THE
SPREAD
OF
NOVELS

*TRANSLATION AND
PROSE FICTION IN THE
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY*

Mary Helen McMurran

The Spread of Novels

TRANSLATION | TRANSNATION

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MARY HELEN MCMURRAN

The Spread of Novels

Translation and Prose Fiction in the Eighteenth Century

[T]ranslation is the sheer play of difference … and it is under the spell of this difference that translation discovers its august duty.

—*Maurice Blanchot (trans. Richard Sieburth)*

No problem is as consubstantial to literature and its modest mystery as the one posed by translation.

—*Jorge Luis Borges (trans. Eliot Weinberger)*

In the end all literature is translation.

—*Novalis (trans. André Lefevere)*

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CONTENTS

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The Spread of Novels

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Eighteenth-Century Translating

Early in *Don Quixote* the reader is told of a Basque squire accompanying a lady traveler whom Don Quixote believes to be a captive of wicked and monstrous creatures—actually two Benedictine friars. When Don Quixote encounters her with the Basque squire, he attempts a rescue and almost comes to blows with the Basque: "Don Quixote was charging the wary Basque with his sword on high, determined to cut him in half, and the Basque, well-protected by his pillow, was waiting for him, his sword also raised, and all the onlookers were filled with fear and suspense regarding the outcome of the great blows they threatened to give to each other."[1] With swords raised, spectators agape, and the reader held in suspense, part 1 of *Don Quixote* abruptly ends: "[A]t this very point and juncture, the author of the history leaves the battle pending, apologizing because he found nothing else written about the feats of Don Quixote other than what he has already recounted."[2] The narrator thus goes out in search of the story and fortuitously discovers it in some papers sold at the market in Toledo, but they are in Arabic and a translator must be found. Toledo, the famous medieval translation center where Arabic translators preserved the ancients, has no shortage of translators. A Morisco begins to interpret aloud from the "History of Don Quixote of La Mancha. Written by Cide Hamete Benengeli, an Arab Historian," and the man is quickly contracted to render a faithful version of the Arabic.[3] The rest of the novel is, then, the narrator's account of the anonymous translation of the Arabic historian's narrative, the second version in the book thus far, and possibly one of any number of versions of the Don Quixote story in the world. The torsions

of translation and originality in *Don Quixote* seem all the more conscious when the narrator, affirming his belief in the narrative's recoverability— "it seemed impossible . . . that so good a knight should have lacked a wise man who would assume the responsibility of recording his never-before-seen deeds"—adds a two-line quotation from Alva Gómez's Spanish translation of Petrarch's *Trionfi*, but it is a passage from the translation that does not appear in the original.[4] And when the narrator also suggests that the Morisco translator and the "second author" might not be truly translating the Arab historian, we become aware that we will never be able to tell the difference anyway.

I begin with this oft-quoted scene in *Don Quixote* not because it is a clever metafiction about translating, but because it describes an underappreciated truth about eighteenth-century novels. As in the Don Quixote story, translating and originality are not easily distinguished in eighteenth-century fiction, not least because novels did not simply move from the source to target language, and one nation to another, but dangled between languages and cultures. *The Spread of Novels* is a study of this imbricated field and how it fed the novel's emergence in the eighteenth century, focusing specifically on English and French as the novel's core languages. Although novels in the eighteenth century came from diverse regions and were translated from other European vernaculars, as well as Greek, Latin, and Arabic, cross-Channel translating was the most active and fervent arena and, few would argue, the site of the novel's emergence. My goal is not, however, to prove that the modern origin or rise of the novel was transnational. The claim that eighteenth-century prose fiction is a mixed form and culturally hybridized through translation and transmission has been almost axiomatic since at least the eighteenth century. It has been renovated in recent scholarship on eighteenth-century fiction, and more broadly in studies that reconfigure national literary traditions in regional, imperial, or global contexts.[5] This study takes for granted the claim that prose fiction had a long and varied history in translation and that cultural mixing is endemic to the novel. Rather than arguing that the rise of the novel is transnational, I attempt to trace the dynamic history and changing meaning of fiction's mobility in the eighteenth century. Prose fiction was always already cross-national because of translation long before the rise of the novel and has only widened its realm of circulation since the mid-eighteenth century, but translating—both rendering practices and their meaning for literary relations—changed drastically in the eighteenth century. I argue that the novel emerges because of the ways in which fiction accommodated this shift in translating. In other words, I do not attempt

to demonstrate the transnationality of the novel in the eighteenth century so much as historicize fiction's extranationality as a key to the emergence of the novel. To begin, we need a method for the study of translation that recognizes the eighteenth century's historical specificity.

What We Talk about When We Talk about Translation

In recent years, scholars have provided a much-needed alternative to linguistic and empirical approaches to translation by arguing for its cultural role.[6] Linguistics alone can "unduly restrict [translation's] role in cultural innovation and social change," as Lawrence Venuti has noted, and the alternative has been to argue that translation is at least a cipher for cultural processes, if not an agent in those processes.[7] Focusing as much on the target nation and culture as the source culture, we now look more closely at how translation can "wield enormous power in constructing representations of foreign cultures"[8] and at translation's crucial role in nation building and national literary canons.[9] Translation has also played an increasing role in colonial studies, seen as an instrument of colonization that can establish and extend imperial hegemony or alternatively seen as one of the ambiguous and negotiable aspects of colonial encounter.[10] In a postcolonial context, scholars have shown how translating reappropriates or resists a hegemonic language and literary norms.[11] At the same time, the notion of "translating cultures" or "cultural translation" has come to the fore in discussions of globalization and transnationalism.[12] While this latter trend represents the renewed purchase of translation in the academy, it has sometimes co-opted translating for nonlinguistic mediations, and Emily Apter is rightly concerned to avoid allowing "the terms *translation* and *translingualism* to become pallid metaphors for any act of cultural negotiation."[13]

One widespread and influential method in translation studies, which addresses both the linguistic and the cultural aspects of rendering, analyzes the transfer of texts across borders as either "domesticating" or "foreignizing." Lawrence Venuti explains that domesticating involves "adherence to domestic literary canons," while foreignizing "entails choosing and developing a translation method along lines which are excluded by dominant cultural values in the target language."[14] Domesticating and foreignizing can be used to discuss a single literary object—the literary translation in comparison with its original—but the terms go beyond comparative linguistic analysis to reveal the cultural ideology behind translating

and are applicable to different periods, languages, locations, and texts. Most scholars have agreed that translating in England and France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was almost exclusively of the domesticating kind. Venuti has argued persuasively that domesticating and its valorization of transparency and readerliness reached a high point in the English language in the early modern period.[15] Domestication was also the dominant ideology of translation in early modern France as original texts were altered to better fit demands for readerliness in the target language. Domesticating may seem a natural consequence of the emergence of modern national languages and literatures in this period, not least because constructing and confirming the unique identities of the national vernaculars might well have entailed controlling the threat of the foreign. The presumption that the ideology of domestication which began in the seventeenth century continued to operate long into the eighteenth century has long been accepted in analyses of eighteenth-century fiction translations in particular. Whether or not these studies use the term "domestication," they have tended to point out fiction translators' distortions of the originals and cite prefaces containing admissions that the novel has not been rendered literally in order to argue that the translation conforms to the target nation's literary and cultural norms.[16] Several studies show that in England, French novels were said to reflect certain features of the French language (usually its "lightness") in need of alteration, while eighteenth-century French translators and critics complained of the disorderliness of English prose and recommended alterations to better accommodate French taste.[17] This approach has illuminated some important aspects of translating, but it conceals much more about eighteenth-century translation and its relationship with novels than it divulges.

Eighteenth-century scholars are well aware that we cannot always trust translators to have given us an accurate or complete rendering of the source, but analyzing translations as domesticating (or foreignizing) oversimplifies a much thornier problem. The problem begins with our limited ability to discern and identify translations in the eighteenth century. This is not to say that we cannot distinguish between any translations and originals, but even a cursory look at eighteenth-century prose fiction in England and France reveals the complex entanglements that beg the question: What is a prose fiction translation? For example, several fictional narratives were translated from an English or French original, but then accidentally translated back into the original language because the translator was unaware that her original was already a translation. Thus, J. B. Brilhac's *Agnès de Castro*, translated by Aphra Behn in 1688, was put back

into French in Marie Thiroux d'Arconville's *Romans traduits de l'anglais* in 1761. When the editor of the *Gray's Inn Journal*, Arthur Murphy, was in need of copy and took Samuel Foote's suggestion to translate a short oriental tale from a French magazine, he discovered only too late that the French was a translation of the tale that had already appeared in Johnson's *Rambler*.[18] The translations of Eliza Haywood's novel *The Fortunate Foundlings* are an even better object lesson in the translingual mutability of fictional narratives. Haywood wrote the *The Fortunate Foundlings* in 1744, and it appeared in 1754 as *Les Heureux orphelins*, "imitée de l'anglois," translated by the French novelist Crébillon fils or possibly his English wife with no mention of the original from which it was taken. Some of the French narrative is directly translated, but other parts are loosely translated and, at one point, the French turns away from the original altogether. Four years later, *The Happy Orphans* appeared in English, now "translated and improved from the French original"—the Crébillon translation put back into English. Again part of the French version was followed with more or less rigor, but at the very same point that the French translator decided to veer from the original entirely, the English translator did the same.[19]

In general, we cannot assume that a translation came directly from an original, or suppose a translation provided a literal or complete rendering of its source, because it was common enough for translators not only to alter the text but also to add some original work to it. John Lockman, a well-known eighteenth-century translator of several works from French, wrote in the preface to his translation of Desfontaines' *Le Nouveau Gulliver*: "With regard to my Version, I've endeavour'd . . . to infuse a little of that spirit, which is the life of translations."[20] He explained in another preface: "With regard to the following Version, I have endeavour'd to give it the Air of an Original, and consequently have been far from translating my Author literally."[21] Lockman uses the term "version" to denote a large range of textual operations and to suggest that a translation was not necessarily an attempt to copy an original, but partly an original in its own right. At the same time, the field we identify as original novels is seeded with translation. For example, Oliver Goldsmith translated and inserted passages from Marquis d'Argens' *Lettres Chinoises* into his *Citizen of the World*, and some of the passages Goldsmith used were translated from d'Argens' own unacknowledged use of Du Halde's description of China.[22] A host of other eighteenth-century translators used similar tactics.[23] Examples of indirect pathways from source to target and translators' refusals to disengage original writing from translating are sometimes cited as curiosities, but they are too numerous to be anomalies.

To apply the terms *domesticating* and *foreignizing* to eighteenth-century prose fiction translation can too easily presume distinctions that do not obtain, and consequently, the terms risk misjudging the object of study by preemptively limiting the field. Too rigid a definition of translation can easily distort the operations and significance of the field, and may even distort our analysis of acknowledged and faithful translations for lack of familiarity with the eighteenth century's culture of translation. More importantly, *domesticating* and *foreignizing*, which are terms borrowed from the German romantic philosopher and translation theorist Friedrich Schleiermacher, presume a cultural context for rendering decisions that cannot be rigorously applied to eighteenth-century fiction. Schleiermacher explains that the "genuine translator, who wants to bring those two separated persons, the author and the reader, truly together" can either domesticate the work by leaving the reader in peace and bringing the author toward him/her, or foreignize, bringing the reader toward the author.[24] Schleiermacher's separation between foreign author and domestic reader is conditioned, I would argue, by the advent of culture in the romantic period which denotes a new integration of language, customs, and other factors into the totality of national identity. Thus, Schleiermacher puts the onus on translation to reconcile differences, either concealing them by domesticating or exposing them by foreignizing, but both strategies presuppose national-cultural differences as formidable obstacles between the author and reader. I will return to the advent of culture in translation history later, but for now my point is that domesticating and foreignizing may anachronistically impose culture on eighteenth-century fiction translating. Just as domesticating or foreignizing may falsely separate translating from literary creation at a time when the modern concept of originality was still forming, these terms can also assume a particular configuration of national-cultural differentiation at a time when the idea of culture and its isomorphism with the nation in a modern sense was just on the horizon. To impose such concepts is to presume what in fact most needs analysis if we are to understand the historical specificity of translating in the eighteenth century and its imbrication with the emergence of the novel.

My approach to translation differs from most studies initially by tabling such questions as: How was the text translated? With what sorts of effects? I begin instead with the observation that the relationship between translating and prose fiction was a dense and blurry one. Though we tend to think of a translation as an image of a source (good or bad, literal

or free, and so on) with certain effects (loss or gain, liberating or repressive, and so on), basic distinctions between source and target were intentionally blurred in the eighteenth century; the territory that we now see as problematically obscure was the norm. Thus, the field under investigation in this study includes known translations from identifiable sources, but also freely translated novels or what we would now call adaptations. It also includes texts that overlap with original novels because they imitate in broad strokes, or incorporate translation, though they are not necessarily categorized as translations; I am also willingly including novels advertised as translations even if they were not translated because they were perceived as part of a translative field of prose fictions. If prose fiction translation looks blurry from our perspective, from the standpoint of the eighteenth century it was merely manifesting its relationship with transmission. Throughout this study, I maintain that English and French translators were not providing copies of each other's original novels in a straightforward exchange of national literary products. Instead, because translating had long been embedded in transmission as the basis of European literary culture, conceptualized in the premodern period in the twin concepts of *translatio imperii* (the transfer of power) and *translatio studii* (the transfer of learning), the activity of rendering was still in many ways a ubiquitous task that belonged to all literary endeavor. Yet, as vernacular translating began to compete with translating ancient languages, and as nations and their literatures established themselves as unique fields, these premodern aspects of translating underwent a tectonic shift. *The Spread of Novels* traces this sea change in translation from several different angles to argue that the waning of transmission and the beginnings of translation as a national-cultural project constituted the emergence of the novel as a modern literary form. I begin by arguing for a new periodization of translation history that places the eighteenth century at the juncture of premodern and modern translation. Certain assumptions about the translatability of languages and the ease of rendering were embedded in the tradition of learning ancient languages and reapplied in the acquisition of the vernaculars in the eighteenth century, revealing the continuities of eighteenth-century practice with a premodern translating system. Returning to the advent of culture in translating, I situate eighteenth-century translation as a hinge between a prior model of transmission that had directed rendering from ancient times through the Renaissance and modern, national literary exchange.

Double Vision: Instituting Vernacular Translation

To establish the ubiquity of translating, its place in literary culture, and why it matters to novels in the eighteenth century, it is useful to analyze the institution of language acquisition and the ways in which it instilled translation habits. The cross-Channel arena in particular was steeped in translation in the eighteenth century as in previous eras, not least because translating was a routine activity among the literate, a habit formed in one's early education. Language acquisition texts for French and English, or what they called simply "grammars," followed the pedagogy of ancient languages. Applying the principles and structure of Latin education, vernacular grammars did not focus on oral competence, but taught French and English almost as dead languages where translating had always been a crucial step required to comprehend basic grammatical categories and syntax as well as learn vocabulary. One trend in vernacular grammars was to streamline the traditional grammatical methods. Beginning in the seventeenth century and extending through the eighteenth century, many multilingual grammars like John Minsheu's *Ductor in linguas, the guide into the tongues viz. english, welsh, low dutch, high dutch, french, italian, spanish, portuguez, latine, greek and hebrew languages* (1617) and John Henley's *The Compleat Linguist. Or, an Universal Grammar of all the Considerable Tongues in Being* (1719) use a single grammatical system and method to teach any number of languages. Nicholas Adam's *La Vraie manière d'apprendre une langue quelconque, vivante ou morte, par le moyen de la langue française* (1779) was also based on the universal method, and included tables of declensions and conjugations, which organize every language into the same grammatical categories based on Latin morphology. Adam also promises the student a table in which several different languages are displayed together, each arranged according to the same set of categories. This method avoids the inconvenience of paging through the book: "[O]n pourra les placer l'un à côté de l'autre en composant, et par ce moyen, les comprendre et les retenir beaucoup plus aisément." [One will be able to place one next to the other in composing, and by this means, comprehend them and retain them much more easily.][25] Taking in the unified system in a single glance, this visual projection of equivalence promises to drastically reduce the many difficulties presented by linguistic differences. In grammars that focus solely on French and English, analogy is also the preferred modus operandi, and visualization its primary vehicle. Latin morphological categories organize the grammar in an introductory section, which is

usually followed by facing-page vocabulary lists, then facing-page phrases, then parallel conversations or readings.

Chapters entitled "Gallicisms" or "Anglicismes" relegate all the grammatical particularities of the language and its many idioms to a single category of exceptions. Jacob Villiers' *Vocabularium analogicum or the Frenchman speaking English and the Englishman speaking French* (1680), Abel Boyer's *The Compleat French-Master* (1706), and Rogissard's *Nouvelle grammaire anglaise* (1776) follow this pattern to suggest syntactical identity along a smooth progression of correspondences from single words, to phrases, to whole conversations.[26] (See figures 1 and 2.) Like Adam's proposed chart, this mirroring of the languages on the page is a visually compelling assertion of equivalence, and the frequent use of simple phrasing and cognate words made the parity all the more visible.

Because English and French were presented as fundamentally similar, or at least accidentally rather than essentially different, students were supposed to move quickly and effortlessly from the basics to a full grasp of the language in a short time. Paul Festeau, author of English and French grammars, maintains that memorizing vocabulary and phrasing is minimized because reading and translating back and forth between the two languages is sufficient: "I do maintain that it is not necessary to learn such abundance of dialogue by heart; it is enough to read and English them, and next to that explain them from English to French." In this way, "the words and phrases do insensibly make an impression in the memory and the discreet scholar goeth forward with a great deal of ease."[27] This desire to dispense with the rules and memorization suggests that the rote work of gathering, ordering, digesting, and repeating was outmoded. It was enough to read and "English" or translate and then translate back to French as if memorization was superseded by another mental process—a mysterious commingling of the structure of language with the mind as the "words and phrases do insensibly make an impression in the memory." The new methods, though they relied as always on reading, translating, and composing as a continuum of learning exercises, were a radical departure from the pedagogy of ancient languages. Modern language pedagogy nearly abolished word-by-word, interlinear translation as a belabored first step. In his pedagogical tract from 1660, Charles Hoole explained this standardized process of treating Latin: "(i) Let them, at first especially, translate every lesson by way of interlineary writing according to the grammatical order; (ii) Let them parse the whole lesson in that order, and give you the variation and derivation of the most difficult nouns and verbs throughout, and the rules of syntax and of the accents." Hoole then suggests transcribing

VOCABULAIRE Anglois & François.

A VOCABULARY English and French.

Du Monde en général.

Of the World in general.

DIEU,	GOD
Dieu le Pére,	} God the Father
Jésus Christ, ou Dieu le Fils,	} Jesus Christ, or God the Son
Le Saint Esprit,	the Holy Ghost
Nôtre Créateur,	} our Maker, or Creator
Nôtre Rédempteur,	} our Redeemer
La Création,	the Creation
Le Consolateur,	the comforter
Le Sanctificateur,	the Sanctifier
Nôtre Dame, ou, La Vierge Marie,	} our Lady, or the Virgin Mary
Les Créatures,	the Creatures.
Une Créature vivante, ou un Animal.	} A living Creature, or an Animal.
La Nature,	Nature
Un Corps,	a Body
Un Esprit,	a Spirit or Ghost
Le Ciel,	Heaven
Le Paradis,	the Paradise
La Gloire,	the Glory
Un Ange,	an Angel
Un Archange,	an Archangel
Un Chérubin,	a Cherubin

Un Séraphin,	a Seraphin
Les Saints,	the Saints
Les Bienheureux,	the Blessed
Un Martyr,	a Martyr
Un Prophéte,	a Prophet
Un Evangeliste,	an Evangelist
Un Apôtre,	an Apostle
L'Enfer,	Hell
Le Diable, ou le Démon,	} the Devil
Les Damnez,	the Damned

Des Elements.

Of the Elements.

Le Feu,	the Fire
L'Air,	the Air
La Terre,	the Earth
L'Eau,	the Water
La Mer,	the Sea
Le Ciel, ou le Firmament.	} the Sky
Les Astres,	the Stars in general
Une Etoile,	a Star
Le Soleil,	the Sun
La Lune,	the Moon
Le Croissant, ou Demi-Lune,	} the Crescent, or Half-Moon
Pleine Lune,	Full Moon
Une Planéte,	a Planet
Une Comete,	a Comet

Les

Figure 1. Abel Boyer, *The Compleat French-master, for ladies and gentlemen* (London, 1706), 160. Princeton University Library.

II.

Expreſſions de Tendreſſe.

MA Vie.
  Ma chére Ame.
Mon Amour.
Mon petit Mignon, *ou* ma petite
Mignonne.
Mon petit Cœur.
Mamie
Ma petite Poupone.
Ma chére fanfan, *ou* ma chére
Enfant.
Mon bel Ange.
Mon tout.

II.

Expreſſions of Kindneſs.

MY Life.
  My dear Soul.
My Love.
My little Darling.

My little Heart.
Sweet Heart.
My little Honey.
My dear Child.

My pretty Angel.
My All.

III.

Pour Remercier & faire Compli-ment, ou *Amitié.*

JE vous remercie.
  Je vous rends Graces.
Je vous rends mille Graces.

Je le ferai avec plaiſir.
De tout mon Cœur.
De bon Cœur.
Je vous ſuis obligé.
Je ſuis tout à vous.
Je ſuis vôtre Serviteur.
Vôtre trés humble Serviteur.
Vous étes trop obligeant.
Vous vous donnez trop de
péine.
  Je n'en trouve point à vous
ſervir.
  Vous êtes fort obligeant, *ou* fort
honnête.
  Cela eſt fort honnête.
  Que ſouhaitez vous?
  Je vous prie d'en uſer libre-
ment avec moy.

III.

To Thank and Complement, or ſhew a Kindneſs.

I Thank you.
  I give you thanks.
I give, or I render you a thouſand
thanks.
  I ſhall do it chearfully.
With all my Heart.
Heartily.
I am obliged to you.
I am wholly yours.
I am your Servant.
Your moſt humble Servant.
You are too obliging.
You give your ſelf too much
trouble.
  I find none in ſerving you.

You are very obliging, or very
kind.
  That's very kind.
What will you be pleaſed to have?
I deſire you to be free with me.

Sans

Figure 2. Abel Boyer, *The Compleat French-master, for ladies and gentlemen* (London, 1706), 218. Princeton University Library.

phrases and elegant words into a commonplace book.[28] Each word's grammatical function is analyzed and described, and then the reading process requires another step, *constructio*, because the *ordo artificialis* of Latin must be put into vernacular word order. Hoole and others often used double translation as part of their pedagogical program; the student changed Latin word order into English word order, then converted the Latin words into English ones, and finally, went through the process in reverse, going from English back into Latin.[29] In this pedagogical tradition, which went back to Quintilian, parsing and word-for-word translation was followed by more liberal rendering to work tropes and style, developing the student's rhetorical skills, and eventually his own style.

Eighteenth-century grammar books promoted the ease of translation between vernaculars without interlinear reading and rendering in the belief that visualizing equivalence and replacing vocabulary was sufficient. This unimpeded rendering process enforced in pedagogical texts was not merely the promotional rhetoric of their authors, but was based on the theoretical pretense that unlike ancient languages, modern vernaculars are guided by rational principles. According to the *Encyclopédie*, French and English, which they call "analog" languages, follow a rational order, which is described as "le lien universel de la communicabilité de toutes les langues et du commerce de pensées, qui est l'âme de la société: c'est donc le terme où il faut réduire toutes les phrases d'une langue étrangère" [the universal link of communicability of all languages and of the commerce of thoughts, which is the soul of society: it is then the term to which it is necessary to reduce all the sentences of a foreign language].[30] Not surprisingly, analog languages facilitate reading and translating because of their natural, analytical word order, while the artificial order of what they call "transpositive" languages such as Latin and Greek required that they be first reduced to analog order, then translated:

> Les langues analogues suivent, ou exactement ou de fort près, l'ordre analytique, qui est, comme je l'ai dit ailleurs, le lien naturel, et le seul lien commun de tous les idiomes. La nature, chez tous les hommes, a donc déjà bien avancé l'ouvrage par rapport aux langues analogues, puisqu'il n'y a en quelque sorte à apprendre que ce que l'on appelle la Grammaire et le Vocabulaire, que le tour de la phrase ne s'écarte que peu ou point de l'ordre analytique, que les inversions y sont rare ou légères, et que les ellipses y sont ou peu fréquentes ou faciles à suppléer.

[Analog languages follow, either exactly or very closely, analytical order, which is, as I have said elsewhere, the natural link, and the only common link of all idioms. Nature, among all men, has thus already well advanced the work with relation to analog languages, since in a way one only has to learn what is called Grammar and Vocabulary, that the phrasing is separated little if at all from analytical order, that inversions are rare or slight, and that ellipses are infrequent or easy to supply.][31]

If analog languages mirrored rational thinking, but Latin did not, the *Encyclopédie* writers implied that the link between analog languages superseded the genealogical link to ancient languages. It became irrelevant that Latin was a parent language of French and English, and that they shared common root words or grammar, for now they had both progressed beyond the ancients and manifested natural ties to one another.

The *Encyclopédie* is not entirely representative of eighteenth-century ideas regarding language and translatability. We will see later that translatability was more contested during the Enlightenment than these articles indicate. Nonetheless, a deep-seated belief in the communicability of the vernaculars was philosophically grounded, consistently reasserted in practical guides to language acquisition, and internalized by students of French and English. Languages as different as French and English, now liberated from the intensive, drawn-out translation exercises performed with ancient languages, could be translated with ease by novices. In his memoir, Francis Kirkman explains that he translated a French version of the romance *Amadis de Gaule* as a means of learning the language: "I . . . began to hammer out the Sence of some part of it; and finally, I took so much pains therein, that I attained to an indifferent knowledge of that Language."[32] For Kirkman, knowledge of French was simply a matter of reading in two languages, recognizing similarity, and filling in the gaps. The translator and novelist Antoine François Prévost wrote that at the end of two weeks' initiation with bilingual grammar books, he suddenly translated English with the utmost ease: "Mais ayant choisi quelques Livres écrits d'un stile léger, j'entrepris. . .d'en traduire même quelque chose; et mon propre étonnement fut extrême en trouvant que j'entendais déjà fort facilement tout ce que je lisais." [But having chosen some books written in a light style, I undertook to translate something; and my own surprise was extreme in finding that I understood already very easily everything I was reading.][33]

From this brief look at translating in the institution of pedagogy, I want to draw out three points about eighteenth-century translating that closely link it with translating in the premodern era. The first point is that translation was a habit-forming practice in a tradition of European multilingualism. In the Middle Ages and Renaissance, ancient languages were the student's first written languages and there was little or no formal education in one's own native tongue, though it was spoken daily.[34] As the vernaculars began to take on a new role at the center of literary culture in the early modern period, literate Europeans continued to be multilingual, but with an emphasis on vernacular multilingualism and on translating more easily between modern, living languages.[35] Second, because the habit of translating, imbibed early, was necessarily shared with other literate people, translators were not a separate class of writers, but often the same bi- or multilingual writers who were building competence in several languages. As a result, translations were not necessarily written and published for those who were entirely ignorant of the foreign language, but for a community of multilingual readers. In his dedication to the English translation of Madeleine de Scudéry's romance *Artamènes, or The Grand Cyrus*, Humphrey Moseley wrote: "I humbly beg pardon for presenting a Translation to You who so perfectly command the original."[36] The translator of Marie d'Aulnoy's *The Prince of Carency* was one of many who defended the alterations made to the original in recognition of those "who shall take the Trouble of comparing this with the Original."[37] The final point is that the belief in linguistic intimacy between French and English, instilled along with the habits of translating, helped forge a closely knit milieu of bilinguals who could appreciate a variety of rendering styles, and thus did not consider every infidelity an affront.

Translation, Transmission, Modernity

My approach to translation emphasizes that the translative fictional field reflects the historical situation in which translating was endemic to literary culture, and translating between English and French in particular was little more than an ordinary complement to the expected acquisition of languages and literacy. It was not a practice of the few, but of the many, and integrated closely with reading, where it tended to the literal side of the rendering scale, and with composition, where it tended toward a freer kind of rhetorical exercise. Rendering traditionally fulfilled its true purpose by

performing the renewal of a canon of authorities or *auctores*. In the Romans' relationship to the Greeks, and then in Europeans' relationship to antiquity from the Middle Ages through much of the seventeenth century, translating was the tooth of the literary fabric. In the context of this dense relationship with the European tradition, it was hardly an exaggeration to say that literature as a whole was translative. Although translation remained commonplace and formative as a practice into the eighteenth century, a major shift in the purposes of translating took place as moderns began translating moderns. Eighteenth-century translating sustained the flexibility that had defined its role in a premodern setting, but how did it cope with the purposes of translating when the scales tipped, and vernacular literary production and vernacular translating began to compete with translating the ancients? The structure and meaning of translation in a premodern world was not suddenly overturned, but the eighteenth century could not sustain the ways in which translating coursed along with transmission. The eighteenth century represents the hinge between a premodern world of translative literary endeavor and a modern world where translation would occur alongside, almost as adjunct to literary production. Eighteenth-century translation theory, however, provides a poor entry point into this complex historical shift. Its rhetoric is demure about the role and purpose of translating, and the discourse tends to repeat old commonplaces, and more frequently, descends into wan recommendations like d'Alembert's to "shun the two extremes of rigour and indulgence" myopically dealing with the art of translation as mere technique.[38] The spate of familiar advice about translation, which pervades much of the writing on translation in the period, in lieu of theories of transmission, can sometimes indicate a kind of hazy consciousness of the change, but it does not provide the ideal texts with which to grasp it. To periodize eighteenth-century translating, it is better to juxtapose the main features of the premodern nexus of rendering and transmission with what are usually recognized as the hallmarks of modern translation. In other words, the medieval and Renaissance modality of translative literary endeavor, which I see as emanating from its particular configuration of authority and temporality, and *imitatio* as the keystone that secured the link between them, can be compared with early nineteenth-century discourse on translating and its elaboration of a new bifurcated matrix of translation: the national and the foreign. Such a comparison, though it appears to skip over the period in question, helps open up the particularity of the eighteenth century as a juncture in translation history. Premodern translativity was pried open in the eighteenth century as its connection to authority, temporality, and

imitation seeped away, but it had not evolved so far as to become the endeavor of national literary exchange that would characterize the modern translating system.

The connection between rendering and transmission in the West was first elaborated in the writings of Cicero and Quintilian. It is important to remember, however, that translation itself was rarely a direct concern, except as it belonged to grammar and rhetoric. Rita Copeland explains that Roman theories of translation recognized that it was "essentially replicative," but as a part of rhetoric and not a mere grammatical exercise, translation also aimed at differentiation.[39] Imitation was structured around a slightly different relationship; it represented "a patriarchal pattern of transmission" and was predicated on the act of invention: "[T]he model, or ancestor, discovers and posits the ground for future invention. . . . [T]he copy produces, not a conspicuous likeness of the original, but rather what is understood and revalued in the original." As Copeland explains, in the Roman schools and continuing through the Middle Ages and Renaissance, translating was embedded in a rhetorical tradition, emphasizing the "active production of a new text endowed with its own affective powers and suited to the particular historical circumstances of its reception."[40] Glyn Norton's study of French humanist translators in the Renaissance reveals that these principles of rhetorical *imitatio* or *aemulatio* also emerged in philological or literal translation. Norton writes that "the more the translator seeks to express the latent *sententia* of the original, the more he finds himself engaged in a search for new rhetorical structures and means of expression."[41] These philological translators were "unable to map exact boundaries between translation proper and the articulation of a *novum opus*."[42] During the Renaissance there were questions about whether one should imitate one model or many, and about whether one should imitate style or tropes, or genres and their topoi, or of subject matter more broadly, but like the Roman tradition, imitation was defined by an engagement with revered models, the *auctores*. From the standpoint of the individual writer, imitation (in neo-Latin or in the vernacular) was self-expressive, and one's individual genius as a writer was inextricable from his formative relation to the *auctores*. Not surprisingly, metaphors for imitation—apian, digestive, and eristic—multiplied during the Renaissance to figure this dialectic.[43]

In the seventeenth century, translating the ancients into the vernaculars became more common than imitating the classics in neo-Latin, with an increasing focus on the vernacular's own distinction as a literary language and on writers' own strength and individuality with respect to the canon.[44] Still working within the translative system, seventeenth-century

writers continued to imitate and emulate classical authors and genres, but as Theo Hermans argues, from the 1650s onward "it becomes possible to conceive of 'literary translation' as a separate type, a separate *category* of translation" and is connected with the emergence of what John Denham and Abraham Cowley called the libertine way of translating in England, and what in France became known as the belles infidèles.[45] Seventeenth-century writer-translators spoke of keeping the spirit of the original rather than following the word, and saw themselves as both authors of their own translation and the bearers of the authorial essence of the original. Nicholas Perrot d'Ablancourt said of his translation of Thucydides in 1662: "[C]e n'est pas tant icy le portrait de Thucydide, que Thucydide luy mesme, qui est passé dans un autre corps, comme par une espece de Metempsycose, et de Grec est devenu François." [This is not as much a portrait of Thucydides as Thucydides himself, who has passed into another body as by a kind of metempsychosis and from the Greek has become a Frenchman.][46] While Renaissance translation was interwoven at one end with pedagogical translation and at the other end with imitation, seventeenth-century libertine translators restaged the aims of *imitatio,* and the notion of a literary translation began to sever rendering from the larger scope of translative literary activity.

Libertine translation signals a deep rift in the single continuum of imitative writing in premodernity, not least because instead of one roomy mode of writing which straddled rendering and originality, libertine translators pitted the literal translation against their own poetic or literary translation. It is symptomatic of this rift that, as the Latin word *imitatio* became "imitation" in English and French, its meanings diverged. On the one hand, in Restoration and early eighteenth-century England, *imitatio* became the "Imitation," a kind of free translation of the ancients in which names, places, and so on, were modernized according to contemporary historical circumstances while nonetheless insisting upon the recognition of the source. *Imitatio* was now calcified into the Imitation, a minor poetic genre, but at the same time it came into general vernacular usage as "imitation," an ambiguous clump of ideas that could refer to imitating authors (in every possible way) or could denote the loose and baggy set of concepts relating to the imitation of reality.[47] The retraction of *imitatio* into an over-specialized poetic practice on the one hand, and the concomitant expansion of the term to denote mimesis on the other, was not only the result of the new category of literary translation, but more importantly, was also the effect of shifting ideas about authority and temporality in transmission. As I have described it thus far, *imitatio* revolves around the writer's dialec-

tical relationship with the canon, but this relationship was enfolded in a specific temporal mode. The voices of the *auctores* obviously hailed from an ever-receding past, but transmitting them to the present did not involve representing that past time with respect to its historicity so much as suiting it to a new audience. Recreating antiquity in a new language for a new time relies on the past, but puts an emphasis on the presence of the ancients in one's own time. Whether that past was relatively neutralized as it was in the Middle Ages, or subject to a more acute sense of historical consciousness as it was in the Renaissance, "creative imitation . . . represents a kind of affirmation of the present," as Thomas Greene argues.[48] Though dependent upon antiquity, translators realized that the ancients were dependent upon the present to resurrect them. An important corollary to this temporal dialectic is the nonuniqueness of the present. Imitations exist in the context of prior and future imitations; they are conveyances that transmit the dead over and over again in different times.[49] Thus, the temporality of translative literature is both a thick temporality in which the promise of antiquity can become fully present through *imitatio*, but also cyclical because of its quasi-ritualistic function of continually reviving learning and civilization in the canon.

One of the structural hallmarks of modernity according to most theorists is the emptying of time. Modern time, it is thought, is perceived as neither cyclical nor moving toward fulfillment, but as uniform clock time. Most pinpoint the Enlightenment as the period in which rational or clock-measured time, along with rational, measurable space, became "abstract and strictly functional systems."[50] In *The Consequences of Modernity*, Anthony Giddens explains that premodern social processes were conditioned by a temporality in which " 'when' was almost universally either connected with 'where' or identified by regular natural occurrences," but this temporality was revolutionized by clock time, which expressed "a uniform dimension of 'empty' time."[51] Benedict Anderson, explaining the same shift to modern time, emphasizes that the modern apprehension of time is "marked not by prefiguring and fulfillment, but by temporal coincidence, and measured by clock and calendar."[52] Eighteenth-century discourse on translation rarely addresses the temporality of translation, yet the absence of a discourse of temporality is itself notable. By the early nineteenth century, the evacuation of time from translation theory indicates the modernity of the new translating system. In her brief essay, "De l'Esprit des Traductions" (1816), Germaine de Stael addresses translations of the ancients, reconfirming that translating is transmission, but without the concomitant discourse of temporality. Stael opens the essay with a

general remark on the purpose of translating: "Il n'y a pas de plus eminent service à rendre à la littérature, que de transporter d'une langue à l'autre les chefs-d'oeuvre de l'esprit humain." [There is no more eminent service to render to literature than to transport the masterpieces of the human spirit from one language to another.][53] Translation is a transfer of learning and humanity, she claims, but it takes place without any temporal signal such as revival or renewal. Much less does she employ necromantic metaphors or the image of metempsychosis that can be found prior to the eighteenth century. In Stael's essay, the past is temporally neutralized as universal "human spirit." Translation is not, however, the flow of spirit. Though the aim may be to transmit genius, Stael believes that translation is a means of energizing the nation's language and literature: "Ces beautés [of the foreign text] naturalisées donnent au style national des tournures nouvelles et des expressions plus originales." [These naturalized beauties give new turns and more original expressions to the national style.][54] Stael's notion that the nation is enriched through translating the ancients is widely shared among her contemporaries and significant because it does not directly challenge, but quietly replaces the fastening of authority, temporality and *imitatio* with the nation and its other. The same year that Stael wrote her essay, Wilhelm von Humboldt published his translation of *Agamemnon*. He wrote in the introduction that despite the very untranslatability of a work like Aeschylus' tragedy, translation is one of the most necessary tasks of any literature because it introduces readers ignorant of another language to "forms of art and human experience that would otherwise have remained totally unknown."[55] Humboldt, like Stael, replaces renewal with the enrichment of the nation and its language through translation: "Think how the German language, to cite only one example, has profited since it began imitating Greek meter."[56] Rather than define translating as a transfer of learning formative of literature as a totality, translation affords a transformation of national literature in its contact with the foreign. August Wilhelm Schlegel, another German romantic writer and translator, wrote that translation's highest aim "is nothing less than to combine the merits of all different nations, to think with them and feel with them, and so to create a cosmopolitan centre for mankind."[57] Thus, Schlegel's "cosmopolitan centre" brings different nations together and allows them "to think with" and "to feel with" each other, suggesting a cultural field of exchange where many nations' literatures are gathered together in homogenous, empty time. For the romantics, the matrix of translation is *cultural* not temporal, and the past is just another foreign country.

Most scholars place the origins of modern translation in the romantic era, as I have done here, but the eighteenth century has hardly been tapped as the crucial period between the ebb of premodern translative literature and flow of modern translation as transnational exchange. The intervention I hope to make in *The Spread of Novels* is to show that the novel emerged during the middle decades of the eighteenth century in French and English, and soon in an ever-widening set of languages and geographical domains, because of this juncture. Prose fiction was predicated on its mobility, but the shift in translating from a premodern, thick system of transmission to modern literary exchange between nations brought about the consolidation of fictions into the form we refer to as the novel. Much of this argument about the novel's emergence depends on discerning the aftereffects of premodern translating and disclosing surprisingly unmodern aspects of the consolidating novel. The emphasis on, and privileged status of, premodernity signals an intentional challenge to the lock that modernity has had on the novel in such diverse arguments about the genre as its relation to the formation of a modern middle class or modern capitalism, to modern individualism, and especially the genre's affinity with the modern nation-state. The story of emergence I attempt to tell is not, however, from romance as a precursor literary form to the modern novel, or from nonfictional genres into the novel in tandem with other cultural shifts. The novel comes about, I will argue, as an effect of its changing mode of transmissibility, from a nation-blind transfer to a transnationalized exchange. By the middle of the eighteenth century, new novels were increasingly received at home and abroad as representatives of their nations, showing signs of a nascent transnationalism in which the bundling of language, culture, and literature in the nation altered fiction's spread. Novels continued to move between languages and regions, but the character of fiction's mobility was redefined. The identification of novels more closely with a national origin and character, now circulating across languages in translation, particularized novels, and then in a necessary reversal, both internationalized and universalized the novel. This complex process of transnationalization constituted the form of the novel—its allegiance to a single language and location, and its emergence as a genre with indefinite boundaries.

Given the complex valences of translation in the eighteenth century, I have restricted my use of the word "translation" to rendering, using it primarily as a neutral term for the task of moving oral or written discourse from one language to another, however strict or loose the rendering

may be. To designate the historical and cultural dimensions of translation, I use "transmission" or *translatio* to denote the premodern mode, and "transnationalism" to signify modernized literary exchange between nations. Transnationalism does not, however, sufficiently encompass or represent the complexity of literary and cultural relations in the eighteenth-century cross-Channel or transatlantic arenas. The shift in the eighteenth century from translation as transmission—the defining principle and practice of fiction-making—to an instrument of nationalized literary exchange exposes the unsettled relations of nation and world, particular and universal, through which the novel emerged. Some novels foster identification with a specific nation not least by their formal and thematic concern with the domestic sphere. As the nation begins to have a hold on prose fiction in the mid-eighteenth century—and by "nation" we must recognize not a cohesive entity but assemblages of diverse sets of communities and languages that bear the marks of an early nation form—the trade in novels becomes less dense, less blurry. The beginning of a transnational exchange of prose fiction takes place, however, in the context of the Channel's tightly woven cross-cultural history. The British and French were thoroughly interlocked even as they antagonized each other; their social and cultural practices and self-perception clung together because of a shared history, but also because disciplining national pride and a marked enthusiasm for acquiring each other's languages and cultural advantages were understood as essential to the transcendent goal of civilization. During this period, the expansion of European empires across the Atlantic also manifests linguistic and cultural detachments from national belonging as the British and French reveal a similar voracity for absorbing and representing the dizzying variety of languages and cultures of the Atlantic world. Even as both nations attempted to secure a dominant role in the cross-Channel and transatlantic spheres, the experience and record of interculturality reveals a counterpoint to nation building. Thus, cultural individuation and detachments from nascent national identities were simultaneously operating and complicating what we can call the early stages of a transnational novel trade. Another equally potent trend in the eighteenth century was the new discourse of universalism in discussions of prose fiction. In the middle of the eighteenth century, claims were made about the transcendence of novels' own particularity to represent humanity as such. This study undertakes the task of analyzing the novel through the shift in translating that urges the genre's consolidation, but this is bound up with these forces redefining the extranational. To understand this shift

from transmission to modern transnationalism as meaningful in eighteenth-century terms, my argument takes into account the nexus of ideas that British and French writers used to configure the extranational. Cosmopolitanism, though it was used in many different ways and contexts in the eighteenth century, is a useful term for the modernization of translating in the cross-Channel and transatlantic worlds because of its associations with detached and open-minded cultural tolerance as well as with a critical self-reflection of nationalism. It was an antidote to the detriments of national identification, but not necessarily a high-minded global consciousness so much as rational and civilizing interactivity of nations, now seen on a world stage. Second, universality is a useful term not least because it was juxtaposed with the national and cosmopolitan. As the antithesis of particularity and as a humanist ideal, universality was a specific claim made on behalf of the novel, and one that was decisive for reimagining transmissibility.

Each chapter also builds on the claim that the eighteenth century is situated at a turning point in translation history to develop the argument that this turn plays a constitutive role in the emerging novel, but the chapters do not form a series of case studies of translations of novels from English to French or vice versa. Case studies of translations too often rely on drawing comparisons between the rendered text and the original, and get caught in a binary modality, even if they complicate binarism, that misses the forest for the trees. Specific cases will come to light, and the focus remains trained on English and French fiction, for few would disagree that these languages are those in which the novel first emerged. But the primary aim is to trace aspects of the historical shift in translating in the eighteenth century and the ways in which this shift informed the emerging novel.

The first chapter is a critical reading of the "origins of the novel" theory from the point of view of translation. Having outlined my approach to translating and its history here, I turn to the ways in which theorizing the novel as a literary avatar of modernity has occluded the complex role of transmission. Ian Watt's seminal *The Rise of the Novel*, which was a significant departure from previous studies of the novel, depends upon an unstable relationship of the novel's national particularity to its universal form—a function of his highly influential argument about the novel's modern origins. I then investigate the prehistory of this unstable theory in the eighteenth century's historiography of fiction. Eighteenth-century speculation about the origins of fiction produced its own modern theory

of the novel, not least by prising apart the continuum and density of pre-modern transmission. Their narratives show the first signs that the twin poles of national particularity and universality would unseat premodern transmissibility as the narrative of fiction's origins and spread.

The second chapter addresses the business of translating fiction. Its aim is to provide a sketch of prose fiction translating in the eighteenth century from the point of view of the book trade. While a complete bibliography of the traffic between English and French among the many other languages of the novel would be impossible, a survey of the field and an analysis of the problems of identifying translations of fiction reveal the ingrained structures that prolonged premodern modes of transmission. We will also see that the structure of the book trade, and particularly the independence, initiative, and energy of translators, reflected a premodern system of free transmissibility. By the middle and later eighteenth century, however, contradictory factors were at play in getting a translation of a novel published: the trade relied on the translator's independence, and freedom from constraints such as international copyright laws, but such freedoms were limited by new pressure to beat the competition. I contest the long-standing presumption of translation as hackwork, and trace instead how translating fiction, which had once been a kind of intellectual leisure or amusement, was increasingly demonized as a job in ways that affected the viability and character of fiction translating as a whole. Changes to the material conditions of translation, and specifically the new temporal pressures on publication which altered the labor time of translating, are thus one facet of the ways in which literary exchange was modernized. In place of fiction's translativity, translations of novels were becoming adjacent to the originals.

The third chapter focuses on eighteenth-century translators but turns from questions of translating as labor to the topic of rendering practices. All faithful translators are faithful in the same way, we might say, but those that are unfaithful are unfaithful in different ways. In a field where translating could vary considerably, literal translations need little explication, but those that stray from the original, and the motives behind them, require attention. Nearly every critic who has worked on translations of fiction, from English Renaissance versions of Italian *novelle*, through seventeenth-century French translations of Peninsular romances, to late eighteenth-century French and English versions of novels, has demonstrated the existence of infidelities, bringing to light a myriad of important interpretive and stylistic differences made in individual transla-

tions.[58] The aim here is to illuminate general patterns of translating decisions that have often been explained as a scandalous lack of attention, or the pernicious ideology of national taste. I begin with early modern translation theories to show that its taxonomies are largely inadequate for understanding the variety of translation practices found in eighteenth-century novels. When translators added details to the description of a character, or put words into a character's mouth that did not appear in the original, they worked within a tradition of rhetorical exercises. By the mid-eighteenth century, these premodern strategies began to attend to a specific purpose which they call "interest"—the development of sentiments in the translated text to better elicit readerly feeling. In readings of Eliza Haywood's translations from French in the early eighteenth century and Antoine de La Place's translations from English in the middle of the century, I trace the uses of the very same exercises of omission and amplification to illuminate a shift away from intensifying passages of the display of passions toward a more integrated goal of interest. This shift indicates a merging of premodern practices into the recognizable shape of the sentimental novel.

The fourth chapter explores translation and the emerging novel through the lens of Anglo-French relations. The chapter expands the scope of the study from issues regarding rendering to the role of translation in the context of the twin poles of nationalism and cosmopolitanism that characterized cross-Channel relations more broadly. A wide-angled view of the discourse about translation in Britain and France in the middle decades of the century demonstrates that, during the period in which the novel is said to come into its own, translating reflected neither a phobia of the other nor a simple admiration of the other. I attempt to disentangle the rhetoric—often marked by a resistance to linguistic or cultural corruption on the one hand and extreme adulation on the other—from practices of cross-Channel interculturality which belie such extremes. A variety of texts on Anglo-French relations allow me to make the case for a more nuanced view of cross-Channel relations as a new phenomenon of nation-based, but not nationalistic, cosmopolitanism—a struggle toward bundling language and culture, and yet subsisting along with a continual revalorization of a civilizing Europe, based in part on acquiring languages, translating them, and humanizing one another through cultural mixing. Turning then to Samuel Richardson's *Pamela* and *Clarissa,* and their European reception starting in France, I explain how the perception of translatability in cross-Channel relations helped consolidate the novel. When Richardson's first domestic novel became a national allegory for readers abroad

through its anticosmopolitan heroine, readers and writers resisted *Pamela* by reasserting imitation as a norm. It was a backlash against a new transnational exchange but also the sign of its birth. With *Clarissa*, however, readers and writers in Britain and France articulated a new universal moral value to mediate Richardson's domestic nationalism. Now, *the* novel could represent both the universal "human heart" and yet be representative of a particular nation.

The final chapter is an investigation of the emergent novel in the context of the eighteenth century's novelistic obsession with linguistic and cultural contact in the Atlantic world. Setting the transatlantic novel in the context of a different kind of Atlantic translation scenario, I contend that language switching and multilingualism were possibly even more highly valued than in Europe. As a practical necessity and distinct advantage in the Atlantic, translating was not surprisingly infused into the structure of prose fiction. I argue that the emergence of the novel was partly the effect of incorporating translation into fictional narrative. The diegetic uses of translation in the Atlantic arena, and the ways in which they are mimetic of specific conditions of Atlantic multilingualism and translation, help the novel consolidate, but as an undomestic and cosmopolitan form. Readings of Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* and Françoise Graffigny's *Lettres d'une Péruvienne*—two canonical transatlantic novels, both of which were hypertranslated in the eighteenth century—elucidate the novel's thematization of detachment from national language in the Atlantic arena and thus reveal another contestation to domesticity and its implications for nationalizing literary exchange in the emerging genre. The chapter ends with a reading of Frances Brooke's *The History of Emily Montague*, which returns us to national tensions and cosmopolitanizing mediation in British-French relations. Set in Quebec just after the Seven Years' War, the formal and thematic uses of translation in Brooke's novel bear out their constitutive role in the novel as it goes abroad in transatlantic empire. Translation, then, is not something that happens to novels; it allows us tease out the reasons why the novel emerged as both local and delocalized, domesticated and nationalized, yet globalizing. The emergence of the novel is the story of its imbrication with the dynamics of translation.

Each chapter illuminates different aspects of translation and its processes of modernization, and while the shift from premodern transmission to transnational literary exchange may have had significant effects on any genre in the eighteenth century, my argument is that translation's imbrication with the emerging novel is a peculiar one, not least because the novel is the only major literary genre said to rise in its modern form

in this period. Tracing the historical juncture of translation contributes, then, to a specific view of the novel, that is, that its coalescence is not an internal formation, but rather an effect of transfer and circulation. I do not see genre as the winnowing of heterogeneous prose fictions into a unified form, or a symbiosis of modernity with literary form, but rather as an effect of a broad-based, multinational recognition that took place because of the way fictions spread.

Translation and the Modern Novel

Two assertions are routinely made about the novel. The first is that the novel is universal, a claim that goes back at least to Henry Fielding, who said in his preface to *Tom Jones* that he was serving up "no other than HUMAN NATURE."[1] In the wake of twentieth-century critiques of Enlightenment universalism, the claim is now rare in academic criticism, but it is frequently reiterated by contemporary novelists. In his recent book-length essay on the purposes of the novel, *The Curtain*, Milan Kundera states that Fielding's assertion in the preface to *Tom Jones* "only seems banal." If the idea of universality sounds flat now, Kundera explains, during Fielding's era fiction was elevated to a reflection on human nature for the first time, establishing the novel's "raison d'etre."[2] The second assertion is that the novel is quintessentially national. This claim, which can also be traced back to the eighteenth century, has pervaded academic criticism explicitly or implicitly in recent decades. The realistic novel, written in the national vernacular, is thought to mirror national social and cultural life, and because the novel is consumed privately, many have argued that it also uniquely supports individual identification with the nation. Cathy Davidson's *Revolution and the Word: The Rise of the Novel in America* provides only one example of the novel-nation argument, but her formulation is ideally succinct: "The first novels . . . provided the citizens of the time not only with native versions of the single most popular form of literary entertainment in America, but also with literary versions of emerging definitions of America."[3] Davidson and others have argued that the novel, unique among literary genres because of its popularity, trains a citizenry in its national identity at the very historical moment in which both the genre and that identity were consolidating. Surprisingly little scholarship

exists on the archeology of these two claims and their relation to one another, especially with respect to the novel's emergence in the eighteenth century. This lack of critical attention is surprising in part because those who emphasize the novel's universality do not deny the novel's attachment to the nation, and those that take up the novel-nation argument do not explicitly deny universality, but the two claims are not compatible in any obvious way.[4] The intimate link between the novel and the nation rests on the notion of particularity: the novel is first of all distinguished by its focus on particular individuals and settings, and characterized by its level of particularistic detail, rather than reiterating conventions or myths. Moreover, the novel portrays the particular social and cultural modalities of a nation, and readers are interpellated in the nation in a mutually reinforcing loop of realistic depiction and readerly identification. On the other hand, the belief that the novel portrays human nature and that its ultimate purpose is to reflect on universal humanity effectively denies the constitutive particularity of the novel.

I believe that the reason the two assertions about the novel have not seemed incommensurate is translation. More specifically, the novel's simultaneous particularity and universality depends on a specific view of translation implied in the ways we have theorized the genre's origins. I begin this chapter with a critical rereading of Ian Watt's *The Rise of the Novel: Studies in Defoe, Richardson, and Fielding*, which was among the first to systematically link the novel's emergence in the eighteenth century to structural aspects of modernity, revolutionizing the trend of comprehensive histories of fiction that preceded it. These chronological compendia were broadly based but failed to articulate a cohesive sociocultural frame for the novel or identify it as a separate, unique genre. More recent studies of the novel in the eighteenth century do not follow Watt's argument in all its detail, or reproduce his limited scope and canon, but most have left Watt's fundamental assertions about modernity unchallenged.[5] For Watt, the novel's rise is due first of all to the influence of modern empirical philosophy and its valorization of particularity over idealism. Particularity, which Watt argues becomes the new literary aesthetic of the novel, is paired with his argument that the modern novel belongs to a particular nation, England. Yet, Watt also asserts that the novel represents universal humanity, and implies the universality of the "novel form" rather than arguing for a distinctively English form. In latching onto modernity, Watt makes assertions about the novel's particularity and universality that strain the relation between its origination point and its reach, between its rise and spread. An analysis of Watt's discourse discloses this shaky logic about the

modern origins of the novel in order to show that the tension in the modernity argument of the novel's rise is predicated on altering the role of translation from a core concept for the novel to an accessory operation.

The second part of the chapter reexamines translation's role in novel theory by going back to narratives of fiction's origins and history written during the long eighteenth century. The story of fiction was told and retold in dozens of essays by British and French writers from Pierre Daniel's Huet's *Traité sur l'origine des romans* (1670) to Walter Scott's "Essay on Romance" (1824). The historical narratives in these essays are diachronic and cross-cultural, often governed by the premodern idea of transmission as embodied in the concepts *translatio imperii* (transfer of power) and *translatio studii* (transfer of learning). However, these essays also display the difficulties of adhering to *translatio* especially when they return, as they do again and again, to fiction's origins. By the end of the eighteenth century, most writers stop tracing the first fictions to ancient civilizations and claim instead that fiction originated anywhere and everywhere a society came into being; the origins of fiction were now understood to be the stories that a nation or society tells itself about its birth and heroes. Eighteenth-century writers effectively substituted the historical narrative of fiction's origins with a universal theory of fiction—the result, paradoxically, of relocating fiction's origins within a particular group. The eighteenth-century historiography of fiction helps recuperate the centrality of transmission to novel theory even if its appearance is most striking when it was evanescing. As the core principle of fiction's birth and spread, premodern transmissibility gave way to a more systematic theory of fiction's origins. A new model for fiction resolved the bagginess of transmission narratives by particularizing its origins, but required an unstable appeal to universality, which would ultimately redefine translation as exchange. Prose fiction was not, as is sometimes thought, transnational before it emerged as a modern and national form, but rather, theorizing the novel's emergence has relied on displacing its relation to translating.

To Rise and Spread: Ian Watt and the Novel Franchise

The Rise of the Novel struck on the winning approach of integrating early modern philosophy and historical sociology into a single story about the rise of the realist novel. Watt connects the larger canvas of modernity and the novel by arguing that both represent a complete break with the past:

"[T]he novel arose in the modern period, a period whose general intellectual orientation was most decisively separated from its classical and mediaeval heritage by its rejection . . . of universals."[6] For Watt, the break with the past is an epistemic shift to a new investment in particularity both for the culture broadly and for the novel specifically. First, particularity manifests itself as a general orientation to the individual subject, "particular people in particular circumstances," which is expressed in novels, unlike romances, in the representation of individual experience.[7] Particularity is also tied to originality, for according to Watt, the eighteenth century expresses a new valorization of originality, and novelists set themselves apart from romance writers by rejecting imitation and convention. Finally, particularity is manifest in the novel as an adherence to detail. New narrative techniques mirror the new empirical outlook, and thus novels, unlike romances, use individualized rather than generic names, specific temporal and spatial locations, and so on. In sum, particularity is the substance of Watt's "formal realism"—the defining feature of the novel as the literary expression of modernity.

It is especially curious, then, that Watt's definition of formal realism in the first chapter returns to the universal. He seems to belie his own insistence on particularity when he speaks of the novel's "fidelity to *human* experience" (emphasis added).[8] He restates the point later when he defines formal realism, saying that "implicit in the novel form in general [is] . . . that the novel is a full and authentic report of *human* experience" (emphasis added).[9] We should not discount these statements as merely rhetorical, unconscious or conventional iterations of a defense of the novel on the grounds of its universal humanism. Instead, we can note that at the crucial moment of defining the novel as a genre, Watt seems to disclaim particularity by eliding individualism with universal humanity. How can he argue that the new literary form of the novel is defined by nothing other than particularity, and yet also claim that the novel is the form of universal human experience? Watt might have defended this substitution of individual with "human experience" by distinguishing between universalized actual experience in the novel and the idealized portrayal of humanity in the fiction of earlier periods, which the novel rejects.[10] It is difficult to see such a distinction, however. Actual or experiential rather than ideal universality leaves us with the same problem if actuality is defined, as it is for Watt, by the particulars of existence. That is, how can we locate or identify his universal humanity in the novel if the novel represents a break with the universals, as he claims, and is constituted in particular experience? Watt's un-

stated premise seems to be that particularity is somehow one and the same with the universal.

As Michael McKeon notes, Watt was interested in the "generic coherence" of the novel as predicated on its modernity: "For the scholarly tradition in which Watt participates, establishing the generic coherence of the novel in particular has its own special interest. This is because the novel is, with the essay, the only genre to have emerged under the conditions of epistemological and historiographic self-consciousness that characterize the modern period."[11] Watt succeeds in formulating generic coherence by privileging particularity as the manifestation of modern consciousness in narrative technique, but particularity alone was not meaningful without reference to the universal. The particularity of individual experience was thus substituted with universal "human experience" when Watt articulated his definition of formal realism. The slip in Watt's discourse from individual and particular experience to human experience is echoed in his emphasis on the "novel form" over the idea of a specifically English novel. It is noticeable that in a book about the rise of a new genre, Watt uses "genre" sparingly compared to his use of "form" and "formal"—perhaps an attempt to avoid the prescriptive or descriptive modes that discussions of genre often entailed. I take Watt's use of "form" as first of all pertaining to the distinction of form and matter, or in literary terms, form and content, since he uses form to point to narrative technique rather than themes, plots, and so on. In an Aristotelian tradition, form (one of the four causes) is necessarily immaterial, but more specifically, form is that which makes a thing what it is.[12] Watt implies this meaning of form when he says that formal realism establishes the "distinctive narrative mode of the novel" as separate from other genres and previous modes of fiction.[13] Put another way, form is the quality of novelness that allows Watt to theorize the rise of the genre without binding it to the content of a particular author or national tradition. As novelness, form corrals novels into the modern novel—a universalized literary entity, not bound to any particular nation but only to modernity itself. One result of Watt's focus on the novel form is that it implicitly emphasizes the novel's extranational history, for the novel "form," by definition, exceeds the borders of any particular nation. So, it is all the more curious that as soon as Watt identifies the novel as a form, he brings particularity back into play. Without clearly extending the use of the term "particularity" to nationality, Watt nonetheless intimates that the novel's relation to particularity as narrative technique also makes it particular to the English. He asserts that the novel is a "logical literary

vehicle" for English culture specifically, and that the break with the past that characterizes the novel was most pronounced in England.[14]

In many ways, Watt's link between the modern rise of the novel and a particular nation saw one of its most sophisticated and influential articulations in Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities*, even though the aim of Anderson's study is to trace the origins and rise of nationalism rather than the rise of the novel. Anderson argues for the association of print capitalism, and the novel in particular, with the construction of the nation as a political and cultural entity. He briefly restates the essence of the argument in *Spectre of Comparisons*: "I argued that the historical appearance of the novel-as-popular-commodity and the rise of nation-ness were intimately related. Both nation and novel were spawned by the simultaneity made possible by clock-derived, man-made 'homogenous, empty time.'. . . The novelty of the novel as a literary form lay in its capacity to represent synchronically this bounded, intrahistorical society-with-a-future."[15] Anderson analogizes the novel form and nationness through their shared temporality. Both novel and nation were "spawned" by modern clock time, which Anderson characterizes, borrowing from Walter Benjamin, as a kind of homogenous, empty time in which simultaneity is newly possible. In other words, novel and nation are isomorphic avatars of the shift to modernity, though the novel also has a special "capacity to represent" the nation because of this temporality. Therefore, the novel not only shares some essential features of modern nationhood, but also becomes an agent in the process of nation formation, not least because the realistic novel's homogenous, empty time of narration allows individuals to identify themselves with a large citizenry that the reader will never meet and never know as individuals. I think Anderson suggests that the realistic novel can only be national; it does not properly pertain to other kinds of localities like cities or regions because it allows readers to imagine only their national community. In this way, like Watt, Anderson's view is that the novel is always particular: it belongs to and helps foster national particularity. At the same time, Anderson, as Pheng Cheah states, "is not interested in particular nations but the paradigmatic style of how the nation in general as a unique form of community is imagined and the material conditions that give rise to this new paradigm."[16] In ways that were more nuanced than Watt's, Anderson would recognize particularity as crucial, only insofar as it is paradigmatic, and hence nationness like novelness is universalizable as a form.

Watt's novel theory was probably the most cohesive account of English novel history available at the time. Yet, when we highlight the un-

checked uses of the particular and the universal in *The Rise of the Novel*, and its application stemming from Anderson's influential account, it is clear that the theory leaves open two very different explanations about the novel, which remain unresolved. Either the novel form, which is wedded to particularity in its techniques, was brought about as a particular nation's novel, which then becomes a model for other novels as the paradigmatic novel form. Or the novel form, invented in and because of modernity, is already a universalizing form bound to manifest itself anywhere and everywhere modern conditions are present. It is not clear whether Watt meant to argue that the novel is an English paradigm or a form in its purer sense. One consequence of Watt's argument is that questions about how novels are transferred from one place or language or culture to another, and over time, seemed much less relevant than they did before *The Rise of the Novel*. There was no longer any reason to fully consider the novel in relation to earlier fictions, and Watt could simply hive off the diachronic history of prose fiction because the novel's characteristic particularity is born of the total rejection of that past. And, because the novel's characteristic particularity is ultimately none other than universal humanity, the connection between different nations and their novels is always already transparent. It would be incorrect to argue that Watt dismissed transmission altogether, but his focus on the synchrony of the novel's rise and modernity largely confined transmission and the concomitant acts of translation to an incidental role. Watt's brief mention of translation in *The Rise of the Novel* is telling in this regard. He states that the novel "is the most translatable of genres"—a big claim, but the statement is almost a throwaway.[17] He does not suggest that the novel is the most translatable because novels were translated extensively and intensively before and during the novel's rise. This statement comes on the heels of Watt's claim for the priority of the English novel in the invention of formal realism. In fact, instead of repeating the commonplace that novels were translated across the Channel in the eighteenth century, he dismisses all eighteenth-century French fiction in the claim about the novel's translatability. French fiction "stands outside the main tradition of the novel." Watt writes: "For all its psychological penetration and literary skill, we feel it is too stylish to be authentic."[18] Watt's point is that the authentic report of experience, not style, is the mark of the emerging novel, and authenticity or the "transcription of real life" and its "exhaustive representation" make it the most translatable of genres. Watt's translatability is once again both universalizing and particularizing. The language of the novel is detailed and real, and this absence of

style—somehow less nationally particular and more human—guarantees its transparency across languages.

Watt's substitution of modernity for transmission comes to light more fully in a comparison between *The Rise of the Novel* and its predecessors, an overlooked aspect of Watt's study. When Watt wrote the novel's history as an exclusively modern one, effectively severing the eighteenth century from earlier periods, he diminished the breadth of scope typical of most of the earlier histories of the English novel. At the outset of *The Rise of the Novel*, Watt assumed "as is commonly done that it [the novel] was begun by Defoe, Richardson, and Fielding," probably referring here to histories of the English novel going back to the nineteenth century, studies which his work soon rendered obsolete.[19] The monumental *History of the English Novel* (1924) by Ernest Baker and several other histories aimed at students and the general reader, such as Hippolyte Taine's *History of English Literature* (1863), Walter Raleigh's *The English Novel* (1894), Percy Russell's *A Guide to British and American Novels* (1895), Wilbur Cross' *Development of the English Novel* (1900), George Saintsbury's *The English Novel* (1913), as well as more scholarly critical studies such as Arnold Kettle's *Introduction to the English Novel* (1951–1953), all mark Defoe, Richardson, and Fielding as turning points, just as Watt does. Percy Russell states the orthodox view: "It is not until we arrive at the eighteenth century that we find the true originals of the English novel as we have it now."[20] Unlike Watt, however, none of these earlier studies begins with the eighteenth century, and none excludes novels in other languages. Ernest Baker, for example, prominently features English novels only after concentrating on Continental narratives and their English translations in the first three volumes of his ten-volume work. Walter Raleigh's work, which goes from the "earliest times" to Walter Scott's *Waverley*, focuses exclusively on English novels only in the second half. These literary critics and historians often begin with the fiction of antiquity, and draw a long, ambling path of influences from one country or one author to another through the succeeding centuries. Thus, medieval romance flourished because of the translation of the "matter of britaine," the primarily Arthurian material transmitted between Britain and France in Welsh, Latin, English, and French, and in translation from verse to prose;[21] the Renaissance comic novel was transmitted through translation from Apuleius to Boccaccio, and Boccaccio to Chaucer, Marguerite de Navarre, later Scarron and others; sixteenth- and seventeenth-century French translations of ancient Greek novels by Heliodorus and Longus provided models for the heroic romances; Elizabethan prose fiction was influenced by translations of the French translations

of Greek novels, and also by translations of Italian fictions, as well as Spanish and French fictions.[22] Though many of these writers suggest that the eighteenth century marks an irreversible change in the novel, Raleigh, for example, continually makes the connection between English novels and Continental ones, attributing eighteenth-century picaresque novels to the influence of Lesage, citing the influence of Continental models on Smollett, and speculating that the impetus for Samuel Johnson's *Rasselas* was the memory of translating Father Lobo's *A Voyage to Abyssinia* from French many years before.[23] George Saintsbury, after declaring that by the mid-eighteenth century "the English Novel was at last to assert itself as a distinct, an increasingly popular, and a widely cultivated kind," nonetheless makes an analogy between Samuel Richardson's *Pamela* and both Marivaux's *La Vie de Marianne* and Lafayette's *La Princesse de Clèves*.[24] These early twentieth-century histories of the novel seem to be derivative and conventional accounts of the Western European heritage and its canon, which they string together historically with little other than the notion of literary influence. The idea of the novel as such is scarcely considered, yet they accept the multilingual, protean existence of the novel without argument. Their focus on translations, and on the development of the English novel with non-English counterparts, establish an implicit circuit of transcultural adaptation. Watt's gambit of coherence depleted the purchase of other stories of transmission not only because the concept of formal realism made the longer diachronic history seem unnecessary, but also because the notion of novel form internalized modernity. If Watt nonetheless reclaims transmissibility and translation from these earlier studies of the English novel when he states that "the novel is the most translatable of genres," he limits its meaning to the transcription of "real life" in transparent language.

In the two or three decades after the publication of *The Rise of the Novel* in 1957, a spate of new studies recounted the rise of the novel in countries at the margins of or outside Europe, describing how modern conditions spawned an autonomous national novel in Russia, the Philippines, Thailand, India, and elsewhere. These accounts presume that the modern novel form was born in the cross-Channel core, and then it was transported abroad where it was read, translated, and imitated. The causal explanation of the rise of the novel relies on the isomorphic genesis of the modern nation and novel, and as in Watt, translation is avowed only to be muffled. In his study of the rise of the Russian novel, David Gasperetti writes that "the appearance of a large number of first-rate foreign models engendered an immediate and overwhelming response" in the middle of

the eighteenth century, but by the end of the century, they produce their own novels as "the Russian intelligentsia was more than ready to chart its own course as the quest for a national identity superseded its previous infatuation with the West."[25] In as different a setting as the Philippines, Resil Mojares' *Origins and Rise of the Filipino Novel* explains how European material, including the Spanish *corrido*, were imported in the early phases, then "modifications show the impulse towards 'indigenizing' such aspects of the corrido as the setting, characterization, values and moral standards, and style."[26] Mojares then recounts that during the colonial period, the changing economic order of Filipino society combined with a new literary empiricism to effect a "new phase" in which Filipino literature acquires a national character. Mojares cites the novelist José Rizal, who modeled his "characters after real people" and wrote for his countrymen, as marking the full emergence of the Filipino novel.[27] Translations, adaptations, and imitations are cited in the story of these non-Western novels (Rizal was influenced by European novelists and wrote while in Europe), but they are superseded by the national novel form. Not only did Watt's theory revolutionize the story of the novel's origins in England, but his argument about particularity became the standard for novel history and theory all over the globe, occluding its own alteration of the principle of transmission from an inextricable mobile mass to a transportable formal entity where mobility is subsumed into universality. Implicitly or explicitly, the rise of the novel has always entailed its spread. My point is that the modernity thesis helps retail the novel as a universal brand, acting as the corollary to the modern novel's national particularity. As a convenient complement to particularity, the idea of the novel form relegates translation to a secondary aftereffect in the novel's emergence, turning the novel's spread into a franchise operation.[28] To recuperate this story of transmission and how it was already being altered by the end of the eighteenth century, we can turn to the first modern narratives of the origins of fiction, and to the ways in which the historiographical principle of *translatio*, once the unnamed common thread of that history, came under scrutiny.

Translatio and the History of Fiction in the Eighteenth Century

Pierre Daniel Huet's *Traité sur l'origine des romans* (1670) was the first thorough treatment of the history of fiction in the early modern era, and it was recast throughout the eighteenth century and into the early nineteenth

century in both France and England by scores of writers, many of them novelists, using Huet as a reference point.[29] These narratives are speculative and not always very compelling, but remarkable for their capaciousness, going back as far as the first civilizations and up to the eighteenth century, and crossing any number of borders between the Middle East and Western Europe. And their definition of fiction could not be more inclusive: verse and prose narrative, short tales as well as long works, romances and novels.[30] For all their breadth, and for all the variation in individual writers' stories, the single unifying idea in these histories is that fiction is by nature transmissible, and thus its history cannot be told except as a kind of travel narrative in which fiction moved from one country and language to another. One reason for the dominant conceptual apparatus of transmission was the etymology of romance, often cited at the outset of these histories. *Roman* (romance or novel) was an abbreviation of "traiter en roman" or "mise en roman," phrases used by Chrétien de Troyes, Marie de France, and others, which indicated that their fictional narratives were translations, as the medievalist Michel Zink explains: "The genre was call the *roman*, or romance, because it was *mise en roman*, which is to say, a translation from Latin into the romance language."[31] In his *Sur les nouvelles* (1739), Marquis d'Argens wrote: "le mot de roman ne signifiat en son origine que la langue qui était en usage parmi les personnes polies" [the word novel in its origin means only the language which was used among polite persons], and he quotes Marie de France to explain that romance was a kind of translation into the mixed vernacular languages of the Middle Ages.[32] The romance was not, however, merely a translation in the linguistic sense: "traiter en roman" also connoted the premodern principles of transmission, *translatio studii* and *translatio imperii*. Chrétien de Troyes, for example, referred to *translatio* in the preface to his romance *Cligés* when he said that his own romance was a vehicle for knowledge and practice of chivalry in the tradition of Greece and Rome. For Chrétien and others, the romance embodies the transmission of learning or chivalry, following the passage of imperial power from Greece and Rome to French Christendom. As Karlheinz Stierle writes, Chrétien also presents himself "as a translator from dead Latin into living French or *romanz. . . .* French now becomes the language of a new and lasting period of high culture. It becomes the real language or medium of *translatio studii.*"[33] The medieval idea of *translatio*, elaborated by writers such as Otto von Freising, John Carion, and John Sleidan, was taken from a prophecy in the Book of Daniel that referred to the universality and continuity of empires. Otto von Freising wrote: "That therefore from the beginning of the world four principal kingdoms which

stood out above all the rest, and that they are to endure unto the world's end, succeeding one another in accordance with the law of the universe can be gathered in various ways, in particular from the vision of Daniel."[34] Otto's important contribution was to give the formula *imperium transferre* a new theoretical status by transforming it into the substantive form of *translatio.* As applied during the medieval period, *translatio* justified the transfer of the political dominion of the Roman Empire to Charlemagne and Europe—a succession that obeyed the laws of the universe. The transfer of power was complemented by *translatio studii*—the more specific theory of the transfer of *sapientia,* or learning, which gave medieval European Christendom a unique claim as the new center of civilization. This premodern notion of *translatio* was essentially hierarchical and unidirectional: political conquest brought civilization along with it, transmitted wholesale with no recognition that the target culture possessed inalienable native traditions.[35]

The eighteenth century's historical narrative about fiction was founded on this principle of *translatio,* which started with the etymology of romance and then moved forward by simply transposing the history of the rise and fall of great empires and civilizations onto that of fiction. The abbé Jacquin's 1755 history of fiction traced it back to ancient Persia, Egypt, and Syria and then Greece and Rome, an itinerary that hearkened back to Chrétien's *translatio*:

> Mais les Perses vainqueurs des Egyptiens, ne rapportèrent chez eux, pour fruit de leurs victoires, que l'esprit de fiction et de corruption. . . . La Syrie et l'Arabie étaient des pays trop voisins de l'Egypte, pour ne pas contracter facilement ce goût contagieux de la fiction. . . . Cette manière de rendre ainsi le vice agréable, se répandit bientôt dans toute la Grèce. . . . Ce goût passa de la Grèce chez les Romains.

> [But the Persian conquerors of the Egyptians, only brought back with them, as the fruit of their victories, the spirit of fiction and of corruption. . . . Syria and Arabia were countries too near to Egypt, not to contract easily this contagious taste for fiction. . . . This manner of rendering vice so agreeable soon spread in all of Greece. . . . This taste passed from Greece among the Romans.][36]

Jacquin's narrative traces the transfer of fiction along the path of conquest and civilization following *translatio imperii.* Yet, he also tampers significantly with the idea of the transfer of civilization and learning, preserving

the narrative device of *translatio*, but overlaying it with a new kind of explanatory gesture. Instead of allying antiquity's *sapientia* with the transfer of power, he states that fiction spreads like a contagion. But not all eighteenth-century writers characterized the story of fiction's mobility as a viral pandemic of luxury and vice. In fact, Jacquin stands out among other historians of fiction for his particularly cranky and judgmental tone about fiction, although like him, other writers began with the narrative of *translatio* and found new ways of composing it.[37]

By the late eighteenth century, more attention was paid to tracing the detailed steps of fiction's history, and the result was that narrative possibilities seemed to explode. Writers go into greater depth about the mechanisms of cultural transmission; they also diversify the paths of fiction, telling increasingly varied stories, some of which were no longer consistent with one another. Moreover, they cite a variety of causes for the transmission of fiction other than the transfer of empire. Any number of crucial historical events like the Crusades, or any likely reason for mobility such as the routes of commerce, and traveling jongleurs, are put forth as reasons for transfer. Clara Reeve summarizes some of the differing stories of transmission in her *Progress of Romance*: "It had long been a received opinion, that romances were communicated to the western world by the crusades. —Mr. Warton allows that they were introduced at a much earlier period, viz. by the Saracens. . . . —He further examines the hypotheses of Dr. Percy and Mr. Mallet; who derive these fictions from the ancient songs of the Gothic bards and scalds . . . and prepared the way for the Arabian fables."[38] Questions about fiction's transfer from the ancient world to Europe after the fall of the Roman Empire had begun to proliferate by the late eighteenth century. With such a variety of likely explanations put forth, Reeve concluded that "this curious story . . . only furnishes an additional proof that Romances are of universal growth, and not confined to any particular period or countries."[39] This is not an original hypothesis. Reeve is only reiterating what many writers had implied, but the idea of "universal growth" is significant here because it is given as an explanation that does not need further elaboration. She has surveyed the authorities and their varying stories, and is led to a kind of skepticism that allows her to transform the difficult multiplicity of origins and routes into the presumption of universality.

With the diffusion of orientalist research in Europe, including a broader knowledge of tales from a variety of countries in the Middle East, and with the growing interest in the European Middle Ages, even more new hypotheses arose about the beginning point of fiction.[40] Several histo-

rians of fiction wished to rid themselves of the burden of explanation, especially with regard to the question of fiction's origins, and thus it became attractive to assert, as Reeve did, that it was simply of "universal growth." James Beattie's "On Fable and Romance" (1783) includes this summary statement: "[F]abulous narrative has accordingly been common in all ages of the world."[41] John Dunlop wrote that "fiction has in all ages formed the delight of the rudest and the most polished nations."[42] Huet, the authoritative source for all these later writers, had located fiction's origins with the earliest known civilizations, Egypt, Persia, and Syria, and argued that fiction was an impulse to use language figuratively: "[T]ous leurs discours sont figurés; ils ne s'expliquent que par allégories; leur théologie, leur philosophie, et principalement leur politique et leur morale, sont toutes enveloppées sous des fables et des paraboles." [All their language is figurative, they only explain themselves by allegories: their theology, their philosophy, and principally their politics and morals are all enveloped in fables and parables.][43] After tracing the romance from Egypt to Western Europe, he envisions this universal history not only as *translatio*— the history of empire and high civilization—but as the history of humanity itself: "[C]ette inclination aux fables, qui est commune à tous les hommes ne leur vient pas par raisonnement, par imitation ou par coutume: elle leur est naturelle." [This inclination to fables which is common to all men does not come to them by way of reason, imitation or custom: it is natural to them.][44] In these passages, Huet elides two kinds of universal history: first, an all-encompassing view of the known world over time, and second, a universality which emanates from unchanging human nature. One story places the origins of fiction at the start of its transmission from one location to another through history, and the other implies that fiction originates as a manifestation of universal human nature. But in Huet's treatise these are not posed as different, much less competing, explanations.

Not surprisingly, eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century revisions of the historiography of fiction maintained that fiction's origins were universal, but they did so in a new way. Now writers placed the origins of fiction in a society's earliest phases, and thus favor ahistorical polygenesis over a specific origination point in antiquity. Supplanting the world-historical picture with a universalizable story of the progress of a society, fictions now have autonomous origination points, and each evolves separately toward a higher level of sophistication. Tobias Smollett speculated on romance's origins in the preface to *Roderick Random*: "In the dark ages of the world, when a man had rendered himself famous for wisdom or valour, his family and adherents availed themselves of his superior qualities, mag-

nified his virtues, and represented his character and person as sacred and super-natural. . . . [H]is exploits were handed down to posterity with a thousand exaggerations."[45] Smollett's picture of "the man," a single hero of the tribe or clan about whom the others spun extravagant tales, localizes the source of fiction and simultaneously generalizes it. Clara Reeve tells a very similar story: "In the earliest accounts of all nations, we find they had traditional stories of their most eminent persons, that is of their Heroes, to which they listened in raptures. . . . —[T]hey had their warsongs—and they had also their prose narratives. . . . As a country became civilized, their narrations were methodized, and moderated to probability."[46] Walter Scott's "Essay on Romance" (1824) includes a similar scenario, but rather than narrating heroic exploits for the purposes of encouraging valor, Scott's hero is the father of an isolated family "destined one day to rise into a tribe, and in farther progress of time to expand into a nation" who narrates to his descendents the story of the formation of their identity.[47] Rather than attempt an empirical explanation, where one had become difficult to pin down, historical points of reference and paths of mobility were now mostly subordinated to the relation between fiction and culture. Fiction's origins were both universal, because fiction is everywhere a society exists, and particular, for the origins of fiction are only the stories they tell about themselves and their nation. Where "progress" was once simply parading along a temporal path from one country or empire to another, progress was now the state of a society evolving toward a higher form. Walter Scott concluded that "the progress of Romance, in fact, keeps pace with that of society."[48]

By the early nineteenth century, histories of fiction still retained their grand scope as transcultural, diachronic histories and retained the inherited concept of *translatio*, but increasingly this logic was worn down and explicitly challenged. In his *Idée sur les romans*, the Marquis de Sade presents the traditional story of historical transfer of fiction across cultures, but then confesses skepticism:

> L'opinion commune croit la découvrir chez les Grecs. Elle passa de là chez les Mores, d'où les Espagnols la prirent, pour la transmettre ensuite à nos troubadours, de qui nos romanciers de chevalerie la reçurent. Quoique je respecte cette filiation, et que je m'y soumette quelquefois, je suis loin cependant de l'adopter rigoureusement; . . . il est des modes, des usages, des goûts qui ne se transmettent point.[49]

[Common opinion believes to discover [the source of fictions] among the Greeks. It passed from there to the Moors, whence the Spanish took it, to transmit it then to our troubadours, from whom our chivalric romance writers received it. Although I respect this genealogy, and sometimes subject myself to it, I am far, however, from adopting it rigorously . . . there are modes, customs, tastes that do not transfer at all.]

Sade's loss of faith in *translatio* is not the beginning of a historical counter-narrative which replaces the structure of universal empire and the transfer of fiction, but is instead an intuitive notion about cultures and the uniqueness of their collectivities as nations. There are things that simply "do not transmit." He writes: "Il y eut donc des romans écrits dans toutes les langues, chez toutes les nations, dont le style et les faits se trouvèrent calqués, et sur les moeurs nationales, et sur les opinions reçues par ces nations." [There are then novels written in all languages, in all nations, of which the style and the content are found to be taken from both national mores and the received opinions of these nations.][50] There are things that do not transfer, he speculates, because fiction replicates "national mores." Sade finally articulates the end of universal histories of fiction intimated in Scott, Reeve, and others because he cannot be persuaded that all fictions were connected through a succession of material transfers of narratives. Instead, he believes in the novel as a formal entity. Each nation has its separate and different stories, but they arise universally in the same form as the novel.

At two key junctures, then, the story of the rise of the novel has been troubled by questions of transmission. The publication of Ian Watt's *The Rise of the Novel* was a defining moment for the story of the novel because of its cohesion, but hiving off the novel's past to synchronize the novel with the rise of modernity entailed some concealed premises about the novel's constitutive particularity in light of his adherence to the idea of the novel form. That is, Watt's modernity thesis and the construction of novel form elided two notions of particularity—the empirical particulars that define novel discourse, and the national particularity of the English novel as the first modern, empirical fictional narrative. The result was that the modern novel appeared to be both unique to the English and an abstraction linked to modernity. Notwithstanding that Watt's systematizing theory represents its own rise of the novel in criticism of the last half century, it implicitly indicated the obsolescence of extranational novel history. Further, Watt's theory suggested that in modernity, the novel might

travel as form, but much like a franchise operation in which a Western paradigm springs up, somewhat altered, anywhere in the modern world. In the eighteenth century, transmission, which had been a structuring principle of global histories of fiction, or universal histories as they would have been known, was a story that was wearing out just as the novel was coming to its own as a genre. While transmission still directed the historical narrative of fiction, its origins were reinvented out of an intuitive rather than historical premise about the isomorphism of a people or nation and its narratives, so that now its origins were both particular to a nation and universal. Étienne Balibar has written that borders "can separate particular territories only by structuring the universality of the world."[51] So, too, the national novel comes into existence by structuring the universality of the novel form as mutually reinforcing visions of the novel's emergence, but as we have seen, this a convenient construction that does away with historical and material transfer, and dismisses translation.

2

The Business of Translation

In medieval Latin, *translatare* and *translatio*, derived from the root words *trans* (across) and *ferre* (to bear), were used primarily in the literal sense of transporting things, particularly the transfer of a saint's bodily remains or the transfer of a bishop from one see to another.[1] The primary definition of the vernacular English verb "translate" in the eighteenth century was still, according to Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary*, "to transport; to remove," and it acts as a reminder that prose fiction translation in the eighteenth century entailed, among other things, the transport of books across borders.[2] The vast majority of novels were translated not from the original authors' manuscripts, but from the published books made available through the international market—a business that expanded as vernacular print culture expanded in the eighteenth century. How did the international trade in fiction operate? What kinds of commercial factors, including profits, competition, and copyright, affected the translation market? What were the roles of booksellers and the translators in the publication process? Before proceeding to an investigation of rendering practices in novels, and before addressing the cultural frameworks of translation, this chapter takes stock of the business of translating novels and its effect on the novel's emergence.

I argue that the translation business flourished in large part because it was nurtured by premodern attitudes about translating in which few obstacles hindered the mobility of books, and because translators worked at their leisure and independently, absorbing much of the financial risk of a publication. As publishing modernized, however, the international trade began to tighten, and the very conditions that made translation commercially appealing became impediments. I begin with an overview of the

cross-Channel translation market, in part to explain the difficulties of obtaining trustworthy empirical data and of defining trends for eighteenth-century fiction translation. But the problems of gathering data suggest that one of the key features of the translation market was its aversion to questions of origins and sources. The barriers to gathering accurate statistics, as I will show in the second section, reveal that the cross-Channel translation of novels was not a simple trade between two national partners, but an especially dense network within an expanding circulatory system. While the cross-Channel zone is the main focus and the sources cited concern French and British publishing, the wider European milieu and transatlantic arena, as well as translations in other genres, provide further support for the flexibility of the international book trade. The more revealing story of the cross-Channel book trade, however, is that of translators and booksellers. We will see that despite their reputation, French and British prose fiction translators were not mere hacks, a view that wrongly presupposes the existence of a modern labor market. Publishing records and the personal correspondence between translators, their booksellers, and go-betweens, demonstrate instead that differing models of translating labor coexisted. While translators' abundant energies and their unassailable belief in the cultural value of rendering were noncommercial factors that fueled the market, the pressures attending commercial publication began to alter the task of translation. Translators were not hacks, yet because competition increased the demand for speedily published translations, they were constantly in danger of self-identifying as hacks. The chapter ends with a brief discussion of translation in the development of British copyright law in the eighteenth century because the anomalous place of translation in the law recapitulates the internal contradictions of the translating business. The major cases that elaborated and refined copyright law sustained the premodern independence of translations from their sources by defining a translation as an original, and at the same time effected the consolidation of the legal right of the original author and the aesthetic value of originality which led the way to international copyright, and to subsuming translation rights under the author's original copyright. Thus, the aims and results of the law were at odds with the view it seemed to uphold, i.e., that a translation is a creative enterprise of its own, not a copy of an original. In many ways, translating was put in an untenable situation during this period: a healthy translation market maintained the independence of translations and translators from their sources, but its expansion threatened the very conditions that made it viable.

The Nebulous Novel

I began research on the publishing history of translations hoping to compile a relatively complete list of the novels translated from French into English and vice versa, if not for every year of the Restoration and eighteenth century, at least for representative intervals of time. This information could provide important clues as to what drove the translation market and indicate larger structural precepts and transformations. I might be able to demonstrate overall patterns, grasp the logic of fluctuations, and explain other quandaries, such as why some novels became international best-sellers while others that we might expect to have cross-Channel currency were either belatedly translated or not translated at all. If the numbers of translations were sufficiently high in proportion to national novels, such research might have further demonstrated the undeniable contribution of translations to the emergence of the novel. We can say with some accuracy that during the Restoration and early decades of the eighteenth century in Britain, as much as 30 to 35 percent of the market of available novels were translations, mostly from French prose fiction, which is a very high proportion by any contemporary standard for a dominant language like English. It leveled off near the middle of the century, but translations from French still accounted for 15 to 20 percent of novels published in the second half of the century.[3] A few French novelists even ranked among the most popular novelists in Britain in the middle of the century.[4] In France, the conservative estimate of 372 translations from English for the entire eighteenth century makes up 10 percent of some 3,500 novels published in French. In the first half of the eighteenth century, there were as few as 30 translations of English romances or novels in French, an average of less than one per year. Then, from 1750 to 1800, prose fiction translations, mostly from English, hovered around 15 percent of the novel market.[5] Thus, the general trend is clear: in England there was an abundance of translation from French before the middle of the eighteenth century, and then their own novels began to keep pace and the proportion of imports decreased. In France there was very little translation from English until the middle of the century because their own production was high and English novels were both more rare and often imitative of French ones. When more English novels were written, the French began translating them.

This sketch of the broad trends tells us only what we already knew: the French novel dominated the novel market in the cross-Channel zone until the rise of the English novel around the middle of the century. After

the midcentury, the national novel dominated foreign imports in both countries, but the French and British were avid readers of each other's novels and thus supported a substantial translation market. My attempts to delve further into these statistics were riddled with problems. Several good bibliographical studies of the English novel and the French novel were indispensable tools for research, which I supplemented with my own searches of the English Short Title Catalog (ESTC), but as bibliographers such as James Raven point out, it is still extremely difficult to verify that something called a translation is truly a translation. Raven has said that for translations into English from languages other than French or German, "bogus translations . . . are at least as numerous as the genuine translations," and though there may be fewer bogus translations from French, unless the version has been checked against any number of possible sources, its status remains uncertain.[6] Verification requires locating the source, but because the title page may be misleading and the author's name is usually not given, this can be extremely difficult. If bogus translations distort the records by overrepresenting translation, it is also true that many more translations may lurk unrecognized in our bibliographies. If a novel is not marked as being translated from a foreign source on the title page or in the preface, we assume it is original when it might be an unacknowledged or loose translation, or a partial translation of a foreign source. The parameters chosen by bibliographers also limit the full scope of translations by including only newly translated novels rather than all translated fictions, and by eliminating imitations or any kind of rendering that does not conform to a modern idea of a translation.[7] In addition to the difficulties of gauging the true number of translations, most bibliographies of novels are national projects, and their aim of accurately tabulating the national novel field usually consigns translations to a relatively small supporting role.

Since my original queries about the scope of the market proved too difficult to answer accurately, my questions about the logic of the translation market seemed even less likely to yield any conclusions. Defoe's novels, for example, were among the most popular fictions in English, but why does only *Robinson Crusoe* attain international fame immediately while many of his other novels are not translated into French until several decades after their original publication and then disappear? When I consulted the lists and figured the percentages, no likely answers emerged. These dead ends suggested that the questions were poorly formulated. But how could the right questions be asked, much less answered, if the information was necessarily incomplete? Perhaps it was not the questions or

the state of our bibliographical knowledge that needed attention. I was overlooking the possibility that the obstacles in identifying and tabulating translations were already indicators of the translation market. In searching for bibliographical information, I found what seemed to be interesting anomalies contributing to the problems of identifying translations, including several "French" novels printed in London which were English novels in French translation: *Mémoires et avantures de Madlle. Moll Flanders* (1761), *Le curé de Wakefield* (1796, 1797), and *Rasselas, Prince d'Abissinie* (1798). There were also novels that were not written in the author's first language, such as William Beckford's gothic tale, *Vathek* (1786), written in French. The work appeared first in English translation, however, and a year later it was published in the original French in Switzerland.[8] In a more convoluted affair of confused origins, one of Prévost's novels composed in French metamorphosed into an English novel through the wiles of advertising. In December 1730, Prévost was in Holland and contracted with the Neaulme brothers publishing firm for his novel about Cleveland, the son of Oliver Cromwell. In early 1731, before the French novel was published, the journal *Historia Litteraria* was advertising it as a translation from English with a blurb about the "original": "The same Memoirs are actually printing in London from the original manuscript."[9] *Le Philosophe Anglois, ou Histoire de Monsieur Cleveland, fils naturel de Cromwell écrit par lui-même* purports to have been written in English. Thus, the original was being advertised as a translation while the translation was being advertised as the original. In fact, the English translation of the first two volumes was published in London a few months before the French original appeared in Holland. In *The Progress of Romance*, published some fifty years after Prévost's novel came out, Clara Reeve mentions that the author of *The Life of Cleveland* was still unknown and declares: "I have heard this book ascribed to Daniel de Foe."[10]

The barriers to identifying translations and their sources began to seem less like a curiosity and more like a pattern as other evidence of multinational origins surfaced.[11] Indeed, one of the defining features of the translation market seemed to be its fuzziness. More accurate empirical data about translations was perhaps not the goal, for it was not a matter of dispelling the cloudiness of the novel market, but discovering the factors that colluded to conceal sources. The most obvious factor was the anonymity of novelists and translators, both of which are legion. In his essay on authorship, Foucault wrote that "the texts we now call 'literary' (stories, folk tales, epics, and tragedies) were accepted, circulated, and valorized without any question about the identity of their author," but he claims

that modern genres like the novel reversed the trend; an anonymous novel was only an occasion to discover the author's identity.[12] James Raven has shown, however, that approximately 80 percent of British novels were published anonymously in the late eighteenth century, and the writers remained largely unknown to readers.[13] Identifying anonymous foreign authors and translators would have been even more difficult for readers.[14] The second factor blurring the novel market was the title page claim that the novel's true source was foreign because, as with Prévost's *Life of Mr. Cleveland*, readers could not necessarily distinguish between a false claim and a true one. False imprints were also common, sometimes used to avoid censorship, but many remain uncertain to this day. In addition, designations such as "Spanish novel," "French novel," or "Italian novel" might indicate both the origins of a translation and its characters and setting, but might just as well indicate the nationality of the characters and settings only. Such ambiguities suggest that booksellers, authors, translators, and readers were largely unable to discover the true origins of a novel, a situation that was likely to breed indifference. Throughout most of the eighteenth century, the novel's circulatory system looked much like that of premodern fiction: prose fictions were accepted, valorized, and transferred without the stamp of authorial or national identity.

Another aspect of the blurry market stemmed less from the conventions of publication than from the expediency of secondhand translation. Many Spanish and Italian romances, novels, and novellas were translated into English from French versions because more anglophones could read and therefore translate French, and because the French book trade was more favorably situated to provide access to their books. In eighteenth-century Spain, Italy, Germany, and Russia, a similarly mediated market existed. English novels like Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*, and Henry Fielding's *Joseph Andrews* were all translated into German from French translations of the English, probably because Germans were more likely to read French than English, and the dispersed but interconnected francophone press was well situated to mediate English books.[15] Better access to the foreign book, and to the language of its publication, is more likely rather than less likely to result in a translation. This meant that translation tended to concentrate in metropolitan areas such as London and Amsterdam, which had higher concentrations of foreign-language speakers, easily obtainable foreign publications, and booksellers who enabled the infrastructure for the translation business. We should imagine a translation map that looks like the flight patterns pictured in an airline magazine: a network of hubs rather than multiple inde-

pendent sites of transportation. While frequent and direct transport takes place between bigger, central hubs, for long flights and those between smaller destinations, a direct route is rare.

A better picture of the novel's international circuits was not yet possible, I surmised, but the byzantine translation routes and the decided lack of interest in nationality were revelatory trends. Eighteenth-century fiction translation relied at least in part on the concealment of origins; novels were especially mobile because they did not bear the stamp of the author or nation. This might be a sign of transnationalism, but not in the modern sense of crossing historically stable national-cultural borders. Translations did not necessarily go abroad as national representatives, ushered in by the target culture's gatekeepers, but roved about promiscuously. The research did not seem productive of any grander conclusions, but studies of eighteenth-century prose fiction translation outside the cross-Channel center seemed to confirm the hypothesis that the novel market was purposely murky. A. G. Cross explains that in eighteenth-century Russia, Defoe, Swift, Fielding, Richardson, Sterne, and to a lesser extent Goldsmith, were known through Russian translations of French translations, but "otherwise English works of a mass of other writers many of them female, and French and German works masquerading as English works, all merged to advance the somewhat nebulous concept of the English novel."[16] The importation of fictional narratives in English to North America in the eighteenth century reinforced this nebulous concept of the novel, since many English novels were marketed along with novels translated from other languages, especially in the popular chapbook format, which included such diverse titles as *Robinson Crusoe, Reynard the Fox, Valentine and Orson*, and others. These novels and romances were listed together, not discriminating between translations from Renaissance French or medieval Latin, and the more contemporary English fictions.[17] In 1800, a Canadian bookseller published a catalogue of books imported from London that listed 265 titles in English, French, and Latin. Among them are entries for Sterne's works, the complete works of Voltaire, Goethe's *Sorrows of Werther*, and the omnipresent novels of Alain Lesage, but then the following group forms a single entry:

> Julie, roman traduit de la langue russe; Diderot's Jacques le Fataliste; Gomez and Elenora, a Spanish Novel, 2 vols.; George Barnwell, 2 vols. Phedora, 4 vols. Palmira and Emmance, 3 vols. Edgar, 2 vols. Interesting Tales; Oakendale Abby; English Nun;

Rose-Mount Castle, 3 vols. Heir Montague, 3 vols. Dusseldorff 3 vols. Animated Skeleton, 2 vols. and Jocellina, novels.[18]

With little hint about the nationality of each novel, but plenty of potentially misleading information, the catalogue entry warrants a reader's total indifference to origins. Is *Julie* really a Russian novel in French translation, or is it a pseudo-translation? Is *Gomez and Elenora* "a Spanish novel" from a Spanish original? One circulating library catalogue that carried this title notes it is "translated from a Spanish manuscript," and therefore likely to be a pseudo-translation.[19] From a marketing perspective, the prose fiction field was a melting pot rather than a series of nation-to-nation trades. Such mobility and malleability is reason to speculate that the novel emerged because of, and not in spite of, an indifference to novels' origins. Perhaps the novel consolidated as a genre because it was a stranger nowhere, a circulatory phenomenon that linked languages and regions.

Books across Borders

One reason that novels circulated in translation easily and often is that, despite Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin's claim that "with the growth in vernacular printing, the major part of the book trade ceased to be an international European affair," access to foreign-language books in the eighteenth century was not rare, especially in urban markets.[20] In London, a study of the book trade for the year 1709 has shown that 26 percent of publishers produced books in foreign languages.[21] Another study of the London market gives a total of 5,529 publications in languages other than English for the eighteenth century as a whole, with thirteen different languages represented.[22] Although the amount of foreign-language books printed in London declined to nearly 3 percent of total publications in the eighteenth century, from 19 percent in the sixteenth century, the growth of printing resulted in a rise in the total number of editions in foreign languages. Thus, the actual number of foreign-language books printed in London more than doubled between the sixteenth century and eighteenth century, and French books outpaced the production of books in any other vernacular, accounting for nearly ten times as many editions as the next most popular language, Italian.[23] French books were so common by the early nineteenth century that one bookseller told the popular French novelist Stéphanie de Genlis that she need not send him her newest works be-

cause "I have them already —They are regularly publish'd here as soon as they appear in Paris & I doubt whether the sale be not almost as great."[24] Before taking a closer look at translators' contributions to the international novel market and the obstacles that the market eventually posed to their work, I want to first address the international vernacular book trade and the close affiliations between book production, foreign language acquisition, and translating because the particular structure of the trade reveals that the free transmissibility of fiction was a financial advantage to booksellers negotiating a changing marketplace.

Outside London, the availability of foreign-language books and French books in particular was no less common. In Edinburgh, French imports increased in the eighteenth century, as did local reprints of French authors.[25] The Dublin book trade, infamous for its pirated London publications, also specialized in printing Continental literature, and the bulk of it was French.[26] In the Caribbean and North America, where local presses were few and colonial demand surged in the eighteenth century, foreign-language books in German and Dutch were imported, and French imports to British territories were continuous throughout the eighteenth century. James Raven has counted sixteen hundred French titles in the catalogue of the booksellers Daniel Boinard and Alexander Gaillard published in Philadelphia in 1784, "and six years later Claudius Raguet of the same city issued his own list of French titles."[27] Not surprisingly, readers had access to the foreign-language books not only directly from booksellers, but also by frequenting circulating libraries. British circulating libraries such as those of Samuel Fancourt, William Bathoe, John Noble, Bell, and Hookham listed foreign publications, and Hookham even printed a separate French catalogue.[28] The records of many American private libraries also confirm that books in foreign languages, especially Latin, French, and Italian, were a staple across the Atlantic. The library sale catalogue for John Montgomerie, colonial governor of New York from 1728 to 1731, for example, includes novels in French by Charlotte Caumont and Bussy Rabutin, and a copy of Cervantes' *Don Quixote* in French, among others.[29] According to Howard M. Jones' study of New York newspaper advertisements from 1750 to 1800, the transatlantic book trade included many French-English bilingual editions including works from Molière, Fenélon, and others, and the widely read French novel by Alain Lesage, *Gil Blas*, could be purchased in French or English.[30]

Books in foreign languages were widely available to consumers because booksellers found that forging ties with booksellers abroad was a sound venture. First, they expanded the market for their own books by

exporting them abroad, and second, the bookseller who had purchased a foreign book, which supplied two audiences at once since the book would appeal to immigrant communities like French Huguenots in London or French Catholics in Dublin as well as nationals who learned the foreign language, was also free to reprint the foreign publication in its original language and thus might profit on a book for which little was paid at the outset. Finally, the same bookseller who bought foreign-language books might gain the additional advantage of being the first to publish a translation of the book. The early eighteenth-century bookseller John Dunton had an arrangement with Spademan, a bookseller in Rotterdam, "to send him, on publication, works likely to be profitable in translation."[31] In return, Dunton sent English tracts to his associate in Holland. John Murray, active in the later part of the eighteenth century, advertised that "Books may be had in all Languages," and he also published translations as part of his expanding international ventures with a bookseller in Rotterdam, and others in Lisbon, Rouen, and in the American colonies.[32] Among the many booksellers who traded in foreign-language books and translations, a few seem to have created a niche in the cross-Channel business. Records of the publications of the London firms of Vaillant, Dulau, John (Jean) Nourse, and Becket and de Hondt reveal a strong correlation between foreign-language publication and translation, both dominated by French.[33] The Vaillants were a French Protestant family who escaped the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes and set up a publishing house that was active from 1686 to 1780. The Vaillant house records show a total of 473 editions published in the eighteenth century; 110 of the 188 editions in foreign languages are in French, and 115 of their 473 editions are translations mostly from French.[34] About two-thirds of the Vaillants' business was foreign-language books and translations, almost equally divided between the two.[35] Becket and de Hondt published 445 editions in the eighteenth century, and approximately 95 of those editions are translations, 13 editions are in French, and 6 are in other foreign languages. John Nourse is one of the importers best known to translators and was "clearly recognised at the time as one of the more important book trade intermediaries between England and the Continent in the mid eighteenth century."[36] Working in London from the early 1730s until his death in 1780, Nourse did business with Neaulme of The Hague, and expanded his foreign contacts in 1742 when he entered into regular contractual relations with Pierre Gosse of The Hague, and again in 1746 when he started trading with the Luchtmans of Leiden. He favored mathematical books, foreign language dictionaries and grammars, and translations of recently published literature in French.

Nourse published more than 1,000 editions during his career; approximately 10 percent of those are in French, and an equal proportion are translations.[37] Because books crossed borders easily and the demand for foreign-language books was strong, import-export dealers also tended to deal in translations to extend the potential profit on the same imported product.

Another discernable correlation is found in the international market in England: those who specialized or dealt in foreign books and translations also tended to publish foreign-language grammars, which were already among the most steady sellers. In the London market, the sale of French books, the sale of grammar books (tools for the acquisition of the French language), and translations from French are all high. The reverse pattern also holds: German language books, pedagogical aids, and translations from German are all equally rare in England until the 1790s when there is a jump in all three.[38] The coexistence of foreign-language books, pedagogical aids, and translations in the same market did not necessarily aim at three different readerships—those who read only the original French, those who could read only in translation, and those who were students of the language. It seems more likely that booksellers catered to buyers of originals, and of grammar books and dictionaries, because they aimed to acquire or perfect their language skills through reading and translating the foreign-language book.

Translations of prose fiction, it is sometimes thought, fill a gap in the national novel market, providing a new kind of fiction hitherto unknown and unavailable. Their perceived value then derives from the novelty of the foreign fiction on the domestic market, and the scarcity of the originals as well as the scarcity of readers of the originals. By this logic, novels are translated because a large monolingual reading public *needs* translations. In the eighteenth century, the opposite appears to be true. One reason that so many French novels are translated into English compared to novels from other languages is that the book trade endorsed translation. By purveying all the necessary tools, booksellers assisted an open and active translation market. Likewise, when there is restricted access to foreign originals and the tools to learn the foreign language, the translation market is impoverished. In the next section, I explore how these conditions of accessibility and the nebulousness of the novel specifically affected translators and the market for translated fiction during the mid-eighteenth century as the novel emerged.

Eighteenth-century translators are often characterized as little more than the Grub Street hirelings of greedy booksellers. After being asked how he dealt with translators, the bookseller Bernard Lintot said they were "the saddest pack of rogues in the world." According to Alexander Pope's account of the conversation, Lintot added:

> In a hungry fit, they'll swear they understand all the languages in the universe. . . . By G-d I can never be sure in these fellows, for I neither understand Greek, Latin, French, nor Italian my self. But this is my way: I agree with them for ten shillings per sheet, with a proviso, that I will have their doings corrected by whom I please; so by one or other they are led at last to the true sense of an author.[39]

Lintot substantiates everyone's worst fears about the treachery and fraudulence of translators. He also implies that as a bookseller whose own fluency in foreign languages is lacking, he is a coconspirator in a publishing industry where integrity in translation is rare, and financial interests, dictated by the capitalist expansion of the industry, paramount. Other eighteenth-century comments about translation echo Lintot's description of the translator as an unskilled hack toiling away for booksellers out of utter desperation. The notorious bookseller Edmund Curll was said to have a bevy of translators cramped "three in a bed at Pewter-Platter Inn at Holborn, and he and they were for ever at work, to deceive the Public."[40] Richard Savage listed translation among the literary travesties he fobbed off while working for Curll: "I abridg'd Histories and Travels, translated from the French what they never wrote, and was expert at finding out new Titles of old Books."[41] Tobias Smollett's brief satirical portrait in *The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle* of a hack who pretended to be a translator but then hired out the work by the sheet to several others "continually employed, like so many clerks in a compting house" also reinforced the widespread attitude that translation was a Grub Street job.[42]

As Catherine Ingrassia argues, eighteenth-century Grub Street was a "discursive construction of cultural space" and satirical works like Alexander Pope's *The Dunciad* reified a new hierarchy of writers, pitting a literary elite against the hacks, high literature against low literature, extending, as Ingrassia puts it, "the binary of socio-economic relations . . . to socio-

literary relations."[43] Many have pierced the construction of such hierarchies, and investigations of the literary elite including Pope, Johnson, and others have revealed that these authors were preoccupied with commercial concerns in the expanding marketplace even though they appear to disavow commercial self-interest.[44] It has also become clear that such writers fashioned themselves as public figures, wielding media tools to their advantage. Although some authors were partially buffered from market pressure through subscription publication and patronage, the distinctions between the literary elite and the hacks are less clear than the discourse of eighteenth-century writers suggests. At the same time, the image of the hack has been recuperated. Habermas' historical sociology of the public sphere and the work of historians like Robert Darnton emphasize the grassroots power of the clandestine press and present Grub Street as a harbinger of modern liberal democracy, Enlightenment, and the French Revolution. And, as the locus of a newly unstable literary culture, Grub Street now represents the liberatory space of subversion and transgression for the traditionally marginalized, particularly women writers. The image of the translator, however, has not been repaired in light of these analyses. The eighteenth-century vernacular translator is still mostly considered a professional in the derogatory sense. Although we now recognize that the scorn directed at the eighteenth-century writer whose "stake in literature is inalienably commercial," is part of an unreliable myth of Grub Street, it is a myth that has largely stuck to the figure of the translator.[45]

The Grub Street translator's image is reducible to two main premises: first, the work was done hastily and therefore poorly, and second, translators did the work only for the money, even though the sums were paltry. Guilt for these sins is not always imputed directly to the translator, however, but frequently displaced onto the economic conditions of translating. Employed by money-grubbing booksellers, translators, it is thought, had little choice but to do the work hurriedly for a low wage. Subject to the grind of economic forces, the task of translating was turned into a kind of proto-industrial proletarian labor. This picture overemphasizes the bookseller's role, but a more realistic picture of the translator's role in the business is not only a matter of critiquing the discursive construction of the greedy bookseller and his hacks, for it is not surprising that writers intentionally exaggerated the image for satirical purposes.[46] Deflating the myth requires challenging the underlying assumption of the passivity of translators and of a modernized labor system. Translating novels was not beyond the pale of capitalist forces and the expansion of a European vernacular print culture, but fiction translation was not industrialized

hackwork. Attitudes about translating, in fact, were often noncommercial. In the late seventeenth century, Robert Loveday, who translated La Calprenède's well-known and widely read romance *Cléopâtre*, wrote to a friend asking for a French book worth translating: "I shall make it serve to beguile Melancholy, check Idleness, and better my knowledge in the language."[47] Loveday was echoed by dozens of eighteenth-century translators who improved their language skills, enriched their imaginative life, inspired their own writing, or merely staved off dreaded melancholy by translating at their leisure. Penelope Aubin described her translation of Robert Challes' *Illustrious French Lovers* as the fruit of her "leisure hours," and John Lockman, the assiduous and prolific translator of French works, thanked his patrons for the "leisure" to translate Marivaux's romance *Pharsamond* and Voltaire's *Henriade*.[48] Leisure time could be garnered in addition to one's regular employment, or in the case of the late eighteenth-century novelist, poet, and translator Charlotte Smith, it might be enforced. When she was obliged to relocate to France with her children because of her husband's debts, she found a copy of Prévost's novel *Manon Lescaut* in their rented house in Normandy, and with little else to occupy her time, set about translating it. She later brought the translation back to England and sold it to a bookseller for publication.[49] In a more extreme case of enforced leisure, Louis Claude Gin used an eleven-month prison sentence to learn English and translate Oliver Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield*.[50] The Grub Street caricature of the hurried translator churning out work on a time clock rarely describes translators of novels. Whether or not the translator's leisure time was a matter of choice, the labor was not forced. Pursuing their task through their own volition and on their own time, this kind of leisure activity guaranteed them a certain amount of agency.

In his classic essay "Time, Work-Discipline and Industrial Capitalism," E. P. Thompson traces a change in the apprehension of time during the early modern period to explore "how far, and in what ways, did this shift in time-sense affect labour discipline."[51] For Thompson, the eighteenth century marks the transition from premodern task-oriented time (like that of agricultural laborers) to machine labor and the domination of clock time marked by the use of time sheets and timekeepers. During this transition, Thompson writes, "task orientation was still prevalent" among signs of the new timed labor. The link between time and the stimulus of economic profits was not yet fully forged.[52] Though Thompson is concerned with cottage or small-scale workshop labor and peasant labor, in contrast to machine labor, he also singles out the intellectual labor of writing as the kind of self-employed occupation in which preindustrial labor

persists. For Thompson, the writer is the kind of independent worker, the presupposed "referent" of preindustrial labor, who retained control over the means of production because unlike machine labor, the writer's occupation has no demand for synchronization. The writer's labor also has a tendency to be irregular like agricultural and other kinds of peasant labor, where workers experience bouts of heavy and continual work punctuated by periods of idleness.[53] Like other writers, translators set about their task during leisure hours and for their "amusement" in this premodern model of irregular and independent work. Far from hiring themselves out to booksellers as timed labor, they were sometimes eager, in fact, to emphasize their temporal freedom and their high level of autonomy against the assumption that they had been co-opted by the clock time and the work discipline of proto-industrial capitalism. When Elizabeth Griffith's husband looked at the French publication of Marmontel's moral tales, he wrote to her that he thought "it would be some Amusement to you to translate them."[54] Griffith's reply resisted the implication that she ought to get immediately to work. "I am no Translator, by Profession," she wrote in order to distinguish herself as an amateur who translates at her leisure and not as a hireling.[55] Arthur Murphy, the playwright and lawyer, translated Marmontel's short prose fictional tale, *Belisarius*, and wrote in the unsigned preface that the translation was "not journeywork," dismissing any assumptions that he was a hired hand working for daily wages and thus rebuffing the negative connotation of journeywork as "servile, inferior, or inefficient work; hackwork."[56] He explains: "[I]t was undertaken *con amore*, with a kind of affection for the various graces of M. Marmontel's performance."[57] The leisure time of translation does not imply, however, that translators did not intend to have their work published or garner some earnings from it. They may have accomplished the rendering work in their own time, but this was probably the most autonomous phase of the process not least since the publishing market was putting pressure on the leisure model.

Booksellers, for their part, did not run their translation business like an industry. There were few signs of a vertically integrated business model where booksellers controlled all the decisions about what, when, and how a translation would be marketed, and then hired out the translation work to cash-wage employees. Instead, the publication of translations was structured horizontally. As detailed earlier, the international novel trade relied first on a network of booksellers whose relationships with one another facilitated the acquisition of books in foreign languages. It also relied on the task-oriented labor of independent translators, who contracted with booksellers for publication. When John Nourse drew up a

contract with John Langhorne for a translation of Jeanne-Marie Le Prince de Beaumont's novel *Letters from Emerance to Lucy*, he stipulated that the book would appear within one year of the French publication, for which he paid Langhorne the modest sum of one pound, eleven shillings per sheet. Langhorne's name does not appear on the published book.[58] Employed by Nourse, working on a schedule, and paid piecemeal, Langhorne seems to indicate the introduction of industrialized labor time and work discipline. Yet, Langhorne was a minister, a published poet, the translator of *Plutarch's Lives*, and translator of numerous prose works including *Solyman and Almena*, an "eastern tale" that went through multiple editions, as well as a contributor to the *Monthly Review*.[59] He was not eking out a living on Grub Street but entered into a contractual relationship with Nourse as a promise to deliver the text and setting the terms of payment.[60] Even the notorious Edmund Curll, who hired his translators, did not keep them three in a bed in a Holborn inn, but contracted with them for work, paying them for the right to the full manuscript, or sometimes by the sheet, and not by the hour or day.

The horizontal business model was project-oriented, which also meant that the decision-making process on each project was spread out among several individuals including the bookseller, the translator, and often intermediaries such as friends or relatives who acted as go-betweens. When Robert Loveday said he wished to translate in order to beguile his melancholy, he was applying to a friend for help in finding something that would be of interest to a bookseller: "My next [request] is the prosecution of a former desire, that you would enquire of M. or any other Bookseller that is likely to inform you, if there be any new French book of an indifferent volume that is worth the Translating, and not enterprised by any other."[61] The French translator abbé Desfontaines received English books from his friend Bishop Atterbury during Atterbury's residence in Paris. It was due to Atterbury's direct connection to English friends and booksellers that Desfontaines obtained a copy of the English text of *Gulliver's Travels* before it became well known in France and was able to publish the French translation quickly.[62] Samuel Johnson's friend Edmund Hector urged Johnson to translate Lobo's *Voyage to Abyssinia* (and had to cajole Johnson to complete the work by dictating it to him because Johnson's "constitutional indolence" had set in).[63] Another kind of effort was made by Thomas Holcroft, whose memoirs detail how he set himself up as an informant-translator in the 1780s by offering to go to Paris, and for a guinea and a half per week, furnish the *Morning Herald* with notices from Paris including news and fashions. At the same time, he worked out a deal for his

expenses in Paris with John Rivington in exchange for notices of newly published works. Upon arriving in Paris, Holcroft found new books that he then proposed to translate for Rivington.[64]

This horizontally structured business which relied on autonomous translators working with go-betweens was, however, risky. It was far less secure for the translators than a vertically integrated industry of timed labor and cash wages not least because of the unpredictable human factor in these networks. In his sweeping account of eighteenth-century publishing, John Brewer explains that bookselling in this era is "best understood as an expanding maze or labyrinth, and it offered the potential author many entrances and numerous routes to eventual publication, each full of hazards, pitfalls and dead ends."[65] The mid-eighteenth-century novelist and translator Frances Brooke had several dealings with intermediaries and booksellers in attempts to have her translations of French works published, and they amply demonstrate the hazards of the translation business, lending a more personalized dimension to the available records regarding negotiations. Brooke's experiences specifically exemplify the dangers faced by energetic translators offering the surplus products of their leisure in the marketplace, which, as Brewer notes, "was not difficult to enter but easy to get lost in."[66]

Like many other translators, Brooke worked as an independent agent, and like others translating was one of several different publishing ventures in her career; she also wrote and published original novels, plays, and a journal, the *Old Maid*. In a letter to her bookseller, James Dodsley, she is apologetic about the lack of success of her own novel, *The History of Emily Montague* (1769) but confident in her two translations: a novel titled *Memoirs of the Marquis de St. Forlaix* and abbé Millot's *Elements of the History of England*: "I am much more hurt on your account than my own at your losing by this book; I hope it may yet sell: but if not, I have no judgment or M. Forlaix will make you amends; if I tho't it would not I should be very unhappy."[67] Brooke indicates that she, and not her bookseller, has identified the appeal of the French book, has voluntarily translated it, and that publication is partly her own financial liability. The most successful of Brooke's translations was *Letters of Juliette Catesby* (1760), written in French by Marie-Jeanne Riccoboni. Following this success, she proposed a translating relationship with the French novelist. Brooke's attempt to contact Riccoboni and set herself up as Riccoboni's translator was unprecedented in many ways. Even though novels written by women were moving across the Channel in both directions regularly in the mid-eighteenth century, and had been since the seventeenth century, it is rare

to find any translator, and in particular any woman translator, apply directly to a foreign novelist. It was equally rare, despite the growing numbers of well-known women novelists on both sides of the Channel, to establish and maintain much personal contact. Such a connection between Brooke and Riccoboni nonetheless seemed obvious, since Brooke probably admired Riccoboni as a fellow novelist. Moreover, Riccoboni, whose own novels, *Lettres de mistress Fanni Butlerd*, *Lettres de Miladi Juliette Catesby*, *Histoire de Miss Jenny*, and *Lettres de Milord Rivers*, all use English settings and characters, was also a translator of English literature, having published a French version of Fielding's *Amelia* and a collection of English plays.[68] With so much Channel crossing, it may have been unprecedented, but it was not unthinkable for them to establish a relationship.

Riccoboni had a fairly loyal and tightly knit group of advocates in Britain already, and her friends David Hume and David Garrick managed to get the bookseller Thomas Becket to distribute her work in French and have it translated into English. She was among a very few French women novelists of the eighteenth century to be so well connected to English booksellers, but Brooke was not part of her circle of acquaintances. During the spring of 1765, Riccoboni reported to David Garrick in a letter that she had received a copy of Brooke's translation of *Juliette Catesby* and a copy of Brooke's own novel, *The History of Julia Mandeville*. Communicating by way of a Parisian bookseller, she wrote to Garrick: "Cette dame me fait demander *la permission* de m'envoyer ses ouvrages. J'avois dessein de lui faire tenir les miens mais Monsieur Hume ne la connoissoit point, et s'avisa de donner cette malheureuse *Jenny* à Monsieur Becket." [This woman asks my *permission* to send me her works. I had the idea of giving her mine but Mr. Hume didn't know her at all, and advised to give this unfortunate *Jenny* to Becket.][69] David Hume arranged to have Becket hire a translator and publish *Miss Jenny*. The sales of his translation were not meeting expectations, but Riccoboni was aware that Brooke's translation of her *Juliette Catesby* was already in its fourth edition.[70] Riccoboni implied that she had thought of Brooke as translator for her *Miss Jenny* and was dissuaded only because Hume did not know her, instead entrusting her work to his publisher. In the next letter from Garrick, he thoroughly dismisses Brooke, and flatly orders Riccoboni to avoid her:

> I am not acquainted with Mrs Brooke: she once wrote a play, which I did not like, & would not act, for which heinous offence she vented her female Spite upon Me, in a paper she publish'd call'd ye Old Maid, but I forgive her as thoroughly, as her Work

is forgotten—I am told she has merit & is capable of a good translation, tho not of an Original—five hundred of her will not make half a Riccoboni. You will be civil to her & no more, all this is Entre nous.[71]

Riccoboni's curt response to Garrick about Brooke displays her loyalty and obedience to him after hearing this story of Brooke's demeanor: "Eût-elle tous les talens du monde Mistress Brooke n'aura jamais mes ouvrages." [Had she all the talents in the world Mistress Brooke will never have my works.][72] Brooke's case is instructive in part because it signals that translators were agents in the business; they willingly worked in their leisure hours, and often provided the initial impetus to publication. When she wrote to Dodsley about her translation of Millot's history of England, Brooke took explicit financial responsibility for the publication: "I will share the profit or loss of the history."[73] At the same time, negotiating with booksellers and advisers could diminish the translator's control. Like many others, Brooke did not work on contract and thus had no guarantee of publication or payment for her translations. She bore the brunt of the financial and personal risks that came along with her autonomy, and they were sometimes fatal to the venture.

The Diminishing Returns of Leisure

John Lockman wrote that a translation's "Fate is so very precarious, that often 'tis not in the Power of Booksellers to pay a Writer suitably to his Abilities, and the Pains he may have taken."[74] The eighteenth-century book trade as a whole was consistently risky, and for prose fiction, as James Raven explains, "financial margins were tight and unpredictable," and returns generally modest.[75] Managing publication costs meant that the agency translators exercised in the leisure economy could be perceived as a set of risks in a commercial economy. Some personal risks were inherent in a socially networked publishing community, as Frances Brooke's experiences indicate, but there were also systemic risks in translating novels, not least because translating new fictional works demanded both the translator's leisure and timeliness. Public interest in a new foreign novel could be high in the short term, since the original might be available and possibly well publicized before it was translated, urging the translators and booksellers to bring out the publication quickly. Sarah Scott, another indepen-

dent woman translator, represents an increasingly popular strategy of hedging risk by compromising her agency. When she translated Pierre de La Place's *Laideur aimable* on "trial" and sent it to the Dodsley firm anonymously, Scott followed the standard procedure of working at her leisure and then submitting her work for publication. Dodsley bought it and published it, but when Scott considered her next translation, her calculations of the business risk disrupted the leisure that had attended her first effort. Scott writes to her sister, Elizabeth Montagu, to act on her behalf in the next project: "I have likewise another favor to ask which is a great secret, I need not beg you will not mention to any living soul. You often have French novels before they become common if you coud help me to any, a little time spent in translating them woud turn much to my profit, if I could get a translation done before any other publish'd one which I could easily do if I had the original before it became common."[76] A reply came quickly from Elizabeth Montagu warning against undertaking the work without some instruction, if not guarantee, from a bookseller. She advises that "the best way would be to desire such a man as Nourse to send you a book of estimation that he would wish translated indeed the World is so mad after novels that they may hear the best price."[77] Encouraging her sister to anticipate financial and personal risks so as to avoid them, Montagu's counsel to treat with someone like Nourse nonetheless diminishes Scott's power, for it must be a novel "he would wish translated." Montagu nonetheless brainstorms possibilities of French authors Scott might translate, suggesting that anything by Voltaire is a sure bet. She is chary, however, again advising her sister to "agree with a bookseller": "There are some Contes indiennes just come out in his [Voltaire's] name, which I wd have sent you for such a purpose, but I heard they were tawdry. There is a new book of Voltaire calld abrégé de l'histoire universelle but unless you was first to agree with a bookseller it wd be a thousand to one some other translation wd appear before you coud get out, as a prudent bookseller will generally have the translation in readying by the time the original appears here."[78] Montagu advises her sister that the bookseller would have foreseen interest in a new French book by Voltaire and another translation would appear before Scott could get hers done. Dodsley had already suggested to Scott that he might pay more for "the translation of such new books as were known in the world" if they were done "soon enough," and thus Scott's tone in her initial request to Montagu is palpably urgent, knowing that she needs to get the translation of an unknown novel done "before any other."[79] The risk in translating bears not only on financing the publication, but specifically on its timeliness. In the market for French

translations, the most recently published work by a well-known author was least likely to fail if it were done quickly. Because there was no legal obligation to pay for the right to translate a foreign work, and the supply of French originals and of willing translators was guaranteed, the same high-profile French work was likely to be translated by more than one person and put out by more than one bookseller. Thus, the biggest risk in undertaking a translation was another translation of the same work being done simultaneously for a different bookseller.[80]

Elizabeth Griffith said that she would have been encouraged in translating but for the competition: "[B]efore I could get the French Books from England, I read Advertisements of them in the London Papers, notifying their being then *under Translation, by an able Hand*, for P. Vaillant, or T. Becket, and P. A. de Hondt, or some other *Traducer* of the French language."[81] Griffith had previously published *The Memoirs of Ninon de l'Enclos with her letters*, which did well despite its being the second translation of the supposed letters of Ninon, but her Marmontel translation was thwarted by the appearance of other translations prior to the completion of her own.[82] Similarly, Charlotte Smith's translation of Prévost's *Manon Lescaut* was sacked by a letter to the *Public Advertiser* informing readers that it was a fraud because *Manon* had already been published in English twice. Smith wrote to her publisher, Thomas Cadell, to ask him to withdraw the translation.[83] She was more cautious with *The Romance of Real Life,* a translation from Pitaval: "[I]t is probable, that some of these striking stories may have already found their way to the English press; but as I have been myself unable to find any preceding translation of those I had selected, I may presume that, with most English readers, my work will have the attraction of novelty."[84] In 1798, about to embark on another translation, she was too wise to the hazards of competition to continue when she learned another translator was working on the same piece and writes that she has "given up the plan of Translating (on finding some translator by the sheet had undertaken the book I had begun)."[85]

Booksellers were largely dependent on translators who voluntarily took up the task, and for taking much of the financial responsibility for the publication, but the pressure to derive even modest profits while producing a timely publication exploited rather than supported the translator's leisure, not least because translators increasingly found themselves in competition with one another. They became both the impetus to a healthy translating business and the threat they and the booksellers hoped to avoid—competition. There were ways to defuse competition; sometimes agreements were made between booksellers to suppress one of the publica-

tions, or they masked the fact that there were two translations by affixing different title pages and making sure not to indicate the original author or title. Or, they might start a "paper war" in an attempt to sabotage a competing translation, but these were stopgap measures.[86] The task of translating, I have been suggesting, reflects aspects of E. P. Thompson's premodern task-oriented labor, but with the pressures of competition, it also began to participate in the new labor habits and "new time-discipline" of industrial capitalism.[87] The "tyranny of the clock," as Hobsbawm called it, was not the time clock of synchronized industrial labor that he and Thompson investigate, but the time pressure caused by the particular situation in which the original was well known enough that the demand for the novel in translation was immediate upon publication of the original, and competition could only be mitigated by speed.[88] In translating prose fiction, time increasingly was money. Market demands began to collapse the distinctions between task-oriented work and timed labor, as translators both clung to a premodern temporality of leisure and showed signs of internalizing the new time discipline. Charlotte Lennox, a fairly prolific translator during one phase of her career, applied to Samuel Richardson as a friend and as a printer to act as an intermediary with the booksellers. She casts herself ambiguously between independent agent and employee: "[I]f you think me not wholly unworthy of your recommendation I woud intreat your interest with the Booksellers to procure me some employment in the translating way. . . . I am perswaided [*sic*] I can make it as advantagious by industry."[89] Tobias Smollett, who translated novels throughout his career, made choices weighted less by penury than by an affinity with his own fiction, but nonetheless, he wrote to Alexander Carlyle: "Gil Blas was actually translated by me; tho' as it was a *Bookseller's job*, done in a hurry."[90] Translators' energies invigorated the translation market, but private ruminations on booksellers' jobs and requests for "employment" suggest new constraints. As translators increasingly deferred to booksellers to secure some advantage for their labor, and the market was increasingly driven by the cultural capital of the original author, it necessarily diminished the value of the translator's work as a distinctive version of an anonymous and unknown original. This bind was in many ways unique to translating in the cross-Channel zone. Its abundant access to the originals, its surplus of willing and able translators, and no legal system in place to secure the publication rights for a single bookseller resulted in the need for new strategies which, in turn, shifted the balance of power in favor of the booksellers and the original authors. The status of translations in copyright law in eighteenth-century Britain further reinforced the bind.

Copyright and the Anomaly of Translation

The absence of international copyright, as we have seen, was a boon to booksellers. Although it allowed for unwanted competition, the lack of international regulations meant that the bookseller was safeguarded against any potential interference from the original bookseller. And, since a one-time payment for the book ended the transaction, the original author was not necessarily recognized much less paid or consulted about reprinting the work in the original language or in translation. It was not until the 1886 Berne Convention that authors' rights were protected abroad as well as nationally. Generally cited as a watershed in international copyright, the Berne Convention defined the "country of origin" of a work and placed limits on the work's copyright.[91] The Berne Convention was also the first major multilateral agreement on translation, assimilating translation rights into reproduction rights for the first time. As early as 1810, French authors enjoyed the right to their works no matter where they were published, and foreigners could obtain copyright in France. American copyright law was becoming similarly protectionist in that period, causing British authors to clamor for the same privileges.[92] In 1852, a new copyright act included a bilateral agreement between Britain and France in which the two countries agreed that a proprietor of a copyright could reserve the right of translation, but only if the intention was signaled on the title page or otherwise prominently displayed. Thus, the title pages of Charlotte Brontë's *Villette* and Dickens' *Bleak House*, both published in 1853, include the statement: "The author reserves the right of translation." In effect, the Berne Convention merely extended the 1852 act by including a larger group of countries and no longer requiring a title page statement; and it finally began the process of extending authorial rights, which had been in existence since the late eighteenth century, to translations.[93]

In the eighteenth century, authorial individualism may have been on the rise in English copyright law, but foreign novelists, who already occupied a marginal position in the prose fiction translating business, were denied the authorial rights being granted to English novelists. Precedent-setting cases on author's rights in the eighteenth century not only denied those rights to foreigners, but also defined a translation as an original work and the translator as its author. In *The Scandals of Translation*, Lawrence Venuti argues that copyright law is one reason that literary translation is currently stigmatized: "[T]he producer of a derivative work is and is not an author," and he traces this situation back to the contradictory develop-

ment of copyright law in eighteenth-century England.[94] He is interested in setting the historical stage for future change, but in the context of the eighteenth-century translation business, the anomalous definition of a translation as an original, and a translator as an author, reveals that the fundamentally modernizing force of author's rights both sustained some premodern precepts about translation and authorship and simultaneously led the way to dismantling them.

As several scholars have shown, the first major piece of copyright legislation in the period, the 1710 Copyright Act (Statute of Anne), evolved out of booksellers' attempts to reduce piracy in the book trade and secure their own rights and privileges. As Terry Belanger has remarked, the incentive for booksellers to own copyrights was considerable: "The real money lay in the ownership of copyrights, not in the retailing of books whose copyrights were owned by other men."[95] Booksellers might offset the risk of a new publication with a backlist that depended solely upon copyrights, among which translations from Greek, Latin, Italian, and French would have played a major role. Publishers established copyrights in translations as they did with original works, but the purpose of establishing this right was primarily to distinguish their translation from other translations of the same original, and to protect their property against piracy. As John Feather explains, however, the 1710 act created as many problems as it seemed to resolve: "In essence, the 1710 Act prescribed penalties for the infringement of property rights. While that did establish a priori that the property existed, the Act nowhere attempted to define the nature of the property which was thus protected."[96] Though the preamble to the act refers to the "Proprietors of such Books and Writings," the implication of corporeality and tangibility in the notion of literary property was later "laughed at, as signifying nothing but what was of too abstruse and chimerical a nature to be defined."[97] The 1710 act was meant to clarify Stationer's copyright and succeeded in designating that the owner of literary property was the person who had the right to copy a work: ownership, not authorship, decided who controlled the text as property. The main issue, then, was copying, for the printing press had made it possible for hundreds of identical copies to be produced and scattered for the first time. As Adrian Johns emphasizes, the problem of piracy led to a "fierce concern for the verification of any and all printed materials."[98] Johns ascribes the introduction of various print institutions to a reaction against the problem of counterfeits, and to this we can add the legal definition of a translation. The cases that followed the 1710 act submitted that a translation, or any other

version of a work, was autonomous only because it was not a mechanically reproduced copy of an original.

These cases, including *Burnett v. Chetwood* (1720), *Millar v. Taylor* (1769), *Donaldson v. Beckett* (1774), and *Wyatt v. Barnard* (1814), eroded the booksellers' property rights in favor of authors, but as Venuti points out, also "acknowledged a translation to be an independent work which did not infringe the copyright of the author who produced the underlying work."[99] In *Burnet v. Chetwood*, a distinction was made between reprinting and translation: "[A] translation might not be the same with the reprinting of the original on account that the translator has bestowed his care and pains upon it."[100] This argument for distinguishing a translation from the original invoked Locke's labor theory of property to effectively equate authors and translators. In one of the most influential cases, *Millar v. Taylor*, perpetual right of ownership was secured for the author, but one justice said that "certainly bona fide imitations, translations, and abridgements are different; and in respect of the property, may be considered as new works."[101] Another asserted that a purchaser of a book "may improve upon it, imitate, translate it; oppose its sentiments: but he buys no right to publish the identical work."[102] It was clear in these cases that the author's or owner's right only extended to the exact reproduction of a single, complete text and stressed the similarities rather than differences between translators and original authors, between translations, which were "new works," and originals. Translations, now conceptually indistinguishable from originals, were likely to be lumped together with other kinds of versions like abridgements because they were all distinguished from reprinting, but as David Saunders writes, this was symptomatic of "the persisting difficulty for copyright law of determining just when a work is a new and original work, with a material integrity that clearly marks it off from all other works."[103] At the same time, the legal community began to define the literary aspect of literary property as expression rather than content, reinforcing the autonomy of the translation. Codified in Blackstone's seminal *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (1765–1769), content and ideas were public, but expression or language was the result of individual labor and became private property: "[T]he identity of a literary composition consists intirely in the sentiment and the language; the same conceptions, cloathed in the same words, must necessarily be the same composition."[104] Although Blackstone was concerned with defining an original work, *Wyatt v. Barnard* later clarified that as literary expressions, translations were independent of their sources: "Translations, if original . . . could not be distinguished from other Works."[105] While the central aim was to regulate piracy, the equation

of translation and authorship reinforced the existing tendency of prose fiction translation, in particular, to deflect any interest in the original authors and their texts. The creative labor of the translator seemed to be validated in the institution of the law just as it had been validated in premodern literary practice.

Litigation over translation rights was rare except between publishers who sued one another in order to prevent piracies of translations they owned, indicating that despite the implications of the legal definition of translation, translators did not necessarily defend their rights. There is one well-researched case of a prose fiction translator who sued a bookseller over the copyright to his translation, but it only confirms that the autonomy of translation was paradoxically eroded in the very copyright laws that appeared to guarantee it. The case was *Murphy v. Vaillant* (1775), and the issue was whether Arthur Murphy had transferred the copyright to the bookseller Paul Vaillant for his translation of Marmontel's *Belisarius*. Murphy, a dramatist, occasional critic for the *Monthly Review*, biographer, lawyer, and translator, had an unexpected runaway success with *Belisarius* in 1767. In his case against Vaillant, Murphy charged that he had delivered the manuscript, to be "sold for your Orator's profit and Advantage and your Orator did not Transfer or sell nor make any Bargain or Agreement to Transfer or sell the Copy of the said Translation."[106] Murphy further charged that Vaillant had sold "sundry Large Impressions of the said Work" and his receipt of £21 from Vaillant was a loan rather than payment for the copyright. Murphy wanted to share the profit with Vaillant, asking for £500, one-quarter of the alleged profit of £2000. Vaillant defended himself by explaining that the total number of books published was half Murphy's estimate and profits were much less substantial, closer to £700.

Vaillant did acknowledge that there was no written contract, and that he allowed Murphy £21 credit because his attorney "thought it proper to do so to prevent the Complainant from afterwards setting up any claim on this Defendant with respect to the said Translation."[107] Vaillant also offered to submit as evidence a letter from Murphy, written in 1770, projecting an edition of Murphy's complete plays because it marked the works for which Murphy had retained his right, and others he had assigned to Vaillant. The *Belisarius* translation was marked as Vaillant's. Murphy's name does not appear on the title page of *Belisarius*, which Vaillant, in his defense testimony, stated was Murphy's own decision because "he was then called to the bar" and "he would not put his Name to the Title as he would not choose any longer to be considered as a writer for hire least the Publick should imagine that he attended to such kind of Business more than to the

Law."[108] Murphy had strongly stated in the preface that the work was done at his leisure, but he had disavowed recognition as the translator because he was afraid to "be considered a writer for hire." Murphy lost the case, but the revelation of his privately expressed desire for anonymity and his public denunciation of journeywork indicate that the legal equivalence of translator and author, of translation and original, had little purchase when translators were continually attempting to escape the accusation of hackwork. Though they were legally entitled to hold the copyright as authors, most translators sold their interest outright and had little recourse if the profits on the publication soared.[109] The legislation and cases concerning copyright perpetuated the original author's exclusion from translation and appeared to promulgate the translator's cultural and literary authority by recognizing that his labor was essentially no different from the author's and that the product of his labor was an "original"—the kind of prestige and institutional power that translations enjoyed in the Middle Ages and Renaissance. But as Murphy's bid for greater recognition reveals, the translator's privilege was elusive.

Prose fiction translation was a vigorous business in the eighteenth-century cross-Channel zone. The conditions that fostered translation included the expansion of the international business in a relatively unregulated marketplace, translators' desires to work at their leisure despite the risks, and the legal equivocation of translation and original, an anomaly that resulted from imposing on all works a single distinction between mechanical reproduction and human production. Translations were not only easily but also systematically disconnected from their original authors and countries of origin. The peculiar situation of the tightly knit cross-Channel circuit and its abundance rather than scarcity of sources and translators was that the market depended upon such surplus. Yet the shrinking space and time of prose fiction translating also induced competition and began the longer process of hierarchizing originals and rendered works, authors and translators, that was ultimately antithetical to the autonomy that had characterized translating. Cross-Channel fiction translation, which thrived as an unbridled enterprise, and yet could not continue to thrive without self-regulation, accommodated contradictory values regarding the translator's labor, her place in literary culture, and translation's relative independence from sources. At this historical juncture between traditional and modern translation, the novel begins to consolidate under the constraints imposed by the new compressed space and time of translation, and also because prose fictions were still free from the modern re-

straints that would marginalize it. In the next chapter, I investigate rendering practices in prose fiction, focusing on the work of many writers discussed here. Rendering also commuted between premodern and modernizing practices, and like the nebulous and contradictory character of the international market, it helped effect the consolidation of the novel through its spread.

3

Taking Liberties: Rendering Practices in Prose Fiction

For most of us, the appearance of "translated by" on a novel's title page is the sign of the translator's adherence to the form and content of the original. We assume that nothing has been dropped, added, or altered except where the difference between idioms requires it. In the eighteenth century, readers could not make the same assumption. Although "translated from the French" or "traduit de l'anglais," were becoming more standard by the end of the eighteenth century, the title page of a prose fiction translation often carried phrases such as "done out of," "englished," "taken from," or "imité de" [imitated from]—an apt signal of the translator's liberties. Many eighteenth-century translations are relatively close to the original texts, but scores of English and French translators readily admitted to infidelity. In her preface to *The Memoirs of Ninon de l'Enclos*, Elizabeth Griffith said: "I have translated Ninon by Ninon; by the spirit of her own writings . . . leaving the pedantry of Boyer to Mes-Demoiselles and their ushers."[1] The remark maligns young female students of French as dabblers in translation, forced to rely on Abel Boyer's French-English grammar book and dictionary.[2] More importantly, Griffith's contrast between these student translations and her own translation of the "spirit" of the original derogates fidelity as mere pedantry.

Eighteenth-century translators who endorsed deviations from their source texts were not breaking new ground, since literalism had been roundly denounced in the previous century. Several prominent neoclassical translators in Britain, the so-called libertine school, and a similar group of translators known as the *belles infidèles* in seventeenth-century France staunchly defended freedoms in translation. Dryden states in his preface to Ovid's *Epistles*: "too faithfully is, indeed, pedantically," and he shuns

literal translation as "much like dancing on ropes with fettered legs."[3] As Roger Zuber has explained, seventeenth-century French translators also fashioned themselves as writers and took liberties in translation to separate their aims from the narrowly focused purpose of grammarians.[4] These translators are known for their vociferous defense of their liberties, separating themselves from those who held fast to the virtues of strict fidelity, but the sheer brazenness of many of their statements suggests that such freedoms were not uncontested. In his well-known preface to the *Pindarique Odes* (1656), Abraham Cowley appears to feign indifference about the judgment of "grammarians," but barely conceals his impudence: "It does not at all trouble me that the *Grammarians* perhaps will not suffer this libertine way of rendering foreign Authors, to be called *Translation*."[5] He continued: "for I am not so much enamored of the *Name Translator*, as not to wish rather to be *Something Better* though it want yet a *Name*."[6] The libertines valorized spirit or soul in translation, while others objected to sacrificing fidelity for poetic art. If both camps agreed that free rendering ought to go by another name, the libertine translators appear to have instinctively refused the moniker "imitators" and rarely called their works "imitations" or "adaptations" even though such license was closer to *imitatio* than to translation. Rather than establishing a new kind of rendering, seventeenth-century libertine translators polarized the newly capacious category of translation. By the end of the seventeenth century, a wide array of modes were subsumed under the umbrella of translation and little effort was made to carefully distinguish between them.

Following these libertines, eighteenth-century prose fiction translators often derided literal translation as pedantic, but articulating a position in an old debate leaves us in the dark about the details and nature of the freedoms they defended, not least because some translators defended their alterations even when they had produced relatively faithful versions of their sources, while others, who had rendered their originals with far greater latitude, defended their changes in similar terms.[7] Dryden's preface to Ovid's *Epistles* (1680), one of the period's core texts in translation theory, lays out a tripartite schema of translation practices that would seem to be a better guide to actual practice. His three types of translation include, first, metaphrase, or literal translation, "turning an Authour word by word, and Line by Line, from one Language into another"; second, paraphrase, which keeps the author "in view" but "his words are not so strictly follow'd as his sence, and that too is admitted to be amplyfied, but not alter'd"; and finally, imitation in which the translator "assumes the liberty not only to vary for the words and sence, but to forsake them both as he sees occa-

sion."[8] There are, however, innumerable ways to paraphrase and imitate, and Dryden does not define these possibilities in any detail. More importantly, in actual practice, prose fiction translators did not choose between the two or three discrete alternatives that Dryden presents, but often mixed literal rendering, paraphrase, and imitation. One routinely finds places where the original was followed accurately and carefully, others with minor adjustments to phrasing, nuance, and meaning, and in the same translation, wild deviance from the original text. The other canonical text of translation theory in the period is Alexander Tytler's *Essay on the Principles of Translation* (1791), which, unlike Dryden's descriptive essay, provides a compendium of advice on appropriate freedoms in translation, but it too can be misleading. Tytler states that a good translation is neither literal nor too free, but has the style and manner of the original so that its merit is "as distinctly apprehended, and as strongly felt, by a native of the country to which that language belongs, as it is by those who speak the language of the original work."[9] Another of Tytler's principles is that the translation should have the "ease of an original composition" as well as be in good taste, yet this is not unabashed advocacy of libertine translation. Liberties "may be used, but with great caution" to allow for appropriate latitude when the differences between languages and idioms are otherwise insurmountable and yet, liberties are also permissible if they add to the original by heightening its energy and beauty.[10] Tytler's advice is symptomatic of the fact that translators made a range of choices that fell between the literal and imitative rendering, but all were lumped together under the category of translation. In fact, practices varied from one translator to the next, from one translator's rendering to the next and even within a single translation. The translation theory of the period, though it may indicate some assumptions about linguistic and cultural aspects of translating, does not unlock the mysteries of translators' practices.

Excavating the deviations found in French and English translations of novels published in the eighteenth century reveals that the most egregious of translators' infidelities fall into two main categories: amplification and omission, known to them as the two common rhetorical tropes of *amplificatio* and *brevitas*. Across the board, infidelities were often no more than the continual deployment of these two exercises found in rhetoric manuals. Not yet severed from the traditional disciplines of grammar and rhetoric, the art of translating came along with students' first lessons in Latin, and these were, as we have seen, carried over into teaching foreign vernaculars. As a grammatical exercise, translation was word-for-word rendering, but translation was also a first step in the practice of rhetorical

imitation, in which source texts were manipulated as a means of modeling one's rhetorical skills on an authoritative Latin stylist.[11] This pedagogy of style, predicated on the translator's creative relationship with the original author, and familiar from medieval and Renaissance translating, endured in eighteenth-century prose fiction translation, but without the grip of authority traditionally attached to the imitation of canonical authors and genres. Translation practices were customary, but they were now in contact with the less codified literary discourse of prose fictions. The result, I argue, is that a few tropes, particularly *amplificatio* (and related tropes of *energeia*, or vividness, and *prosopopoeia*, or the introduction of direct speech) and *brevitas*, merged around the middle of the eighteenth century with the sentimental codes of prose fiction. Translators of English and French routinely chopped in some places, abbreviating to better concentrate the sentiments, and in others they amplified, lengthening certain passages eliciting the sympathetic attachment of the reader to the narrative, or what they called "interest."

The analysis of infidelity that follows attempts, first of all, to historicize unfaithful translating, and specifically to parse translators' ideas of rendering the spirit of a fictional work. Rather than attribute infidelities to woefully inexperienced translators or to the sanctioning of domestication, eighteenth-century fiction translators intentionally advocated freedoms, and taking the authorial reins, they focused on developing narrative affect. Elizabeth Griffith wrote about translating Ninon de l'Enclos' correspondence with the Marquis de Sevigné: "I was obliged to read the letters frequently over, in order to catch the spirit of the writers; which I have endeavoured to convey to the readers, in such a free manner as one tells a story or repeats a conversation; by imitating the humour, or expressing the sentiment."[12] Prose fiction translators like Griffith aimed for spirit, but as she herself glosses it, spirit is the creative imitation of sentiments. As translators redeployed tested tropes, selectively directing the shape and effects of narrative through *amplificatio* and *brevitas*, they ultimately merged the uses of infidelity with the formation of novelistic codes of feeling. In this light, the analysis of infidelity also suggests that transmitting novels evolved, not coincidentally, with transmitting feeling. In the first part of the chapter, I explain the tradition and uses of *amplificatio* and *brevitas,* and their link to the notion of interest as a new model for translating fiction. Then, I take up the deployment of these practices in the work of Eliza Haywood and Pierre Antoine de La Place, two of the most prolific and influential translators of prose fictions of their time. As translators and conduits of fiction, Haywood and La Place used the same kinds of unfaithful practices,

underscoring the cross-Channel currency of familiar rhetorical practices. Haywood's translations published in the 1720s and 1730s were mostly taken from French sources that dated from the last third of the seventeenth century, and in these imitations of older French *nouvelles*, as in her own early fiction, amatory desire supplants other forms of affect. Haywood's gendered focalization of passions through amplification presents an important contrast with La Place, who was publishing translations from the 1740s to the 1780s, for it helps map the subtle shift in the effects of translators' freedoms by expanding the grammar of feeling. His especially unfaithful version of Aphra Behn's *Oroonoko* illustrates how translators' singular goal of interest tied amplification and omission to the milder feeling of sympathy. Interest, I argue, energized the transfer of prose fiction as it consolidated into the novel, not least because it was a natural hinge between the communicable sentiments represented in fiction and sympathetic communities of readers beyond the nation.

The Heart of Infidelity

One of the most common liberties taken in prose fiction translations was the addition of material not found in the source text. This practice, reflected in the rhetorical figure *amplificatio*, included any sort of expansion of the original within or even at the borders of the text. Some of the most extreme examples are translated texts that include new chapters or sections, or continuations of the narrative, and these large-scale textual changes often added generic variety as well as extended the original's length. For example, Francis Bacon's *La Nouvelle Atlantide* (1702) was "traduit en françois et continuée: avec des reflexions sur l'institution et les occupations des academies française" [translated in French and continued; with reflections on the institution and the occupations of the French academies].[13] This translation was also preceded by an "Entretien entre Philarque et Cléon par le traducteur" [Conversation between Philarque and Cléon by the translator]. On the other side of the Channel, Roger L'Estrange's translation of the *Lettres portugaises* in 1693 as *Five Love Letters from a Nun to a Cavalier* "turned into English" also includes "Five Love Letters written by a cavalier in answer to the Five Love Letters written to him by a Nun"— his own set of letters which respond to the novel's original letters. In the English version of *The Countess of Salisbury or the Most Noble Order of the Garter* (1683), a historical novel, Ferrand Spence wrote that he was

compelled to insert passages from Richard Baker's history on the same subject because "the most glorious circumstances of our history offering themselves to view, I could not resist the temptation, gave them admittance, and couch'd them in their due place, without minding my Frenchman's reflexion."[14] Amplifying by inserting, reordering, and so on was permissible only because translators did not view the fictional work as an integral and authoritative whole in terms of its linguistic expression. Instead, the source text was an amalgamation of elements, understood in the premodern era as an occasion, rather than a fixed object to be copied. In *Ibrahim,* de Scudéry took an Italian narrative, translated it into French, and inserted it into the romance, explaining in the preface: "[R]egard not this *place* but as a translation of that famous Italian" (emphasis added).[15] The French *endroit*, or English "place," translates the Latin *locus*, a term used in medieval and Renaissance rhetoric and poetics to designate a point in the "*materia* suitable for amplification."[16] For translators, the source was probably more like a collection of places without prescribed boundaries or limits, and translating was the activity of working and ordering those *loci.*

Amplification had roots in ancient rhetoric as a form of embellishment, and in the Middle Ages, it came to have what Terence Cave calls its "generative" sense of "saying more about a topic, of extending or spinning out a discourse."[17] This discursive exercise expanded a text to explain a lesson or argument, but also to intensify its force and effect. In his sixteenth-century rhetorical treatise, Henry Peacham defines amplification as a way to "augment the oration with words or sentences," but he also identifies the goal behind additions: "[T]he hearers might the sooner be moved to like of that which was spoken."[18] More often than not, amplification was not simply material expansion. In the following passage from Fénelon's *Télémaque*, the didactic prose epic about Odysseus' son and a cross-Channel blockbuster in the eighteenth century, amplification becomes a means of intensifying rather than merely expanding the original.[19] In the opening pages of the novel, Fénelon describes Penelope: "Souvent elle demeurait immobile sur le rivage de la mer, qu'elle arrosait de ses larmes, et elle était sans cesse tournée vers le côté où le vaisseau d'Ulysse, fendant les ondes, avait disparu à ses yeux." It is rendered in one English translation of the period faithfully, though not word for word: "Sometimes she stood still and wept, watering the banks of the sea with her tears, and always turning her eyes to that side where she had seen Ulysses's ship ploughing the waves."[20] But compare John Ozell, who slides into blank verse here: "Mute and immoveable she sometimes stood, wat'ring the shore with tor-

rents from her eyes. There, where she last had seen Ulysses's Ship plough-ing the waves, she turn'd her eyes incessant."[21] Ozell's addition of "mute" and his alteration of "tears" to "torrents from her eyes" exaggerate to inten-sify the original. "Immoveable" is similar to Fenélon's "immobile," but implies that she is not able to be moved rather than not currently in mo-tion. Thus, "stood still" is the plain and accurate translation, while "im-moveable" amplifies to heighten the emotion of the scene. The practice of adding to the original by strengthening what translators saw as its charac-teristic mode of expression was not simply rewording the original in an-other language, so much as endowing it with added rhetorical force. In practice, the trope included a varying number of specific figures depending on the rhetorical manual consulted, maintaining a fairly loose definition up through the eighteenth century.[22] In prose fiction translations, however, the techniques and figures used for amplification were more limited than in rhetoric, as many of the specific figures of amplification used for argu-mentation, such as comparison, division, paralepsis, *contentio* (antithesis), and so on, were rarely tapped.

Because amplification aimed at the affective dimension of the text, it was closely associated in rhetoric with *energeia*, or vividness. Like amplification, *energeia* is a generic term in rhetoric; it functioned as a category for a variety of figures. In prose fiction translations going back to the Renaissance and extending through the eighteenth century, one figure dominated the variety of potential amplifications and techniques of viv-idness: *prosopopoeia* or *ethopoeia*. These rhetorical figures were categorized under both *energeia* and *amplificatio*, and consisted mainly of devising speeches appropriate to the person and the given circumstances.[23] Tom Brown, for example, loosely translated Dufresny's *Amusemens serieux et comiques* (1699) as *Amusements Serious and Comical* (1700), then enlarged it in 1702, mixing paragraphs of exact translation with freer rendering, and adding substantial sections of his own invention including *prosopo-poeia*.[24] One brief passage from the original has this sentence: "Un jeune étourdi plein de vigeur et de santé témoignoit par ses discours qu'il se croyoit immortel, et qu'il craignoit que son père ne le fut aussi." [A young drunkard, full of vigor and health, testified by his speeches that he believed himself immortal, and that he feared that his father might be too.] Brown translates this: "A Young forward Puppy full of Vigour and Health, seem'd to intimate by his Discourse, that he thought himself Immortal" and then adds direct discourse:

Well, says he, I have drank my Gallon of Claret every Night this Seven Years, and yet the Devil of a Feaver . . . dares Attack me. . . . Before *George* I think our Family's made of Iron. There's that Old Prig my Father (a Plague on him) turn'd of Seventy, and yet he's as sound as a Roach still. He'll ride you Forty Mile out-right at a Fox-Chase. Small-Beer be my Portion here and hereafter, if I believe he'll ever have the Good Manners to troop off.[25]

Dufresny's young man provides an occasion for Brown to make further light of him in a speech that animates the drunken character. Like Brown, many translators of fiction would take the mission of vividness literally, by bringing a character to life with speech in *prosopopoeia*.

The other common tendency was to reduce or omit passages—the rhetorical trope of *brevitas*. Like *amplificatio*, *brevitas* is found in manuals of rhetoric from the ancients into the eighteenth century.[26] French translators are infamous for invoking their right to reduce repetitions of the same thoughts by omitting passages or "de les déguiser par le changement des termes" [or disguise them by changing the terms].[27] English translators also found their originals in need of reduction. The translator of Marie-Catherine Aulnoy's *The Prince of Carency* (1719) said that "it was thought proper to retrench some superfluous Repetitions, which are frequently remark'd in stories of this Nature, written in that Language."[28] Sometimes translators took out the occasional subordinate clause, or clipped a sentence; others omitted descriptions, pared down speeches, or reduced the number of events in the plot.[29] These two major modes of translation may seem counterproductive, since expansion generally results in variety or digression and diminution streamlines or simplifies the narrative. However, omissions, like amplifications, were aimed at vivifying the texts; they usually operated together as *energeia*. Lively characters were fabricated by adding speeches and lengthening scenarios, while lively scenes were shaped by reducing digressions.

Thus, amplification and vividness could be accomplished in a variety of ways, but a very few tropes were used again and again by translators on both sides of the Channel. These were familiar to translators whose active engagement with the original was predicated on the assumption that the text was a collection of *loci* rather than an integral whole, and on the idea that, as agents of fiction (from *fingere*, "to shape"), they molded the text in order to move readers. From the 1740s onward, they begin to single

out the notion of interest as the justification for both adding and deleting from the source. In his translations of Richardson's *Clarissa* and *Sir Charles Grandison*, Prévost significantly reduced the source texts, but also altered and made additions. In the preface to his version of *Sir Charles Grandison*, he appears to blame the original novelist for his inability to find the proper balance in his prose, but his true concern is interest: "[J]'ai fait une guerre continuelle à ce défaut de proportion, qui affaiblit l'intérêt." [I have made continual war against this default of proportion, which weakens interest.][30] Pierre Antoine de La Place, who published the first French version of Fielding's *Tom Jones*, reduced the original by almost a third, despite his view that it was such a seductive narrative he could not help but translate it.[31] He also worked in so much that in an epistle to Fielding that prefaces the translation, La Place hopes the author will recognize Sophia in her French dress, and he cites interest as his guiding force:

> si Monsieur Fielding, ai-je-dit, avoit écrit pour les François, il eut probablement supprimé un grand nombre de passages très excellents en eux-mêmes, mais qui leur paroitroient déplacés. Une fois échauffés par l'intérêt résultant d'une intrigue pathétique et adroitement tissue, ils supportent impatiemment toute espèce de digression.[32]

> [If Mr. Fielding, I have said, had written for the French, he would probably have suppressed a great number of passages, very excellent in themselves, but which would have appeared misplaced to them. Once heated by the interest resulting from a pathetic and adroitly woven intrigue, they tolerate impatiently every kind of digression.]

La Place makes it clear that because readers are "heated by the interest," the translator's choices about what to amplify or cut are made on their behalf. More specifically, La Place and others indicate that interest is not the production of mere diversion or entertainment, nor is it simply equivalent to moral didacticism. Interest is made, as La Place says, out of the pathos of the narrative.

In *The Passions and the Interests*, A. O. Hirschman explains that during the eighteenth century, a new opposition between the interests of men and their passions meant that such sinful passions as greed could now have a "*positive* and *curative* connotation."[33] The thrust of Hirschman's argument is to show that interest became a political justification for emerging capitalism in the early modern period, and he traces the multiple

meanings of interest, which eventually came to be centered on economic advantage. Hirschman notes that interest was initially unrelated to economics: "[I]t comprised the totality of human aspirations, but denoted an element of reflection and calculation with respect to the manner in which these aspirations were to be pursued."[34] In general, the earlier association of interest with passions and with this "element of . . . calculation" meant that it was essentially self-directed rather than social. Hirschman takes note of the role of self-interest in Hobbes, La Rochefoucauld, and others to describe the font of all human motivation as a morally dubious, if necessary, force. Hirschman does not, however, trace the concomitant shift in the use of interest in eighteenth-century social thought from self-love to sympathy, though the generally positive and curative effects are similar. Other scholars have shown that not only was interest unhinged from the self in eighteenth-century discourses, but its public value was located in the natural, human propensity to be able to feel what others feel. Accessibility to the sentiments of others is the basis on which Hume, in particular, theorizes a social order that transcends self-interest. *A Treatise of Human Nature* rehabilitates the passions as naturally benevolent, naturally communicative feelings which trump self-interest: "[S]elf-interest is the original motive to the establishment of justice: but a sympathy with public interest is the source of the moral approbation which attends that virtue."[35] In her study of eighteenth-century women's epistolary fiction, April Alliston writes that although interest could denote the self-directed sense in which one might act from interested motives, "to be 'interested' in someone meant at once to pity and to identify oneself with the 'interesting' person," and thus, "the French reflexive form of the verb, *vous vous interessez*, better expresses the association of the self with the other involved in the idea of sympathy."[36]

Interest, as allied with the public virtue of sympathy, is essential to translators' use of the term, not least because translators follow the general shift in usage from self-interest to interest in others.[37] The difference between the common eighteenth-century usage of interest as something akin to sympathy and translators' usage is significant, however, because the translator does not describe human relations *tout court*, but refers to the powers of narrative. Helen Maria Williams reduced some of the author's "general observations" in her version of Bernardin de St. Pierre's novel *Paul et Virginie*, and because they "interrupt the pathetic narrative," echoing La Place's idea that readers are "heated" by the "interest" in pathetic intrigue, and thus are moved by their ability to invest themselves in the characters and events of the narrative.[38] Thomas Holcroft, who trans-

lated Stephanie de Genlis' *Tales of the Castle: or Stories of Instruction and Delight* (1785), praises Genlis in his preface but explains that his version "was never intended to be any thing like literal" and that he had omitted some scenes and added others, as well as amplified or contracted Genlis' phrasing. In the case of one scene, Holcroft explains that "it was necessary to add circumstances and touches to give a sufficient degree of *interest* to the story; and that other little freedoms have been taken . . . leaving out certain notes, which it was deemed were either too scientific for their situation, or too *uninteresting*" (emphasis added).[39] Interest—the sentiment or feeling to be produced by the narrative for the reader—justifies a range of freedoms, though it is not merely an expedient defense. By the mid- and late eighteenth century, tropes like *amplificatio* and *brevitas* were no longer alterations made for the sake of the translator's creative self-authorization alone. Seeking liberation from pedantry, earlier translators such as John Ozell emphasized that liberties were meant to allow the fancy or imagination of the translator free reign within a system of constraint passed down from the ancients. He wrote in his preface to the translation of Boileau's *Le Lutrin*: "Nothing checks and deadens the Fancy more than a too superstitious respect for the Original."[40] By the mid-eighteenth century, translators no longer simply feared the constriction of their fancy. They deployed the old tropes, but these were now more restrictively interpreted in order to draw the reader into a sentimental attachment to the characters and their actions.

As we have seen in previous chapters, prose fiction translating did not belong to a hierarchized literary culture in which ancient authorities and genres predominated. Fiction's transmissibility, already secured by publishing practices, and by the period's own beliefs about fiction's history and cultural status, was further enforced through translators' infidelities. By the middle and later decades of the eighteenth century, the collective investment on both sides of the Channel in amplifying and omitting for feeling relied on the same familiar tropes and the will of translators to go beyond their sources, but was now aligned with the novel's purpose, as Marivaux wrote, to touch the heart: "[L]e roman n'est fait que pour le coeur, quand il le touche, doit-on s'en plaindre?" [The novel is made only for the heart, when it moves it, should one complain?][41] A comparison of Eliza Haywood's translations of French *nouvelles* in the early part of the eighteenth century with La Place's midcentury sentimentalizing translations helps illustrate that the amplificatory drive shifts around the time the novel emerges from a focus on the passions to the development of

interest, and from heightening feeling for its own sake to a sentimentality rooted in sympathy. This kinship between the transmission of narrative and the circuitry of feeling reveals that infidelities were not indiscriminately dispersing prose fiction. Although translators may have seen the source text as a collection of places from which they could deviate at will, fostering the apparently uncontrolled mobility of texts, the selective application of tropes for the sake of interest signals that the novel comes to a more cohesive formation in conjunction with its dissemination.

Eliza Haywood: Heightening the Expression

Eliza Haywood is now best known as one of Britain's first women novelists, roundly criticized as a "female scribbler" during her lifetime, though she was the third most popular novelist in England in the mid-eighteenth century, and the only English woman among the top nine.[42] It is less well known that Haywood was also a prolific translator, publishing no fewer than eleven translations of French novels, most of them done in the early stages of her career when she was also writing much of her popular amatory fiction. In fact, her most popular work was *La Belle Assemblee*, a translation of Madeleine Poisson de Gomez's *Les Journées amusantes*, which went through twenty editions, outpacing even Haywood's very successful first novel, *Love in Excess*. With the single exception of her translations of Gomez, which follow the originals with exactness throughout, Haywood's versions of French novels typically lie somewhere between translation and adaptation, deviating significantly in certain passages, but rendering faithfully in others, usually retaining much of the overall shape of the original. Admitting in her preface to the translation of Edmé Boursault's *Treize lettres d'une Dame à un cavalier* that it might be "more properly call'd a Paraphrase than a Translation," Haywood writes that it was necessary to take the liberty "in many Places, of *adding*, and in other of *diminishing* (where I thought so doing would render the whole more entertaining)."[43] Haywood's use of *amplificatio* and *brevitas*, or as she puts it in English, "adding" and "diminishing," were focused on intensifying the love intrigue in the narrative, often amplifying the passions of, or for, female characters. To "render the whole more entertaining" was a matter of selectively intensifying the affective dimension of female character, or the desirous feelings of their lovers. Most of Haywood's translations came from works dated

from the later seventeenth century; most appeared without the name of the original author, which, with few exceptions, were male. Haywood's translations exemplify the translator's agency in an open field of circulation, but they do not yet bear signs of the broader integration of fictional codes of feeling across the Channel and the ways in which amplifying and diminishing would serve sympathetic interest.

Haywood's first translation, a rendering of Edmé Boursault's *Treize lettres d'une Dame à un cavalier*, begins *in medias res* with the lady's dilemma of entering into a secret correspondence and amorous intrigue with a chevalier. The heroine wonders how "I may love, and yet be innocent," willfully putting her virtue to trial.[44] Boursault's original novel tracks the lady's response to the chevalier, which Haywood transforms into a gradual crescendo of passion. Haywood's version of the second letter, in which the lady is resisting the chevalier's charms, begins with one of her least faithful passages:

> The Letter you writ to me this morning, seems to have more of Gallantry than Sincerity—the Style appears more studied, and the Sentiments are expressed in a manner, which carry a greater share of Art than Nature.—What is your Design?—What will be the Consequence of a Conversation, which, in the very beginning, fills me with a thousand Terrors?—[45]

In the original, Boursault's lady said that the letter "me parait plus honnête que sincère. On ne revient pas si facilement des sentiments d'hier à ceux d'aujourd'hui; et ce n'est pas ne point avoir d'amour que de me mander que vous ne m'en parlerez plus" [seemed to me more honest than sincere. One does not go back so easily to yesterday's sentiments from today's; and it is not lack of love that commands me that you will no longer speak to me about it].[46] Boursault's lady is slightly ambivalent, even cool, appearing to put off the chevalier. Haywood pulls the line of passion taut with the addition of her double question and its culmination in her expression of fear: "What is your Design? What will be the Consequence . . . which fills me with a Thousand terrors?" In the French text, the lady does not accuse or challenge the chevalier, but Haywood's addition of the questions casts doubt on the lover's motives and inflates the moral dilemma. Haywood dwells, in particular, on the high notes of the passion to anticipate the end of the affair before it has begun.

As the letters progress, the lady's attempts to resist her lover's charms grow futile; she seeks out her lover, and he pursues her. Hence, the
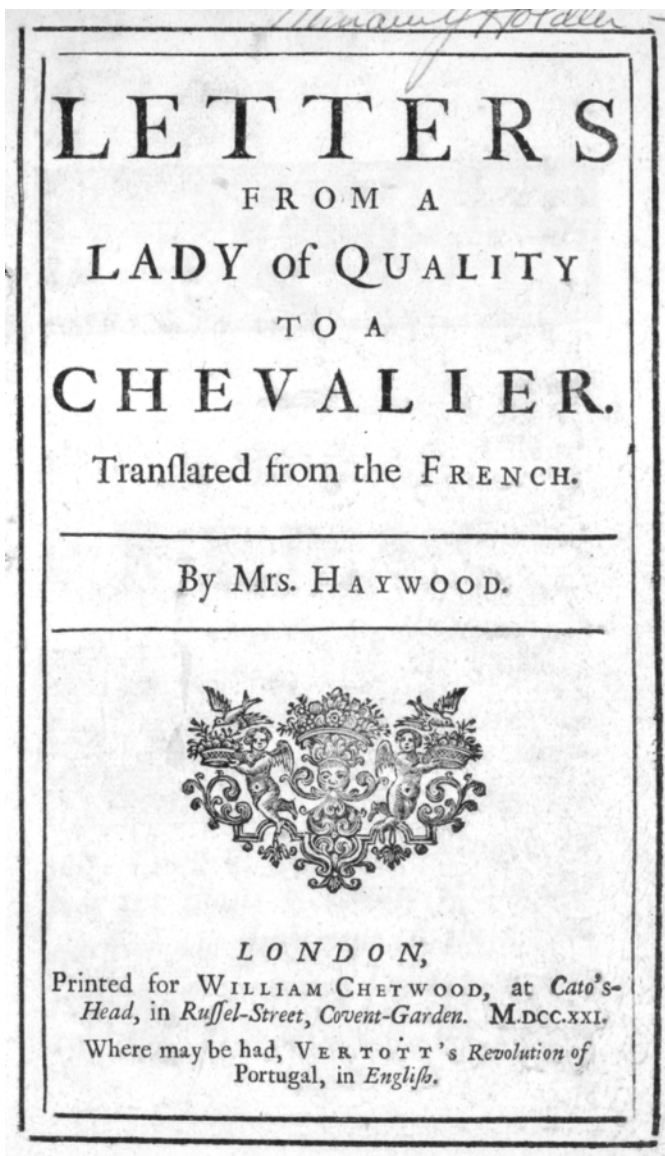
Figure 3. Edmé Boursault, *Letters from a lady of quality to a chevalier*, trans. Eliza Haywood (London, 1721), title page. Princeton University Library.

narrative occasions the discussion of intrigue along with the display of her passion. She feels her reason is in disarray, she expresses doubts about the chevalier's love, and fears impropriety. Then, as they pursue the liaison, she gives vent to her jealousy, and finally to the anguish of abandonment. In the fifth letter, the lady meditates on the prospect of seeing her lover in public: "My Husband will be with us!—Oh disagreeable!—no room to speak one soft, one tender word—no Opportunity even for one kind Glance—What a Constraint must both of us endure?"[47] Boursault has: "Mon mari sera avec nous! quel désagrement! nous ne pourrons nous rien dire qui ne soit entendu de tout le monde; quelle contrainte! et confondus vous et moi parmi la foule, nous serons reduits à nous parler de choses indifferentes; quelle Feste!" [My husband will be with us! How disagreeable! We will not be able to speak to each other without being heard by everyone; what a constraint! and mixed among the crowd, we will be reduced to speaking to each other of indifferent things; what a celebration!][48] Haywood's version uses specific terms for what will be suppressed—the tender word, the glance—replacing Boursault's more neutral description of being overheard and speaking of "indifferent things." And where Boursault announces the idea of constraint in the middle of the passage, Haywood instead leads up to it with the very actions that are the constraints, but then saves the word for the last phrase. Above, and throughout the text, Haywood's version uses long dashes between phrases, which do not appear in the original. The dashes are a typographical feature found throughout her own novels dating from this period, which have the visual effect of breaking the smooth prose exposition into sentence fragments. Here, Haywood has already thrust the reader to emotional high points through amplification, then arrests her at the apex as the text drops off into the dash, marking a space where feeling becomes ineffable.[49]

Haywood's *Secret History of Mary Stuart*, taken from Pierre le Pésant de Boisguilbert's *Marie Stuart, Reyne d'Escosse, Nouvelle Historique* (1674), a nonfiction work based on several historical sources, was far from the feminocentric novels to which Haywood's name and reputation were attached, but her version makes free with the original text for similarly affective purposes.[50] In the initial character portrait of Mary Stuart, Boisguilbert makes an abrupt transition from Mary Stuart's education and talents to her physical appearance.[51] James Freebairn, a Scottish writer, published a translation of Boisguilbert's text in the same year as Haywood, and his modern prose is close to Boisguilbert's without being overly literal, providing an ideal comparison to Haywood's strategies. Here is Freebairn's

straightforward rendering, which incorporates a few changes that are marked in the passage with brackets:

> Her beauty was above Description, those who have made it their Subject, and have been Eye-witnesses of it, all agreeing that it was impossible to see or even imagine a Face and Shape so perfect under the Sun. At her first Approach the Heart of the Beholders was made as soon sensible of her Beauty as their Eyes could view it. In so much that an Author of Quality has left on Record that never any Man saw her without falling under her Charms. In Fine, that I may be excus'd from dwelling longer on a Subject more proper for the Imagination than Description, let my Reader form the most distinct Idea of a compleat Beauty [*blonde*], which his Fancy is capable of; and then it will after all, be but a faint Sketch of the incomparable Original [*et je ne scai pas encore si on aura rencontré le portrait de Marie*]. The very Pictures of her, which were taken from the Life, made as great impression on the Eyes and Hearts of the Spectators, as the Sight of the most celebrated modern Beauty now a Days can. Hardly could any Person look upon them without entertaining a Passion for the Original, of which these were but faint Resemblances.
>
> *Brantosme* reports, that *Charles* the Ninth of *France* never passed where any of them were hung up, without stopping, gazing at, and dropping some passionate Expressions of that Princess; amongst many others that he look'd upon *Francis* the Second his Brother, as the happiest Man upon Earth, however short his Life and Reign were, since he had enjoyed so beautiful a Creature, the Possession of whom no earthly Pleasure could equal, or his wishes surmount.[52]

Haywood adheres to the idea of Mary Stuart's beauty, but her version exemplifies how amplification and omission could work together to intensify feeling. Note how she truncates the report, and then adds *prosopopoeia* as her own conclusion to the passage:

> —As to the Beauty of her Person, all who have been Eye-Witnesses of it, agree, that it is impossible for Imagination to form an Idea by the thousandth part so lovely, so enchanting!— the first Sight of her in a moment found the way from the Eye to the Heart!—A certain Author of Quality affirms, that no Man

could look on her without Desire—Charles the Ninth, according to Monsieur Brantosme, never pass'd by her Picture, as it hung in a Gallery in the Palace, but he stopp'd short, and however accompany'd and busied, burst out into the most passionate Expressions—among others, he has been heard to say,—*Happy! happy brother! thou hadst enough of Life and Empire, short as was thy Reign, in the possession of so exquisite a Charmer.*[53]

The quick rhythm in this shortened passage, emphasized with the addition of exclamations and dashes leading up to Charles' emotive expostulation on Mary Stuart's beauty, reaches its greatest velocity in the final sentence where Charles' exclamations are expressed as verbal palpitations of desire. This last sentence, a classic example of *prosopopoeia*, transforms the narrator's report into a character's direct discourse and is an especially effective use of the figure for vividness, not least because the exclamation jumps out of the prose as if the expository narration is unable to contain Charles' feeling. Here, as with her alterations to Boursault, Haywood's use of traditional amplification turns on affectivity, and more specifically, a passion characterized by the bursting rapidity of desire and a rhetorical rhythm that builds to a heightened conclusion. Like other libertine translators, Haywood took creative freedoms, but her particular imprint on the sources is most visible in the pulsating declamation and climactic emotional states of the characters. Haywood wrote in the preface to her version of Boursault: "I have made it my Care not to exceed the meaning wherever I have heighten'd the Expression."[54] Ratcheting up the emotive passages is also characteristic of Haywood's own amatory fiction, a genre that, as Ros Ballaster explains, is "explicitly erotic in its concentration on the representation of sentimental love" and marked by an "extravagant rhetoric of desire."[55] Gabrielle Starr has written about Haywood's "hypertrophic figures of emotion" in *Love in Excess*, concurring that Haywood's early work oversteps some implicit boundary regarding the expression of feeling in narrative.[56] Haywood's liberties in translation, corresponding with the direction of her own fiction, consistently moved toward affective extremes.

At the same time, she helped foster, as Ros Ballaster argues, the perception of the novel as a feminized form of literary production and consumption in both France and England.[57] Haywood's translations performed a similar function. Authors' names were infrequently used on title pages of prose fictions, but Haywood's translations, many of which prominently foregrounded female voices and characters, emphasized her presence as a female mediator over the original author. Haywood's *The*

Disguis'd Prince: or, the Beautiful Parisian (1728), an amatory novel translated from a French source first published in 1679, gave no credit to its author, Jean de Préchac. In her proposal letter for subscriptions for the *Letters From a Lady of Quality*, Haywood had promised her subscribers a novel "from the Famous Mr. Bursault," but when it appeared, Haywood's name alone appeared on the translation: "Translated from the French by Mrs. Haywood." The English edition had also eliminated the elaborate paratext in Boursault's original, which included a fable, an introductory letter "A Madame *** qui envoya à l'auteur les lettres suivantes" [to Madame *** who sent the following letters to the author], and a note to the reader. Haywood's name is thus associated directly with the "lady" writer of the letters and not their male author, directly linking the female narrator to the woman novelist and translator. Like her other translations, Boisguilbert's account of Mary Stuart concerns a female subject, and it was some fifty years old when Haywood translated it, although it came out at a time when Mary Stuart's letters were reprinted and a crop of new biographies were published. Here again, the original author's name was not on the translation's title page. The amplified style of her version already allied it with the novel, but Haywood also omitted all Boisguilbert's footnotes on the source material for the history (which Freebairn includes and expands so as to promote his version as a national history of the Scots), and she omitted his subtitle "nouvelle historique" to emphasize instead the female subject and her story: *Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots being the Secret History of her Life and the Real Causes of all Her Misfortunes*. The presentation of the book reiterates, as Jayne Lewis suggests, its "unique intimacy, if not an identity" between Haywood as translator and Mary Stuart.[58] Haywood's *The Life of Madam De Villesache Written by a Lady, who was an Eye-witness of the greatest part of her Adventures, and faithfully Translated from her French Manuscript* (1727), again presents her as the mediator of a female character, and though this is a pseudo-translation, it is practically indistinguishable from her translations.[59] The consistency of Haywood's association with femininity, with Frenchness, and with novels seems all the more calculated, given that two of her other translations which do not fit neatly into this *oeuvre*—Crébillon's erotic novel *Le Sopha* and Prévost's *Mémoires d'un honnête homme*—were published without Haywood's name or reference to her.[60]

Haywood began translating and writing during a period when French novels of passion were among the most popular narratives on both sides of the Channel, a trend exemplified by the *Lettres portugaises*, which was reprinted eleven times between 1678 and 1716, and was the progenitor of Boursault's epistolary novel among others. Informed by a French novel-

istic tradition already in place in Britain, Haywood's translations, like her own work, appear consistently driven by a thematics and language of desire for its own sake. Critics of the eighteenth-century novel recognize this concentrated strain of affect as retrograde not only because of its exaggeration, but also because of its restriction of feeling to socially and personally destructive forms which belonged to a literary aesthetic of the previous century. The deployment of rhetorical tropes like *amplificatio*, and the deployment of passion as the narrative impetus, placed Haywood in the restrictive niche of feminized cross-Channel *nouvelles*. While translation practices continued to be free with affect, and as the novel field simultaneously developed as a genre trained on the portrayal and solicitation of affect, Haywood's selective concentration on desire on the one hand, and its extravagance on the other, were transformed into a more integrated use of sentiment in narrative. This new purpose of infidelity was sympathetic interest.

Pierre Antoine de La Place: Making Attachments

Like Eliza Haywood, Pierre Antoine de La Place was a novelist, playwright, and translator. His own works mostly long forgotten, La Place's numerous translations from English, including novels and individual dramatic works as well as an eight-volume collection of translations of British drama, are often cited as influential, for La Place single-handedly provided French readers with a representative selection of English literature hitherto unavailable. During the middle decades of the eighteenth century when La Place was most productive, Englishness was becoming a new mark of the transmissibility of the midcentury sentimental novel in the way that Frenchness had been for Haywood and an earlier generation.[61] La Place's choices are, in fact, a good cross section of the English novel of sensibility, and include a version of Sarah Fielding's *David Simple*, arguably the first example of the "man of feeling,"[62] and the first French versions of Henry Fielding's *Tom Jones*, the *History of Charlotte Summers*, Clara Reeve's *The Two Mentors*, and her gothic tale *The Old English Baron*. La Place's own fiction used English characters and settings, and focusing on characters whose nobility of sentiment and virtue lead them to ultimate happiness, he follows some of the sentimental conventions of the novels he translated.

La Place's most influential work was not, however, one of the many contemporary sentimental novels he translated, but his translation of Aphra Behn's *Oronooko*. Published in 1745, it was the first version of Behn's novel in French, the most popular of La Place's translations, and one of the most popular novels in France in the period.[63] La Place's translation of Behn's eyewitness account of the royal slave was one of many adaptations in the long and varied afterlife of *Oronoko*, falling in the lull between two other sentimentalizing versions of the story—Thomas Southerne's tragicomic drama, which had appeared in 1695, and John Hawkesworth's dramatic adaptation appearing in 1759.[64] La Place treated all his source texts without regard for strict fidelity, omitting some passages and amplifying others to intensify the affective dimension of the original. In his version of Behn's novel, he altered phrasing throughout, changed the roles of some characters, intervened in the plot, and changed the ending by adding a new section of his own called "Histoire d'Imoinda." In Behn's tale, Imoinda comes to her end quietly, stabbed and mutilated by her husband's hand rather than suffer her own and her child's enslavement. La Place's "Histoire d'Imoinda," a self-told tale, and another classic example of *prosopopoeia* used to vivify character, picks up the story after Byam's attack. Byam threatens Oroonoko and his friend Jamoan (Oroonoko's former captive and close friend in Coromantien who was also sent to Surinam), and Oroonoko is left for dead, while Imoinda is rescued by Jamoan. The two find their way back to the Carib village visited earlier in Behn's narrative. It is a safe haven from the white threat, and for a time, it appears that Imoinda and her newborn will remain permanently with them, since her child is to be named sovereign of the native nation. Then, through an unforeseen happenstance, Oroonoko has survived, and finds his wife at the Carib village. In La Place's version, the novel ends with their safe return to Africa.

As Lillian Cobb noted long ago, La Place's altered version transforms "une histoire basée sur la realité en un recit tout à fait Romanesque" [a story based on reality into a fully novelistic tale].[65] Most readers have concurred that La Place's version impoverishes the original by assimilating Behn into a French novelistic tradition.[66] Behn's novel has long fascinated critics because it mixes a heroic romance imbued with tragic conventions and a nonfictional account revelatory of early modern ideologies of race and empire. Admittedly, much of Behn's novel is lost in La Place's version; he sanitized the story of its graphic violence, as did other adapters, and sacrificed the pathos of Behn's narrative by substituting a happy ending in which the virtuous characters are rewarded. His Imoinda, unlike Behn's character, is racially and ethnically ambiguous. In the dramatic adapta-
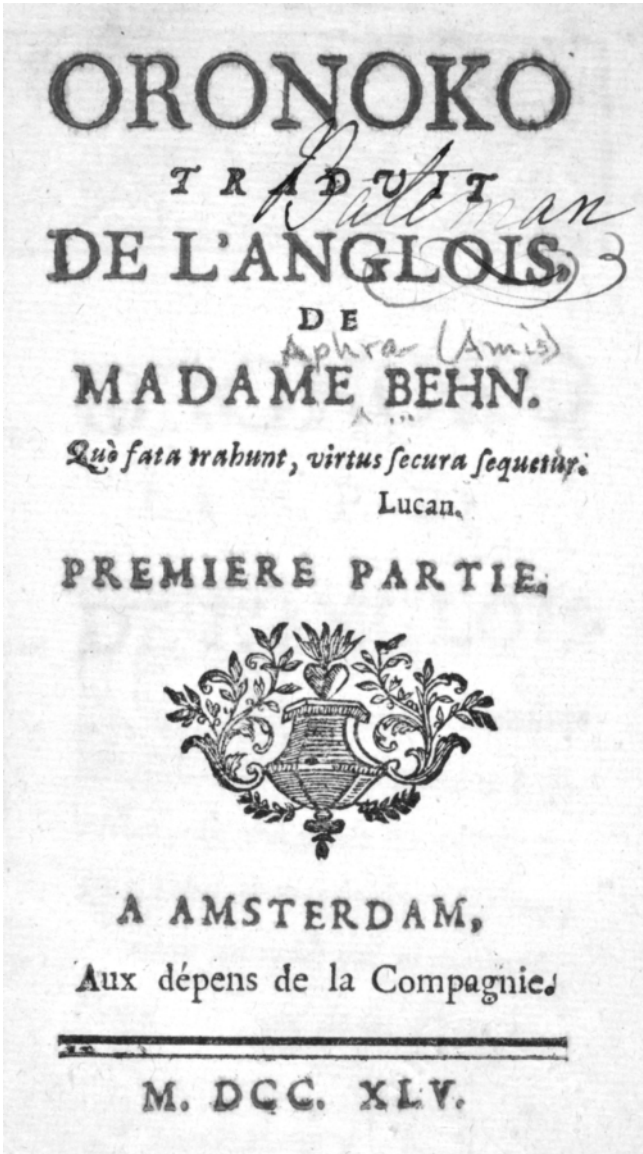
Figure 4. Aphra Behn, *Oronoko, ou Le prince nègre*, trans. Pierre Antoine de La Place (Amsterdam, 1745), title page. Princeton University Library.

tions, Imoinda, the "black Venus" of Behn's narrative, is a white woman. But La Place, who was familiar with Southerne's play, gives readers neither Behn's character nor a white female character, inconsistently identifying Imoinda as both the daughter of an African family and the daughter of Oroonoko's French tutor. Finally, because La Place's extended story is told in Imoinda's voice, he also sidelines both Behn's female eyewitness narrator and the character of Oroonoko. Forsaking Behn's heroic tragedy, her narrative voice, and engaging in new racial ambiguities, La Place's version is extremely unfaithful, but this is not simply a matter of Frenchification. Instead, the amplification of the novel in the addition of Imoinda's own story illustrates the newly articulated aim of "interest" as a goal for the translator's agency: "Ceux qui sçavent l'Anglois, et qui liront *Oronoko*, dans l'original, s'apercevront seuls des changemens, que j'ai crû devoir faire, pour donner de la liaison à certains faits, pour en adoucir d'autres, et pour développer tout l'intérêt." [Those who know English, and will read *Oroonoko* in the original, will only perceive changes, that I have felt obliged to make, to make the links between certain facts, to soften others, and to develop the whole interest.][67] This pursuit of interest in the "Histoire d'Imoinda" remakes Behn's tragic romance on the model of the new cultural currency of sympathy, though La Place's "Histoire d'Imoinda" is not merely an easy graft of the "man of feeling" onto the character of Jamoan, or that of female sensibility onto Imoinda. La Place fosters "milder feelings" and softens the novel's pathos in ways that reveal how translations would continue to home in on narrative's affective agenda to distinguish interest from the heightening of feeling. And because La Place's liberties alter the ways in which the text thematizes racial and cultural difference, he helps sound out the potential of enlivening interest to interrogate the operation of transmitting feeling. La Place wholly alters what Laura Brown called Behn's "sentimental identification" of Oroonoko with white Europeans, not least by dismissing the white narrator and focusing entirely on the sympathetic relations between the African characters and the native Caribs in the "Histoire d'Imoinda."[68] Although La Place seems to displace European sensibilities onto African and Carib peoples in an imperial context not unlike Behn, Imoinda's story takes the liberty to thematize sympathy across cultures which fosters interest, first of all, by distancing the white, metropolitan, middle-class reader who no longer has a kin-figure with which to identify in this new ending. The attachments that constitute the new interest in this added story are instead a means of shuttling between idealized humanistic sympathy and an ethics of cultural difference.

Initially, La Place uses infidelity for the sake of interest by creating new interactions between Imoinda and Jamoan. In Behn's story, Jamoan makes a brief appearance as the African prince of good qualities whom Oroonoko defeats and then befriends. Throughout the translation, La Place enlarged Jamoan's role. He is placed on the ship with the slave trader who captures Oroonoko, and is found again in the entourage that visits the Indian village. Despite his confession to Oroonoko of his love for Imoinda, Jamoan is a constant and sympathetic friend who both shares and soothes their sufferings. In the "Histoire d'Imoinda," Jamoan becomes a central character. He is first seen watching over Imoinda as she awakes from a dead faint: "En ouvrant les yeux, je fus fort étonnée de me trouver seule, avec Jamoan, qui fondoit en larmes." [Opening my eyes, I was very surprised to find myself alone, with Jamoan, who dissolved in tears.][69] As she revives, she recalls: "Jamoan me consoloit, en gémissant avec moi." [Jamoan consoled me, in moaning with me.][70] La Place's story develops a sympathetic correspondence of feeling between Imoinda and Jamoan, sustaining the characters' shared affectivity with professions of feeling—that is, using *energeia* to vivify the characters' affective states with tears, moans, and cries. This is a stark contrast to Behn's narrative, where even the amorous relationship between Oroonoko and Imoinda is clothed in the code of honor and oaths of loyalty; declamations of love are sparing in a text that frequently sticks to reported emotive states that tell rather than show feeling.[71]

The centerpiece of La Place's "Histoire d'Imoinda," however, is the Carib tribe's reception of Imoinda and Jamoan, and specifically the relationship between the prophet, his wife, and the pregnant Imoinda. La Place uses the short scene of the Carib tribe in the original as the hint for this new appended plot and its alternate ending for the novel. In the English original, the single, brief meeting with the Caribs is both a self-consciously constructed encounter with the native other, and an intriguingly intimate meeting. Early in the novel, the natives are described as noble savages, but Behn later explains that European imperialists trade with them, and she mentions recent conflicts due to the Dutch presence—accurate details of the situation in Surinam during the time Behn resided there, though inconsistent with her initial description of them.[72] As the three Europeans, including Behn, approach and penetrate a Carib village, the residents are not merely surprised but amazed at them. At first they are unable to speak to one another because the interpreter who was brought along is told to stay back, as is Oroonoko. The Carib group surrounds the Europeans and touches the European bodies and their clothing. The natives' reaction to the whites is "*tepeeme*," or "numberless wonders," as later translated by the

interpreter. Their eagerness to touch rather than speak, the contrived absence of an interpreter, and their awe emphasize the divide between Europeans and the innocent Caribs, in contrast with her African characters who resemble Europeans in all but skin color. Elsewhere in the novel, Behn indicates the natives' role in colonial economic and political relationships, no less important than that of the European imperialists or the African slaves, but here the Caribs are discovered in their natural habitat and then left there when the meeting concludes as if to portray a scenario of first contact.[73]

One of the few places in Behn's narrative which is rife with ambiguities, this scene of native encounter is the locus of La Place's own creative intervention. The Caribs are not subject to the tragic pathos that pervades Behn's narrative, and her oscillation between historical reality and mythification allows La Place to rewrite with his own more clarified sentimental purpose. The story of the new encounter unfurls in sympathetic correspondences between the African and Carib characters. Early in Imoinda's stay, the African pair and the Carib couple find they can communicate despite their mutually incomprehensible languages:

> Comme nous n'entendions point leur langage, ni eux le nôtre, nous leur fîmes comprendre, par gestes, autant que nous le pûmes, que nous étions des infortunés, qui venoient implorer leur secours, contre des ennemis qui nous persécutoient injustement. Ils nous répondirent (de la même manière) que nous pouvions compter sur eux.[74]

> [As we did not at all understand their language, nor they ours, we made them comprehend, by gestures, as well as we could, that we were unfortunates, who came to implore their aid, against enemies who unjustly persecuted us. They responded (in the same manner) that we could count on them.]

Despite the lack of an interpreter, the Caribs comprehend these foreigners, respond, and are understood as if the mere desire to understand were a sufficient condition for clear communication. Their humanity alone supplies the gestures with meaning because, La Place implies, feelings like persecution and offers of protection are sympathetically communicable. Translation seems nearly superfluous here because of the transmissibility of feeling. When Jamoan and Imoinda first entered the Carib village and met the tribe, they were received, La Place writes, "avec toute l'humanité possible" [with all possible humanity]. In a later, corrected edition of the translation, La Place emended the phrase to "avec leur humanité ordinaire"

[with their customary humanity].[75] The alteration is significant because it eliminates the implication that the natives' humanity was a mere possibility, not entirely ordinary or natural. He clarifies that the tribe's customary humanity is both natural and yet it is also an ideal state that signals their inherent benevolence and sympathetic disposition. La Place's amplification of Behn's story into a sustained encounter between African and Carib thus develops interest by transforming the heroism and the tragic denouement of the source into a sentimental novel which thematizes transcultural sympathy and its rewards. The reader's interest in this version relies, as it often does, on a mimetic relation to the feelings of the characters. The interest that the Carib couple show in Imoinda, her unborn child, and in Jamoan is reciprocated, and this expression of benevolent human feeling elicits the reader's sympathetic attachment. One reviewer responded to La Place's version with high praise, signaling its success by replicating the unremitting sentimentality of La Place's translation in his own reading experience: "[I]l vous attachera, il vous remuera, il vous attendrira." [You will grow attached, it will move you, it will touch you.][76]

La Place's amplification stretches the compass of sympathy across cultural, linguistic, and racial gaps, and he suggests that the condition for sympathy is not an effect of translation as mediation, but an effect of "humanité ordinaire." La Place's story is not, however, a straightforward expression of the Enlightenment's philosophical premise that sympathy is guaranteed by nothing other than our humanity. Imoinda and Jamoan are received by the Carib prophet and his wife, and for a time it appears that Imoinda will become part of the tribe and that her son will be given up as the new native Peiée or prophet-leader of the tribe. Her fidelity to Oroonoko's memory is unshaken, however, and she hopes only for his survival and return. When her hopes are unexpectedly fulfilled, and the pair reunite, La Place simply disentangles the two cultures. Oroonoko miraculously walks into the village, and the Carib couple are not threatened by the potential loss of their next prophet but again express mutual sympathy: "Le Peiée et sa femme partageoient notre joie." [The Peiee and his wife shared our joy.][77] The Carib couple's final act is to relinquish their desire for cultural assimilation and let Oroonoko and his family return home.

Lynn Festa has recently provided a nuanced account of the eighteenth-century sentimental novel in the context of British and French imperial expansion that reorients the problematic of sympathy in Enlightenment discourse. Rather than focusing, as other studies have done, on sympathy as it relates to individualism and sociability, or to gender, she is concerned with the mobility of feeling in an age confronting the incorpora-

tion of others. Thus, she revises the view that sentimental identification is primarily formative of citizenships and national identities, as well as revising new historicist criticism on sentimentality and empire.[78] Instead of understanding European expansionism as "sanitized and mystified in the literature of sentiment," as Mary Louise Pratt argues, Festa's study uncovers how sentimentality mediates the mobility of sympathy, arguing that the sentimental is a rhetorical mode that masters the movement of sympathy.[79] For Festa, the sentimental mode helps sort out who is worthy of interest, and thus it contains sympathy and its indiscriminate operations. La Place's amplified version of Behn's tale illustrates that sentimentality is not enclosed in the national community or linked only with anticonquest, which masks imperial domination with feeling, and La Place taps the mediating power of the sentimental for sympathetic relations demarcating thresholds of humanity, as Festa argues, though his translation idealizes rather than contains transmissible feeling, in part through self-imposed limits. Focusing on interest or attaching the reader to the story of Imoinda, La Place gives in to a surplus of feeling. The sympathetic relations spread, emblematizing the transmissibility of the source text in the transmission of benevolent feelings within the narrative, but the dangers of too much sympathy are not apparent here. Transcultural feeling is neither self-destructive nor culturally threatening, for the happy circumstance of Oroonoko's return allows transmissible feeling to come to its natural limit. In Imoinda's story, sympathy is associated with humanity as such, but along with one's attachment to another comes a detachment, and along with universalism, cultural integrity: the Caribs share both the joy of receiving Jamoan, Imoinda, and her child, and the reconstitution of their family and nation with their departure.

       The tactics of omission and amplification, especially amplifications that employ *prosopopoeia* and *energeia*, were rhetorical exercises that went back to antiquity, but were still being put to use in eighteenth-century fiction translations. Translators' freedoms were not, I have attempted to demonstrate, freedoms taken for their own sake in a defensive gesture of their agency as writers. Nor is it the case, as many critics assume, that translators were simply passive instruments of national literary norms, altering the original to match a domestic literary model. Freedoms in translating were a form of agency, but as they elaborated a new model for libertine translation, mid-eighteenth-century translators also began refining the purpose of amplification as interest. Prévost wrote in his preface to the translation of Richardson's *Sir Charles Grandison*: "Après avoir verifié, plus d'une fois, que les grandes sources de l'interêt sont dans le Tragique, j'ai voulu tenter si sans remuer l'âme avec tant de force, on ne pouvait pas

l'attacher aussi sensiblement, par de plus douces impressions." [After having verified, more than once, that the great springs of interest are in the Tragic, I wanted to try whether, without stirring the soul with so much force, one could not attach it as feelingly by gentler impressions.][80] Translators expressed a keen desire to "attach" readers with "gentler impressions," renovating common European rhetorical strategies in a shared cross-Channel strategy, one that forged a productive alliance between fiction's transmissibility and the sentimental mode that marked midcentury novels.

Eighteenth-century translation practices thus do not come to light by analyzing the differences between translated fictional texts and their sources. What is at stake is historicizing translators' liberties, and how entrenched infidelities served the codes of prose fiction as it became the novel. In previous chapters I have argued that prose fiction traveling back and forth across the Channel was not a transnational phenomenon in a fully modern sense—that is, an exchange of national literary productions deeply fraught with the difficulty of bringing the representation of one language, culture, people, and mores into another cultural system. Translation was at a juncture; in many ways, it resembled an era when the whole of literature was translative, and the field of prose fiction especially so, and in other ways, it bore the marks of a modern trade of national novels. Within the larger ebb of premodern translativity and the shift to translation as a distinctly cultural phenomenon, rendering practices, and specifically the widespread and purposeful use of infidelity, reveal that the loosest kinds of transportability still characterized the prose fiction field. At the same time, the very stability of translators' choices of particular infidelities on both sides of the Channel directed the consolidation of the genre. Because the routine practice of deviation from the source focused more intently on interest by the middle of the century, it enabled the novel's formation as a sentimental narrative mode, not least because the mobilization of the text in translation was emblematized by the novel's thematics of circulatory feeling, or sympathy. Interest illuminates how translating, still informed by its premodern modes, helped constitute the emerging genre as a thoroughly cross-Channel one, with the capacity, as La Place shows, for sympathetic identifications that necessarily go abroad. The dissemination of fiction took place on the open circuits of feeling, but simultaneously ushered multiple prose fictional models into the emerging novel. The next two chapters pursue this investigation of the emerging genre of the novel, but go back to the juncture in the history of culture's relation to translation in order to show how the novel comes into its own by means of a productive tension between its domestication and its worldliness.

4

The Cross-Channel Emergence of the Novel

There is ample evidence that in the middle decades of the eighteenth century, French and British writers expressed a new belief in the incommensurability of languages, and hence began to see formidable new obstacles to literary translating. Many argued that as texts moved outside their nation of origin, the unique qualities of one nation's language, literature, and culture were transformed by the translator in order to be admitted into another. This new belief would seem to be linked to the spurt of modern nation building and nationalism that took place in Britain and France during this period. This chapter investigates translating on the plane of French and British relations—their traditionally close-knit but increasingly divisive relationship in the mid-eighteenth century. The question, however, is not when the nation came to play its cultural role in translation, and in the translation of novels in particular, but how and why the nation's role in translating came to the fore in the middle decades of the century just as the novel emerged. My goal, then, is not to trace the nationalization of translating and how it informed novels in the cross-Channel zone or explain how a newly nationalized novel field came to be reified by translation in the mid-eighteenth century. Instead, I argue first that we have generally mischaracterized prose fiction translation as a national affair. Admittedly, a bundled national framework of language, literature, and culture began to inform translation in a sudden growth of cross-Channel manias and phobias in the mid-eighteenth century, but we have not adequately grasped the concomitant denationalizing strands in translating. Translation's cultural work belongs both to a nationalizing impulse and to a cosmopolitan one. These are not simply opposing forces, or alternately applied to transla-

tion depending on the writer, but the result of a complex cultural discourse of nation-based cosmopolitanism peculiar to the mid-eighteenth-century cross-Channel arena.

I have been arguing throughout this study that translations do not exist separately from the novel field as a whole, demonstrating that in rendering practices as in the circulation of translations as print commodities, the novel field was translational. I take up that argument here, except that in cross-Channel relations more broadly, it is not simply that the lines are blurry. The incursion of nationalization meant that novels were now thought to be indelibly "French" or "English" and transmitted as avatars of a national culture, but as the cosmopolitanizing impetus in translation reveals, they were also above or beyond nations. I begin with a revisionist explanation of the nation and cosmopolitanism in relation to eighteenth-century translating, and then analyze the ways in which translations of Richardson's novels performed a new kind of national identification, soon to be recuperated, however, by a denationalizing tide of response. In standard accounts of the English novel, Richardson's meteoric rise to fame coincides with the emergence of the national novel in Britain. Anna Barbauld's laudatory biography written at the turn of the nineteenth century helped secure Richardson's role as "the father of the modern novel of the serious or pathetic kind."[1] In the last several decades, critics have focused less on Richardson as progenitor of a genre, but his novels are often seen as the foundation of far-reaching cultural phenomena. He is thought responsible, for example, for emergent middle-class consciousness by relocating "quite radically the source of social authority," as Carol Houlihan Flynn states. Or, as Nancy Armstrong argues, Richardson defines the modern middle class through the "disembodied power of writing."[2] He is also considered responsible for the ideology of the female domestic sphere, or modern gender ideology more broadly. Such arguments for Richardson's impact easily conflate Richardson's specifically national role with the modernity of eighteenth-century culture more generally. I believe the tendency to endow Richardson with both national and supranational import hearkens back to an original conflation made in the eighteenth century, and that this conflation was at the core of the emergence of the novel. *Pamela* and *Clarissa* were subjected to an outpouring of cross-Channel attention in translations, reviews, and rewritings that exceeded most novels of the period. The translations and attending discursive apparatus to these novels were a means of nationalizing the novels, for what can be national if it is not recognized as such by an international public? Yet, when Richardson's novels were sent out into the cosmopolitan sphere of exchange, na-

tionalizing claims were met first with total resistance, and then accepted in effusive testimonials to their universal quality. Prose fictions, once seamlessly transferred back and forth across the Channel, were now emerging as the modern, national novel on the one hand, but only to the extent that they were also supposed universal. This change from a libertine translation system to a national-cosmopolitan one, I argue, brings *the* novel into being. The emergence of the genre is not, then, a means of distinguishing a new literary form from an old one, but takes place in the conflation of contradictory claims elicited when translation's role is altered.

The Cultural Work of Translation

Eighteenth-century Europe saw the final stages of the transition from Latin to the vernaculars and, with it, an irreversible hardening of attitudes about language difference and translation. Throughout the Renaissance and seventeenth century, vernaculars were treated as interchangeable media; authors acquired "abundant linguistic equipment" so that one could "change one's language as one changes one's clothes, as circumstances may require."[3] By the eighteenth century, changing languages was no longer accomplished with the same facility. John Locke, among the first to emphasize the incommensurability of languages, wrote in his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* that every language has "a great store of Words . . . which have not any answer in another" so that "the terms of our law . . . will hardly find words that answer them in the Spanish or Italian, no scanty languages; much less, I think, could any one translate them into the Caribee or Westoe tongues."[4] One eighteenth-century man of letters adequately summed up the new theory of linguistic relations: "Chaque langue a son génie, son caractère, ses usages, ses privilèges, ses immunitez, & ses grâces particulières." [Each language has its genius, its character, its customs, its privileges, its immunities, and its particular graces.][5] The French philosopher Condillac also hypothesized that each language was unique because it bore the stamp of the nation and its customs. This national linguistic character imprints itself upon the individual, Condillac argues, when a man of genius latches onto the character of his language and upholds it in his writings so that others follow him and continue to enrich the language with this native genius.[6] The genius of a language was an indefinable quality whose origins and evolution were a matter of pure speculation in Enlightenment writings, but the effects on eighteenth-century translation were

more tangible. The task now seemed rife with difficulty if not impossibility. In the realm of literary translation specifically, abbé Le Blanc was one of several French writers who reinforced the immutable differences between languages by arguing that much English literature would never be accessible in French translation. He singles out Shakespeare: "Quelqu'esprit et quelqu'imagination qu'il y ait dans Shakespear, il ne sera jamais bien connu que de ceux qui le liront en anglois. On ne peut le traduire sans le tronquer à chaque page; et quand on l'aura tronqué, ce ne sera plus lui." [Whatever wit and imagination there may be in Shakespeare, he will never be well known except by those who will read him in English. One cannot translate him without truncating on each page; and when one will have truncated, it will no longer be him.][7] At a time when the consciousness of the globe's vernaculars seemed to be exploding, this skepticism about translatability unleashed a new sense of the burden of learning multiple languages. Where once a single lingua franca united the vernaculars, there was now an "endless Fatigue of Translations," as Diego de Saavedra Fajardo called it.[8]

The new barriers to translation in the cross-Channel arena were multiple: philosophical skepticism about translatability, practical concerns about the feasibility and quality of translation, and a history of enmity between England and France.[9] In a notice about the *Histoire de Martin Scriblerus*, a translation of Pope's *Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus*, the French reviewer complained of the inundation of translations from English that might be better left behind in their coffeehouses. The French have enough of their own literary drugs, he said, why should they want others'?[10] In England, translation was even more consistently defined as a corrupting influence and translations from French in particular seen as a symptom of national degradation. Aphra Behn wrote in her preface to the translation of Fontenelle's *A Discovery of New Worlds* (1688): "It is Modish to Ape the French in everything. . . . I wish in this and several other things, we . . . did not chop and change our Language, as we do our Cloths, at the Pleasure of every *French* Tailor."[11] In the preface to his *Dictionary*, Samuel Johnson aired the view that translations from French not only were a bad habit, but contaminated the English language: "If an academy should be established for the cultivation of our stile . . . let them, instead of compiling grammars and dictionaries, endeavour with all their influence, to stop the licence of translatours, whose idleness and ignorance, if it be suffered to proceed, will reduce us to babble a dialect of *France*."[12] French novels in particular were perceived as a threat to the English and their literature. "French plays and Novels too, are lik'd the best, and French Translating late much in request" the preface to *The French Rogue* (1704) stated, and thus, he contin-

ues, "their Vice became a Fashion too."[13] The taint of French fiction translations on domestic literary production was a threat, but rather than remark upon the fact of cultural rivalry, midcentury writers expressed quasi-paranoia about the damage wrought by translating.[14] They also asserted that a new, national reign of novels was upon them, and that a new crop of distinctly English novels cured them of the debasement of prose fiction by translation. Francis Coventry lauded Henry Fielding for helping liberate English novels from the imitation of French fictional narratives which had hitherto been the norm: "France first gave birth to this strange monster [the romance, novel, or tale], and England was proud to import it among the rest of her neighbour's follies."[15] In 1751, a reviewer of Smollett's *Peregrine Pickle* confidently asserted that the "flood of novels, tales, romances, and other monsters of the imagination, which have been either wretchedly translated, or even more unhappily imitated, from the *French*" died out in favor of a naturalized English novel: "[T]his forced and unnatural transplantation could not long thrive."[16]

The calls for a halt to literary translation and to translations of novels in particular by Le Blanc, Johnson, and others would seem to indicate that the English and French harbored resistance to one another. Several scholars have argued, in fact, that British and French nationalism in the eighteenth century grew out of their reactions to their cross-Channel "other." Frances Acomb said decades ago that French nationalism of the revolutionary era was "a reaction against admiration of English institutions and English ideas, against English imperialism, and against the national character of Englishmen."[17] In a recent study, Edmond Dziembowski has argued that a new patriotism in France had already emerged two decades earlier in opposition to the English during the Seven Years' War.[18] The arguments are similar for British nationalism. Gerald Newman's *The Rise of English Nationalism* and Linda Colley's *Britons* have catalogued a wide variety of popular images and discourses to show that nationalism, in England and Britain, respectively, was interactive rather than monolithic, forged through an antithetical relationship with the French. Colley describes the "manic obsessiveness that betrayed their mutual antagonism and anxiety."[19] Newman explains the consequences of this obsession: "To be truly English was to live up to a stereotype generated in anti-Frenchness."[20] Newman shows further that mid-eighteenth-century foreign influences, primarily French, were likely to be described as contaminating and corrupting.[21] This intimate enmity reached a peak in midcentury franco- and anglophobia, marked politically by the Seven Years' War and culturally by a campaign against cross-Channel contacts.

If the new obstacles to translating seemed to grow out of national-ism, it is just as easy, however, to demonstrate an opposite reaction of mutual admiration that fostered translation. Contesting historians' em-phasis on francophobia, Robin Eagles has argued that francophilia defined English cultural life. Indicative of the eagerness to import French culture, Eagles notes the production of seventy-one plays on London stages in the second half of the eighteenth century which were translated or imitated from French, or had French subject matter.[22] In France, anglophilia, or anglomania as it was usually called, was even more prevalent in the mid-century, corroborated by all the popular novels and stories that pretended to be from, by, or about the English, and by the many new translations of English literary works.[23] In the preface to his *Idée de la Poesie Anglaise* (1749–1756), a collection of prose translations of English poems, Antoine Yart wrote that the English had long been translating and imitating the French, and it was right to return the favor.[24] Enthusiastically engaging in the prospect of an exchange rather than the one-way flow, Yart exhorts other translators to follow his lead: "[E]nrichissons nos terres de ces plantes étrangères; cultivons-les, et que l'art leur donne une beauté qu'elles n'ont point reçue de la nature." [Let us enrich our lands with these foreign plants; let us cultivate them and let art give them a beauty that they have not received from nature.][25] In 1754, Prévost commented that England and France had established "une sorte de commerce dans lequel nous faisions un échange des productions littéraires de notre patrie, commerce, au fond, préférable à celui qui attire en Europe l'or du nouveau monde" [a kind of commerce in which we exchanged the literary productions of our home-land, commerce, at heart, preferable to that which attracts the gold of the new world to Europe].[26] Both writers emphasize that translating was a productive commercial exchange and a form of national enrichment. If translation seemed to be a sign of national corruption for some, it was also promoted as a tool for the improvement of national literature.

I have adduced evidence for two apparently opposing attitudes toward the cultural work of translation across the Channel: nationalist resistance to translation, which some have characterized as a phobia, and the promotion of translation due to a philia or mania for one other. The former calls for a protective prohibition of translating while the nation develops its own literary output. The latter calls for translation in order to enrich one's own national literature. In both cases, the nation is the source and the would-be arbiter for the cultural effects of translation. Antoine Berman's *The Experience of the Foreign* is among the few full-length studies of translation as a fundamentally cultural phenomenon, and though Ber-

man focuses on German writers and translators in the romantic period, his argument provides a rich treatment of the opposing attitudes articulated by the eighteenth-century writers quoted earlier. Berman begins with the general premise that "[t]he very aim of translation—to open up in writing a certain relation to the Other, to fertilize what is one's own through the mediation of what is Foreign—is diametrically opposed to the ethnocentric structure of every culture," and later adds: "For a culture and a language threatened too much by this relation [to the foreign], there remains the temptation of a pure closure onto itself."[27] A nation can embrace or resist translation; nations, like individuals, can either open up to the other and "fertilize what is one's own" by translating, or remain closed. Berman's central argument is that Germany was open to the "law of the foreign," and translation thus played a key role in building German national literary identity. The German experience, as Berman states, was "the constitution of the self by the experience of the non-self," and this was "the very essence of *culture* for German classicism and idealism."[28] The role of translation in English-French cultural relations described as either "philia" and "phobia" presumes Berman's view of national individuation. For Berman, as for many scholars of literary translation, the telos of translation is national and literary selfhood, an identity that can come into being through a resistance to translating the other or through an openness to that other.

These assumptions about the aims of translation with respect to national literary identity ought to be questioned, not least because they rely on an analogy between nations and individuals and the application of processes of individuation that are not necessarily transferable to collectives like nations. More concretely, however, the premise that the nation is the sole framework for translating, and that the nation and its literature in the eighteenth century were in search of an identity through translation, does not represent the varied and wide-ranging set of attitudes articulated in the primary sources. English-French cultural relations and the role of translation in this relationship are far more complex than the terms "phobia" and "philia" suggest. First, it is worth noting that writers did not necessarily align themselves in one camp or another with regard to the cultural value of translation, but express both openness and resistance to translation at the same time. Élie Fréron, for example, wrote an encomium on the mutually improving effects of translation, but it slid quickly into a nationalistic barb about the inherent lack of civility in the English language: "Je ne conçois pas, Monsieur, comment une nation si délicate et si spirituelle peut se servir d'un pareil langage pour composer des ouvrages d'esprit." [I do not conceive, Sir, how so delicate and so spiritual a nation

can use such a language for composing literature.][29] In *Letters concerning the English Nation*, sometimes cited as the foundational text of anglomania, Voltaire defends translation. Wycherly imitated Molière, and Rochester and Oldham imitated Boileau. Voltaire himself engaged in imitation by including his loose translations of Shakespeare and Pope in the *Letters*, and his last letter on English poets ends by exhorting writers to take up vernacular *imitatio*:

> Les Anglais ont beaucoup profité des ouvrages de notre langue: nous devrions à notre tour emprunter d'eux, après leur avoir prêté; nous ne sommes venus, les Anglais et nous, qu'après les Italiens, qui en tout ont été nos maîtres, et que nous avons surpassés en quelque chose. Je ne sais à laquelle des trois nations il faudra donner la préférence; mais heureux celui qui sait sentir leurs différents mérites![30]

> [The *English* have reap'd very great Benefit from the Writers of our Nation, and therefore we ought, (since they have not scrupled to be in our Debt,) to borrow from them. Both the *English* and we came after the Italians, who have been our Instructors in all the Arts, and whom we have surpass'd in some. I cannot determine which of the three Nations ought to be honour'd with the Palm; but happy the Writer who could display their various Merits!]

In his *Essay Upon Epic Poetry*, which he wrote originally in English, Voltaire states that epics should be grounded on good judgment and "what belongs to good Sense, belongs to all the Nations of the World,"[31] but when he translated the essay himself into French, his appraisal of Milton's epic, *Paradise Lost*, went from being "the only Poem wherein are to be found in a perfect Degree that Uniformity which satisfies the Mind and that Variety which pleases the Imagination" to "un ouvrage plus singulier que natural, plus plein d'imagination que de grâces, et de hardiesse que de choix, dont le sujet est tout idéal, et qui semble n'être pas fait pour l'homme" [a more peculiar than natural work, more full of imagination than graces, of audacity than choice, in which the subject is wholly idealized and which seems not to be made for man].[32] Here Voltaire emphasizes Milton's peculiarity and his utter difference from a French classical tradition, and rather than advance imitation, he suggests the untranslatability and incommensurability of the vernaculars. Many writers oscillated between nationalist and non-

nationalist feelings about the exchange of literature in translation, capable of expressing both extremes practically in the same breath.

In order to unearth the whole panoply of eighteenth-century attitudes toward the cultural work of translation, it is important to note that the nationalistic resistance to cultural exchange was not only opposed by those who embraced the idea that translation produced a positive transformation of the nation's language and literature. Nationalistic agendas are sometimes wholly undermined in English-French relations, as writers recognized that little could be done to stop translating and imitating in the cross-Channel zone. Because bilingualism was common, and the history of trading and translating so venerable, linguistic and cultural affinities disturbed the imposition of a nation-frame for translation. A related countercurrent was the belief in the supranational value of translation. Translation was also meant to serve the republic of letters or humanity in toto, as the French translator Jean-Arnold Trochereau de La Berlière said in his preliminary remarks to his collection of translations of English poetry: "[C]'est un commerce, un échange mutuel d'esprit ... dont les profits n'ont de bornes que celles de l'entendement humain. Par là les connaissances, les lumières Philosophiques se multiplient, le sphère de nos idées s'étend, nos richesses littéraires s'augmentent." [It is a commerce, a mutual exchange of mind ... for which the limits of the profits are only those of human understanding. By this means, forms of knowledge, philosophical Enlightenment are multiplied, the sphere of our ideas extends itself, our literary wealth is augmented.][33] Because the terms "philia" and "phobia" assume that the nation-frame dominated all translation, they are inadequate to the task of encompassing all these strands of cross-Channel cosmopolitanism, by which I mean the possibilities for and practices of cultural mixing across the Channel, the ethical tolerance of each other's difference, and at the same time, the kind of Enlightenment humanism and universalism that fortifies their sense of culture as civilization. Cosmopolitanism did not necessarily circumvent or stand in opposition to the nation-frame for most writers in the period. In other words, we cannot substitute one dichotomy—philia and phobia—for another, that is, nationally inflected translation and cosmopolitan translation. As Walter Mignolo has argued, eighteenth-century cosmopolitanism was a "national cosmopolitanism." Locating the origins of cosmopolitanism in the Atlantic commercial circuit of the sixteenth century, Mignolo posits that early modern cosmopolitanism began with the *orbis Christianus*, a "world community of religious states" which dissolved during the Enlightenment with the rise of secularism, and in particular, the rights of man. Basing his notion

of national cosmopolitanism primarily on Kant, Mignolo argues that the rights of man was formulated "within the planetary consciousness of a cosmo-polis analogous to the law of nature, with Europe—the Europe of nations, specifically—as the frame of reference."[34] Kant's cosmopolitanism has "racial underpinnings and Eurocentric bias," which, Mignolo argues, "presupposes that it could only be thought out for one particular geo-political location: that of the heart of Europe, of the most civilized nations," and for Kant, this is England and France.[35]

As a frame of reference for cross-Channel translation, this nation-based cosmopolitanism identifies the nonnational work of translation and yet recognizes the nation as a cultural unit. The imbrication of nation and cosmopolis in the cross-Channel exchange does not, however, bear directly on a political-philosophical imaginary—a world republic of nations founded on the universal rights of man—as in most discussions of Enlightenment cosmopolitanism. As it pertains specifically to translating within Europe's core, cosmopolis is an extranational sphere of nations. Although eighteenth-century writing about the cosmopolitan frame of translation in the cross-Channel arena sometimes gestures toward the philosophical discourses of Enlightenment rationality and universalism, it is also closely related to the kind of interculturality that results from the proximity and intimacy of Britain and France. Consequently, national cosmopolitanism is often expressed in an ironic and satirical mode of international self-reflection. For example, attempts to differentiate between the English and French cultures are often ironic depictions of the assiduousness with which they in fact imitated one another in everything from fashions and the arts to vices and virtues. This is not to say that the ideal of cosmopolitanism collapses into irony in mid-eighteenth-century discourses. On the contrary, national cosmopolitanism is rooted in basic Enlightenment precepts about human progress, but in the cross-Channel cultural exchange, that idealism is allied with universality so long as it is coextensive with the notion of civilization. So, nation-based cosmopolitanism comes about at least in part by accumulating the culture and customs of other civilized nations. In order to demonstrate that nation-based cosmopolitanism was a widely circulated cultural discourse in the cross-Channel arena, I will draw on a variety of literary forms, including magazine articles, travel narratives, and theatrical comedies. These works are those that most clearly manifest the nexus of nationalism and cosmopolitanism in the mid-eighteenth-century cross-Channel sphere and help gauge the larger framework of translating in which the novel emerges.

Nation and Cosmopolis

A short article by Oliver Goldsmith in the *British Magazine* written in 1760 contains the story of a coffeehouse English gentleman, who "cocking his hat, and assuming such an air of importance as if he had possessed all the merit of the English nation in his own person," holds forth on national characters. He remarks that "the Dutch were a parcel of avaricious wretches; the French a set of flattering sycophants" and so on, making the tour of nations, rehearsing the catalogue of commonplaces, and then returning to the superiority of the English.[36] This gentleman would not say such things, the writer replies, if he had traveled abroad and examined the manners of nations with "great care and accuracy." Goldsmith's overbearing, proud Englishman and his rehearsal of European national types is an occasion for a lesson about the importance of understanding other cultures, but the lesson is couched in a nationally self-directed satire. The Englishman personifies the stubborn ignorance of "national prejudice," not least because he who reduces all other European peoples to crude caricatures embodies every European's equally unflattering image of the English national character as vain and insular.[37] John Shebbeare's *Letters on the English Nation* (1755), a pseudo-translation that purports to relate an Italian traveler's observations on England, states that most travelers do not stay long enough abroad "to be intimately acquainted with a people's manners, accustomed to their habits, and uninfluenced from particular prejudices."[38] Like Goldsmith's anecdote, Shebbeare's novel holds out the promise that cosmopolitan civilization building can be realized through travel and exposure, but first one must correct English national prejudice through self-directed observation. Shebbeare states that the superficial experience of travel is one reason that "the English are prohibited from seeing their national customs in a true light."[39]

As Amanda Anderson has noted, cosmopolitanism traditionally endorses three things: "reflective distance from one's cultural affiliations, a broad understanding of other cultures and customs, and a belief in universal humanity."[40] Goldsmith endorses reflective distance through a satire that cleverly belittles his own countrymen's nationalism, and when Goldsmith's other character notes that travel abroad would correct such national prejudice, he also reveals the cosmopolitan endorsement of "a broad understanding of cultures." Yet, Goldsmith's article, "Reflections on National Prejudices," concludes: "Should it be alleged in defence of national prejudice that it is the natural and necessary growth of love for our country,

and that therefore the former cannot be destroyed without hurting the latter, I answer that this is a gross fallacy and delusion."[41] It may be a fallacy and delusion that national prejudice is defensible, but Goldsmith's distinction here is not between nationalism and cosmopolitanism, but national prejudice and something that may not hurt the "natural and necessary growth of love for our country." That is, Goldsmith implicitly constructs a distinction between national prejudice and constructive nationalism. His deployment of national characters as crude but recognizable commonplaces, his reference to "the natural and necessary growth of love for our country," and his emphasis on the purpose of travel as an examination of cultures and customs reveals that cosmopolitanism does not call for simply transcending national identity or cultural affiliations. The peculiarly national character of cosmopolitanism in the cross-Channel sphere kept it from being a simple, univocal philosophical ideal of detachment from the nation and investment in "universal humanity."

A range of mid-eighteenth-century English and French works elaborated the distinct qualities of national belonging and the self-reflective quality of cosmopolitanism at this historical moment, but none better than Louis de Boissy's *Le Françóis à Londres* [*The Frenchman in London*] (1727), Samuel Foote's *Englishman in Paris* (1753), and the sequels to these plays: Foote's *The Englishman Return'd from Paris* (1756) and Arthur Murphy's *The Englishman from Paris* (1756).[42] These plays concisely demonstrate how popular cultural nationalism or "national prejudice" is mocked by means of ridiculing national types, and how disciplining prejudice results in a particular form of cosmopolitanism. The plays illuminate the distinct qualities of national cosmopolitanism as a kind of reflective distance, but because the comedies turn specifically on Anglo-French relations, they also reveal that reflective distance is inextricably bound up with cross-Channeling, i.e., cosmopolitan bilingualism and biculturalism. And because the plays were written in response to one another, the English writers inspired by, imitative of, and writing back to the French author, they perform the complicated imbrications of nation and cosmopolis that they thematize. The intertextuality of the series of plays reinforces to audiences that the literary material is national and cosmopolitan in its very transmutability.

Louis de Boissy's *Le Françóis à Londres* props up a mannered, smooth-talking Frenchman, the Marquis de Polinville, against the quieter, rationalist Englishman, Lord Craff, both of whom are competing for the hand of a wealthy young English widow. Boissy's comedy trades in these national stereotypes, ending with a witticism in which the Englishman articulates the logical conclusion of the Frenchman's clichés: "C'est-à-dire,

selon votre langage, qu'un Anglois est un homme de bon-sens, qui n'a pas d'esprit? Et qu'un François est un homme d'esprit qui n'a pas le sens commun?" [Which is to say in your language that an Englishman is a man of good sense who has no wit? And that a Frenchman is a man of wit who has no common sense?][43] The Englishman turns out to have wit, a quality not supposed to be in his national character, drolly deducing with his national good sense the logic that the Frenchman is indeed a fool without any common sense. The punch line exposes the bogus system of national types and is implicitly replaced by the cosmopolitan values of both wit and good sense. In contrast to Boissy, Foote's play, which takes up the same story, depends less on canceling out national types in a self-effacing comedy. In rewriting Boissy for the tense cultural moment of the midcentury, Foote's model of national cosmopolitanism attends more acutely to the accumulation of cultures. Foote's main character, Charles Buck, is the counterpart of the marquis in Boissy's play: he is a rude, brawling Englishman who abhors everything French. The function of such caricature is a self-reflective look at Englishness, just as Boissy forced French self-reflection with his Marquis de Polinville. As in Boissy's play, the comic plot turns on the competition between an Englishman and a Frenchman for the hand of an Englishwoman. Although Buck wins Lucinda, the play does not end with marriage because the elder Buck has called a halt to the union. In the final lines of the play, Buck's father presents the moral this way: "I have now learn'd, that he who transports a profligate Son to *Paris*, by Way of mending his Manners, only adds the Vices and Follies of that Country to those of his own."[44] The father is not francophobic, but ridicules the folly of going abroad to acquire rather than cure vice.

The epilogue, spoken by Lucinda, seems to end the play in a different way. She dismisses the satire of Englishness to warn the English audience against cultural exchange with France: "You'll gain nothing by an Exchange you can make, / In a Country of Commerce, too great the Expence / for their Baubles and Bows, to give your good Sense."[45] While the play clearly ridicules Buck, Lucinda claims that good English sense will only be tarnished rather than improved by contact with French fops and frippery. Yet, the epilogue seems to be a final gesture of irony because it attempts to supersede the moral with another layer of comic self-reflection. Lucinda, first of all, does not represent Englishness in any pure way. She was led to France by her English father and his "pernicious politics," and then was orphaned there. The British substance of her character only gained accomplishments and desirability in her French upbringing. She speaks French and English fluently and develops musical abilities in

France, which initially attract Buck to her. The emigrant Lucinda appears to be a successful exchange by which British birth and French acculturation are then returned to Britain as an accomplished and modest woman. This is indeed the same logic Buck's father explained at the end of the play in telling the audience that Buck's travels have only doubled his vices, for Lucinda has doubled her virtues. The nationalizing sentiment pitting Englishness against Frenchness is foiled and replaced with a logic of accumulation that can increase either civil virtues or uncivilized vices. This logic of cultural accrual is more deeply embedded in the playwright's deployment of bilingual dialogue. Lucinda, for example, sings a twenty-four-line song of her own composition in French, which is left untranslated. More commonly, the French and English languages are mixed together ironically. When Buck sees the marquis paying court to Lucinda, he breaks in, and when the marquis calls Buck a *bête* [beast], which his name implies, Buck threatens to punch him. In some of the wittiest repartee of the play, the two suitors trade national slurs in mixed French and English:

> MARQ. Quel Sauvage!
> BUCK. And another Word; as I know you can speak very good English, if you will, when you don't, I shall take it for granted you're abusing me, and treat you accordingly.
> . . .
> MARQ. Oh! oh! a rival! Eh Morbleu! . . . I suppose you presume to give Laws to this Lady; and are determin'd, out of your very great and singular Affection, to knock down every Mortal she likes, *A-la-mode d'Angleterre*; Hey! Monsieur Roast-Beef!
> BUCK. No; but I . . . don't chuse to have her soil'd by the impertinent Addresses of every *French* fop, *A-la-mode de Paris*, Mounsieur Fricassy!
> MARQ. Fricassy!
> BUCK. We.[46]

Susan Lamb reads the *Englishman Return'd from Paris* as a critique of the Englishman who imitates or apes the French. She specifically cites Charles Buck's use of French and English as evidence of his "loss of a 'natural' language," which "indicates monstrosity."[47] In Foote's play, as in Murphy's sequel, the text mixes French and English, but the acquisition of another language is not a loss of one's own. With Lucinda, bilingualism is a way to capitalize on cultural accomplishment, but even the mixing of language in scenes like the one just quoted implicitly argues for bilingual accomplish-

ment. Using the humor of linguistic hybridity, Foote does not warn against linguistic corruption so much as monolingual idiocy. These satirical attacks on characters' lack of facility with the foreign language do not suggest a monolingual dogma, but target monolingualism in ways that exemplify what Doris Sommer calls the "serious fun" of bilingualism.[48] Sommer both justifies the values of bilingualism and invites her readers into the games of bilingual mistakes and puns, even when we are the butt of the joke: "We laugh harder when bilingual games make our particular group the target of the laugh attack. It's a lesson monolinguals can learn, not in order to switch roles from target to marksmen but to enjoy the double-dealing and distancing satisfaction that can make one's own ignorance the trigger for laughter."[49] The bilingual jokes of the theatrical texts produce the same kinds of irony and what Sommer calls the "distancing satisfaction" that is the privilege of even a novice bilingual. Similarly, in Fougeret de Monbron's satirical travel narrative *Le Cosmopolite ou citoyen du monde*, the narrator seems at first to target the midcentury Frenchman's exaggerated mania for all things English, another example of reflective distance. During his journey to England, he proclaims his admiration for Englishmen, saying their actions "me sembloient toutes dirigées par le bon sens & la droite raison" and that "chaque Anglois étoit pour moi une divinité." He has returned to Paris "tout-à-fait Jacques Rost-Beef"—the perfect caricature of an Englishman.[50] Yet, as soon as he lauds the good sense and right reason of the English, he reveals that the target is not the infatuation with them, but the typical French monolingual who cannot yet master the language: "S'il ouvroit la bouche pour parler, quoique je n'entendisse pas un mot de ce qu'il disoit, j'étois dans une admiration que ne se peut exprimer." [If he opened his mouth to speak, although I could not understand a word he was saying, I was in an inexplicable state of admiration.][51]

It is also worth noting that many of the authors I have quoted were themselves bilinguals and many of them translators. Fougeret de Monbron took on the English and anglomania in his satires when it was a popular target, but he was far from a cultural nationalist. He wrote satires of French society, and a true cosmopolite, he acquired English and became a translator.[52] Arthur Murphy, the author of the sequel to Foote's play, was also bilingual and a translator, and Samuel Foote had sojourned on the Continent, and must have acquired good enough French before writing *The Englishman in Paris* to have inserted so much of it into the play. As we have seen, many writers began to link the character of a nation with the character of its language, and some feared that too much linguistic ex-

change would corrupt the national vernacular, but as any history of vernacularization in Europe shows, being bi- or multilingual was the first rule.

The simultaneously national and cosmopolitan allegiances in the cross-Channel arena have a distinct configuration as Britain and France were emerging as modern Europe's cultural core in the eighteenth century. Both countries valued patriotism, but also promoted the self-critical impulse that would cleanse them of the detrimental aspects of nationalism. Cosmopolitanism would always refer to universal humanity in some way, and yet it could be founded in the nation, in large part through the accrual of national cultures into a civilized cosmopolis, epitomized in the cross-Channel arena by bilingualism. How did cosmopolitanism and its imbrication with nation formation operate in the more specific realm of fiction translation? On the one hand, translating during the middle of the century was beginning to be a more self-consciously nationalized process. As we have seen, the integrity of nations and their vernaculars began to make translation seem alternately difficult, burdensome, and corrupting. Around the 1740s, fiction translating in particular began to reflect English and French discourses about the nation to the extent that some translation prefaces, reviews, readers' reactions in private correspondence, and other commentary began to distinguish novels more frequently based on their national origin, or commented upon national origin as an unavoidable construct inflecting fiction writing (though readers did not necessarily know the author or national origins of a novel with any certainty). At the same time, languages and cultures were eminently traversable and novels moved easily across the Channel; there were occasions for recognizing similar features, values, and a history of cross-Channeling fictions that suggested prose fiction's cosmopolitanism. Richardson's novels—their initial publication, the translations, and reactions in the cross-Channel sphere— are uniquely helpful here because the unprecedented attention given to *Pamela* and *Clarissa* aroused a new public consciousness about the national and cosmopolitan work of translation. Attempts to forcefully nationalize *Pamela*, seemingly warranted by the elision of the domestic novel and the domestication of the novel as a specifically English product, encountered stiff resistance. The novel became a stamp of nationalism without self-criticism, and its move into the cross-Channel sphere elicited a cosmopolitan reaction, but it was not nation-based biculturation, so much as mere urban *mondanité*. Then, within a decade of the publication of *Clarissa* in English and in translation, the agonistic tussle subsided. Continental writers began to speak about Richardson with unguarded praise after *Clarissa*, and it was held up as representative of the English novel. At the same time,

Clarissa was seen across the Channel as a new universal entity—as a fiction of the *human* heart—that *Pamela* was not. I contend that literary nationhood and cosmopolitanism were increasingly fraught in the Richardson affair in ways that brought about the novel. In other words, the novel is an effect of the way in which fiction became transnational—the national novel in a cosmopolitan cross-Channel exchange—only when it simultaneously co-opted universality.

Pamela in the World

The history of *Pamela*'s controversial reception has been familiar ever since Alan McKillop wrote about it in the 1930s, though in recent years, the contested appropriation of the low-born virgin and the commodification of Pamelas have given cultural studies appeal to the novel's reception history. Unlike many equally complex reception histories of other eighteenth-century novels, the reception of Richardson's first novel was fueled by the titillating turn of the eponymous heroine's chastity into the wantonness or duplicity of Shamela or Anti-Pamela, and then refueled by Richardson's and his friends' attempts to exert protective custody of the novel. As an inseparable trio of heroine, narrative, and public or consumer product, *Pamela* has been dubbed a "vogue," a "cultural event," and a "media event" and treated as a cynosure, expressing any number of charged issues including class, gender, and the public sphere.[53] Terry Eagleton may have been the first to turn the historical curiosity into a magnetic pole of eighteenth-century English culture when he claimed that Richardson's novels were "subject to strategic uses, lynchpins of an entire ideological formation."[54] The reception of Richardson's *Pamela* outside Britain was also an event of major proportions. The controversy was about the text's sexually arousing effects as the heroine bodied forth in the press, but also about Pamela's antiurban, anticosmopolitan domesticity. The heroine became a stand-in for Richardson's moral ambitions for English prose fiction and thus was initially presented to readers as a symbol of national as much as personal virtue. Yet Pamela and *Pamela* were just as quickly subjected to multilateral resistance, which countered her domesticity with worldliness and the novel's domestication by reasserting its place in a cosmopolitan milieu.

The first stage of *Pamela*'s intercultural itinerary began before the novel was read, translated, or critiqued because the first English editions had preemptively placed the novel in the field of Anglo-French relations.

The prefatory letters explicitly antagonize the French and their novels. One letter advises Richardson not to "reduce our Sterling Substance into an empty Shadow, or rather *frenchify* our *English* Solidity into Froth and Whip-syllabub. No; let us have *Pamela* as *Pamela* wrote it."[55] The other letter, written by Jean-Baptiste Freval, a Frenchman and translator living in London, tells *Pamela* to "Face the World, and never doubt of finding Friends and Admirers, not only in thine own Country, but far from Home; where thou mayst give an Example of Purity to the Writers of a neighbouring Nation." The French "now shall have an Opportunity to receive *English* bullion in Exchange for its own Dross, which has so long passed current among us in Pieces abounding with all the Levities of its volatile Inhabitants."[56] Freval's exhortation to Pamela to "Face the World" is a productive ambiguity, since the "World" refers both to the novel's circulation outside England and to the urban or worldly sphere of immorality. It was not uncommon to devalorize the world as a milieu of immoral behavior, but here Freval also uses it to capture *Pamela*'s difference from cultural and literary cross-Channeling. In fact, the reception of *Pamela* demonstrates that a formerly frictionless cultural convertibility expressed in the plethora of translations and adaptations of fictional narratives was going to be put up against *Pamela* as an exemplar of unworldliness. In many ways, these letters were just puffs for the novel, clothed in familiar anti-French metaphors, but it suggests the self-consciousness with which *Pamela* was presented as a national novel in a cosmopolitan field, in contrast to the relatively oblivious attitude taken toward so many other novels.[57]

Nancy Armstrong's insight that *Pamela* is closely related to eighteenth-century conduct literature has revealed Richardson's contribution to the ideology of domesticity for an emergent middle class. With Richardson, Armstrong argues, novels created "a private domain of culture that was independent of the political world and overseen by a woman."[58] In a more recent argument about the domestic novel, Michael McKeon has complicated this separation of public and private. He discusses a kind of narrative form that he calls "secular allegory" to chart the separation of public and private and its dialectical recapitulation, arguing that these allegories "signify one material domain by another—typically, public history or politics by a private, domestic counterpart."[59] The separation of state from civil society begins to relativize distinctions between public and private activity, McKeon argues, by discovering in the private sphere a "new outpost" of the public. McKeon says that by the time of *Pamela*'s appearance, state politics in secular allegories "ceased to constitute a distinctly public realm of the signified," in part because "Richardson is experiment-

ing with the capacity of the private realm of domesticity to stand on its own by internalizing as metaphor its public reference."[60] The prefatory letters affixed to *Pamela* show that Pamela represented not only the private realm in relation to the public sphere, but also England as a domestic space in an extranational arena in ways that suggest a necessary revision of the notions of domesticity associated with *Pamela*. The role of translation in the publication and reception of *Pamela* shows how the novel became an outpost of the public sphere by conjuring up an idea of national domesticity in reaction to Freval's world system.

Pamela was translated into French in 1741, which began the novel's broad European circulation, but this translation was unlike most because Richardson maintained substantial control over its production. It was printed in London under Richardson's supervision rather than in France or a francophone publishing center on the Continent. It is still not known with any certainty who translated the novel, but it is a relatively faithful translation of the English original compared with the high incidence of infidelities in other French translations of the period. The translation has received little sustained attention, which is appropriate since it follows the text fairly closely, despite the inclusion of some verses in a preface by a French Protestant minister, César Missy.[61] There has never been another translation of *Pamela* into French, partly because of the draconian adherence to fidelity that followed Richardson's own demands for a strict translation. In the 1780s, Richardson's son-in-law, Edward Bridgen, proposed that Madame de Genlis, an admirer of Richardson, retranslate *Pamela* from a manuscript with Richardson's own corrections. Genlis reports:

> mais il exigeoit ma parole d'honneur que je le traduirois moi-même littéralement. Comme il m'eût été impossible de le traduire sans y faire beaucoup de changemens, je ne voulus pas prendre cet engagement, mais je lui offris de la faire traduire sous mes yeux avec tout le soin possible; il refusa cette proposition.[62]

> [but he demanded my word of honor that I would translate it myself literally. As it was impossible for me to translate it without making many changes, I did not want to take the engagement, but I offered to have it translated under my supervision with all possible care; he refused this proposition.]

But like everything else about *Pamela*, the translation did not remain entirely under Richardson's control. The French translation passed relatively quickly from one locale to another and took on new purposes. *Paméla;*

ou la vertu recompensée traduit de l'anglais, was available in London and advertised in the *Daily Gazetteer* on October 28, 1741, not merely as instructive pleasure reading but also "For the Use of Schools," in a strange twist suggesting that students of French learned the language by reading an English novel in translation. Wieland, the German author, who later dramatized an episode from *Sir Charles Grandison*, is said to have read *Pamela* in French to learn that language, and began studying English literature by reading French translations.[63] Benjamin Franklin, who had printed the first American edition of the novel (which he ended up selling off cheaply probably because the market had been saturated), is known to have sent his daughter a copy of the French translation, apparently to practice the language.[64] Like other novels, the French translation was a key to its Continental distribution and maintained a career of its own. The French translation was the basis for the Italian translation (1744–1746), and the Spanish translation (1794). The latter was published only after *Pamela* had been introduced to Spain via Goldoni's comedy based on the novel.[65] The Dutch translation (1742–1744) was based on the original English, but came out only after the English original had been taken apart and reassembled in a pamphlet called *Pamela Bespiegeld* (*Pamela Exposed*) in 1741, consisting of a summary of the story, with occasional passages directly translated.[66] These alternate versions, and many other imitations in other languages, reflected the propensity of translations to be derived from other translations rather than directly from an original, and for novels to be reworked into other languages as summaries, imitations, or adaptations as, for example, *Mémoires de Pamela*, a French abridgement; *De Hollandsche Pamela* (1754); Lvov's *A Russian Pamela, or the Story of Maria, a Virtuous Village Girl* (1789); Baculard d'Arnaud's *Fanni, ou la nouvelle Paméla* (1765); or even Edward Kimber's *Maria, the Genuine Memoirs of a Young Lady of Rank and Fortune* (1764), translated into French as *Mariane, ou la nouvelle Pamela* (1765). *Pamela* moved quickly into the European field of novels in secondhand translations, and through the kinds of free translation common in the period.

   Pamela was an unanticipated anomaly in the European novel field because in the ongoing exchange of French and English novels, few could have imagined that a prose fictional work could be intentionally resistant to mobility. Although Richardson knew that *Pamela* would not remain in England or in English, he wished to disseminate the novel in a perfectly faithful French translation so as to retain both the essence of the original and its form, its spirit and body. Richardson's prohibition of unfaithful translation or imitation—an attempt at a new ideology of fidelity in fiction

translation—envisioned *Pamela* circulating in tact, and retaining her autonomy as a moral exemplar and as national symbol of that morality. Richardson was able to hire his own translator and publish the French edition in London to ensure fidelity, and though this moral imperative of faithful translation was vaunted, Richardson could not secure *Pamela*'s untransmutability by sending her out into the world as a mere replica of the original. Because the faithful French translation of Richardson's original was printed without the author's or the translator's name, even the true translation published under Richardson's control veered out of his control. Some French readers making conjectures about the novel's origins assumed it was an English novel; others thought it was a French novel, written in imitation of an English novel. La Chesnaye's *Lettres amusantes et critiques sur les romans en general anglais et français* recounts that some believed *Pamela* to be a pseudo-translation, written by some "Anglico Français."[67] Pierre Coste, the French translator of John Locke's writings, heard of *Pamela* and without seeing it, believed the identity of the author to be that of a French clergyman living in London.[68] Another reader concocted an ever more complicated story of its origins and read it, as many did, gripped with repulsion.[69] Many writers did not simply assume Pamela's biculturality, but explicitly resented the new tactic of nationalizing. One French writer who, scolding Desfontaines for his fairly generous review of *Pamela*, objected specifically to praise for a publication in which the prefaces insulted the French nation.[70] Another French writer simply asserted the superiority of French fiction by listing novels exemplifying the taste, nobility, and politeness the English should imitate.[71] An English writer placed Richardson's novel of virtue in the Anglo-French field so as to counter nationalization: "Was no Romance or Novel ever published with a Design to recommend moral Virtue? . . . *La Paysanne parvenue* now translated into *English*, a little *French* novel, is something more modest, and as much calculated for the Encouragement of Virtue."[72] Unable to discern the novel's national origins and assuming it to be some kind of hybrid French-English product, many readers resisted national autonomy by reasserting the complicated interconnections of novels in the cross-Channel sphere.

The backlash against Pamela and her story quickly heated up, as Aubert de la Chesnaye Desbois reported in 1743, noting that those who had a taste for these kinds of works bought *Pamela* expecting to be entertained and instead were annoyed, "frappées d'une vertu purement imaginaire" [struck by its purely imaginary virtue], and they disapproved of the "fausse simplicité de l'*Heroine Angloise*" [false simplicity of the English

heroine].[73] One anonymous writer argues that Villaret's Anti-Pamela is the truly virtuous one, "séduite par l'exemple, comme elle le dit dès la 3e page; entrainé vers le vice, plus par destinée, que par goût, elle est vertueuse enfin par reflexion"[74] [seduced by example, as she says from the third page; driven toward vice, more by destiny than by taste, she is virtuous in the end by means of reflection]. As *Pamela* became a cross-Channel venture with revisions, satire, commentary in both languages, and translations of each other's reactions to *Pamela*, writers mounted a collective refusal to accept her brand of virtue and her captive domesticity over interaction with the world. Only Anti-Pamela was a believable and realistic heroine, as the admirer of *Anti-Pamela* noted, because she was seducible and found virtue through reflection on vice. Eliza Haywood's parody, *Anti-Pamela*, is a series of letters between the young Syrena Tricksy and her mother in which Syrena exchanges virtue for vice and sincerity for false appearances.[75] The preface to the French version of Haywood's parody, like the pamphlet on Villaret's *Anti-Pamela*, contrasts Richardson's anomalous heroine with Haywood's realistic Syrena: "Pamela est malheureusement un espèce de phénix qu'on ne trouve nulle part. *Syrene* est un personnage qui est dans tous les pays du monde, chez toutes les nations et dans toutes les villes." [Pamela is unfortunately a kind of phoenix that is found nowhere. Syrena is a character who is in all countries in the world, in all nations and in all cities.][76] Like the bulk of English and French commentary and parodies, Pamela's virtue, and her privacy and autonomy which guarded her virtue, were countered by turning Pamela into a worldly character, but this preface is provocative because it specifically juxtaposes the Richardsonian meaning of worldliness as moral waywardness with the geographical mobility of the novel. Syrena, the Anti-Pamela, can be found in "all countries in the world, in all nations, and in all cities"—she is cosmopolitan in the sense of being worldly, urban, and civilized, which also makes her ubiquitous and translatable. Richardson's Pamela, who goes nowhere, cannot be found anywhere. The Anti-Pamela is a figure that not only satirized virtue and questioned Richardson's moralizing reading of worldliness, but also reasserted the link between the world as the locus of urban mores and the novel's free transmission.

One parody, Claude Godard d'Aucour's stage play, *La Déroute des Paméla* (1744), stands out among the diverse archive of *Pamela*s because it is a self-conscious parody not only of the heroine but also of literary transmission.[77] Early in the short play, the original English Pamela, now an unhappy mother searching for her wayward daughters in France and Italy,

is asked if these young "beautés du public si connues" [beauties of the public so known], who hoped to acquire "immortal renown" by posting their names and addresses on every street corner, are *her* daughters.[78] The line is a joke about how the virtuous Pamela could have prostitutes for offspring, but these characters are not just more Shamelas; they are personified textual imitations. The French daughter allegorizes Nivelle de la Chaussée's stage adaptation of *Pamela* at the Comédie Française, and the Italian daughter personifies Boissy's burlesque of the novel at the Comédie Italienne, both staged earlier the same year. When Pamela locates her Italian daughter, she is surprised at their unlikeness. Shocked that the Italian uses her name, Pamela threatens to unmask her. Asked if she was born in Italy, *Paméla Italienne* replies that no, "un *Français à Londres* / le premier me fit voir Paris" [a Frenchman in London / was the first to make me see Paris]. A reference to the title of Boissy's earlier and well-known play discussed earlier, the lines may also refer to the Frenchman in London who translated the novel into French, which was the source for the Italian translation.[79] D'Aucour spoofs the free and loose circulation of print and, specifically, the common practice of authors and booksellers to borrow the name of a popular literary work or character in hopes of capitalizing on it. The scene is also a meditation on the cultural work of translating, because for Pamela, as everyone could see, translation was both denaturalizing and normalizing. Traveling turned the domestic virgin into a worldly character in ways that adaptations of other widely read novels on the Continent, such as *Robinson Crusoe* or *Gulliver's Travels*, could never have hinted at sexual errancy. When Pamela meets her offspring, d'Aucour's parody goes beyond the Anti-Pamela satires by linking that parody of virtue to circulation. The ironic scenario of illegitimate trafficking reveals both that *Pamela*, like all fictions, would necessarily beget loose translations, and that these would disregard the integrity of national origins as well as the aura of originality. In this sense, the comedy conservatively reimposes the old order of transmissibility. At the same time, who could fail to see that figuring *Pamela* with her loose adaptations was also an unprecedented travesty?

Richardson's first novel inspired a kind of contentiousness rarely seen in cross-Channel literary culture. The tensions concentrated around *Pamela*'s immobility performed an unusual conflation between the novel's thematics and Richardson's publication agenda: the virtuous character who values nothing so much as her autonomy and physical integrity during her captivity by Mr. B. became synonymous with the English nation, valuing nothing so much as its resistance to the French and its novels. As Pam-

ela resists defilement, the English novel represented by *Pamela* resists the degrading effects of French fiction hitherto eagerly translated and read in English. At the same time, the conflation of domestic virtue and the nation extended beyond the discourse of prefaces and reviews of *Pamela* to an ideology of faithful translation. For Richardson, translation ought to do nothing more than replicate the original not only as a whole, but also in every detail so as to retain its national as well as its literary character. In this way, Pamela's virtue was necessarily associated with the text's integrity and autonomy as an original. But the idea that an English novel could definitively differentiate itself from a Continental one was derided by literary publics on both sides of the Channel, and the satirical revenge taken on *Pamela* operated on the same conflation between the novel's thematics and the publication agenda. The parodic reversal of *Pamela* reasserted its cosmopolitanism both thematically—Anti-Pamela's sentimental education into the world—and as part of a cosmopolitan exchange of novels across the Channel. In the end, nationalization ultimately failed in this phobic, uncritical mode. At the same time, cosmopolitanism in the *Pamela* phenomenon was reduced to a reactionary and narrow idea of *mondanité*. The cross-Channel *Pamela* phenomenon nonetheless registered that the stakes of translation were high. The event of Richardson's first novel shook the libertine translation system. Transmission was reclaimed as a norm because of the outpouring of parodic rewritings and reactions to *Pamela* in both languages, but the national question was validated in a new way. The subsequent translation event around *Clarissa*, however, produced a kind of cross-Channel resolve to admit nationality and cosmopolitanism, but only by rehabilitating the dynamic of hermeticism and worldliness in *Pamela* with the universal humanity of *Clarissa*.

The (English) Novel?

Clarissa's cross-Channel circulation was a total reversal of the *Pamela* event. In contrast to the shock of *Pamela*'s arrival and its delegitimization, *Clarissa* was an object of cross-Channel devotion. The parodies of *Pamela* thrust her out into the world against the original heroine's resistance to it, taking pleasure, it seemed, in violating rather than rewarding her virtue. Clarissa, Richardson's new domestic virgin, was similarly resistant to the world, and briefly enters the world only to be violated and perish, but the reaction was to raise her to iconic status. Disembodied and transcendent,

Clarissa was held up as an exemplar. Thus, the same formula of cross-Channeling applied, but with opposite effects. Likewise, the failed attempts to nationalize the domestic heroine with *Pamela* had the opposite effect with *Clarissa*. Richardson forfeited any attempt to send this novel out as a peculiarly English product, and the result was that *Clarissa* acquired the kind of national autonomy and integrity he wanted for *Pamela*. Now the domestic sphere—doubly private and national—no longer existed in contradistinction to the world and its double meaning as both the public space of urbane immorality and the transnational circulation. The unworldliness of *Clarissa* provoked an idealized cosmopolitanism. In other words, the *Clarissa* event unleashed both the acceptance of the English novel in a new nationalized novel system and a form of cosmopolitanizing in which the literary form captured the universal "human heart."

The first and most widely republished French translation of *Clarissa* by Prévost was an avowedly unfaithful one. Prévost considerably shortened and altered the original, leaving out a wide variety of events which Richardson himself enumerated in a letter to his friend and Dutch translator Johannes Stinstra: "Belton's Despondency and Death, Miss Howe's Lamentation over the Corpse of her beloved Friend: The bringing Home to Harlowe-Place the Corpse, and the Family Grief upon it. The wicked Sinclair's Despondency and Death and many Letters between Lovelace and Belford."[80] In many instances Prévost uses parenthetical editorial comments to summarize the original English, and he gave it an entirely different title, *Lettres anglaises*. Thomas Beebee argues that "Prévost tends to turn Richardson's polyphonic, dialogic, decentered text into a monologic, third-person narrative in standard literary French," effectively reshaping the novel to suit his own aesthetic purposes.[81] Prévost was not very different from many other translators who dealt freely with source texts and reinforced the circulability of categories like Englishness, but Richardson was highly aware of the infidelities in *Clarissa* because he tracked his novel's circulation and translations carefully. Richardson said of Prévost's rendering: "I think the Abbé has left out in his Translation of Clarissa, some of the most useful and pathetic Parts of the Piece; and those among us, who have read both Editions, are greatly disgusted with the French one on that Account. I knew not, that such Mutilations were allowable, except the Translation had been called an Abridgment."[82] Richardson's condemnation of Prévost's rendering as "Mutilations" and the visceral reaction of "disgust" deploy the thematics of the novel itself to hint that injuries to the text are an immoral violation of his heroine's body. He tried to preempt such violence with *Pamela* by controlling the French translation and failed,

but it seems clear once again that for Richardson, anything other than reproduction could not go by the name of translation. He defied the mainstream view of fiction translation in his call for strict fidelity, and for respecting the integrity and autonomy of his original. The Dutch and German translations and a later French translation attempted the kind of fidelity Richardson hoped to inspire. The Dutch translator, Stinstra, was a clergyman devoted to Richardson and thus rendered the text with strict fidelity. The German translator, Michaelis, a professor of oriental languages and Protestant theology, as well as a translator of the Bible, did the work "with an aim to preserving the didactic elements of the original" and took no credit for it.[83] Though Prévost's translation was republished and did well, some of the missing passages were added to later editions by Jean-Baptiste Suard, in an effort to make it more faithful to the original. In 1785, a new translation by Pierre Le Tourneur was published in Geneva, retranslating the work as a whole, marking in brackets all the words, phrases, and long passages that he restored from the original. Unlike the *Pamela* translations, *Clarissa* inspired fidelity, not least because rendering *Clarissa* word for word performed one's sentimental devotion to the heroine and the moral.

In the *Pamela* event, strong claims to national difference elicited a backlash in the cross-Channel milieu while *Clarissa* reveals how the Continental translations constituted the acceptable nationalization of the English novel, not least by an adherence to fidelity in translation. The faithful renderings eased the tensions over translation and imitation that erupted with *Pamela*.[84] Now, Richardson's ideology of fidelity meant that his English novel would be carried to the Continent as a reproduction, not transmitted promiscuously. And this devotion to *Clarissa* foregrounded both the national origin and originality of the novel. French writers, in a curious turn, did not simply attempt to assimilate *Clarissa* to cross-Channel novels; they specifically allied Richardson with the English novel. Prévost, who translated *Clarissa* and then Richardson's third novel, *Sir Charles Grandison*, as well as Frances Sheridan's Richardsonian *Memoirs of Miss Sidney Biddulph*, wrote in the preface to his translation of Sheridan that Richardson's brand of noble and touching narrative was now synonymous with the English novel: "[L]es romans anglais, qui portent ce sceau, sont sortis d'une société d'amateurs de l'ordre et des bonnes moeurs" [English novels, which bear this stamp, come from a society of lovers of order and good manners], and he asks, "[S]i la réformation des moeurs peut être esperée par cette voye, n'est-ce pas de leurs talens qu'on pouvait l'attendre?" [If the reformation of manners can be hoped in this way, isn't it from their

talents that one could expect it?][85] Around the same time, the French critic Simon Iraihl explained the generally avid interest in English novels derived from the Richardsonian model: "On vante surtout, parmi les romans Anglais, ceux de Richardson, pour leur morale epurée." [We sing the praises especially, among English novels, those of Richardson for their purifying moral.][86] The tussle over the national prerogative of virtue and the vindictive turn against it in the *Pamela* event was thus reversed. With *Clarissa*, the national identification of the novel was expressed in cosmopolitan terms such as order, manners, and moral purpose. The more the novel seemed to transcend national particularism, the more the translation system allowed nationalization, at least as long as nationalization could be conflated with civilized values.

      National cosmopolitanism, I want to suggest, conjoins the two forces of novel history in the middle of the century with *Clarissa*. Nationalizing the novel is predicated in part on *Clarissa*'s transcendence of the domestic sphere, and its cosmopolitanism is likewise articulated in more extreme terms. Le Tourneur says in the preface to his retranslation of *Clarissa*: "C'est un ouvrage immortel, dont la réputation et l'intérêt ne peuvent périr, parce qu'ils sont fondés sur une profonde connaissance du coeur humain." [It is an immortal work whose reputation and interest cannot perish because they are founded on a profound knowledge of the human heart.][87] The belief that *Clarissa*, unlike *Pamela*, was a sentimental fiction of the human heart propels a kind of cosmopolitanism that was not restricted to urbane identification with a steely social world, nor even to the interculturality of civilized Europe, but a cosmopolitanism articulated in universalizing terms. Written two months after Richardson's death, Diderot's *Éloge de Richardson*, which appeared in Suard's *Journal étranger* and was reprinted in later editions of Prévost's translation, marks the pinnacle of the new Continental devotion to Richardson, fueling his apotheosis as the novelist of morality and above all of the human heart, some two decades after the publication of *Pamela*. Diderot speaks of all of Richardson's novels, although the *Éloge* is primarily a response to *Clarissa*. At every turn, the *Éloge*'s rhetoric elevates Richardson and his novel to a higher plane. It begins, for example, with the claim that the word *roman* is an inadequate name for Richardson's works. His novels are not a "tissu d'événements chimériques et frivoles, dont la lecture était dangereuse pour le goût et pour les moeurs" [a fabric of chimerical and frivolous events, the reading of which was dangerous for taste and for morals]. Richardson's works "élèvent l'esprit" and "touchent l'âme" [elevate the mind and touch the soul].[88] Diderot also calls Richardson a poet as well as a moralist in the

tradition of La Rochefoucauld because he puts the truth of maxims into action. Diderot's devotion is less to the English novelist than to the cosmopolitan affiliations of Richardson's novels with writers and writings that deal in human truths.

The *Éloge* is also Diderot's intimate portrait of a reader inspired by a novelist he never met. The reading experience Diderot describes in the *Éloge* specifically entails freedom from worldly experience, for as Diderot says, Richardson's long, detailed novels are for "l'homme tranquille et solitaire, qui a connu la vanité du bruit et des amusements du monde, et qui aime à habiter l'ombre d'une retraite et à s'attendrir utilement dans le silence" [tranquil and solitary man, who has known the vanity of the noise and amusements of the world and who likes to inhabit the shadow of retreat and be moved usefully in silence].[89] This "world" of vanities and noise implies the immoral *mondanité* around which the *Pamela* controversy turned, but Diderot's point is that Richardson's novels successfully move the reader away from immorality to the purity of the private world. Roger Chartier has argued that Diderot's eulogy performs the sentimental effects of Richardson's novels, and describes Diderot's sentimentalized private reading as the "abolition of all distinction between the world of the book and the world of the reader."[90] Arguing that this amounts to a revolution in reading practices in the sense that this secular sentimental reading displaces an older model of spiritual reading onto the text of the novel, Chartier's characterization of private reading as other-than-worldly reiterates the rhetoric of transcendence in eighteenth-century readers' reactions to the disembodied heroine of Richardson's novel. Diderot does more than evoke the inner spiritual world in contrast with worldliness in the *Éloge*; in fact, he invokes the idea of the world several times here and elsewhere in comments about Richardson, not always signifying a purified inner world of the reader in opposition to the familiar immorality of novels. Diderot's initial move in the essay of dismissing the word *roman* begins to tie together internal worlds and external worlds to replace the common novel with the new universal novel.

To disentangle the "worlds" in Diderot's discourse is a key to understanding the valences of nation and cosmopolis in the emergence of the novel. First, Diderot explains that Richardson's novel represents the world in which we live: "Le monde où nous vivons est le lieu de la scène; le fond de son drame est vrai; ses personnages ont toute la réalité possible; ses caractères sont pris du milieu de la société; ses incidents sont dans les moeurs de toutes les nations policées." [The world in which we live is the

setting; the basis of the drama is true; his characters have all the reality possible; his types are taken from the middle ranks of society; his incidents are in the customs of all polite nations.][91] Later in the essay, Diderot explains that Richardson's novels, so well known for their lengthiness and detail, represent the world in its atomized particularity. But at the same time, Richardson writes of transcending the world with truth and humanity: "L'histoire peint quelques individus; tu peins l'espèce humaine." [History paints some individuals; you paint the human species.][92] Diderot's Richardson, a painter of the human species, also copies from the human heart, an eternal and unchanging universal entity: "Le coeur humain, qui a été, est et sera toujours le même, est le modèle d'après lequel tu copies." [The human heart, which has been, is and will always be the same, is the model after which you copy.][93] Roger Chartier argues that Richardson's morality resolves for Diderot the contradiction "of infinite variety of character in Richardson and the revelation of the constants of the human heart," effectively transforming the particularity of the realist literary form.[94] I would argue instead that Diderot helps institute the founding contradiction that the novel must be no more than its particulars and simultaneously universal. In general, Continental writers claimed universality in admiration of *Clarissa*'s moral value. For Diderot too, Richardson's moral truth inherently universalizes his novel. Yet, this is not only the universal moral that the author imparts. Diderot envisions a spatial and temporal universality of readership that appears to go beyond Europe and its polite nations: "Richardson plairont à tout homme dans tous les temps et dans tous les lieux." [Richardson will please every man in all times and in all places.][95] This world is incarnated again in a letter to Sophie Volland as the global compass of Richardson's moral effects. Diderot tells of a woman who, chastened by her reading of *Clarissa*, cuts off an untoward correspondence:

> Eh bien, voilà un bon effet de cette lecture. Imaginez que cet ouvrage s'est répandu sur toute la surface de la terre, et que voilà Richardson l'auteur de cent bonnes actions par jour. Imaginez qu'il fera le bien dans toutes les contrées, de longs siècles après sa mort.[96]

> [Well, here is a good effect of this reading. Imagine that this work is spread over the whole surface of the earth, and Richardson the author of a hundred good deeds a day. Imagine that he will do good in all countries, the long centuries after his death.]

Richardson would ideally reach each country, one by one, and each reader, one at a time, authoring good deeds. The world in this passage is not only the civilized world where the scene of Richardson's novel takes place, or the private world of a secluded reader but also, finally, a kind of global translation. Diderot's dream of missionizing the "whole surface of the earth" reconfigures morality as universal transferability.

Diderot's notion of the world is a meeting place of multiple claims about Richardson: first, that his novel is about the social world in its infinite variety of detail; second, that it is a picture of unchanging humanity and thus implicitly about that which is universally human; and third, that the novel is transmitted reader to reader over the surface of the globe for time immemorial. Though Diderot does not explicitly address translating Richardson, it is worth remembering that Diderot was a translator and theorist of translation, and as Julie Hayes has shown recently, he sees translation as "the strictest sort of verbal equivalence." His appreciation of language differences also means, however, that language and translation were sites "of productive encounters between cultures."[97] Diderot's elevation of Richardson to universal status and this interest in strict verbal equivalence is a clue that cultural translation might be the kind of border crossing that Richardson himself had envisioned for his novels. Diderot was converted to Richardsonianism in the early 1760s after having read the missing parts of the Prévost translation of *Clarissa* and then reading the whole in English.[98] His vision of Richardson's novels transmitted the world over is predicated on this unmediated access to the original or at least a strictly faithful translation. Diderot's cosmopolitan vision of Richardson is thus emphatically not the unfettered appropriations of translators and readers, but relies on translation as replication. With the advent of Richardson and the domestic novel, the world was not simply a place and condition of transmissibility where fictions moved indiscriminately across borders. Diderot and others help articulate the new paradox of cross-Channeling novels: domestic particularity and the way it emblematized the novel's nationality was admissible if recuperated as universalizable, or as *the* novel. And, always already purely human because it is a picture of moral truth, the novel would nonetheless have to become universal in the dissemination of the original in all its particularity.

It would be overstating the argument to say that Richardson alone changed the cultural work of translation and structure of the translating system to single-handedly produce the novel. First, the Richardson translation events represent the peculiar phenomenon of the domestic novel and not the whole field of novels, and second, change was not immediate. One

of Laurence Sterne's letters regarding a supposed pact with the French novelist of libertinage and worldly manners, Crébillon fils, satirizes the Richardsonian brouhaha about novels, morality, and the cross-Channel commercial exchange:

> Crébillon has made a convention with me . . . he has agreed to write me an expostulatory letter upon the indecorums of T. Shandy—which is to be answered by recrimination upon the liberties in his own works—these are to be printed together—Crébillon against Sterne—Sterne against Crébillon—the copy to be sold, and the money equally divided.[99]

The witty idea for the publication of a contrived debate about the morals of *Tristram Shandy* targeted Richardsonian virtue, again recuperating the novel with a satirical self-consciousness about nationalization that the *Pamela* debate highlighted. The cross-Channel obsession with Richardson was also satirized in the anonymous French novel *Valentine* (1786), which censures its own country's novels for the moral depravity that English commentators derided.[100] And, in his short novel *Fanny, histoire anglaise* Baculard d'Arnaud, a well-distributed French novelist on both sides of the Channel, author of several "English" novels in the latter half of the eighteenth century, specifically satirizes the tensions around nationalization brought about by Richardson's novels. The English character, Sir Thaley, falls in love with the thirteen-year-old daughter of an educated farmer, and when Thaley's friend discusses the virgin's undoing, he plays on the listless, sentimental male characters of French romances as compared with Richardson's perfect rake, Lovelace: "Je croyais avoir fait de toi un second Lovelace, et tu joues le berger langoureux!" [I thought I had made a second Lovelace out of you, but you play the languishing shepherd!][101]

Richardson's European reception history is, however, meant to stand in for a longer, incremental, and uneven history of the advent of prose fiction's complex transnationalism. *Pamela* was among the first novels to be intentionally nationalized in a play on the double meaning of "domestic." If fiction's national affiliation was stronger than ever as a result, *Pamela* was nonetheless travestied by English and French writers with a peculiar ferocity, resisting national prejudice with cosmopolitanism, but a cosmopolitanism that meant little more than worldliness. As a cross-Channel event, *Clarissa* signals how bundling language, culture, and literature into a national novel and simultaneously counterposing the universal moral value of the novel irreversibly conjoined transnational processes of exchange and the emergence of the novel as a genre.

5

Atlantic Translation and the Undomestic Novel

In "The American Origins of the English Novel," Nancy Armstrong and Leonard Tennenhouse make the extraordinary and original claim that Samuel Richardson's *Pamela*, the putative prototype of the English novel, was not necessarily a scion of earlier English prose fiction, but of Mary Rowlandson's popular American captivity narrative.[1] Both Rowlandson's narrative and Richardson's *Pamela* are stories of otherwise insignificant women, low-born female captives, and both provoke their readers' sentiments through self-empowering trials. Armstrong and Tennenhouse argue that the ability to resist domination in captivity results in Rowlandson's and Pamela's accession to authority in transformed familial and national communities, suggesting not only Richardson's specific debt to Mary Rowlandson, but also the debt of the novel as a paradigm of domestic authority to the transformation of Englishness in Atlantic colonialism. Elizabeth Maddock Dillon has also argued for the transatlantic emergence of the novel, revising the national history of the early American novel by placing Behn's *Oroonoko*, Defoe's *Moll Flanders*, and William Hill Brown's *The Power of Sympathy* (often called the first American novel) in a single genealogy to show that "the formal innovation of the realist novel as well as its nationalist associations emerge against the ground of the colonial world market."[2] Dillon argues in a somewhat different vein than Armstrong and Tennenhouse that the novel form coarticulates domestic relations and the commercial contractual relations of the British Empire and its colonies. These and other arguments that address prose fiction in early modern empire have helped reconfigure generic transformation in light of the ways that novels record and recode colonial as well as metropolitan experience,

suggesting that it may no longer be feasible to address the eighteenth-century novel as if it were insulated from the imperial Atlantic.

The new transatlantic genealogies of the novel have continued, however, to privilege domesticity as representative of the form as a whole, and the British nation's expanding empire as representative of the Atlantic world. The pairing of domesticity and national empire is not coincidental, but rather an iteration of the synecdoche in which the domestic plot stands in for the national novel, a substitution that informed Richardson's novels from the moment of their publication, as we have seen. If the synecdoche of home and nation is useful in revealing the ideological construct of the modern bourgeois domicile and the nation simultaneously, reframing the emerging novel in the British Atlantic is an effect of the same symbiosis, but now complicated and enlarged to a transatlantic stage. As many historians and literary critics now understand it, however, the Atlantic is not only a space of exchange and circulation between a single imperial nation and its people, but also a site where several nations' empires were in close contact, and non-Europeans and Europeans engaged in everyday interculturality.[3] Novels not only wield domestic authority in the wider matrix of empire, but a host of popular and influential eighteenth-century novels in English and French emplot Atlantic mobility, and are generated in and through exchanges between Europeans and non-Europeans, especially indigenous peoples and enslaved Africans, as well as through the trans-imperial relations in the Atlantic, that is, the entanglements between different nations' colonizers. Many mid-eighteenth-century novels, written at a time of upheaval in the British and French empires, are averse to the kind of hegemonic narrative authority grounded in bourgeois individualism that have become the basis of arguments that link the novel form and national empire.[4] Traveling fictions, and specifically the use of plurilingualism and translation in these fictions, alternatively encode the interculturality of the Atlantic zone as an equally powerful strain of the emergent novel. Throughout this study, I have been arguing that the novel takes shape because of the ways in which its modes of spreading and circulating between countries and languages were changing in the cross-Channel arena. I argued in the previous chapter that the complex translation events surrounding Samuel Richardson's domestic novels eventuated the consolidation of the genre as shifts in translating in the cross-Channel arena propelled the recognition of the novel as both domestic and universal. I argue here that prose fictions also began to coalesce around the middle of the eighteenth century through their imbrication with translating the

undomestic narratives of the transatlantic.[5] Although many transatlantic fictions were rendered into several languages and had long lives in translation, this chapter does not discuss translations of novels. Translation's constitutive relationship with the emerging novel in the Atlantic context is best grasped in the novel's incorporation of translating.[6] The diegetic uses of translation—mimetic of the plurilingual Atlantic world—illuminate how the novel consolidates around the denaturalization of domestic and national attachments.

In order to appreciate the uses of translation in Atlantic fiction, we first need a working model of the modes of multilingual communication in the British and French empires during the middle of the eighteenth century which are portrayed in these novels. Atlantic translation is not yet a familiar object of scholarly study. It does not point to any specific archive and method, and given the variety of languages and cultures in contact, the fact that most translation was probably oral rather than written, and that the records of communication rarely include full transcriptions of the source and the translation, prohibiting an analysis of rendering practices, the subject can seem diffuse at best. Many primary sources, including captivity narratives and travel logs written by British and French women and men in North America, nonetheless describe engagements with multiple languages and with translating. They are striking primarily because so many register linguistic complexity, but so few describe language difference as the occasion of a fraught negotiation. An analysis of some of these first-hand accounts reveals that experiences in multilingual situations illuminate a sphere of routine translating and vernacular flexibility. This sketch of Atlantic translating is then applied to a reading of the formal and thematic incorporation of multilingualism and translating in Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) and Françoise Graffigny's *Lettres d'une péruvienne* (1747). These two novels helped establish the Atlantic as a new narrative center, and because they were among the most popular fictions in the period, both in their own countries and as international best-sellers, their influence on the genre during the period is incontestable.[7] Though the two novels are often cited as different kinds of narratives of imperial self-fashioning, an attention to the mimetic use of Atlantic world translating reveals that the characters' vernacular flexibility is a deindividualizing experience, and suggests a broader detachment from national-imperial identities. In the final section, I turn to Frances Brooke's *The History of Emily Montague* (1769), a post-Richardsonian epistolary and sentimental narrative, centrally concerned with Anglo-French relations on the competitive world stage of transatlantic empire. It is set in England and Quebec at the end of the Seven

Years' War, just as New France was ceded to the British, setting off a massive shift in the linguistic and cultural map of the Atlantic arena. Brooke's characters switch between French and English and translate between these languages to mediate both the national and the imperial tensions of Anglo-French relations—a model for transatlantic cosmopolitanism. However, this polyvocal epistolary novel also hints at Brooke's skepticism of harmonious bilingualism as a new kind of global imperial project.

Speaking Freely: Atlantic Multilingualism and Translation

In mid-eighteenth-century England and France, as we have seen, discourse about the uniqueness and autonomy of each European vernacular elicited new complaints about the endless fatigue of translation. The cross-Channel translating boom, however, challenges the purported influence of this eighteenth-century discourse, and it is important to recognize that vernaculars in Europe and elsewhere were in a constant mix. The portability of, and regular exercising of, one's foreign tongues was a common occurrence which resulted in counteracting the nationalization of vernaculars and softening any supposed barriers to translation.[8] In Europe, attaining a certain level of fluency in multiple languages was common, and one's languages were frequently, if sometimes haphazardly, put to use. Hester Thrale's account of her journey to France with Samuel Johnson and Giuseppe Baretti, an Italian living in England, describes a conversation typical of European travelers: "Our two agreeable Foreigners came [in] after the Italian Comedy, and we had a good Deal of Literary Chat, sometimes in English, sometimes in French, sometimes in Latin, sometimes in Italian; we all made Mistakes & those Mistakes made us laugh."[9] The Enlightenment construct of unique, national vernaculars also did little to endanger multilingual communication and translating in colonial North America where state borders were weaker and more fungible.[10] A variety of primary accounts written by Europeans or Euroamericans substantiate the portability of languages in colonial North America, and offer glimpses into its particular modes. Focusing on firsthand narrative sources—instead of texts whose nominal aims are linguistic, i.e., dictionaries, grammars of indigenous languages and other pedagogical aids, or essays on the history and genealogy of languages, and instead of texts that contain specimens of non-European speech in translation—allows us to excavate the kinds of lived praxis that contradict the orthodoxies of Enlightenment armchair travelers,

and to recuperate the Atlantic world as a site of ordinary multilinguality and translation.

One feature of many of these texts is the dizzying multiplicity of languages in play at any one time, which inevitably results in circuitous routes of communication. It was not uncommon for two or more interlocutors to be speaking in a language that was no one's mother tongue. In many instances, communication necessarily relied on mediating languages or indirect translations. Antoine Bonnefoy, a Frenchman in North America, wrote a memoir of his experiences as a trader and then as a captive of the Cherokee in the 1740s. When Bonnefoy escapes his captors and arrives in the Carolinas at a native village, he notes that he began to speak the native Mobilian, suggesting that he began acquiring the indigenous language, as was commonly the case with captives. Much more surprising, however, is the fact that when Bonnefoy encounters some Englishmen from Carolina in the village, instead of speaking in English or French, they address him in Chickasaw: "Some Englishmen came and gave me their hands, inquiring in the Chicachas language respecting my adventures, and how I had been able to come where I was. I told them in the Mobilian language, which they understood, that having been taken by the Cherakis in December, I had escaped."[11] Why would Mobilian and Chickasaw be used by Europeans who, we assume, would have had a smattering of each other's languages? What hope could there have been that they understood one another, given their relatively short apprenticeships in indigenous languages and the differences between Chickasaw and Mobilian? Like Baretti and Thrale's Eurobabble salon conversation, many anecdotes seem to describe a confused mélange of languages, and at the same time, the relative infrequency of being at home in a language.[12]

Some writers remarked on the challenges of a multilingual American landscape, like the Moravian missionary who wrote that "we find it verry Diffical[t] to l[e]arn anything," observing that it was "rare to hear two Indians talking in one language."[13] White captivity narratives, which poured forth from presses on both sides of the Atlantic in the late seventeenth century and throughout the eighteenth century, sometimes attest to similar anxieties and frustrations regarding language difference. When John Williams met with mediators for the return of his daughter and failed, he said, "[I]t's [sic] there still, and has forgotten to speak English!"[14] Mrs. Johnson, a captive taken during the Seven Years' War, was separated from her children, and when they were returned to her, she also reports that they had forgotten English. Yet, the difference in tone between Johnson and Williams is significant: "My little daughter, Captive, had completely

acquired the French tongue, so as to be very pert and talkative in it, but she could not speak a word of English."[15] When she found her son, she explained that he too "had entirely forgotten the English language, spoke a little broken French, but was perfect in Indian."[16] As Johnson lists her children's new linguistic competencies, there is no explicit lament about their separation from their home language. Indeed, she does not write of heartrending loss, but of her daughter's complete acquisition of French and on her son's partial French, for which he compensates with "perfect" Indian. There almost seems to be a note of pride in her children's command of foreign tongues. Most Anglo-American captives, over two thousand in the Seven Years' War alone by most estimates, left their anglophone community with a French-allied native group, traveling to francophone Canada. Generally they met and lived with people who spoke French or native languages (or both). Not surprisingly, the possession of a varied stock of languages and the ability to trade between them was an appreciable skill in colonial America as in Europe. American multilingualism could be seen as a privilege rather than a curse or threat.

An undue focus has often been placed on isolation and frustration in contact situations, leading us to imagine the Atlantic arena less as a continuous space of communication, however improvised, but by gaps, dissonance, even trauma. In his work on early modern Latin America, Julio Ortega argues that "translation is the first cultural act that throws both languages—both subjects—into crisis: speakers have to redefine themselves and there are extended struggles over protocols and interpretations."[17] Though we cannot deny the existence of fractured communications and contentious translating, we have overlooked the full range of experiences regarding linguistic diversity, preferring to rehearse the drama of translation at the expense of ordinary multilingualism. What stands out in many firsthand accounts is how infrequently writers characterize their efforts in communicating as arduous, and how few scenarios are put in affective terms. Rather than a Babelian nightmare, there is a plethora of terse and summary records of complex linguistic communications. In fact, many rarely pause long enough to explain the situation in full detail. John Long, a mid-eighteenth-century trader in North America, recounts in his memoir that he learned Iroquois, French, Mohawk, and Chippewa, first acquiring only the names of trade articles, then in immersion experiences with the Mohawk and francophones, but the entirety of these experiences occupies a single paragraph of reportage.[18] Captain Isaac Stewart's narrative of travel and captivity on the North American borderlands in the mid-eighteenth century records one of the strangest incidents of multilingual

communication in America, but he too quickly summarizes what would seem to be an unnerving experience. Stewart spent two years as a captive with indigenous peoples, but then a Spaniard who had traveled north from Mexico offered to redeem him along with fellow captive John Davey, a Welshman. They traveled together, "crossing the Mississippi near la riviere rouge, or red river, up which we travelled 700 miles, when we came to a nation of Indians remarkably white, and whose hair was of a reddish colour, at least mostly so."[19] Stewart goes on:

> In the morning of the day after our arrival amongst these Indians, the Welchman [*sic*] informed me, that he was determined to remain with them, giving as a reason that he understood their language, *it being very little different from the Welch.* My curiosity was excited very much by this information and I went with my companion to the chief men of the town, who informed him (in a language I had no knowledge of, and which had no affinity to that of any other Indian tongue I ever heard) that their forefathers of this nation came from a foreign country, and landed on the east side of the Mississippi.[20] (emphasis added)

The affinity between Welsh and this native language excites Stewart's curiosity, though it is not the subject of amazement, wonder, or disbelief. When a parchment is brought out as if to explain the origins of these people, no real explanation of the linguistic and racial affinity is forthcoming, not least because neither the Welshman, "being unacquainted with letters, even of his own language," nor Stewart could recognize the large characters in blue ink, much less decipher them.[21] The flatness of the narration suggests that there was nothing perceived as particularly extraordinary about such potentially alienating gaps or incredible affinities between peoples and languages.[22] Stewart's account also emblematizes the raw complexities of interlingual situations and the ways in which individuals recorded their navigations of linguistic plurality without dramatizing or registering the affective dimensions of the experience.

What does this situation of ordinary multilinguality imply about translation? Was translation simply unnecessary if one's languages could be switched on and off to suit the demands of the situation? In fact, the relation between multilinguality and translation in eighteenth-century North America was a close one, as it was in Europe. Just as a flourishing European market of works in foreign languages tended to encourage translation, in North America, traders, missionaries, and captives who acquired new languages frequently attended to interpreting and translating. Inhab-

iting multiple European and indigenous languages, these individuals performed crucial translations tasks, buoying communication along its plurilingual streams. Samson Occom, often said to be the first Native American writer, notes in his brief autobiography, *A Short Narrative of My Life* (1768), that he taught himself English, and then after being admitted to Moor's Indian Charity School, he learned to read and write in English as well as Latin and Greek, and subsequently became a bilingual preacher. Despite being accused of illiteracy and of having lost his native tongue, Occom writes that he read the Scriptures in English and expounded upon them in his own tongue, adding that "in my Service . . . I was my own Interpreter."[23] John Gyles, another captive, likewise traces his acquisition of multiple languages to his eventual post as an official translator. In the first weeks of captivity, Gyles says he found himself surrounded by unfamiliar tongues: "The Frenchman was not at home, but his wife who was a squaw had some discourse with my Indian friend which I did not understand." Later he acquires two Algonkian languages and notes that this native language mediated between European vernaculars: "[T]he master of the house spoke kindly to me in Indian, for I could not then speak one word of French."[24] Gyles finally acquired French and shortly after his own release from captivity, served as an interpreter and negotiator in conferences arranging the return of other captives, and later was hired as an official interpreter for treaty conferences and prisoner exchanges.[25] Colonial trade, settler expansion, and war and diplomacy demanded that individuals belong to multiple linguistic communities, and that they switch between languages or speak in a language that neither they nor their interlocutors could command easily. Despite the growing European perception that languages bore a national character, and that cultural and linguistic hurdles diminished the possibility of translating, the complex and unpredictable linguistic topography of the Atlantic arena was unfailingly described as a norm. Accounts of life in this arena suggest a tolerance for living outside one's native tongue that was likely to engender distantiation, not least by diminishing everyone's linguistic agency.

Robinson Crusoe and the Péruvienne: Vernacular Cosmopolitans

Multilingualism in transatlantic prose fiction is prevalent, though it has been largely overlooked. In a variety of novels in English and French, narrators translate indigenous American, African, or other non-European

voices, often insisting upon the translative status of the text by remarking on their characters' different languages and how they are mediated. At the outset of *Oroonoko*, for example, the narrator notes she received the account "from the Mouth of the chief Actor in this History," explaining that she "could talk with him" because "he spoke French and English."[26] Behn's own bilingualism and Oroonoko's quadri-linguality—he was taught by a Frenchman, and later learned English and then Spanish in slave trade contacts—suggests that the narrative is, at least in part, a translation from one or more languages. *Oroonoko* also incorporates translation into the novel's intercultural scenarios, as, for example, in the narrator's visit to the Carib village. Translating between multiple languages is also demonstrable in any number of English, French, and American novels written in the eighteenth century, though the constellation of particular languages is as diverse as the transatlantic arena itself. Behn's *Oronooko* describes a plurilingual site in the Atlantic that is different from that in Charlotte Lennox's transatlantic novel *Euphemia* (1790), which records translated Mohawk speech, and conversations in Dutch and French with an ear trained to the multilingual environment of Albany where she lived as a child and subsequently set the novel.[27] *The Algerine Spy of Pennsylvania: or, Letters Written by a Native of Algiers on the Affairs of the United States* (1787), is an early American novel about an Arabic-speaking Algerian who embarks on a journey across the Atlantic. The spy poses as a traveling Frenchman because of his "knowledge of the French language" and writes that he also "conversed . . . freely in English, which I understand perfectly and speak with tolerable fluency."[28] The narrative's translative status, which, unlike *Oroonoko* or *Euphemia* is purely fictional, is made explicit in the paratext: "[T]he letters, written in different languages, but chiefly in Arabic, were delivered into my hands with a note, which contained a request that I should translate and publish them for the good of the United States."[29] Much like nonfictional narratives, novels record the plurality of languages, unexpected routes of communication and helter-skelter translating. Defoe writes of Robinson Crusoe's meeting with the Spanish sailor:

> I pull'd out my Knife, and cut the Flags that bound the poor Victim, and loosing his Hands, and Feet, I lifted him up and ask'd him in the *Portuguese* Tongue, What he was? He answer'd in Latin, *Christianus* . . . then I ask'd him What Countryman he was? And he said, *Espagniole* . . . *Seignior*, said I, with as much *Spanish* as I could make up, we will talk afterwards.[30]

Crusoe, the anglophone, speaks Portuguese to a Spaniard. The Spaniard seems to understand enough Portuguese, but replies in Latin. Then Crusoe switches to as much Spanish as he could "make up." Crusoe later states that he ultimately communicated with the Spaniard through Friday's mother tongue, revealing that translation was never far behind these negotiations of multiple languages: "*Friday* being my Interpreter, especially to his Father, and indeed to the *Spaniard* too; for the *Spaniard* spoke the Language of the *Savages* pretty well."[31] Such fictional details about communication portray much of the reality of Atlantic multilinguality and translation: there were several languages in play, interlocutors switched between them, and communicated in one language or another that is no one's mother tongue—all described with the utmost brevity.

Defoe's *Robinson Cruse* absorbs multilinguality and translation into its portrait of the Atlantic sphere, though this has seemed obscure in a critical tradition that focuses on the hero's radical individualism, his "composure" of himself in the face of his own unstable interiority in the island episode.[32] Peter Hulme's reading of the novel, which updates Ian Watt's and other critics' focus on individualism by contextualizing it in the Atlantic, aiming to "return *Robinson Crusoe* to the Caribbean," is a wide-ranging argument that takes up the novel's religious theme, economic adventuring, Cartesian selfhood, cannibalism, and the problem of mimetic allegory.[33] The unifying thread of Hulme's reading is that the colonial experience rests on Crusoe's self-authorizing and "the primacy of individual experience" in the face of failure: "Crusoe tries, for the most part unsuccessfully, to compose himself in the face of dreadful anxieties."[34] Even when his more composed self emerges on the island, Hulme argues, it is "severely shaken."[35] Hulme convincingly challenges the argument that individualism coheres in a mimetic allegory, and illuminates instead the "psychosis" of Crusoe's colonialism, and the denial and renegotiation which, he argues, redraws the colonial encounter.

Hulme recontextualizes Defoe, but he does not historicize the Atlantic sphere so much as place the novel in a literary history of Atlantic encounters. If Crusoe's island episode is put back into the larger itinerary of the novel, the Atlantic reemerges a zone where Crusoe's interlocutors, who are mostly not English speakers or not English-only speakers, are interdependent. One of the first remarks Robinson makes about himself is that his own name has been translated: "I was called *Robinson Kreutznaer*; but by the usual Corruption of Words in *England* we are now called, nay we call ourselves, and write our Name *Crusoe*."[36] Crusoe's own origin in a mixed European cultural and linguistic milieu is recapitulated at the end

of the novel when he returns to Europe, but rather than remaining home in England, goes on a series of Continental adventures crossing and recrossing European borders and languages. During his two-year captivity earlier in the novel, Crusoe communicates with Moors and with Xury, who learns some English. Crusoe also spends over four years as a colonist in the Brasils, noting that "I had not only learn'd the Language, but had contracted Acquaintances and Friendship."[37] During the island episode, Crusoe and his companions form a microcosm of the Atlantic translation zone, marked not only by unexpected routes between languages, but also by the nonconvergence of one's native language with self-identification. The Spaniard who is addressed in Portuguese responds in Latin, initially allying himself with the *orbis christianum* rather than his national homeland. Then, the Spaniard reveals his knowledge of the Carib language such that he is more closely allied with Friday than with his fellow European. Robinson Crusoe, for his part, is now more closely allied with Friday than the European, since Friday emerges as both the ideal servant and Crusoe's better self when he becomes the bilingual interpreter for the Spaniard and the other indigenous characters. Crusoe needs and without much ado acquires linguistic equipment, less the bourgeois individualist than a vernacular cosmopolite in the Atlantic arena, and less a hermetic subject in formation than another cog in the language exchange. When Crusoe switches to Portuguese or makes up Spanish, and when Friday and the Spaniard do the same, these characters inevitably find themselves separated from their mother tongue, but these scenes are not linked to Crusoe's otherwise amplified affective states, or his compulsive ordering of his surroundings that denote his strained attempts at stabilizing himself. Instead, they perform a normative denaturalization of language, identity, and nation, and the everyday linguistic interdependence that exposes solitary self-composure as the myth at the heart of the novel.

Françoise Graffigny's *Lettres d'une Péruvienne* also belongs to an Atlantic linguistic circuit, and critics have long emphasized the role of the khipus (quipos), Incan knotted strings, in which the Peruvian narrator, Zilia, is said to have composed her early letters, and later translated into French. Many are quick to point out that Graffigny's use of the khipus was so provocative that it inspired actual language debates; in his article "writing" in the *Encyclopédie*, the Chevalier de Jaucourt went so far as to quote Graffigny in lieu of any scholarly or historical source on khipus.[38] Thomas Kavanagh has argued that the khipus alone "keep alive her allegiance to the Inca culture from which she has been so brutally sundered."[39] She must relinquish the khipus when she runs out of string, suffering what

appears to be the loss of her Incan language and the loss of her sentimental expressions of intimacy. Much in the way that Robinson Crusoe's account is thought to be both self-generated and generative of a self, Zilia is often said to plot her own self-development because her adoption of French after losing the khipus marks the retrieval of agency, however ambiguous and incomplete.[40] As with Defoe's novel, these readings tend to overshadow Atlantic plurilinguality and its effects. Zilia has a command of oral Peruvian as well as of the khipus and uses both. She also undergoes a brief initiation into Spanish with her first captors, and acquires it quickly and easily in the short time she remains with them. When she is transferred to a French ship, she acquires French, at first orally, and later perfects her knowledge of both oral and written French.[41] In the mixed and multilingual space of the Atlantic, Zilia proves her vernacular flexibility, maintaining her native language and acquiring others as needed. Like Robinson Crusoe's linguistic life in the Atlantic, which takes him out of his English and mediates him through other languages, Zilia inhabits multiple languages in a similarly deindividualizing narrative.

Language switching is, however, pressed into thematic service in *Lettres d'une Péruvienne* in ways very different from Defoe's narrative. Graffigny uses Zilia's initiation into spoken French on her transatlantic voyage from Peru to Europe to tease out the effects of diminished linguistic agency. Zilia begins learning French with the captain of the French ship, Déterville, who has fallen in love with her. He begins by having her simply repeat his French words in order to learn French pronunciation: "Il commence par me faire prononcer distinctement des mots de sa langue. Dès que j'ai répété après lui, *oui, je vous aime*, ou bien *je vous promets d'être à vous*, la joie se répand sur son visage." [He starts by having me clearly pronounce some of the words of his language. As soon as I have repeated after him "Yes I love you" or "I promise to be yours," joy spreads over his face.][42] Zilia writes as if these are still sounds and not meaningful words. But after Zilia has been in France for some time and attains fluency in the language, Déterville returns from another voyage and rehearses the initial scene of language pedagogy with her. He asks her once again to repeat the words he taught her to parrot, and though she obliges, he now mistrusts her use of the words and demands that she explicate them: "Mais expliquez-moi quel sens vous attachez à ces mots adorables: *Je vous aime*?" [Please explain to me what meaning you attach to those charming words "I love you"?] In her response, she explains that they are words of friendship and gratitude only. She thus distinguishes her love for her absent fiancé Aza from this love: "Non, lui dis-je, le sentiment que j'ai pour Aza

est tout different de ceux que j'ai pour vous, c'est ce que vous appelez l'amour." ["No," I told him, "the feeling I have for Aza is totally different from those I have for you. It is what you call love."][43] Zilia marshals the French word, *amour*, to distinguish her diverse sentiments for Déterville from her singular undying love for Aza. Love has two meanings, Zilia asserts, and she disentangles them not only to remain faithful to Aza, but also in order to expose Déterville's duplicity. Zilia's acquisition of French soon becomes mastery, and Graffigny displaces Atlantic multilingualism in order to turn Zilia into a voice of Enlightenment critique. Several of Zilia's letters are scathing descriptions of French manners and customs, of which Déterville's duplicity is but one example. The French value nothing unless it is superfluous, she tells Aza, extracting resources from all parts of the world for their frivolous pleasures. Their triviality also leads to insincerity: "[politesse] consiste dans une infinité de paroles sans signification" [politeness consists of countless words without meaning].[44] As the heroine engages further with the French character through her mastery of their language, she writes that "leur goût effréné pour le superflu a corrompu leur raison, leur coeur et leur esprit." [Their unbridled taste for the superfluous has corrupted their reason, their hearts and their spirit.][45] Zilia ultimately exposes not only the French national character and her French audience in this marred self-reflection, but also their failure to meet their obligations to "l'humanité et la justice" [humanity and justice].[46] With Zilia's mastery of French, Graffigny ultimately leaves behind the Atlantic experience of multiple habitations and displaces aleatory attachment to emphasize Zilia's power of talking back. In the end, the Peruvian is less as a representative of the Atlantic than a tool for national self-reflexivity and self-correction for French readers, serving up the more familiar lessons of cosmopolitan detachment.

As in early modern Europe, the Atlantic arena encouraged partial multilingualism, the use of mediating languages, and translation. Living outside one's home vernacular was frequent, and it was best to treat languages like capital: they were meant to be accumulated and deployed. Fictional narratives from *Oroonoko* to *Robinson Crusoe* and *Lettres d'une péruvienne* tap into Atlantic multilingualism, encoding the linguistic life of transatlantic mobility in the formation of the genre. Thus, as the novel begins to emerge, and narratives continue to be obsessed with going abroad, these routine negotiations of multiple vernaculars contribute to the consolidating genre not through the unifying forces of domesticity, individuating authority, and national affiliation alone, but also by digesting

the multiple, distantiated experiences of Atlantic linguistic life, and by deindividualizing and denationalizing narratives to constitute a recognition of the novel as a function of its spread.

Frances Brooke: Transporting Bilingualism

The History of Emily Montague, which traces the transatlantic courtships of three couples, was praised for "its tender and delicate sentiments on the subject of love and marriage," but Brooke's portrait of Canada in the 1760s with descriptions of the landscape, the towns of Quebec, the local French Canadians, the Jesuits and nuns, as well as her short ethnography of the Huron at Lorette, created a setting so realistic that several eighteenth- and nineteenth-century visitors to Canada used the novel as a guidebook, and indeed, it was so authoritative that John Long, the eighteenth-century American trader and interpreter, quoted her in his memoir.[47] Critics have not been easy with this conjunction of sentimental novel and nonfiction, remarking that "the plot [is] poorly integrated with informative sections" or that there is a "contradictory relation between politics and romance."[48] The mix is not, however, simply an infelicitous or difficult match of the metropolitan form of sentimental courtship novel and colonial content. The characters' sentiments of love and friendship are focalized through the novel's detailed engagement with the aftermath of the Seven Years' War in Canada. The characters' letters personalize the political events around the cession of Canada to Britain—the largest transfer of its kind, entailing massive change not only in the cultural and linguistic topography of North America, but also of national attitudes about empire in Britain and France. Brooke's novel addresses language and its relation to nation, state, and culture in the British annexation of New France. Brooke's sentimental hero and heroine, who come from Britain to Canada during the transition, train their sensibilities in the crucible of national-imperial cultural politics of the 1760s. Their personal liaisons and private expressions mediate English-French relations in a transatlantic context, not least through Brooke's emphasis on the characters' bilingualism. Returning us to the complex strands of nationalizing, national self-critique, and cosmopolitanism of the cross-Channel sphere from a transatlantic perspective, Brooke's thematic rehearsal of Atlantic language switching and bilingualism, and its relation

to national imperial strife, also returns us to the novel's emergent transnationalism.

The Seven Years' War, 1756–1763, is often called a "clash of empires" and the first global war.[49] It was the last in a string of European conflicts that saw a new concentration of political power and imperial territory in the hands of the French and British. It was also a vast and expensive war fought in and over lands on both sides of the Atlantic and across the globe with dramatic battles such as Montcalm's defeat by Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham and Pontiac's Rebellion, in which several tribes rose up against the British forces over trade and land disputes. The enlarged scope of war is nowhere more graphic than in the articles of the peace treaty that ended the war. The Treaty of Paris is a globe-hopping itinerary of territorial concessions that begins with Nova Scotia, moves down the Mississippi to New Orleans and other parts of the South, to the West Indies, then across to the East Indies, and from there back to Minorca and other parts of Western Europe.[50] The end of the war saw an unprecedented shift in imperial power as the Spanish ceded some North American territories, as did the French. The French, who had been hesitant to refer to their overseas territory as an empire, were wary of committing resources to the war and to colonization generally, and thus preferred to cede possessions for the benefit of an alliance with Spain, handing over most of the territory east of the Mississippi, as well as Canada, to the British.[51]

Frances Brooke's first novel, *Lady Julia Mandeville*, is set during the summer of 1762 as the British were turning the tide of their misfortunes in the American conflicts of the Seven Years' War, and peace was on the horizon. This epistolary novel focuses primarily on the courtship of Henry Mandeville and the eponymous heroine who face the obstacles of a match made by choice. The Seven Years' War roils behind the sentimental plot line as Henry Mandeville intends to "embark immediately for the army," for "it is shameful, at my age, to recline in the flowery bower of indolence, when the whole world is in arms."[52] Mandeville refers elsewhere to the many overseas battles of the Seven Years' War, and his father also discusses the war with his son, anticipating its end in "an immense addition of empire" (63). Mandeville's father alludes here to public discussions about the war and the expected negotiations regarding territorial concessions. The war had not been particularly popular, and the potential addition of new colonial territories in North America was greeted with skepticism in Britain. In an *Idler* essay written in 1758, Samuel Johnson dressed up his critique of the war as the musings of a Native American who surveys the English military camped at Quebec, and evokes the whole uncivilized

history of the European colonization in America—rapine, seizure of indigenous lands, violation of treaties, the enslavement of others. He then sarcastically sums up the war's potentially advantageous consequences: "[T]he death of each European delivers the country from a tyrant and robber."[53] Oliver Goldsmith's imagined Chinese visitor in *Citizen of the World* (1762) also laments this destructive and bloody war between the French and British. He ridicules the cause of the war— "one side's desiring to wear greater quantities of furs than the other"—and demeans its potential political gain for Britain, "a country cold, desolate, and hideous . . . belonging to people who were in possession from time immemorial."[54]

The British were notoriously slow to see the value of an enlarged American empire, and as the war came to a close, they argued over the wisdom of increasing North American domains. One central question in the debate related to the French in Canada. Should they eliminate the French colony or allow the French to remain? If they chose the latter, they intended to have the French cede Guadeloupe in return. Lord Belmont, one of the two patriarchs in Brooke's *Lady Julia Mandeville*, says the terms of peace "are such as wisdom and equity equally dictate" and argues for the annexation of Canada: "Canada . . . considered merely as the possession of it gives security to our colonies, is of more national consequence to us than all our Sugar-islands on the globe" (94). Many argued that keeping Canada was preferable for reasons of security, since Canada represented a buffer against the threat of further conflict with the French along the western borders of the colonies and, it was argued, a strong British administration there would help keep Americans, already seen as too independent from Britain, under restraint. Oliver Goldsmith's *History of the Seven Years' War* does not simply ridicule the folly of the war as did *Citizen of the World*, revealing instead that he accepted and confronted the practicalities of enlarged domains. He maintained that colonists' "stubborn disregard of the English government . . . seems to make it necessary they should be continued in a condition to be obliged always to have recourse to, and dependence on, their mother country."[55] Guadeloupe, on the other hand, was a beautiful, bountiful, and profitable sugar island. Those who argued for the acquisition of Guadeloupe saw Canada as a vast, empty space that represented little more than a cushion for securing North American possessions, and consistently described it with the epithet "barren."

Those who preferred the annexation of Guadeloupe argued for its financial potential, not least because it would have put the British back in the sugar market after having been shut out by the French. More significantly, Guadeloupe stood for plantation imperialism rather than settler

colonialism. The planters were conduits of material wealth, exploiting raw land to enrich the metropole. They were more closely tied to their homeland culture than the settler colonists, as Guy Frégault notes: "The West Indian planter was not really at home in the colonies: he sent his children to be educated in the mother country and he himself retired to England to enjoy the fortune he had made in the island."[56] For those like Brooke's Lord Belmont, on the other hand, Canada would extend America's settler colonies, and a growing population would both improve the land by cultivating it and be able to exploit its raw resources. Rather than a temporary home for a relatively small group of migratory planters, such a vast acquisition of land would result in the foundation of stable communities, and the potential for a substantial expansion of overseas trade. Benjamin Franklin also claimed that expansion and increased trade with Britain would produce wealth far beyond what Guadeloupe could offer while also providing a significant measure of security.[57] When Canada was finally ceded to Britain, they decided not only to occupy the North American territory, but also to annex it. Because most of the debate regarding colonial possessions focused on economic and political issues, particularly profit and stability, few pundits spoke about the potential difficulties of colonial transfer. Most did not anticipate how to solve the inevitable conflicts between French-Canadian inhabitants whose colony was founded on the French language, political structures, and culture, and a new British regime. Frances Brooke, however, immediately sized up the debate in terms of its cultural impact in *Lady Julia Mandeville*. Lord Belmont writes:

> [I]f the present inhabitants are encouraged to stay, by the mildness of our laws, and that full liberty of conscience to which every rational creature has a right; if they are taught, by every honest art, a love for that constitution which makes them free, and a personal attachment to the best of princes; if they are allured to our religious worship, by seeing it in its genuine beauty . . . if population is encouraged, the waste lands settled, and a whale fishery set on foot, we shall find it, considered in every light, an acquisition beyond our most sanguine hopes. (94)

Belmont's series of hypothetical statements suggests a guarded optimism. Only *if* the inhabitants can appreciate English liberty, and thus give up French monarchy and Catholicism, will Canada be worth acquiring. Little is said about what might have happened if the French inhabitants were averse to giving up these and other fundamental institutions. The Royal Proclamation of 1763, following the terms of peace, was the first British

attempt to impose institutional form on the conquest of New France. It created a new, larger colony by extending the boundaries of Quebec to include the Ohio Valley. It guaranteed the French in Quebec their property and their right to practice Catholicism, but kept Catholics from voting or holding civil office. It also ordained that the colony would be organized in a manner agreeable to the laws of England, operating under appointed governors and elected assemblies, replacing the French system of seigneuries and French civil law.[58] And following the Treaty of Paris, the Royal Proclamation also promised to reserve hunting grounds to the indigenous peoples allied with the empire. The intention, however, was to bring any hostile tribes under its sway, and it was ineffective in keeping speculators away from native lands.[59]

Rather than providing a smooth transition from French to British colony, the Royal Proclamation raised the problem of governing French Canadians, because, as Brooke predicted in *Lady Julia Mandeville*, the state and the culture were out of joint. The colony at Quebec, founded in 1608 by Samuel Champlain, was the center of French colonization efforts and exploratory undertakings, but its growth had been hindered and emigrants hard to attract, especially women and families. It has long been a commonplace of comparative colonialism that the French in the St. Lawrence Valley "unlike the swarm of English farmers, did not settle on occupied Indian lands and proceed to alienate natives by the insatiable demand for more."[60] New France's population was notably small, and fur traders kept mostly to the waterways rather than moving inland and settling. These *coureurs de bois* were dependent on Indian trappers, and many took indigenous wives. As James Axtell has explained, this posed a "marked contrast to the ethnocentric disdain of the more balanced English population for such 'mongrel' matches."[61] The other dominant group of Frenchmen in New France was made up of Jesuit missionaries and a few communities of nuns.[62] The Jesuits, like the traders, took to many aspects of native life, traveling with them, gathering food like them, and sharing other social behaviors. Like the traders, the Jesuits were known to have applied themselves to learning native languages. The reputation of the Jesuits among eighteenth-century Britons and Anglo-American colonists, however, was that they had undue influence over the natives, and were able to elicit a high degree of loyalty from them. This influence continued after British victory in the Seven Years' War as Indian converts to Catholicism remained in the faith.[63] Of the many settled French Canadians, as few as 270 relocated at the end of the war, leaving a significant citizenry who identified themselves with the French Crown.[64]

In *The History of Emily Montague*, Edward Rivers, Emily Montague, and Emily's friend Arabella Fermor are among a small group of Britons who venture to Canada in 1766 and 1767 in the midst of the transfer anticipated in *Lady Julia Mandeville*. Edward has set out for America "on a scheme I once hinted to you of settling the lands to which I have a right as a lieutenant-colonel on half-pay," a reference to the Crown's encouragement to settle this new agglomeration of territory by offering land to those who had done military service.[65] One of the minor characters, Will Fermor, Arabella's father, explicitly takes up the political issues of administering the transition. In Fermor's thirteen letters, all of which are addressed to an unnamed earl, his tone is that of loyal imperialist, not least because the explicit function of the letters is to report on the colony in an advisory capacity. Fermor is fervently pro-Canada, and restates some of the arguments for annexing the vast territory. In addition to general inducements to colonization, Fermor adds that the acquisition of population in Canada "is an invaluable treasure," in part because England could not supply enough citizens to people the new colony. Fermor also reports on the problems of governing the existing populations in Canada.[66] He believes that the natives have "an aversion to the English" (232) as a result of their relationship with the Jesuits. The more pernicious influence, however, was that of the indigenous peoples over the French. The French and Indians resemble one another, he says, "not by the French having won the savages to receive European manners, but by the very contrary," and French-Canadian soldiers were alienated from the troops sent over from France to fight with them because of their closer resemblance to natives than to their former countrymen (232). Not surprisingly, Fermor's obsession with the perils of ethnic mixing results in advising the implementation of British religious, political, and cultural institutions to replace existing French ones. Though he does not renege on the British tradition of religious tolerance and argues that the "Romish religion" ought not to be banned, he states that Anglican bishops ought to be appointed in the spirit of order and obedience: "As therefore the civil government of America is on the same plan with that of the mother country, it were to be wished the religious establishment was also the same" (179). To encourage allegiance to Britain, Fermor argues further for replacing the French nobility's order of the Croix of St. Louis with a British equivalent, and most importantly, the establishment of English schools. Fermor's advice to the earl to open English schools attempts to persuade the earl that there is no "stronger tie of brotherhood and affection, a greater cement of union than speaking one common language" (214). English schools would also assimilate French Cana-

dians because, along with the language, they would adopt British manners and values: "[W]ith our language, which they should by every means be induced to learn, they acquire the mild genius of our religion and laws, and that spirit of industry, enterprize and commerce to which we owe all our greatness" (189). Only a strong, unified, and monolingual Canadian colony would succeed, Fermor claims.

Fermor's letters, written in the voice of an exemplary patriarch and British citizen, articulate a consistent agenda of strong-arm colonial transfer. It is misleading, however, to present Fermor's policy as the political and cultural message of the novel, not least because his views on Quebec were foiled both by historical circumstances and by Brooke's central characters, Edward Rivers and Arabella Fermor, whose letters far outnumber his. Brooke wrote the novel during and immediately following her own sojourn in Quebec. She arrived in 1763, the year of the Treaty of Paris that ended the Seven Years' War and changed the status of Quebec to an English colony.[67] She had traveled across the Atlantic to be reunited with her husband, an Anglican minister, who had been in the colonies since 1757 and became a chaplain in Quebec in 1759 after the British captured the city. Though Brooke returned to England on business for her husband once during her stay, she remained in Quebec nearly four years, returning home permanently in 1767; her husband left in 1768. James Murray, the governor of Canada who had welcomed the Brookes, saw that conciliation and integration of French and British colonials was needed. He was called back to England in 1766, the same year of the events of the novel, and then retired from his Canadian post shortly thereafter, in part due to British merchants' complaints about his apparently sympathetic attitude toward the French. Guy Carleton, to whom the novel is dedicated, replaced Murray, but he was no more like Fermor than Murray. According to his biographer Paul Nelson, Carleton recognized "how far it was practicable and expedient to blend English and French laws and institutions to have an equitable and convenient system."[68] Carleton, whom Brooke praises in her dedication to the novel for diffusing "a spirit of loyalty and attachment to our excellent Sovereign," had in fact argued assiduously for maintaining French systems, and he eventually became the architect of the 1774 Quebec Act, which loosened or reversed some of the provisions of the Royal Proclamation of 1763. Fermor may represent a set of generally accepted opinions about British Canada, but in her dedication, Brooke herself praised the "probity" of the governor, who attempted to integrate the national empires and maintain a bilateral political and cultural system, and his "enlightened attention to the colony," which secures "that tranquility of mind, without

which there can be no exertion of the powers of either the understanding or the imagination." In effect, the colony conceded that French Canadians could be British citizens without becoming English, laying down what the historian Colin Calloway calls "a new principle of empire."[69] Carleton also stands in opposition to Will Fermor in being particularly sensitized to the linguistic politics of the region, having made it one of his first duties to learn to speak and write in French well when he became governor.[70] Brooke's husband, who was not bilingual, held his Anglican services in the French church, and when he applied to the Society of the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) for expenses to do missionary work, he was sent twice as many French bibles, testaments, and prayer books as English ones.[71] Frances Brooke took a petition from Quebec back to England to encourage the SPG to fund a French-speaking minister to aid her husband. Governor Murray discouraged Brooke's application, however, on the grounds that her husband was not bilingual. Murray wrote to the SPG to urge that missionaries be sent to Quebec but to choose "Men who can speak French, of great Moderation, and very Exemplary Lives . . . it is to be lamented, that this Gentleman [Brooke] does not understand French."[72]

Any novel set in Canada at this time would almost be forced to reference bi- or multilinguality, but Brooke's uses of bilingualism are not incidental details of the novel's setting. Brooke was competent in Italian and French, and a published translator before going to Quebec.[73] When she experienced the linguistic diversity of the colony—one of many North American borderlands where there were two official imperial languages and several indigenous ones—she experienced it as part of the larger circum-atlantic zone. The novel is, in fact, rife with translations from both European and American spheres. The letters include a rendering of an Indian song, translations from Horace, a liberal use of French phrases, quotations, or translations from French authors, as well as translated conversations with francophones, Iroquois, and the Huron. Unlike William Fermor, the two major epistolary correspondents in the novel, Edward Rivers and Arabella Fermor, show no preference for monolinguality. They liberally pepper their prose with French phrases, refer to conversations and texts in French, quoting them in the original or translating them. Edward and Arabella integrate European bilingualism and translation to simultaneously register the new role of bilingualism in colonial expansion as the mediation of national empires. Less dominant characters are also bilingual: John Temple integrates French phrases in his letters, and as the reader discovers late in the novel, Emily Montague is a bilingual who was raised in a French convent before returning to England and going off to Canada.

Early in the novel, Edward's friend John Temple writes from England saying he imagines Edward "chasing females wild as the winds thro' the woods as wild as themselves. . . . And pray, *comment trouvez-vous les dames sauvages*?" [How do you find the savage ladies?] (5). Temple's mixing of French and English banter is part of his effete and chummy tone, using French to encode gallantry on the frontier, as if colonial or native women were European coquettes. Edward, however, is far from aping French speech and manners. If anything, Brooke uses Edward's character to vindicate the francophile from the caricatures found in eighteenth-century satire. On the subject of gallantry, Edward contrasts himself with Temple by defending the French and their proper use of wit: "If I was a gallant, I should be in danger of being a convert to the French stile of gallantry; which certainly debases the mind much less than ours" (20). Edward expresses his affinity with the French language and manners, exposing a predilection not for aping, but for integrating French and English values. In response to Temple's query about the women, Edward says Englishwomen "are generally too reserved," but a woman is "irresistible" who "has all the smiling graces of France, all the blushing delicacy and a native softness of England" (47). This letter's expostulation on charm, love, and marriage ends with Edward quoting a French poet on love: "*Amour; / Tous les autres plaisirs ne valent pas tes peines*" [Love / all other pleasures are not worth your pains] (49). Later, Edward performs this integration of English and French values in a translation of a letter of advice on love and marriage written by Madame de Maintenon. Maintenon was the wife of the seventeenth-century comic writer Paul Scarron and later the governess to Louis XIV's illegitimate children, the monarch's de facto counselor, and his second wife. She was known as a pious, decorous influence in her time, and became quite visible in British letters with the publication of a biography, memoirs, and her letters, all of which went through multiple editions in English during the second half of the eighteenth century, including Charlotte Lennox's translation of Beaumelle's *Memoirs for the History of Madame de Maintenon and of the Last Age*.[74] Edward quotes from Maintenon's letters in English, but Brooke did not take these citations from the available English translation. Edward's letter deviates somewhat from the published translation, suggesting that Brooke herself translated these passages, and possibly meant for them to appear as Edward's own rendering. Edward tells his sister that he has been reading Maintenon's advice on marital affection and writes a few excerpts from one of Maintenon's letters to the Duchess of Burgundy. The final passage in these excerpts concerns the sacrifices women make to their husbands:

In sacrificing your own will, pretend to no right over that of a husband: men are more attached to theirs than women, because educated with less constraint.

They are naturally tyrannical; they will have pleasures and liberty, yet insist that women renounce both: do not examine whether their rights are well-founded; let it suffice to you, that they are established; they are masters, we have only to suffer and obey with a good grace. (174)

[En sacrifiant votre volonté, ne prétendez rien sur celle de votre époux: les hommes y sont encore plus attachés que les femmes, parce qu'on les élève avec moins de contrainte. Ils sont naturelle-ment tyranniques: ils veulent les plaisirs & la liberté, & que les femmes y renoncent: n'examinez pas si leurs droits sont fondés: qu'il vous suffise qu'ils soient établis: ils sont les maîtres: il n'y a qu'à souffrir & à obéir de bonne grace.][75]

As a translator, Edward validates the authority of the source, but he also pulls back from a servile rendering to question Maintenon's suppositions about gender roles. Where the French woman imparts an ideology of mas-culine power, Edward resists, saying that some men "willingly give up the harsh title of master, for the tender and more endearing one of friend" (174).

Edward seems to possess a measure of femininity, born out here by translating the woman writer, and then proposing a more feminized version of her text. In fact, his femininity does not go unnoticed by other characters. Arabella tells Edward he has something of the "sensibility and generosity"(299) of women, and that he is the only "one of his sex I know, who has the tenderness of woman with the spirit and firmness of man" (169). Edward's other significant alteration to Maintenon's letter is the strategic omission of Maintenon's final piece of advice: "Aimez vos parens: mais que la France soit votre seul patrie."[76] ["Love your Relations; but let France alone be your country."][77] He manifests his attachment to the femi-nine French voice and yet removes its overtly gendered and nationalist orientations. In the transatlantic context of English-French relations, Ed-ward's bilingual orientation marks both his tender sensibility without emasculation as well as a freedom from national prejudice typical of cos-mopolitan tolerance. Edward also explains early in the novel that his polite French is not simply a mirror of French manners, but has also been the key to his social acceptance in Canada: "My extreme modesty and reserve, and my speaking French, having made me already a great favourite with

the older part of all the three communities who unanimously declare colonel Rivers to be *un très aimable homme*" (10). Edward uses the language with a host of French Canadians and with the Huron at Lorette because it is the language that mediates between natives and Englishmen in Canada. Unlike Fermor's voice of imperialist policy, which is neither nuanced nor complex, Edward's voice synchronizes two positions: the participant-observer in the cultural mix of Canada and the sentimental lover, both of which are dependent upon a cultural habituation to French and English.

Arabella Fermor is also bilingual; she translates French in her letters, quotes an unidentified French novel in the original, uses French phrases, and speaks French in her brief encounter with some squaws. She is more domestic than Edward, and more focused on French and English in the social circles of Quebec, but she is also clever, urbane, and independent.[78] Like Edward, she is also prone to Frenchness, but her uses of it are more ludic. She says, for example, that she seems to "have changed countries" with the French-Canadian Madame Des Roches, reversing the rule that French ladies are "less inclined to the romantic style of love than the English," and Arabella styles herself the French coquette compared to Des Roches and her tender feelings for Edward (263). She also inserts a long translated excerpt from Montesquieu in one of her letters, and like Edward, her choice of author is a means of gender disidentification, though here the effect is ironic rather than sentimental. Arabella inserts a lengthy quotation from the French author on the *je ne sais quoi*, and in a statement typifying her hyperbole, Arabella says she has "an infinity" of *je ne sais quoi* (196). And, rather than saying she "transcribes" as Edward calls his translation with modest reserve, Arabella writes that "it is not in my nature to resist translating" (196). Characterized by a smart manipulation of English and French sources and allusions, Arabella's bilingualism does not foster bicultural harmony as much as wit for its own sake.

The differing consequences of bilingualism in Edward's and Arabella's letters are perhaps best revealed in their observations on Canadian religious institutions. Their comments are meant to filter into the novel's appeal as a portrait of contemporary Canada through the comparison between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, and thus redeploying one of most conventional sites of national differentiation in the cross-Channel sphere. Arabella makes "the tour of the three religions," Roman Catholicism, Presbyterianism, and Anglicanism, and concludes: "[T]he Romish religion is like an over-dressed, tawdry, rich citizen's wife; the presbyterian like a rude aukward country girl; the church of England like an elegant well-dressed woman of quality" (67). When Lord Belmont wrote in *Lady*

Julia Mandeville that if the French were "allured to our religious worship, by seeing it in its genuine beauty," he probably did not intend for the beauty of Anglicanism to be imagined as female fashion. Arabella's picture of the religions in the guise of female dress has the effect of witty subversion in part because she appears to ironize the very discourse of differentiation she employs. Edward's own observations about religious difference are part of a lengthier and more detailed account of his visits to Catholic convents in Quebec. Describing the Ursulines, he agrees that the house of this severe order of nuns has an air of gloominess, but immediately counters this stereotype with their "ornamented and lively" church (11). When he meets the superior, the historical personage Esther Wheelwright, who had been taken captive as a young girl and placed in the Quebec convent, he does not use the occasion to lament the lapse of a Protestant, or her seduction into Catholicism, so common in the captivity narratives and generally in anti-French writings of the period.[79] Wheelwright is "one of the most amiable women I ever knew, with a benevolence in her countenance which inspires all who see her with affection" (11). Edward's description of the induction of a young novice also goes against the political grain: "The procession of the nuns, the sweetness of their voices in the choir, the dignified devotion with which the charming enthusiast received the veil, and took the cruel vow which shut her off from the world forever, struck my heart in spite of my reason, and I felt myself touch'd even to tears by a superstition I equally pity and despise" (12). Edward resists the religious indoctrination, the "cruel vow" mandated by Roman Catholics, and yet is heart-struck with feeling, not for her alone, but for the whole "superstition." Compared to William Fermor's reductive observation that the Catholic religion "is another great bar, as well to industry as population" because of their overabundance of ceremonies which make them idle, and the celibacy of the religious orders which rob the state of subjects (178), Edward, the only character who bears witness to religion by attending the rites, represents the sentimental sway of experience. Fermor believes that Canadians ought to retain their right to worship in the Catholic Church, but sees ceremony as an inducement to idleness. Edward, who finds the ceremony "extremely solemn and affecting," moves beyond such discursive clichés about the two warring religions and beyond mere tolerance to suggest religious diversity (12).

Edward spends much of his time traveling around Canada in the service of this sentimental unity of cultures and languages. He is charmed by francophone women, and his liaison with Madame Des Roches even

causes some to question his fidelity to Emily, but the discord dissolves when Emily replicates his sentiments and falls for Madame Des Roches herself. She tells Edward of Des Roches' departure for the Kamaraskas: "We have lost Madame Des Roches; we were both in tears at parting; we embraced, I pressed her to my bosom: I love her. . . . I saw her every day, I found infinite pleasure in being with her" (212). Emily continues: "I will conquer this little remain of jealousy, and do justice to the most gentle and amiable of women" (212). Emily's sensibility resolves the Anglo-French conflict, but this is not to say that her replication of Edward's bilingualism simply solves all colonial tension, or that Edward's sentimental ideal replaces Arabella's ironic and ambivalent sensibility, or Fermor's monolingual agenda.

Brooke's novel is a polyphonic intervention into the linguistic dynamics of national imperialism. The plurality of voices and perspectives may not, however, suggest a new kind of bilingual empire. Brooke's transportable bilingualism is prescient because it is double-sided: it is backed on the one hand by an aspiration toward an ethics of inclusiveness, and on the other by a witty skepticism of such an ideal. In the preface to her translation of the abbé Millot's *Elements of the History of England*, Brooke wrote:

> The reader will find, in this history, a few, a very few reflexions, and those principally in the preface, which mark the country and the religion of the author. The translator is aware, that in accusing him of prejudice as a Frenchman, and a member of the church of Rome, she may possibly, as an Englishwoman, and a Protestant, be herself guilty in some degree of the very error she is presuming to charge on him; she knows how difficult it is to break the ties of education, to change an habitual mode of thinking, and to become absolutely a citizen of the world. She has only to wish, that she may have formed her opinion of this work, have read, translated, and observed, in the same spirit of universal charity and philosophic candor, in which her author wrote.[80]

Brooke, who published the translation shortly after finishing *The History of Emily Montague*, points to the national prejudices found in her author, but she is also self-reflective. She takes stock of her own national prejudice, "aware that accusing him of prejudice," she would be "guilty of the very error" herself. She raises the problem of ingrained cultural habits, and in what appears to be a reference to her own experiences in Quebec, emphasizes the difficulty of being "absolutely a citizen of the world." As Millot's

translator, however, she suggests that the task of translation enacts the convergence of her own design with her author's, sharing "the same spirit in which he wrote."

The History of Emily Montague has often been characterized as anglo-centric because it schematizes the differences between the English and the French, and ultimately the characters return to home to England, but the bulk of the novel projects the cross-Channel sphere of bilingualism into a national-imperial framework. In the particularly fraught political and social aftermath of the Seven Years' War, Brooke's uses of bilingualism, and the application of one's languages in translating, are not a solution to traditional enmities so much as a cipher for the emergence of transnationalism in the wider gamut of expanding empires. That is, Brooke thematizes the waning of the translative liberties common to the unsettled borderlands and the open seas of the Atlantic and rehearses the tensions of the cross-Channel sphere in the extended reach of nations in imperial domains. But the bilingual and translational texture of the novel subjects nationalisms to the corrective forces of sympathy, and of cosmopolitan critique expressed in witty detachment.

Our understanding of the novel's emergence usually treats it as particular to a specific nation, its language and its social life, with a special capacity to represent that nation. At the same time, the novel is recognized as an extraordinarily restless, heterogeneous, and supranational entity. These two truths about the novel, I have argued, have a history. And that history is discovered in translation's imbrication with the novel in the eighteenth-century cross-Channel and transatlantic arenas. The practice of rendering along with the broader role and purpose of translating in literary cultures has been mostly obscured in the novel's emergence, in part because translating is often assumed to be a phenomenon that follows the novel and happens to it, rather than constitutes it. Translation was not a means or instrument for the circulation of fiction, but was embedded in a prose fiction field that exists because of circulation, where original and rendering were not rigorously distinguished, where the origins of narratives were generally unknown, and where the novel's national belonging hardly began to take shape, only to be resisted and reformulated by extranational and supranational affiliations. This study has emphasized the liberties and autonomy of translators, and the nebulous field of fiction in order to recover the history of eighteenth-century translation, which I understand as the contact point of premodern modes of translativity and the modern national-cultural matrix of translating. Premodern transmission, a perva-

sive and complex but also restrictive relationship with the ancients as authoritative, was based on a spectrum of activities from literal rendering to creative imitation and original composition. This model had lasting effects on prose fiction, but without the same grip of authority. Hence, I have emphasized the ways in which prose fiction was largely an unregulated, creative endeavor of transmission, and understood as such by eighteenth-century British and French writers and readers. But as prose fiction became the novel, as eighteenth-century writers revised the historical narratives about the advent of fiction, as contradictory pressures were applied to the publication of translations, as the invention of interest altered rendering practices, and as cross-Channel relations informed new extranationalities, the mobility of prose fiction evinced signs of transnational literary exchange.

The novel emerges in this shift in translation and transmission—a recognition of prose fiction's increasing particularity in both its aesthetic shape and its localization in a particular nation on the one hand, and the way in which particularizing elicited a new sense of fiction's extranational course. The new genre is thus not simply a matter of acquiring formal cohesion and authority as a mirror of modern individualism, modern domesticity, or the modern nation as various sites of bounded identification. As we have seen, attempts to domesticate the novel only reinforced the cosmopolitanism of fiction both in the cross-Channel sphere and in the intercultural and multilingual Atlantic arena. The novel comes to its characteristic formation only because of its spread, and specifically in the alteration of its continual transfers, manipulations, and mutations. What we now call the novel is an effect of the eighteenth century's own newly unsettled relation between nation and empire, home and the world, particular and universal.

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Introduction
Eighteenth-Century Translating

1. Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, trans. Edith Grossman (New York: HarperCollins, 2003), 64.

2. Ibid., 64.

3. Ibid., 67.

4. Ibid., 65–66 and 66n. On *Don Quixote* and translation, see Diana de Armas Wilson, *Cervantes, the Novel, and the New World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

5. Several scholars have revised the story of the eighteenth-century novel in English to include a more transnational picture: Srinivas Aravamudan, "Fiction/Translation/Transnation: The Secret History of the Eighteenth-Century Novel," in *A Companion to the Eighteenth-Century English Novel and Culture*, ed. Paula Backscheider and Catherine Ingrassia (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2005), 48–74; Nancy Armstrong and Leonard Tennenhouse, "The American Origins of the English Novel," *American Literary History* 4 (1992): 386–410; Ros Ballaster, *Fabulous Orients: Fictions of the East in England 1662–1785* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Elizabeth Maddock Dillon, "The Original American Novel, or, the American Origin of the Novel," in *A Companion to the Eighteenth-Century English Novel and Culture*, 235–60; Margaret Doody, *The True Story of the Novel* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1996); Lynn Festa, *Sentimental Figures of Empire in Eighteenth-Century Britain and France* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006). Franco Moretti's *Atlas of the European Novel, 1800–1900* (New York: Verso, 1998) is a groundbreaking study of transnational and national novel markets for the following century. French scholarship on the novel is often more broadly conceived. See, inter alia, Alain Montandon, *Le roman au xviiie siècle en Europe* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1999). I'm also referring to new comparative literary studies and recent studies of world literature through translation. In *What Is World Literature?* David Damrosch dwells on the mobility of texts and concludes with a few emergent patterns, one of

which is: "World literature is writing that gains in translation" (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003), 288. Also see Emily Apter, *The Translation Zone: A New Comparative Literature* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006); Kirsten Silva Greusz, *Ambassadors of Culture: The Transamerican Origins of Latino Writing* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002); Haun Saussy, ed., *Comparative Literature in an Age of Globalization* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006).

6. Some empirical and linguistic studies have attempted to theorize translation as part of a "literary system" and thus seem closest to current emphases on cultural aspects of literary translation. See, for example, Itamar Even-Zohar, "Polysystem Theory," "The 'Literary System,' " and "The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem," in *Poetics Today* 11 (1990): 9–51. See also Itamar Even-Zohar and Gideon Toury, eds., *Translation Theory and Intercultural Relations, A Special Issue. Poetics Today* 2 (1981), and André Lefevere, "The Dynamics of the System: Convention and Innovation in Literary History," in *Convention and Innovation in Literature*, ed. Theo D'Haen, Rainer Grubel, and Helmut Lethen (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1989). Armin Paul Frank notes that the term has meant different things: "[O]n occasions when Yves Chevrel and André Lefevere use the term 'system,' each . . . refers to something like the total literary life of a nation at a given period of time. By comparison, Gideon Toury's concept of 'system' . . . is designed to establish literary laws, and Jose Lambert's 'system' . . . a heuristic instrument for the discovery of literary relations." "Systems and Histories in the Study of Literary Translations: A Few Distinctions," *Proceedings of the XIIth Congress of the ICLA, Munich, 1988* (Munich: Iudicum Verlag, 1990), 1: 45.

7. Lawrence Venuti, *Scandals of Translation: Towards an Ethics of Difference* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 21.

8. Venuti, *Scandals of Translation*, 67. Also see Venuti's *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation* (New York: Routledge, 1995).

9. Antoine Berman, *The Experience of the Foreign: Culture and Translation in Germany*, trans. S. Heyvaert (Albany: SUNY Press, 1992).

10. Vicente Rafael explains the fact that Castilian in the colonial Philippines "could and did become the 'language of empire' was due to its translatability into other languages; and this notion of translatability in turn hinged on the possibility of subordinating the speaker's first language to the structural norms of a second." *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society under Early Spanish Rule* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988), 26.

11. See Tejaswini Niranjana, *Siting Translation: History, Post-structuralism, and the Colonial Context* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), and Susan Bassnett and Harish Trivedi, eds., *Post-Colonial Translation: Theory and Practice* (New York: Routledge, 1999).

12. Judith Butler, for example, writes that "for the claim [to universality] to work . . . to enact the very universality it enunciates, it must undergo a set of translations into the various rhetorical and cultural contexts in which the meaning and force of universal claims are made." "Restaging the Universal: Hegemony and the

Limits of Formalism," in *Contingency, Hegemony, Universality: Contemporary Dialogues on the Left* (London: Verso 2000), 35. Also see Iain Chambers, "Citizenship, Language, and Modernity," *PMLA* 117 (2002): 24–31, and Walter Mignolo, *Local Histories/Global Designs: Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges and Border Thinking* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000).

13. Emily Apter, "Warped Speech: The Politics of Global Translation," in *Beyond Dichotomies: Histories, Identities, Cultures and the Challenge of Globalization*, ed. Elisabeth Mudimbe-Boyi (Albany: SUNY Press, 2002), 186.

14. Lawrence Venuti, "Strategies of Translation," in *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, ed. Mona Baker (New York: Routledge, 1998), 241, 242.

15. See Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility*.

16. See Lana Asfour, "Theories of Translation and the English novel in France, 1740–1790," *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 2001:04: 269–78; Constance West, "La Théorie de la traduction au xviiie siècle par rapport surtout aux traductions françaises d'ouvrages anglais," *Revue de littérature comparée* 12 (1932): 330–55; Annie Cointre, Alain Lautel, and Annie Rivara, eds., *La Traduction romanesque au xviiie siècle* (Artois: Artois Presses Université, 2003).

17. Pierre Guyot (abbé) Desfontaines, translator of *Gulliver's Travels*, wrote in his preface: "Je ne puis néanmoins dissimuler ici que j'ai trouvé dans l'ouvrage de M. Swift, des endroits foibles et même très-mauvais; des allégories impénétrables, des allusions insipides, des détails puériles, des réfléxions triviales, des pensées basses, des rédites ennuyeuses, des poliçonneries grossières, des plaisanteries fades, en un mot, des choses qui . . . auroient révolté le bon goût qui règne en France." [Nevertheless I cannot hide here that I have found in the work of Mr. Swift weak and even bad passages; impenetrable allegories, insipid allusions, puerile details, trivial reflections, low thoughts, dull repetitions, rudeness, weak jokes, in a word, things that . . . would have revolted the good taste that reigns in France.] Jonathan Swift, *Voyages de Gulliver*, trans. Desfontaines (Paris, 1727), xv–xvi.

18. The details are in James Boswell, *Life of Johnson*, ed. R. W. Chapman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 252.

19. See Helen Sard Hughes, "Notes on Eighteenth-Century Fictional Translations," *Modern Philology* 17 (1919): 225–31; Bernadette Fort, "*Les Heureux Orphelins* de Crébillon: De l'adaptation à la création romanesque," *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France* 80 (1980): 554–73; John Kent, "Crébillon fils, Mrs. Eliza Haywood and *Les Heureux Orphelins*: A Problem of Authorship," *Romance Notes* 11 (1969): 326–32. The plethora of retranslations, and second- and third-hand translations, likewise reveal that translators did not necessarily value having or following the original. *Don Quixote*, one of the most popular prose fictions of the period and one of the most frequently translated into English among other languages, was not translated from the original Spanish until 1742, although Cervantes' novel had been in English for 130 years. As the translator Charles Jarvis himself explained, Shelton's first English translation (1612) relied on an Italian translation by Franciosini, and Motteux's English translation (1700) used the French translation, which was itself taken from the Ital-

ian. Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *The Life and Exploits of the Ingenious Gentleman Don Quixote de la Mancha*, 2nd ed., trans. Charles Jarvis (London, 1749), iii–iv.

20. Pierre Guyot Desfontaines, *The Travels of Mr. John Gulliver, Son to Capt. Lemuel Gulliver*, trans. John Lockman (London, 1731), 1: ii.

21. Alain-René Lesage, *The Bachelor of Salamanca Or, Memoirs of Don Cherubim de la Ronda,* trans. John Lockman (London, 1737–1739), 1: iv.

22. Hamilton Jewett Smith, *Oliver Goldsmith's* The Citizen of the World: *A Study* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1926), 58–82; Arthur Lytton Sells, *Les Sources françaises de Goldsmith* (Paris: E. Champion, 1924), 97–124.

23. On Prévost's borrowings, see, inter alia, Pierre Berthiaume, "Les Contes de Prévost et leurs 'sources,' " *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature* 8 (1981): 61–78. These kinds of adaptations were also common in eighteenth-century translations of ancient and medieval fiction. See Giles Barber, *Daphnis and Chloe: The Markets and Metamorphoses of an Unknown Bestseller* (London: British Library, 1989), and Arthur Johnston, *Enchanted Ground: The Study of Medieval Romance in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Athlone, 1964).

24. Friedrich Schleiermacher, "Ueber die verschiedenen Methoden des Uebersezens" (1813), in André Lefevere, *Translating Literature: The German Tradition from Luther to Rosenzweig* (Assen: Van Gorcum 1977), 74.

25. Nicholas Adam, *La Vraie manière d'apprendre une langue quelconque, vivante ou morte, par le moyen de la langue française* (Paris, 1779), preface [n.p.]. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

26. Other examples include Claude Mauger, *Grammaire française*, and Guy Miège, *Grammaire angloise-françoise*, both of which went through multiple editions in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

27. Paul Festeau, *French Grammar*, 3rd ed. (London, 1675, n.p. [6]). See Kathleen Lambley, *The Teaching and Cultivation of the French Language in England During Tudor and Stuart Times* (Manchester: University Press, 1920), 313.

28. Charles Hoole, "The Programme for the Fifth Form," in Joanna Martindale, ed., *English Humanism: Wyatt to Cowley* (London: Croom Helm, 1985), 89.

29. Foster Watson, *The English Grammar Schools to 1660: Their Curriculum and Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908), 353–56.

30. Denis Diderot and Jean Le Rond d'Alembert, eds., *Encyclopédie*, new ed. (Geneva, 1777), s.v. "Langue."

31. *Encyclopédie*, s.v. "Méthode."

32. Francis Kirkman, *Unlucky Citizen* (London, 1673), 13–14.

33. Antoine François Prévost, *Le Pour et Contre* (Paris, 1738), 16: 332.

34. See Leonard Forster, *The Poet's Tongues: Multilingualism in Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

35. See Lambley, *The Teaching and Cultivation of the French Language in England.*

36. Madeleine de Scudéry, *Artamenes, or The Grand Cyrus*, trans. F. W. (London, 1653, n.p. [1]). Early modern readers like Dorothy Osborne read in both lan-

guages and compared: "I have noe Patience neither for these Translatours of Ro-
mances. I mett with Polexandre and l'Illustre Bassa, both soe disguised that I who am
theire old acquaintance hardly knew them, besydes that they were still soe much
french in words and Phrases that twas impossible for one that understood not french
to make any thing of them." *Letters to Sir William Temple,* ed. Kenneth Parker (New
York: Penguin, 1987), 131.

    37. Marie-Catherine d'Aulnoy, *Prince of Carency; a novel*, trans. anon. (Lon-
don, 1719), preface, n.p. [5].

    38. Jean Le Rond d'Alembert, "D'Alembert's 'Remarks on Translation,'" *Trans-
lation and Literature* 5 (1996): 84. Alexander Tytler's treatise is similar, as I note in
chapter 3. Also see Lieven d'Hulst, ed., *Cent ans de théorie française de la traduction: de
Batteux à Littré (1748–1847)* (Villeneuve-d'Ascq: Presses Universitaires de Lille, 1990).

    39. Rita Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics and Translation in the Middle
Ages: Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University
Press, 1991), 30.

    40. Ibid., 27, 30.

    41. Glyn Norton, *The Ideology and Language of Translation in Renaissance
France and Their Humanist Antecedents* (Geneva: Droz, 1984), 32.

    42. Ibid., 42.

    43. See G. W. Pigman, "Versions of Imitation in the Renaissance," *Renais-
sance Quarterly* 33 (1980): 1–33; Theo Hermans, "Images of Translation: Metaphor
and Imagery in the Renaissance Discourse," in *The Manipulation of Literature:
Studies in Literary Translation*, ed. Theo Hermans (New York: St. Martin's Press,
1985), 103–35.

    44. On the rise of the vernaculars, see Aldo Scaglione, ed., *The Emergence of
National Languages* (Ravenna: Longo, 1984).

    45. Theo Hermans, "Literary Translation: The Birth of a Concept," in *Trans-
lation in the Development of Literatures*, *Proceedings of the XIth Congress of the Interna-
tional Comparative Literature Association*, ed. José Lambert and André Lefevere (Bern:
Peter Lang, 1993), 7: 93.

    46. Nicholas Perrot d'Ablancourt, *Preface* to *Thucydides* (Paris, 1662), quoted
in Roger Zuber, *Les "Belles Infidèles" et la formation du goût classique: Perrot d'Ablan-
court et Guez de Balzac* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1968), 382.

    47. Richard Hurd allowed that imitation was the basis of all writing, but by
anglicizing the terms *imitatio* and *inventio*, he superimposes a discussion of imitation
of reality onto imitation of *auctores*: "When the poet thus tutored in the works of *imi-
tation*, comes to address himself to invention, these familiar images, which he hath so
often and so fondly admired, immediately step in and intercept his observation."
"Dissertation on Poetical Imitation," in *Q. Horatii Flacci epistolae ad Pisones, et Au-
gustum*, 5th ed. (Dublin, 1768), 2: 157. See Howard Weinbrot, *The Formal Strain: Stud-
ies in Augustan Imitation and Satire* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969),
chap. 1. On imitation and emulation in the Restoration and eighteenth century, also
see Weinbrot's *Brittania's Issue: The Rise of British Literature from Dryden to Ossian*

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 91–113. On imitation and mimesis in the period, see Gunter Gebauer and Christoph Wulf, *Mimesis: Culture, Art, Society*, trans. Don Reneau (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

48. Thomas Greene, *The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1982), 48. See David Quint, *Origin and Originality in Renaissance Literature: Versions of the Source* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1983).

49. As Thomas Greene has shown in *The Light in Troy*, although "the medieval writer . . . may know that some of his texts were produced by a society now disappeared, he has no way of measuring its difference." The Renaissance writer, however, operates with greater historical consciousness. (86)

50. David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry Into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), 249.

51. Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990), 17.

52. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (New York: Verso, 1991), 24.

53. Germaine de Stael, "De l'Esprit des traductions" *Œuvres complètes de Madame la baronne de Staël-Holstein* (Paris, 1844), 2: 287. The short essay was originally published in a Milanese review, *Biblioteca italiana*.

54. Ibid., 288.

55. Wilhelm von Humboldt, introduction to *Agamemnon,* in *Theories of Translation: An Anthology of Essays from Dryden to Derrida,* ed. Rainer Schulte and John Biguenet, trans. Sharon Sloan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 56.

56. Ibid., 57.

57. August Wilhelm Schlegel, *Geschichte der romantischen Literatur* (1803), in *Translating Literature: The German Tradition from Luther to Rosenzweig*, ed. André Lefevere (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1977), 54.

58. See, for example, Francis Barton, *Étude sur l'influence de Laurence Sterne en France au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Hachette, 1911); Thomas Beebee, *Clarissa on the Continent: Translation and Seduction* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990); Randall Dale, *The Golden Tapestry: A Critical Survey of Non-Chivalric Spanish Fiction in English Translation 1543–1657* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1963); Josephine Grieder, *Translations of French Sentimental Prose Fiction in Late Eighteenth-Century England: The History of a Literary Vogue* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1975); Thomas Haviland, *The Roman de Longue Haleine on English Soil* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1931); Alexander Parker, *Literature and the Delinquent: The Picaresque Novel in Spain and Europe, 1599–1753* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1967); Kristiina Taivalkoski, "Les Simplifications narratives dans une traduction française de *Joseph Andrews*," in *Translation in Context: Selected Contributions from the EST Congress, Granada 1998*, ed. Andrew Chesterman, Natividad Gallardo San Salvador, and Yves Gambier (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2000), 187–98.

Chapter One
Translation and the Modern Novel

1. Henry Fielding, *Tom Jones*, ed. Sheridan Baker (New York: W. W. Norton, 1973), 26. The universalist view of the novel's origins is common in the nineteenth century among writers such as William Cullen Bryant, who wrote, "Wherever there are human nature and society, there are subjects for the novelist. The passions and affections, virtue and vice, are of no country." Sergio Perosa, *American Theories of the Novel: 1793–1903* (New York: New York University Press, 1983), 17. Also see Henry James "The Art of Fiction: A Lecture Delivered at the Royal Institution, April 25, 1884," in Walter Besant and Henry James, *The Art of Fiction* (Boston: De Wolfe, Fiske, n.d.).

2. Milan Kundera, *The Curtain: An Essay in Seven Parts*, trans. Linda Asher (New York: HarperCollins, 2006), 7, 8.

3. Cathy Davidson, *Revolution and the Word: The Rise of the Novel in America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 10. This is not to say that national identity is not tinged with ambiguity, which Davidson points out, but the novel's purpose nonetheless is circumscribed by the nation. Davidson is echoed in Julia A. Stern, *The Plight of Feeling: Sympathy and Dissent in the Early American Novel* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997); Michael Warner, *The Letters of the Republic: Publication and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990); and Larzer Ziff, *Writing in the New Nation: Prose, Print, and Politics in the Early United States* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1991).

4. See Kundera, *The Curtain*, 40–47.

5. Many scholars have complicated and developed aspects of modernity including class, individualism, the public and private spheres, sentiment and sensibility, and so on without significantly revising the synchronicity of modernity and the novel. Michael McKeon, for example, aimed specifically at reinforcing the modernity of the novel, explaining that Watt's work "sensitized us to what was left out: the romance and the aristocracy." McKeon makes a dialectical argument about the origins of the English novel premised on categorical instabilities of epistemological and ethical life as the hallmarks of modernity, identifying features of the literary genre as a whole and elaborated them in supranational terms, but then confines his argument to the English case. "Generic Transformation and Social Change: Rethinking the Rise of the Novel," *Cultural Critique* 1 (1985): 160. Also see McKeon's *Origins of the English Novel 1600–1740* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987).

6. Ian Watt, *The Rise of the Novel: Studies in Defoe, Richardson and Fielding* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1957), 12.

7. Ibid., 15.

8. Ibid., 13.

9. Ibid., 32.

10. I glean this imagined counterargument from Watt's discussion of "actual experience" and his contrast of modern formal realism with the influence of the

"timeless" and "unchanging" Platonic forms. See Watt, *The Rise of the Novel*, 21 and passim.

11. Michael McKeon, "Watt's *Rise of the Novel* within the Tradition of the Rise of the Novel," *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 12 (2000): 254. McKeon's article has a helpful discussion of form in three pre-Wattian theorists: Lukács, Ortega y Gasset, and Bakhtin.

12. One reference point for the idea of form in Aristotle is *De Anima*, trans. D. W. Hamlyn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), II.1, 8–10.

13. Watt, *The Rise of the Novel*, 31.

14. Ibid., 13.

15. Benedict Anderson, *Spectre of Comparisons: Nationalism, Southeast Asia and the World* (London: Verso, 1998), 334. Anderson, whose view of the nation as a point of origination is complex, has been widely accepted and has informed studies of the novel such as Doris Sommer's *Foundational Fictions: The National Romances of Latin America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), though also widely revised and criticized in, for example, Homi Bhabha, "DissemiNation: Time, Narrative and the Margins of the Modern," in *Nation and Narration*, ed. Homi Bhabha (New York: Routledge, 1990), 291–322. On Anderson's reception, see Jonathan Culler, "Anderson and the Novel," in *Grounds of Comparison: Around the Work of Benedict Anderson*, ed. Pheng Cheah and Jonathan Culler (New York: Routledge, 2003).

16. Pheng Cheah, "Grounds of Comparison," in *Grounds of Comparison*, 5.

17. Watt, *The Rise of the Novel*, 30.

18. Ibid., 30.

19. Ibid., 9.

20. Percy Russell, *A Guide to British and American novels: being a comprehensive manual of all forms of popular fiction in Great Britain, Australasia, and America from its commencement down to 1894*, 2nd ed. (London: Digby, Long, 1895), 5.

21. See, for example, Roger Sherman Loomis, *The Development of Arthurian Romance* (New York: Harper and Row, 1963); Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, "The Earliest Developments of the French Novel: The *Roman de Thèbes* in Verse and Prose," *French Literature Series* 11 (1984): 1–10.

22. See Henri Hauvette, *Les Plus anciennes traductions française de Boccace (xiv–xviie siècle)* (Bordeaux: Feret, 1909); J. J. Jusserand, *The English Novel in the Time of Shakespeare*, trans. Elizabeth Lee (1890; repr., New York: AMS Press, 1965), 69–102.

23. Walter Raleigh, *The English Novel: Being a short sketch of its history from the earliest times to the appearance of Waverley* (New York: Scribner, 1905), 185, 203.

24. George Saintsbury, *The English Novel* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1913), 76, 87, 92. Epistolary novels, erotic narratives, domestic novels, Enlightenment fictions, and nearly all other subgenres of novels produced in the eighteenth century were translated from France to England and back. See Robert Adams Day, *Told in Letters: Epistolary Fiction Before Richardson* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1966),

and David Foxon, *Libertine Literature in England, 1660–1745* (New Hyde Park: University Books, 1966) for studies of epistolary and erotic novels respectively.

25. David Gasperetti, *The Rise of the Russian Novel: Carnival, Stylization, and Mockery of the West* (Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1998), 4, 15.

26. Resil B. Mojares, *Origins and Rise of the Filipino Novel: A Generic Study of the Novel until 1940* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1983), 70. Resil Mojares also cites Antonio de Borja's *Barlaan at Josaphat* (1712), a Tagalog translation of Jacobo Bilbio's Latin translation of St. John Damascene's Greek redaction of a popular narrative as "a work often mentioned as a forerunner of the Filipino novel" (57–58). Also see Wibha Senanan, *The Genesis of the Novel in Thailand* (Bangkok: Thai Watana Panich, 1975), and T. W. Clark, ed., *The Novel in India: Its Birth and Development* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), for similar stories of the role of translation in the indigenization of the novel.

27. Mojares, *Origins and Rise of the Filipino Novel*, 118, 150.

28. In *Cultural Institutions of the Novel*, Deidre Lynch and William Warner aimed in part to open up the global horizon for novel studies, assuming that its mobility is based on its capacity to represent nations and peoples, serving as a "nexus of transnational exchange" rather than being "a Western invention" or "a Western franchise." Deidre Lynch and William Warner, eds., *Cultural Institutions of the Novel* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996), 4–5. Some accounts of translation and transmission do not treat it as a franchise, including Margaret Doody's argument that the "homeland of the Western novel is the Mediterranean, and it is a multiracial, multilingual, mixed Mediterranean." Margaret Doody, *The True Story of the Novel* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1996), 18. Priya Joshi's study of the English novel in nineteenth-century India reveals an interesting mixture of imperial and local forces, for colonial readers took up the English novel, but resisted the colonizer's literary canon and values in "consumption through selection," indicating "differences between their world and the colonial state's." *In Another Country: Colonialism, Culture, and the English Novel in India* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 28. Yet, Nancy Armstrong has recently revealed how much the elision of particularity and universalism is still a prominent one: "[T]he global spread of the novel changes in wonderful new ways the formal strategies of a genre," but "new varieties of novel cannot help taking up the project of universalizing the individual subject." *How Novels Think: The Limits of British Individualism from 1719–1900* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 10. Franco Moretti's aim to provide a "longer, larger and deeper" view of the novel unites formal approaches with a global geographical scope and a long chronology, but translation and transmission are not the subjects of any of its numerous essays. Franco Moretti, ed., *The Novel* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006), x.

29. Many of Huet's ideas were in circulation before his treatise was written, but there was no systematic treatment of the history of the romance and novel. Daniel Selden, "Genre of Genre," in *The Search for the Ancient Novel*, ed. James Tatum (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), 43.

30. Although Huet begins his treatise with the definition of the novel as "des histoires feints d'aventures amoureuses, écrites en prose avec art, pour le plaisir et l'instruction des lecteurs" [stories feigned of amorous adventures, written in prose with art, for the pleasure and instruction of readers], he does not stick to this definition when he goes back to the earliest fictions, and most other writers either do not attempt to define the romance as a genre by identifying formal criteria, or reiterate Huet's rather loose ones. *Lettre-traité sur l'origine des romans*, ed. Fabienne Gégou (Paris: Nizet, 1971), 46–47.

31. Michel Zink, *Medieval French Literature: An Introduction*, trans. Jeff Rider (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1995), 51.

32. Jean-Baptiste Boyer (Marquis) d'Argens writes: "Une fille nomme Marie mit les fables d'Esope en vers romans. . . . Et ce qu'il y a de remarquable, c'est qu'elle les avait traduites de l'anglais." [A girl named Marie put Aesop's fables into *romance verse.* . . . And what is remarkable is that she had translated them from English.] D'Argens also explained that this mixing of languages was the result of having been conquered and learning the language of one's conquerors. "Sur les nouvelles," in *Lectures amusantes ou les délassements de l'esprit* (La Haye, 1739), 9, 6–7. The translator of *Argenis* (1728) wrote: "Du cahos de langages divers qui règnaient jadis dans les Gaules, il naquit une sorte de jargon que l'on noma roman. . . . Et comme ceux-ci aimaient à composer des histoires où ils mêlaient beaucoup de fables, on peut croire que la postérité respectueuse a consacré le nom de roman à ce genre d'écrire." [From the chaos of diverse languages which reigned formerly in Gaul, a sort of jargon was born which was called *roman. . . .* And as those people liked to compose stories in which they mixed many fables, we can believe that respectful posterity consecrated the name *roman* (novel) to this kind of writing.] L. Pierre de Longue, "Lettres du Traductuer à Monsieur D.M.," in John Barclay, *Argenis*, trans. de Longue (Paris, 1728), 2. This same definition of romance was also given by other seventeenth- and eighteenth-century historians of the novel as well as in Furetière's, Richelet's, and Samuel Johnson's dictionaries.

33. Karlheinz Stierle, "Translatio studii and Renaissance: From Vertical to Horizontal Translation," in *The Translatability of Cultures: Figurations of the Space Between*, ed. Sanford Budick and Wolfgang Iser (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996), 58–59. On *translatio studii*, see also Antoine Berman, "Tradition—Translation—Traduction," *Po&sie* 47 (1988): 85–98, and Édouard Jeauneau, *Translatio studii: The Transmission of Learning, a Gilsonian Theme* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1995).

34. Otto von Friesing, *Chronica sive Historia de Duabus Civitatibus*, quoted in Samuel Kliger, *The Goths in England: A Study of Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Thought* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1952), 45. According to Ernst Curtius, Eccles. 10:8 had furnished the theological justification for the replacement of one empire for another, and its use of the Latin word *transfertur* "gives rise to the concept of *translatio*." *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. Willard Trask (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1953), 28–29.

35. Claude de Saumaise's [Salmasius] preface to a Greek-Latin edition of Achilles Tatius' *Cleitophon and Leucippe* (1640) provides a thumbnail sketch of how the early moderns continued to rearticulate *translatio*: "The Persians first affected up this kind of amorous literature, whether in prose or in verse, or rhythmic speech. . . . You will not find it hard to believe that of old they introduced the beginning of Milesian fables in Asia which they ruled. Certainly they gave to the Arabs the fashion of this same kind of writing and the genius for it. The Arabs then transmitted it to the Spanish. From the Spanish we Gauls in turn took it, and from them indeed it also went elsewhere." *Erotikon Achilleos Tatiou, sive de Clitophonis & Leucippes Amoribus*, quoted in Margaret Doody, *The True Story of the Novel*, 260.

36. Armand Pierre Jacquin, *Entretien sur les romans* (Paris: Duchesne, 1755), 32, 39, 53.

37. Thomas Warton's *History of English Poetry*, for example, was less emphatic about the link between fiction and moral corruption: "The ideal tales of these Eastern invaders . . . were eagerly caught up and universally diffused. From Spain, by the communications of a constant commercial intercourse through the ports of Toulon and Marseilles, they soon passed into France and Italy." *History of English Poetry from the close of the eleventh to the commencement of the eighteenth century* (London, 1774–1781), 1: n.p. [6].

38. Clara Reeve, *The Progress of Romance through times, countries and manners* (London, 1785), ix–x. Bricaire de la Dixmérie said in his essay on the novel's history prefixed to the novel *Toni et Clarette*: "Il faut presque remonter à l'origine des siècles pour découvrir celle du Roman. . . . Les premiers Poètes furent donc, en effet, les premiers Romanciers." [It is almost necessary to go back to time immemorial to discover the origin of the novel. . . . The first poets were, then, in effect, the first novelists.] On the next page he wishes to simply move on to novels properly speaking. Bricaire de la Dixmérie, "Discours sur l'origine, les progrès et le genre des romans," in *Toni et Clarette* (Paris, 1773), v, vi–vii.

39. Reeve, *The Progress of Romance*, xv–xvi.

40. The research and collection of manuscripts by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century orientalists such as François Pétis de la Croix (père and fils), Abraham-Hyacinthe Anquetil-Duperron, and Antoine Galland unleashed a plethora of new translations and imitations of Eastern tales including the Arabian Nights, which were popular in French and English in the eighteenth century. See Ros Ballaster, *Fabulous Orients: Fictions of the East in England, 1662–1785* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), and Martha Conant, *The Oriental Tale in England in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1908).

41. James Beattie, "On Fable and Romance," in *Dissertations Moral and Critical* (London, 1783), 505.

42. John Dunlop, *History of Prose Fiction* (1819; repr., London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longman's, 1845), 13.

43. Huet, *Lettre-traité sur l'origine des romans*, 51.

44. Ibid., 130.

45. Tobias Smollett, *The Adventures of Roderick Random,* ed. Paul-Gabriel Boucé (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), xxxiii.

46. Reeve, *The Progress of Romance*, 14.

47. Walter Scott, *Essay on Romance* in *Essays on Chivalry, Romance and the Drama* (1824; repr., Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1972), 134–35. Cf. Homer Brown, *Institutions of the English Novel* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), 14–15.

48. Scott, *Essay on Romance*, 134.

49. Marquis de Sade, *Idée sur les romans*, ed. Jean Glastier (Bordeaux: Ducros, 1970), 34–35.

50. Ibid., 37.

51. Étienne Balibar, "The Borders of Europe," trans. James Swenson, in *Politics and the Other Scene* (London: Verso, 2002), 96.

Chapter Two
The Business of Translation

1. Jan Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatus Lexicon Minus* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976), 1039.

2. Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language* (London, 1755), s.v. "Translate." The fifth and last meaning for this entry is "to interpret in another language."

3. This information comes from Jerry C. Beasley, *A Checklist of Prose Fiction Published in England, 1740–49* (Charlottesville: Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1972); English Short Title Catalog; Charles Mish, *English Prose Fiction, 1600–1700: A Chronological Checklist* (Charlottesville: Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1967); James Raven, *British Fiction 1750–1770: A Chronological Check-List of Prose Fiction Printed in Britain and Ireland* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1987).

4. Raven, *British Fiction 1750–1770*, 14.

5. Harold Streeter, *The Eighteenth-Century English Novel in French Translation: A Bibliographical Study* (1936; repr., New York: B. Blom, 1970); Angus Martin, Vivienne G. Mylne, and Richard Frautschi, *Bibliographie du genre romanesque français, 1751–1800* (London: Mansell and Paris: France Expansion, 1977).

6. Peter Garside, James Raven, and Rainer Schöwerling, eds., *The English Novel 1770–1829: A Bibliographical Survey of Prose Fiction Published in the British Isles* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 1: 57.

7. *The English Novel 1770–1829* limits the translation field by excluding reprints as well as imitations, adaptations, and novels marked as translations for which a source cannot be identified (see 1: 21, 25, 57).

8. Kenneth W. Graham, "*Vathek* in English and French," *Studies in Bibliography: Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Virginia* 28 (1975): 153–66.

9. Philip Stewart, "Prévost et son *Cleveland*: Essai de mise au point historique," *Dix-huitième siècle* 7 (1975): 184. See also Frédéric Deloffre, "La Version an-

glaise du *Cleveland*," *Cahiers de l'association internationale des Études Françaises* 46 (1994): 275–93.

10. Clara Reeve, *The Progress of Romance through times, countries and manners* (London, 1785), 124.

11. For example, the first German translation of *Joseph Andrews,* which was from the French version, appeared not in Germany or France or Britain, but in Poland. Bernhard Fabian, *The English Book in Eighteenth-Century Germany* (London: British Library, 1992), 38.

12. Michel Foucault, *Language, Countermemory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews,* ed. Donald F. Bouchard (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1977), 125.

13. James Raven, "The Anonymous Novel in Britain and Ireland, 1750–1830," in *The Faces of Anonymity: Anonymous and Pseudonymous Publication from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century,* ed. Robert J. Griffin (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 141–66.

14. Elizabeth Helme, the acknowledged author of ten novels and three translations, wrote that she had also "translated sixteen volumes for different booksellers without my name." Quoted in Raven, *The English Novel 1770–1829*, 1: 41.

15. See Bernhard Fabian, *The English Book in Eighteenth-Century Germany.*

16. A. G. Cross, "'S anglinskago': Books of English Origin in Russian Translation in Late Eighteenth-Century Russia," *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, n.s. 19 (1986): 75. English novels were translated into Russian predominantly from French versions, but sometimes from Polish or German, and as in the cross-Channel zone, anonymity was the rule.

17. Victor Neuberg, "Chapbooks in America: Reconstructing the Popular Reading of Early America," in *Reading in America: Literature and Social History*, ed. Cathy Davidson (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 81–113. On the popularity of novels in translation in early America, see Frank Luther Mott, *Golden Multitudes: The Story of Best Sellers in the United States* (New York: Macmillan, 1947), and Robert B. Winans, "Bibliography and the Cultural Historian: Notes on the Eighteenth-Century Novel," in *Printing and Society in Early America*, ed. William Joyce, David D. Hall, Richard D. Brown, and John B. Hench (Worcester, MA: American Antiquarian Society, 1983), 174–85.

18. Sandra Alston, "Canada's First Bookseller's Catalogue," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada* 30 (1992): 20–21.

19. Lane's Circulating and General Library, in *A catalogue of the Minerva General Library, Leadenhall-Street, London* (London, 1795).

20. Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing 1450–1800*, trans. David Gerard and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith, ed. David Wootton (London: NLB, 1976), 195.

21. Don-John Dugas, "The London Book Trade in 1709," pt. 1, *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 95 (2001): 31–58. Also see C. J. Mitchell, "French Printing in Eighteenth-Century London," *Australian Journal of French Studies* 23

(1986): 61–82, and Robert Dawson, "Books Printed in France: the English Connection," *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 292 (1991): 139–67.

22. I refer to the table on page 264 of Barry Taylor, ed., *Foreign-Language Printing in London, 1500–1900* (Boston Spa: British Library, 2002).

23. Ibid., 264.

24. J. W. Croker to Genlis, December 1821, quoted in Jacques Bertaud, "Madame de Genlis and England: The Woman and her Work from 1779 to 1792" (Ph.D. diss., Université de Paris III, 1974), 339–40.

25. Warren McDougall, "Copyright Litigation in the Court of Session, 1738–1749, and the Rise of the Scottish Book Trade," *Edinburgh Bibliographical Society Transactions* 5, pt. 5 (1988): 21–22. As in Europe, early American communities of Dutch, Swedish, German, French, and English-speaking peoples could find books in their native languages but also in foreign languages, repeating some conditions of the European trade; Germans in America were receiving imports from Germany but also from the Netherlands; books from France were reaching francophones as well as anglophones and hispanophones on the eastern seaboard and in borderland regions such as Missouri and Florida. See Warren McDougall, "Scottish Books for America in the mid 18th Century," in *Spreading the Word: The Distribution Networks of Print, 1550–1850*, ed. Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester: St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1990), 21–46; James Raven, "The Export of Books to Colonial North America," *Publishing History* 42 (1997): 21–49; A. Gregg Roeber, "The Middle Colonies, 1720–1790," pt. 2, "German and Dutch Books and Printing," in *A History of the Book in America*, vol. 1, *The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World*, ed. Hugh Amory and David Hall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 298–313.

26. See Máire Kennedy, *French Books in Eighteenth-Century Ireland*, *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 2001:07.

27. Raven, "The Export of Books to Colonial North America," 26.

28. Thomas Hookham, *Nouveau catalogue français de la bibliothèque circulante de Messrs. Hoohkam* (London, 1792). Many circulating library catalogues contain similarly multilingual collections of fiction; see *Lackington, Allen, & Co.'s catalogue, volume the first, Michaelmas, 1798, to Michaelmas, 1799*, and William Earle, *A New Catalogue of the extensive and well-chosen collection of English books; being part of Earle's original French, English, Spanish and Italian . . .* ([London], [1799]). Paul Kaufman's breakdown of the records of the Bristol Library from 1773 to 1784 reveals that some French titles were read, though far fewer than translations of French. *Borrowings from the Bristol Library 1773–1784: A Unique Record of Reading Vogues* (Charlottesville: Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1960).

29. Kevin Hayes, *The Library of John Montgomerie, Colonial Governor of New York and New Jersey* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2000). George K. Smart's survey of colonial libraries in Virginia shows a quarter of the books to be in "classics and languages." "Private Libraries in Colonial Virginia," *American Literature* 10 (1938): 24–52. William Byrd of Westover's library was similarly stocked with books in Latin and French as well as many translations. See Kevin Hayes, *The Library of Wil-*

liam Byrd of Westover (Madison, WI: Madison House, 1997), and Richard Beale Davis, *A Colonial Southern Bookshelf* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1979).

30. Howard M. Jones, "The Importation of French Literature in New York City, 1750–1800," *Studies in Philology* 28 (1931): 767–83. James Rivington, one of several transatlantic booksellers, offered "Moral and Entertaining Dialogues" in French and English "for foreigners," and at the end of the century, with the influx of French escaping the Revolution, he proposed a list of books "for students in language, both Englishmen and Frenchmen," including a number of bilingual texts.

31. Stephen Parks, *John Dunton and the English Book Trade: A Study of His Career with a Checklist of His Publications* (New York: Garland, 1976), 190.

32. William Zachs, *The First John Murray and the Late Eighteenth-Century London Book Trade* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1998), 26, 38.

33. For a list of French émigré booksellers, see David J. Shaw, "French Émigrés in the London Book Trade to 1850," in *The London Book Trade: Topographies of Print in the Metropolis from the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Robin Myers, Michael Harris, and Giles Mandelbrote (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2003), 127–44.

34. I have excluded false imprints as noted in the *English Short Title Catalogue* entries.

35. Like other booksellers, the Vaillants published translations from French into English, but also a few from other languages, and some from English into French. The Dulau firm published a total of 314 editions during the eighteenth century: 153 of 166 foreign-language books are in French, and at least a dozen of Dulau's editions are translations from French or into French.

36. Giles Barber, "Voltaire and the '*Maudites Editions de Jean Nourse*,' " in *Studies in the Book Trade of the European Enlightenment* (London: Pindar Press, 1994), 212, 223.

37. In a relatively rare case of synergy, Joseph and Mary Collyer, who had a short-lived bookselling and circulating library business in the 1740s with connections to the Continent, published her translation of Marivaux's *Vie de Marianne*, the *Memoirs of the Countess of Bressol*, and the first German literary works put into English. Alan D. McKillop, "English Circulating Libraries, 1725–50," *The Library* 4th series, 14 (1934): 477–85.

38. Graham Jefcoate, "German Printing and Bookselling in Eighteenth-Century London: Evidence and Interpretation," in *Foreign-Language Printing in London, 1500–1900*, ed. Barry Taylor (Boston Spa: British Library, 2002), 1–36.

39. Pope to the Earl of Burlington, November 1716, in *Letters of Alexander Pope*, ed. John Butt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960), 95.

40. Thomas Amory, *The Life of John Buncle, Esq.*, new ed. (London, 1770), 4: 140.

41. Richard Savage, *An author to be lett. Being a proposal humbly address'd to the consideration of the knights, esquires, gentlemen, and other worshipful* (London, 1729), 3–4.

42. Tobias Smollett, *The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle* (London, 1784), 3: 120. Samuel Croxall, editor of a collection of short novels, advertised somewhat defensively that he "did not only get them done over again by complete Masters both of the subject and the two Languages; but likewise took Care to have the others, which had never been attempted, to be translated by as able Hands, all of 'em being Men of Letters." *A Select Collection of Novels* (London, 1720), preface.

43. Catherine Ingrassia, *Authorship, Commerce, and Gender in Early Eighteenth-Century England: A Culture of Paper Credit* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 40, 41.

44. John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1997), 145. See also David Foxon, *Pope and the Early Eighteenth-Century Book Trade* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991); Alvin Kernan, *Printing, Technology, Letters and Samuel Johnson* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987); and Linda Zionkowski, *Men's Work: Gender, Class, and the Professionalization of Poetry, 1660–1784* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001).

45. Pat Rogers, *Grub Street: Studies in a Subculture* (London: Methuen, 1972), 189, 351.

46. The preface to the translation of Bussy Rabutin's *The Amorous History of the Gauls* (1725) states that "translation is now become the Companion and Prostitute of every miserable Creature that wants a meal, and has the least smattering of Language. By the help of Littleton, Boyer, or some other Dictionary, he gives you the words of an Author, as far as he understands, or thinks he understands them, and adds, diminishes, transposes, and does any thing else but translate the rest" (n.p. [5]).

47. Robert Loveday, *Loveday's Letters Domestick and Forreign to several persons, occasionally distributed in subjects philosophical, historical, and moral* (London, 1669), 47. Loveday translated La Calprenède's *Cléopâtre* parts 1–6.

48. Robert Challes, *The Illustrious French Lovers; Being the True Histories of the Amours of several French Persons of Quality*, trans. Penelope Aubin (London, 1727), vi. Lockman writes in his dedication to the Earl of Middlesex, "[T]o your beneficence I owe the leisure I had to go through with it." Pierre Carlet de Chamblain de Marivaux, *Pharsamond: or, the New Knight-Errant*, trans. John Lockman (London, 1750), n.p. [3]. In the preface to his translation of *Henriade*, Lockman writes, "I can truly say, that this Translation was the Effect of a very agreeable Leisure last Summer in the Country." François Arouet de Voltaire, *Henriade. An Epick Poem In Ten Canto's*, trans. John Lockman (London, 1732), n.p.[1].

49. Loraine Fletcher, *Charlotte Smith: A Critical Biography* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 71–73.

50. C. P. Barbier, "Goldsmith en France au xviiie siècle: Les *Essays* et le *Vicar of Wakefield*," *Revue de littérature comparée* 34 (1960): 395.

51. E. P. Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline and Industrial Capitalism," *Past and Present* 38 (1967): 57. Though his model of preindustrial cultures has been criticized, the general shift in labor and time, and how it was internalized by workers, stands. See Paul Glennie and Nigel Thrift, "Reworking Thompson's 'Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism,' " *Time and Society* 5 (1996): 275–99.

52. Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline and Industrial Capitalism," 71.

53. Ibid., 73.

54. Elizabeth and Richard Griffith, *A Series of Genuine Letters Between Henry and Frances*, 3rd ed. (London, 1770), 4: 31–32. Similarly, Joseph Berington explained: "A few years ago I translated, for my amusement, the letters of Abeillard and Heloisa, and that circumstance it was, which revived the idea, I mentioned to have before entertained, of writing their history." *The History of the Lives of Abeillard and Heloisa* (Birmingham and London, 1788), viii.

55. Ibid., 4: 33.

56. *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Journeywork."

57. Jean-François Marmontel, *Belisarius*, trans. Arthur Murphy (London, 1767), iv.

58. Langhorne translated Jeanne-Marie Le Prince de Beaumont, *Lettres d'Émérance à Lucie* (London: Nourse, 1765), as *Letters from Emerance to Lucy* (London: Nourse, 1766). His contract with Nourse states: "It is agreed between Mr. J. Nourse Bookseller in the Strand and the Rev'd Mr. Langhorne, that the said Mr. Langhorne shall translate a work from the French entitled Lettres d'Emerance a Lucie and be paid by the said Mr. Nourse at the rate of one pound eleven shillings and sixpence per sheet, each sheet in twelves being 24 pages; and that the said Translation shall be read for the press about the latter end of the March, or the Beginning of April, or thereabouts as opportunity may permit." The contract verso shows that Langhorne received payment by the volume on February 13 and April 15 for total of £49. British Library Add. MS 38,729 f. 148. January 14, 1766.

59. See John Langhorne, "Life of Langhorne," in *The Poetical Works of John Langhorne* (London, 1766).

60. Although occasionally a prose fiction translator went directly to the original author in search of something to translate and then negotiated with a bookseller for publication, some translators went directly to booksellers for suggestions and to agree in advance on a translation, as was the case with several of Samuel Richardson's translators. See ch. 4, pp. 123–24.

61. Loveday, *Loveday's Letters*, 47.

62. Desfontaines' was not, however, the first French translation. The first translation was published the same year, 1727, in The Hague. On Desfontaines' relationship with Atterbury, see Thelma Morris, *L'abbé Desfontaines et son rôle dans la littérature de son temps*, *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 19 (1961): 202–7. On the translations of *Gulliver's Travels*, see Paul-Gabriel Boucé, "Les Deux premières traductions françaises des *Gulliver's Travels*," in *La Traduction romanesque au XVIIIe*

siècle, ed. Annie Cointre and Alain Lautel (Arras: Presses de l'Université d'Artois, 2003), 79–89. Charlotte Smith wrote in her preface to *The Romance of Real Life* (1787) that François Gayot de Pitaval's *Causes célèbres* was recommended to her by "a literary friend."

63. James Boswell, *Life of Johnson*, ed. R. W. Chapman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 62.

64. Thomas Holcroft, *Memoirs of the Late Thomas Holcroft* (London, 1816), 2: 33–38. Jeffrey Freedman's thorough study of the translating efforts of the Société typographique de Neuchâtel (STN) in Switzerland shows the STN set about weaving together a network of informants, which included German booksellers and eager translators who hoped to receive commissions. "The Process of Cultural Exchange: Publishing Between France and Germany (1769–89)" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1991).

65. Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, 140.

66. Ibid., 140.

67. Brooke to Dodsley, British Library Add. MS 29747 f. 68, quoted in Lorraine McMullen, *An Odd Attempt in a Woman: The Literary Life of Frances Brooke* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1983), 127.

68. Henry Fielding, *Amélie*, trans. Marie-Jeanne Riccoboni (Paris, 1743); *Nouveau théâtre anglois* (London, 1767; Paris, 1769). On Riccoboni's life, see Emily Crosby, *Une romancière oubliée: Madame Riccoboni, sa vie, ses oeuvres, sa place dans la littérature anglaise et française du xviiie siècle* (1924; repr., Geneva: Slatkine, 1970).

69. Riccoboni to David Garrick, May 15, 1765, in *Mme Riccoboni's Letters to David Hume, David Garrick and Sir Robert Liston, 1764–1783*, ed. James C. Nicholls, *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 149 (1976): 45.

70. "La vente de sa traduction n'a point répondu, dit-il, à son attente." Riccoboni to David Hume, February 2, 1765, in *Mme Riccoboni's Letters*, 42.

71. Garrick to Riccoboni, June 13, 1765, in *Mme Riccoboni's Letters*, 48. In the early 1750s, Brooke had given Garrick her tragedy, *Virginia*, in hopes he would produce it. He did not, but kept it while he produced another play with the same title, written by Samuel Crisp, and Brooke noted this fact in the preface to the published version of her play. In the March 1756 issue of her magazine, *The Old Maid*, Brooke, writing under the pseudonym Mary Singleton, gave Garrick "great offence" by disparaging his use of Nahum Tate's *King Lear* over Shakespeare's and making an uncomplimentary comparison of Garrick's acting with Barry's. See Kevin Berland, "Frances Brooke and David Garrick," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 20 (1990): 217–29.

72. Riccoboni to Garrick, July 29, 1765, in *Mme Riccoboni's Letters*, 51. Riccoboni's next novel was again given to Becket to find a translator, but we ought to wonder, despite Riccoboni's compliance, whether she questioned Garrick's judgment, implying that Brooke had a good deal of talent and may have been her only capable translator.

73. Brooke to Dodsley, British Library Add. MS 29747 f. 68, quoted in McMullen, *An Odd Attempt in a Woman*, 127.

74. *Travels of the Jesuits, into Various Parts of the World: Compiled from their Letters*, trans. John Lockman (London 1743), xxii. It is difficult to find enough receipts and contracts to generalize about translators' fees. Sarah Scott calculated the annual sum she hoped to get from her translating work at £40, based perhaps on her rendering of the little-known author Pierre La Place, which earned her less than £8. James E. Tierney, ed., *The Correspondence of Robert Dodsley 1733–1764* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 521. Elizabeth Griffith received £42 for her *Memoirs of Ninon de l'Enclos*, Smollett some £70 for his *Telemachus*, but Eliza Haywood's *Memoirs of the Man of Honour*, a translation from Prévost's novel, netted only about £14 from John Nourse. British Library Add. MS 32728 f. 113. Of Charlotte Smith's three attempts at translation, only *The Romance of Real Life* was an unencumbered success, but it did well, gleaning a princely £330. Judith Phillips Stanton, "Charlotte Smith's Literary Business: Income, Patronage, and Indigence," *Age of Johnson* 1 (1987): 391. Further details on copyright payments for translations can be found in G. E. Bentley, "Copyright Documents in the George Robinson Archive: William Godwin and Others 1713–1820," in *Studies in Bibliography* 35 (1982): 67–110, and John Feather, "John Nourse and His Authors," *Studies in Bibliography* 34 (1981): 205–20. One rare record detailing the various costs of Charlotte Lennox's translation of the *Memoirs of Madame de Maintenon* shows that her £86 payment was only part of the cost for the translator, since the costs incurred by Lennox also included a "sett in 15 vols for the translator" (probably the original French work), a French-English dictionary, and bindings for Lennox's copies. Her payment for translating was nearly equal to the cost of paper at £88 and close to equal that of the printing at £87. The total outlay by the booksellers was £283. British Library Add. MS 38730 f. 126. February 21, 1757.

75. James Raven, *Judging New Wealth: Popular Publishing and Responses to Commerce in England, 1750–1800* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 39.

76. Sarah Robinson Scott to Elizabeth Montagu, January 1754, Huntington Library, Montagu collection, MO 5238.

77. Montagu to Scott, January 10, 1754, Huntington Library, Montagu collection, MO 5738.

78. Montagu to Scott, January 10, 1754, Huntington Library, Montagu collection, MO 5738.

79. Scott to Montagu, January 1754, Huntington Library, Montagu collection, MO 5238.

80. Booksellers sought to reduce the urgent threats of competition by preempting it. In a surviving contract between Edmund Curll and Samuel Humphreys for the translation of La Fontaine's prose tales in English verse, Curll explicitly stated that the "said Samuel Humphreys doth hereby promise and agree to translate all those Tales of Monsieur De la Fontaine into English Verse, as have not been already translated by such other Hands, are approved of by the said Mr. Curll, and except

those which Mr. Curll shall judge to be too immaterial in their Subjects for an English Version." British Library Add. MS 32,728 f.121. September 6, 1734.

81. Elizabeth and Richard Griffith, *A Series of Genuine Letters*, 4: 34.

82. *The Memoirs of Ninon de L'Enclos with her letters to M. de St. Evremond and to the Marquis de Sévigné*, trans. Elizabeth Griffith (London, 1761) appeared ten years after *The Letters of Ninon de Lenclos to the Marquis de Sévigné*. Griffith's text included several different parts, some of it translated from two French memoirs, which were not used in the 1751 translation, but also the semifictional work probably by Louis Damours, which was the source for the 1751 translation. Some material was Griffith's own. See Susan Staves, "French Fire, English Asbestos: Ninon de Lenclos and Elizabeth Griffith," *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 314 (1993): 193–205.

83. Fletcher, *Charlotte Smith: A Critical Biography*, 82. The letter was written by Smith's friend, George Steevens, who apparently objected more to Prévost's novel than to the translation. The translation was issued anonymously in 1786 and sold some copies.

84. [François Gayot de Pitaval], *The Romance of Real Life*, trans. Charlotte Smith (London, 1787), x.

85. Smith to Thomas Cadell Jr. and William Davies, November 9, 1798, in *The Collected Letters of Charlotte Smith*, ed. Judith Phillips Stanton (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), 316.

86. Frances Brooke promised to share the profit or loss of Millot's *History of England*, knowing that it was a risky venture. John Murray, in collaboration with two partners, had financed a translation of Millot's text, commissioning at least three different translators to complete the work. This was Murray's first commissioned translation, and when it became apparent that it was competing with Brooke's translation, the *Monthly Review* published a notice, written by William Kenrick, one of Murray's translators, criticizing Brooke's translation as "feeble." *Monthly Review* 45 (November 1771): 269. It could hardly have been less feeble than the one done for Murray, since John Langhorne, one of the translators, wrote to Murray, "You will find the work concluded with proper spirit, tho, God knows, it is in many places the very reverse of what the Popish Frenchman has alleged." Quoted in Zachs, *The First John Murray*, 173. The *Critical Review* 32 (July 1771 and November 1771) was more favorable to both translations. Booksellers took other measures as well, including printing the first volume of a multivolume work to stake their claim, or offering a stake in the publication to a competitor, thereby preventing the competitor's publication from coming out, as when Murray told George Robinson that since there were likely to be two translations of Volney's *Travels through Syria and Egypt*, he wished to avoid competition or rivalship by joining forces. Zachs, 172–73.

87. Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline and Industrial Capitalism," 90.

88. E. J. Hobsbawm, *Industry and Empire: An Economic History of Britain since 1750* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968), 67. Pierre de la Place said by way of apology in the preface to this translation of *Tom Jones* that the novel "m'était

absolument inconnu avant le 13 juin dernier; & le bruit se répandait déjà que les li-braires de Hollande, toujours attentifs à leurs intérêts, en faisaient faire une traduction précipitée" [was absolutely unknown to me before June 13 last and the rumor already spread that the Dutch booksellers, always attentive to their interests, had a hasty translation of it done]. Henry Fielding, *Histoire de Tom Jones*, trans. Pierre de la Place (Paris, 1770), vii.

89. Lennox to unknown [Samuel Richardson], February 3, 1752, Chicago Historical Society Manuscripts. Richardson wrote back, "M. Dodsley has a small Thing to translate from the French with Dispatch. You have asked me if I knew of anything of that kind. I know not a better Writer, nor a worthier Bookseller, to recommend to each other, than Mrs. Lennox and Mr. Dodsley." April 6, 1752, in "The Lennox Collection," ed. Duncan Isles, *Harvard Library Bulletin* 18 (1970): 343–44. This may have resulted in her translating Voltaire's *Age of Louis XIV.*

90. Smollett to Alexander Carlyle, February 14, 1748, and to the same, June 7, 1748, in *Letters of Tobias George Smollett: A Supplement to the Noyes Collection*, ed. Francesco Cordasco (Madrid: Avelino Ortega Cuesta de Sancti-Spiritus, 1950), 17. On Smollett's translations, see Leslie Chilton's article in *The Oxford Literary History of Translation*, vol. 3, 1660–1790, ed. Stuart Gillespie and David Hopkins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 105–10, and her introduction to Smollett's translation of *Telemachus*. Fénelon, *The Adventures of Telemachus*, ed., O. M. Brack and Leslie Chilton (Athens: University of Georgia, 1997).

91. See N. N. Feltes, "International Copyright: Structuring 'the Condition of Modernity' in British Publishing," in *The Construction of Authorship: Textual Appropriation in Law and Literature*, ed. Martha Woodmansee and Peter Jaszi (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1994), 271–80.

92. The International Copyright Act of 1838 "empowered the Queen by order in council to grant the same privileges of copyright to authors of books published in foreign states as they would have enjoyed if they were British subjects whose books were first published in the United Kingdom." The act was the result of discussions between Britain, France, and Prussia, but no order in council was signed. Simon Nowell-Smith, *International Copyright Law and the Publisher in the Reign of Queen Victoria* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 22–23.

93. In the same year that novelists such as Brontë and Dickens were first allowed to reserve their rights over the French translations, Harriet Beecher Stowe and Calvin Stowe sued F. W. Thomas for copyright infringement because his translation of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* into German, published in a German-language Philadelphia newspaper, was unauthorized and Stowe had authorized a German translation by another party. In order to establish infringement of copyright by way of damages due to piracy, Stowe's attorney had to argue, in part, that the translation was a copy of the original. Thomas' lawyer argued the opposite, in effect countering the 1852 act passed in Britain and France: "a translation required genius in its construction. . . . But where the genius of the translator is called forth, there he is himself an author,

and his translation an original work." The judge ruled in favor of the defendant and in his decision repeated that the translation was not to be subsumed with the right to the original, invoking the public right. *Stowe v. Thomas* 1853: 22. See Colleen Glenney Boggs, *Transnationalism and American Literature: Literary Translation 1773–1892* (New York: Routledge, 2007), chap. 5, and Meredith McGill, "The Matter of the Text: Commerce, Print Culture, and the Authority of the State in American Copyright Law," *American Literary History* 9 (1997): 21–59.

94. Lawrence Venuti, *The Scandals of Translation: Towards an Ethics of Difference* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 50.

95. Terry Belanger, "Publishers and Writers in Eighteenth-Century England," in *Books and Their Readers in Eighteenth-Century England*, ed. Isabel Rivers (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982), 13.

96. John Feather, "The Publishers and the Pirates: British Copyright Law in Theory and Practice, 1710–1775," *Publishing History* 22 (1987): 5.

97. From *Parliamentary History,* vol. 17 (1774), quoted in Joseph Loewenstein, *The Author's Due: Printing and the Prehistory of Copyright* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 14. On the eighteenth-century development of copyright, see Mark Rose, *Authors and Owners: The Invention of Copyright* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993).

98. Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 173. Also see Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 50–63.

99. Venuti, *The Scandals of Translation*, 55.

100. *Burnet v. Chetwood*, quoted in Venuti, *The Scandals of Translation*, 56

101. *Millar v. Taylor*, quoted in Venuti, *The Scandals of Translation*, 56.

102. *Millar v. Taylor*, quoted in Venuti, *The Scandals of Translation*, 56.

103. David Saunders, *Authorship and Copyright* (London: Routledge, 1992), 70.

104. William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, 3rd ed. (Oxford, 1768), 2: 406. On Blackstone and copyright, see, inter alia, Trevor Ross, "Copyright and the Invention of Tradition," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 26 (1992): 1–27.

105. *Wyatt v. Barnard*, quoted in Venuti, *The Scandals of Translation*, 57.

106. *Murphy v. Vaillant* (1775), quoted in Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, "Profits from Play Publication: The Evidence of *Murphy v. Vaillant*," *Studies in Bibliography: Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Virginia* 51 (1998): 224.

107. *Murphy v. Vaillant*, quoted in Milhous and Hume, "Profits from Play Publication," 225n.

108. Ibid., 225.

109. Helen Maria Williams' receipt of payment for her translation of Bernardin de St. Pierre's *Paul and Virginia* states that she "hereby acknowledge[s] to have ceded to them the full right and title to the copy and that I have not further claim whatsoever on the said work." British Library Add. MS 38,728 f. 209.

Chapter Three
Taking Liberties: Rendering Practices in Prose Fiction

1. *The Memoirs of Ninon de l'Enclos with her Letters to M. de St. Évremond and to the Marquis de Sévigné*, trans. Elizabeth Griffith (London, 1761), "The Translator to the Reader," 151.

2. There were twenty-four editions of Boyer's *Dictionnaire Royal* and forty-six editions of his *Compleat French-Master* from the 1690s to the end of the eighteenth century.

3. John Dryden, *Preface to Ovid's Epistles* (1680) in *The Translation Studies Reader*, 2nd ed., ed. Lawrence Venuti (New York: Routledge, 2004), 38, 39. Dryden advocates a mean between the extremes of imitation and verbatim translating, but the distinction between this middle way and the freer imitation cannot always be found in his work. See Judith Sloman, *Dryden: The Poetics of Translation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985).

4. Roger Zuber, *Les "Belles Infidèles" et la formation du goût classique: Perrot d'Ablancourt et Guez de Balzac* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1968), 44. The similarities between France and England on this "new" kind of translation were in part the result of the contact between many English loyalists in exile and French writers.

5. Abraham Cowley, "Pindarique Odes," in *Poems* (London: Humphrey Moseley, 1656), n.p.

6. Ibid.

7. This ambiguity is found in the first French translation of *Robinson Crusoe*, which was rendered very literally by Justus Van Effen and Thémiseul de Sainte-Hyacinthe into French (published in the Netherlands), but the translators write: "Elle n'est pas scrupuleusement littérale, et l'on fait de son mieux pour y applanir un peu le stile raboteux." [It is not scrupulously literal, and we do our best to smooth out the rough style a little.] Daniel Defoe, *La Vie et les avantures surprenantes de Robinson Crusoé*, (Amsterdam, 1720), xi.

8. Dryden, *Preface to Ovid*, 38.

9. Alexander Tytler, *Essay on the Principles of Translation* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1907), 8–9.

10. Ibid., 22. Also see Thomas Steiner, *English Translation Theory, 1650–1800* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1975), and Muneharu Kitagaki, *Principles and Problems of Translation in Seventeenth-Century England* (Kyoto: Yamaguchi Shoten, 1981).

11. See Douglas Kelly, *The Art of Medieval French Romance* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992); Roger Ellis and Ruth Evans, ed., *The Medieval Translator* 4 (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1994). Roger Ellis, ed., *The Medieval Translator: The Theory and Practice of Translation in the Middle Ages* (Wolfeboro, NH: D. S. Brewer, 1989). My emphasis on rhetoric in translation practices has also benefited from Frederick Rener, *Interpretatio: Language and Translation from Cicero to Tytler* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1989).

12. *The Memoirs of Ninon de l'Enclos with her Letters to M. de St. Évremond and to the Marquis de Sévigné*, trans. Elizabeth Griffith (London, 1761), xii.

13. Francis Bacon, *La Nouvelle Atlantide*, trans. M. R. (Paris, 1702), preface.

14. [D'Argences], *The Countess of Salisbury or the Most Noble Order of the Garter*, trans. Ferrand Spence (London, 1683), preface. In *The Martyrdom of Theodora and of Didymus* (1687), Robert Boyle writes: "Having once run across a book of martyrology . . . I own I was not a little affected, at the reading of such moving and uncommon adventures. . . . I found myself tempted so to enlarge this Story, as that it might be contriv'd into somewhat voluminous romance. . . . I suppos'd too, that I needed not scruple, to lend Speeches to the persons I brought upon the stage, provided they were to suitable to the speakers and occasions." Charles Davies, ed., *Prefaces to Four Seventeenth-Century Romances* (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Library, 1953), n.p. Marie-Jeanne Riccoboni wrote a "suite de Marianne" because *La Vie de Marianne* was left unfinished by Marivaux, and the English translator, Mary Collyer, then provided an ending of her own invention. The practices are not confined to translations: Mary Hamilton's 1778 novel, *Munster Village*, borrows and slightly reformulates passages from Defoe's *Political History of the Devil*. See Alessa Johns, "Mary Hamilton, Daniel Defoe, and a Case of Plagiarism in Eighteenth-Century England," *English Language Notes* 31 (1994): 25–33.

15. Scudéry, *Ibrahim*, n.p. [8].

16. Kelly, *The Art of Medieval French Romance*, 50.

17. Terence Cave, *The Cornucopian Text: Problems of Writing in the French Renaissance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), 8.

18. Henry Peacham, *The Garden of Eloquence* (1593; repr. Gainesville: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1954), 121.

19. There were well over a hundred editions of Fénelon's epic novel in prose, in different English translations in the eighteenth century, and there are several references to its use as a text for students of French.

20. François Fénelon, *Les Aventures de Télémaque*, ed. Jacques Le Brun (Paris: Gallimard, 1995), 31; Fénelon, *The Adventures of Telemachus*, trans. Abel Boyer and Isaac Littlebury (London, 1719), 39. The first English translation was published in 1699.

21. François Fénelon, *The Adventures of Telemachus*, 2nd ed., trans. John Ozell (London, 1719), 3. After Boyer and Littlebury's translation had gone through several editions, Ozell published this version, quickly followed by the republication of Boyer's with a new, lengthy preface comparing it with Ozell's in order to accuse Ozell of plagiarism: "[I]t plainly appears from his Performance, That (excepting a few Pages in the Beginning,) he made free with *our whole Work*." *The Adventures of Telemachus*, trans. Abel Boyer and Isaac Littlebury, x.

22. Quintilian lists only three figures for amplifying, though John Stirling lists fourteen in *A System of Rhetoric . . . For the Use of Schools*, 3rd ed. (London, 1740), 10–11.

23. René Pruvost analyzes Geoffrey Fenton's use of amplification and *prosopopoeia* in his English version of Bandello's story of Cornelio and Plaudina, a sixteenth-century translation still widely read in the eighteenth century: "Bandello is content

with barely recording in a brief introduction his hero and heroine's mutual love. . . . As usual, Fenton greatly develops this part of the story . . . and quotes at great length their letters and the soliloquies through which they vent their despair at the time of their enforced separation." *Matteo Bandello and Elizabethan Fiction* (Paris: H. Champion, 1937), 112. These rhetorical figures are also found in the sixteenth-century French and English versions of *Amadis de Gaule*. See John O'Connor, *Amadis de Gaule and its Influence on Elizabethan Literature* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1970).

24. Brown also borrowed from Roger L'Estrange's *Quevedo* and integrated that text into this translation. His other translations include Marie d'Aulnoy's *Memoirs of the Court of Spain* (1692); *Miscellany Essays by Monsieur de St. Évremont* (1695); *A New and Easy Method to Understand Roman History* (1694), and *The Life of Cardinal Richelieu* (1695) and Richelieu's letters and other works from Latin and Italian. See Benjamin Boyce, *Tom Brown of Facetious Memory, Grub Street in the Age of Dryden* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1939).

25. *Amusements serious and comical*, trans. Tom Brown (London, 1702), 152. I am indebted here to Benjamin Boyce, *Tom Brown of Facetious Memory*, 138.

26. *Brevitas* was sometimes included in amplification. See Quintilian *Instituto Oratoria,* trans. H. E. Butler, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958–60), bk. 8, 4. Also see Richard A. Lanham, *A Handlist of Rhetorical Terms* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), and Warren Taylor, *Tudor Figures of Rhetoric* (1937; repr. Whitewater, WI: Language Press, 1972). Many translators on both sides of the Channel had begun calling for reductions in translation before the mid-eighteenth century to minimize the "prodigious Length of the Ancient Romances, the Mixture of so many Extraordinary Adventures, and the great Number of Actors that appear on the Stage." Delarivier Manley, *The Secret History of Queen Zarah* (London, 1711), n.p. [2].

27. Defoe, *La Vie et les avantures de Robinson Crusoé*, trans. Justus Van Effen and Thémiseul Sainte-Hyacinthe, xii. A quantitative study of Desfontaines' translation of Fielding's *Joseph Andrews* has shown that the French translation is over eight hundred words shorter than the original, and that includes an addition of some two hundred words by the translator which have no equivalent in the original English. The study also reveals that Desfontaines has 82 percent direct discourse, while Fielding has only 73 percent. Kristiina Taivalkoski, "Les Simplifications narratives dans un traduction française de *Joseph Andrews*," in *Translation in Context: Selected Contributions from the EST Congress, Granada 1998*, ed. Andrew Chesterman, Natividad Gallardo San Salvador, and Yves Gambier (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2000), 197 n.1, 193.

28. Marie-Catherine d'Aulnoy, *The Prince of Carency*, trans. anon. (London, 1719) n.p. [6].

29. Mary Collyer used these tactics in her version of Marivaux's *La Vie de Marianne*. William McBurney and Michael Shugrue, eds., *The Virtuous Orphan or, The Life of Marianne Countess of ****, *an eighteenth-century English translation by Mrs. Mary Mitchell Collyer of Marivaux's La Vie de Marianne* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1965), xxviii–xxxiii.

30. Samuel Richardson, *Nouvelles Lettres Anglaises, ou Histoire du Chevalier Grandison*, trans. abbé Prévost, (Amsterdam, [1755] 1784), vi–vii.

31. Shelly Charles, "Le *Tom Jones* de La Place ou la fabrique d'un roman français," *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France* 94 (1994): 931–58.

32. Henry Fielding, *Histoire de Tom Jones*, trans. Pierre-Antoine de La Place (London, 1750), "épître," vi–vii.

33. Albert O. Hirschman, *The Passions and the Interests: Political Arguments for Capitalism Before its Triumph* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977), 42.

34. Ibid., 32.

35. David Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature*, 2nd ed., ed. L. A. Selby-Bigge and P. H. Nidditch (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 499–500, and see bk. 2, passim. John Mullan explains Hume's social view of the passions in the *Treatise*, but notes that he later retreated from the position. *Sentiment and Sociability: The Language of Feeling in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 23–24.

36. April Alliston, *Virtue's Faults: Correspondences in British and French Women's Fiction* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996), 78.

37. The shift is succinctly identified in Samuel Johnson's two different definitions of the verb "to interest": "To concern; to affect; to give share in" and "To affect; to move; to touch with passion; to gain the affections: as, this is an *interesting* story." *A Dictionary of the English Language* (London, 1755), s.v. "Interest."

38. Bernardin de St. Pierre, *Paul and Virginia*, trans. Helen Maria Williams (London, 1795), vi. See Philip Robinson, "Traduction ou trahison de *Paul et Virginie*? L'exemple de Helen Maria Williams," *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France* 89 (1989): 843–55.

39. Stéphanie de Genlis, *Tales of the Castle*, trans. Thomas Holcroft (London, 1785), "Advertisement," n.p. [3–4].

40. Nicholas Boileau, *Boileau's Lutrin: A Mock Heroic Poem*, trans. John Ozell (London, 1708), n.p. [3].

41. Pierre Carlet de Marivaux, *Les Avantures de *** ou effets surprenants de sympathie* (Paris, 1712–1714), "Avis au lecteur," n.p.

42. James Raven, *British Fiction 1750–1770: A Chronological Check-List of Prose Fiction Printed in Britain and Ireland* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1987), 14. And, with over seventy works to her credit, and a number of her novels in continuous reprint throughout the eighteenth century, Haywood's popularity, unlike that of Defoe or Sterne, was not based on a single best-selling novel. On her life and works, see Patrick Spedding, *A Bibliography of Eliza Haywood* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2004); George Frisbie Whicher, *The Life and Romances of Mrs. Eliza Haywood* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1915); and Christine Blouch, "Eliza Haywood: Questions in the Life and Works" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1991).

43. Edmé Boursault, *Letters From a Lady of Quality to a Chevalier*, trans. Eliza Haywood (London, 1721), iv.

44. Ibid., 3.

45. Ibid., 7.

46. Edmé Boursault, *Lettres nouvelles avec treize lettres d'une dame à un cava-lier* (1699), 7. The novel was also published under the title *Lettres nouvelles de feu Monsieur Boursault. Accompagnées de fables, de contes, d'epigrâmes, de remarques, de bons mots, & d'autres particularitez aussi agréables qu'utiles. Avec treize lettres amou-reuses d'une dame à un cavalier.* 2nd ed. Paris 1699–1700; 3rd ed. Lyon 1709, 1711, 1715, 4th ed. Paris 1720, another Paris edition in 1738.

47. Boursault, *Letters From a Lady of Quality to a Chevalier*, trans. Haywood, 26.

48. Boursault, *Lettres nouvelles*, 25.

49. John Richetti disparages this technique in Haywood's novels as "auto-matic and mindless erotic suggestion." *Popular Fiction Before Richardson: Narrative Patterns 1700–1739* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 201.

50. George Whicher was not aware that Haywood's *Mary Stuart* was taken from Boisguilbert, attributing the use of multiple sources to Haywood. *The Life and Romances of Mrs. Eliza Haywood*, 97. Patrick Spedding's bibliography also misses the fact that the text is translated from Boisguilbert. *A Bibliography of Eliza Haywood*, 233.

51. Pierre le Pésant de Boisguilbert, *Marie Stuart, Reyne d'Escosse, Nouvelle Historique* (Paris, 1674), 7–8.

> Pour sa beauté, il serait difficile de la bien représenter; tous ceux qui en ont parlé comme témoins oculaires, conviennent qu'il n'était pas possible, non seulement de voir, mais même de s'imaginer rien de plus beau sous le ciel. Sa vue faisait en un instant le chemin qu'il y a des yeux jusques au coeur. De manière, qu'un auteur de qualité a écrit, que jamais homme ne la vit, sans être aussi-tôt épris de ses charmes. Ainsi, pour me dispenser de faire le détail d'une chose, qu'on peut mieux concevoir que d'écrire, qu'on aban-donne son imagination à la plus belle idée d'une blonde que l'esprit est ca-pable de former; et je ne sais pas encore si on aura rencontré le portrait de Marie. Ceux que les peintres tirèrent de son visage produisaient le même effet que sont aujourd'hui les plus grandes beautez; on ne les pouvait re-garder sans concevoir à même temps de la passion pour l'objet qu'ils ne présentatient qu'imparfaitement. Charles IX, au rapport de Brantosme, ne passait jamais devant aucun, qu'il ne s'arrêtât tout court pour le considérer, accompagnant cette action de quantité de discours très-passionez: Entr'au-tres, qu'il estimait François II son frère, le plus heureux prince de la terre, quelque peu qu'eussent dure sa vie et son règne, d'avoir possédé une si belle personne, et qu'il ne souhaiterait rien au monde à l'égal d'un pareil sort.

52. Boisguilbert, *The Life of Mary Stewart, the Queen of Scotland and France*, trans. James Freebairn (Edinburgh, 1725), 5–6.

53. Boisguilbert, *Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots*, trans. Eliza Haywood (London, 1725), 4.

54. Boursault, *Letters From a Lady of Quality to a Chevalier*, trans. Haywood, v.

55. Ros Ballaster, *Seductive Forms: Women's Amatory Fiction from 1684 to 1740* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 31, 34.

56. G. Gabrielle Starr, *Lyric Generations: Poetry and the Novel in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 66. Haywood's *Fantomina* likewise "champions the primacy of passion as an essentially amoral, motivational force capable of redefining female virtue." Margaret Case Croskery, "Masquing Desire: The Politics of Passion in Eliza Haywood's *Fantomina*," in *The Passionate Fictions of Eliza Haywood: Essays on Her Life and Work*, ed. Kirsten Saxton and Rebecca Bocchicchio (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2000), 70.

57. Ballaster, *Seductive Forms*, 42–49.

58. Jayne E. Lewis, *Mary Queen of Scots: Romance and Nation* (London: Routledge, 1998), 136.

59. [Jean de Préchac], *The Disguis'd Prince: or, the Beautiful Parisian, A True History* (London, 1728). The title page has "translated from the French" with no author or translator's name, but it is dedicated by Haywood to Lady Lombe; Haywood may have thought this novel was the work of Marie Catherine DesJardins [Mme. Villedieu], a seventeenth-century French novelist, because it had appeared in Villedieu's works published in 1721. After the 1730s, Haywood published less amatory fiction, yet continued to represent feminine community through paratextual devices in such works as the *Tea-Table* (1724), the *Female Spectator* (1745), and *Epistles for the Ladies* (1749–1750).

60. The translation of Prévost's *Memoires d'un honnête homme* has not generally been recognized as Haywood's work. The original receipts signed by Haywood for the translation dating from 1746 and 1747 are located at the British Library, British Library Add. MS 32728 f. 113.

61. Like Haywood, La Place also blurred distinctions between translation and adaptation: *Le veritable ami ou la vie de David Simple,* the *Orpheline angloise ou Histoire de Charlotte Summers, Thomas Kenbrook, histoire anglaise*, and *Lettres à miladi.* These titles all appeared without the original author's name so that it was unclear to readers which of these might be translated, if unfaithfully, or more loosely imitated from a source text in English, or an original novel masked as a pseudo-translation. His *Lydia, ou Mémoires de Milord D**** (1772) claims to be "imités de l'anglais," but La Place says in the preface that he had started it as an original work some twenty years prior to this publication, then after reading the incomplete *Memoirs of a Coxcomb* in English, he was inspired to extend his original. He then abandoned the project, only to take it up again much later. His influential *Théâtre Anglois* was published in London, 1745–1749. For biographical details, see Lillian Cobb, *Pierre-Antoine de La Place: Sa vie et son oeuvre, 1707–1793* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1928).

62. See Gerard Barker, "*David Simple*: The Novel of Sensibility in Embryo," *Modern Language Studies* 12 (1982): 69–80.

63. See Daniel Mornet, "Les Enseignements des bibliothèques privées, 1750–1780," *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France* 17 (1910): 464.

64. In the same year that La Place brought out his translation, two scenes from Southerne's play (act 1, I and act II, ii) were translated by abbé Le Blanc in *Lettres d'un François*. In 1751 Southerne was translated in full by Fiquet du Bocage.

65. Cobb, *Pierre-Antoine de La Place*, 74.

66. Jürgen von Stackelberg asserts: "[C]'est le schéma du roman héroïque et galant qui a déterminé l'action dans la traduction de La Place. Le traducteur intègre le texte anglais dans la tradition romanesque de son pays et fait de Mrs Behn un Mlle de Scudéry!" [It is the schema of a heroic and gallant romance which determines the action in La Place's translation. The translator integrates the text in the romance tradition of his country and makes a Mlle de Scudéry of Mrs. Behn!] "*Oroonoko* et l'abolition de l'esclavage: Le Rôle du traducteur," *Revue de Littérature Comparée* 63 (1989): 247. Also see Edward Seeber, "Oroonoko in France in the XVIIIth Century," *PMLA* 51 (1936): 953–59. Joyce Green Macdonald has noted a similar sentimentalization in the dramatic adaptation by Hawkesworth, observing the contrast between Behn's "haunting bodily spectacles" and Hawkesworth's slaves, who "enclose themselves within a culture of pathos and sensibility." "The Disappearing African Woman: Imoinda in *Oroonoko* after Behn," *ELH* 66 (1999): 81.

67. Aphra Behn, *Oronoko, ou le prince négre*, trans. Pierre-Antoine de La Place (Amsterdam, 1745), ix.

68. Laura Brown, *Ends of Empire: Women and Ideology in Early Eighteenth-Century English Literature* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993), 35. Oroonoko, as Brown writes, is not only a "natural European aristocrat, but a natural neoclassicist and Royalist as well, an absurdity generated by the desire for an intimate identification with the 'royal slave' " (36). The question of Imoinda's role as a black woman has been more ambiguous in part because of the ways she was transformed into a white character on the stage, but also because her racial difference but gender alignment with the narrator functions quite differently from Oroonoko's. Ros Ballaster argues that the white female narrator finds an alterity she cannot or will not identify with in Imoinda's heroic self-mutilation and thus restores alterity to a text that otherwise attempts to erase it. "New Hystericism: Aphra Behn's *Oroonoko*: The Body, the Text and the Feminist Critic," in *New Feminist Discourses: Critical Essays on Theories and Texts*, ed. Isobel Armstrong (London: Routledge, 1992), 292. In her study of black women on the eighteenth-century stage, including Imoinda, Felicity Nussbaum writes: "Black women in the eighteenth century are not so much *absent* as they are a spectral presence that links desire with defeat, dread, physical defect, and monstrosity." *The Limits of the Human: Fictions of Anomaly, Race, and Gender in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 188.

69. Behn, *Oronoko*, trans. La Place, 137–38.

70. Ibid.,140.

71. See Aphra Behn, *Oroonoko* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1973), 10.

72. Ibid., 2–3 and 48. See Joyce Lorimer, "The Failure of the English Guiana Ventures 1595–1667," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 21 (1993): 1–30.

73. Behn concludes the encounter scene with an ethnographic account of the tribe, so that instead of mystifying their difference, she completely demystifies them, noting that the power of the prophet and medicine man to cure the patient is done "more by Fancy than by Medicines." Behn, *Oroonoko*, 57.

74. Behn, *Oronoko*, trans. La Place, 143–44.

75. Ibid., 143; Aphra Behn, *Oronoko, ou le prince négre*, trans. La Place (Paris, 1769), 192.

76. Élie Fréron, *Année littéraire* 8 (1756): 188.

77. Behn, *Oronoko*, trans. La Place, 163.

78. Doris Sommer makes this argument about sympathy and national identity eloquently in *Foundational Fictions: The National Romances of Latin America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 12–27. Similarly, Michelle Burnham's reading of captivity narratives and novels in the eighteenth century argues that "sympathy is a movement that obscures its own activity," retrogressively sealing the gap between identification with Rowlandson's virtuous suffering and her "trangressive" agency or cultural indeterminacy. "Between England and America: Captivity, Sympathy, and the Sentimental Novel," in *Cultural Institutions of the Novel*, ed. Deidre Lynch and William Warner (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996), 63. Also see Burnham, *Captivity and Sentiment: Cultural Exchange in American Literature, 1682–1861* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1997).

79. Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), 78. Lynn Festa, *Sentimental Figures of Empire in Eighteenth-Century Britain and France* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), 34 and passim, 22–66. Suvir Kaul reads *Oroonoko* through Pratt's paradigm in "Reading Literary Symptoms: Colonial Pathologies and the *Oroonoko* Fictions of Behn, Southerne and Hawkesworth," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 18 (1994): 80–96.

80. Samuel Richardson, *Nouvelles Lettres Anglaises, ou Histoire du Chevalier Grandison*, trans. abbé Prévost (Amsterdam, [1755] 1784), viii.

Chapter Four
The Cross-Channel Emergence of the Novel

1. Anna Barbauld, "Life of Samuel Richardson," in *The Correspondence of Samuel Richardson*, ed. Anna Barbauld (London, 1804), xi.

2. Carol H. Flynn and Edward Copeland, introduction to *Clarissa and Her Readers: New Essays for the Clarissa Project*, ed. Carol H. Flynn and Edward Copeland (New York: AMS Press, 1999), 3; and Nancy Armstrong, "Reclassifying *Clarissa*: Fiction and the Making of the Modern Middle Class," in *Clarissa and Her Readers*, ed. Flynn, 21.

3. Leonard Forster, *The Poet's Tongues: Multilingualism in Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 28.

4. John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, ed. Alexander Fraser (New York: Dover Publications, 1959), III.v.8, 2: 48.

5. N. Bonaventure d'Argonne [Vigneul-Marville], *Mélanges d'histoire et de littérature* (Rotterdam, 1700–1702), 1: 262. See Daniel Mercier, "La Problématique de l'équivalence des langues," in *La Traduction en France à l'âge classique*, ed. Michel Ballard and Lieven d'Hulst (Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 1996), 62–81.

6. Étienne Bonnot de Condillac, *Essay on the Origin of Human Knowledge*, ed. and trans. Hans Aarsleff (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 185, 189.

7. Jean Bernard Le Blanc, *Lettres de Monsieur l'abbé Le Blanc* (Amsterdam, 1749), 2: 57.

8. Diego de Saavedra Fajardo, *Respublica literaria: or, the Republick of Letters*, trans. J. E. (London, 1727), 61.

9. Le Blanc noted: "Les guerres fréquentes entre les deux Nations ont allumé cette haine réciproque qui subsiste depuis si long-tems; la rivalité & la jalousie du Commerce l'empêchent de s'éteindre en tems de paix." [The frequent wars between the two nations have ignited this reciprocal hatred that has subsisted for so long; commercial rivalry and envy prevents its being extinguished in times of peace.] *Lettres de Monsieur l'abbé Le Blanc*, 5th ed. (Lyon, 1768), 1: 34.

10. *Journal de Trévoux,* Juillet 1755. Rémond de Saint Saveur wryly advised: "On m'avait conseillé d'annoncer ce Livre comme traduit de L'Anglais: c'est la mode, disait-on, tout ce qui nous vient d'Angleterre est fort accueilli." [I had been advised to announce this book as translated from the English; it is the fashion, one says, everything that comes to us from England is very welcome.] Rémond de Saint Saveur, *Agenda des auteurs* (1755), 11.

11. Bernard de Fontenelle, *A Discovery of New Worlds*, trans. Aphra Behn (London, 1688), preface, n.p. [9].

12. Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of English Language*, (London, 1755), preface, n.p. [9].

13. Anon. *The French Rogue: or, the Life of Monsieur Ragoue de Versailles* (London, 1704), "To the Ingenious Author of *The French Rogue*," n.p. [4].

14. Compare, for example, Stephen Lewis' earlier statement about translations of novels: "And (tho' we have been hitherto, for the most part, supply'd with translations from the French) it is to be hoped . . . that some English genius will dare to naturalize romance into our soil." Pierre-Daniel Huet, *The History of Romances*, trans. Stephen Lewis (London, 1715), ix.

15. [Francis Coventry], *Essay on the New Species of Writing Founded by Mr. Fielding* (1751), 14.

16. *Monthly Review* 4 (March 1751).

17. Frances Acomb, *Anti-English Opinion in France 1763–89* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946), 144–45.

18. Edmond Dziembowski, *Un nouveau patriotisme français, 1750–1770: La France face à la puissance anglaise à l'époque de la guerre de Sept Ans, Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 365 (1998).

19. Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), 1.

20. Gerald Newman, *The Rise of English Nationalism: A Cultural History, 1740–1830* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987), 124.

21. Ibid., 124. See also Michèle Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity: National Identity and Language in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Routledge, 1996), and Alok Yadav, *Before the Empire of English: Literature, Provinciality, and Nationalism in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004). Yadav argues that the English, and Britons generally, saw themselves as provincial with respect to Europeans, and that their triumphalist discourse about literary English was an assumption of marginality, not of conquest. For further background, see Georges Ascoli, *La Grande-Bretagne devant l'opinion française au XVIIe siècle* (1927; repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1971), and Charles Bastide, *Anglais et français du XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Félix Alcan, 1912).

22. Robin Eagles, *Francophilia in English Society, 1748–1815* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 63–65. Probably some 25 percent of English stage comedies were loosely translated from French plays in the second half of the eighteenth century. See Willard Kinne, *Revivals and Importations of French Comedies in England, 1749–1800* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939).

23. Josephine Grieder has tallied about four novels per year from 1740 to 1780, "from," "by," or about the English, and the total would be much higher were it to include all the acknowledged translations of English novels. *Anglomania in France, 1740–1789: Fact, Fiction, and Political Discourse* (Geneva: Droz, 1985), 151–62.

24. Antoine Yart, *Idée de la Poésie Anglaise* (Paris, 1749–1756), iii.

25. Ibid., iii.

26. Antoine François Prévost, *Lettres de Mentor, à un jeune seigneur* (Paris, 1754), v–vi.

27. Antoine Berman, *The Experience of the Foreign: Culture and Translation in Romantic Germany*, trans. S. Heyvaert (Albany: SUNY Press, 1992), 4, 39.

28. Ibid., 36, 39.

29. Élie Catherine Fréron, "Lettre à M. l'abbé d[es]f[ontaines]," in Pierre Guyot Desfontaines, *Observations sur les écrits modernes* (Paris, 1735), 33: 285. Fréron was a vociferous anglophobe, but the idea of English as less polished than French was not uncommon. A playful version of contradictory rhetoric on Anglo-French relations can also be found in John Moore, *A Journal During a Residence in France* (London, 1793), 1: 229–30; in James C. Nicholls, ed., Mme *Riccoboni's Letters to David Hume, David Garrick and Sir Robert Liston, Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 149 (1976); and in W. S. Lewis and Warren H. Smith, eds., *Horace Walpole's*

Correspondence with Madame Du Deffand and Wiart (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1939).

30. François Arouet de Voltaire, *Lettres philosophiques* (Paris: Garnier Flammarion, 1964), 145; Voltaire, *Letters Concerning the English Nation*, ed. Nicholas Cronk (Oxford: Oxford World's Classics, 1994), 111. This translation is possibly by John Lockman, and Voltaire may have collaborated on it. See J. Patrick Lee, "The Unexamined Premise: Voltaire, John Lockman and the Myth of the English Letters," *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 2001:10: 240–270.

31. Voltaire, *An Essay upon the Epick Poetry of the European Nations/Essai sur la poésie épique*, ed. David Williams, *The Complete Works of Voltaire* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1996), 3B: 307.

32. Voltaire, *Essay upon the Epick Poetry of the European Nations / Essai sur la poésie épique*, *The Complete Works of Voltaire*, 3B: 374, 492.

33. Jean Arnold Trochereau de la Berlière, *Choix de différens morceaux de poésie* (Paris, 1749), "Discours préliminaire," n.p.

34. Walter Mignolo, "The Many Faces of Cosmo-polis: Border Thinking and Critical Cosmopolitanisms," in *Cosmopolitanism*, ed. Carol A. Breckenridge, Sheldon Pollock, Homi Bhabha, and Dipesh Chakrabarty (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002), 168. Also see Thomas McCarthy, "On Reconciling Cosmopolitan Unity and National Diversity," in *Alternative Modernities*, ed. Dilip Parameshwar Gaonkar (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001), 197–236, and Thomas Schlereth, *The Cosmopolitan Ideal in Enlightenment Thought, its Form and Function in the Ideas of Franklin, Hume, and Voltaire, 1694–1790* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1977).

35. Mignolo, "The Many Faces of Cosmo-polis," 170, 173.

36. Oliver Goldsmith, "Reflections on National Prejudices," *The Works of Oliver Goldsmith*, ed. Peter Cunningham (New York: Harper and Bros., 1900), 3: 33. The article "nation" in the *Encyclopédie* reinforces Goldsmith's commonplaces: "Chaque *nation* a son caractère particulier: c'est une espèce de proverbe que de dire, léger comme un françois, jaloux comme un italien, grave comme un espagnol, méchant comme un anglois, fier comme un écossois, ivrogne comme un allemand, paresseux comme un irlandois, fourbe comme un grec, etc." [Each nation has its particular character: it is a kind of proverb to say, flimsy as a Frenchman, jealous as an Italian, grave as a Spaniard, mean as an Englishman, proud as a Scot, drunk as a German, lazy as an Irishman, treacherous as a Greek, etc.] Denis Diderot and Jean Le Rond d'Alembert, eds., *Encyclopédie*, new ed. (Geneva, 1777). Compare Daniel Defoe: "To receive Foreigners into the supreme Judicature of Great Britain: What is it but subjecting the Lives, Honours, and Estates of a free and glorious Nation, to the Breath of a covetous Dutchman, a mercenary Frenchman, a haughty, insolent Spaniard, or a lewd, assassinating Italian." *An Argument Proving that the Design of Employing and Enabling Foreigners, is a Treasonable Conspiracy Against the Constitution* (1717), 21. See also Anne-Marie Mercier Faivre, "La nation par la langue: philologie, nationalisme et nation dans l'Europe du dix-huitième siècle," in *Nations, Nationalismes, France, Brit-*

ain, Ireland, and the Eighteenth Century Context, ed. M. O'Dea and K. Whelan, *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 335 (1995): 161–79.

37. Similar commitments to the cosmopolitan ideal of correcting patriotism are found in Goldsmith's *The Citizen of the World*. See James Watt, "Goldsmith's Cosmopolitanism," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 30 (2006): 56–75.

38. John Shebbeare, *Letters on the English Nation: by Batista Angeloni, a Jesuit, who resided many years in London* (London, 1755), lv.

39. Ibid., liv.

40. Amanda Anderson, "Cosmopolitanism, Universalism, and the Divided Legacies of Modernity," in *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling Beyond the Nation*, ed. Pheng Cheah and Bruce Robbins (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), 267.

41. Goldsmith, "Reflections on National Prejudices," 3: 33. See also Alan McKillop, "Local Attachment and Cosmopolitanism: The Eighteenth-Century Pattern," in *From Sensibility to Romanticism: Essays Presented to Frederick A. Pottle*, ed. Frederick Hilles and Harold Bloom (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), 191–218.

42. Boissy's play, staged regularly in Paris from 1727 on, was likely seen by many British tourists, and possibly by Samuel Foote, author of *Englishman in Paris*, which was written and performed in London in 1753. The playbills advertised it as "An Answer to a French Farce, called the Frenchman in London." Boissy's play was printed and then translated into English in 1755 after the success of Foote's play. Murphy's play was written and performed in 1756, within a month of Foote's but not published until 1969.

43. Louis de Boissy, *Le François à Londres* in *Petit Bibliothèque des théâtres* (Paris, 1789), 27: 42–43.

44. Samuel Foote, *The Englishman in Paris* (London, 1753), 51.

45. Ibid., n.p. [54].

46. Ibid., 38–39.

47. Susan Lamb, "The Popular Theater of Samuel Foote and British National Identity," *Comparative Drama* 30 (1996): 251–52.

48. Doris Sommer, *Bilingual Aesthetics: A New Sentimental Education* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), xii.

49. Ibid., 16. See also Doris Sommer, ed., *Bilingual Games* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

50. Jean-Louis Fougeret de Monbron, *Le Cosmopolite ou le citoyen du monde* ([Paris], 1753), 5.

51. Ibid., 4. In his *Préservatif de l'Anglomanie*, written a few years later, Fougeret de Monbron pretends to ridicule the affectation of Englishness, pointing up the absurdity of a French volte-face about the English: "Ce peuple que l'on avoit toujours connu pour le plus orgueilleux, le plus jaloux du succès de ses voisins, le plus intéressé, le plus ingrat & le plus féroce qui soit au monde, est, selon M. de Voltaire le peuple le plus genereux, le plus magnanime." [This people that one had always

known as the most proud, the most envious of the success of its neighbors, the most interested, the most ungrateful and the most fierce that they could be in the world, is, according to M. Voltaire the most generous, the most magnanimous.] ([Paris], 1757), 6–7.

52. Fougeret de Monbron's version of Robert Dodsley's *The Chronicle of the Kings of England* (1740) appeared in 1743 and again in 1750. See J. H. Broome, " 'L'homme au coeur velu': The Turbulent Career of Fougeret de Monbron," *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 21 (1963): 179–213, and Franco Venturi, *Europe des lumières. Recherches sur le 18e siècle* (Paris: Mouton, 1971), 94–114.

53. Richard Gooding, "*Pamela*, *Shamela*, and the Politics of the *Pamela* Vogue," *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 7 (1995): 109–30; James G. Turner, "Novel Panic: Picture and Performance in the Reception of Richardson's Pamela," *Representations* 48 (1994): 70–96; Terry Eagleton, *The Rape of Clarissa: Writing, Sexuality and Class Struggle in Samuel Richardson* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982); William Beatty Warner, *Licensing Entertainment: The Elevation of Novel Reading in Britain, 1684–1750* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), chap. 5.

54. Terry Eagleton, *The Rape of Clarissa*, 5.

55. Samuel Richardson, *Pamela, or Virtue Rewarded*, ed. T. C. Duncan Eaves and Ben D. Kimpel (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1971), 7. These letters were printed in the first five editions of the novel.

56. Ibid., 7. Roscommon's lines about translation seem to be the basis for the image used here: "But who did ever in French authors see / The Comprehensive, English Energy? The weighty Bullion of One Sterling Line / Drawn to French Wire, would thro' whole Pages shine." *An Essay on Translated Verse* (London, 1684), lines 51–54.

57. *Pamela* did represent a tableau of English customs for French readers who were largely ignorant of English culture, as one pamphleteer wrote: "Les moeurs angloises ne me sont pas connues: on dit qu'on en voit dans ce Roman un tableau fidèle." [English customs are unknown to me: one says that we see a faithful portrait of them in this novel.] *Lettre sur Paméla* (Paris, 1742), 9.

58. Nancy Armstrong, *Desire and Domestic Fiction: A Political History of the Novel* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 98. See also Paula Backscheider, ed., *Revising Women: Eighteenth-Century "Women's Fiction" and Social Engagement* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), chap. 1 and 2.

59. Michael McKeon, "The Secret History of Domesticity: Private, Public, and the Division of Knowledge," in *The Age of Cultural Revolutions: Britain and France, 1750–1820*, ed. Colin Jones and Dror Wahrman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 172.

60. Ibid., 172.

61. "Nous avons taché de la rendre aussi fidèle qu'il nous a été possible, vu la différence des langues." [We have endeavored to render it as faithfully as possible, given the difference between the languages.] Aubert de la Chesnaye Desbois has been suggested as the translator, but there is no concrete evidence to tie him to the *Pamela*

translation. It has also been attributed to Prévost because of its appearance in a later eighteenth-century collection of his works, but Prévost was not in London at the time of the translation's publication there, never claimed the work as his own, and his translations of *Clarissa* and *Sir Charles Grandison*, which he did claim, are so different from the relatively faithful *Pamela* that the attribution is unlikely. Because the translation was done in London by someone hired by Richardson and because it is literal, it is likely that it was someone, or some few translators, residing in London. Paul Dottin has said that the work was done by a syndicate of translators recruited by Richardson and Fréval, among them the mathematician Clairaut, Aubert de la Chesnaye-Desbois, and perhaps Prévost. *Samuel Richardson, 1689–1761, imprimeur de Londres* (Paris: Perrin et cie, 1931), 117. Robert Frail shows that Prévost was not in London at the time, but unconvincingly attributes the translation to him. "The British Connection: the abbé Prévost and the Translations of the Novels Samuel Richardson" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1985), 18–19.

62. Stéphanie de Genlis, *Mémoires* (1825–1830), 3:360–61, quoted in Jacques Bertaud, "Madame de Genlis and England: The Woman and Her Work from 1779 to 1792" (Ph.D. diss., Université de Paris III, 1974), 140–41.

63. Lawrence Marsden Price, *English-German Literary Influences: Bibliography and Survey, University of California Publications in Modern Philology* 9 (1919–1920): 301, 378.

64. Herbert Ross Brown, *The Sentimental Novel in America, 1789–1860* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1940), 31–32. On Franklin's publication of *Pamela*, see James Green, "The Middle Colonies, 1720–1790," pt. 1. "English Books and Printing in the Age of Franklin," in *A History of the Book in America*, vol. 1: *The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World*, ed. Hugh Amory and David Hall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 267–68.

65. See Ada M. Coe, "Richardson in Spain," *Hispanic Review* 3 (1935): 56–63.

66. Alan D. Mckillop, *Samuel Richardson: Printer and Novelist* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936), 100.

67. The letters that make up *Pamela*, some said, "ont pris naissance sur les bords de la Seine, et ne doivent leur origine, qu'à quelque Anglico Français, qui pour avoir voulu copier les moeurs de votre nation, en a fait un ridicule assortiment" [were born on the banks of the Seine, and only owe their origin to some Anglo-Frenchman, who having wanted to copy the customs of your nation, made a ridiculous assortment of them]. Aubert de la Chesnaye Desbois, *Lettres amusantes et critiques sur les romans en général anglais et français, tant anciens que modernes*, (Paris, 1743), 43.

68. Pierre Coste to La Motte, London, July 29, 1743, quoted in Charles Bastide, *Anglais et français du XVIIe siècle*, 290.

69. "C'est un roman anglais traduit en français par un anglais, mal écrit, chargé de détails qui devraient être fort ennuyeux, présentant souvent des objets infiniment désagréables. Cependant j'ai lu les quatres tomes avec un attachment qui ne m'a pas permis de quitter que je ne fusse au bout que j'ai trouvé avec regret." [It is

an English novel translated into French by an Englishman, badly written, larded with details which should have been very dull, often presenting infinitely disagreeable objects. However I read the four volumes with an attachment that did not permit me leave off (before) I was at the end that I found with regret.] Mme de Staal to M. d'Héricourt, June 17, 1742, quoted in Henri Harrisse, *L'Abbé Prévost: Histoire de sa vie et ses oeuvres* (1896; repr., Geneva: Slatkine, 1970), 337–38.

70.   Pierre Guyot Desfontaines, *Observations sur les écrits moderns*, 29: 206–9. The *Chroniques du règne de Louis XV* for August 1742 has this comment: "On est révolté contre l'auteur des *Observations* pour avoir fait l'apologie de *Paméla* et fort surpris qu'on ait accordé un privilège pour l'impression d'un ouvrage dont la préface fait l'éloge des Anglais et insulte la Nation." [We revolted against the author of the *Observations* for having defended Pamela and very surprised that a *privilège* was accorded for the printing of a work of which the preface praises the English and insults the nation.] Quoted in Thelma Morris, *L'abbé Desfontaines et son rôle dans la littérature de son temps*, *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 19 (1961): 259.

71.   "Vous connaissez mieux que moi, Monsieur, les avantages que nous avons sur les Anglais en ce genre d'ouvrage comme en toute espèce de littérature . . . vous n'ignorez pas que c'est de nos jours qu'ont paru les Mémoires de l'homme de qualité, les premiers volumes de Cléveland, les Anecdotes de la cour de Phillippe Auguste, le Siège de Calais; tous ces ouvrages ont eu une foule de lecteurs. . . . Oui, Monsieur, malgré toutes vos préventions pour le roman nouveau, soyez sûr que l'auteur de *Paméla* trouverait encore dans ces écrits de quoi imiter et s'instruire." [You know better than I, Sir, the advantages that we have over the English in this kind of work as in every kind of literature . . . you are not unaware that it is in our days that the Memoirs of Man of Quality, the first volumes of Cleveland, the Anecdotes of the Court of Philippe Auguste, the Siege of Calais have appeared; all these works have had a crowd of readers. . . . Yes, Sir, despite all your prejudices against the new novel, be sure that the author of *Pamela* would yet find in these writings something to imitate and something instructive.] *Lettre à Monsieur l'Abbé des Fontaines sur Paméla* (Amiens, 1742), 7–8.

72.   *Pamela Censured* (1741; repr., Los Angeles: Willliam Andrews Clark Library, 1976), 6–7. Mouhy's *Paysanne parvenue*, also the story of a lowborn and virtuous virgin who marries above her rank, was translated into English as *The Fortunate Country Maid* the year *Pamela* came out (1740) and was translated again in 1742, going through some thirteen editions in English before the end of the century. In Joseph Collyer's circulating library, it was advertised along with *Pamela* "Lent to Read by Joseph Collyer in King-Street, Tower-Hill, A Collection of Books of Entertainment; consisting of History, romances, Novels, Tales, &c. among which are, fortunate Country Maid, 2 vol. Pamela; Pamela in High Life, 2 vol. Roxana; Busy body, 2 vol. La Belle Assemblee, 4 vol. Cassandra, 5 vol. Cleopatra, 8 vol. Female Page, &c."

73.   Chesnaye Desbois, *Lettres amusantes et critiques*, 43.

74.   *Lettre à Madame de **** sur* l'Anti-Pamela (n.p., 1742), 4.

75. See Bernard Kreissman, *Pamela-Shamela: A Study of the Criticisms, Burlesques, Parodies, and Adaptations of Richardson's "Pamela"* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1960).

76. Eliza Haywood, *L'Anti-Paméla, ou la fausse innocence découverte dans la Avantures de Syrène*, anon trans. (Amsterdam, 1743), preface, n.p.

77. For an account of stage adaptations of *Pamela*, see Edna Purdie, "Some Adventures of 'Pamela' on the Continental Stage," in *German Studies Presented to Professor H. G. Fielder* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1938), 352–84.

78. Claude Goddard d'Aucour, *La Déroute des Paméla* (Paris, 1744), 3.

79. Ibid., 11. A note in the text of the play reads: "[L]'auteur de la Paméla des italiens a donné une comédie intitulée, Le français à Londres." [The author of the Pamela of the Italians has given a comedy entitled The Frenchman in London.] This could also be a reference to the unknown translator of the novel because the first French translation was published in London anonymously, and it is probable that it was the work of a Frenchman in London.

80. Richardson to Stinstra, June 2, 1753, in *The Richardson-Stinstra Correspondence and Stinstra's Prefaces to Clarissa*, ed. William Slattery (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1969), 21.

81. Thomas Beebee, *Clarissa on the Continent: Translation and Seduction* (University Park: Pennsylvania University Press, 1990), 179.

82. Richardson to Alexis Clairaut, July 5, 1753, in Alan McKillop, "A Letter from Samuel Richardson to Alexis Claude Clairaut," *Modern Language Notes* 63 (1948): 111.

83. Beebee, *Clarissa on the Continent*, 3.

84. Richardson himself also preempted the resistance he witnessed with *Pamela* by going back over the cross-Channel history of fiction in which French novelists "opened the door to . . . a corruption of Heart," but in this essay prefixed to the fourth volume of *Clarissa*, the writer admits that some French novelists achieved a "faithful and chaste copy of real *Life and Manners*" to which Richardson is a successor: "It was on this sensible plan that the Author of the following sheets attempted to please." *Clarissa. Or, the history of a young lady: comprehending the most important concerns of private life* (London, 1748), 4: iv.

85. Frances Sheridan, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la vertu extraits du Journal d'une jeune dame*, trans. abbé Prévost (Cologne, 1762), "avertissement," n.p.

86. Simon Irailh, *Querelles littéraires* (Paris, 1761), 2: 350.

87. Samuel Richardson, *Clarisse Harlowe*, trans. Pierre Le Tourneur (Geneva, 1785–1786), vii.

88. Dénis Diderot, *Oeuvres Complètes de Diderot* (Paris: Garnier, 1875–77), 5: 212–13.

89. Ibid., 220.

90. Roger Chartier, *Inscription and Erasure: Literature and Written Culture from the Eleventh to the Eighteenth Century*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 111.

91. Diderot, *Oeuvres Complètes*, 5: 211.

92. Ibid., 219.

93. Ibid., 218.

94. Chartier, *Inscription and Erasure*, 112.

95. Diderot, *Oeuvres Complètes*, 5: 218.

96. Diderot to Sophie Volland, September 22, 1761, in *Correspondence*, ed. Georges Roth (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1955–1970), 3: 310.

97. Julie Candler Hayes, "Around 1740: Diderot and the Subject of Translation," in *Diderot and European Culture*, ed. Frédéric Ogée and Anthony Strugnell, *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 2006:09, 140, 142–43.

98. See Roger Chartier, "Richardson, Diderot et la lectrice impatiente," *Modern Language Notes* 114 (1999): 651.

99. Sterne to David Garrick, April 19, 1762 in *Letters of Laurence Sterne*, ed. Lewis P. Curtis (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1935), 162. Crébillon, married to an English Jacobite emigré, Henrietta-Maria Stafford Howard, had several English correspondents and friends including Sterne. Sterne spent two years in France from 1762 to 1764, travels which he lampooned in *A Sentimental Journey through France and Italy*. Sterne's popularity in France as satirist of Anglo-French relations inspired the French stage play *Sterne à Paris, ou Le Voyageur Sentimental, comédie en un acte et en prose* (Paris, an 8 [1799]). Their ironic paper war, if written, was not published. On Crébillon and England, see Douglas A. Day, "Crébillon fils, ses exils et ses rapports avec l'Angleterre. Avec deux lettres inédites," *Revue de littérature comparée* 33 (1959): 180–89.

100. The anonymous author of *Valentine* (1786) praised novels of good sense of their neighbours in comparison to their own novel "où il ne règne qu'un esprit de libertinage [sont] d'autant plus dangereux, qu'il est séduisant" [these novels where only the spirit of libertinism reigns (are) all the more dangerous for being seductive]. Quoted in Grieder, *Anglomania in France*, 116.

101. François-Thomas-Marie de Baculard d'Arnaud, *Fanny, histoire anglaise*, in *Histoires anglaises*, ed. Michel Delon (n.p.: Zulma, 1993), 33–34. This is a later version of *Fanni, ou la nouvelle Paméla* (1765), and part of his *Épreuves du sentiment*. On translations of Françoise-Thomas-Marie de Baculard d'Arnaud, see Josephine Grieder, "The Prose Fiction of Baculard d'Arnaud in Late Eighteenth-Century England," *French Studies* 24 (1970): 113–25. Fanni, according to Alan McKillop, "was particularly popular in England, and turns up on various versions and under various titles—*The Maid of the Farm, the Love, Joy, and Distress of the Beautiful and Virtuous Miss Fanny Adams*, *Injured Innocence*, and *The Unguarded Fair One*." Alan McKillop, *Samuel Richardson: Printer and Novelist*, 86–87.

Chapter Five
Atlantic Translation and the Undomestic Novel

1. Nancy Armstrong and Leonard Tennenhouse, "The American Origins of the English Novel," *American Literary History* 4 (1992): 386–410. Robert Heilman's *America in English Fiction 1760–1800: The Influences of the American Revolution* was

among the first to address how the British novel responded to an expanding but fragile empire. (1937; repr., New York: Octagon Books, 1969).

2. Elizabeth Maddock Dillon, "The Original American Novel, or, The American Origin of the Novel," in *A Companion to the Eighteenth-Century English Novel and Culture*, ed. Paula Backscheider and Catherine Ingrassia (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2005), 236.

3. See David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick eds., *The British Atlantic World, 1500–1800* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), and Elizabeth Mancke and Carole Shammas, eds., *The Creation of the British Atlantic World* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005). Studies of transatlantic literature have complicated the national imaginary in an imperial or colonial arena, but remain largely focused on a single language and national empire. Leonard Tennenhouse's study of American editions of Richardson's *Clarissa* shows that the radically abridged versions of Richardson's novel became a sensation for an early American reading public, and argues that the significance of the archive is reflected in the ways in which it complicates the national imaginary. "The Americanization of *Clarissa*," *Yale Journal of Criticism* 11 (1998): 177–96; and see his *The Importance of Feeling English: American Literature and the British Diaspora, 1750–1850* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007). Similarly, Paul Giles investigates emerging national identities in English and American literature formed in a transatlantic imaginary in *Virtual Americas: Transnational Fictions and the Transatlantic Imaginary* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002). Notwithstanding a current of criticism on American literary multilingualism, including Werner Sollors, ed., *Multilingual America: Transnationalism, Ethnicity and the Languages of American Literature* (New York: New York University Press, 1998), and Marc Shell, ed., *American Babel: Literatures of the United States from Abenaki to Zuni* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), translation is still rarely a focal point of discussion. Christopher Looby, for example, described Hugh Henry Brackenridge's early American novel, *Modern Chivalry*, as heteroglossic, and shows that Brackenridge was "more interested in the contact and contest of languages and discourses than in the effort to reconcile them," but Looby's point is to complicate the rise of the American vernacular and an American national identity rather than explore the contact of languages and translation. *Voicing America: Language, Literary Form, and the Origins of the United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 224. Kirsten Silva Greusz has written about the invisibility of translation in American studies in "Translation: A Key(word) into the Language of America(nists)," *American Literary History* 16 (2004): 85–92.

4. Edward Said characterized the novel as "an incorporative, quasi-encyclopedic cultural form," but focuses on authority and power to show that the convergence of form and the entirety of processes established European imperial power. *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage, 1993), 71.

5. Margaret Cohen's analysis of nineteenth-century sea fiction provides a fresh look at the undomestic development of the genre and its "cosmopolitan thematics." "Traveling Genres," *New Literary History* 34 (2003): 481–99.

6. I take the idea of "incorporation" in part from Immanuel Wallerstein's use of the term to describe a phase of the modern world-system that begins around 1750: zones formerly external to and independent to it are now hooked into the orbit of the world-economy and "integral to commodity chains." *The Modern World-System III: The Second Era of Great Expansion of the Capitalist World-Economy, 1730–1840s* (New York: Academic Press, 1974), 130.

7. On *Robinson Crusoe* translations, see William E. Mann, *Robinson Crusoé en France, étude sur l'influence de cette oeuvre dans la littérature française* (Paris: A. Davy, 1916), and Jeannine Blackwell, "An Island of Her Own: Heroines of the German Robinsonades from 1720 to 1800," *German Quarterly* 58 (1985): 5–26. On translations of Graffigny's novel, see David Smith, "The Popularity of Mme de Graffigny's *Lettres d'une Péruvienne*: The Bibliographical Evidence," *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 3 (1990): 1–20.

8. Peter Burke has argued recently that we have overemphasized the ascendance of national languages and warns that we should not project the "close associations between language and nation that only became common at the end of the eighteenth century." He investigates the "centripetal forces" affecting the development of national languages, including linguistic hybridization evinced in loan words, the existence of vernacular dialects, which overpowered the standardized national language, and the internal linguistic colonialism required to finally produce a national vernacular. *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 63. Also see Sheldon Pollock, "The Cosmopolitan Vernacular," *Journal of Asian Studies* 57 (1998): 6–37, and "Cosmopolitan and Vernacular in History," *Public Culture* 12 (2000): 591–625, on early modern plurilingualism in a non-European context.

9. Hester Lynch [Piozzi] Thrale, *The French Journals of Mrs. Thrale and Doctor Johnson*, ed. Moses Tyson and Henry Guppy (1932; repr., New York: Haskell House, 1973), 106–7.

10. Even in the English-dominated northeastern colonies, French Huguenot ministers preached in both French and English; in colonial New York official proclamations were made in Dutch, French, and English. On the dissemination of the French language, see Howard M. Jones, *America and French Culture 1750–1848* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1927), 173–216. Edward Gray has argued, however, that the Enlightenment belief in linguistic uniqueness also affected the perception of the indigenous languages of the Americas; all languages had become "signatures of human difference of the most profound sort, difference in the very mental and social character of nations." *New World Babel: Languages and Nations in Early America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999), 3. Also see Victor Hanzeli, *Missionary Linguistics in New France: A Study of Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Descriptions of American Indian Languages* (The Hague: Mouton, 1969).

11. *Journal of Antoine Bonnefoy*'s *Captivity Among the Cherokee Indians, 1741–1742*, Newton Mereness, ed., *Travels in the American Colonies* (New York: Mac-

millan, 1916), 254. While he was with the Cherokee, Bonnefoy met the multilingual Christian Priber, who had moved from Germany to the Overhill Cherokee community and was attempting to establish a utopian community there. Bonnefoy notes that the German man "spoke [English and French] with little difficulty . . . he wrote German, Latin, English and French with equal correctness" as well as Cherokee. (248)

12. In 1784, two decades after the British took over much of North America, Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur, returning to America after having relocated to his native France, took a voyage on the Ohio River and through Kentucky Territory. He tells of meeting a Frenchman along the way, but notes that they do not speak in their native tongue. Instead, in this dominantly anglophone region, Crèvecoeur addresses the man in Latin: "[J]e m'appercus qu'il ne savoit un mot de notre Langue; —& ou allez-vous demandai-je en mauvais latin?" [I perceived that he did not know a word of our language; —and where are you going I asked in bad Latin?] Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur, *Lettres d'un cultivateur Américain* (Paris, 1787), 3: 391. This French version is Crèvecoeur's own enlarged and altered translation of *Letters from an American Farmer*.

13. Shamokin Diary, September 29, 1745, January 7–8, 1748, quoted in James Merrell, " 'The Cast of His Countenance': Reading Andrew Montour," in *Through a Glass Darkly: Reflections on Personal Identity in Early America*, ed. Ronald Hoffman, Mechal Sobel, and Fredrika Teute (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 22.

14. John Williams, *The Redeemed Captive, Returning to Zion. A faithful history of remarkable occurrences, in the captivity and deliverance, of Mr. John Williams*, 3rd ed. (Boston, 1758), 27. William Johnson said of the returned captives at Fort Pitt in 1765 that they could not speak a word of anything but Native American languages. Matthew Ward, "Redeeming the Captives: Pennsylvania Captives among the Ohio Indians, 1755–1765," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 125 (2001): 188. On questions of language and identity in American captivity narratives, cf. Andrew Newman, "Captive on the Literacy Frontier: Mary Rowlandson, James Smith and Charles Johnston," *Early American Literature* 38 (2003): 31–65, and Pauline Turner Strong, *Captive Selves, Captivating Others: The Politics and Poetics of Colonial American Captivity Narratives* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1999).

15. *A Narrative of the Captivity of Mrs. Johnson containing an account of her sufferings during Four Years with the Indians and French* ([3rd ed., 1814]; repr., Springfield, MA: H. R. Hunting, 1908), 115.

16. Ibid., 130–31. During the year she spent with natives, Jemima Howe had been separated from her baby son, and when he was later returned to her, he "asked her in the Indian tongue 'mother are you come?' " [Bunker Gay], *A Genuine and Correct Account of the Captivity, Sufferings and Deliverance of Mrs. Jemima Howe* (Boston, 1792), 12.

17. Julio Ortega, *Transatlantic Translations: Dialogues in Latin American Literature*, trans. Philip Derbyshire (London: Reaction, 2006), 83.

18. John Long wrote: "On my arrival at Montreal I was placed under the care of a very respectable merchant to learn the Indian trade, which is the chief support of the town. I soon acquired the names of every article of commerce in the Iroquois and French languages, and being at once prepossessed in favor of the savages, improved daily in their tongue, to the satisfaction of my employer, who approving my assiduity, and wishing me to be completely qualified in the Mohawk language to enable me to traffic with the Indians in his absence, sent me to a village called Cahnuage, or Cocknawaga, situated about nine miles from Montreal, on the south side of the river St. Lawrence, where I lived with a chief whose name was Assenegether until I was sufficiently instructed in the language, and then returned to my master's store to improve myself in French, which is not only universally spoken in Canada, but is absolutely necessary in the commercial intercourse with the natives." *Voyages and Travels in the Years 1768–1788*, ed., Milo Milton Quaife (Chicago: Lakeside R. R. Donnelley and Sons, 1922), 7–8.

19. *Narrative of the Adventures of Capt. Isaac Stewart: taken from his own mouth in March 1782*, Richard VanDerBeets, ed., *Held Captive by Indians: Selected Narratives 1642–1836* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1973), 211. Stewart's narrative was originally part of the Mannheim Anthology (1757–1791).

20. Ibid., 211.

21. Ibid., 211.

22. Rather than concluding the scene with comment or reaction to the language encounter, Stewart makes a typically abrupt transition to ethnography: "They are a bold, hardy, intrepid people, very warlike, and the women beautiful, when compared with other Indians." Ibid., 211.

23. Samson Occom, *A Short Narrative of My Life* [1768], ed., Colin Calloway, *The World Turned Upside Down: Indian Voices from Early America* (Boston: Bedford St. Martin's, 1994), 61.

24. John Gyles, *Memoirs of Odd Adventures, Strange Deliverances, etc.*, ed. Alden T. Vaughan and Edward W. Clark, *Puritans Among the Indians: Accounts of Captivity and Redemption, 1676–1724* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981), 102, 125.

25. During his five-year captivity during the Seven Years' War, James Smith recounts that initially Caughnawaga and Delawares spoke to him in English, and then after being adopted, Smith learned Caughnawaga, but, he remarks, "three tongues were commonly spoke" because "the family I was adopted into was intermarried with the Wiandots and Ottawas." In communicating with Delawares and Shawnees, he says he spoke Ottawa because it bore some resemblance to their language. Like many other travelers, traders, and captives, Smith also became a translator in the act of writing down his own story, rendering the many languages he heard and spoke into his monolingual text, explaining in a prefatory remark that all the translations in his account were his own: "In the different Indian speeches copied into this work, I have not only imitated their own style, or mode of speaking, but have also preserved the ideas meant to be communicated in those speeches.—In common conversation, I

have used my own style, but preserved their ideas." James Smith, *An Account of the Remarkable Occurrences in the Life and Travels of Col. James Smith* (1799), ed. Gordon Sayre, *Olaudah Equiano, Mary Rowlandson and Others: American Captivity Narratives* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2000), 336, 263. For the presence of interpreters in captivity narratives, see, inter alia, *A Plain Narrativ [sic] of the uncommon sufferings and remarkable deliverance of Thomas Brown of Charlestown, in New England* (Boston, 1760), and the *Narrative of Titus King of Northampton Mass, A Prisoner of the Indians in Canada 1755–1758* (Hartford: Connecticut Historical Society, 1938).

26. Aphra Behn, *Oroonoko* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1973), 1, 7.

27. Charlotte Lennox, *Euphemia* (London, 1790). In addition to the European vernaculars mentioned, Lennox describes the Dutch preachers at a Mohawk church near Fort Hunter: "[E]very sentence of the sermon was repeated to the Mohawks in their own language by an interpreter. The common-prayer and the Psalms are translated into the Mohawk tongue, and I observed that many of the Indians had their books in their hands" (3: 190).

28. Anon., *The Algerine spy of Pennsylvania: or, Letters Written by a Native of Algiers on the Affairs of the United States in America* (Philadelphia, 1787), 13 ,14.

29. Ibid., unnumbered page [12–13].

30. Daniel Defoe, *The Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*, ed. Michael Shinagel (New York: W. W. Norton, 1994), 170.

31. Ibid., 174.

32. See Ian Watt, *The Rise of the Novel* (Berkeley: University of California, 1957), chap. 3; George A. Starr, *Defoe and Spiritual Autobiography* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1965); and J. Paul Hunter, *The Reluctant Pilgrim: Defoe's Emblematic Method and Quest for Form in Robinson Crusoe* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1966).

33. Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492–1797* (London: Methuen, 1986), 176.

34. Ibid., 189.

35. Ibid., 197.

36. Defoe, *The Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*, 4.

37. Ibid., 30.

38. See Lorraine Piroux, "The Encyclopedist and the Pervuian Princess: The Poetics of Illegibility in the French Enlightenment Book Culture," *PMLA* 121 (2006): 107–23, and François Rosset, "Les noeuds du langage dans les *Lettres d'une Péruvienne*," *Revue de l'histoire littéraire de la France* 96 (1996): 1106–27. Garcilaso de la Vega's *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, originally published in 1617 and later translated into French, was Graffigny's source. Contemporary studies of khipus include Marcia and Robert Ascher, *Code of the Quipu: A Study in Media, Mathematics, and Culture* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1981), and Gary Urton, *Signs of the Inka Khipu: Binary Coding in the Andean Knotted-String Records* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003).

39. Thomas Kavanagh, "Reading the Moment and the Moment of Reading in Graffigny's *Lettres d'une péruvienne*," in *Eighteenth-Century Literary History: An MLQ Reader*, ed. Marshall Brown (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 153.

40. Diane Fourny, "Language and Reality in Françoise de Grafigny's *Lettres d'une Péruvienne*," *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 4 (1992): 222. Laurence Mall has said that Zilia speaks and writes in French as the Peruvian other, signaling that her Incan presence remains obstinate but always elusive. "Traduction et original dans les *Lettres d'une Péruvienne* de Graffigny," *Romance Quarterly* 44 (1997): 16.

41. She begins first with Spanish as she is taken from Peru by Spaniards: "Je croyais déjà entendre quelques mots des sauvages espagnols; j'y trouvais des rapports avec notre auguste langage." [I thought myself already to be understanding a few of the words of those savage Spaniards. I found some similarities with our own august language.] Françoise Graffigny, *Lettres d'une Péruvienne* and *Letters from a Peruvian Woman*, trans. David Kronacker (New York: MLA Texts and Translations, 1993), 34, trans. 35.

42. Ibid., 48; trans. 49.

43. Ibid., 95; trans. 98.

44. Ibid., 122; trans. 127.

45. Ibid., 119; trans. 123.

46. Ibid., 120; trans. 124.

47. John Long, *Voyages and Travels*, 98–99. Long quotes a conversation between Edward Rivers and a Jesuit missionary about an instance of native cannibalism from the fourth letter of the novel. Also see Desmond Pacey, "The First Canadian Novel," *Dalhousie Review* 16 (1946): 143, and *Critical Review* 27 (April 1769): 300. On the early reception of the novel, also see Frances Brooke, *The History of Emily Montague*, ed. Laura Moss (Ottawa: Tecumseh Press, 2001), 375–80, and Lorraine McMullen, *An Odd Attempt in a Woman: The Literary Life of France Brooke* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1983), 115–16.

48. Robert Merrett, "The Politics of Romance in 'The History of Emily Montague,'" *Canadian Literature* 135 (1992): 93. Other readings of colonialism and sentiment in *The History of Emily Montague* include: Barbara Benedict, "The Margins of Sentiment: Nature, Letter, and Law in France Brooke's Epistolary Novels," *Ariel* 23 (1992): 7–25; Laura Moss, "Colonialism and Postcolonialism in *The History of Emily Montague*," and Cecily Devereux, "'One firm body': Britishness and Otherness in *The History of Emily Montague*," both in Laura Moss, ed., *The History of Emily Montague*. For another reading of Brooke's politics in this novel and throughout her career, see Betty Schellenberg, *The Professionalization of Women Writers in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 45–75.

49. See Colin Calloway, *The Scratch of a Pen: 1763 and the Transformation of North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), and William Nester, *The First Global War: Britain, France and the Fate of North America, 1756–1775* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2000). Other sources include Fred Anderson's voluminous *The Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754–*

1766 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000); Francis Jennings, *Empire of Fortune: Crowns, Colonies and Tribes in the Seven Years' War in America* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1988); Matthew C. Ward, *Breaking the Backcountry: The Seven Years' War in Virginia and Pennsylvania, 1754–1765* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2003).

50. The treaty can be found in English translation in *The Seven Years War in Canada, 1756–1763*, compiled by Sigmund Samuel (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1934), 210–30.

51. See Frank Brecher, *Losing a Continent: France's North American Policy, 1753–1763* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998), 164–67, and Kenneth Banks, *Chasing Empire across the Sea: Communications and the State in the French Atlantic, 1713–1763* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), 7. For an account of the French in America in the subsequent decades, see Edward Watts, *In This Remote Country: French Colonial Culture in the Anglo-American Imagination, 1780–1860* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2006).

52. Frances Brooke, *The History of Lady Julia Mandeville* (1920; repr., Elibron, 2002), 46. Subsequent text references are to this edition. Brooke had addressed political and cultural tensions between Britain and France at the start of the war in her magazine, *Old Maid*. Writing as "Mary Singleton," Brooke wrote: "I am too sincere a lover of my country to suppose we are at all inferior to our enemies in understanding; and was this laudable ambition once awaked amongst us, am confident, the females of England would soon outstrip the French as much in literary accomplishments, as they do in beauty." *Old Maid* 3 (November 29, 1755): 16–17. In 1756 as the Seven Years' War was declared, she exhorted the women of Britain to go to the coasts "with the spirit of an Amazon for the defense of her country" and expose her bosom, which would defeat the French immediately. *Old Maid* 27 (May 15, 1756): 160.

53. Samuel Johnson, *Idler* 81 (November 3, 1758) (London, 1767), 2: 164. On the debate over Canada, see Eliga Gould, *The Persistence of Empire: British Political Culture in the Age of American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000); William James Newbigging, "The Cession of Canada and French Public Opinion," in *France in the New World: Proceedings of the 22nd Annual Meeting of The French Colonial Historical Society*, ed. David Buisseret (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1999), 163–76.

54. Oliver Goldsmith, *Citizen of the World* (London, 1762), 1: 59.

55. Oliver Goldsmith, *History of the Seven Years' War*, J.W.M. Gibbs, ed., *The Works of Oliver Goldsmith* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1886), 1: 32.

56. Guy Frégault, *Canada: The War of the Conquest*, trans. Margaret Cameron (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1969), 302.

57. Ibid., 296–318.

58. See Mary Jane Edwards, introduction to *The History of Emily Montague* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1985).

59. See Jennings, *Empire of Fortune*, 461–62.

60. James Axtell, *The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 277.

61. Ibid., 278.

62. Urs Bitterli writes that "[d]uring the difficult early years of the colony's existence, there was only one form of European influence which was marked by continuity and tireless commitment: the Jesuit mission." *Cultures in Conflict: Encounters Between European and Non-European Cultures, 1492–1800*, trans. Ritchie Robertson (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1989), 92.

63.   Axtell, *The Invasion Within*, 277.

64. Calloway, *The Scratch of a Pen*, 114.

65. Frances Brooke, *The History of Emily Montague,* ed. Laura Moss (Ottawa: Tecumseh Press, 2001), 1. Subsequent text references are to this edition.

66. Fermor has been seen as a fictionalization of Brooke's husband. See McMullen, *An Odd Attempt in a Woman*, 92, and Francis Teague, "Frances Brooke's Imagined Epistles," *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 304 (1992): 711.

67. The Brookes were hosted by James Murray, then governor, and lived in a rented house on the Jesuit estate of Sillery.

68. Paul Nelson, *General Sir Guy Carleton, Lord Dorchester: Soldier-Statesman of Early British Canada* (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2000), 41.

69. Calloway, *The Scratch of a Pen*, 122.

70. See Nelson, *General Sir Guy Carleton*, 32.

71. Frances Brooke, *The History of Emily Montague*, ed. Mary Jane Edwards (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1985), xxv.

72. Ibid., xxvii.

73. Brooke translated Marie-Jeanne Riccoboni's *Letters from Juliet Catesby* (1763), Nicholas Framéry's *Memoirs of the Marquis of St. Forlaix* (1770), and Abbé Millot's *Elements of the History of England* (1771).

74. Both *The Life of Madame de Maintenon* (London, 1753–1760) and Lennox's *Memoirs for the History of Madame de Maintenon and of the Last Age* (London, 1757) may be translations of Laurent Angliviel de la Beaumelle's multivolume *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Madame de Maintenon* (1735).

75. Françoise d'Aubigné, marquise de Maintenon, *Lettres de Madame de Maintenon*, 3rd ed. (Glasgow, 1756), 1: 267.

76.   Ibid., 267.

77. *Letters of Madame de Maintenon* (London, 1759), 1: 225.

78. Jodi Wyett has argued that Arabella's project is "realizing female autonomy." " 'No place where women are of such importance': Female Friendship, Empire and Utopia in *The History of Emily Montague*," *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 16 (2003): 42.

79. See Gayle K. Brown, " 'Into the hand of papists': New England Captives in French Canada and the English Anti-Catholic Tradition, 1689–1763," *Maryland Historian* 21 (1990): 1–11.

80. Abbé Millot, *Elements of the History of England*, trans. Frances Brooke (London, 1771), v–vi.

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Bacon, Francis, 76
Baker, Ernest, 34
Balibar, Étienne, 43
Ballaster, Ros, 88
Baretti, Giuseppi, 133
Beattie, James, 40
Beaumont, Jeanne-Marie Le Prince de, 59
Becket, Thomas (bookseller), 61
Becket and de Hondt (London publishing house), 53, 61
Beckford, William, 48
Beebee, Thomas, 123
Behn, Aphra, 4–5, 76, 130; on French cultural influences, 102; La Place's translation of *Oroonoko*, 76, 91–97; title page, La Place's translation of *Oroonoko*, 92
Belanger, Terry, 67
Belisarius (Marmontel, trans. Murphy), 58, 69–70
La Belle Assemblee (Haywood), 83
Berman, Antoine, 104–5
bilingualism. *See* multilingualism
Blackstone, William, 68–69
Boinard, Daniel (bookseller), 52
Boisguilbert, Pierre le Pésant de, 86–88, 185n51
Boissy, Louis de, 110–11, 121, 192n42
Bonnefoy, Antoine, 134, 199n11
booksellers: competition among, 177n80; cooperation among, 52–53, 58; copyright law and, 66–69, 68; role in publishing industry, 44, 55–62, 60; role in translation of works, 45, 49–50, 53, 58, 62–65, 175n60
Boursault, Edmé, 83, 84
Boyer, Abel, 9, 72; grammar pictured, 10, 11
Boyle, Robert, 182n14
Brewer, John, 60
Bridgen, Edward, 117
Brilhac, J. B., 4–5
Britons (Colley), 103
Brooke, Frances, 25, 60–62, 132–33, 176n71; informative nonfiction integrated into works of, 143; on national prejudices, 155–56; as translator, 150, 155–56, 178n86
Brown, Laura, 93
Brown, Tom, 78–79
Brown, William Hill, 130
Bryant, William Cullen, 165n1
Burke, Peter, 199n8

Burnett v. Chetwood, 68
Bussy-Rabutin, Roger de, 174n46
Butler, Judith, 160n12

Calloway, Colin, 150
captivity and captivity narratives, 132, 188n78; language acquisition during, 134–37, 200n14, 200n16; and resistance of domination, 130; in Richardson's *Pamela*, 130
caricatures or stereotypes, as self-reflexive observation on national identity, 110–13
Carion, John, 37
Carleton, Guy, 149, 150
Cave, Terence, 77
censorship, 49
Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de, 1–2, 161n19
Challes, Robert, 57
Chartier, Roger, 126, 127
Cheah, Pheng, 32
Chrétien de Troyes, 37
Citizen of the World (Goldsmith), 5
Clarissa (Richardson), 24–25, 100, 114–15; Diderot on, 125–28; as domestic English novel, 122–23, 125; *Pamela* as context for, 122–23, 125; popularity in American colonies, 198n3; Prévost's translation of, 80, 123–24, 193n61; Richardson on French novels as influence, 196n84; as universal novel, 125
Cléopâtre (La Calprenède), 57
Cobb, Lillian, 91
Colley, Linda, 103
colonialism. *See* imperialism or colonialism
Commentaries on the Laws of England (Blackstone), 68–69
commerce: authors and commercial aspects of publishing, 55–56; novels as commodity, 44–45; translation as cultural, 104, 107; transmission of literary forms linked to, 39
commodity, novel as, 32, 44–45
The Compleat French-Master (Boyer), 9; pages pictured, 10–11
Condillac, Étienne Bonnot de, 101
consolidation of the novel form: Atlantic world as context for, 25, 131–32, 142–43; dissemination or transmissibility of fiction linked to, 20, 83; imitation and, 35–36; infidelities in translations and, 76, 83, 98; international exchange and circulation and, 21–22, 51, 131, 156–57; multilingualism as

context for, 132, 142–43; nationalization as simultaneous with, 27–28, 32; premodern rhetorical practices linked to, 20, 24; rendering and, 71; sympathetic interest and, 76, 98; translation and, 21–22, 26, 70–71, 76, 83, 98, 132

conversation. See *prosopopoeia* (direct speech)

Copeland, Rita, 16

copyright: authority of translators and issues of, 66–67, 69–70; authorship as distinct from, 67, 179n93; Berne Convention (1886), 66; international agreements and regulations, 66; piracy and, 67–68; publishers and exercise of, 67, 69; 1710 Copyright Act (Statute of Anne), 67; translation and copyright law, 45, 66–70; translation as original or "new work" rather than infringement of, 68–70

cosmopolitanism, 22; Brooke on, 155; Diderot's construction of Richardson as cosmopolitan author, 125–28, 126–28; as distinct from universalism, 110; national identity as defined by, 100–101; nation-based (national), 24, 107–8, 125; of prose fiction, 114; self-reflective, 109–13, 142, 155; translation and, 99–100

Le Cosmopolite ou citoyen du monde (Monbron), 113

Coste, Pierre, 119

The Countess of Salisbury or the Most Noble Order of the Garter (Spence), 76–77

Coventry, Francis, 103

Cowley, Abraham, 17, 73

Crébillon fils (Claude-Prosper-Jolyot de Crébillon), 5, 128–29, 197n99

Crèvecoeur, Hector St. John de, 200n12

Cross, A. G., 50

Cross, Wilbur, 34

cultural processes, translation and, 3

"cultural translation," 3

Curll, Edmund (bookseller), 55, 59, 177n80

The Curtain (Kundera), 27

d'Arconville, Marie Thiroux, 4–5

Darnton, Robert, 56

d'Aulnoy, Marie, 14

Davey, John, 136

David Simple (Sarah Fielding, La Place trans.), 90

Davidson, Cathy, 27

Defoe, Daniel, 47, 132, 138–40; as progenitor of the novel, 130

Denham, John, 17

La Déroute des Paméla (Aucour), 120–21

Desfontaines, abbé Pierre Guyot, 5, 183n27; on his translation of Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*, 161n17

Development of the English Novel (Cross), 34

Diderot, Denis, 125–28

Dillon, Elizabeth Maddock, 130

A Discovery of New Worlds (Fontenelle), 102

The Disguis'd Prince: or, the Beautiful Parisian (Haywood), 88–89

distancing, 142

"distancing satisfaction" of multilingualism, 113

Dodsley, James (bookseller), 60

Dodsley, Robert (bookseller), 63

domestication: as contested by translation, 25; domestic nationalism, 24–25, 117; imperialism or colonialism linked to, 131; nationality as correlative of domesticity, 131; novels as domestic authority, 130, 131; public/private spheres and, 116–17; Richardson's works and the domestic sphere, 100, 115–16, 121, 122–23, 125, 129, 130, 131; tension between worldliness and, 98, 115–16, 121, 129; translation and, 3–4, 6. *See also* assimilation

Donaldson v. Beckett, 68

Don Quixote (Cervantes), 1–2, 161n19

Dryden, John, 72–74

du Halde, Jean-Baptiste, 5

The Dunciad (Pope), 55–56

Dunlop, John, 40

Dunton, John (bookseller), 53

Dziembowski, Edmond, 103

Eagles, Robin, 104

Elements of the History of England (Millot, trans. Brooke), 155–56

Éloge de Richardson (Diderot), 125–28

emulation vs. imitation, 16–17

Encyclopédie, 12–13

energeia (vividness), 75, 78–79; La Place's deployment of, 94

The Englishman from Paris (Murphy), 110, 113

Englishman in Paris (Foote), 110, 113

The Englishman Return'd from Paris (Foote), 110, 112–13

Les Heureux orphelins (Haywood, trans. Crébillon), 5

Hirschman, A. O., 80–81

Histoire de Miss Jenny (Riccoboni), 61

historiography of fiction, 29, 35–42, 37, 82, 130–31

History of Charlotte Summers (Fielding), 90

The History of Emily Montague (Brooke), 25, 60; bilingualism and mediation of Anglo-French relations in, 132–33, 156; as multilingual and polyvocal text, 150–51, 156; as novel of the Atlantic world, 132–33; Seven Years' War as context and setting for, 132–33, 143–45, 148–49, 156, 204n52

History of English Literature (Taine), 34

History of the English Novel (Baker), 34

Holcroft, Thomas, 59–60, 81–82

Hookham, Thomas, 52

Hoole, Charles, 9, 12

Howe, Jemima, 200n16

Huet, Pierre Daniel, 29, 36–37, 40, 167n29, 168n30

Hulme, Peter, 139

Humboldt, Wilhelm von, 19

Hume, David, 61, 81

humor: multilingual wordplay, 112–13; as untranslatable, 161n17; wordplay, 120–21

Hurd, Richard, 163n47

Idée de la Poesie Anglaise (Yart), 104

Idée sur les romans (de Sade), 41–42

identification: cosmopolitanism and national, 100–101; interest and sympathetic, 93, 96, 98; language and identity, 107, 140–41, 200n14, 200n16, 203n40; self-reflexive observation on national, 110–13; translators as mediators identified with fictional subject rather than original author, 89

idioms, 9

Illustrious French Lovers (Challes, trans. Aubin), 57

Imagined Communities (Anderson), 32

imitation: adaptations of original works as, 7, 17–18, 73, 118, 186n61; of *auctores* and canonical transmission, 15–16, 17–18, 74–75, 156–57; authority and, 17, 118–19; and consolidation of the novel form, 35–36; copyright law and, 68; in Dryden's scheme of translation, 73–74; emulation vs., 16–17; *imitatio* as genre, 17; infidelities of

translation and creative, 75–76; and intertextuality, 110–13, 121; "loose" translations as, 72–73, 106; originality as value and rejection of, 30; popular demand for, 104; of reality, 17, 163n47; rejection of cultural, 103–4, 106–8; Richardson's ideology of fidelity and prohibition of, 118–19, 121; temporality and, 15–16; translations as cultural, 103–4, 163n47; writing pedagogy and, 74–75

imperialism or colonialism, 21; in Behn's *Oroonoko* vs. La Place's translation, 94–95; as context for emergence of the novel, 130–31; in Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, 139–40; domesticity linked to, 131; language hegemony and, 160n10, 198n3, 199n8; as problematic context for sympathetic interest, 94–96; Seven Years' War as clash of empires, 144; and transatlantic novels, 25; *translatio imperii* and historiography of fiction, 37–39; translation as instrument of, 3

incorporation, 198n4, 199n6

individualism, 27, 131, 139, 157; multilingualism and, 132, 139–42; particularity and, 28, 30

infidelities in translations: abridgments (*brevitas*), 74–75; amplifications (*amplificatio*), 74–75; bilingual audience and tolerance for, 14; as careless error, 23–24; and consolidation of the novel form, 83, 98; as creative necessity, 82; freedoms as form of agency, 97; Haywood on translation as paraphrase, 83; intensification of passion and, 84–86; "interest" of audience as motive for, 24, 75–76, 79–86, 90, 91, 94, 97, 98; libertine translators or *belles infidèles* and, 17, 72–73; as norm, 23–24; plot modifications, 79, 91–94, 123–24; rendering and, 73–75; "spirit" of the original as more important than faithful transmission, 5, 17, 19, 72, 73, 75, 155–56; theories of translation accommodating, 73–74

Ingrassia, Catherine, 55–56

interest, sympathetic: Diderot on reading Richardson, 126; distinguished from passion or heightened feeling, 80–81, 93; Haywood and intensification of passion, 76, 84–86, 88, 89–90; imperialism as problematic context for, 94–96; infidelities of translation motivated by, 24, 75–76, 79–86, 90, 91, 93–94, 97, 98; La Place on translation

Lobo, Fr. Jeronimo, 35, 59
Locke, John, 68, 101, 119
Lockman, John, 5, 57, 62
Long, John, 135, 143, 201n18
Loveday, Robert, 57, 59
Love in Excess (Haywood), 83

Maintenon, Madame de, 151–52
Manon Lescaut (Prévost, trans. Smith), 57
Marie de France, 37, 168n32
Marie Stuart, Reyne d'Escosse, Nouvelle Historique (Boisguilbert), 86–88, 185n51
Marivaux, Pierre Carlet de, 35
Marmontel, Jean François, 58
Martin, Henri-Jean, 51
McKeon. Michael, 31, 116–17, 165n5
Mémoires d'un honnête homme (Prévost), 89
The Memoires of Ninon de l'Enclos (Griffith), 72, 75
Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus / Histoire de Martin Scriblerus (Pope), 102
Memoirs of Miss Sidney Biddulph (Sheridan), 124
metaphrase (literal) translation, 73
Michaelis, Johann, 124
Mignolo, Walter, 107–8
Millar v. Taylor, 68
Millot, Abbé, 155–56
Milton, John, 106
Missy, César, 117
modernity, 42–43, 165n5; eighteenth century as transitional period, 14; and the novel, 25–26, 28–36; temporality and, 18–19, 32
Mojares, Resil, 36
Moll Flanders (Defoe), 130
Monbron, Fougeret de, 113, 192n51
Montagu, Elizabeth, 63
Montgomerie, John, 52
Moseley, Humphrey, 14
multilingualism: and acceptance of cultural exchange, 107; and assertion of translative status of works, 137–39; in Brooke's *History of Emily Montague*, 143–44; and consolidation of the novel, 142–43; cultural nationalism and, 113–14; as cultural value, 25; as deindividualizing, 139–42, 141, 142–43; as distancing, 113, 137; and "distancing satisfaction," 113; in Graffigny's *Lettres d'une Péruvienne*, 137–38, 140–42, 203n38; nationality or national identity subverted by, 107; as norm, 133; in North America,

132–37, 143–44, 150, 199–200nn11–12, 200n14, 201n18, 201n25, 201n27; as opportunity for wordplay, 112; polyvocal novels and, 132–33, 150–51, 155; skepticism about translatability, 102; as subject in novels, 137–38, 203n38; translation and, 25, 49–50, 102; wordplay and, 153
Murphy, Arthur, 5, 58, 69–70, 110, 112, 113–14, 192n42
Murphy v. Vaillant, 69–70
Murray, James, 149, 150
Murray, John, 53

nation: caricature or stereotypes of nationality, 109–11, 113, 155, 191n36, 192n51; civilization linked to nationalization, 112, 125; colonialism as context for national novels, 94–95, 130; cosmopolitanism as nation-based, 24, 100–101, 107–8, 114; and "domesticating" translation, 4, 6; domesticity and, 4, 24–25, 117, 131; extranationality of the novel, 2–3, 21–22, 31–32, 42, 126–27, 156–57; language linked to, 3, 101–2, 140–41, 142–43, 199n8; novels and, 20, 27–28, 32, 35–36, 100; particularity as national, 20–23, 31–32, 41–42, 125, 157, 191n36; prose fiction and nationalization, 99, 103, 114–15, 118, 157; publishing imprints and, 49; as reaction to the "other," 103; and resistance to cultural exchange or translation, 102–3, 107; Richardson's ideology of fidelity as assertion of, 119, 124; self-reflexivity and, 142; translation and, 3, 6, 19, 99–100, 105; and the untranslatable or untransmissable, 42, 99; use of term, 21
Newman, Gerald, 103
North America: imperialism and, 144–45; as market for novels, 198n3; as market for novels in translation, 27, 50, 118, 172n25; as market for vernacular books, 52, 172n25; multilingualism in, 132–37, 139, 143–44, 150, 199–200nn11–12, 200n14, 201n18, 201n25, 201n27; as setting for novels, 143–46, 150
Norton, Glyn, 16
Nourse, John (London publisher), 53–54, 58–59, 175n58
Le Nouveau Gullivar (Desfontaines, trans Lockman), 5
La Nouvelle Atlantide (Bacon), 76
Nouvelle grammaire anglaise (Rogissard), 9

Traité sur l'origine des romans (Huet), 29, 36–37, 40, 167n29, 168n30

translatability: linguistic hegemony and, 160n10; skepticism about, 102–3

translatio imperii, 7, 29, 37

translation: access to original works for, 59–60, 63, 175n60; ambiguity of label and difficulty in identifying, 47–49; authority of original source, 151–52; "bogus" translations, 47; booksellers' role in, 45, 49–50, 53, 58, 62–65, 175n60; as corruption or contamination of language and national culture, 102–3; as creative act, 16, 82; "cultural," 3, 19; eighteenth century as context for shift in concepts of, 15–16; and emergence of the novel, 25–26; of English novels into French, 46–48; as enrichment of language and nation, 19, 104–5; in European literary tradition, 14–15; as exchange, 29; as faithful rendering of an original text, 5, 7; French firms and market dominance, 53; of French novels into English, 46–47; historical specificity of, 6; incommensurability of languages as barrier to, 106; interpreters in captivity narratives, 201n25; as linguistic, 4; as literary exchange, 7; as market-driven, 59; monolingual audience and demand for, 54; and multilingualism, 25, 49–50, 102; as multinational process, 49–50; nationalism and resistance to, to 104; "novelty" of foreign fiction as motive for, 54; originality and, 2; as original work, 5, 68; pedagogy of, 9–14; popular enthusiasm for translations and imitations, 104; prose fiction and, 4–7, 20, 25, 54, 70–71, 98, 99, 131–32, 156; rejected as culturally corrupting, 102–3; and relationship with the Other, 24, 104–5; as rendering, 20–21; as reproduction, 124; and retranslation ("second-hand" translations), 2, 4–5, 49, 118, 161n19; as rhetorical instruction, 74–75; as "shaping" of the original to improve interest, 79–80; simultaneous particularity and universality of novel linked to, 28; skepticism about translatability, 102; source text as an occasion or amalgamation, 77; style and, 74; temporality and, 19; as transmission of knowledge, 37–38; as transnational exchange, 18, 50; as transportation, 44; value of the original text, 161n19; Watt on the translatability of the novel, 33–34

translation, as commercial enterprise, 44–45, 49–50, 56–57, 62; as contract labor, 58–59; as leisure occupation, 57–58, 62, 63

translation, theories of: as anachronistic, 6; Diderot's, 128; Dryden's, 73–74; infidelities accommodated by, 73–74; "literary systems" and, 160n6; Roman, 16; Tytler's, 74

translatio studii, 7, 29, 37–38

translators: as authors of original works (*see* specific writers); creative agency exercised by, 68–69, 72–75, 79–80, 82, 83–84, 88, 95–96, 97, 156–57; as creative agents in their own right, 79–80; as entitled to copyright, 69–70; as hacks, 45, 55–58, 66–67, 70, 174n46; as mediators identified with subject rather than original author, 89; as professionals, 58; relationships with authors of original works, 60–61

transmissibility: feeling or sentiment as transmissible, 95; of fiction, 82–83; of knowledge and power, 38–39; morality and universal, 125–28; *Pamela* as resistant to, 118–19; sentiment and interest linked to, 97–98

transmission: fiction as contagion, 38–39; as function of translation, 18–19; narratives of fiction as *translatio* (*imperii* power and *studii* learning), 29; vs. translation, 7; translation as transmission of knowledge and civilization, 39; use of term (*translatio*), 21

transnationality/transnationalism, 2, 98; translation and, 18, 50; use of term, 21

transpositive languages, 12–13

Treize lettres d'une Dame à un cavalier (Boursault, Haywood trans.), 83, 84–86; title page pictured, 85

Tristram Shandy (Sterne), 129

Trochereau de la Berlière, Jean-Arnold, 107

A True History of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson (Rowlandson), 130

The Two Mentors (Reeve), 90

Tytler, Alexander, 74

universality: analog languages as universally understood, 12–13, 101; Balibar on, 43; cosmopolitanism as distinct from universalism, 22, 110; and culture as civilization, 114; domestic nationalism and, 24–25; in eighteenth-century discourse, 21–22, 107–8, 109–10, 114; of fiction, 21–22, 37–41, 114–15, 169n37; "formal realism" and

universality (*cont'd*)

novel as universal, 30; and form of novel, 30–31, 36, 42, 129; human nature linked to, 40; and medieval concepts of translation, 37–38; modernity and constructions of, 18–19, 28–30; morality and, 125–28; of the novel, 27–31, 43, 101, 131, 165n1; novels as simultaneously universal and particular, 20–21, 22–25, 28, 30–31, 126–28; of Richardson's works, 24–25, 100–101, 114–15, 122–23, 125–29; temporality and, 19; translation and, 28, 160n12; universality/particularity dichotomy, 22–23, 43; in Watt's theory of the novel, 22–23, 28–30, 167n28

Vaillant, Paul (London publisher), 53, 69–70
Valentine (anon.), 129, 197n100
Venuti, Lawrence, 3–4, 66–67
vernacular book trade, 51–54, 56–57
Vicar of Wakefield (Goldsmith, trans. Gin), 57

La Vie de Marianne (Marivaux), 35
Villiers, Jacob, 9
Vocabularium analogicum . . . (Villiers), 9
Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet), 63, 106
Voyage to Abyssinia (Lobo, trans. Johnson), 35, 59

Wallerstein, Immanuel, 199n6
Watt, Ian, 22, 28–36, 42–43
Wheelwright, Esther, 154
Williams, Helen Maria, 81
Williams, John, 134, 200n14
worldliness, 115–16, 120, 122, 123, 126, 129
Wyatt v. Barnard, 68–69

Yart, Antoine, 104

Zink, Michel, 37
Zuber, Roger, 73

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