

Interpreting Sexual Violence, 1660–1800

Edited by Anne Greenfield

Number 14

INTERPRETING SEXUAL VIOLENCE, 1660–1800

EDITED BY

Anne Greenfield



PICKERING & CHATTO

2013

Published by Pickering & Chatto (Publishers) Limited
21 Bloomsbury Way, London WC1A 2TH
2252 Ridge Road, Brookfield, Vermont 05036-9704, USA
www.pickeringchatto.com

All rights reserved.

No part of this publication may be reproduced,
stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means,
electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise
without prior permission of the publisher.

© Pickering & Chatto (Publishers) Ltd 2013
© Anne Greenfield 2013

To the best of the Publisher's knowledge every effort has been made to contact
relevant copyright holders and to clear any relevant copyright issues.
Any omissions that come to their attention will be remedied in future editions.

BRITISH LIBRARY CATALOGUING IN PUBLICATION DATA

Interpreting sexual violence, 1660–1800. – (The body, gender and culture)
1. Sex crimes – History – 18th century. 2. Sex crimes in literature. 3. Sex crimes
in art. 4. Sex crimes – Public opinion – History – 18th century.
I. Series II. Greenfield, Anne, editor of compilation.
809.9'33556'09033-dc23

ISBN-13: 9781848934399
e: 9781781440636



This publication is printed on acid-free paper that conforms to the American
National Standard for the Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials.

Typeset by Pickering & Chatto (Publishers) Limited
Printed and bound in the United Kingdom by Berforts Information Press

INTERPRETING SEXUAL VIOLENCE, 1660-1800

THE BODY, GENDER AND CULTURE

Series Editor: Lynn Botelho

TITLES IN THIS SERIES

- 1 Courtly Indian Women in Late Imperial India
Angma Dey Jhala
- 2 Paracelsus's Theory of Embodiment: Conception and Gestation in
Early Modern Europe
Amy Eisen Cisló
- 3 The Prostitute's Body: Rewriting Prostitution in Victorian Britain
Nina Attwood
- 4 Old Age and Disease in Early Modern Medicine
Daniel Schäfer
- 5 The Life of Madame Necker: Sin, Redemption and the Parisian Salon
Sonja Boon
- 6 Stays and Body Image in London: The Staymaking Trade, 1680–1810
Lynn Sorge-English
- 7 Prostitution and Eighteenth-Century Culture: Sex, Commerce and Morality
Ann Lewis and Markman Ellis (eds)
- 8 The Aboriginal Male in the Enlightenment World
Shino Konishi
- 9 Anatomy and the Organization of Knowledge, 1500–1850
Matthew Landers and Brian Muñoz (eds)
- 10 Blake, Gender and Culture
Helen P. Bruder and Tristanne J. Connolly (eds)
- 11 Age and Identity in Eighteenth-Century England
Helen Yallop
- 12 The Politics of Reproduction in Ottoman Society, 1838–1900
Gülhan Balsoy
- 13 The Study of Anatomy in Britain, 1700–1900
Fiona Hutton

FORTHCOMING TITLES

Women, Agency and the Law, 1300–1700

Fiona Williamson and Bronach Kane (eds)

Sex, Identity and Hermaphrodites in Iberia, 1500–1800

Richard Cleminson and Francisco Vázquez García

The English Execution Narrative, 1200–1700

Katherine Royer

British Masculinity and the YMCA, 1844–1914

Geoff Spurr

EDITOR'S ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book has benefited from the support of Chawton House Library, where I conducted research as a visiting fellow in summer 2013, and Valdosta State University's Faculty Research Seed Grant programme, which provided the funding and course-release time to complete this project. I am also grateful to Dr Jessica Munns for her excellent mentorship and encouragement over the years, and to my husband, Brett, whose conversation, encouragement and keen editor's eye proved invaluable at every turn.

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

Jennifer L. Airey is Assistant Professor of English at the University of Tulsa, where she specializes in Restoration and eighteenth-century literature, theatre history and early modern gender studies. She is the author of *The Politics of Rape: Sexual Atrocity, Propaganda Wars, and the Restoration Stage* (2012), and has published articles on Wycherley and Dryden. Her article on the 1768 rape trial of Frederick, Lord Baltimore is forthcoming, and she is currently at work on a new book project, an analysis of gender and class violence in late eighteenth-century Gothic drama.

Katie Barclay is a postdoctoral research fellow at the ARC Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions, University of Adelaide. She is the author of *Love, Intimacy and Power: Marriage and Patriarchy in Scotland, 1650–1850* (2011), winner of the Women's History Network (UK) book prize and the Senior Hume Brown Prize for Scottish History, which explores how couples negotiate meanings of both love and power within their correspondence. Barclay has written widely on emotional and marital relationships in Scotland and Ireland, with publications in *Cultural and Social History*, *Women's History Review* and the *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*. She is the Lead Editor of the peer-reviewed journal, *Women's History Magazine*, and co-editor with Dr Deborah Simonton of *Women in Eighteenth-Century Scotland: Intimate, Intellectual and Public Lives* (2013).

Mary R. Block is an associate professor of history at Valdosta State University where she teaches courses in US Legal and Constitutional History and US in the Early National and Antebellum eras. She earned her PhD from the University of Kentucky. She has conducted extensive research in the history of Anglo-American rape law from the twelfth to the early twentieth century. Her publications on rape and the law include 'Rape Law in Nineteenth-Century America: Some Thoughts and Reflections on the State of the Field', *History Compass*, 7:5 (2009), pp. 1391–9 and "Limited to Errors of Law": Rape Law and Adjudication in the Nineteenth-Century Kentucky Court of Appeals', *Ohio Valley History*, 11:3 (2011), pp. 44–64.

Ann Marie Byrd is Lecturer of Theatre at California State University, Fullerton. She has also taught at the University of Pittsburgh, the University of Notre Dame, the University of Colorado and Olivet College. She received her PhD from the University of Colorado at Boulder. Her research focuses on female dramatists across the centuries and particularly the English Restoration. She recently published a book-length study titled *The Ravishing Restoration: Aphra Behn, Violence and Comedy* (2010). Dr Byrd is a scholar, theatre critic, director and actor.

Melanie Cooper-Dobbin is a PhD candidate in the School of History and Politics at the University of Adelaide, Australia. Specializing in eighteenth-century art history, her studies are driven by a particular interest in the representations of mythology and gender. The present focus of her work is to reconsider the frequent appearance of masculine deities and satyrs in early eighteenth-century visual culture. Her Master's thesis was titled 'Wayward Wives and Deviant Mistresses: François Boucher's Mythological Women of the Rococo' (University of Adelaide, 2008).

Julie Gammon is a lecturer in history at the University of Southampton, UK. She completed her PhD research on narratives of sexual violence in England from 1640 to 1820 at the University of Essex where she also worked as a teaching fellow. She has also held a lecturing position at the University of Warwick. Her research is on gender and crime in the long eighteenth century with a particular interest in the treatment of marginal groups by the legal system including children, gypsies and homosexuals.

Aparna Gollapudi is an associate professor at Colorado State University, where she primarily teaches eighteenth-century literature. In addition to long eighteenth-century literature, culture, theatre, law and economics, her research interests include children's literature, especially the interactions of text and image in picture books. Gollapudi recently published *Moral Reform in Comedy and Culture, 1696–1742* (2011). She has also published on Penelope Aubin, Richard Steele, John Bell, Maurice Sendak and Peter Sis.

Anne Greenfield is an assistant professor of English at Valdosta State University, specializing in Restoration and eighteenth-century literature, especially drama. She completed her PhD at the University of Denver, and she is author of several articles on Restoration and eighteenth-century drama and Aphra Behn. She is editor-in-chief of *Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Theatre Research* and New Media Editor of *ABO: Interactive Journal for Women in the Arts, 1640–1830*. Her current book project deals with tragic depictions of rape and attempted rape in English theatre from 1660 to 1720.

Misty Krueger is Visiting Assistant Professor of British Literature at the University of Maine at Farmington. She received her PhD in English from the University of Tennessee. Her research specialty is in Restoration and eighteenth-century drama, and her secondary interests pertain to gender studies and women writers. Her publications include articles on playwrights Delarivier Manley, Sir William Davenant, John Dryden and Thomas Duffett. She is currently expanding her dissertation on revenge in Restoration tragic drama into a book project, and she is writing essays on Jane Austen's 'History of England' and *Northanger Abbey*.

Dawn Nawrot is a PhD candidate at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. Her main interests include eighteenth-century women writers, the rise of the novel and feminist theory. She is currently working on her dissertation entitled, 'Female Betrayal and Rape in the Eighteenth-Century British Novel: Dangerous Narratives of Women as Consensual Liberal Subjects'. Her research evaluates how eighteenth-century literary representations of women's relationships, consent and subjecthood are participating in a larger political discussion about social contracts emerging in a liberal, individualist and capitalist society. She is also working to determine how female rape narratives construct women's role as subjects in the emerging novel and British society.

Lena Olsson is an independent scholar of English literature, formerly at Lund University, Sweden. She wrote her PhD thesis on John Cleland's *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure* (1748) and is the editor of Cleland's abridged *Fanny Hill* (1748) and the anonymous *The Genuine History of ... Sally Salisbury* (2004). Other publications include 'Idealized and Realistic Portrayals of Prostitution in John Cleland's *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure*', in Patsy S. Fowler and Alan Jackson (eds), *Launching Fanny Hill: Essays on the Novel and Its Influences* (2003) and "A First-Rate Whore": Prostitution and Empowerment in the Early Eighteenth Century', in Ann Lewis and Markman Ellis (eds), *Prostitution and Eighteenth-Century Culture: Sex, Commerce and Morality* (2012). She is at present working on a study of the whore biography genre.

Loring Pfeiffer is a PhD candidate at the University of Pittsburgh and a faculty member in the English Department at Santa Clara University. Her research focuses on women playwrights, female sexuality and partisan politics in Restoration and early eighteenth-century England, and her article on Aphra Behn's *The Rover, Part II* (1681) is forthcoming in *Restoration: Studies in English Literary Culture, 1660–1700*.

Robin Runia is Assistant Professor of English at Xavier University of Louisiana. She received her PhD in literature from the University of New Mexico. Her research includes women's writing, development of the novel and gender

and sexuality studies. She is a Mellon Faculty Community of Teaching Scholars fellow. Select publications include: “‘Oppressed With My Own Sensations’: *The Histories of Some of the Penitents* and Principled Piety,’ *Religion in the Age of Enlightenment*, 4 (forthcoming); ‘Prostitutes or Proselytes: Eighteenth-Century Female Enthusiasts,’ *Eighteenth-Century Women: Studies in their Lives, Work, and Culture*, 7 (forthcoming); and “‘The Breeches Are My Own, Henceforth I’ll Rant’: *The Widdow Ranter* and Cross-Dressed Politics,’ *Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Theatre Research*, 26:1–2 (Summer 2012), pp. 5–21.

Nichol Weizenbeck is an ABD PhD candidate in literary studies and an arts, humanities, and social sciences fellow studying at the University of Denver. Her research focuses on British women’s fiction of the early eighteenth century and the divergent movements of which early female British novels are comprised. In addition, the history of the novel, eighteenth-century studies, representations of sex, sexuality and gender, and women and gender studies comprise key components in her work. She has also served as the associate editor for *Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Theatre Research*.

CONTENTS

Editor's Acknowledgements	ix
List of Figures	xi
List of Contributors	xiii
Part I: Overview and Scope	
Introduction – <i>Anne Greenfield</i>	1
1 Researching Sexual Violence, 1660–1800: A Critical Analysis – <i>Julie Gammon</i>	13
Part II: Legal and Social History	
2 'For the Repressing of the Most Wicked and Felonious Rapes or Ravishments of Women': Rape Law in England, 1660–1800 – <i>Mary R. Block</i>	23
3 From Rape to Marriage: Questions of Consent in Eighteenth-Century Britain – <i>Katie Barclay</i>	35
4 The Disordered Fundament: Sexual Violence on Boys and Sodomy Trial Narratives in the <i>Old Bailey Proceedings</i> – <i>Aparna Gollapudi</i>	45
Part III: Drama	
5 The Titillation of Dramatic Rape, 1660–1720 – <i>Anne Greenfield</i>	57
6 Violently Erotic: Representing rape in Restoration Drama – <i>Ann Marie Byrd</i>	69
7 'A Most Obedient Wife': Passive Resistance and Tory Politics in Eliza Haywood's <i>A Wife to Be Lett</i> – <i>Loring Pfeiffer</i>	83
8 Staging Rape in the Age of Walpole: Sexual Violence and the Politics of Dramatic Adaptation in 1730s Britain – <i>Jennifer L. Airey</i>	95
Part IV: Fiction	
9 'What Do You Take Me For?': Rape and Virtue in <i>The Female Quixote</i> – <i>Robin Runia</i>	107
10 'Nothing But Violent Methods Will Do': Heterosexual Rape and the Violation of Female Friendship – <i>Dawn A. Nawrot</i>	119
11 Bringing Sentimental Fiction to its (Anti-)Climax: Laurence Sterne's <i>A Sentimental Journey</i> – <i>Nichol Weizenbeck</i>	131

Part V: Other Genres

12 ‘Violence that’s Wicked for a Man to Use’: Sex, Gender and Violence in the Eighteenth Century – <i>Lena Olsson</i>	141
13 The Rhetoric of Rape: William Blake’s <i>Visions of the Daughters of Albion</i> as Eighteenth-Century Rape Trial – <i>Misty Krueger</i>	149
14 The Horror of the Horns: Pan’s Attempted Rape of Syrinx in Early Eighteenth-Century Visual Art – <i>Melanie Cooper-Dobbin</i>	163
Notes	175
Index	215

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 14.1: Jean-François de Troy, <i>Pan and Syrinx</i> , 1720	165
Figure 14.2: Pierre Mignard, <i>Pan and Syrinx</i> , 1688–90	169
Figure 14.3: Pierre Mignard, <i>Pan and Syrinx</i> , 1690	170

INTRODUCTION

Anne Greenfield

Sexual Violence: A Favourite Subject

Few subjects were as frequently and as successfully inserted into the literary and artistic world of the Restoration and eighteenth century as was sexual violence. Depictions of sexual violence appeared regularly in novels, short fiction, tragic and comic plays, poems, the visual arts and more, with remarkable frequency during this era. In Restoration drama, this trope appears from 1662 onwards, beginning with the attempted rape of Bellmont in Thomas Porter's *The Villain*. Rape and attempted rape would become staples of tragic drama, with particular frequency during the 1670s and 1680s, and again at the turn of the eighteenth century. Older plays like William Shakespeare's *King Lear* (1606) were adapted and revived in the Restoration with newly-added scenes of sexual violence.¹ New tragedies that revolved around rape like Nathaniel Lee's *Mithridates* (c. 1678) were great successes, and were imitated widely. However, Restoration dramatists by no means confined these sexually-violent scenes to tragic drama. Even many of the liveliest and most mirthful comedies of the Restoration, like Aphra Behn's *The Rover I* (1677) and *II* (1681) and Thomas D'Urfey's *Trick for Trick* (1678) contain frightening scenes of attempted rape. Late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century prose fiction was equally captivated by rape and seduction. In the short fiction of Eliza Haywood and Delarivière Manley, for instance, one is hard pressed to find a text that lacks female resistance to male sexual aggression. Likewise, as the English novel began to develop into its mature form it too was highly concerned with sexual violence. The victims of rape and attempted rape in these novels are surprisingly diverse, from Amy, the loyal servant in Daniel Defoe's *Roxana* (1724), to Clarissa, the middle-class, *nouveau riche* heroine in Samuel Richardson's *Clarissa* (1748), to Evelina, the unrevealed aristocratic heiress in Frances Burney's *Evelina* (1778). By the late eighteenth century, with the emergence of radical women writers like Mary Hays and Mary Wollestonecraft, one again finds great interest in the trope of sexual violence, this time in a way that redeems rape victims as socially productive figures who are able to survive their

violations, even if not for long. In the visual arts, too, rape figured strongly. The myth of Lucretia alone was rendered and reproduced abundantly by painters in England and on the Continent, as seen in J. L. Gottfrid's *Historischer Chronik* (1674), G. B. Tiepolo's *Tarquin and Lucretia* (c. 1745–50) and Gavin Hamilton's *The Oath of Brutus* (early 1760s). Even in shorter-lived and less 'legitimate' genres like political pamphlets, broadsides, crime narratives, erotica and pornography, one finds no shortage of sexual violence. These sexually-violent representations found their way into every decade of the Restoration and eighteenth century, into nearly every genre and into the minds of many, many readers and viewers.

The remarkable prevalence of the trope of sexual violence is matched by its astonishing flexibility. In the hands of writers and artists of this period, sexual violence was used for a wide variety of, often seemingly contradictory, ends. For instance, Whig dramatists advocating the doctrine of resistance and social contract theory regularly depicted cruel tyrant-rapists whose sexually-violent crimes illustrated the need to overthrow unjust rulers. On the other hand, with an opposing agenda, Tory dramatists advocating the divine right of kings depicted cruel rebel-rapists whose sexual brutalities illustrated the atrocities that resulted when a monarch was overthrown. Taking yet another tack, writers of turn-of-the-century amatory fiction depicted 'seductions' that were (simultaneously and ambiguously) both welcomed and forced. These writers of amatory fiction used sexual violence to create narratives with strong political subtexts that grappled with the complex question of whether resistance to legitimate authority can ever be virtuous. With the rise of the novel, sexual violence was again depicted variously and unevenly: this trope was at times represented solemnly and centrally as in Samuel Richardson's *Clarissa* and *Pamela*, while elsewhere humorously and peripherally as in Henry Fielding's *Tom Jones* and *Joseph Andrews*. Not only did the trope of sexual violence vary from author to author, but even within single works, this trope could be put to opposing ends. Sexual violence could be used simultaneously to terrify and titillate audiences, or to make martyrs and whores out of the same female characters. Few other literary and artistic tropes were used for such antithetical purposes.

Part of the reason for the popularity and ubiquity of this trope lies in the importance of chastity in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century collective imagination. When kept intact, a woman's chastity ensured that her husband reared his actual, biological children, and that her husband's inheritance was passed down to his legitimate successors. As a theft of chastity, rape was understood as a violation against men, as a theft of everything a man owned and achieved and as a fissure in the most basic structure of social order. When enacted upon a chaste woman (and, especially, a propertied chaste woman), sexual violence was theoretically believed to be a devastating crime to be prevented and punished at all costs. With such high stakes associated with the threat of

lost chastity, writers of this era found a useful rhetorical device in the trope of sexual violence. Writers vilified their political enemies by painting them as rapists, they illustrated the breakdown of social order through the rapes of chaste wives and daughters and they terrified readers with the devastating losses that followed forceful 'seductions.' Because the threat of stolen chastity was believed to be a universally-detested crime, the trope of sexual violence could easily imbue a scene with power, suspense and gravity.

Another reason for the prevalence of sexual violence in art and literature of the period comes from sheer precedent. Eighteenth-century writers and readers were well aware of the long tradition of rape and attempted-rape depictions in Western literature. The anonymous poem, 'The Rape of the Bride' (1723) acknowledges this canon of rape depictions in its opening canto, which recounts a remarkable twenty-one mythical and historical acts of sexual violence in just two pages. These references span from sexual violations in classical Rome (such as Tarquin's rape of Lucrece) and Greece (for example, Agammenon's rape of Breseis), to accounts of fantastical sodomy (like the moon's rape of the young boy, Endymion), to metaphors of rape (the rape of the day by the night), to non-sexual injuries that are called 'rapes' (for example, the rapes of fruit, flowers and land by human cultivation). Rape, in this view, is not only a phenomenon that has, as the anonymous poet puts it, 'happen'd, on the Earth, / Since Mother Nature's early Birth',² but rape is also part of a long tradition of literary writing in the West. In an age when classical authors and their works were venerated and imitated widely, this literary precedent acted as a strong catalyst for English writers in appropriating the theme of sexual violence.

Doubtless, authors of this era adopted the trope of sexual violence for other reasons as well. For instance, a rape scene provided many a dramatist with the welcome excuse to display a beautiful actress, post violation, in a torn gown with unbound hair and a revealed bosom. Elsewhere, in the late eighteenth century, scenes of sexual violence served the purposes of radical women writers who wished to paint rape as a violation of a women's sexual autonomy, rather than as a mere property crime. In other hands still, the trope of sexual violence was turned on its head, as a topic of irreverence and wit, as in Henry Fielding's *Rape Upon Rape* or Alexander Pope's 'The Rape of the Lock' – both of which depended for their humour on the fact that rape was elsewhere treated as such a devastating and grave matter. Indeed, part of the appeal of the trope of sexual violence was that it could be used to grapple with and discuss a huge variety of issues. Writers found that their messages about gender, the legal system, inheritance, the passions, the body, resistance to authority, the family, social hierarchies – and so much more – could be discussed adeptly in stories that revolved around sexual violence. The usefulness and power behind this trope comes in large part