is shown to be someone who spins stories out of himself, compulsively, obsessively, and because he has to, because that is his nature. The one natural thing about the artist is his art, and whether it is 'moral' or otherwise is almost fortuitous. In Roxana Defoe seems to show that even a moral

intention in art is morality built around, if not out of, a core of delusion.

In his last major fictional work Defoe seems to take away all pretence about why we read fiction, and why authors write it. For we read Roxana's (and Lovelace's) evil stories with as much pleasure as Moll's, or Crusoe's moral tales. More pleasure in fact, if the response to the 'moral' side of these works over the centuries anything to go by. Like Nicholas Urfe, we need to feel that there is a 'reason' for the books we read, but the truly compelling part of the book is the panoply of fictions that pass across the page. The reader is left with the bald fact that he read the book simply because it was compelling, and enjoyable, for no alternative vision to Roxana's appears until the very end of the book, despite Defoe's authorial separation from Roxana which he establishes at the beginning of the book. The reader as a result becomes another of Roxana's seduced victims.

It is important for Defoe's purposes that this seduction occurs. Defoe gives the reader experience of the dangers of realistic fiction in Roxana (as Richardson was to do in Clarissa), and he does this by making Roxana's fictional world almost complete, and then allowing Roxana to betray the reader's fictional expectations. It is this, and this alone that finally allows the reader to stand back from the book and form a judgement. Thereby Defoe reveals the purpose of his separation from Roxana, and the purpose of his book.

By allowing Roxana's script to run, apparently unimpeded, Defoe not only allows Roxana to work her seductive, controlling art on the reader, but also creates a brilliantly realistic novel. For realism to operate successfully however, one quality has to be excluded for the duration of the work. That quality ironically enough is reality, or truth. If external reality intrudes into a work of realism, which when self contained and operating on its own terms can seem to be real, then the realism is destroyed, and is instead revealed to be art. The most obvious example is a reader closing the book, allowing the room he is sitting in and a thousand other things to intrude on the carefully selected world he had occupied while reading. For realism to exclude reality, and thus maintain its autonomy and apparent reality, it must complete all the expectations it has set up for the reader (by which I do not of course mean that it must raise no questions). This is why, strictly speaking, neither Fielding nor Sterne write realistic works, for their intrusive authorial presence acts as a barrier to that level of belief which realism demands if it is to work successfully. They were both perfectly well aware of this, which is why their books should rather be called anti-realistic, for that is what they intended to be, albeit in a rather different way to that of Defoe or Richardson.

Roxana seems to pull off the literary coup that neither Crusoe nor Moll could manage, that is the creation of a self-contained work of realism. It is also a work of terrifying evil, in which truth in the figure of Susan is eventually murdered

(as it is in Clarissa too, with the death of the heroine), in order that the artist can keep intact the world she (or he) has created, and controls. Yet it is truth that finally ends Roxana's story, and thus triumphs over her brilliantly seductive fiction in a strange and fascinating way.

Roxana's fictional activities darken from the court scenes to the point of Susan's death, but her apparent control of the narrative does not abate. Indeed another character, or 'agent' is added to Roxana's armoury to carry out her business of manipulating language and destroying the truth. Everything in the narrative, story, action, character, and judgement is filtered through Roxana's controlling perspective.

The figure of Susan is thus an extraordinary one, considering that her arrival is prepared for by Roxana, and her depiction is always filtered through Roxana's consciousness. Thus she is referred to as a 'Jade', 'Girl', 'Wench', 'Slut', 'Hussy', and even as an 'Evil Spirit' (113). She is said to hunt Roxana 'like a Hound' who 'had a hot Scent' (114). Roxana's terror of Susan appears to be highly irrational since there is no evidence to suggest that the girl seeks her mother for any malevolent purpose of control by a knowledge of the past. This is Roxana's vision, not Susan's. Susan in contrast, and this despite her presentation through Roxana's eyes, seems only to want to establish the truth, and to gain a Mother. Her aim seems to be to 'have thrown myself at her [Roxana's] Foot, and ask'd her Blessing' (115). Her only distress seems to be that Roxana disappears before a reunion can be effected:

I am sure she is my Mother, and I have broke my Heart to search for her; and now to lose her again, when I was so sure I had found her, will break my Heart more effectually. (116)

Roxana's reaction, and indeed that of her 'agent' Amy is a stark contrast to this of Susan. What Roxana envisages is not mutual love and trust, but manipulation and control of herself by another. It is the only relationship that Roxana can imagine, since it is all she has ever enjoyed with others. For Roxana to be faced with truth is a 'Horror':

I must for-ever after have been this Girl's Vassal, that is to say, have let her into the Secret, and trusted to her keeping it too, or have been expos'd, and undone; the very Thought fill'd me with Horror. (117)

Amy is 'tormented' (118), and similarly driven mad by Susan's appearance. There then follows the extraordinary and tortuous shifting around the town and countryside by Roxana in an effort to shake Susan off. The chase is the reverse of Lovelace's pursuit of Clarissa, where in effect the fiction maker pursues the truth in order to warp and destroy it, for in Roxana truth is pursuing the fiction maker. Nevertheless the result is the same. Truth is killed by the fiction maker, which throws an interesting light on what Defoe and Richardson, fiction makers both, thought themselves to be doing. Susan becomes a larger than life avenging figure. Everett Zimmerman recognises this extra dimension to her portrayal:

Susan is all the abandoned children in Defoe's novels. They have been ignored or bought off, and now they claim their relationship. (119)

This seems to me to be very much the case, and accounts in part for the excess of horror that Roxana feels towards her. But if she is

all the abandoned children in Defoe's novels, she is also all the abandoned and manipulated truth that Defoe's fictions have ever effected. Susan, like Clarissa, is utterly tenacious of the truth, regardless of the pressures brought to bear on her. And like Clarissa therefore, the artist who depends upon, and loves fiction, must kill this truth, be he a Lovelace or Roxana, or even perhaps a Richardson or Defoe.

After this terrifying act, Roxana breaks off in the middle of what is an obviously unfinished narrative (as witnessed by nineteenth-century attempts to 'finish' it) only pausing to assure the reader in one brief sentence, that an unspecified calamity made all even against herself.

That breaking off however, because it means the book must close, effects a massive rupture in the fabric of Roxana's narrative. She has promised a 'Sequel' from the beginning of the book, something that will offer a final climactic 'Moral of the Fable'(120) that will link together the beginning and end of the book, and complete the many expectations she has set up. Hints that more is forthcoming, leading to this final conclusion, grow thicker and thicker as we proceed to the clearly approaching end of the book, and the pages diminish in number (121). But no 'Sequel' appears. Roxana's promise to 'relate more particularly ' (122), and 'by itself' (123) the details of Amy's murder of Susan are simply never fulfilled. Instead, despite all these promises, we have as readers a complete renege on the promise of particularity, for Roxana announces two pages before the end of the book:

I cannot enter into the Particulars here. (124)

Having in effect given the reader a controlled, and beautifully patterned artifice, with all the connections made between the 'before' and 'after', the effect of Defoe's masterly breaking off of the narrative is to reveal Roxana as a fraud, and that fraud one with the most terrifying effect.

What Defoe has done is allow a very good realistic artist the space in which she can practise her art, unimpeded by any overt authorial control (although of course everything she does is part of Defoe's authorial purpose). Within this book Roxana deludes her victims, limiting and controlling their vision, and denying them the perception of truth, offering instead a simulated 'look-alike'. And within the book she murders Susan, the only figure who cannot be manipulated. In this last act, Roxana commits on a large scale what the book has shown her to be doing to other characters throughout, and indeed to readers. It is what in the Puritan view the artist does all the time, that is he murders truth. And if Roxana had been allowed to complete her book, that total world which none of her victims has ever emerged from with a sense of what had been done to them, would have been completed upon the reader too. What Defoe reveals is that the artist can create believable, autonomous worlds - and he also shows the dangers of this power too, for within that imaginative construct, judgement may be set in abeyance, or controlled and guided to the point where it ceases to be judgement any more - and that in pursuit of something which is not only a delusion, but about

which too there is no guarantee of morality. As Roxana shows, the artist may delight as much in the presentation of evil as of good, and if sufficiently powerful (as Lovelace was to prove) could even confuse those qualities. Moreover, the artist is under no obligation to keep faith with the reader. Roxana's betrayal of the reader is an act any artist may commit any time, capriciously, because the presentation of events is in his power (something else that Lovelace delights in).

Thus Roxana's betrayal of the reader is Defoe's act of faith, his strange, alienated beginning linking up with his end to show the purpose of his separation from Roxana, and his authorial purpose, at just the point when Roxana has broken artistic faith, and revealed that she has no purpose except to deceive, and to control. Defoe tears a little hole in the fabric of Roxana's seemingly self contained, complete narrative world, which is enough for the reader to see that he has been a victim like the other victims in the book. But whereas no disruption revealed the deception to them, so that we may suppose they went deluded to the grave, Defoe's last act of faith with the reader was to disrupt Roxana's fiction, ending it with obvious incompleteness. Having allowed Roxana, or perhaps we should rather say one part of himself, to kill truth in order to perpetrate the fiction, he finally crushed that fiction by letting truth flood in, in the shape of the reality that must flood in to any art work that does not seal itself with a suitable ending.

And so truth triumphs at last. But the reader is now perhaps also aware that even the newly revealed purpose of the book, the warning given by

its artist about the dangers of art, is a contingent, arbitrary affair; that Defoe too could have left the book without a purpose as *Roxana* does, a frightening and disruptive glimpse of unreality, with no sense it touching upon reality, either moral or factual. It is this quality about Lovelace's fictions too that makes the reader turn at last from them to a safer touchstone.

In his last major work of fiction therefore, Defoe reverted to his heritage of fear of fiction. Defoe's doubts about the value of fiction, and *Roxana* reveals that they were grave, were a very Puritan thing. Richardson too, after an initial success in the realm of fiction writing, was driven back by his Puritan heritage and his personal doubts, into writing an anti-fictional work, *Clarissa*. It should not surprise us at all that two men whose entire heritage was essentially anti-fictional should find their own experiments with fiction a very mixed experience, and one which they would ultimately recoil from, and warn readers against. It would be far more surprising if these men had made the easy entrance into fiction writing that many latterday critics have suggested was the case. It was clearly a doubtful exercise for many eighteenth-century authors. Boswell tells us that Johnson, whose whole life was involved with authors and authorship 'could at any time be talked into a disapprobation of all fictitious relations, of which he would frequently say they took no hold of the mind' (125). Charlotte Lennox's *The Female Quixote* (1752) is a comic example of a work of fiction which warns readers against the reading of fiction, a work which, as we shall see in the chapter on *Clarissa*, was thematically

influenced by Richardson's great work. A late survivor of this tradition is Jane Austen's Northanger Abbey (1818), but hundreds of deprecatory and justificatory prefaces to minor works of fiction throughout the century testify to the need to say something at least as to why an author wrote dubious fiction when so much pure fact was thought to be around, and held in high esteem.

Defoe was the pioneer of realistic fiction. He in fact worked towards what was afterwards to be the nineteenth-century's position on realism (in Moll Flanders), not that the nineteenth-century author very often gave such an explicitly Providential overview. Many however use repeating words and imagery to establish an authorial position different to that of the characters within, but not ironic. Defoe thus helped to establish a positive view of realistic fiction at its birth. But he had inherited the anti-fictional drive of his background. And so he pioneered too one of the earliest anti-fictional works of fiction. Richardson was to follow, under the impact of a similar heritage, and similar experience when writing, to that of Defoe. Thus two men who are considered as the pioneers of the English novel should also be considered as pioneers of a tradition within that tradition, and one that has been neglected. That is the tradition of the anti-realistic novel, and the anti-fictional work of fiction.

We will now turn to look at Richardson and his work, and examine the path he took in the writing of both fiction and anti-fiction.

Chapter 7 - Pamela

Daniel Defoe, a prolific author of works both fictional and non-fictional, seemed an odd sort of man to put forward as a candidate for fear of fiction. Yet as I hope the last chapter has shown, whatever buoyancy Defoe may have felt on his first approach to a full length novel, this buoyancy was destroyed by the response that his work generated in some quarters. To be criticised was not a new sensation to Defoe, but the various self-vindications that Defoe promulgated throughout his life suggest that he was not unmoved by criticism. Likewise, the criticism of Robinson Crusoe by Charles Gildon in particular must have been distressing to Defoe, confident for once that the religious theme of his new work would carry the day, and justify his fiction. I take The serious reflections of Robinson Crusoe not only as evidence that Defoe was under attack (the preface to The farther adventures provides that) but also as evidence that Defoe himself had recognised his failure to secure his spiritual/didactic purposes. The serious reflections were Defoe's attempt to redress the balance of his works back in the all important direction of an exemplary Puritan narrative.

Subsequently, Defoe's recognition of the cause of the failure within Robinson Crusoe was utilised by him as a device by which he was to explore both the fabric of contemporary society (with its own inconsistencies and disjunctions) and the effects, positive and negative, of fiction itself. He was able to retain his confidence in the positive power of fiction, for the duration of Moll Flanders, only to write a full length work of fiction showing its negative

potential, and ultimately repudiating it, in his last major work of fiction, Roxana.

Samuel Richardson shares many features with Defoe, both as a man and as an author. John Robert Moore pointed out for example that as early as 1793, two contributors to the Biographia Britannia had recognised Richardson's debt to the dramatic form that Defoe's didactic works employed:

Richardson seems to have learned from him [Defoe] that mode of delineating characters, and carrying on dialogues, and that minute discrimination of the circumstances of events, in which De Foe so eminently excelled.....Both of these writers had a wonderful ability in drawing pictures of human nature and human life. A careful perusal of the "Family Instructor" and the "Religious Courtship", would particularly tend to shew the resemblance between De Foe and Richardson. (1)

Moore adds Defoe's frequent use of the epistolary form in his journalistic works as another possible influence on Richardson. Moore also pointed out Defoe's familiarity with many of his printers, a fact which adds a little more weight to the idea that Defoe was personally known to Richardson, since Richardson had published various of Defoe's works with some of his own additions (2). The preface to the fourth edition of Defoe's Complete English Tradesman (1737) for example, apart from containing a 'puff' for Richardson's own work The Apprentice's Vade Mecum (1733) also refers to Defoe as 'one with whom we were well acquainted'. Unfortunately it is not conclusive that Defoe and Richardson were personally acquainted since several hands were involved in editing and revising the work. Still, as Moore suggested:

The possibility of finding Defoe and Franklin and Richardson at a chance rencounter in a London

printing shop is almost as elusive as the song the sirens sang, but it need not be abandoned as beyond all conjecture. (3)

What Richardson also shared with Defoe was a Puritan background combined with a foreground of total familiarity with books, and their production. Like Defoe before him, Richardson was to discover that the conventional justifications for writing fiction were inadequate to men of his and Defoe's background when they came to be engaged upon the creative production (as opposed to the mechanical reproduction) of fiction, and especially realistic fiction.

Like Defoe too, Richardson began writing his first major work of fiction at a comparatively late age (Richardson was 51 and Defoe 53 on the publication of Pamela, and Robinson Crusoe respectively). Like Defoe's Crusoe, the initial response to Richardson's first novel seemed to suggest a resounding success, but was rapidly followed by criticism that disputed that success. This criticism, like that which Defoe had met with after Crusoe, accused both Pamela and Richardson of lying and artfulness. As a result, Richardson's attention, again like that of Defoe before him, was evidently focussed on the nature of the narrative he wrote. Clarissa is our evidence that this recognition occurred.

The buoyancy of Richardson's first entrance into fiction is manifested, again like that of Defoe, in the preface to his novel. While wordier than Defoe's preface to Robinson Crusoe, Richardson's claims about Pamela are essentially the same as those Defoe had made. Richardson tells the reader that diversion can be integrated with instruction (as Defoe had told his readers), and (also like Defoe)

that his work contains 'Variety of entertaining Incidents' (4). As with Defoe's preface to Robinson Crusoe there is a similar claim of factuality for the narrative: the story has its 'Foundation in Truth and Nature' (5), although in both Defoe and Richardson's case this claim has sufficient ambiguity to allow the authors an escape if pressed on the question of downright fact. Like Defoe, Richardson poses as 'editor', of letters in this case rather than a continuous memoir as in Crusoe. This simple device establishes the reality of both the owners and the letters without the need to state this. As a clincher Richardson, again exactly like Defoe, confidently states that 'he thinks any further Preface or Apology for it, unnecessary' (6). He does this on two grounds, both occasioned by his editorship. As editor he claims to be merely a reader, and as a mere reader he can testify to the effect that the work has had on him, appealing outwards from his personal feeling to a fellowship with the reader:

he can Appeal from his own Passions, (which have been uncommonly moved in perusing these engaging Scenes) to the Passions of Every one who shall read them with the least Attention. (7)

He can also, as mere editor, testify to his own impartiality whilst reading, a quality which, as he points out, 'is rarely to be met with in an Author towards his own Works' (8).

Richardson's claims in the preface point to a paradox that is part of realistic fiction. For Richardson's claim to be the editor is of course a lie. To convince a reader that it is the truth however, he must use maximum art or deceit, thereby enhancing his deceit as an artist. Yet if he succeeded in convincing the reader that he was

merely the editor, and that the text was actual, and factual, and not a creation, the art becomes apparently artless, passing out into the real world as part of it. This may occur even where full conviction as to the authenticity of the letters is lacking, provided the letters attract sufficient reader sympathy to become imaginatively real, a simple fact that is at the heart of the successful working of realism. What has to be minimised however is the reader's awareness of any authorial intention or partiality, in fact of any obtrusive and hence awkward awareness of art as such. If this comes uppermost, 'reality' disappears, and the art that was endeavouring to hide art is perceived as the maximum point of deceit.

What Richardson does in the preface is actually to conduct in miniature the struggle that Pamela must conduct within the text that appears to be hers. Like Pamela, Richardson did not escape critics, who duly noted the dubiousness of his claim to be artless as they noted hers. The author of Pamela Censur'd (1741) boiled Richardson's claims down into 'plain English' as he called it (9), and as a result of this operation came to almost the same unfavorable conclusion about Richardson that other critics (including himself) were to come to about Pamela:

And here give me Leave to observe, Sir, that tho' your great Modesty for some particular Reasons, one of which appears to be, that you could not otherwise be acquitted of intolerable Vanity in applauding yourself as you have done, has induced you to Stile yourself only Editor; yet, Sir, from several Sentences undesignedly dropt, where the Current of your own agreeable Flattery has carried you beyond your Depth, I can't help thinking that you are more than barely Editor.

The Story may have its Foundation in Truth and Nature; but the Superstructure is your own; ... I shall therefore henceforward treat you as HALF-EDITOR, HALF-AUTHOR of Pamela. (10)

This critic then goes on to say that the book has employed 'Art and Industry', and that all the praises Richardson has seemed to give to Pamela 'are but an Abstract of what fulsome Praises an Author wou'd privately entertain himself with' (11).

The author of Pamela Censur'd has discovered that Richardson is the author (not admittedly a difficult feat) because of the obvious intention (as he sees it) behind the preface; that is, for the author to gain personal praise. In other words the preface simply does not partake of the sort of objectivity that we would expect from a real editor. Richardson's art is accordingly exposed, and he is labelled a liar as a result.

This is exactly the pattern that critics have followed within the text in relation to Pamela. She also is discovered to have an ulterior purpose in writing, a purpose revealed by several things including a similar narrative inconsistency to that operating in Robinson Crusoe, between spiritual autobiography with its overt intention (to prove salvation) and the apparently objective flow of a life recorded. As soon as Pamela is discovered to have an ulterior motive in writing, her art is revealed and she becomes as a result, an artful slut.

Devotees on the other hand, those whom we must assume are convinced by Pamela's text, see her as accordingly artless. It is this dual possibility within the one text that must account for the extraordinary dichotomy in response to Pamela which has existed

since the novel's publication. The Pamelists regard Pamela as 'an Example of Purity' (12), based on the innocence of her script, which is all undisguised nature and spontaneous feeling:

For, besides the beautiful Simplicity of the Style, and a happy Propriety and Clearness of Expression (the Letters being written under the immediate Impression of every Circumstance which occasioned them, and that to those who had a Right to know the fair Writer's most secret Thoughts) the several Passions of the Mind must, of course, be more affectingly described, and Nature may be traced in her undisguised inclinations with much more Propriety and Exactness, than can possibly be found in a Detail of Actions long past. (13)

Those sharing this view of Pamela laud her 'artlessness'. It is a key word. As Mark Kinkead-Weekes noted: 'in a society suspicious of fiction [Pamela] had the distinction of a recommendation from a London pulpit' (14). The anti-Pamelists on the other hand discover that Pamela is full of art. Henry Fielding under the guise of Parson Oliver writing to Parson Tickletext in Shamela (1741) thought that Pamela should have:

rather suffered her little arts to have been forgotten than have revived their remembrance, and endeavoured by perverting and misrepresenting facts to be thought to deserve what she now enjoys. (15)

Of course the whole of Shamela purports to expose the artful tricks of Pamela. The author of Pamela Censur'd likewise discovers that Pamela:

instead of being artless and innocent sets out at first with as much Knowledge of the Arts of the Town, as if she had been born and bred in Covent Garden, all her Life Time. (16)

This denunciation of, or affection for Pamela based upon the evidence of her text is a feature that Pamela shares with Robinson Crusoe. Pamela is tasked with responsibility for the text because

Richardson, in the guise of the 'editor', and in order to create maximum realism, has thereby handed her this responsibility.

As a result, the qualities of 'her' text, couched as it is in the first person with no other author visible, become character traits. Judgement of the text becomes a judgement of Pamela.

This narrative responsibility poses its own problems, and part of Pamela's self consciousness and indeed artfulness has long been recognised to be one result. The unfortunate Pamela is obliged to describe herself, others, and their settings, so that the reader can imagine the scene as well as follow the plot, but the effects are frequently incongruous. Mr. B. rushing out of the closet preparatory to attempting to rape Pamela in a 'rich silk and silver morning-gown' (17) is only the most notorious example. Clearly Richardson wanted the reader to be aware of Mr. B's wealth, but by leaving Pamela to do this alone, she inevitably seems far too aware of it herself. Similarly, compliments offered to Pamela are also recorded by Pamela (who else is there to do this function for her indeed) with the sort of apparently creaking self consciousness that the ghastly Esther Summerson was to reproduce years later in Dickens's Bleak House (1853). Pamela must also add to her characteristics, as the result of the technical necessity within the narrative, a total recall of scenes. Admittedly Richardson tries to overcome the negative, not to say implausible character traits that seem to be the result of this feature, by having Mr. B. comment upon it favourably later in the book:

I must observe, as I have a hundred times, with admiration, what a prodigious memory, and easy and happy manner of narrative, this excellent girl has! And though she is full of her pretty tricks

and artifices, to escape the snares I laid for her, yet all is innocent, lovely, and uniformly beautiful. (18)

It is an example of Richardson's efforts to incorporate within the text any criticism that might be expected from outside of it, and to answer such criticism by the testimony of a character, a feature which he hoped would nudge the reader in the right direction, towards belief and trust. Whether the reader is indeed able to accept that everything is 'innocent, lovely, and uniformly beautiful' by the mere fact of its being stated to be so however is a matter of debate. The evidence of the text is what readers inside and outside the book seem to have taken as their guide, and the results as we know, were mixed.

Unfortunately too some of Pamela's recollections, if her own protestations are to be believed, ought on a character level to be forgotten, either from fear or modesty, although on a narrative level Richardson wants the reader to have these details. As a result Pamela seems to have the kind of modesty which is nevertheless able to retain insignificant details in the midst of attempted rape. This technical difficulty pushes Pamela very close on occasions to Shamela. Another notorious example occurs during the attempted rape episode, when the unconscious Pamela manages to record Mr. B's activity upon her body, Mrs. Jervis's distraction, her own body temperature, and the position of Mr. B's roving hands:

I found his hand in my bosom, and when my fright let me know it, I was ready to die; I sighed, screamed and fainted away. And still he had his arms about my neck; Mrs. Jervis was about my feet, and upon my coat. And all in a cold dewy sweat was I. (19)

In addition to these technical difficulties however there is

another, and more significant reason why Pamela's character is so closely collated with the text. This is that Pamela continually emphasises her own writing activity, and indeed one of the themes of the novel is the conversion of various characters to Pamela's point of view after they have read her text. Pamela's script as evidence of her character is thus not merely a technical product of the use of the first-person, combined with a lack of alternative authorial vision, but is at the very centre of the inner activity of the book, reproducing internally the act that the book conducts externally upon the reader.

Thus within the book there are as vehement anti-Pamelists as any critic outside the book was to be. The most articulate of these inner critics is Mr. B., although he ultimately becomes Pamela's most devoted admirer. It is Mr. B. for example who points out on a number of occasions that Pamela is 'an artful young baggage' (20), or variations on that theme. It is he who makes a direct correlation between Pamela's art and her writing activity:

You may only advise her, as you [Mrs. Jervis] are her friend, not to give herself too much licence upon the favours she meets with; and, if she stays here, that she will not write the affairs of my family purely for an exercise to her pen and her invention. I tell you, she is a subtle, artful gipsey, and time will shew it you. (21)

It is Mr. B. who sees Pamela's air of a gentlewoman as an artful trick too, long before Parson Oliver made the discovery. Mrs. Jervis tells Mr. B. that all the menservants treat Pamela with respect 'as if she was a gentlewoman born'. Mr. B. knows exactly what to make of this:

"Aye", says he, "that's her art that I was speaking of. But, let me tell you, the girl has vanity and conceit, and pride too, or I am mistaken; and perhaps I could give an instance of it." (22)

It is Mr. B. who points out that Pamela controls the depiction of himself and herself, and that this may be done to her advantage:

she has written letters (for I find she is a mighty letter-writer) to her father and mother, and others, as far as I know; in which, representing herself as an angel of light, she makes her kind master and benefactor a devil incarnate. (23)

As if to support his view of Pamela at this point, Pamela adds the moving parenthesis '(O how people will sometimes, thought I, call themselves by their right names!)', illustrating at once the sort of thing Mr. B. is objecting to.

It did not need the author of Pamela Censur'd to point out that Pamela's remaining in Mr. B's house to complete a flowered waistcoat is a rather flimsy excuse. Mr. B. makes this selfsame point to Pamela:

"Indeed, and please your honour," said I, "I have worked early and late upon it: there is a great deal of work in it." - "Work in it!" said he; "you mind your pen more than your needle; I don't want such idle sluts to stay in my house". (24)

Pamela's letters initially play a large part in catching Mr. B's interest. Pamela's very first letter establishes his interest in her writing, which at this stage he sees as 'innocent matters' (25). Subsequently as we have seen her script becomes art, written with a definite intention of deforming him and whitening herself; then he thinks, deepening in artful intention (but pleasing him more), it becomes a charm to capture him:

I have seen more of your letters than you imagine; (this surprised me!) and am quite overcome with your charming manner of writing. (26)

Charmed we note, but not convinced. Mr. B. at this stage sees Pamela as a 'romantic girl' who self creates with a religious dimension which only adds to her hypocritical artfulness:

"...You have a pretty romantic turn for virtue, and all that. And I don't suppose but you'll hold it still, and nobody will be able to prevail upon you. But, my girl" (fleeringly he spoke it), "do but consider what a fine opportunity you will then have, for a tale every day to good mother Jervis, and what subjects for letter-writing to your father and mother, and what pretty preachments you may hold forth to the young gentlemen...." (27)

It is indeed a pretty accurate description of what Pamela is doing, as she creates herself and her tale against the background of spiritual autobiography, lending a purportedly moral dimension to whatever she writes.

Yet, when Mr. B. has finally got all of Pamela's letters together, he becomes convinced of her truth, and artlessness. A crucial change has occurred in his thinking. Mr. B., continuously aware, like the reader, of Pamela's writing activity, nevertheless thinks at the start that he is at least the co-author of the text:

"O, my good girl," said he, tauntingly, "you are well read, I see; and we shall make out between us, before we have done, a pretty story in romance I warrant ye". (28)

Since Mr. B. initially sets the course of the action, he imagines that he is for the most part the major author, who will also decide on the ending of the narrative, while Pamela writes only the comment and interpretation on the text (a feature which points towards Lovelace's attitude towards Clarissa):

"....as I have furnished you with the subject, I have a title to see the fruit of your pen. Besides," said he, "there is such a pretty air of romance in your plots, and my plots, that I shall be better directed in what manner to wind up the catastrophe of the pretty novel". (29)

Once Mr. B. has possession of the text however (within a very few pages of the paragraph above in which he is still unconvinced by either Pamela's text or herself, a feature which gives maximum emphasis to his change of heart upon reading the continuation of her story) it ceases to be 'a pretty....romance', and becomes instead 'a very moving tale' (30). Pamela is still accused of being a 'Romantic girl', but Mr. B. is by now 'very serious at my reflections', and Pamela sees that her story is having the effect she would have hoped for:

[Mr. B.] seemed so moved, that he turned his face from me; and I blessed this good sign, nor did so much repent at his seeing this mournful part of my story. (31)

Everything, including the future course of action which he had previously seen as his decisive control of the text, comes to hinge upon his reading of Pamela's narrative, and his conviction or otherwise as to its truth:

If I can see those former papers of yours, and these in my pocket give me no cause to alter my opinion, I will endeavour to defy the world and its censures, and make my Pamela amends. (32)

From now on, despite the temporary setback of Pamela's suspicion of a sham marriage, Pamela is the author to Mr. B. and her text is more and more convincing. It brings Mr. B. to a sort of repentance, so that Pamela's spiritual autobiography has achieved its exemplary purpose on one reader at least:

I must needs, after you were gone, venture to entertain myself with your journal. When I found Mrs. Jewkes's bad usage of you, after your dreadful temptations and hurts; and particularly your generous concern on hearing how narrowly I escaped drowning (though my death would have been your freedom, and I had made it your interest to wish it); and your most agreeable confession in another place, that, notwithstanding all my hard usage, you could not hate me; expressed in so sweet, so soft, and innocent a manner, that I flatter myself you may be brought to love me, (together with the rest of your admirable journal:) I began to repent my parting with you; and, God is my witness! for no unlawful end, as you would call it. (33)

We might almost say that this description is the artist's ideal work of art, so convincing as to be accepted as artless, and actually effecting a change in the audience so that it passes out into reality. Mr. B. is such a convert that he begins to use the language of the converter (something that we shall see again in Clarissa). What an extraordinary sentence too is: 'I flatter myself you may be brought to love me, (together with the rest of your admirable journal:)' as if the journal itself is a living entity which, like Pamela, will begin to love Mr. B. And indeed Pamela is in Mr. B's mind so inextricably related to her text, as the essential ingredient and proof of her artlessness, that this may well be said to be the case.

Mr. B. hands the whole package quite literally back to Pamela, acknowledging her authority. For him, and subsequently for others in the book, Pamela's text is evidence of her truth. He exhorts Pamela to continue writing even when she is out of danger, and comes to revel in the publicity of being a character in this novel. He wants others to read about him and Pamela, and this drawing in of others to the same act of reading that he has conducted he thinks

will make the story perfect:

I enjoin you, Pamela, to continue your relation, as you have opportunity; and though your father be here, write to your mother, that this wondrous story be perfect, and we, your friends, may read and admire you more and more. (34)

'To read and admire you'; the phrase is proof that for Mr. B., woman and text are so much one as to be indistinguishable.

Eventually, when everyone within the book is convinced of Pamela's artlessness, the manuscript is circulated and read, in a kind of extra-mural literary criticism class, as participants refer back to the originals for their views on conduct or comment, with criticism and defense offered. It is clearly a vision of the kind of world that Richardson would have liked to have found himself in, with all personal contact mediated by pen and paper.

As a literary device, this miniature reading public within the book is a very dense one. It has the effect of making the reader enter the book as a character, engaged as he is on the same pursuit as the characters within. The way to the reader's own conviction is thus paved by characters within the book, since the most antagonistic to Pamela are convinced by her narrative. Since they can make constant referral between woman and text to check for accuracy, and are yet convinced, the question asked by implication of the reader is: who are you to doubt? And of course, as further proof of the convincing power of the text we have already met that other convinced reader, the editor, who operates both within and without the book to draw readers in, exactly as we have seen Mr. B. doing.

There is an almost magnetic sense of being drawn into this book, of becoming one of the admiring readers, as we all engage in the same

activity in an endless circle, the reader reading what the editor reads, which is what Mr. B. had read, which is what Lady Davers reads, which the Andrews read, which Miss Darnford reads, and so on down the line. It is a very intense experience, eradicating as far as possible the normal distance allowed to a reader, even where that distance is deliberately minimised as is the case in realistic works. The reader almost becomes Mr. B.; and he gets Pamela exactly like Mr. B., mediated by her text.

Judging by the book's sales on publication, and the enthusiastic response which it generated (35), Richardson might have been forgiven for thinking his book a resounding success, and concluding that readers were convinced that Pamela's text and person were pure and artless. Unlike Defoe in relation to Robinson Crusoe, Richardson seems to have anticipated the possibility of criticism of Pamela's art as the 'author' of her text, and striven to overcome this by making one of the themes of the novel precisely that of disbelief overcome by reading. Perhaps Mr. B's passionate antagonism to Pamela's script arose from some part of Richardson's own antagonism to the assumptions of spiritual autobiography. Still Richardson must have felt that he had made everything conform with his didactic purpose, and without having to write an equivalent to The serious reflections to reinforce a lost moral.

But there was eventually to be an equivalent, in the form of a very dull tome called A collection of the sentiments, maxims, cautions, and reflexions contained in the histories of Pamela, Clarissa, and Sir Charles Grandison (1755). It appeared on the scene after years of revisions and additions had failed to carry the religious/didactic messages of his books, especially Pamela and Clarissa. In effect

Richardson too was brought to redress the balance of his books in favour of Puritan didactic by the artificial abstraction of that element alone, removed from the reach of the other subversive elements of his works.

These subversive elements are exactly the same as the elements which had made Robinson Crusoe seem to be a 'whimsical, inconsistent Being' (36), and one given to 'gross Fib' (37), that is the elements of realism in the work, coming up against those of spiritual autobiography.

But neither Pamela nor Crusoe would have suffered from the problem at all were it not for the requirement (thrust upon them by the spiritual autobiographical form) of having to proclaim a passive reliance on Providence, and of having to seem to be merely a recorder, rather than the active creator, of events. It is a requirement which is at odds with the activity that arises from their self creation. This self creation in Pamela's case is revealed by the thematic emphasis on her writing, which is itself an aspect of her text's authenticity, or realism.

Richardson had to make the text seem authentic, or realistic, precisely because it was not the work of a real person, and also because he thought that spiritual autobiography alone would be dull fare to young readers, while by making his book resemble a novel, he could 'inculcate Religion and Morality in so easy and agreeable a manner, as shall render them equally delightful and profitable' (38).

But allowing Pamela to write, both as an aspect and an intensifier of her realism, or authenticity, brings writing to the forefront of the work, as we have already seen. And while this may contribute to conviction in the reader, it is an emphasis normally hidden in real

spiritual autobiography, which (in order to prove that one has no selfish motives for manipulating the truth) purports to be merely the passive record of events, not the active creation of them. Creativity, if apparent, was both close to fiction, or lying, and to a usurpation of God's role as creative artist, whether in the matter of one's own election or any other matter.

Richardson found himself in the same dilemma as Defoe, or at least discovered himself to be in a dilemma after the publication of his novel, when the critic's reaction showed him that adapting realism to spiritual autobiography was not the smoothly cohesive process that he had thought it to be. Like Defoe, he had entered into his first major fictional endeavour imagining that it was thus smooth. Once he had started to write realistically, his creative imagination was caught. He was evidently thrilled at his newfound power of realistic creativity, at his capacity for 'writing to the moment', and gaining reader sympathy by writing in 'so probable, so natural, so lively a manner' (39). Much of this creativity undoubtedly passed over to Pamela as the purported author of the narrative. But the didactic Puritan side of the work had to triumph.

Pamela thus suffers from the same oscillation between narrative styles and assumptions that Robinson Crusoe suffers from, though in a less startling way in that Richardson managed to avoid the almost discrete narrative sections that was a feature of Robinson Crusoe. Since Pamela's activity is essentially textual activity, the active, individualistic side of her personality is even more closely related to style than is the hero's of Robinson Crusoe. There is of course nothing wrong with active individualism per se; it only becomes incongruous if the proponent is at the same time attempting to

convince others through the same script of his passive reliance on God and Providence.

Another problem with Pamela's active self creation is that it may alter the nature of innocence, which by being written, seems to become premeditated, and thus something which is not quite innocent, not quite the spontaneous congruity between word and thing of the living girl and her surroundings. As an activity too, and the inaugurator of activity, it can be seen as itself a form of rebellion, at least where submission is interpreted as passive reliance on authority. We have already discussed this aspect of writing as a kind of Fall in the introduction. Writing cannot exist without activity, the active will to wield the pen and to create a subject - a fact which, as we have also seen, lent an inherent tension to the writing of spiritual autobiography. Crusoe's story, and thus his writing, begins as we have seen with an act of rebellion in leaving his father's house, and the script is continued by a continued act of rebellion as he carries on the travels that are supposedly the initial sin that caused his troubles. Had Pamela returned to her father's house she would also have left off writing in a return to submission. She is herself aware of the necessary correlation: 'Well, my writing-time will soon be over' (40), she says, contemplating her return home, and: 'I write again, though, may-be, I shall bring it to you in my pocket: for I shall have no writing, or writing-time, I hope, when I come to you' (41). Of course, like Crusoe having to repeat his rebellion in order to continue the story, if Pamela had returned home and made the necessary submission, we should have had no story. Thus Pamela's writing of her story is in a way a continual denial of her supposed submission. Since it is also visibly self-

creating, and is about her continued resistance of Mr. B., the proclaimed passive reliance on God's will comes to seem increasingly like mere tokenism.

Richardson almost overcame this difficulty by having Mr. B. initiate the story, and contriving that Pamela's failure to return home is not a sin, as with Crusoe, but something inflicted upon her by Mr. B. As readers we are therefore dependent upon Mr. B. for the continuance of the story in this sense, enabling Pamela to engage in an apparently justified 'rebellion'. Thus far therefore, Richardson had overcome one of the difficulties that had dogged Crusoe.

But the whole thrust of Puritan ideology, with its emphasis on the passive reliance of the individual on God, is essentially anti-literary. And Pamela brings literary activity to the fore, as we have seen, since it is her script that proves her innocence. Pamela's writing activity, by which she preserves herself in active creation, is as much an unjustified affront to her much proclaimed submission to God as it is a justified affront to her submission to Mr. B. Active creativity equated with evil is an essentially Puritan correlation not a universal one. But where it operates as an assumption, a concurrent creative activity could only be inconsistent at best, or a downright lie at worst.

Puritan literature is frequently a literature of persecution, and Pamela's narrative fits in well with this. And of course, Puritan depiction of persecution is also a kind of resistance to it. But it is essentially a passive resistance, or at least the endeavour of the script is to prove passivity. Bunyan's response to Slanderers in Grace Abounding (1666) for example, is typical of the passive rejection enjoined on the Puritan as a response:

Now these slanders (with the other) I glory in, because but slanders, foolish, or knavish lies, and falshoods cast upon me by the Devil and his Seed; and should I not be dealt with thus wickedly by the World, I should want one sign of a Saint, and Child of God. "Blessed are ye (said the Lord Jesus) when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake; rejoyce, and be exceeding glad, for great is your Reward in Heaven. (42)

It was this proclaimed passivity in the face of persecution which drove others mad at the self evident hypocrisy as they saw it, (and indeed the script is active in its intentions, despite its passive style), and which Swift satirised for example in the Tale (43). Still, at least Bunyan's narrative was internally consistent. The problem with Crusoe and Pamela is that they proclaim their submission to adversity, but then actively engage in challenging that adversity, eventually overcoming it by their own endeavours rather than the will of God.

Pamela's problem as a character is that when her activity, conveyed in her self-creative script, as well as her action, comes up against her claims for submission, she inevitably sounds false. Since the plot depends on the convincing power of her script, and her active creation of herself and Mr. B. in images that they both believe in, this incongruity of tone is potentially damaging to reader belief in the image of a pure Pamela.

Pamela's aim, as an active individual (which on a narrative level is an aspect of Richardson's realism), is to have her text read at all costs, in self-vindication after her death if nothing else. She seems to have a furious will operating to this effect, as she imagines the pleasure she and her parents will have re-reading her

letters (44), but more particularly in her continual sense of an audience despite the fact that her letters supposedly may never be read. As a result Pamela takes on the characteristics of one who is quite sure that the letters will be read. She herself associates her resistance, and indeed her rescue, with her letter writing activity. Her way of expressing this is a miniature of the whole active/passive dichotomy within the book:

I was going to say, "Pray for your dutiful daughter," as I used; but, alas! you cannot know my distress, though I am sure I have your prayers.
(45)

All passive thus far (although actively directing the responses of parents who purportedly cannot read the script), Pamela then changes to one of activity and resistance by announcing:

I will write on, as things happen, that if a way should open, my scribble may be ready to be sent: for what I do must be at a jerk, to be sure. (46)

One could even be ruthless enough to query why Pamela wants the whole of this lengthy narrative to be sent off, when a short rescue note might be more to the point. Pamela takes on the character traits that her narrative foists on her, in this case what seems an evident desire to be completely vindicated as well as rescued, which accords ill with Pamela's purported humility. When the same feature is looked at from Richardson's point of view, as a technical device, the intention is merely to continue the narrative at all costs, and to explain this away by some means or other.

A key sentence in the active/passive dichotomy occurs when Pamela debates with herself whether or not to commit suicide:

"....Then," thought I, "who gave thee, presumptuous as thou art, a power over thy life?...." (47)

The answer here is obviously that nobody did, for she is usurping God's ordinance. Yet Pamela takes power over her life, directing it and the reader's response, by her controlling script. Pamela, in a beautiful piece of Puritan rhetoric, submits to God's will with the assistance of Divine Grace. It is done in a suitably heightened style:

"...Tempt not God's goodness on the mossy banks, that have been witness of thy guilty purpose; and while thou hast power left thee, avoid the tempting evil, lest thy grand enemy, now repulsed by Divine Grace, and due reflection, return to the assault with a force that thy weakness may not be able to resist! and let one rash moment destroy all the convictions which now have awed thy rebellious mind into duty and resignation to the Divine Will!" (48)

As we saw in similar passages in Robinson Crusoe, the prose is well adapted to its exemplary purpose. It is also designed to mask as far as possible (from the author as well as the reader) any evidence of self-reliant will. In Pamela's piece indeed, Richardson shifts her prose into the second person for precisely this reason. Such prose masks too the rebellion and activity that is innate in writing itself, especially to the Puritan, by its proclamations of submission to authority.

As a result, instead of appearing to actively remake experience, Pamela announces herself to be merely recording it. It is an illusion of passivity of course, a cheat or lie if we use the terms of the antagonists to Puritan narrative. Still, if such prose operates on its own, this 'cheating' is less obvious, just as realism operating on its own terms may begin to look lifelike, to the point occasionally of total conviction. The problem occurs when, immediately after this, Pamela reverts to first person realism, actively directing for herself,

and indeed once again directing her parents' response to the script, which however (in another effort at submission) she claims to believe will never be read:

This, my dear father and mother, is the issue of your poor Pamela's fruitless enterprise; and who knows, if I had got out at the back-door, whether I had been at all in a better case, moneyless, friendless, as I am, and in a strange place! But blame not your poor daughter too much: nay, if ever you see this miserable scribble, all bathed and blotted with my tears, let your pity get the better of your reprehension. (49)

So Pamela writes on, with an increasing certainty that her parents or some other reader will read her script:

O how I shudder to write you an account of this wicked interval of time! For, my dear parents, will you not be too much frightened and affected with my distress, when I tell you that his journey to Stamford was all abominable pretence;... Take, then, the dreadful story, as well as I can relate it. (50)

Relating the second attempted rape episode, Pamela is so sure of an audience she even decides its composition:

What words shall I find, my dear mother (for my father should not see this shocking part), to describe the rest. (51)

Pamela continually draws her parents as readers into the story, by asking their advice on how to portray events (rhetorically, since she is never at a loss for words to describe any event). Her use of 'we' indicates the sort of corporate activity of reading that we have seen is a function of gaining belief in the book:

Now, my dear father and mother, what shall we say of this truly diabolical master! O how shall I find words to paint my grief, and his deceit! (52)

Fortunately, Pamela is rescued from a too evident display of active will power in getting the letters read, since Mrs. Jewkes

finds some of them when Pamela takes them out from their hiding place under a rose bush in the garden to inspect them for damage. On the other hand, despite this saving device of Richardson's, Pamela's worry about damage to her letters, at a time when damage to herself, and indeed the need for secrecy would seem to be more important, becomes evidence that her priority is to have the letters seen, and that her self vindication depends upon their legibility. One cannot help projecting beyond the confines of the actual plot, and imagining that if Mrs. Jewkes had not made her discovery, and Pamela had come to the same sad end as Clarissa, a posthumous letter would have been found somewhere apprising mourners that parcels of letters were to be found under the rose bush, and sewn into her petticoats. Of course, Richardson had to account somehow for the fact that we are reading these supposed letters; but on a character level this becomes one of Pamela's traits, and chimes in perfectly with her active will power.

From the point of view of realism, as opposed to spiritual autobiography, there is as we have said, nothing wrong with active will. The book would be inconceivable without Pamela's active resistance of Mr. B., and a large part of this resistance is contained in her self-defining, self-creative script. We do not for example accuse Jane Eyre of being an artful hussy because she writes about her self definition, and resistance against oppressors and tempters alike. But Jane does not keep telling us that she is the passive, submissive dependant on God, and especially she does not keep threatening to lay down her pen as evidence of this submission,

thereby reinforcing our sense that every future word is evidence of non-submission, which is what Pamela does:

But I will trust in God and hope the best; and so lay down my pen for this time. (53)

Jane is wholly engaged in the self definition that has also been her quest in life, and very honestly tells us so.

Pamela in contrast, obliged as she is by Richardson's authorial pressure to pronounce the 'true', justified narrative of pious Puritanism, continually disclaims any active aim or intention in her writing, but only the passive record of her reliance on God's will. The result is that both her narrative forms are damaged when placed side by side, their mutually inconsistent aims and intentions exposing each other in a way that the uncharitable reader would conclude was the result of fraudulent claims by Pamela.

The activity of Pamela's passive will, which Puritan narrative normally masked (because standardised and conventionalised, and thus not individual and original), is exposed by the active side of her narrative, while the active side is made to seem like hypocrisy whenever Pamela proclaims a submissive posture. One last example, or perhaps two examples, for they are mirror images of one another, will make the point if any further proof is needed. Early in the novel when Pamela expects to return to her parental home. she recognises that her return to a 'low' status will need to be manifested in changed clothing (as Crusoe had recognised the symbolic importance of clothing on his island, with his clothing of skins symbolising his submission to God's wrath, and his European clothing symbolising a return to Grace, and the remission of God's wrath).

Pamela makes arrangements to change her clothing accordingly:

A plain muslin tucker I put on, and my black silk necklace, instead of the French necklace my Lady gave me; and put the ear-rings out of my ears. When I was quite equipped, I took my straw hat in my hand, with its two blue strings, and looked in the glass, as proud as any thing. To say truth, I never liked myself so well in my life.

O the pleasure of descending with ease, innocence, and resignation! - Indeed there is nothing like it! An humble mind, I plainly see, cannot meet with any very shocking disappointment, let Fortune's wheel turn round as it will. (54)

Later, after triumphing over adversity, Pamela completes the same dressing process in reverse:

I went up soon after, and new dressed myself, and put on fine linen, silk shoes, and fine white cotton stockings, a fine quilted coat, a delicate green Mantua silk gown and coat, a French necklace, a laced cambric handkerchief, and clean gloves; and, taking my fan, I, like a little proud hussy, looked in the glass, and thought myself a gentlewoman once more; but I forgot not to return due thanks, for being able to put on this dress with so much comfort. (55)

Clearly Richardson intended this balance of episodes to symbolise Pamela's happy submission to whatever state of life God chose to place her in, symbolising this in her clothing, as if to record on her person God's acts or disposition towards her. The problem is that Pamela describes all but the tail piece of these passages realistically not symbolically, in what we must nevertheless see is narrative that is meant to carry exemplary meaning. The result is that her active self creation seems uppermost, delightedly involved in self creation as she is on both occasions. A rhetoric of the 'garb of affliction' sort would have been more appropriate. These passages read very like Crusoe's incongruous passage about money as

the world's drug, followed by a decision to take it away.

The results of this stylistic dichotomy are equally glaring when translated on to a character level. It is entirely credible, and an excellent example of Richardson's psychological realism that Pamela should feel proud of her clothing on both occasions. It is not even an unattractive quality in her; she is after all only a very pretty fifteen year old girl. It only becomes unattractive, indeed remarkably like sententious hypocrisy on Pamela's part, (if not conscious satire on Richardson's part), when it comes up against the rhetorical apostrophes attempting to enforce the 'right' sort of humility as the final interpretation of the scenes. Richardson brilliantly created the realistic picture of a young girl trying on clothes. Then he had to torture this portrayal into carrying a symbolic message and a character it could not sustain. Even the repetition of the episodes with suitable variants is too much for the piece to bear, though each piece individually is pleasant as a sign of Pamela's character. It is really not Pamela's fault. She is only hoist with character defects because of narrative defects. But as the narrative is ostensibly from her pen, she always has, and always will, carry these faults.

As we have seen, Mr. B. is convinced by his reading of Pamela's text. Her writing activity has triumphed, her script has verified her artlessness. As if Richardson realised that Pamela's script might be called the product of her self will and creativity, and might at some future date rise to reproach her with usurping the role of Creator, and denying her submission, Pamela, or her author,

very wisely proceeds to offer it to Providence. This becomes the means of eradicating Pamela's activity and intention in writing, since she proclaims that all her active efforts (of which the script is the vehicle as we have said) were wasted on Providence which had quite other plans. Like the true artist however, Pamela cannot quite discard her creation:

- But see the wonderful ways of Providence! The very things I most dreaded his seeing or knowing, the contents of my papers, have, as I hope, satisfied all his scruples, and been a means to promote my happiness.

Henceforth let not us poor short-sighted mortals pretend to rely on our own wisdom; or vainly think, that we are absolutely to direct for ourselves. I have great reason to say, that, when I was most disappointed, I was nearer my happiness: And yet after all, it was necessary I should take the steps I did, to bring on this wonderful turn: O the unsearchable wisdom of God! (56)

But Pamela will always have difficulty convincing some readers that Providence has ordered everything that happens in the book. The reason is that the very book itself is evidence that Pamela is what she (typically and submissively) transfers to Mr. B. once he is back in authority as surrogate God/father: 'the author of all my happiness'. Pamela hands back authorship of the book to Mr. B. at this point, exactly as she had handed her text to Providence, and indeed had kept threatening to hand it back to her parents as soon as she returned home. It is the right symbolic action, on a spiritual autobiographical level, submitting to authority, but as has long been recognised, the forward momentum of the narrative is now lost. When Pamela writes submissively, as in the last third of the first volume and all of the second volume, the script might as

well have ceased. The book has the sort of novelistic interest we admire nowadays only when Pamela assumes the role of author, or active creator, which means essentially that of rebel against authority. The effect of Pamela's later submission after her early assumption of the role of author is one of playing at Bo-Peep with the Almighty, as if she intends to keep God as well as the reader oblivious of her authorial intentions. The dichotomy between activity and proclaimed passivity that dogged the book, and led some critics to call Pamela a liar, is simply writ large in the last third of the book, as one long submission now takes place (with devastating effect on narrative momentum), while the reader recalls the activity and self creativity that preceded it.

So Pamela slips in and out of art and artlessness, depending upon whether the dichotomy between the two narrative forms that she uses is evident or not. To Richardson the moralist, this double response to Pamela must have been confusing, not to say frightening if we are to judge by his anxious endeavours subsequently to clarify the position, and to vindicate his heroine from the charge of artfulness. Pamela became increasingly surrounded by prefatory material, which was itself revised to facilitate the best reception for the work. In addition Richardson revised the text, tinkering with Pamela's delightful mode of expression, (making her more genteel, and more pious) and eradicating some of the more glaring double entendres. But he did not revise the source of the problem, that is the dichotomy between the two narrative forms, realism and spiritual autobiography.

This is a strange omission if Richardson were serious about

trying to revise the book, for Clarissa shows a very conscious awareness of the problem. Yet, after the long struggle that Clarissa represents, Richardson seems finally to give up the struggle against the power of realism, pressing down harder and harder instead on the side of straightforward didactic, in the preface and postscript, as well as in many revisions to the text to 'blacken' Lovelace's character, and thus to make his point. When this too did not seem to work, and readers continued to love Lovelace against what seemed to be the whole tendency of the work, Richardson took the same path as Defoe in his first novel, reducing the narrative energy created by the realism of his three novels (there was, significantly, much less of that dangerous quality in his last novel) into a set of moral aphorisms to enforce the religious elements of his works. In this way then, like Defoe, he came explicitly to reject realism and hence his own fiction. It was a rejection that had already been developed as a theme in Clarissa, as will become apparent in the next chapter.

Yet although Richardson would reject realism in this way, both thematically in Clarissa, (though not entirely effectively), and by eradicating it completely in a work of pure didacticism, he would not, despite all the revisions he made, change the nature of his work to allow the religious element to carry its message with less impediment. It was as if part of him would dare damnation for the sake of the fascinating fiction he could create. It was in Clarissa however that Richardson was really to discover how attractive the power of subversive fiction could be, and since he had equated this power with evil in true Puritan fashion, he was also to

discover how very close to damnation an author could come,
especially when his protagonist was a fellow author.

Chapter 8 - Clarissa

In Roxana as we saw, Defoe portrayed extreme wickedness in the form of extreme artistry. True to his Puritan ancestry, he found himself implicated in this artistry, being himself an artist. He therefore became of the Devil's party without knowing it, except that the ending to Roxana indicates that he did know it. So the work became a warning against itself, as Defoe, laying claim to the text at critical points, and thus separating himself from Roxana, the deceiver, destroyed the artistic autonomy he had allowed her to assume, and repudiated his book by an abrupt withdrawal of the creative process.

The results of Richardson's collaboration with the 'Devil's party' are rather better documented than Defoe's. Critics have been aware for some time of the heavy insistence on the written apparatus within Richardson's novels.

In Clarissa one could scarcely avoid noticing this feature, so heavily drawn is the dichotomy between 'art' and 'nature' in the figures of Lovelace and Clarissa respectively. Recent criticism of Clarissa has seen many interpretations of the book based (with widely differing conclusions) on the inner activity of writing. Anthony Kearney for example in an essay published in 1966 saw the literary activity of the protagonists as evidence of character:

Like any form of deliberate activity writing is an exhibition of personality, and we can assess these characters partly by what they write, and partly by the way they write. (1)

Kearney accepted at face value the correlation of Clarissa's script

with artlessness, and Lovelace's with art in a manner that Richardson would have approved of.

Barbara Hardy discussed Clarissa in a similar manner in her book Tellers and listeners: the narrative imagination (1975) feeling that both Clarissa and Lovelace 'show fertility of imagination', but that Clarissa's narrative is 'good', the result of 'a fair and strenuous reasoning' and Lovelace's narrative is 'bad' being the result of 'a coarse and slack irrationality' (2). Both Kearney and Hardy therefore accept the basic orientation of the inner protagonists as Richardson set them up.

William Palmer, writing two years before Barbara Hardy, took a slightly different direction in his criticism, seeing Lovelace as a dramatist within the novel (3). He emphasised this feature as the source of the long suspected collusion and identification between Richardson and Lovelace. In this scheme, Clarissa is entirely passive as regards imaginative activity, refusing to participate in Lovelace's drama:

As the action moves toward the rape, Lovelace becomes more and more frustrated with his inability to make Clarissa take direction as his other characters do; she is a prima donna who refuses to acknowledge his directorial authority. (4)

Palmer feels that Lovelace eventually loses dramatic control of the 'script', but allows no other author to appear as controller of events. Rather mysteriously, "'DEATH" writes the script for all of the closing scenes of the novel' (5).

Tony Tanner six years later also gave creative responsibility to Lovelace:

Lovelace is thus the novelist within the novel, no matter how diabolical a one. He is the source

of disruption and molestation, of dark, plotting energy, that makes the book, while marring the characters within it. He is, more crudely, the sexual drive that initiates the narration, without which the text would remain in a state of inert noncommencement. (6)

On the opposing 'side', Leo Braudy sees the book as essentially Clarissa's:

Whatever the symbiosis of Clarissa and Lovelace, the novel is still Clarissa's. (7)

Braudy gives the laurels to Clarissa on the grounds that writing controls identity, and the novel ultimately confirms Clarissa's view.

Also written from the viewpoint that the novel 'is' Clarissa's, but drawing a very different conclusion from the fact is William Warner's Reading Clarissa: the struggles of interpretation (1979). Warner sees the novel as essentially a struggle between two interpretations of events (like Barbara Hardy), but with Clarissa's 'version' triumphing not because her narrative is 'good', but thanks to her fiendishly clever narrative stratagems, and an active collusion between Richardson (as 'editor') and Clarissa. If Warner deserves credit for nothing else (and this is certainly not the case) it is for his amazingly revealing statements of personal feeling towards Clarissa, which allowed later critics to effect crushing attacks, without acknowledging the achievements of his innovative criticism. Warner's criticism brings to the fore questions about the status of Clarissa's narrative in relation to art previously apparently ignored in the general acceptance of it either as 'artless', or if art, as nevertheless 'good', (something Richardson had certainly hoped that Clarissa's narrative would seem

to be).

Better pens than mine (male ones) have attempted the demolition of Warner's thesis, and the rescue of Clarissa, most notably Terry Eagleton in his book The rape of Clarissa (1982). Eagleton sees the conflict between Clarissa and Lovelace as primarily a matter of class conflict, manifested in linguistic conflict, Lovelace's 'Linguistic lawlessness' (8), facing Clarissa's 'closure' (9). Eagleton is very aware of the imaginative generation of Lovelace's writing, and consequently of a guilty collusion between Richardson and Lovelace as fellow writers. His conclusion is that if Richardson plumped finally for Clarissa it was because the alternative view of truth was 'too close to Lovelace for comfort' (10), but that the choice:

was not without awareness of what sacrifices of jouissance that option entailed, what rich reaches of subversive wit it excluded. (11)

With Eagleton championing Clarissa and Warner championing Lovelace it was inevitable that another critic, following the same trend, should appear between these two critics, and produce a book that championed neither, but instead concerned itself with the whole business of the interpretation of the various texts generated within the book itself. This was Terry Castle's book Clarissa's ciphers: meaning and disruption in Richardson's "Clarissa" (1982).

Between these three latter critics in particular there is scarcely anything remaining to be said on the subject of writing in Clarissa, which I suppose must be the common experience of all PhD students at some stage in their work. As a result I shall undoubtedly touch on many points made by these critics.

Fortunately, what none of these critics has done is to 'place' Richardson within a Puritan 'tradition' of fear of fiction, that is of works which within themselves contain anti-realistic statements, dealing with realism as fearful, rather than as joke, as in the works of Fielding and Sterne . Perhaps another area of interest concerns the degree to which Richardson himself was aware of the writing contest that he had instituted within his novel, and what his intentions were (if any) in regard to this contest. It is my belief that in Clarissa Richardson was issuing a warning against realistic fiction every bit as strong as that issued by Defoe in Roxana.

Perhaps the first evidence we have as to Richardson's degree of awareness is what we might call the Pamela legacy. Richardson's heroine had been accused by the critics of lying, in much the same manner as Defoe's Crusoe had been accused, with the single difference that Pamela attracted more criticism, and since much of it revolved around the 'warm' scenes, the criticism was correspondingly warmer too (12).

These critical accusations must have been very shocking to two men whose conscious aims at least (as set out in their prefaces) were that their pioneering protagonists should be seen to be telling the truth. The result in the case of Defoe, as we have seen, was Moll Flanders, a work which tried to justify the use of fiction, and Roxana which rejected it. In the case of Richardson, his awareness was similarly sharpened by the charge of lying levelled at his writer/heroine. Richardson's next endeavour, like Defoe's, was to produce a novel in which the heroine could be saved from

the charge of lying. Richardson tried to achieve this by a variety of technical devices within his work. These serve in turn to reinforce one of the themes of Clarissa, which is the warning against realistic fiction.

The most obvious of the technical devices by which Richardson tried to effect a more truthful impression of his heroine was the introduction of a multi-perspective epistolary form. That desperate self consciousness, and indeed apparently downright artistry that is the result of Pamela's having to note everything about herself and others is at least dissipated when other characters can take on some of these functions. Moreover, any slightly 'impure' sentiments can be conveyed by other characters, leaving the heroine free to pursue her single minded virtue. Thus for example, the moral indignation we might expect Clarissa to manifest on a human level against her parents and family for their harsh treatment of her, but which are inappropriate to her role as nearly angelic exemplar, are obligingly conveyed by Anna Howe, her more fallible friend. This has several benefits: our sense of the beastliness of the Harlowes is continually reinforced, but without Clarissa being implicated (too far at least) in the portrayal, while the reader can have his indignation released. Thus the reader can have his cake and eat it too. Another effect of multiple perspective is that the narrative gains interest, especially in terms of character, which is particularly important in a narrative like Clarissa, which is essentially devoid of 'incident'. Richardson was proud of this feature himself:

The letters and conversations, where the story makes the slowest progress, are presumed to be characteristic.

They give occasion likewise to suggest many interesting personalities. (13)

By allowing characters to speak for themselves, Richardson undoubtedly tried to create the impression of a more objective narrative than Pamela's essentially single viewpoint. Indeed, one of Clarissa's greatest coups, or 'vouchers' for her truth, is the fact that she allowed Lovelace's narrative to stand alongside her own. The effect was clearly intended to be one of objectivity, of life recorded, with the opposition to Clarissa allowed as much space as the allies.

But the technical device of multiple perspective is merely the backdrop to a thematic emphasis which must clinch any doubt as to whether Richardson was aware of the writing contest he had instituted in Clarissa. It was a strange writing contest however, in which Richardson seems to have been anxious to prove that Clarissa, rather than entering vigorously into the competition, would have preferred not to write at all. She eventually proves this point by throwing her words away indeed and dying. Richardson's theme suggests a painstaking effort to portray the contest not as one between literary giants and equals, but between one wholly artless recorder, forced into the struggle anyway, and a wholly artful creator, who inaugurates the whole writing business by his love of art.

Richardson's major stroke in this enterprise was to contrast the very basis upon which his two central protagonists write. Thus Clarissa's story is not even begun by herself, but by Anna Howe begging for details (14): Since the details Anna requests concern an action which has taken place before the story begins, (an action

initiated by Lovelace) even Anna's initiative is actually a response, thereby placing her friend's action in writing at two removes from any dynamic impulse. As Tony Tanner noted in the passage already quoted, it is Lovelace who is 'the source of disruption and molestation, of dark, plotting energy, that makes the book'. Clarissa's script is thus entered into with deep reluctance, and a repudiation of any premeditation in the writing:

Heaven forbid that anything should ever happen which may require it to be produced for the purpose you [Anna Howe] mention!.... I will recite facts only; and leave you to judge of the truth of the report raised that the younger sister has robbed the elder. (15)

Significantly this lack of deceitful artistic purposes in writing is repeated at the end of the book. Once again it is Anna Howe and her mother who request a narrative (16). Clarissa on the other hand feels that she has too much else to do (17), and finally decides on the expedient of allowing the letters themselves to form the narrative, rather than writing a separate work. This of course has all the advantages of seeming objectivity we have already discussed, reinforcing Clarissa's apparent carelessness as to intention, and becoming her 'voucher' for truth, showing her confidence in mere facts recorded. Her reluctance to allow her story to be told is reiterated while she debates how to present the requested narrative, in order to emphasise these impressions:

But, after all, I know not if it were not more eligible by far, that my story, and myself too, should be forgotten as soon as possible. (18)

William Warner sees this sort of plea as another example of Richardson's complicity with Clarissa, especially as Richardson had originally allowed Clarissa to suggest the self-justifying narrative but then withdrawn this on realising it could present Clarissa in a bad light:

There is interesting evidence that Richardson altered prepublication versions of the novel so as to obscure Clarissa's initiative of organizing the book. The novel's first title begins, "The Lady's Legacy" and ends with this sentence: "Published in compliance with the Lady's order on her death-bed, as a warning to unguarded, vain, or credulous innocence." This makes Clarissa directly responsible for the final publication of a book edited by others. But by a year before publication of the first edition, Richardson has changed things, as he explains to Aaron Hill, so as to make "Solicitude for the Publication to be rather Miss Howe's than Clarissa's" (Letters, 77).

Why does Richardson make this change? It is in keeping with Clarissa's decision to produce her book by means of collaboration. Clarissa and Richardson know that urgent first-person attempts at self-justification often lead to the most strident and dubious forms of discourse. If they can disperse the responsibility for this book into several hands, if they can create the impression that it is an objectlike assemblage of letters, they can remove Clarissa from the fray of authorship and assertion. Then this book will seem "unmotivated." It will seem to stand outside, or at least have an even-handed relationship with, the struggle it records. (19)

The problem with this interpretation is that we can only deal with the text as we have it, and although this is notoriously an amalgam of editions and revisions, the book never appeared with Clarissa as the driving force in the book's production. Indeed, the fact that Richardson made this change before publication testifies to his awareness of the correlation between first person narrative and artistry which Pamela had brought about, and his strenuous efforts

to take Clarissa out of reach of this taint. To decide that Richardson and Clarissa collude in the process of making the book seem to be an objective collaboration between characters creates an impression of character autonomy quite beyond the confines of the book, as if at any moment one might have found Clarissa down at Mr. Richardson's shop supervising the progress of her book through the press. We really cannot go beyond the text, a text in which for example, far from the sort of active control that Warner posits, Clarissa never knows the contents of all the letters; some of them appear in the 'collection' after her death (20), and she cannot be supposed to know the contents of all the protagonist's letters (such as those of the awful Brand to her family). Moreover, she never reads all of Lovelace's letters, many of which have had a devastating effect upon her own letters for over two centuries, and indeed without their subversive effect on Clarissa's letters, Warner's book would be unimaginable. In view of this, we must conclude that if Clarissa were actively colluding with Richardson, in Warner's sense, neither she nor Richardson was very successful, and in fact a very real measure of objectivity was achieved.

Another of the methods by which Richardson suggests the nature of Clarissa's writing is to have other characters constantly describe her as 'artless'. Anna Howe for example needs only to receive Clarissa's narrative to believe it:

I have your narrative, my dear. You are the same noble creature you ever were. Above disguise, above art, above attempting to extenuate a failing. (21)

Apparently Clarissa's reputation for veracity is as widespread as Gulliver's. Thus after the rape Lovelace's relations, who have never met Clarissa, are perfectly prepared to take her truth on trust. 'Did the lady set up a contention with you?' Lady Sarah asks Lovelace, immediately answering her own question with the statement 'All nobly sincere and plain-hearted, have I heard Miss Clarissa Harlowe is: above art, above disguise' (22). Lovelace acknowledges the same qualities (a simple but clever stroke of Richardson's) : 'for, in her whole conduct,' he says 'she has shown herself to be equally above temptation and art' (23). Clarissa makes the claim of herself too, telling Mrs. Norton 'if I know my own heart, it is above all trick or artifice' (24).

What Richardson is striving to achieve by this emphasis on an artless script, is belief in Clarissa's script as a straightforward, factual recording of events, which is necessarily truthful therefore. Hers was to be the transparent document beloved of the Puritan; there must be no taint of art in her script in the manner of Pamela. To emphasise the point still further of course, Lovelace was loaded with art, so that a visibly contrasting narrative to Clarissa's lay beside it in the book. It has taken critics much longer to accuse Clarissa of art than it took them to accuse Pamela. Perhaps it took longer because Clarissa's script is internally consistent; perhaps too because Lovelace is so obviously an artful villain that it was difficult to accuse Clarissa of anything to do with art without seeming to align her with Lovelace, which seemed absurd.

But Warner does accuse Clarissa of art, and deceitful art too,

not Barbara Hardy's 'good' art. In doing this, Warner effectively, though I am sure not wittingly, reverted to those Anglican suspicions of Puritan art of three centuries before, of which Parker's Censure of the Platonick philosohie is an excellent example. For the source of Warner's distrust of Clarissa is her claim, backed up by other characters, to be writing without any deceitful artistic intentions, or 'unmotivated' as he calls it. He in contrast discerns a furious will to be at work, shaping her script to make it triumph over Lovelace; she is thus thoroughly artful as far as Warner is concerned. Since Clarissa (according to Warner) attempts to hide this will and intention, she is to him more guileful, or artful, than the 'honestly' artful Lovelace. The active self will that is at the heart of all self creating script, however well hidden, (and Richardson tried very hard to hide it with Clarissa's portrayal), has risen again to dog belief in a 'pure' script. It is to Richardson's credit that this particular criticism of Clarissa has taken so long to appear.

Having tried to establish Clarissa's artlessness by setting up the multi-person perspective, Clarissa's reluctance to write at all, and apparent lack of intention in writing, and by repetition of the term 'artless' (rather as he had done in Pamela), Richardson tried to supply further evidence. One crucial difference in the correspondence between Clarissa and Anna Howe, and between Lovelace and Belford is that the female correspondence is open, because it is written in the English language, while the male correspondence is secret and closed, because it is written in some kind of shorthand. Lovelace orders Belford to 'write to me in character,

as I shall do to you' (25), when secrecy becomes advisable, and the order is never countermanded. Such secrecy is not available to the women however much they transport their letters from place to place. Lovelace is thus able to break into the women's correspondence, with resultant hardening of his attitudes at what he reads there (26). Later Lovelace is able to intercept Anna Howe's warning letter to Clarissa, telling her the nature of the London house (27), intercept Anna Howe's next letter (28), and forge one to Clarissa (29), intercept Clarissa's reply (30), and forge an imitation (31), and finally intercept Anna Howe's last warning letter before the rape (32). The lack of crucial information is at least partly responsible for Clarissa's return to London with Lovelace's supposed relations, and so to the scene of the rape.

Lovelace's correspondence is labelled 'secret' and 'artful' while Clarissa's is 'open' and 'artless'. This secrecy of Lovelace's only confirms his art, and his ever present base intentions in the use of art, unlike Clarissa's script, which was designed to look unmotivated and open, as we have seen.

Clarissa calls her transparent, referential use of the English language the 'language of the heart'. Like 'artless' it is an often repeated phrase, together with its variant 'sincerity'. As well as simply repeating these terms, Clarissa manifests her belief in sincerity by her actions. It is this, like her open correspondence, that makes her so vulnerable in the face of her enemies, and especially to Lovelace's specious but brilliant realistic art. As a testimony to the dreadful potential of

realism, Clarissa continually believes she sees evidence of Lovelace's sincerity, and 'heart':

The ardour with which he vows and promises, I think the heart only can dictate: how else can one guess at a man's heart? (33)

Even Clarissa's handwriting receives comment in order to reinforce the sense of her artlessness. Lovelace indicates how difficult it is to forge such a regular script:

Had it been my beloved's hand, [instead of Anna Howe's] there would have been no imitating for such a length. Her delicate and even mind is seen in the very cut of her letters. (34)

Anna Howe reiterates the relationship between Clarissa's solid style and handwriting and her personality after Clarissa's death, to reinforce the sense of Clarissa's artless script:

The hand she wrote, for the neat and free cut of her letters (like her mind, solid, and above all flourish), for its fairness, evenness, and swiftness, distinguished her as much as the correctness of her orthography, and even punctuation, from the generality of her own sex. (35)

By implication, Clarissa is so natural that anything artificial done in imitation of her is difficult, if not grotesque. It is another means by which Richardson emphasises her artlessness. Thus on discovering Lovelace's substitution of Widow Bevis for Clarissa in order to intercept Anna's letter, Anna Howe emphasises that this was the one thing that Lovelace could not simulate in his realistic art:

Sometimes it seems to me that this familiar assumes the shape of that solemn villain Tomlinson: sometimes that of the execrable Sinclair, as he calls her: sometimes it is permitted to take that of Lady Betty Lawrance - but, when it would assume the angelic shape and mien of my beloved friend, see what a bloated figure it made! (36)

Lest the reader should harbour any lingering doubts as to the artlessness of this heroine Richardson pushed the business of style and the man (or woman) to its furthest extent with Clarissa, seeking by a variety of devices to establish a total correlation between pen, body, and even soul. If this correlation was successful and accepted by the reader, then art was effectively ruled out of Clarissa's script, since what appears on paper simply is Clarissa, much as her physical presence in a room would be Clarissa.

Richardson laboured to establish Clarissa's pen so firmly at the end of her fingers that it should seem to be a part of her body bypassing by implication her brain, and thus obviating any of the deceitful things the brain may think up. Clarissa's pen is meant to become a natural, bodily function. Clarissa often notes for example that her pen runs away with her (37). This is particularly effective in seeming to set aside any deceitful artistic purposes since these runaway remarks reveal weaknesses in Clarissa's character which an artful writer, text controlled by brain, would have eradicated from the text. Hence the relevance of Anna Howe's jubilant applause at Clarissa's being 'above attempting to extenuate any failing' (38).

Once pen and body are established as mere extensions of each other, failure in body is manifested by failure in script. Physically fatigued after so much (mental) pressure from her family, Clarissa finds that 'The pen, through heaviness and fatigue, dropped out of my fingers at the word indebted' (39).

Clarissa stops writing 'since my ink runs nothing but gall', a trite metaphor given new vigour by the emphatic connection of her pen and body. Often her writing is so affected by her physical condition, that the reader is led to imagine the handwriting actually changing at these points:

Don't you see how crooked some of my lines are. Don't you see how some of the letters stagger more than others? That is when this interview [between Clarissa and Lovelace] is more in my head than my subject. (40)

and:

You will not wonder to see this narrative so dismally scrawled. It is owing to different pens and ink, all bad, and written by snatches of time; my hand trembling too with fatigue and grief. (41)

After the rape the direct correlation between woman, pen, and script is manifested in the disruption of the narrative, and what is supposed to be an actual alteration in the manuscript (42). Clarissa's first act after the rape is to write, as if being able to write will bring herself into order. Even Lovelace sees this script as evidence of her shocked state of mind and body (43). When Clarissa escapes for the second time, her distress is manifested in another broken script which she sends 'but to show you what a distracted mind dictates to my trembling pen' (44). Later, in the debtor's prison, Belford discovers Clarissa with 'the forefinger of her right hand in her Bible...Paper, pens, ink, lay by her book on the table' (45), as if pens must be with her in whatever circumstances, for they are part of her nature.

Anna Howe imagines that the resumption of Clarissa's pen

will make Clarissa resume physical strength after her ordeal:

But now you have been able to hold a pen, and as your sense is strong and clear, I hope that the amusement you will receive from writing will make you better. (46)

Clarissa likewise sees her health in terms of her ability or otherwise at 'holding a pen' (47). As she is dying her script does the same, manifested in dashes, and breakings off (48). Anna Howe realises how ill Clarissa is by the state of her script (49). And of course the most devastating evidence of Clarissa's state is that she stops writing, so that the reader's script is curtailed too. It is such an effective device that Richardson tried to obtain maximum benefit from it by allowing it to happen twice, the first being a false start (or stop) (50). So the final hiatus in Clarissa's script 'proved' (for the script stopped) the complete correlation of Clarissa's pen, body, and even soul, all functioning naturally, not artfully like the pen controlled by premeditation as with Lovelace. With the emphasis on 'heart' rather than intellect, the effect is that Clarissa's script is meant to be the product of the 'instant whole man' to use D.H. Lawrence's phrase (51).

The ultimate proof or 'voucher' of Clarissa's artlessness however was meant to be the handing over of her script to others. Thus large parts of the final section of narrative are written by Belford, relieving Clarissa from having to describe her own piety and apparently showing a carelessness about the narrative and its eventual disposal, except as 'facts' speak for themselves. This device also draws Clarissa away from the *mêlée* of writing at

the critical point of her departure from the world. She is thus purified of the body, and purified of even the faintest residue of art that might still be attached to 'holding a pen', for even body = pen is still a tainted formula, as Richardson evidently appreciated.

Lovelace in complete contrast is obviously paired against Clarissa, thematically located among the 'artful'. His stance is a refusal to be bound by any kind of 'natural' correlation between word and thing:

Regardless, nevertheless, I shall be in all I
write, of connection, accuracy, or of anything
but of my 'own imperial will and pleasure. (52)

This stance is of course at the opposite end of the spectrum to Clarissa's pledge that she will give 'facts only'. Lovelace's boast occurs directly before Anna Howe's description of Clarissa as 'Above disguise, above art, above attempting to extenuate a failing', and thus the different aims of the two writers is emphasised.

Other contrasts abound. Clarissa as we have seen is reluctant to start her story; Lovelace bounces energetically into the narrative, without apology or invitation, with an excess of literary references and descriptions of past creativity accompanying him (53). He immediately casts himself as a 'hero in romance' (54), lest the reader were in any doubt about Lovelace's literary proclivities.

Lovelace's first letter is chock full of references to art, and literary quotations, and offers a first glimpse of his love of 'stratagem and contrivance, which thou knowest to be the delight of my heart' (56). Anna Howe contrasts Lovelace's manner of writing with her own and Clarissa's manner, making a firm correlation

between Lovelace's script and art, while that of the two women is innocent:

That you and I, my dear, should love to write, is no wonder. We have always, from the time each could hold a pen, delighted in epistolary correspondencies. Our employments are domestic and sedentary, and we can scribble upon twenty innocent subjects, and take delight in them because they are innocent,...But that such a gay, lively young fellow as this, who rides, hunts, travels, frequents the public entertainments, and has means to pursue his pleasures, should be able to set himself down to write for hours together, as you and I have heard him say he frequently does, that is the strange thing. (57)

Clarissa accuses Lovelace of artfulness from the first day of her going off with him (58), together with cheating (59), with being an 'artful encroacher' (60), and a 'Wicked story-teller' (61). She recognises the premeditation in Lovelace's behaviour 'All his expedients ready, you see!' (62), thereby emphasising her own spontaneity and lack of ready resources when dealing with Lovelace. Clarissa manifests her suspicion of Lovelace in a suspicion of the sheer volume of his words, showing once again her own reluctance to manipulate language, and her sense of its limitations in comparison to sincerity, which often equates to speechlessness:

I have not the better opinion of Mr. Lovelace for his extravagant volubility. He is too full of professions. He says too many fine things of me and to me. True respect, true value, I think, lies not in words: words cannot express it: the silent awe, the humble, the doubting eye, and even the hesitating voice, better show it by much. (63)

Before Lovelace has laid a finger on Clarissa, she calls him 'the seducer' (64), and we must see this as a reference to his ability to tempt by art rather than sex. Lovelace affirms

his love of intrigue, and his 'plotting genius' (65), thereby verifying Clarissa's terminology for him. It is a terminology that increases as Clarissa becomes clear about Lovelace's intentions, especially from the fire scene onwards. Lovelace likens himself to 'the devil in Milton' on discovering himself to Clarissa at Hampstead (66), and is delighted that Miss Rawlins:

would have it, that I was neither more nor less than the devil, and could not keep her eye from my foot; expecting, no doubt, every minute to see it discover itself to be cloven. (67)

Clarissa, like Miss Rawlins, notes Lovelace's Devilish capacity:

He can put on the appearance of an angel of light; but has a black, a very black heart! (68)

Of course in addition to this kind of imagery, the whole plot of Clarissa is evidence of Lovelace's ability to create fictional situations, and characters. Lovelace's strange endeavour is somehow to transform everything to art, and he can be found on occasions trying to preserve his transitory sensations, such as his own sob (69), or Clarissa's conduct during the fire scene (70). Perhaps the final tribute both to the heart, and to art, comes from Lovelace. Tamburlaine like, it is Clarissa's heart that Lovelace wants after her death, but preserved forever by art:

But her heart, to which I have such unquestionable pretensions, in which once I had so large a share, and which I will prize above my own, I will have. I will keep it in spirits. It shall never be out of my sight. (71)

This is of course Lovelace's error, trying desperately to fix and preserve the heart when the reality, which was a spontaneous concurrence of thought and thing, and which could really have been kept in spirits, that is kept happy and alive, has escaped him.

Marlowe's Tamburlaine (1587-8) is an interesting parallel that points to one aspect at least of Lovelace's sin. Tamburlaine it will be remembered, wants to carry Zenocrate's embalmed body around with him until he dies (Part II, Act II, Sc. iv. 11.129-132) and puts a whole town to the flame after her death. Lovelace similarly wants to preserve Clarissa's body and heart, and to offer up 'Whole hecatombs' to Clarissa (72). What he shares with Tamburlaine is overweening pride, manifested in a desire to resist death and preserve achievements in art.

In the face of this love of art stands Clarissa's own reliance on 'heart'. Lovelace exploits this naive reliance to the full:

A dear silly soul, thought I at the time, to depend upon the goodness of her own heart, when the heart cannot be seen into but by its actions;...To neglect to cultivate the opinions of individuals, when the whole world is governed by appearance! (73)

So Clarissa 'reads' the fictions Lovelace creates in a world of appearances, and believing them to be real, falls victim:

The world into which Lovelace initiates Clarissa is denatured in still other aspects. Everything in it is in fact a triumph of "Art". As at Harlowe-Place, the heroine's conventional models of behaviour, like her models of linguistic usage, are insufficient to the interpretation of its vagaries. For all her "watchful penetration" (Lovelace speaks at several points in mock fear of her "penetrating eye"), she is the dupe of appearances - of phenomenological data as much as of words. (74)

But Clarissa does not remain a victim. The didactic tendency of the book at least is evidently meant to illustrate Clarissa's apotheosis into saint triumphant, which on a literary level corresponds to the triumph of 'nature' over 'art'. It is here

that Richardson tried to effect his greatest coup with the reader's interpretation of the book, for strictly speaking, by the end of the book it is not 'nature' which is everywhere triumphant, but an allegorical representation of nature. What Richardson attempted to do was to blur the barrier between the two concepts, nature and allegory, and in effect proclaim that allegory and nature were the same. This is done specifically by pressing the triumph of Clarissa's language over Lovelace's. In this way in Clarissa Richardson tried to resolve the dilemma that lay at the heart of Puritan narrative, a dilemma which had vexed both himself in Pamela, and Defoe in Robinson Crusoe, whereby the forcing of realistic portrayal into traditional allegorical models had exposed the fictive, and therefore deceitful elements of both forms. In Clarissa Richardson divided his narrative between two protagonists initially labelled 'nature' and 'art'. He then gradually shifted these labels into the paradoxical ones of 'allegory' and 'realism', paradoxical because we normally think of allegory and art as closely related, while realism is related to nature. By the time Clarissa becomes the allegorical figure of 'Holy living and Holy dying' (75), she is so firmly located with 'nature' that Richardson hoped that her in fact highly stylised departure would seem the most natural, or 'artless' thing in the world. To understand the novel in this connection, we must see Lovelace as the creator of a new, and much feared, deceitful form, that is realism, or what Richardson might have called verisimilitude. Richardson was presenting Lovelace's realism, not in terms of its 'natural' equivalence

but the reverse, that is its unnatural, deceitful potential, which was in fact more deceitful the more natural it looked.

It was Dr. Johnson who articulated this fear of realism in critical form in his Rambler No. 4 (1750), written after the publication of Fielding's Tom Jones (1748). Although Dr. Johnson did not use the word 'realism' it is clearly this kind of writing he has in mind. It is a form of writing which he felt could 'take possession of the memory by a kind of violence, and produce effects almost without the intervention of the will' (76). This is of course exactly what happens to Clarissa. Cast his plots, and characters how he will, Lovelace always manages to convince Clarissa they are real, producing effects without the intervention of her will which, when it is able to operate, is antagonistic to Lovelace's behaviour. But Clarissa rather suspects Lovelace of art than sees it with the evidence of her own eyes, at least until it is too late. Dr. Johnson said of Clarissa, 'You may observe there is always something which she prefers to truth' (77). But this is because she falls a victim to realistic fiction, that is material that has as its most terrifying potential a capacity to look exactly like the truth, yet not be truth. Dr. Johnson's sense that realism is artful and dangerous is a distillation of many ancient fears of fiction. As such, it was something he felt compelled to warn an unwary public against.

In this connection, and a very good clue to Richardson's when writing the novel, we should look at Richardson's advice to Charlotte Lennox as she was planning her own novel The Female Quixote:

Dear Madam,

It is my humble Opinion, that you should finish your Heroine's Cure in your present Vols. The method you propose, tho' it might flatter my Vanity, yet will be thought a Contrivance between the Author of Arabella, and the Writer of Clarissa, to do Credit to the latter; and especially if the Contraste <would> will take up much Room in the proposed 3d Volume. (78)

Arabella's 'Cure' it will be remembered is, as Duncan Isles puts it, 'her discovery of the difference between history and fiction, and hence her rejection of the ethics of French heroic romances' (79). The business of the 'Cure' was the area that Mrs. Lennox wanted to draw to mind, and also to 'contraste' with Clarissa. Evidently Mrs. Lennox had recognised that the central theme of Richardson's book was the struggle by the heroine to discover the difference between fiction and fact, and she wanted to use this theme in her own novel, albeit differently presented since it was a comedy. Clarissa had in fact become an exemplar to her sex.

If we examine the nature of Arabella's 'illness' before her 'Cure' we may feel still more confident that Richardson intended Clarissa to be engaged not only in the struggle to discern fiction from fact, but specifically deceitful realistic fiction from fact. Clarissa meets entirely credible fictions, which dupe her tragically against her will, and sometimes, as Dr. Johnson puts it, 'without the intervention of the will.' For Arabella to 'contraste' with this, (a feature which seems to have embarrassed Richardson; perhaps he thought Mrs. Lennox was trying to 'puff' her own novel by placing it in the same class as his own), the fictions she meets must be incredible, and her duping be brought

about by her wilful desire to believe in the palpably unreal. And this is indeed the case, for few things could be more incredible than French heroic romances, and the comedy lies in Arabella's wilful clinging to belief in its conventions. The point of contact between Clarissa and The Female Quixote is that both heroines are engaged in trying to discern the real from some kind of fiction.

As The Female Quixote, itself a romance, (albeit a parodic one) delivered a warning against French heroic romances, so Clarissa, a realistic novel, delivers a warning against realism. As The Female Quixote was a qualified romance however, so in a way Clarissa is a work of qualified realism. What Richardson evidently wanted to triumph in the book (whether it does or not is of course the great debate) is Clarissa's ultimately two dimensional, allegorical style, with Lovelace's deceitful realism revealed as dangerous and evil, and rejected accordingly.

The movement towards the triumph of allegory takes the form of a confrontation about the assumptions language. Much of Clarissa's conflict with her family is a conflict as to whose language, and therefore whose assumptions, will be accepted. James and Clarissa dispute early in the novel as to whether she is 'perverse' or 'averse' (80). In the same letter, James describes Clarissa's appeals as 'whining vocatives'. He repeats this phrase in a subsequent letter, calling them 'nothing-meaning vocatives! once more, Madam Clary, repeats the pedant your brother!' (81) as if he realises the debate to be linguistic. He also invents a new word 'pervicacy' asking 'Shall I be a pedant, miss, for this

word?' (82). He pretends he is learning 'to take up the softer language, where you have laid it down', or, in other words, pretends that he is changing his assumptions about language, from his autocratic and patriarchal assumptions, whereby language is to command inferiors, to assumptions which will suit Clarissa. Earlier in the book, Clarissa has had a similar linguistic dispute with her father. Protesting her duty to him she is told, 'No protestations, girl! No words! I will not be prated to!' (83). As Clarissa starts to 'hope', her word is turned against her with one of her own much loved words 'facts', again used with entirely different assumptions to her own: 'Hope nothing. Tell me not of hopes, but of facts' (84).

Lovelace realises early that the debate is about linguistic assumptions. Indeed, Lovelace's success in deceiving others, and especially Clarissa, is based upon his use of the conventional linguistic assumption that there is a concurrence between word, and thing. He also tries to turn Clarissa's words against her, calling her a 'promise-breaker':

O my beloved creature, what are these but words!
Whose words? Sweet and ever adorable - what?
 Promise-breaker, must I call you? (85)

Lovelace does not rest content with this subversion of Clarissa's words however, but brings on the big guns, making her own special words 'God' and 'truth' work against her, by seeming to share her reverence for these terms, while all the time his own assumptions about God and truth are entirely irreverent:

may that God, whom you profess to serve, and who is the God of truth and of promises, protect and bless you, for both. (86)

One of Clarissa and Lovelace's earliest disputes is about whose words should be accepted between them. Of course all disputes may be said to be linguistic until the combatants descend to violence, but the participants are usually under the impression that if their method is words, the issue is something else. Clarissa and Lovelace in contrast are entirely word conscious: 'for your words are yet in my ears and at my heart' says Lovelace (87). 'Not a word, sir, against my father!' Clarissa replies, completing her part with 'O sir! sir! are you so critical then? Are you so light in your anger as to dwell upon words?' (88). Finally, brilliantly, Lovelace pretends that the dispute is resolved by the supremacy of Clarissa's word: 'Only, madam, by your word' (89), he says, seeming to share and to give a value to her words, and hence her world view, that her family denied:

in these early stages Lovelace seems to take what Clarissa says at face value. When they talk he does not put glosses on her words; he appears to accept her determinations, her intended meaning, as binding upon him...Lovelace seems to Clarissa, unlike any of the Harlowes, to read her "heart". She worries occasionally that he is too glib, that indeed he may lack a "heart" himself (and be controlled instead by the deracinating dictates of the "head"), but she trusts him at this point more than not. He seems to give her what she has lacked - a chance at speech, uncorrupted by "misrepresentation." (90)

During the course of a series of arguments however, Clarissa comes to see that Lovelace is actually as careless as her family about the basis of her language, which effectively means the basis of her existence. She realises that he has turned her into a blank letter, to which only he can give meaning:

his bountiful temper and gay heart attach every one to him; and I am but a cypher, to give him significance, and myself pain. (91)

The cypher is the reverse of what Clarissa eventually triumphantly becomes. She changes from a cypher, that is the mathematical sign for zero, empty and void until a figure of meaning (Lovelace) is placed in front of it, to a symbol embodying a weight of exemplary meaning both for herself and others. It is interesting to note that in the image of Clarissa as cypher, Richardson in effect acknowledges the essential lack of form and meaning that Clarissa has until Lovelace appears. Lovelace then gives Clarissa meaning, initially meaning she does not want, but eventually, in resistance, she forms her own shape. Lovelace however, by giving her something to resist, has in effect offered her the capacity to create her own meaning for herself. The meaning she chooses is that of the exemplar. The 'cypher' is thus the high spot of Lovelace's language, the exemplar of Clarissa's.

The worst part of the linguistic struggle occurs not merely with Clarissa turned into a cypher but when other characters start to accept Lovelace's language. Until this point, Clarissa had felt that her vocabulary was accepted as having objective validity which she is able to hold to, and indeed while she writes to Anna Howe as a kind of touchstone, it is. If Lovelace and the whores for example oppose Clarissa's meaning, their very opposition testifies to some kind of meaning in her words. At Hampstead however, Clarissa is deficient of Anna Howe's external validation of her language, for the much wished for letter from

Anna Howe, is intercepted. This is disastrous, for language is meaningless unless social. Both Clarissa and Lovelace have struggled to have their language publicly accepted. Now it is Lovelace who succeeds. Even the 'good' women at Hampstead seem to accept his buoyant, deceitful language:

Upon the whole, I began to think that I had not made a bad exchange of our professing mother, for the unprofessing Mrs. Moore. And indeed the women and I, and my beloved too, all mean the same thing: we only differ about the manner of coming at the proposed end. (92)

Lovelace in effect pretends that his realistic words, that is words which look authentic, are actually authentic, and in this case, good. He refuses to accept Clarissa's correlation of language and truth.

It is at this point when Lovelace has gained control of language that we can see the difference between their linguistic assumptions. To Clarissa, words exist solidly between people, representing not merely agreed, but actual concepts:

Her understanding is limited because she believes, innocently enough, in a correspondence between utterance and truth, between the outward sign and the inward reality. Clarissa's basic linguistic assumption is that words embody, absolutely and transparently, the inner life of the speaker. As she reveals to Anna, she holds implicitly to a myth of language, which she applies first to her own discourse, and then by extension to the speech of others. Utterance, she assumes, is grounded in being and truth. (93)

As the complete opposite to this Lovelace shows that words have no solidity for him; they are mere air, sometimes serving no other purpose than to expel feelings that may have no real existence anyway, but are the mere creations of those words.

Lovelace tells Belford that both he and the mock-Captain Tomlinson, make their greatest error when they try to argue with him, because this allows him to proffer arguments in return, and thus to evaporate his feelings into mere words:

But the varlet to argue with me! To pretend to convince a man, who knows in his heart that he is doing a wrong thing! He [Tomlinson] must needs think that this would put me upon trying what I could say for myself; and when the excited compunction can be carried from the heart to the lips, it must evaporate in words. (94)

For Lovelace words exist merely to serve whatever creative purpose he has. As a realistic fiction maker, he is perfectly capable of using Clarissa's words, which she assumes to be solid and immutable, for his purposes too. As a result, the reader's assumptions about the meaning of language are called into doubt as well. Contemplating whether he can 'make a greater fault serve as a sponge to a lesser' Lovelace once again uses Clarissa's words for his own purposes, inverting her assumptions about words into his own fluid assumptions about language:

I can justify myself to myself; and that, as the fair invincible would say, is all in all. (95)

If all words are there for the fashioning, with nothing absolute behind them, all of life's actions become similarly undefined. It is not only Clarissa who feels that she wanders in a maze of doubt and ignis fatui. The reader too wanders in a text full of exciting lights, which seem to lead somewhere but do not. Lovelace is in the thick of changing words (especially

Clarissa's words) for his own purposes. Once again therefore, when coaxing the false Lady Betty and Charlotte Montague in their parts it is Clarissa's own words (a quotation from a text) which Lovelace uses against her:

Have I not told you that my beloved is a great observer of the eyes? She once quoted upon me a text, which showed me how she came by her knowledge. (96)

The text is from Ecclesiastes, which Clarissa would call 'Holy Writ'. Richardson glosses the text as follows:

Eccclus. XXVI: The whoredom of a woman may be known in her haughty looks and eyelids. Watch over an impudent eye, and marvel not if it trespass against thee. (97)

Here, the reader may feel that no writ is Holy, for Lovelace is able to use the Bible for his own purposes as well as any other group of words. Of course it was well known that the Devil might quote scripture. The problem is that the text does not rise up to vindicate itself. The women are whores, so the text is right; but Clarissa does not see this in her meeting with them. The text seems to be mere words indeed, giving Clarissa none of the solid, practical advice and vicarious experience she expects from it.

Lovelace is of course aware of this very weakness in her system:

She has a world of knowledge; knowledge speculative, as I may say; but no experience! How should she? Knowledge by theory only is a vague uncertain light: a will-o'-the-wisp, which as often misleads the doubting mind as puts it right. (98)

This is a strong echo of Clarissa's sense of wandering in doubt looking at false fires. She has been led astray by Lovelace's

creative realism, but also apparently by her own assumptions about language, about words which she had trusted because she believed they had the sanction of God and society. Of course, this sense of the relativity of language was dangerous ground for Richardson too.

Lovelace's linguistic power continues for a short time after the rape. Clarissa's verbal incoherence is shown typographically by her delirious letter, Paper X (99). 'I can write nothing at all' Clarissa claims in Paper I (100). Of course she actually writes a great deal, ten papers in fact of remarkably coherent narrative as Lovelace notes (101). Symbolically however these papers represent a hiatus in Clarissa's script, the greatest disruption that has occurred so far in the body manifested as writing.

But the apparent relativity of language had to be rescinded, Lovelace's triumph revoked, since Richardson's purpose was to give Clarissa's narrative and linguistic assumptions the victory. Gradually therefore Clarissa is made to resume authority:

Thus commentators on Clarissa note often that after the rape Lovelace finds Clarissa's "will" suddenly and curiously activated. When all his plots come to light, she takes on, at last, an "authority", an outrage, that he has never seen in her before. Rather than confirming her humiliation, the experience of rape energizes new powers of psychic resistance. She henceforth despises Lovelace - with a kind of magnificent lucidity. A successful physical flight soon follows. Yet what has been called Clarissa's "moral" escape has another dimension. Through an extended and complex process of disaffiliation, she leaves behind the gibbering, incoherent world of "bad Signs" itself. (102)

This is indeed the case. Lovelace imagines meeting Clarissa when she is restored to sanity, her language lost in sexual consciousness:

speech lost in sighs - abashed - conscious -
 what a triumphant aspect will this give me when
 I gaze in her downcast countenance! (103)

Instead it is he who is speechless. Throughout their meeting Lovelace is reduced to a trembling, broken gabble. Clarissa has all the words, while Lovelace stutters and finally peters out:

I hesitated an interruption: but my meaning
 died away upon my trembling lips. I could only
 pronounce the word - marriage. (104)

So Lovelace who normally creates the scenes that Clarissa reports to Anna Howe, or that he reports to Belford is reduced to sending Belford a script in which the words, and especially the assumptions behind them, are Clarissa's. The pen that we have seen tremble under the impact of a Lovelacean scene now trembles in Lovelace's fingers after a scene orchestrated by Clarissa (105). Clarissa finally sees what he has done to her in terms of the way meaning, which she had assumed to be fixed and immutable, may become meaningless:

And let me hope that I may be entitled to the
 performance of your promise, to be permitted
 to leave this innocent house, as one called
 it (but long have my ears been accustomed to
 such inversions of words), as soon as the day
 breaks. (106)

She is later to make the same point about the inversion of words to Belford; after the rape she relates

Belford's language to the male sex, as Lovelace earlier notes what he saw as the characteristics of female language:

O wretches! what a sex is yours! Have you all one dialect? Good and sacred! If, sir, you can find an oath, or a vow, or an adjuration, that my ears have not been twenty times a day wounded with, then speak it, and I may again believe a MAN. (107)

Clarissa makes the specific correlation between language and experience, that element previously lacking from her linguistic system. As a result of the rape, she has both a new reliance on words, and a new ability to see that words which she had thought to be the label to the thing, are capable of no meaning:

Nay, sir, if you swear, I must doubt you!
If you yourself think your WORD insufficient, what reliance can I have on your OATH! O that this my experience had not cost me so dear! (108)

Clarissa moves into an allegorical mode of self presentation as the movement towards her death proceeds, partly in order to be seen to be an exemplar, and partly because she no longer sees a straightforward congruence between words and things, and so transfers her linguistic assumptions into representing a truth beyond earth. This sphere at least will prove truly immutable. At the end of the book Clarissa thus becomes a metaphoric writer in the widest sense, her words no longer strictly referential, but two dimensional and symbolic. Richardson makes Clarissa's triumph revolve around the immutability of allegorical language, and shows Lovelace's realism to be of all things the most mutable, thus reversing the thrust of the antagonism often felt towards Puritan metaphorical language. Richardson is able, in his own

work at least, to thematically support traditional Puritan style, language and assumptions, against a realism which he had himself made use of, but had revealed as potentially deceitful and unstable, and thus fearful in the extreme.

Meeting Lovelace a second time after the rape, Clarissa tells him that her death at the hands of Sinclair and the whores would be welcome to her. He tries to silence Clarissa with a male retort, showing his contempt of female language again:

'Tis idle, very idle, to talk of dying.
Mere young-lady talk, when controlled by those
they hate. (109)

But Lovelace is instead demolished by Clarissa's new found oratory. As a result of this new linguistic dominance on Clarissa's part, he transfers his energies instead to Clarissa's weaker surrogate Belford in the last quarter of the book.

Belford becomes a complete convert to the Clarissean ideal of language, to female language, Biblical language, and eventually to traditional Puritan style. Lovelace, always aware of language, notes Belford's progress down the slippery path. Initially Lovelace continues to use Clarissa's language in a mocking way; yet he is surprised at Belford's serious use of it:

The barbarous insults of the two nymphs, in their visits to her; ... are outrages that, to express myself in her style, I never can, never will forgive.

But as to thy opinion, and the two women's at Smith's, that her heart is broken; that is the true women's language: I wonder how thou camest into it: thou who hast seen and heard of so many female deaths and revivals. (110)

Belford gives Lovelace more cause for surprise by declaiming first upon the language of 'Love' (111), and then on the 'truly

easy, simple, and natural' style of the Bible (112). Finally Belford becomes quite explicit as to his conversion to female language, and specifically to Puritan style allegorical language, allying himself with Clarissa's triumph. He makes an allegorical excursion himself into the 'seeds of death' and human 'soil', forcing this allegorical usage into Lovelace's teeth, and rejecting their previous narrative style:

This speech, Bob, thou wilt call a prettiness; but the allegory is just; and thou hast not quite cured me of the metaphorical. (113)

The fact that Lovelace had tried to 'cure' Belford of metaphorical (and as the theme tries relentlessly to enforce, stable) language shows Lovelace's alignment with non-metaphorical realism, which Richardson has now shown to be delusive and very unstable as an indicator of truth. It is of course Lovelace's recognition that most of society unquestioningly believes in a congruence of word and thing (though not as devoutly as the pre-rape Clarissa) that has allowed him to subvert it, and become such a brilliant realistic deceiver. It is Lovelace's reliance on society's belief in the real, and the literal, that is at last turned against him, as he had turned this belief against Clarissa. This happens when Clarissa sends him her allegorical letter:

Sir, - I have good news to tell you. I am setting out with all diligence for my father's house. I am bid to hope that he will receive his poor penitent with a goodness peculiar to himself. (114)

The letter is taken literally by the realist, and Lovelace imagines Clarissa is on her way back to Harlowe Place. However adept he is in subverting the literalist assumption that 'words'

stand for 'things', he is hopelessly inept with words which are symbolical, and stand for something non-literal.

Clarissa expresses herself uneasy at the use of even this piece of 'artifice':

I hope (repeated she) that it is a pardonable artifice. But I am afraid it is not strictly right. (115)

The reader of course is meant to be, at the very least, sympathetic to Clarissa, and prepared to accept the letter as a 'pardonable artifice'. But Clarissa's doubt about the letter raises her above even the deceit of the 'pardonable artifice', an effect which culminates as we have seen, in her finally giving up writing altogether, and thus her role in the dangerous arena of writing is eradicated before she dies. Subsequent events vindicate Clarissa anyway, and she does in effect write Lovelace a letter 'after she is in heaven' as Lovelace puts it (116) on discovering the allegorical nature of her letter, or at least as close as she can get to it in the form of her posthumous letters to Lovelace, and the entire Harlowe clan. Evidently Richardson intended the coalescence of Clarissa's words and the 'truth' to be as close as possible by the end of the novel. The 'truth' in Clarissa became a non-literal, other-worldly matter, unsurprisingly located in conventional Puritan style script. The difference between this and other Puritan writings was that Richardson had done his best to overcome the artificiality of this form, which had dogged so many real autobiographies, and indeed Richardson and Defoe's own first novels, when the form came up against a more overtly 'natural' looking realistic

script. By a variety of thematic devices Richardson had tried to push spiritual autobiography towards 'nature' and the 'truth' in the reader's mind, so that by an intellectual adherence they would accept that, rather like Pope's dictum 'Homer and Nature were the same', that nature and Puritan symbolism were the same. By this means, what many had thought of as an artificial looking form, spiritual autobiography would be accepted as 'natural', in the sense of being a congruence between word and truth, and thus the opposite of Lovelace's deceitful, though naturalistic looking art. Clarissa's final Puritan style, and on occasions overtly allegorical script, becomes associated with her striving after truth, while Lovelace's truthful seeming script is tainted by its association with art and deceit. The reader is thus forced to accede to Clarissa's script not merely by virtue of the correlation between it, 'nature' and 'truth' that Richardson pressed home, but also because his own experience (exactly like the reader's in Roxana), is of wandering in a maze that looks like the truth, of following stories that seem to lead somewhere with characters one gets involved with, only to see these shapes disappear before the gaze. It is an uncomfortable sensation for the reader. Intellectually therefore he must choose Clarissa's side of the struggle, because she represents the good, and the true, and in order to return to linguistic stability, the comforting sense of a congruence, if not between word and thing, at least between word and stable meaning. The alternative is linguistic relativity, and that is indeed too close to Lovelace for comfort.

So the book moves thematically, and intellectually towards the triumph of Clarissa's linguistic assumptions, which by the end of the book are firmly based in a traditional, and symbolical, Puritan style.

But the theme of a book is not all that a book either contains, or achieves, and indeed if this were the case, there would be no accounting for the critical debate, and diverse reader reaction that has surrounded Clarissa for over two centuries.

The fascination of Clarissa lies in the fact that readers always have, and have not done what Richardson required of them in reading his book. Their failure to do what he wanted has long been recognised to lie in the equation of Lovelace with art, although it is also due to this equation that the reader ultimately rejects Lovelace, as we have discussed above. The reason the reader may fail emotionally to do what Richardson wants, even while Richardson ultimately succeeds thematically and intellectually, is that in trying to free Clarissa from the taint of fictionalising that had clung to Pamela, Richardson took away from Clarissa a powerful array of weapons and handed them to her enemy. In addition, as an artist himself, he failed to appreciate how closely he would become involved with the portrayal of another artist. There is no other way of accounting for the extraordinary subversive force of Lovelace's script, which seems to go against the tendency of the work, and certainly against Richardson's conscious formulations of what he was trying to achieve as evidenced in the preface and postscript to Clarissa.

Clarissa's writing, as we have seen, becomes increasingly two dimensional in the course of the book, unrealistic in the sense that it omits half the range of human activity, while ultimately even any residual realism is taken away by her death, with the barren will and posthumous letters becoming her final scripts.

Meanwhile, Lovelace has apparently been the creator of the narrative action, and has carried the forward momentum of the book. These are all qualities which are attractive to the reader. Moreover, his narrative has evinced all the energy attached to full artfulness, including a capacity to release the pent up frustration that tends to accompany the reading of Clarissa's two dimensional script. Lovelace is in fact a massively enlarged Mr. B., and like Mr. B. few critics have ever managed to be as devastating to Richardson's heroines as their internal critics: Warner's whole thesis for example is based on the idea that Clarissa works hard to align her narrative with the world's 'moral' view. Lovelace makes exactly the same point (with some additional sexism):

But with some, indeed, everything she does must be good, everything I do must be bad. And why? Because she has always taken care to coax the stupid misjudging world, like a woman: while I have constantly defied and despised its censures, like a man. (117)

Who but Lovelace could express so well the sense that Warner and other critics have that Clarissa wills herself to die as the final 'proof' of her piety?:

But after all, if she recover not, this reflection must be my comfort; and it is truth: that her departure will be owing rather to

wilfulness, to downright female wilfulness, than to any other cause.

It is difficult for people who pursue the dictates of a violent resentment to stop where they first designed to stop....

So this lady, as I suppose, intended only at first to vex and plague me; and, finding she could do it to purpose, her desire of revenge insensibly became stronger in her than the desire of life; and now she is willing to die, as an event which she thinks will cut my heart-strings asunder. And still the more to be revenged, puts on the Christian and forgives me. (118)

The release that results from this kind of subversion of Clarissa's stance explains one source of Lovelace's attraction to readers.

This kind of subversive appeal of Lovelace is certainly the pattern of the first half of the book. But the two examples quoted are from the end of the book, where the whole momentum seems to be solidly forwarding the Clarissean position. This creates a rather odd effect, which lends credibility to the theory that Richardson's attraction to Lovelace was unconscious. By allowing release, Lovelace's statements attract. By incorporating what is in effect the other 'side' of Clarissa's one sided portrayal of events, they have in addition a tendency to look like the truth. This is indeed an aspect of Lovelace's realism, and Clarissa's lack of it, as we have seen. And a grain of truth goes a long way in a narrative, as Lovelace always knew. By allowing this explosive alternative vision, much of Lovelace's lying is made acceptable. This explains the strange adherence to Lovelace's viewpoint by many readers, despite its ultimately abhorrent nature, an adherence that always confused Richardson.

The source of Lovelace's appeal then, in addition to his

creativity, is his ability to subvert the status quo. Lovelace is a good novelist from this point of view, and indeed if he had used all his fictional creativity to pass back into reality in this way instead of to deceive, the book might have been very different, and Lovelace might have been a hero rather than the villain.

Thus apart from shredding the mercantilist hypocrisy of the Harlowes, Lovelace attacks such diversities as the profane idiocy of the aristocrat, as embodied in the aged Lord M. (119), aristocratic illiteracy (120), marriage as an institution (121), Providential guidance (122), and Platonic love (123). The example of annual marriages in Lovelace's meditation on marriage is particularly memorable, being an example of Lovelace's capacity for narrative fantasy powerful enough to engage the reader's belief. It is the same as his fantasy plot to kidnap Anna Howe and her mother (124), and Lovelace's extended fantasy about the rape trial (125). As these stories progress, Lovelace creates dialogue, characters, and action. At their end, it is as if they had actually occurred.

In all of these attacks, Lovelace is a brilliant novelist, using his fictions to cast new light on accepted modes and mores. Lovelace's subversion is an agreeable part of a book that asks many questions. The danger is that the man who seems to be the protagonist of such novelty may become too attractive. Lovelace's deceit oscillates with his truth in an ambivalent manner.

What is strongest of all of Lovelace's sources of attraction

however, and the most revealing of more than merely his own character, is that he attracts because of his attacks on Clarissa. Lovelace embodies what many readers (i.e. erring mortals) will have felt very afraid of, and therefore antagonistic to, viz. the supremely if not divinely good. Clarissa is often called a 'genius' by admirers; later she is called a 'saint'. These qualities do not always provoke admiration however:

it is not so easy for mental giants who neither hate nor intend to injure their fellows to realize that nevertheless their fellows hate mental giants and would like to destroy them, not only enviously because the juxtaposition of a superior wounds their vanity, but quite humbly and honestly because it frightens them. Fear will drive men to any extreme; and the fear inspired by a superior being is a mystery which cannot be reasoned away. Being immeasurable it is unbearable when there is no presumption or guarantee of its benevolence and moral responsibility: in other words when it has no official status....the strange superiority of Christ and the fear it inspires elicits a shriek of Crucify Him from all who cannot divine its benevolence. Socrates has to drink the hemlock, Christ to hang on the cross, and Joan to burn at the stake. (126)

It is this sort of fear that lends energy to Lovelace's onslaughts. He is continually maddened by his sense of inferiority before Clarissa, a superiority often emanating from her mere presence. Through Lovelace, the reader shares the need to destroy the fearful good, and most fascinating of all, actively seeks that evil. For what Lovelace makes clear in his attacks on Clarissa is what she leaves out in her goodness. And this is more than the 'jouissance' and 'subversive wit' that Terry Eagleton saw as the qualities to be given up (though they must go too, and they are part of what makes us cling to Lovelace). What she leaves out we have already defined as evil, the other half of the human spectrum. And we

cannot do without it. It becomes clear that we actively seek it. Clarissa's narrative puts the reader under such pressure that it becomes almost unbearable, and we are there with Lovelace at the destruction.

Thus the problem with Lovelace as energetic creator is that he makes the reader experience the attractions of his fictive realism. Fortunately for Richardson's conscious intentions for the book, he also makes the reader feel the dangers, and he does this precisely because his fictions are so effective and so successful. Something strange occurs as we follow Lovelace's fictions, even when they are recognized to be fictions. Typical of the inner audience reaction we saw at work in Pamela, Richardson creates something of the reader's sensations within the book. Many characters testify to their sense of the powerful attractions of Lovelace's fictions, and that despite recognition from many of them that his stories are reprehensible, or mere lies. Ironically the Harlowes are won over initially by the power of Lovelace's script (127), and this is the first step in Clarissa's correspondence with Lovelace which she is later to make the chief cause of her fall. Belford, waiting for his uncle to die, and already a devotee of Clarissa, nevertheless begs for letters from Lovelace (128), even while he knows that these will be about Lovelace's schemes against Clarissa. He continues to demand narrative after the rape, and after his horror at it, a fact which Lovelace notes with suitable irony at Belford's expense, and suitable recognition of his own power as story teller:

Have I nothing new, nothing diverting, in my whimsical way, thou askest, in one of thy three

letters before me, to entertain thee with? And thou tellest me that, when I have least to narrate, to speak in the Scottish phrase, I am most diverting. A pretty compliment, either to thyself, or to me. To both indeed! A sign that thou hast as frothy a heart as I a head. (129)

No one is more aware than Lovelace of the power of art to tempt and attract against reason, and conscious intent - except perhaps his author. As a last example, Lovelace's own family gather after the rape to castigate him. But they fail to take into account his power at story telling, and are won over against their will:

Ay, Belford, applauders, repeat I; for although these girls pretend to blame me sometimes for the facts, they praise my manner, my invention, my intrepidity. (130)

As a result, during the recital of the wrongs done to Clarissa, the whole group can hardly stop laughing (131). The characters within the book thus go through the same process as the reader outside the book, testifying to the power of art to take possession of the mind by a kind of violence.

The reader having seen this at work among the characters (chief among whom of course is Clarissa herself, with the central theme of the book her struggle to discern truth from fiction) gets a strong sense of it himself. For Lovelace is the artist in the book, and the reader is dependent on him for the plot. But it is a plot that leads nowhere. The effect of Lovelace's fictions are peculiar. Like him the reader is often led to wish they had existence in reality (132). Some of Lovelace's stories are not known to be sham until part way through, as with Captain Tomlinson's first appearance for example, Lovelace's sickness, or the fire scene.

But even where his scenes are known to be fictions, the reader follows them as if they are real, such is the power of Lovelace's creations. Lovelace himself is thoroughly aware of being a realistic artist: 'What a capacity for glorious mischief has thy friend! - Yet how near the truth all of it!' he announces exultantly (133). And like Clarissa, at the end of the book few readers can be completely sure of the full extent of what is true, and what is false in his stories. Are the marriage settlements really drawn up by a lawyer for instance? Did the marriage certificate ever have an honourable purpose? Are all the letters from Miss Montagu and Lady Charlotte real? Most disturbing is the experience of following a tale with involvement, and even belief, like Clarissa, only to have it snatched away. Reading Lovelace's narrative is like reading a chapter, in which renunciations and disclaimers constantly change the perspective. While reading Lovelace's fiction, there is scarcely a figure or scene that is not capable of mutating into something else, or of being casually removed, despite the seeming solidity with which they occupy the imagination, and indeed despite the fact that these fictions seem to substantially affect events. Like Clarissa, the reader follows this 'action', and even makes judgements on quite spurious events. Clarissa's struggle does not even have the power of the positive over the negative, for her truth has to operate against something which, while it is a lie, is nevertheless moving men, emotions, and events.

Thus the terms of her truth are set by the boundaries of Lovelace's lies, or fiction, which fiction as a result becomes a

sort of truth. Iago in like manner creates the circumstances in which Othello actually becomes the jealous husband, despite the fact that it is a fictitious circumstance - and Desdemona becomes really stained by it too, despite its complete fictionality. Such an effect is like a nightmare, and must ultimately work against Lovelace. There can be only relief when Clarissa begins to operate her own internally consistent narrative again. If human kind cannot bear very much reality, it equally cannot bear an endless multiplication of unreality. Clarissa's hollow symbolic script, and coffin devices are the price that must be paid in Richardson's work for a sense of narrative security.

No one knew more than Richardson that the struggle was not an easy one - except that is Clarissa, and the generations of readers who have struggled too, and sometimes taken 'sides' which bear witness to the power of the struggle. If the aim of the best eighteenth-century satire was to make the reader participate as satiric object, the didactic thrust of Defoe and Richardson is part of the same moral tendency to make the reader feel as well as read, and thus lose his comforting detachment from the contents of the book.

8.1 Conclusion

So Richardson managed to issue his warning against realistic fiction through a work which (thanks to Lovelace) looks like realism, but finally is not realism. That Richardson's success was limited is evidenced by the many revisions he was to make to

his work in the years after its publication.

For our purposes, the results of Richardson's torn and struggling work are more successful than any 'success' of the kind Richardson imagined he wanted to write. It also places Richardson firmly in the "tradition" we have been examining in this thesis, in which Puritan novelists tried to warn readers against the deceit of art, and especially of realistic fiction, through works that were themselves realistic and therefore exemplified the dangers. Defoe and Richardson had come to this didactic purpose when audience reaction to a first publication had revealed these dangers to them. Their personal involvement with their seemingly innocent creations, *Crusoe* and *Pamela*, who had subsequently been called liars, gave their didactic purpose urgency. Their solution was to involve their readers with attractive artists who, after giving the reader vivid experience of the attractions of art, had also to be rejected as liars, with a conscious effort that made the themes of the works more forceful than mere didactic.

The so called fathers of realism were therefore as anti-realistic as those contemporaries we recognise as anti-realists, Sterne and Fielding, perhaps more so in that their anti-realism took the form of fearful involvement rather than comic parodic distance.

Swift takes his place in the 'fearful' tradition of anti-realism (instead of as he is usually located, if at all, among the comic anti-realists) because of the sympathy often recognised

to exist between himself and the Hack, and in particular between himself and Gulliver, a sympathy very like that of his Puritan counterparts, despite their ostensible abhorrence for their writing protagonists. Sterne feels no such abhorrence for Tristram, any more than Fielding for his narrator, who is anyway in some sense meant to be recognisably a version of himself. If Fielding or Sterne are in sympathy with their narrators, this is not a fearful discovery, for both men see the act of writing fiction as essentially benign. It was among the pioneering Puritan writers that the ancient correlation of art with evil still operated powerfully, and it is among the work of these men that the most interesting results occur. Swift must be included among the Puritans he had parodied for so long, for it is only by so placing him that we can understand the extraordinary violence of his relationship with the weird narratives he created, the tense instability of his writing, and his attraction towards creatures he set out to abhor.

Swift undoubtedly sensed in himself a strange attraction to the works of the Moderns, and specifically the realism of a Crusoe. Like both Defoe and Richardson, he was able to bring his narrative down finally on the side of anti-realism, for Gulliver's minutely factual Pride is rejected for a scheme of truth 'above' the minutely factual. In this respect therefore he anticipated Richardson's conclusion in Clarissa. But it was Defoe, who had also found a similar location for truth in Moll Flanders (that is on a plane 'above' the level that Moll operates

on) who nevertheless broke through to a recognition that that plane itself, as represented within his works, was merely an artistic creation. He was able to retain his confidence in this exalted view of the artist's function for the duration of Moll Flanders. In Roxana he showed his distrust of the Pride of the mortal artist's to create visions of, and locations for, eternal truth. In Roxana Defoe refused to create a Godlike authorial vision that would legitimize the reading of the book. Roxana gives the strongest of all anti-realistic messages, for it leaves the reader with no doubts as to why he reads fiction, and this, in the Puritan equation that the book enforces, is because he loves evil and deceit. Even the destruction of Roxana's realism, which carries the message that it is a dire creation, itself merely reinforces the idea that the artist holds arbitrary and potentially deceitful sway in his creation. Defoe chooses on this occasion to act morally - but he could as easily have left the reader reading beautiful, attractive, immorality. After such a conclusion, it was not surprising that Defoe wrote no more fiction. It may well be that Richardson, after a similar struggle with Lovelace, also settled for the bland didactic of Sir Charles Grandison (1753-1754) and eventually for the Collection of moral and instructive sentiments, maxims, cautions, and reflexions contained in the histories of Pamela, Clarissa, and Sir Charles Grandison, which is to say that he too wrote no more fiction. Swift was more confident than his two Puritan counterparts, yet even he wrote no major work after Gulliver's Travels. Nevertheless, as a source of creative tension producing works

of incomparable interest, fear of fiction was a very rich mine for eighteenth-century literature, as I hope this thesis has shown.

Footnotes - Chapter 1

1. I am referring here to the Aeschylus version of the Prometheus myth represented by his trilogy Prometheus the Firebearer, Prometheus Bound, and Prometheus Unbound. Hesiod tells the story rather in the manner of the Hebraic myth. The two differing versions merely add evidence to my point about the ambivalent response to knowledge.
2. See Plato, The Republic, Book X.
3. Gregory Lucente, The narrative of realism and myth: Verga, Lawrence, Faulkner, Pavese (1981), pp.2-3.
4. William Nelson, Fact or fiction: the dilemma of the renaissance storyteller (1973), pp.7-8.
5. Matthew Arnold, Culture and Anarchy, ed. J. Dover Wilson (1971), p.154.
6. Nelson, Fact or fiction, p.17.
7. Ibid., pp.21-27.
8. Ibid., p.35
9. John O. Lyons, The invention of the self: the hinge of consciousness in the eighteenth century (1978), p.37.
10. Nelson, Fact or fiction, p.28.
11. Marjorie Hope Nicolson., 'The "new astronomy" and the English literary imagination,' Studies in Philology, XXXII (1935), 428-62.
12. Herschel Baker, The wars of truth: studies in the decay of Christian humanism in the earlier seventeenth century (1952), p.72.
13. Among those giving (poetic) vent to both old and new ideas in the wake of these discoveries was John Donne (1572-1631), particularly in The first anniversarie (1611), ls.205-14
14. Bonamy Dobree, English literature in the early eighteenth century, 1700-1740, vol. VII of The Oxford history of English literature (1959), pp.500-1. See also Marjorie Nicolson, Newton demands the Muse: Newton's Opticks and the eighteenth-century poets (1946).
15. Isaiah Berlin, The age of enlightenment: the eighteenth-century philosophers (1979), pp.15-16.
16. We should beware of over-generalizing however. While for example R.W. Frantz in his book The English traveller and the movement of ideas 1660-1732 (1968), gives an excellent account of what we might

call the 'precision approach' to science and travel, with genuine discoveries supplementing genuine experiment, Percy Adams in his book Travellers and travel liars 1660-1800 (1962) gives an alternative vision of bizarre and highly fictionalised travelogues. These must have gone a long way towards blurring any real sense of science or geography. On the other hand the fireside traveller was at least now aware of geography and science, and their potential effects upon his life. And an awareness, however mangled, of the strange world beyond the fireplace gives new definition to that fireplace.

17. See especially Paula Backscheider (ed.), Probability, time, and space in eighteenth-century literature (1979), pp.vii-x.
18. Thomas Sprat, History of the Royal Society ed. with critical apparatus by Jackson I. Cope and Harold Whitmore Jones (1959), p.62.
19. Ibid., p.113
20. Thomas Hobbes, Leviathan, in The English works of Thomas Hobbes, ed. William Molesworth (1839), p.37.
21. See Dennis Davison (ed.); The Penguin book of eighteenth-century English verse (1975), p.2.
22. Samuel Parker, A free and impartiall censure of the Platonick philosophie (1666), p.68.
23. Ibid., p.69
24. Ibid., pp.72-73.
25. Ibid., p.73. The targets in Parker's piece are the same as those in Swift's A tale of a tub (1704). Swift appears to have been reading Henry More's Enthusiasmus Triumphatus (1656) at the time of writing the Tale. More makes the same correlation of Rosicrucians and enthusiasm, and is perhaps more likely to be Swift's source for the Tale than Parker. See Philip Harth, Swift and Anglican rationalism: the religious background to A Tale of a Tub (1961), p.54.
26. Parker, Censure, p.74.
27. Parker, Censure, pp.75-76.
28. Sprat, History of the Royal Society, p.112.
29. John Locke, Some thoughts concerning education (1693), p.267.
30. Leon Guilhamet, The sincere ideal: studies on sincerity in eighteenth-century English literature (1974), p.6.

31. Samuel Johnson, Lives of the English poets ed. George Birkbeck Hill (1905), vol.III, p.207.
32. Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, ed. Harold Williams, (1963), vol.III, p.499.
33. Ibid., vol.IV, p.382. See also James Anderson Winn, A window in the bosom: the letters of Alexander Pope (1977).
34. For a discussion of the effects of first person narrative see David Goldkopf, The life of the novel (1972), Chap. 2.
35. Natasha Wurzbach (ed.), The novel in letters: epistolary fiction in the early English novel 1678-1740 (1969); p.3.
36. John Butt, The mid-eighteenth century, vol.VIII of The Oxford history of English literature (1979), pp.385-86.
37. William Congreve, preface to Incognita in Ioan Williams (ed.), Novel and romance: a documentary record 1700-1800 (1970), p.27.
38. Mary de la Riviere Manley, preface to Queen Zarah and the Zarazians in Williams, Novel and romance, p.36.
39. Ibid., pp.36-37.
40. Ibid., p.37.
41. Ibid., p.38
42. Baker, Wars of truth, p.194.
43. See Alan Sinfield, Literature in Protestant England 1560-1660 (1983), pp.8-11.
44. John Bunyan, Grace abounding to the chief of sinners, ed. Roger Sharrock (1962), p.21.
45. For an account of the various 'completions' appended to Bunyan's Grace abounding see Sharrock edn., p.xiii.
46. Paul Delany, British autobiography in the seventeenth century (1969), p.79.
47. Delany, British autobiography, p.67.
48. Owen C. Watkins, The Puritan experience (1972), p.46.
49. Sharrock, intro. to Bunyan, Grace abounding, p.xiii.
50. Benjamin Bangs, Memoirs of the Life and convincement of that worthy Friend Benjamin Bangs... (1798), p.iii.

51. On the use of the passive voice in Puritan narrative see Watkins, Puritan experience, p.209.
52. Bangs, Memoirs, p.26.
53. Ibid., p.26.
54. Ibid., p.24. For similar examples of Puritan language see Oliver Heywood, His autobiography, diaries, anecdote and event books, ed. J. Horsfall Turner (1881-1885); see also Watkins, Puritan experience, pp.208-24.
55. Watkins, Puritan experience, pp.213-14.
56. Ibid., p.213.
57. Ibid., p.213.
58. Samuel Richardson, Clarissa or, the history of a young lady, ed. John Butt (1978 edn.), 4 vols., vol.IV, p.553 (hereafter referred to as Clarissa).

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1. Harth, Anglican rationalism, pp.1-12.
2. Clarence Webster., 'Swift's 'Tale of a Tub' compared with earlier satires of the Puritans', Publications of the Modern Language Association of America XLVII (1932), 171-78; 'Swift and some earlier satirists of Puritan enthusiasm', ibid., XLVIII (1933), 1141-53; and 'The satiric background of the attack on the Puritans in Swift's 'Tale of a Tub', ibid., L (1935), 210-23.
3. Ronald Paulson, Theme and structure in Swift's Tale of a Tub (1960), p.160.
4. Ibid., pp.160-61.
5. Paul Korshin, 'Swift and typological narrative in A Tale of a Tub' in Morton W. Bloomfield (ed.), The interpretation of narrative: theory and practice (1970), pp.67-92; quotation on p.72.
6. Ibid., p.74.
7. Ibid., p.76.
8. Jonathan Swift, A tale of a tub, ed. A.C. Guthkelch and D. Nicholl Smith, 2nd edn. (1958), p.7; (hereafter referred to as Tale).
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11. Ibid., p.10.
12. Tale, p.57.
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14. Richard Sibbes, The bruised reed and smoaking flax (1630), in 1818 edn. p.4.
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19. Ibid., p.71.
20. Ibid., p.106.
21. Tale, p.106.

22. Ibid., p.114.
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32. Ibid., p.189.
33. Ibid., p.188.
34. Ibid., p.189.
35. Ibid., pp.189-190.
36. Ibid., p.202.
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38. Ibid., p.205.
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3. See Pat Rogers, Robinson Crusoe (1979), pp.67-68.
4. Ian Watt, The rise of the novel: studies in Defoe, Richardson and Fielding (1981 edn.), p.91.
5. J. Paul Hunter, The reluctant pilgrim: Defoe's emblematic method and quest for form (1966); G.A. Starr, Defoe and spiritual autobiography (1965).
6. Daniel Defoe, The farther adventures of Robinson Crusoe: being the second and last part of his life in Romances and narratives vol.II, ed. Aitken, p.vii. (Hereafter referred to as The farther adventures).
7. Charles Gildon, The life and strange surprizing adventures of Mr. D..... De F..., of London, Hosier (1719), p.viii.
8. Ibid., pp.viii-ix.
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13. Watt, Rise of the novel, p.91.
14. Daniel Defoe, Memoirs of a cavalier, ed. James Boulton (1972), p.5.
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16. Gildon, The life and strange surprizing adventures, pp.96-103.
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19. Robinson Crusoe, p.4.
20. Ibid., p.6.
21. All quotations from Robinson Crusoe, p.6.
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27. All quotations from Robinson Crusoe, p.91.
28. Gildon, The life and strange surprizing adventures, p.16.
29. Title page to The serious reflections.
30. Preface to The serious reflections, p.ix.
31. Ibid., p.ix.

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2. See for example Isaac Kramnick, Bolingbroke and his circle: the politics of nostalgia in the age of Walpole (1968), pp.191- 94.
3. Van Maanen, W., 'Defoe and Swift', English Studies III (1921), 65-69.
4. Tale, p.58.
5. Jonathan Swift, 'A letter concerning the sacramental test' (1708), in The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift ed. Herbert Davis (1941) vol.II, p.113, hereafter referred to as Prose Works.
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11. Tale, p.279.
12. Morley, Works of Daniel Defoe, p.338.
13. Tale, p.153.
14. Ibid., p.156.
15. Morley, Works of Daniel Defoe, p.338.
16. Tale, p.283.
17. Morley, Works of Daniel Defoe, p.339.
18. Ibid., pp.338.
19. Tale, p.160.
20. Morley, Works of Daniel Defoe, pp.338- 39.
21. Ibid., pp.297; 364- 67.
22. Van Maanen, 'Defoe and Swift', p.68.
23. Swift, Prose Works, vol.II, p.xxi, and vol.III, p.xviii.

24. Ibid., vol.II, p.113.
25. Horsley, L.S., 'Rogues or honest gentlemen: the public character of Queen Anne journalists', Texas Studies in Language and Literature XVII (1976), 198-202, esp. p.202.
26. Moore, Checklist, p.232.
27. See for example John Ross, Swift and Defoe: a study in relationship (1941), pp.35-36; see also "'Mr. Examiner" and "Mr. Review": the Tory apologetics of Swift and Defoe', Huntingdon Library Quarterly XXIX (1966), 127-46, esp.128.
28. Horsley, 'Rogues or honest gentlemen', p.213.
29. Cook, "'Mr. Examiner" and "Mr. Review"', p.130.
30. Swift, Prose Works, vol.III, p.13.
31. The Observator No. 88 (15-19 Nov 1710).
32. The Observator No. 89 (18-20 Nov. 1710).
33. G. H. Healey, The Letters of Daniel Defoe (1955), p.291 n.2.
34. Review, No. 114 (16 Dec 1710), p.453.
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38. Michael Foot, The pen and the sword (1957), p.304.
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41. Ibid., p.35.
42. Daniel Defoe, The Scots nation and Union vindicated (1714), p.14.
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48. For these and other examples of the views of the Scribblers see Pat Rogers (ed.), Daniel Defoe: the critical heritage (1972), pp.38-40.
49. Jonathan Swift, Gulliver's Travels in Prose Works vol.XI, pp.vii and xxi. (Hereafter referred to as Travels.)
50. Peter Longueville, The hermit: or the unparalleled sufferings and surprising adventures of Mr. Philip Quarll, an Englishman (1727), p.A.3, repr. for the Garland edition 1972 with an introd. by Malcom J. Bosse.
51. Ibid. That Robinson Crusoe was not strongly marked as a novel (in opposition to Gulliver's Travels) is shown by the preface to another edition of The Hermit, also in 1727, which made no reference to Gulliver's Travels but referred instead to the satirical nature of Defoe's works including Moll Flanders and Robinson Crusoe.
52. Quoted in Rogers, Robinson Crusoe, p.128, and p.152 n.6.
53. Quoted in Williams, Swift: the critical heritage, p.91.
54. Moore, Checklist, pp.38-40.
55. Gildon, The life and strange surprising adventures, pp.ix-x.
56. Williams, Swift: the critical heritage, p.61.
57. Swift was not always contemptuous of Puritan narrative. Bunyan provoked positive pleasure it seems, at least in his Pilgrim's Progress. 'I have been better entertained', he wrote 'and more informed by a Chapter in the Pilgrim's Progress, than by a long Discourse upon the Will and the Intellect, and simple or complex ideas. 'Letter to a young gentleman lately entered into Holy Orders', in Prose Works, vol. IX, p.77.
58. See for example John Dunlop, History of fiction (1814); Sir Walter Scott, The works of Jonathan Swift (1814); William Monck Mason, History and antiquities of the collegiate and cathedral church of St. Patrick, near Dublin... (1819), extracts from all three reproduced in Williams, Swift: the critical heritage, pp.281-282, 283-314 and 335-341.
59. See for example J.A. Downie, Robert Harley and the press: propoganda and public opinion in the age of Swift and Defoe (1979). Also Horsley, 'Rogues or honest gentlemen'; Cook, "'Mr. Examiner" and "Mr. Review"'; Foot, Pen and the Sword.

60. Wayne Booth, The rhetoric of fiction (1961), pp.316-23; Maximilian Novak and Herbert Davis, 'The uses of irony: papers on Defoe and Swift' (1966) repr. in Earl Miner (ed.), Stuart and Georgian Moments (1972); Nigel Dennis, 'On Swift and satire', Encounter XXII (1964), 14-28; Richard Cook, 'Defoe and Swift: contrasts in satire,' Dalhousie Review XLIII (1963), 28-39.
61. See W.B. Carnochan, Confinement and flight: an essay on the English literature of the eighteenth century (1977), pp.26-59; A.S. Knowles, 'Defoe, Swift, and Fielding: notes on the retirement theme' in Larry S. Champion (ed.), Quick springs of sense: studies in the eighteenth century (1974), pp.121-36.
62. Dennis, 'Swift and satire', p.24.
63. Travels, p.xxxiv.
64. Travels, p.xxxvi.
65. See Calhoun Winton, 'Conversion on the road to Houyhnhmland', Sewanee Review LXVIII (1960), 20-30.
66. Travels, Book IV, Ch.xii, p.277.
67. In recent years the work of F.P. Lock, The politics of Gulliver's Travels (1980), has dispelled many of the so called parallels and historical allusions, by dint of thorough historical research. In the light of this, the search for historical personages and events, and the provision of 'keys' is seen to be a futile effort, as Swift of course intended it should be.
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69. Frantz, The English traveller, p.19.
70. Ibid., pp.19-22.
71. Travels, p.94.
72. John Churchill, A collection of voyages and travels (1704), I, lxxv-lxxvi, quoted in Frantz, The English traveller, pp.23-24.
73. Thomas Sprat, Statutes of the Royal Society (1663), quoted in George Williamson, The Senecan amble: a study in prose form from Bacon to Collier (1951), pp.282-83.
74. Frantz, The English traveller, p.38.
75. Charles Wolley, A two years journal in New York (1701), quoted in Frantz, The English Traveller, p.39.

76. Martin Martin, A description of the Western islands of Scotland (1703), in Pinkerton's Voyages (1809), III, 674, quoted in Frantz, The English traveller, p.39.
77. Travels, pp.95-96.
78. Ibid., p.276.
79. Ibid., p.221.
80. Ibid., p.13.
81. Richardson endows Clarissa with almost complete purity, which may be why his alter ego in the shape of Lovelace is so violently antagonistic towards Clarissa. It is the part of the human spectrum that she leaves out that the reader needs, partly because purity is fearful, and partly because we suspect that it is incomplete, unrealistic, and especially Proud.
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97. Acts 13, v.15; see also Acts 20, v.1-2, Romans 12, v.8; all Bible references King James Authorised Version.
98. Acts 15, v.22-24.
99. Travels, p.232.
100. Ibid., p.263.
101. Travels, p.263.
102. Romans 12, v.3, 6 and 8.
103. Travels, p.280.
104. See Robinson Crusoe, pp.133 and 278 for examples.
105. Sutherland, Defoe, p.2.
106. Travels, p.xxii.
107. See Correspondence of Swift, vol.I, p.32. n.2.
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109. Moore, John Robert, 'A Defoe allusion in Gulliver's Travels,' Notes and Queries CLXXV III (1940), 79-80.
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113. Ibid., p.64.
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115. Robinson Crusoe, p.30.
116. Travels, p.21.
117. Robinson Crusoe, p.53.
118. Ibid., pp.211-12.
119. Travels, p.119.
120. Ibid., p.232.
121. See Travels, pp.20-21; Robinson Crusoe, p.60.

122. Robinson Crusoe, p.203.
123. Travels, p.268.
124. Ibid., p.222.
125. Ibid., p.265.
126. Robinson Crusoe, p.47.
127. Travels, p.5.
128. Robinson Crusoe, p.99.
129. Travels, p.13.
130. Robinson Crusoe, p.212.
131. Travels, p.216.
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133. Ibid., p.135.
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136. Travels, p.220.
137. Robinson Crusoe, p.134
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139. Ibid., p.260.
140. Robinson Crusoe, p.275.
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143. Quoted in John Robert Moore, Daniel Defoe: citizen of the Modern world (1958), p.226.
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145. Herbert Davis, 'Swifts's use of irony,' in, Stuart and Georgian moments, pp.221-43. Passage quoted p.238.
146. Ian Watt, 'The ironic tradition in Augustan prose from Swift to Johnson' in Ibid., pp.161-88. Passage quoted pp.174-5.
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Chapter 5 - Footnotes

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3. Everett Zimmerman, Defoe and the novel (1975), p.76.
4. Ibid., p.106.
5. Daniel Defoe, The fortunes and misfortunes of the famous Moll Flanders ed. with an introd. by G.A. Starr (1971), p.1; hereafter referred to as Moll.
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77. See for example ibid., pp.194, 203, 207.
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80. Ibid., p.73.
81. Ibid., p.77.
82. Ibid., pp.81-82.
83. Ibid., p.84.
84. All quotations ibid., p.85.
85. Ibid., p.86.
86. Ibid., p.86.
87. Ibid., p.87.
88. Ibid., p.87.
89. Ibid., pp.87-89.
90. Ibid., p.89; for comparison see p.59.
91. Ibid., p.92.
92. Ibid., p.94.
93. Ibid., p.95.
94. Ibid., pp.95-96.
95. Ibid., p.99.
96. Ibid., p.103.
97. Ibid., pp.104-105.
98. Ibid., p.104.
99. Ibid., p.55.
100. Douglas Brooks, "'Moll Flanders": an interpretation' Essays in Criticism XVIII (1969), 46-59; quotation on p.48.
101. Moll, p.89.
102. Ibid., p.80.
103. Ibid., p.28.
104. Ibid., p.78; see p.24 for comparison.

105. Ibid., pp.59-60.
106. Ibid., p.107.
107. Ibid., p.108.
108. Ibid., p.109.
109. Ibid., p.110.
110. See ibid., p.25 and p.112 for comparison.
111. Both quotations ibid., p.115.
112. Ibid., p.119.
113. Ibid., p.115.
114. Ibid., p.113.
115. Ibid., p.42.
116. Ibid., p.103.
117. Ibid., p.109.
118. Ibid., p.129.
119. Ibid., p.132.
120. Ibid., pp.133-135.
121. Ibid., p.133; see p.120 for comparison.
122. Ibid., p.64.
123. Ibid., p.133.
124. Ibid., p.140.
125. Ibid., p.143.
126. Ibid., p.144.
127. Ibid., p.161.
128. Ibid., pp.161- 62.
129. Ibid., p.162.
130. Ibid., p.163.
131. See Moll, pp.94, 172.

132. Ibid., p.173.
133. Ibid., p.57.
134. Ibid., p.175.
135. Ibid., p.176; see p.39 for comparison.
136. Ibid., p.176.
137. Ibid., p.174.
138. Ibid., pp.174- 75.
139. Ibid., p.58.
140. Ibid., p.182.
141. Ibid., p.185.
142. Ibid., p.179.
143. Alkon, Defoe and fictional time, p.141.
144. See Moll, pp.191, 193, 194, 195, 199, 202, 203.
145. Ibid., p.175.
146. Ibid., p.207.
147. Ibid., p.213.
148. Ibid., p.213.
149. Ibid., p.226.
150. Ibid., p.383 n. Page 226(i).
151. See also Moll, pp.62-63 where Moll gives the reader an account of her gentleman-tradesman's departure, another story that is 'finished' and continued three times.
152. Ibid., p.226.
153. Ibid., pp.227-28.
154. Ibid., p.228.
155. See Watt, Rise of the novel, pp.12-37; see also Malinda Snow, 'The origins of Defoe's narrative technique: an overlooked aspect of the rise of the novel', Journal of Narrative Technique VI (1976), 176-87.

156. Moll, p.228.
157. Ibid., p.229.
158. Ibid., p.230.
159. Ibid., p.231.
160. Ibid., p.228.
161. Ibid., p.230.
162. Ibid., p.231.
163. Ibid., p.234.
164. Ibid., p.237.
165. Ibid., p.194.
166. Ibid., p.194.
167. See Zimmerman, Defoe and the novel, p.163.
168. Moll, p.194.
169. Ibid., pp.257-59.
170. Ibid., p.194.
171. Ibid., p.286.
172. Ibid., p.9.
173. Ibid., p.278.
174. Ibid., p.285.
175. Ibid., p.287.
176. Ibid., p.288.
177. Ibid., p.288.
178. Ibid., p.290.
179. Ibid., p.299.
180. Ibid., p.295.
181. Ibid., p.294.
182. Ibid., p.163.

183. Ibid., p.314.
184. Ibid., p.315.
185. Ibid., p.323; see also p.87.
186. Ibid., p.324.
187. Ibid., p.200.
188. Ibid., p.309.
189. Ibid., p.333.
190. Ibid., p.343.

Footnotes - Chapter 6

1. Daniel Defoe; Roxana: the fortunate mistress ed. with an introd. by Jane Jack (1981), p.1; (hereafter referred to as Roxana).
2. Ibid., p.6.
3. Ibid., p.5.
4. See Alkon, Defoe and fictional time, p.54.
5. See for example Roxana, p.7.
6. Ibid., p.29.
7. Ibid., p.41.
8. Ibid. p.44.
9. Ibid., p.75.
10. Ibid., p.16.
11. Ibid., p.97.
12. Ibid., p.265.
13. Ibid., p.6.
14. Ibid., p.16.
15. Ibid., p.26.
16. Ibid., p.45.
17. Ibid., p.56.
18. Ibid., p.102.
19. Ibid., p.103.
20. Ibid., p.103.
21. Ibid., p.103.
22. Ibid., p.12.
23. Ibid., p.203.
24. Ibid., p.2.

25. Ibid., pp.69-70.
26. See for example ibid., pp.82, 101-102, 103-104, 108.
27. Ibid., p.330.
28. Ibid., p.17.
29. Ibid., p.17.
30. Ibid., p.74.
31. Ibid.; p.188.
32. Ibid., pp.25-26.
33. Ibid., p.30.
34. Ibid., p.30.
35. Ibid., p.62.
36. Ibid., p.63.
37. Ibid., p.42.
38. Ibid., p.63.
39. Ibid., p.59.
40. Ibid., p.29.
41. Ibid., p.61.
42. Ibid., p.31.
43. Ibid., p.43.
44. Ibid., p.42.
45. Ibid., p.61.
46. Ibid., p.61.
47. Ibid., p.60.
48. Ibid., pp.41-42.
49. Ibid., pp.62-63.
50. Ibid., pp.35 and 63.

51. Ibid., pp.34 and 63.
52. Ibid., p.69.
53. Ibid., p.65.
54. Ibid., p.65.
55. Ibid., p.75.
56. Ibid., p.25.
57. Ibid., p.317.
58. See for example ibid., pp.28, 39.
59. Ibid., p.32.
60. Ibid., p.47.
61. Ibid., pp.59-60.
62. Ibid., p.73.
63. Ibid., p.287.
64. See for example ibid., p.289.
65. Ibid., p.61.
66. Ibid., p.64.
67. Ibid., p.177.
68. Ibid., p.177.
69. Ibid., p.49.
70. Ibid., p.67.
71. Ibid., p.68.
72. Ibid., p.70.
73. Ibid., p.71.
74. Ibid., p.72.
75. Ibid., p.72.
76. Ibid., pp.72-73.

77. Ibid., p.97.
78. Ibid., p.213.
79. See ibid., pp.71, 175, 223.
80. Ibid., p.165.
81. Ibid., pp.175- 76.
82. Ibid., p.180.
83. Ibid., p.181.
84. Ibid., p.182.
85. Ibid., p.181.
86. Ibid., p.182.
87. Ibid., p.184.
88. Ibid., p.183.
89. Ibid., p.186.
90. Ibid., p.187.
91. Ibid., pp.198- 99.
92. Ibid., pp.192- 93.
93. Ibid., p.198.
94. Ibid., pp.200-201.
95. Ibid., p.202.
96. Ibid., p.204.
97. Ibid., p.207.
98. Ibid., p.208.
99. See ibid., pp.287- 89.
100. Ibid., p.211.
101. Ibid., pp.210- 11.
102. Ibid., p.63.

103. Ibid., p.101.
104. Ibid., p.172.
105. Ibid., p.213.
106. Ibid., p.223.
107. Ibid., p.224.
108. Ibid., p.94.
109. Ibid., p.245..
110. Ibid., p.251.
111. John Fowles, The Magus (1977 edn.), p.604.
112. Ibid., p.627.
113. See for example Roxana, pp.267, 268, 269, 270, 288, 310, 317.
114. Ibid., p.317.
115. Ibid., p.304.
116. Ibid., p.305.
117. Ibid., p.280.
118. Ibid., p.281.
119. Zimmerman, Defoe and the novel, p.163.
120. Roxana, p.244.
121. See ibid., pp.265, 267, 268, 279, 294, 297, 302, 315, 328 for many examples of references to the conclusion of the 'of that hereafter' or 'you shall hear presently' kind.
122. Ibid., p.302.
123. Ibid., p.315.
124. Ibid., p.328.
125. From Boswell's life of Johnson, quoted in T.C. Duncan Eaves and Ben D. Kimpel, Samuel Richardson: a biography (1971), pp.337-38.

Footnotes - Chapter 7

1. Andrew Kippis's addition to the main article signed T ("Daniel De Foe") in Biographia Britannia (1793), in J.R. Moore, 'Daniel Defoe: precursor of Samuel Richardson', in C. Camden (ed.), Restoration and eighteenth-century literature (1963) pp.351-69; quotation on p.354.
2. See Eaves and Kimpel, Samuel Richardson, pp.71-72.
3. Moore, 'Defoe: precursor of Samuel Richardson', p.353; Benjamin Franklin appears in Moore's triumvirate because he had been employed by Samuel Kleimer, a personal friend as well as printer of Defoe's. Kleimer had subsequently emigrated to Philadelphia. While there, Kleimer had reprinted selections from Defoe's Religious Courtship (1722). While staying in London, Franklin had also been employed by another of Defoe's printers, John Watts, and had introduced another friend, James Ralph, to another of Defoe's main publishers, James Roberts.
4. Samuel Richardson's introduction to Pamela, ed. Sheridan Baker, The Augustan Reprint Society No. 48 (1954), p.v.
5. Ibid., p.v.
6. Ibid., p.vi.
7. Ibid., p.vi.
8. Ibid., p.vi.
9. Pamela Censur'd (1741), ed. Charles Batten, The Augustan Reprint Society, No. 175 (1976), pp.21-22.
10. Ibid., p.9.
11. Ibid., p.10.
12. Preface to Pamela, p.ix.
13. Ibid., p.vii.
14. Samuel Richardson, Pamela, 2 vols; vol I; ed. with an introd. by Mark Kinkead-Weekes (1962), p.v. (hereafter referred to as Pamela).
15. Henry Fielding, Shamela in Joseph Andrews: preceded by Shamela ed. with an introd. by A.R. Humphreys (1962 and 1973), pp.6-7.
16. Pamela Censured, pp.21-22.
17. Pamela, p.49.

18. Ibid., p.268.
19. Ibid., p.50.
20. Ibid., p.16.
21. Ibid., p.17.
22. Ibid., p.17.
23. Ibid., p.24.
24. Ibid., p.35.
25. Ibid., p.2.
26. Ibid., p.69.
27. Ibid., p.56.
28. Ibid., p.20.
29. Ibid., p.205.
30. Ibid., p.213.
31. Ibid., p.213.
32. Ibid., p.214.
33. Ibid., p.222.
34. Ibid., p.269.
35. See Eaves and Kimpel, Samuel Richardson, pp.119-122.
36. Gildon, Robinson Crusoe' examin'd, p.70.
37. Ibid., p.103.
38. Introduction to Pamela, p.A3.
39. Ibid., p.v.
40. Pamela, p.26.
41. Ibid., p.68.
42. Bunyan, Grace'abounding, p.93.
43. See Tale, Section XI, pp.197- 98.

44. See for example Pamela, pp.32, 41.
45. Ibid., p.96.
46. Ibid., p.96.
47. Ibid., p.151.
48. Ibid., p.152.
49. Ibid., p.152.
50. Ibid., p.174.
51. Ibid., p.178.
52. Ibid., p.199.
53. Ibid., p.194.
54. Ibid., p.42.
55. Ibid., pp.270- 71.
56. Ibid., pp.276- 77.

Footnotes - Chapter 8

1. Anthony Kearney, '"Clarissa" and the epistolary form,' Essays in Criticism XVI (1966), 44-56; quotation from p.54.
2. Hardy, Tellers and listeners, p.119.
3. William J. Palmer, 'Two dramatists: Lovelace and Richardson in "Clarissa"; Studies in the Novel V (1973), 7-21.
4. Ibid., p.11.
5. Ibid., p.13.
6. Tony Tanner, Adultery in the novel: contract and transgression (1979), p.105.
7. Leo Braudy, 'Penetration and impenetrability in Clarissa' in Philip Hart (ed.), New approaches to eighteenth-century literature (1974), pp.177-206.
8. Terry Eagleton, The rape of Clarissa: writing, sexuality and class struggle in Samuel Richardson (1982), p.83.
9. Ibid., p.85.
10. Ibid., p.83.
11. Ibid., p.84.
12. Eaves and Kimpel, Samuel Richardson, pp.122- 32.
13. Clarissa, vol. IV, p.564.
14. Ibid., vol. I, p.2.
15. Ibid., vol. I, p.4.
16. Ibid., vol. IV, p.46.
17. Ibid., vol. IV, p.61.
18. Ibid., vol. IV, p.63.
19. William Beatty Warner, Reading Clarissa: the struggles of interpretation (1979), p.95
20. See for example, Clarissa, vol. II, p.287, Mrs. Harlowe to Mrs. Norton 'Not communicated till the letters came to be collected.'
21. Ibid., vol. II, p.1.

22. Ibid., vol. III, pp.402-403.
23. Ibid., vol. III, p.406.
24. Ibid., vol. IV, p.3.
25. Ibid., vol. II, p.21.
26. Ibid., vol. II, p.363.
27. Ibid., vol. III, pp.1-13.
28. Ibid., vol. III, p.90.
29. Ibid., vol. III, pp.94-98.
30. Ibid., vol. III, p.99.
31. Ibid., vol. III, p.100.
32. Ibid., vol. III, pp.157- 67.
33. Ibid., vol. I, p.358.
34. Ibid., vol. III, p.94.
35. Ibid., vol. IV, p.494.
36. Ibid., vol. III, p.376.
37. See for example ibid., vol. I, pp.47, 61, 103.
38. Ibid., vol. II, p.1.
39. Ibid., vol. I, p.401.
40. Ibid., vol. I, p.468.
41. Ibid., vol. I, p.487.
42. Ibid., vol. III, p.209.
43. Ibid., vol. III, p.204.
44. Ibid., vol. III, pp.321-322.
45. Ibid., vol. III, p.445.
46. Ibid., vol. III, p.515.
47. Ibid., vol. IV, p.1.

48. For example ibid., vol. IV, p.302.
49. Ibid., vol. IV, p.327.
50. See for example ibid., vol. IV, pp.305, 330.
51. Fascinatingly, Lawrence was another Puritan, suspicious of the premeditated script, yet unable to eradicate his own deceitful artistic purposes, except by railing against art in his own art works; see for example Women in Love (1973 edn.), pp.43-46.
52. Ibid., vol. I, p.516.
53. For example ibid., vol. I, pp.145-46, and 149-50.
54. Ibid., vol. I, p.14.
55. Ibid., vol. I, p.152.
56. Ibid., vol. I, p.150.
57. Ibid., vol. I, p.50.
58. Ibid., vol. I, p.499.
59. For example ibid., vol. I, p.503.
60. Ibid., vol. I, p.505.
61. Ibid., vol. I, p.506.
62. Ibid., vol. I, p.506.
63. Ibid., vol. I, p.509.
64. Ibid., vol. I, p.509.
65. Ibid., vol. II, p.33.
66. Ibid., vol. III, p.41.
67. Ibid., vol. III, p.42.
68. Ibid., vol. III, p.66.
69. Ibid., vol. II, pp.461-62.
70. Ibid., vol. II, p.499.
71. Ibid., vol. IV, p.376.

72. Ibid., vol. IV, p.377.
73. Ibid., vol. III, p.64.
74. Terry Castle, Clarissa's ciphers: meaning and disruption in Richardson's Clarissa (1982), p.98.
75. Margaret Doody, A natural passion: a study of the novels of Samuel Richardson (1974), pp.151-87.
76. Samuel Johnson, The Rambler No. 4 1750 in The Yale edition of the works of Samuel Johnson ed. with an introd. by W.J. Bate and Albrecht Strauss (1969), vol. III, p.22.
77. From Hester Lynch Piozzi, Anecdotes of the late Samuel Johnson, quoted in Eaves and Kimpel, Samuel Richardson, pp.337-8.
78. Duncan Isles, 'The Lennox Collection,' Harvard Library Bulletin XVIII (1970), 317-40; quotation on p.340.
79. Ibid., p.340; Jane Austen's Northanger Abbey (1818) is of course engaged in the same endeavour over half a century later, and although a comedy (like The Female Quixote) the fear with which novelists regarded their own art is nevertheless in evidence still to some extent.
80. See Clarissa, Vol. I, p.256 and Vol. IV, p.60 for examples of Clarissa's changed attitudes to the word 'perverse'.
81. Ibid., vol. I, p.260.
82. Ibid., vol. I, p.259.
83. Ibid., vol. I, p.36.
84. Ibid., vol. I, p.36.
85. Ibid., vol. I, p.328.
86. Ibid., vol. I, p.328.
87. Ibid., vol. I, p.500.
88. Ibid., vol. I, p.501.
89. Ibid., vol. I, p.503.
90. Castle, Clarissa's ciphers, p.82.
91. Clarissa, vol. II, p.264.

92. Ibid., vol. III, p.87.
93. Castle, Clarissa's ciphers, p.67.
94. Clarissa, vol. III, p.131.
95. Ibid., vol. III, p.144.
96. Ibid., vol. III, p.187.
97. Ibid., vol. III, p.187.
98. Ibid., vol. III, p.64.
99. Ibid., vol. III, p.209.
100. Ibid., vol. III, p.205.
101. Ibid., vol. III, pp.209-10.
102. Castle, Clarissa's ciphers, p.109.
103. Clarissa, vol. III, p.218.
104. Ibid., vol. III, p.221.
105. Ibid., vol. I, p.468 and vol. III, p.269.
106. Ibid., vol. III, p.291.
107. Ibid., vol. III, p.453; see also vol. III, p.169 for Lovelace's views on female language.
108. Ibid., vol. III, p.453.
109. Ibid., vol. III, p.259.
110. Ibid., vol. III, pp.471-72.
111. Ibid., vol. IV, p.5.
112. Ibid., vol. IV, p.7.
113. Ibid., vol. IV, p.167.
114. Ibid., vol. IV, p.157.
115. Ibid., vol. IV, p.213.
116. Ibid., vol. IV, p.251.
117. Ibid., vol. IV, p.252.

118. Ibid., vol. IV, p.326.
119. Ibid., vol. III, p.389.
120. Ibid., vol. III, p.61.
121. Ibid., vol. III, pp.179- 84.
122. Ibid., vol. II, p.113.
123. Ibid., vol. II, p.339.
124. Ibid., vol. II, pp.418- 21.
125. Ibid., vol. II, pp.422- 24.
126. George Bernard Shaw, Preface to St. Joan in The Bodley Head Bernard Shaw: collected plays with their prefaces; editorial supervisor D.H. Lawrence. 4th edn. 7 Vols. 1970-74. Vol.VI, pp.17-18.
127. Clarissa, vol. I, p.12.
128. Ibid., vol. II, pp.254-55.
129. Ibid., vol. III, p.390.
130. Ibid., vol. III, p.389.
131. Ibid., vol. III, pp.400-401.
132. Ibid., vol. II, p.460 for example.
133. Ibid., vol. II, p.54; see also vol. II, p.491.

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