ABSTRACT

Title of dissertation: EMBODIED PERFORMANCE: WAR, TRAUMA, AND DISABILITY ON THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY STAGE

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This project brings attention to the emotional work performed by plays about war from the Restoration and eighteenth century—how these plays position soldiers and communities in relation to one another and the state and in what ways they contribute to the work of negotiating trauma. War-themed plays of the period obsessively reenact tropes and devices that communicate particular affective scenarios or experiences of wartime. These affective scenarios include the temporality of soldiering and enlistment that locks the recruit in a state of inevitable injury and injuring; the longings for return of someone seemingly lost or displaced and the simultaneous fear of the outcome of this return (or no return); and a sense of rootlessness or displacement that unsettles surety in homeland, homecoming, or nation. The tropes and devices that convey these affective scenarios include devices involving the literal substitution bodies, such as bed tricks and dead tricks; an obsessive repetition of scenarios of recognition of identity, reunion, and the many complications of mistaken identity; and humor, joking, and comic tropes (like the soldier breeches role) that communicate a sense of the corporeal/temporal experience of war through the body. From these devices an experiential bridge is created in the playhouse between home front and warfront that positions the soldier as well as the grieving individual as part of a larger affective community. These figures are not isolated by their potentially extreme experiences of the battlefield, enlistment, waiting, or mourning: through the collective space of

the stage, their extreme experiences are shown to be acknowledged by the larger group. From these plays, we see the affective experience of war at home from the community networks touched by military conflict.

EMBODIED PERFORMANCE: WAR, TRAUMA, AND DISABILITY ON THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY STAGE

by

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Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the
University of Maryland, College Park, in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
2021.

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Introduction

This project sets out to uncover the emotional work done by plays of the long eighteenth century in relation to war and trauma. I consider ways in which the negotiation of the emotions and trauma of war were the work of a community, as popular drama is performance in which there must have been a social body to whom these dramatizations of highly emotional situations struck a chord through their mode of expression and topicality. Thus, this project does not seek out accounts of individual experiences of trauma so much as how communal performance registers (and navigates) experiences related to war that, in their diverse and multifarious ways, affected members of the group—the playgoing or playreading audience. This is part of the appeal, I argue, of plays about war in the late seventeenth to eighteenth centuries.

War-themed drama of this period is hyper-focused on the interrelation of different participants and communities in a time of military conflict. In the plays I consider, this emerges through the evocation of how war is felt at home by anxious and grieving individuals and returning soldiers. And, of course, these two communities should be understood as intimately intersected. The plays negotiate these experiences in part by using tropes, scenarios, and devices that viscerally communicate certain war-adjacent scenarios and affective states to larger groups, from the "eternal present" of potential injuring and injury initiated by enlistment and soldiering to the complex feelings of grief and horror by those at home who long for but also fear the soldier's complicated return (or failure to return).[1] The plays also fixate on the more conceptual aspects of this experience of war at home, such as feelings of unease at the dislocation of places and populaces and the large-scale loss of life entailed in increasingly global wars. These broader scenarios are often made to intersect with private, personal ones in war-themed drama,

registering in an emotionally charged way experiences that are potentially very personal, such as incomplete mourning for lost loved ones or morbid joking about shared vulnerabilities.

Thus, intimate scenarios of loss and pain are shown to be implicated in large scale conflict and affairs of states, but not in ways one might expect through the topicality of the plays to current events. Scenarios of sacrifice (to the state) are returned to again and again and are portrayed as partly noble but also often wasteful and destructive. In other words, the sacrifice of bodies to war in these plays is shown to have outsized, tragic results. Often sacrifice to wartime is situated in the traumatic destruction or disruption of families. Many of the plays I discuss (and most of the tragedies) have as the affective center an orphan, or someone coded as one. Orphanhood, as it stands in these plays, might be called the ground zero of the social contract, where a culture must confront what it does with and how it fails those in situations of extreme social vulnerability.[2] The trope of the orphan in fiction shows a situation where potentially extreme "isolation" attends or threatens the protagonist, "dramatiz[ing] the absence of community," with its comforts, support systems, and "protection" (Perry 30). On the stage, and especially in war-themed plays, orphanhood dramatizes a living connection with originary and profound losses. The orphan is portrayed as a living "relict" of the past, both literally (as this was a technical term for a widow or surviving child) and figuratively, as an uncanny presence from the (most often violent) past, a last survivor.[3] This last survivor tangibly brings the effects of the past into the present, or rather, is a means of revealing the sinister workings of wartime legacy, as this relict or last survivor is victimized again by the past in the present. The defining version of this is found in Thomas Otway's *The Orphan*, a tragedy that would maintain popularity starting from its debut in 1680 and stretching throughout the eighteenth century. Monimia, the heroine and titular orphan, enters the play wondering why she was not slain in childhood in the

military conflict that took her parents. Her tragedy in the present day, exacerbated by her social vulnerability, also seems to be an extension of the unresolved conflicts and losses of this war of the past, brought into the present and continuing its influence. And in the mid eighteenth century, another tragedy, Arthur Murphy's *The Orphan of China* (1759), takes a medieval Chinese opera that strongly intersects with these concerns of originary loss, destroyed families, and an orphan who is the affective center of the play's conflict, and then multiplies them in dizzying ways. This occurs in Murphy's play through a doubling of lost sons (one a literal orphan) and a proliferation of scenes revealing the identities of these same two figures, over and over, in varied repetitions and contexts; this imparts a sense of loss and wished-for reunion multiplied in ways and on a scale that implies it cannot easily be calculated.

As mentioned above, the scenarios of wartime in the plays are not of the field of battle but instead the affective experience—or rather, negotiation of the emotions and experience—of war from home. They depict the imagined affective networks of communities, often through the lens of the tragedies and griefs that might befall these networks of families, spouses, sweethearts, soldiers, and veterans in the wake of military conflict. Though these conflicts were (most often) waged abroad, I suggest that in these plays military conflict has a sense of closeness to home, different from the "fram[ing] of war as a distant reality, made remote by the movements of history" that Mary Favret finds in poetic expression about war in the Romantic era.[4] Instead, the plays register the physical traces and evidence of war as they are displayed on the bodies of individuals. These traces are also suggested to be present through evidence of the emotional and psychological effects of conflict and recruitment in the way these martial elements leave their marks on social networks.

War in this period (spanning roughly from the English Civil War to before the Napoleonic conflicts) was often perceived to be uncomfortably and threateningly close to home. For instance, the popular and vividly revived literary trope in this period of the "siege offered a way to imagine a world at war coming home in the most intimate of ways[,]" where city-dwelling civilian populations and the architecture of daily life might fully and potentially horrifically intersect with modern combat (Alker and Nelson 23).[5] And as Melinda Rabb shows, the effects of the memory and fears of the English Civil War carried on throughout the eighteenth century, often emerging in literature through the trope, deflected from but also continuously evoked, of the damaged and mangled male body.[6] And as Cynthia Richards argues, one can see in the Earl of Rochester's poetry about impotence his wrestling with, indirectly but also very vividly, shocking events and encounters with death from his youth in the English Civil War. Through this poetry it is demonstrated that "Rochester cannot keep 'war at a distance'—to reference the title of Mary Favret's reading of war's everyday effects on the work of Romantic writers—rather he allows us to ask how the trauma of war shapes even our most intimate moments" (Richards 40).

The influence of military conflict on literature of the long eighteenth century is only beginning to be understood; war is so enmeshed in cultural production of the period that it is, in a way, often hiding in plain sight.[7] This is seen in all forms of media, from novels that very much seem to be about something else than war, like Samuel Richardson's *Clarissa,* to most of the drama that was popular in the period (much of which is clearly rather than subtly war-themed), like *Tamerlane* (1702), *Cato* (1713), *The Recruiting Officer* (1706), and the tragedies of Shakespeare. Most Britons would have been aware of both the near-constant state of conflict that England was engaged in, and also, arguably, the unsettling connection of this waging of war to

the production of ‘everyday life’, as “The globalization of goods, products, and ideas that scholars have identified as distinctive of eighteenth-century modernity was, above all, promoted and sustained by military conflict” (Russell 113). The rise of global trade and commercialism that has long been seen as the backdrop of eighteenth-century literature is, of course, undergirded by this state of constant warfare and military mobilization, making an interrogation of the ways that war registers in literature of the period essential. And, in this period, “the prevalence of war created an avid interest among Britain’s growing and increasingly literate political nation for reports of its progress, and explanation of how it was waged. This information was conveyed to all stations of society through newspapers, periodicals, pamphlets, broadsheets, and ballads” (Cardwell 160).

As mentioned, Britain was nearly constantly at war in the period. The middle of the seventeenth century saw the English Civil War, which, coupled with the memory and rumors of the depredations of the Thirty Years’ War and the wars of religion that wracked continental Europe, had a profound impact on perceptions, fears, and expectations of conflict. Military strategy in the wake of events of the mid seventeenth century was structured around avoiding these past situations; for this reason, “The eighteenth century has been characterized as the age of limited war, in which European rulers, governments, and a cosmopolitan aristocratic officer class reacted against the devastation of the bitter religious wars of the previous two centuries” (Cardwell 158). Despite this limited aspect, war waged to influence balances of power between states and to acquire access to lucrative trade was nonetheless nearly constant. For England, the late seventeenth century saw the Anglo-Dutch Naval Wars (1665-7; 1688-97), which included a near invasion of the Dutch into Medway; the eighteenth century opened with the War of Spanish Succession (1701-13) and continued with, to list many of the major conflicts, the Jacobite

Rebellion (1715-16; 1739-48), the War of Austrian Succession (1739-48), the Seven Years War (1756-63), the American Revolution (1775-83), and the Napoleonic Wars (1793-1802).[8] This list does not include smaller conflicts that also formed part of this persistent wartime backdrop of the period, especially those involved with colonial borders and military outposts connected with trade routes, which, reflecting the violent underpinnings of commercialism in this period, required the persistent intervention or presence of the military

War in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, as mentioned above, was purposely limited and increasingly formalized, haunted as it was by the atrocities of past wars. There is a paradoxical quality to how war was waged and understood; for instance, "even 'limited' war was shocking in its brutality, with 24,000 dead in one day at the Battle of Malplaquet in 1709" in the War of Spanish Succession (Russell 114). And the "theatricality" of warfare—which might seem to mitigate its ruthlessness, at least in theory—could create its own kind of unease for contemporaries (Russell 114). For instance,

> A peculiarly chilling quality of ritualized violence distinguished the art of war in the Age of Reason. Louis XIV and his court would travel from Versailles to witness the final stages of Vauban's sieges, so that the king himself could receive the glory of the fortress's surrender. [Maurice de] Saxe, who lived in princely style while on campaign . . . once had an impending battle announced in code to his officers by an actress during a play's performance. For all their formality, spectacle, and sophistication, military operations . . . were dominated by a cold, detached, calculating destructiveness. This paradoxical combination of courtly ritual, high culture, intellectual rigour, and deliberate, merciless violence [could] intrig[ue] and appa[ll] [contemporaries] . . . (Cardwell 179)

Another example of this paradoxical rationality and cruelty of war, embodied in the technological advancement and improved strategy that was meant to limit war but also opened up new destructive capabilities, is most clearly seen in siege warfare of the period, which became a favored approach: "The admirers of military engineers liked to think that they could build impregnable fortresses, but there was really no such thing[,]" as displayed by the occasional destruction of fortifications that were seeming marvels of the latest technology, such as those at Namur and the mole, or massive "breakwater" built at Tangier (Manning 413; Lincoln 418).

"London was a military city," and soldiers and veterans were present in English daily life—as spouses, sweethearts, family members, and through the passing sights of soldiers in quarter and aged or disabled veterans on the street—in a way that may be difficult to access now (Hurl-Eamon 12). Army regiments might be stationed or be "expect[ed] to do various kinds of duty in any number of geographical areas" on the island of Britain (Houlding 28), and "[f]rom the great concentration of troops at London and Westminster to the more thinly quartered areas like Monmouth and much of Lincolnshire, the map of quarters was a leopard-spot map" (Houlding 28). Most soldiers would pass through London at some point, and, with the capital receiving a constant influx of people from other parts of Britain, the quickly expanding population also served as constant fodder for recruitment.[9] Furthermore, "Battleworn veterans often flocked to Chelsea in the hopes of attaining the status of out-pensioners, making ageing soldiers [. . .] another distinct strand of London's military demography" (Hurl-Eamon 12). Thus, "Warfare also made its presence felt in the more pathetic spectacle of veterans displaying wounds or lost limbs in an appeal for charity, often accompanied by wives and children[,]" making "The plight of the old soldier or the destitute widow . . . a persistent theme in the now 'submerged' tradition of war poetry and popular ballads" (Russell 116-7). London especially, if

also inadvertently, always had on display the evidence and after-effects of the nation's wars, displayed on the bodies of men present in the city, and by extension, the people attached to these men in some way—their wives, partners, families, social networks, and communities.[10]

Thus, although war was mostly fought abroad in the Restoration and eighteenth century, it can be argued that it was 'felt' as very present, even physically so. And in reference to this physical presence and ubiquity in everyday life, the military and "war exerted its presence in the form of recruiting parties and naval press gangs, in the spectacle of parades and war games, and often most forcefully, in the military's role as a form of police," where soldiers might potentially use their military training and techniques on civilians at home to "quell" domestic "disturbances" (Russell 116). Also on display was what soldiers represented in the culture, in all its contradictions, from their proximity to death and injury, perceived heroism or mercenary self-interest, duty to the state, effeminacy, vanity, and masculine bravura. These contradictions reflected how "[a]ttitudes towards the armed forces in eighteenth-century Britain were . . . profoundly ambivalent: soldiers and sailors, of all ranks, were regarded as objects of both sympathy and suspicion, idealization and revulsion" (Russell 117).

Methodology and Theoretical Framework

Trauma, the history of the emotions, and disability studies provide a way in to understanding what war in the popular plays I examine meant for audiences. These approaches increase attention to how and what is communicated by the depiction of extremes of feeling or bodily response/experience, as well as the emotional work that is accomplished through the communication of these experiences in a social context. There is a certain inscrutability and "indirection" in plays of (or related) to the genres of heroic tragedy that, I think, has led to them to being a critical stumbling block on the issue of war.[11] For instance, twentieth and twenty-first

century readers might bring an expectation of clear pro- or antiwar messaging to connect to literature or performance that is critical of war or registers, in some way, its abuses or emotional fall-out. Yet this expectation of a clear message does not take into account the ideological doubleness connected to, for instance, dramatizations of the martial hero in the period, where plays depicting an iteration of this heroic character often contain two unreconciled strands—a heroic ethos vying with an equally strong (if not stronger) skepticism of heroic ideals.[12] This sort of doubleness extends to adjacent elements and themes, like empire or nation-building, war, affairs of state, commercialism, and cosmopolitan display, all of which "[t]heatrical productions held . . . up for scrutiny: plays echoed the cosmopolitan and imperial ambitions of the court, but nevertheless satirized national envy of other empires (Ottoman, Spanish, French) and the human costs of 'war capitalism.'"[13]

First, I will situate this project in the developing approach and interest, in scholarship, with the history of emotions. The recent understanding of this approach comes from William Reddy's *The Navigation of Feeling* (2001), which explores "emotional regimes" in the different contexts of history and culture (France during the Revolution) and demonstrates a way for scholars to be attentive to differing cultural landscapes of emotional expression—and how they might influence interpretation—when analyzing texts from the past.[14] An illuminating recent example of why this attentiveness to the historical specificity of forms of emotional expression can be seen in Aleksondra Hultquist's reading of "the amatory constitution—that is, the seduced body overcome by love" in the fiction of Eliza Haywood (Hultquist 106).[15] Hultquist's reading hinges on how "the amatory body is both timeless and bound by the very distinctive discourse of the passions in the eighteenth century, a system of emotional understanding that . . . critics [of Haywood have not] fully engaged with in terms of the physical body as a site of learning"

(Hultquist 109). Without understanding this context of the passions in the eighteenth century, readers encountering these many moments in Haywood's fiction of heroines overcome by passion in seemingly passive circumstances might interpret them through a twentieth-century lens that does not understand such a moment as one that "tries to work out those indescribable moments of feeling between desire, seduction, and propriety" where "knowledge about how [one] feel[s]" is created (Hultquist 106). War literature, similarly, invites a certain expectation of timelessness that makes it seem easy to search for the same kind of war narratives throughout history, an expectation that can lead to misinterpretation. On one hand, the physical extremity of war presents a through line connecting its representation in different periods, as, for instance, "there is almost always an acute and self-conscious modernity accompanying war, a repeated sense of war as a precipice, limit experience, and limen of a new age. But time can just as easily dissolve and collapse when we, as readers, become immersed in war's literatures and histories: these are past but proximate emotions" (Downes, Lynch, and O'Loughlin 4). War literature, influenced by extreme feelings and an immediacy of experience that, in some ways, cuts across eras (being shot at on a battlefield or in a cityscape turned into one is probably always terrifying), seems to promise historical transparency. But certain expectations of generic stability or similarity of expression can cause confusion and misinterpretation.

Readers often bring two expectations to the period that is the focus of this project: as mentioned earlier, the expectation of clear pro- or antiwar messaging, as well as the expectation to find first-person accounts of the experience of the battlefield that depict war as profound and "revelatory."[16] With the first expectation (clear ideological messaging), as Downes, Lynch, and O'Loughlin discuss in *Emotions and War*, meaning often contends with certain generic conventions or limitations, thus it should be understood that, potentially, "literature retains a

particular power to take emotional language of war beyond the limits and disguises of 'official' languages, whether these take the form of chivalric glory, national propaganda or military dispatches" (Downes, Lynch, and O'Loughlin 11). And similarly, as Sharon Alker and Holly Faith Nelson find with literary productions in post-Civil War England of the seventeenth and eighteenth century, the disturbing material realities of war—"[t]he randomness of events in the lottery of war, the horror of its sounds and sights, the ubiquity of suffering of all parties involved"—persistently complicate or exceed the ideological frameworks in which they are placed, such as heroism, political propaganda, or Christian virtue (Alker and Nelson 203). Basically, literary production about war that is powerful enough to arrest the audience's attention by conveying the "proximate" emotions of war will likely also communicate such interpretive instability. For instance, in a poem, *The Siege of Vienna* (1685) by an author attributed as W.C., recounting the recent siege but also "written against the backdrop of threatened and contained civil strife" in England, "acts of valour" depicted as "heroic in the extreme" still "never come close to balancing the brutal visions of desecration and mutilation of human bodies, historic architecture, and the very earth itself" also present in the verse (Alker and Nelson 202; 207). And in the Restoration-era heroic play, John Dryden's *The Conquest of Granada* (1670-71), the postwar reestablishment of order at the end does not ignore the disturbing or disruptive elements that emerge from the fraught dynamic of internal conflict in the city under siege that comprises much of the action. Instead, the resolution seems to be the fragile culmination of these disruptive elements, one possible postwar outcome that has a strong hint of unlikely wish-fulfillment, as the "final assertion of order, grounded in enchantment, justice, and the active forgetting of historical divisions, refuses to eschew the difficulty of constructing a communal identity when a fractured past is at play" (Alker and Nelson 113).

There is also another current assumption that war experience was not really communicated with an interest in the "personal experience and suffering" of ordinary soldiers until the advent of first-person accounts in the Romantic era that clearly foregrounded the individual's emotional experience as profound and revelatory.[17] There is an overlap in the expectation of war narratives to portray the individual's first experience of the field of battle as a sort of seminal, life-shattering event, and, as I shall discuss next, the view of trauma as emerging from some original event that similarly exceeds the framework of all previous experience.[18] The expectation that war narratives and trauma narratives need these elements to be understood as records of profound suffering has contributed to overlooking many forms through which the trauma, pain, and other powerful emotions and responses to war are expressed.

Trauma in the psychological sense is a concept that seems readily recognizable but actually eludes clear definition. Controversy and debate over the term ranges over all aspects, from how we are to understand it and detect it, map how it is expressed or not expressed, how it differs across cultures in etiology, expression, and strategies for coping, and whether or not it can even be said to exist or should be understood as a shorthand for something else. This something else might be, for instance, a tool for legitimating (such as in medical and bureaucratic contexts) the lasting impacts of extreme suffering and experiences, which is where trauma theorized in the context of combat and PTSD has its origins. So, it should be understood that "Despite the stark events it names, trauma is not a natural category but a culturally constructed way to mark out certain classes of experiences and events . . . [t]rauma is a metaphor" and "generative trope" "borrowed from the domain of medicine and extended to a wide range of experiences" (Kirmayer, Lemelson, and Barad 4). The understanding of psychological trauma as something that develops in response to overwhelming events is, of course, metaphoric of a bodily response:

"shock as an overwhelming of the body's regulatory systems" (Kirmayer, Lemelson, and Barad 5).

The approach to trauma that structures my project could be called a social or "pluralistic" approach rather than the "transhistorical theory of trauma" that is frequently used in literary studies but has increasingly come under critique (Balaev 16). The pluralistic model, as defined by Michelle Balaev,

> include[es] a notion of both individual identity and the individual experience of trauma, especially exposure to war or a natural disaster, as situated within a social setting, which therefore influences the multiple levels of meaning of the experience. This perspective does not imply that the contextual factors of an individual's experience cause everyone to respond in the same way. Rather, attention to the contextual factors of place and social setting allows for a greater understanding of how traumatic events arise and what socio-political factors may have produced particular events. (Balaev 29)

It is necessary for me to highlight that a pluralistic approach will be used in this project to establish that my understanding of trauma in eighteenth-century plays will not involve, for instance, a search for narrative gaps or fissures that signal an incommensurability of experience. From the outset, such a search would be problematic in this context—a play's power cannot really be said to come from an individual experience (even if it has one author), but instead from the cultural and social context of the performance, which is also highly dependent for its power on referentiality to other plays and the larger culture.[19] The dominant model of trauma in literary studies (that the pluralistic model differentiates from) is based on Cathy Caruth's theorization of trauma in literature starting in the 1990s. This model holds that the traumatic event is so extreme

and shattering of a person's previous view of self and the world that the individual is not able to integrate the experience into their psyche and sense of self. This results in an inability to access the memory (and remember, and in turn, process the event).[20] The trauma of the incommensurable event, unintegrated in consciousness, wreaks its havoc until the individual is able to recall it and integrate it into an understanding of experience. This model is so pervasive it has become a truism, but it has also been, from the start, highly scrutinized in the field of psychology and other disciplines, such as within trauma studies itself and postcolonial studies.

One of the major problems with the Caruthian model is the assumption of repressed memory as a sign of trauma. In the field of psychology, Allan Young asserts that "[t]rauma theory claims that the latency [of memory] is inevitable; memories are initially either repressed or unrepresentable. But this is empirically incorrect: Declarative memory is continuous in most cases of PTSD, even if patients are sometimes initially unwilling or unable to communicate their experiences" (Young 344). Victims of trauma have more agency in their remembrance and understanding of events than the assumption of latency of memory suggests. And from a postcolonial studies perspective, the view that "trauma results from a single, extraordinary, catastrophic event" is also shown to be problematic,[21] for

> This paradigmatic model of trauma does not necessarily work for non-Western and/or minority group trauma (nor even for groups and individuals within Western societies). In particular, the experience of racism does not fit . . . the 'classical' forms of trauma[,]

but is instead a persistent form of trauma (Andermahr). For, "Unlike structural trauma, racism is historically specific; yet, unlike historical trauma, it is not related to a particular event, with a before and an after" (Stef Craps, qtd. in Andemahr). Looking for a specific framework that

entails an originary, life-shattering event and latency of memory of this event does not fit a search for persistent and socially specific forms of suffering, the expressions of this suffering, and the strategies of coping and survival of affected individuals and collectives.

Psychological trauma, as suggested above, is a highly metaphoric concept. The idea, used in the Caruthian model, "that trauma is a result of a rupture or break," was originally influenced by Sigmund Freud's *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*, in a theorization that is stated by Freud to be speculative but has since been schematized (Balaev 4-5). Freud states that "I think one may venture (tentatively) to regard ordinary traumatic neurosis as a result of an extensive rupture of the barrier against stimuli" (qtd. in Balaev 4). (The barrier referred to is the "protective barrier" of the mind that is meant to shield against stimuli). From this theorization also comes the idea of compulsive repetition in trauma that is emphasized in the Caruthian model; in this framework derived from *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*, the "sudden shock [caused by the rupture] causes the individual to repeat the event in order to gain mastery over feelings of shock, fright, and apprehension" (Balaev 4).

There is a long recent history of intersecting trauma with physical explanations to render it tangible and explicable for the purpose of qualifying the suffering individual for aid. In the late nineteenth century, there developed a sense of "nervous shock" in relation especially to the dangers of new technology that might injure the human body (and particular bodily systems) in new and unpredictable ways: "The use of the term *trauma* for forms of violence associated with industrialization represented not only a social concern about the stresses and strains of modernity but also the beginnings of a shift toward a psychological notion of trauma" (Kirmayer, Lemelson, and Barad 5; italics in text). One can see via this connection with industrialization how trauma has come to be especially associated with modernity, where new technologies and

regimes of the body can bring about new and shocking forms of destruction that both individual bodies and psyches and the larger culture might not have a way of processing emotionally.

Thus, roughly coterminous with this association of trauma (in a psychological or nervous sense) with industrialization and modernity is the association of trauma with war. And like the concept of "railway spine" as a physical explanation for anxiety in the wake of "railway accidents," various iterations of nervous or psychological trauma disorders affecting soldiers also intersect with the need to get aid and compensation for difficult to define but life-disrupting symptoms by providing concrete, physical explanations for them (Kirmayer, Lemelson, and Barad 5).[22] In this way, "the history of trauma is closely associated with the efforts to provide medical services to soldiers and civilians suffering in ever greater numbers as the technology and scale of war have expanded" (Kirmayer, Lemelson, and Barad 6). Well-known examples in this genealogy include "irritable heart" from the Civil War in the United States and "shell shock" associated with the trench warfare of the First World War (Kirmayer, Lemelson, and Barad 6).

Post-traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) is also highly connected, in its initial framing, to the lasting psychological/emotional effects of combat and as a way to prove the need for aid.[23] First appearing in *DSM-III*, "The diagnoses [of PTSD] served to link the suffering of Vietnam veterans to the terrible violence they witnessed and participated in. By implying the response was a direct effect of exposure to horrific violence, the diagnosis of PTSD served to simplify the complex causality and moral meaning of suffering and assign responsibility and blame" (Kirmayer, Lemelson, Barad 7). It may be useful to think of concepts like trauma and PTSD as shorthand for a "situation or outcome, not a discrete disorder or single pattern of injury and response" (Kirmayer, Lemelson, Barad 4). This situation or outcome is socially oriented through

the descriptor of trauma, communicating the need for acknowledgement and intervention in these events of or responses to extreme suffering.[24]

Akin to pluralistic approaches to trauma, the model of treating and understanding combat trauma that originally spurred the idea for this project is also socially and collectively oriented and focused on strategies of reintegration of the individual into the social group—and out of social and emotional isolation—as those around them learn how to acknowledge and conceptualize the suffering individual's pain, grief, and guilt that may seem so foreign and other in its extremity. This clinically oriented model, set out by Jonathan Shay in *Achilles in Vietnam: Combat Trauma and the Undoing of Character*, has had an impact in the field of literature and the classics, especially studies looking at the impacts of warfare in classical Greek epic and drama. Very briefly, Shay analyzes combat trauma and the symptoms of PTSD, via depictions in the *Iliad* of Achilles's "undoing of character," as a confluence of the physical and psychological terrors of war with a specifically social dimension, the sense of "betrayal of 'what's right' by a commander" or other authority (Shay xiii). In reference to drama and tragedy, Brian Lush uses Shay's model to understand the figure of Medea in Euripides's play of the same name as a representation of tensions between "martial-heroic" and domestic "motives and values," arguing that the play serves as a vivid example of the "communalization of grief" (Lush 31; Shay xxiii). Considering the pervasiveness of war experience among the spectators of Athenian drama, Lush suggests that "Revisiting and evaluating these [military] experiences through the contemplation of Medea's tragic narrative, in an inclusive social context and among other citizen-soldiers, could provide the 'communalization of trauma' necessary to the process of revisiting and perhaps coming to terms with warfare's psychological wounds" (Lush 46). As Shay suggests, emotional work such as this is accomplished when "veterans and . . . citizenry . . . meet together

face to face in daylight, and listen, and watch, and weep[,]" creating a shared sense of vulnerability, pain, and even acknowledgement of shared implication in the terrible events of war (Shay 194).

My application of Shay's work to the context of late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century British drama has mostly to do with his insights into the emotional work of drama and public performance and the sense that soldiers/veterans and civilians are together implicated in and affected by the trauma of war and thus must work through it together. This includes the attention Shay gives to the marks left by war's psychological and temporal landscape, the way "severe trauma destroys the capacity to think of a future or a past" and leaves the sufferer in "a cramped, eternal present" that is adaptive but also causes alienation and distress, especially when lifted into the domestic/civilian sphere (Shay 190). Generative connections can be made between Shay's approach and the insights of performance studies and disability studies, especially related to the social and emotional work done by communicating seemingly non-normative experiences of the body (and how this is related, in turn, to empathy).

War-themed performance by its nature foregrounds the effects of warfare in communal terms.[25] And spectacle in performance, which is often assumed (or dismissed) as a distraction that is either shallow or monolithic in meaning, can serve a more complex purpose through the very means that distrust of it arises—"its appeal to the body," appetite, and senses.[26] Spectacle's appeal to the sensorium can evoke a "kinesthetic empathy" and through this,

> . . . we can see that the body as a social being and the body as a phenomenal entity are inseparable and that the potential of spectacle to 'reproduce mutual vulnerability'. . . is realized through apprehending the spectacle from inside out and from outside in simultaneously.[27]

In reference to spectacle that foregrounds bodies—their movements, implied feelings, and relations to one another—Joslin McKinney suggests that an almost visceral connection is established in the viewer to the spectacle before them. This visceral element allows the outsized depiction of bodies and bodily feeling in performance to evoke intimate, varied, and potentially very personal associations in the viewer—the element of "apprehending the spectacle from inside out and from outside in" mentioned above, generatively folding, one into the other, the bodily experiences on stage and in the audience. Through spectacle, "images multiply and mutate . . . they exist suspended in a potent density of bodily impulses, emotions, and empathies" that might be richly evocative but also dynamic and unstable in message or interpretation.[28]

Critical consensus has tended to view spectacle in Restoration plays, where it is very prominent, especially in the heroic genre, as either a distraction from politics or an upholding or subversion of political authority, all of which are very much connected to the idea that spectacle limits meaning or shuts down interpretive instability by overwhelming the viewer's senses and thought process. Spectacle, though, also has an uncanny, underlying potential, like the one McKinney suggests, through its very appeal to the body and sensorium, which can be powerful via the intimate associations it might evoke. This seems especially apt to the use of performance as a vehicle not just for communicating but also negotiating the emotions of war, grief, and loss which are both powerfully personal/intimate and collective, akin to the "inside out and . . . outside in simultaneously" of spectacle.

Disability studies, as a way of looking into trauma, offers a focus that emphasizes acknowledgement and accommodation rather than full healing, as full healing is based on problematic and unrealistic assumptions—that there is one originary traumata and not, potentially, many or a period in which it was spread out or continuous, as is often the case with

wartime and the social instability it creates, and the troubling view of the victim as originally 'whole' but now passively fragmented.[29] Much like the critiques of the Caruthian model of trauma mentioned above, disability studies emphasizes a distrust in fictions of wholeness since the view of healing as a return to wholeness or ablebodiedness also assumes that "the nondisabled body/mind is the default position, as if all bodies/minds are purely abled until something happens to them, as if mind/body variation were not a common occurrence" (Kafer 43). Insights from disability studies that are especially useful here include: the prime importance placed on the individual's own testimony of their embodied experience, emotions, and distress; the understanding that experience, even of the same event or disorder, will be varied and different between individuals and in ways influenced by a multitude of factors; and the social context of disability in terms of access and the need for the larger culture to accommodate the disabled individual. More specific to the intersection of individual and collective expressions of pain central to this project, a disability approach places prime importance on the work done by the communication of the unique experiences of bodies to a collective that is receptive to this communication and can be changed by it, made more accommodating and empathetic, or, at least, more inclined to open up a collective space of shared acknowledgement of vulnerability and pain.[30]

Chapter Overview

The first chapter, "A 'perfect prison' in Dryden's *Troilus and Cressida*: rootlessness, fortification, and the plight of non-combatants in Troy and Tangier," looks at how Dryden's play revises Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* with a focus on non-combatants and colonialism, namely, by drawing analogies with England's failing colonial holding at Tangier. Sympathy in Dryden's play is shifted to the figure of Cressida, who in Shakespeare's play and literary

tradition is faithless but who Dryden makes faithful and sympathetic, rendering her the affective center of the play. This shift in sympathy to Cressida highlights her status as a non-combatant and connects her to other non-combatants who are also given more prominent roles or referentiality in the play, namely Astyanax the son of Hector, and Thersites, the satirical Greek commentator who observes the action of the heroes and the battle, is threatened by them, but does not fight. The means of rendering Cressida's death tragic—her suicide to prove to her erstwhile lover Troilus that she is faithful—evokes the framework that holds the tragic suicide to be a figure symbolic of a certain land or political ideal. Yet Cressida evokes this structure, especially of the tragic woman as a stand-in for a conquered land, so as to show its displacement—how it does not fit her characterization, or the setting of the siege of Troy, or by extension, the colonial holding of Tangier. She stands for rootlessness and displacement itself, especially wrought by military conflict; the suffocating captivity and tragic destiny that closes in on her evokes the paranoid and prison-like atmosphere of English Tangier, also peopled with a displaced (and displacing) populace. Tangier as Troy, through the trope of the siege and the great investment in Tangier as a garrison with an expensive, state of the art, yet failed feat of engineering (the mole), draws comparison with London as another "hub in a larger network" of cities vulnerable to siege and connected through colonial violence.[31] The play, in this way, also captures a sense of how uncomfortably close to home military conflict fought abroad could feel.

In the second chapter, "Wartime, Crip time, and Gendering Soldiers' Bodies in Farquhar's *The Recruiting Officer*," the soldier's homecoming becomes the focus, explored here in a comedy arising from the context of the contemporary War of Spanish Succession. In this chapter, I argue that humor in George Farquhar's play is used to communicate the bodily and temporal experience of soldiering and the state of enlistment itself, creating a bridge between the

experience of soldiering and civilian experience. This is accomplished in two ways: 1) morbid joking that brings home the temporal/corporeal experience of soldiering as a state where injury and injuring is inevitable (a state where debility and death become inextricable from youth and strength) and 2) focus on a woman in disguise as a soldier, who, through the audience's perception of her feminine embodiment and fascination with her adept masculine performance, defamiliarizes masculinity and soldiering, drawing attention to the changes wrought by enlistment on the body that might seem 'natural' otherwise.[32] I use the concept of crip time from disability studies—time understood from the temporal experience of the body and drawing attention to the way it does not fit with constructions of normative time—to illuminate the emotional work that is accomplished through the communication of the temporal/corporeal experience of soldiering, especially the body's close proximity to violent harm in a matrix of injury and injuring.[33] In this way, the soldier's experience, upon returning home, becomes less alienating and foreign, as the soldier's changed state and disorienting closeness to bodily destruction is acknowledged, on some level, by the group through performance. And in the use of comic breeches roles of a rake-soldier who is also a woman (in *The Recruiting Officer*, Silvia as Jack Wilful, in *The Humours of the Army*, Belvedera), fascination with these women's adept masculine performances and perceived feminine vulnerability and allure defamiliarizes the image of the soldier by foregrounding its performativity. The effects of the performance of soldiering (and masculinity) on the body is drawn attention to—its contradictions and unique vulnerabilities and strengths—with increased fascination, attention, and potentially sympathy.

While in chapter 2, the problems of the soldier's homecoming are communicated through humor and joking that makes the audience aware of and acknowledge the trauma of war and the experience of enlistment, in chapter 3 the soldier's proximity to death is communicated through

the modes of tragedy and horror. The focus here is strongly on the experience or expectation of the soldier's return as it is felt at home, in the midst of a grieving community; what is framed, in the plays I discuss, is the disturbing encounter with bodies that dramatizes a confusion of the living with the dead, living loved ones mistaken for bodies that are abject or detested. In *The Orphan*, *The Mourning Bride*, and *Cato*, I trace the use of two particular devices of substitution—the bed trick and a variation I am calling the dead trick—to communicate the horror attached to these intimate encounters with the anonymous loss of life and exchange of bodies in war. Horror, grief, and unease are generated in these plays via a grieving woman's mistake of one man's body for another. Grief is presented as multiple and various, with the longed-for return of the soldier precipitating tragedy or near-tragedy at home. The sacrifice of bodies to war sets into motion nightmare scenarios of stalled mourning and mistaken identity in moments of unsettling intimacy that are shown to affect numerous characters in a variety of ways. In *Cato*, where the use of the dead trick evokes its darker, more gruesome, and more prominent use in *The Mourning Bride* (as well as the fatal bed trick in *The Orphan*), the gore that is mostly elided in *Cato* on the surface takes on a life of its own through its referentiality to current war and wartime grief.

Chapter 4 examines Arthur Murphy's Seven Years' War play, *The Orphan of China* (1759). In Murphy's play (a rewriting of a Chinese opera and its many western iterations by mid-century), the traumatic implications to the familial, domestic network enacted by sacrifice to the state reappears as a theme, but the moments of mistaken identity and recognition in this tragedy are dizzyingly multiplied. The play's "nervous" emplotment, beginning *in media res* after a 20 year-long state of occupation of Peking by the invader Timurkan, creates an atmosphere of long-term military conflict as it affects a domestic space rife with many threats and exhausted by the

vicissitudes of war.[34] Akin to the global scope of the Seven Years' War, battles fought abroad mesh, affectively, with threats close to home. This is intensified by the doubling of lost or threatened sons who are often confused or mistaken for each other—Zaphimri and Hamet. Zaphimri is the son of the slain royal family who takes the place of Zamti and Mandane's biological son Hamet; Hamet, in this version, is not slain to save the prince but is instead sent to distant Korea. The play utilizes the framework of revelation of identity familiar from plays such as *The Tragedy of Jane Shore* (1714) and *Creusa, Queen of Athens* (1754) as well as the plays discussed in chapter 3—the return of a long-lost loved one that serves as a powerful, affecting moment observed by the audience through the perspective of dramatic irony, allowing the anticipation and observation of emotional responses of characters, such as their transport or horror. But in *The Orphan of China*, this moment of recognition does not serve as a main climactic event that precipitates resolution or tragedy; instead, revelations of the identities of Hamet and Zaphimri are enacted with unnerving repetition in the play, creating an anxious sense of loss and longed-for reunion multiplied on a vast scale against the backdrop of world-historical events.

Theater, of course, is a cultural space especially haunted by surrogation; this makes it an unsurprising place to find such evocative enactments and negotiations of large-scale loss personally felt.[35] The literal surrogation of bodies in performance and circuitously depicted in the plots of these plays asks central questions of the wartime experience: why one body survives and another, nearly identical, does not? Why did this husband, brother, or father return and not another? Why this specific reaction of loss, mourning, or tragedy, compared to another? Although the plays do not directly address these questions, their obsession with dramatizing and connecting to the affective experiences of wartime, from feelings of rootlessness and dislocation,

to the disorienting temporality of the soldier, always in close proximity to death or dismemberment, to the horrifying sense at home of encountering the 'wrong' body in love or grief, shows a collective attempt at negotiating these specific traumas of war. And this makes sense in a period obsessed with the chance of war, when the results of battles came to be seen not as the determination of providence but as accidents of climate, terrain, disease, engineering, differentials in training, and other varied and often unpredictable factors.[36] The variability of trauma, mourning, and the aftermath of war that the plays evoke connects to a sense of trauma—its iterations, symptoms, coping mechanisms (or lack thereof)—as also variable. This shows how "noting the many distinctions in the portrayals of emotional responses to trauma underscores the representational variance [of trauma] in literature" and performance, which will in turn open up a richer understanding of the emotional work that is and can be accomplished through depictions of war (Balaev 37).

Chapter 1:
A “perfect prison” in Dryden’s *Troilus and Cressida*: rootlessness, fortification, and the plight of non-combatants in Troy and Tangier

In John Dryden’s *Troilus and Cressida* (1679), the heroine Cressida’s revision as a faithful, tragic heroine also changes the way she participates in the Trojan war that is the backdrop of the play. The expectation of her faithlessness entraps her, dramatizing her lack of ability to navigate the war—it sets in high relief her status as a non-combatant caught in the crossfire of the often selfish heroic exploits and concerns of martial characters.[37] She meets her demise in the play as a captive the chance of war has closed in upon; she is caught in a double bind without power to successfully navigate the situation, unprotected by her captor Diomede, her lover Troilus, and her father, the traitor Calchas. As she implores Troilus, who perceives her as faithless:

> If ever I had pow’r to bend your mind,
>
> Believe me still your faithful *Cressida*:
>
> And though my innocence appear like guilt,
>
> Because I make his [Diomede’s] forfeit life my suit,
>
> ‘Tis but for this, that my return to you
>
> Would be cut off for ever by his [Diomede’s] death;
>
> My father, treated like a slave and scorn’d;
>
> My self in hated bonds a Captive held” (Dryden 5.2.212-18).

Thus, Dryden’s revision of her as tragic hinges on understanding her position as a non-combatant and rootless character, a status that renders her extremely vulnerable in the conflict. Her rootlessness throughout the play culminates here, where she is unable to clear her name or

navigate survival without her "innocence appear[ing] like guilt" within a wartime setting and martial heroic culture that is not concerned with those it displaces. Dryden's revision of the play, debuting in 1679, is contemporary with the quickly failing English colony of Tangier (acquired as part of Catherine of Braganza's dowry in 1661, and abandoned by the English in 1683), another fortified city of the Mediterranean that seemed to promise vast wealth but would end instead in disappointment and destruction.[38] From early on, Tangier as an English colony was also characterized as a place of captivity (or "perfect prison") by its inhabitants due to the situation of besiegement from without and mismanagement from within.[39] I suggest that the fixation in Dryden's play on the failure and inability of non-combatant characters to take root and thrive— the source of the affecting tragedy of the play—echoes the situation in Tangier as a place that is also unable to take root and has a rootless and displaced populace; the essentially martial and violent nature of the fortified city prevents it from becoming a home. *Troilus and Cressida* registers this unease about colonial venture, fixating on the image of the fortified city or military stronghold as a place of, variously, dislocation and confinement, antithetical to the safety of non-combatants.

Thus, Dryden, in his 1679 revision of Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida,* foregrounds the complexity and violence of colonial acquisition, extending to a Restoration context Shakespeare's emphasis more broadly on "the way atrocity and revenge replace glory in war" (Alker and Nelson 71). For reference, Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* is a highly cynical, antimilitarist take on the chivalric tale of the two lovers set near the conclusion of the siege of Troy. Troilus and Cressida (both Trojans, though Cressida's father Calchas has defected to the Greek camp) are separated when she is traded for another captive and sent outside the walls of Troy. Her faithlessness is connected to her ability, in Shakespeare's play, to seemingly adapt to

her new circumstances and trade her previous affections for Troilus for the attentions of a new man in the Greek camps, Diomedes.[40] The play ends with the fall-out of Hector's ignominious death, slain by Achilles's Myrmidons in unequal combat (Achilles has returned as a participant in the war to avenge Patroclus). Dryden's revision retains some of the satiric bent and antimilitarism but makes many of the characters more heroic and less satirical; his biggest change to the play is in rewriting Cressida in the role of a tragic heroine, which entails her faithfulness.[41]

Furthermore, in the shifted context of Dryden's play, contemporary associations with England's recent military losses and disasters attach to the image of the ancient city of Troy, soon to succumb to siege and destruction. These disasters include the Second Dutch War, the near invasion of the Dutch into Medway, the loss of ports in Surinam, and most prominently, the failing military holding at the port city of Tangier in North Africa. While Dryden's play has been considered commenting on political strife at home—the Exclusion Crisis, the Popish Plot, and the still recent memory of the English Civil War—this is incomplete without the consideration of the global scope and nature of war implied in the play.[42] The siege and fall of Troy, which can suggest anxieties about London but simultaneously of fortifications across the globe, presents a disorienting view of the nation at war. This spatially disorienting sense of the besieged city extends to the increased emphasis on (and sympathy for), in Dryden's revision of the play, the individuals who are non-combatants, rather than martial heroes, caught in the crossfire of the war, such as Cressida, Astyanax, and Thersites. This focus on the plight of the non-combatant who is a victim of war is exemplified in Cressida, who, though recast as a tragic heroine and faithful woman, is unable to surmount her association with seeming faithlessness both within the play and in popular consciousness, a scenario that is presented as unfair and cruel.[43] Her

character stands in for a new experience of warfare defined by spatial and perceptual dislocation, emphasized through her unclear provenance (Dryden notes from the outset that her story does not appear in the classics), and, within the plot, the way she is victimized by crossed allegiances and forced movement. Her suicide—which proves her innocence but fails to stem conflict between Troilus and Diomedes in battle—brings home the unsettling sense that sacrifice in wartime is tragic waste rather than useful service to the state, and that the actions of heroes are fundamentally at odds with the plight of non-combatants. And, evocatively, Cressida's death and then the implied breach of the walls of Troy after the play's end tap into views of fortification and siege in the period that intersect with England's costly and flagging foray in Tangier. Tangier as a site of failing colonial transplantation—of people, military and mercantile venture, and costly fortification—haunts this revised play of the fall of Troy.

Thus, two major elements of Dryden's revision of *Troilus and Cressida* I shall address in this chapter are 1) Dryden's increased focus on non-combatant characters in his rewriting of the play, and 2) how this is to be read against the backdrop of the failing colony of Tangier, contemporary with the play's debut and very much present for Dryden and English public of the time. As mentioned above, in Dryden's *Troilus and Cressida*, Cressida is reframed as a tragic and sympathetic character; this is accomplished by emphasizing her as a non-combatant caught between the selfish actions of martial characters. Through this, Dryden makes Cressida the affective center of the play; she (and other non-combatants) are positioned in contrast to the martial characters who would typically be the focus but are unseated by the structure of siege warfare, which, when translated to the siege play, favors "the urban location, the emphasis on tangible warfare, the exposure to trauma, and the effects of war on ordinary citizens" over the traditional martial heroics of "great men of action."[44] Indeed, the martial characters are portrayed

as the destroyers, whether inadvertently or intentionally, of the non-combatants who have our sympathy and interest in the play; non-combatants variously meet displacement or tragedy through the actions of heroic figures.

So, in this revision, rather than betraying martial characters like Troilus, Cressida is clearly betrayed by them. Cressida becomes a tragic suicide on the model of classical figures like Dido, Lucretia, Priam, and Cato at Utica (to name a few). Like these figures, she is a tragic suicide who proves some element of her virtue through her violent end; unlike them, she is characterized by an essential rootlessness from a fixed place or political ideal of nationhood. In contrast to many tragic heroines (or heroines generally) that peopled the Restoration stage, Cressida does not stand in for a nation or land, she is not an autochthonous representative, contrary to a trope that is often found in dramatizations of conquest. Cressida is instead of unclear origin or provenance, has no solid ties of filiation, and ends as a captive to be traded and abused; the affective focus on Cressida in Dryden's play unseats, through this, the expected narrative of nation-building and martial heroics that her sympathetic re-writing as a tragic suicide would seem to invite. The way that Cressida does not fit an idea of the female body as a proxy for the conquered land (yet evokes the structure of such narratives) exposes the way such myths of nation-building do not fit the brutal unwinding of events in the siege of Troy. Thus, the play evokes the framework of mythical narratives of conquest but, jarringly, focuses on the opposite outcome—the failure of individuals, nations, or colonies to take root.

This undermining of paternalism in the play is accomplished by Dryden's increased focus on non-combatant characters who are the most vulnerable in the war and the least able to navigate it; they are emphasized to be the victims of the martial,

conventionally heroic characters. The sometimes accidental nature of the destruction wrought by martial characters on helpless non-combatants makes it even more disturbing, as the behavior and ends of martial heroics as a whole are made to seem antithetical to the survival or thriving of those not willingly engaged in war and who are its passive victims. Thus, Dryden retains some of the cynicism and anti-heroism of Shakespeare's play, juxtaposing it with an affecting dramatization of non-combatant characters caught in the crossfire of war.[45] The increased emphasis on Astyanax, Hector's son who we know will be slaughtered beyond the play's action and after the fall of Troy, and on Thersites's railing against combat, which is partly lifted from Shakespeare but given a larger portion of stage-time in Dryden's play, allows these other "non-combatant" characters to connect to Cressida's plight.

Rather than a thriving city or established colony, by the end, Troy in the play and Tangier as an English colony are more akin to a prison or a tomb. Cressida is a captive by the time of her suicide and her only hope for establishing her innocence and faithfulness is through taking her own life; moreover, the play ends with a heap of dead bodies and reference to Troy as monumental ruin rather than triumphal conquest. And in Tangier, even before the fortifications and outerworks built by the English were strategically blown up by their military and the colony abandoned, it was characterized as a place of confinement by many of its transplanted inhabitants. In Dryden's version of *Troilus and Cressida*, ruin is suggested to be the culmination of the way these wars were waged or colonial cities were formed, which has laid waste to the non-warlike, non-combative elements of both by prioritizing martial ends.

When understood in the context of Tangier, Dryden's play also becomes a commentary on colonial/military occupation. Cressida's rootlessness is evocative of the colony of Tangier's failure to take root. This is not a one-to-one correlation, with Troy (or Cressida) standing in for Tangier; rather, the emphasis in the play on the vulnerability of non-combatant and rootless characters evokes Tangier as a situation of displacement and instability. Essentially, the tragedy calls into question the ability of the fortified city—in this case, the fortified military outpost and attempted colony—to take root as a home; this is made impossible by the fortified city's primary martial nature. The situation of the siege also shows, in an extreme and violent way, how "urban space" is a "hub in a larger network" through the vulnerability of these urban spaces to invasion or incursion and the larger historical sense that cities are both created and destroyed via displacements wrought by war and occupation. Ancient examples include Troy, Carthage, and Rome, which evocatively connect to the colony of Tangier as well as the action of Dryden's *Troilus and Cressida*.[46] The threat of besiegement that hangs over urban space reveals unsettling connections between the thriving city and the fortified military outpost, questioning the stability of both.

Thus, the fortified city—the city as an outpost of trade that is also a military outpost—can be a particularly disorienting symbol in the period. It is a locus of contradictory emotions, the port-of-entry to promises of vast wealth and ascendancy in international trade, and to invasion, strategic vulnerability, and loss. The city is also spatially disorienting; it can stand in for London as "New Troy"[47] as well as coveted outposts and acquisitions across the globe, especially Tangier but also including the ports of Surinam, Bombay, and others.[48] In Dryden's *Troilus and*

Cressida, the fortified city instead stands as a symbol of loss, a space of meetings and partings, of grief and trauma, with the threat of violence always around the corner.

Dryden's anxious, melancholic focus on the fortified city also reflects the nature of colonial acquisition and conflict in this period—the gain of trading ports and centers that were also strategic military posts, as well as the essential insecurity of these fortifications. The engineering of defense and siege that became the focus of late seventeenth century warfare was a high-stakes game of navigating chance for both sides of a conflict. In the period, "The admirers of military engineers liked to think that they could build impregnable fortresses, but there really was no such thing. . . . [Furthermore,] No modern professional commander would undertake a siege of a fortified place unless there was an excellent chance of carrying it through in one campaign season" (Manning 413). In light of this emphasis on building, maintaining, and taking fortifications, colonialism would be, at the time, highly associated with the martial context of engineering (such as with the mole constructed in Tangier), the establishment of trading posts and ports, and the stationing of soldiers. The construction of the mole, or extensive "breakwater" designed by the English to protect ships at port, was expensive and ambitious, never completed, and ultimately a failure, as it was blown up by English forces when they abandoned Tangier (Lincoln 418).[49] With Tangier, Linda Colley suggests, there was a strong connection between the ambitious erection of defensive architecture and the outsized imperial prospects the colony seemed to promise: the mole "was by far the most ambitious engineering work ever carried out up to this point by Englishmen working outside Europe: and in this, as in other respects, Tangier's significance in imperial terms was much greater than itself" (Colley 32). The hopes transplanted in Tangier, through the erection of outsized stone works of defense and trade, of forming a Mediterranean inroad to empire was early on made accessible through analogies with

the ancient world: "In one draft of his memoirs, [Hugh] Cholmley[,]" the first architect of the mole, "even compared himself to Nebuchadnessar, the Babylonian ruler of the Old Testament, who built a mole to subdue the inhabitants of Tyre" (Colley 32).

Dryden's *Troilus and Cressida* has rarely registered as a comment on colonial affairs because the play is rarely connected to the contemporary events at Tangier and the context of Tangier seems to not be a part of the later, now more familiar narratives of English imperial ambitions.[50] Dryden's play has primarily interested critics (when it has at all) for the changes made to Shakespeare's plot and language, as they present a reading of Shakespeare through the lens of Dryden's artistic interests, neoclassical tastes, and contemporary Stuart politics.[51] The major "problem" of this Restoration adaptation lies in the central change Dryden makes to Cressida's character, breaking from chivalric tradition and reinventing her as a faithful and clearly tragic character.[52] Combined with Shakespeare's refocusing of the narrative more centrally on the war itself and its effect on the interaction of the characters (rather than the established use of the war as a backdrop to the lovers' tribulations), Dryden's increased sympathetic portrayal of some characters, like Cressida, sets the play up further as an examination of vulnerability in wartime.[53] Furthermore, the revision of the play provides a unique look into a late seventeenth-century interpretation of Shakespeare by a poet and playwright who had wide-ranging effects on the English stage in other plays—especially his heroic drama—and translations into English of the classics (his translation of the *Aeneid* was highly respected by Alexander Pope, and set the stage for the latter poet's famous *Iliad*). Dryden's choice of this Shakespeare play for revival in the late 1670's brings up questions of why Shakespeare's cynical version of this tale of chivalric romance set in the great war of the

mythical classical world, which was seldom, perhaps never performed in Shakespeare's time, would have seemed so fitting in the climate of 1679.

Dryden essentially shifts the emphasis of the play to the tribulations and dangers of sacrifice in wartime—the costs of war, especially as they fall on those not directly responsible for fighting and political decision-making. The loss or danger to life of these non-combatants comes to exemplify the loss of the city of Troy. Dryden, in the preface to his amended version of the play, sums up the original play thus, emphasizing not only the lack of narrative order, but also the seeming lack of purpose in Shakespeare's satiric portrayal of the Trojan War:

> For the Play it self, the Author seems to have begun it with some fire; the Characters of *Pandarus* and *Thersites,* are promising enough; but as if he grew weary of his task, after an Entrance or two, he lets 'em fall: and the latter part of the Tragedy is nothing but a confusion of Drums and Trumpets, Excursions and Alarms. The chief persons, who give name to the Tragedy, are left alive: *Cressida* is false, and is not punish'd. Yet after all, because the Play was *Shakespear's* and that there appear'd in some places of it, the admirable Genius of the Author; I undertook to remove that heap of Rubbish, under which many excellent thoughts lay wholly bury'd. (Dryden 226)

To be expected in a Restoration amendment of Shakespeare, Dryden sets out to correct the course language and open-ended, choppy plot; for instance, by limiting too-frequent changes in scene from Troy to the Greek encampment, which would be a hindrance to staging. Beyond amending the language and plot, Dryden also makes Cressida a more clearly sympathetic heroine, making clearer the unfairness of her fate as a victim to a heroic martial system she has little ability to navigate. She is no longer faithless but is rather tragically mistaken to be so, and

resolution-of-sorts is attained through her suicide as she tries to prove to Troilus, after he spies her and Diomedes exchange tokens, that she has been true to him. As one critic recently suggests, this major, even disorienting revision of Cressida's character contributes to the antimilitarist streak that underlies the play's action by laying bare the abuses of a violent heroic culture through its impact on women.[54] It can be argued that Dryden draws out the incipient sense in Shakespeare's play that Cressida's fate is overdetermined by the textual history that unfairly defines her. While Shakespeare's Cressida is also complicated, with unclear motives and retaining a sense of "mystery at the heart of her character, difficult if not impossible to pluck out," this inscrutability is meant to create unease.[55] Her "adaptability to her new circumstances in the Greek camp," perceived as betrayal, is part of what undercuts romance in Shakespeare's play (Alker and Nelson 72). In Shakespeare's version she is, essentially, assumed to be able to navigate the chances of war, and this is perceived through the lens of her opportunism and apparent faithlessness. In his preface to the revised play, Dryden expresses disdain for her portrayal as faithless, which he suggests illegitimately comes down from the legacy of chivalric romance rather than the classics: "The Original story [of Troilus and Cressida] was Written by one *Lollius* a *Lombard,* in *Latin* verse, and Translated by *Chaucer* into *English*: intended I suppose a Satyr on the Inconstancy of Women: I find nothing of it among the Ancients; not so much as the name once *Cressida* mention'd" (Dryden 225-6).[56] In this vein, a scene that would compromise the nobility of Cressida's character—her being greeted, in succession, with a kiss by several Greek warriors—is excised from the action and is instead only referred to by word-of-mouth in the play. Dryden divides his version of the play into five acts, and adds many entirely new parts, including a fraternal reconciliation between Hector and Troilus (after the two argue about the Trojan decision to trade Cressida for Antenor), added parts with Andromache, and the

confrontation of the two lovers, Troilus and Cressida, along with Diomedes, towards the end, which culminates in Cressida's suicide. In Dryden's version, the mystery of Cressida's underlying motives for exchanging tokens with Diomedes is resolved: she is instructed in Dryden's version by her father, Calchas the traitor, to pretend an affection for Diomedes so that Calchas and Cressida may eventually be able to get back to Troy (Calchas now longs to see his city again, though he previously defected to the Greek camps).

While Dryden does make the Trojan characters more heroic, satire of heroism is retained. Through this, it is suggested that non-combatants, the characters with the least ability to control or navigate their fate within the war, are at danger not just from the enemy but from the motives and behavior of the larger order of martial heroics generally. Satire of heroism is retained most overtly in the portrayal of the Greeks; Achilles is still comically vain and he and Patroclus still stand aloof of the war and enjoy mocking and parodying it, and the misanthropic Thersites—Shakespeare's salty, satiric, and anti-heroic Greek character—is retained and even expanded, as Dryden suggests Shakespeare should have done.[57] To create unity and avoid the chaotic descent into "Alarums, etc." in the latter part of Shakespeare's play, Dryden streamlines the final battle scenes. And instead of Pandarus's curse against the audience, Dryden's play ends with a warning against letting unchecked "faction" ruin a nation, voiced by Ulysses:

> Hayl *Agamemnon!* truly Victor now!
>
> While secret envy, and while open pride,
>
> Among thy factious Nobles discord threw;
>
> While publique good was urg'd for private ends,
>
> And those thought Patriots, who disturb'd it most;
>
> Then like the headstrong horses of the Sun,

That light which shou'd have cheer'd the World, consum'd it:

Now peacefull order has resum'd the reynes,

Old time looks young, and Nature seems renew'd:

Then, since from homebred Factions ruine springs,

Let Subjects learn obedience to their Kings. (Dryden, 5.2.317-26)

In the epilogue following this, the serious tone of warning is undermined as Thersites "rail[s]" at the audience, "You *British* fools, of the Old *Trojan* stock," especially the "judging Fops" and "Dull Poets" and others who "Write on, and nere are satisfy'd with damming":

But I want curses for those mighty shoales,

Of scribling *Chlorisses,* and *Phillis* fools,

Those Ophs shou'd be restraind, during their lives,

From Pen and Ink, as Madmen are from knives:

I cou'd rayl on, but 'twere a task as vain

As preaching truth at *Rome,* or wit in *Spain,*

Yet to huff out our Play was worth my trying,

John Lilburn scap'd his Judges by defying:

If guilty, yet I'm sure o'th' Churches blessing,

By suffering for the Plot, without confessing. (Dryden, Epilogue)

Dryden's play ends with a sly, humorous reference to contemporary political strife, the Popish Plot trials in which seven priests "were found guilty and executed as traitors, though they, like almost all victims of the plot, protested their innocence" (Novak, 565 n.28).

The dynamic, in Dryden's revision, of increased sympathy for some characters and retention of much of the satire, has the effect of drawing attention to the vulnerable characters

that have the least ability to navigate the war and the contentious political situations between and within Troy and the enemy encampment. These characters become the focal points that culminate in Cressida's death and the destruction that awaits the great city and hangs over the play's action. The cynical portrayal of war that is retained from Shakespeare's play also suggests, as mentioned earlier, that *Troilus and Cressida* must have seemed particularly relevant to the period of the late 1670's, when the play was amended by Dryden and brought back to the stage. The revival of the play at this particular juncture registers an important shift in views of warfare, for "by the end of the seventeenth century war had come to be viewed as a kind of game, and the outcome was determined by accident or chance" rather than "Divine Providence" (Manning 413). What might have seemed too cynical a century or two before acquired more legitimacy in this period, reflecting the increasingly "rational analysis of war" that emphasized manipulating the exigencies of siege, terrain, supplies, artillery, and manpower, and minimizing the risks of chance.[58] Wars came to be seen, even popularly, as primarily won or lost by (mis)management and chance rather than heroism or moral rightness, to the extent that "wagering on the outcome of sieges" became enough of a problem by the end of the seventeenth century that "[i]n December 1692 the lord mayor of London forbade" it (Manning 414).

The siege in general, as Sharon Alker and Holly Faith Nelson suggest, is a prime place "to show the unsettling horrors and trauma of war . . . in a city where civilians, unacquainted with and unprepared for war, must face its horrors" (66). As they suggest, Dryden, in an earlier play, *The Conquest of Granada*, uses the trope of the siege to "[trace] what happens when individuals reside in a city that cannot hold together, when mutable, conflicting private desires and rigid group identities rooted in past disruptive memories atomize urban space" (113). The ancient siege in Dryden's *Troilus and Cressida*, similarly, takes on a peculiarly "modern

relevance" in the way it captures the emotions of anxious waiting in a siege as the central experience of warfare; in "fortress warfare" of the early modern period, "combatants stood in peril for weeks on end, and the normal conditions compounded the horrors of the execution cell and the charnel house in a way that was otherwise unknown until World War I" (Duffy 250; 249). Modernization of warfare did not only come from the widespread adoption of firepower and improvements in artillery; it also entailed shifts in warfare that may seem less obvious today, such as the logistics of engaging and maintaining larger armies and the effect this had on how battles and other military maneuvers were conducted to manage risk (Black 94). New strides in fortification technology in the early modern period revolved around adapting to gunpowder artillery: "walls as a whole [had to be] thickened up" and their surfaces made curved or "cylindrical . . . offer[ing] a glancing surface to cannon shot" (Duffy 2). While the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries had registered the terrifying combination of gunpowder artillery with increased technology of defense and siege—referred frequently, for instance, in Shakespeare's plays—by the late seventeenth century, the prolonged siege had become both more normalized and more devastating. Changes in warfare were especially seen in the "increasing number of fortresses and a major stress on sieges in the second half of the [seventeenth] century, although sieges had, of course, been very important earlier" (Black 94).[59] J.M. Cardwell similarly suggests, "During the seventeenth century, the most significant scientific advances, particularly in geometry and engineering, were applied by a brilliant group of military professionals to the design and construction of fortifications" (Cardwell 159). Rather than the much later image of highly mechanized warfare (as with First World War, in which new technologies of war, such as heavy artillery and chemical agents, transformed the battlefield into an unearthly, unrecognizable environment), in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, military conflict was defined by the

local terrain and the geometries of fortification and siege shaped by these exigencies and which organized the way territories could be maintained and claimed. As the seventeenth-century military professional and engineer Vauban emphasizes of the primacy of "siegecraft" in the period: "one can say that in it alone today is the means of conquest and defence, because the gain of a battle only brings temporary acquisitions unless the fortresses are seized. . . a war waged by sieges exposes the state least and gives the most chance of conquests, and today it is most practiced in warfare in the Low Countries, Spain and Italy . . ." (qtd. by Black 99). The importance of acquiring strategic posts of course extended to naval contexts, where war, trade, and military supervision were inseparable. For instance, in the period of the play's composition by Dryden and performance in the late seventeenth century, "England did not [yet] own Gibraltar . . . and Tangier was in a strategic location, overlooking the entrance to the Mediterranean, the world's greatest center for commerce. Tangier provided a base from which England could monitor the rival fleets of Spain and France, and even advance into Africa. It offered a stopover for merchant ships trading to the East Indies and the Levant" (Lincoln 418).

Moreover, the obsession with siegecraft reflects another aspect of seventeenth-and eighteenth- century warfare: innovation was often understood as "a return to the old" especially through the frame of working with the seemingly tried-and-true methods of the classical past (Black 49). For instance, while "the Greeks, Macedonians, and Romans had not had gunpowder weapons . . . their forces, with a mixture of infantry and cavalry, cold steel and projectiles, were not as far removed from eighteenth-century parallels as is the modern world" in the twentieth century and beyond (Black 49). Beyond providing a framework for innovation that carried the stamp of classical authority, this virtual referencing of the past served as an attempt to ground the disorienting present and had a resurgence in the period. As Jeremy Black suggests, "Interest in

the classical world was, in fact, stronger in the age of gunpowder than in the Middle Ages, because the printing revolution had been followed by the widespread 're-discovery' and availability of classical texts, while elite literacy had risen" (Black 49). While considering accounts of warfare in the Restoration and eighteenth century, it is important to understand that analogies made to the classical past are not just fanciful; they also served as blueprints for engaging in (and understanding) war in the present.

Thus, the image of the siege represents the most modern and disorienting instantiation of the horrors of war of the period—where technological marvel intersects with increased devastation—while it also harkens back to the warfare waged by empires of the past (especially ancient Rome and the Mediterranean world).[60] As Christopher Duffy suggests of early modern warfare, "nearly all field battles were done with in a single day, and the survivors did not have to fight again for weeks or months to come" opposed to the extended wartime conditions of the siege (Duffy 249). Furthermore, "sieges . . . plunged settled populations into more immediate danger than did any other kind of warfare until the advent of aerial bombing. There grew up whole generations of town-dwellers who . . . had witnessed several sieges in their childhood" (Duffy 250). The horrors of the siege involved the intersection of prolonged engagement that blurred the line between townspeople and combatant and the seemingly random and uncontrollable damage that this situation could unleash, such as plague outbreaks, the "frightful damage" inflicted by "bombardment," the depredations of pillaging that loomed over the outcome of the event, and nightmarish scenes of the casting out of town displaced persons perceived to be a drain on provisions (Duffy 251). So much so that by the Seven Years War period, "the mortar bomb" appears in poetry "as a symbol of destruction" (Duffy 252). Visually, fortification rendered the "fortress-town" an imposing sight; layers of outer fortifications gave

way, in the center of such urban areas, to "massive enceintes which protected the hearts of cities and towns against formal siege by heavy artillery" (Duffy 258-9). Imposing, protective, yet also restrictive and potentially deadly, the architecture of the fortified city could seem to take on a life of its own—unleashing a hidden destructiveness, as if expressing emotion—suggesting the way fortification took on an intensely affective significance in the early modern period. This is seen, for instance, in a description of the siege of Rowton Heath (1645) in the English Civil War: "Our houses like so many splitting vessels crush their supporters and burst themselves in sunder through the very violence of these descending firebrands [mortars] . . . two houses in the Watergate skip joint from joint and create an earthquake, the main posts jostle each other, while the frighted casemates fly for fear" (qtd.by Lamb 7). And as Jonathan Lamb suggests of the irony of fortification in the age of "Vauban and Coehoorn" a little later in the seventeenth century, "Each ravelin or half-moon repairs and reinforces an imagined breach in the walls made by artillery fire or infantry attack. Each plan is a starburst of damaging possibilities congealed at the limit of practicable material redress. The whole structure expands as a scene of anticipated ruin rebuilt" (Lamb 12). Siege architecture increasingly defined the image of the great city, but its presence constantly evoked the worst of possible scenarios—its grim destruction after successful besiegement.

English Tangier has this quality of the modern fortified town; visually impressive, with layers of massive fortification extending outwards that can be seen in images of the port. Moreover, as I shall discuss later, the experience of Tangier was especially claustrophobic due to the persistent sense of danger outside the city walls—the sense of inevitable, impending siege that hung over the colony—and internal problems that plagued the military holding, such as shortages of supplies and desertion.[61] The fall of Troy is peculiarly suited to express the

combination of dread, paranoia, expense, and risk that suffused the colonial venture of English Tangier—and moreover, how this affected, in varied and different ways, combatants and non-combatants. In terms of literature of warfare, the sense of prolonged dread that typifies siege generally has, as Duffy suggests, "Ever since the days of Homer" presented "the opportunity to explore the motives and characters of the combatants at greater length than is possible when the subject is a brisk affair like a battle in the open field" (Duffy 255).[62] These extended and claustrophobic affordances of plot and context are intensified by the contradictory emotions that cluster around the fall of the city's walls in Dryden's *Troilus and Cressida*—fortification in the play serves as a necessary protection haunted by its cruel effects as it physically separates the two lovers and picks up subtle associations of horror, such as through hints of the destruction that awaits innocent victims like the children of Troy who will be tossed from the city walls after the siege.

Tangier was strongly associated with the erection and maintenance of further fortification and the mole; these were constructions that were innovative, costly, impressive, but ultimately useless. Contemporary images of the colony fixate on the lineaments of the defensive architecture that were necessary to maintain and expand against the encroachment of the superior Moroccan forces; as Linda Colley notes, Wencaslaus Hollar's impressive images of the colony's fortifications from 1669 "suggest something of the scale of the English investment in Tangier, and their confidence at this stage in its permanence" (Colley 27). Colley continues: "Hollar's panoramic views of the new fortifications" erected in the colony "are clearly designed to impress, yet at the same time he makes Tangier appear familiar and even domestic," complete with homely English civilian figures and "neatly tiled roofs of the houses inside the city's fortified walls [that] cluster together as reassuringly as if they were located in . . . London or

[Hollar's] native Prague" (Colley 28). Erased in this image is the persistent danger than hung over the fortified city of Tangier; these non-combatants seem secure, safe, and only concerned with the business of everyday life in peacetime, which is perhaps undermined inadvertently by the large presence of fortification that hangs over the port and human figures. Acquisition of the territory and desire to make it a major port and garrison necessitated expensive new construction: "The Portuguese had allowed the place to decay, and major rebuilding began almost as soon as the 4000-strong force arrived, many of the troops veterans of Oliver Cromwell's New Model Army. Long, fortified walls began to coil around the settlement 'one without another; as there are [skins] to an onion'" (Colley 26).[63] And the occupation of the city was essentially, from the start, under the threat of siege and encroachment by various local forces, beginning early on with tension and costly skirmishes with the local military figure, Elkhadir Ghailan. As early as 1662, "it did not take [the] soldiers" stationed in Tangier under Lord Peterborough "long to discover the hardships they had to endure at the hands of their enemies. Skirmishes occurred frequently with Ghailan's men who continued, in a gesture of bold defiance, to show up in the vicinity of Tangier" (Bejjit 14). Truces were frequent but short-lived, and engagement with well-trained enemy forces contributed to the costly loss of life of soldiers stationed in the colony by England. For Hugh Cholmley, the first engineer tasked with designing the mole, the construction of this impressive work became a synecdoche of the success of the colony itself. Karim Bejjit suggests that Cholmley "believed that in Tangier lay the halcyon future of England 'if the preparation be anything suited to the design, and the progress be chiefly made by the spade and by the shovel'. To this imperial project his contribution consisted in erecting the edifice" of the mole (Bejjit 27). While work on the mole saw some success under new direction by Henry Sheres (Cholmey's "former assistant"),

> Financial difficulties and the scarcity of work material made the progress of work too slow. The skirmishes which broke out in 1678 between Moroccan forces and the garrison shifted official attention to the fortification of walls and towers and to the supply of ammunition. By 1680, the whole colonial establishment was subjected to rigorous questioning at home. Nothing is more reflective of this dramatic change in the condition of the mole than the report drawn by a score of officials . . . in October 1683. The mole, they concluded, was 'altogether unuseful to his Majesty for receiving, careening or preserving his Majesty's ship.' (Bejjit 26-7)

Bejjit suggests, "Cholmey's criticism of the administration of Tangier and persistent defence of the mole communicate a strong undercurrent of conflict and tension among the colonial officials that needed but the flimsiest pretext to erupt" (Bejjit 24).

The intersection of the promises of empire—embodied in the acquisition of Tangier and the promise it held for English control of the Mediterranean—with attendant anxieties about the risks and cost of war emerged in plays and military manuals in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in an ambivalence towards ancient sieges like the mythical fall of Troy and historical Carthage. English ambitions in the Mediterranean continued most clearly the analogy of Roman imperial might in terms of manipulation or access to this major thoroughfare of trade routes and naval traffic: "Just how well Tangier functioned as a naval base . . . has been a matter of debate, but there can be no doubt that it was the prototype for a succession of similar and more enduring Mediterranean strongholds—Gibralter, Minorca, Malta, Cyprus, and the Ionian Islands" (Colley 35). Tangier served as an early (though failed) antecedent for these "territorially modest . . . but strategically indispensable" later acquisitions (Colley 35). As suggested earlier with the way

Tangier remained analogous with the idea of entrapment and prisons through the ensuing century, this colonial disaster has wide-ranging echoes, coloring perceptions of ancient warfare in the Mediterranean, such as the ambivalent view of Rome's historical destruction of Carthage and Aeneas's mythical abandonment of Dido, which is sounded in Dryden's portrayal of Cressida.

Dryden's *Troilus and Cressida* was not an especially popular play, though it did have a performance history that extended beyond its debut and made enough impact to retain a textual afterlife after it dropped off the stage. This textual presence is connected to the emphasis, in the play, on non-combatants, dislocation, and transplantation. This includes a visual print depiction of Shakespeare's Cressida as a tragic heroine (suggesting a conflation of the two depictions, Shakespeare's and Dryden's) and reprinted excerpts throughout the eighteenth century of a transplanting metaphor in Dryden's play—the transplanting of plants, of course, being especially connected to issues of colonial venture and literally "taking root" (or failing to do so, and failing to thrive). So, although Dryden's play was infrequently performed (with about a decade between performances),[64] it nonetheless remained on the stage, from its debut in 1679, for over five decades before it dropped off after 1734. And as mentioned above, the play retained a textual afterlife connected to the stage through the rest of the eighteenth century, influencing visual interpretations of Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* (which was not performed at all until the nineteenth century, but was printed in collections of Shakespeare's work).[65]

Although neither version of *Troilus and Cressida* were being performed for most of the eighteenth century after Dryden's version exited the stage after the 1730's, both plays are excerpted throughout *The Beauties of the English Stage*, a text that was published in 1737 and then reprinted, with many new/changed excerpts, in 1756. The two plays retained, in this way, a

virtual association with theatrical performance. *The Beauties of the English Stage*, organized as a sort of commonplace book, with headings like "Bad News" and "Dead," provides, from a multitude of plays from Shakespeare onward, "Passages, Soliloquies, Similies, Descriptions, &c." that promised to be "the most affecting and sentimental." Included under the heading of "Trees," one of the excerpts chosen from Dryden's play in the third reprinting of *Beauties of the English Stage* (1756) foregrounds the transplanting metaphor, an element of husbandry, as mentioned above, with strong associations with colonialism. In this excerpt from Dryden's play, Priam, attempting to convince his son Hector to forego one-to-one combat with a Greek warrior, asks Hector to think of his own son Astyanax, whose life will be cut short with Hector's downfall. Hector is compared, in the metaphor Priam employs, as the "Mother-Tree" and Astyanax the "young Sapling" who needs the mother tree's sustenance to thrive before setting forth on his own in new soil:

> The young Sapling
> Is shrouded long beneath the Mother-Tree,
> Before it be transplanted from its Earth,
> And trust itself for Growth. (3:203)[66]

With Hector's death, as the metaphor suggests, Astyanax would be placed into the world too soon (removed from familiar, nourishing soil to unfamiliar earth), with fatal effects.[67] This transplanting metaphor—with its warning against cutting a family line short that the audience already knows is inevitable in the story of Troy—evokes two potentials at once, the flourishing of a family line or nation brought on by movement across the globe and the likelihood of danger and failure to take root/thrive this movement might entail. In the full passage spoken by Priam to Hector (not included in *The Beauties of the English Stage*), the nourishing atmosphere that Priam

speaks of has a particular wartime context—the instruction of Astyanax in arms so he can fulfill his role in the warrior culture to become

> Priam: An *Hector* one day.
>
> But you must let him live to be a *Hector*.
>
> And who shall make him such when you are gone?
>
> Who shall instruct his tenderness in arms,
>
> Or give his childhood lessons of the war?
>
> Who shall defend the promise of his youth
>
> And make it bear in Manhood? the young Sappling [sic]. . . (Dryden 2.1.121-27; italics in text)

In the play, this is ironically the ethos that both nourishes and destroys Astyanax (and Hector), and makes Hector refuse to avoid risky one-to-one combat.[68] This is a pattern that will occur again and again in the play—a hero we have sympathy for, like Hector or Troilus, is ironically also an inadvertent abuser of a victim of war—a non-combatant, even one on their own side—such as Astyanax in this transplanting metaphor, Thersites, and of course Cressida.

The combination of the promise and destruction entailed in heroic venture, summed-up in the vulnerable position of children in wartime like Astyanax, is repeated later in the play, with the chilling, ironic foreshadowing of the slaughter of the children of Troy after the city falls. This makes much clearer the association of heroic venture with the sacrifice and destruction of non-combatants, whether inadvertent or intentional. Jennifer Brady describes the passage thus: “As Hector wavers about going to the battle in which he will die, Troilus presents him with this stirring, poignant sight[,]” intended to convince Hector he must fight because he so completely

stands in for the honor of Troy that Trojan infants are instructed to idolize him. Troilus tells his heroic brother that

> The Matrons to the turrets tops ascend
>
> Holding their helplesse children in their arms,
>
> To make you early known to their young eyes;
>
> And Hector is the universal shout. (5.1.105-8)[69]

The image prefigures, inadvertently by Troilus, that these same children will be tossed from the city walls by Greek soldiers after the siege. Brady reads Dryden's ironic construction in this passage as "a prevision of Astyanax's fate disguised as the irrefutable proof of Hector's celebrification. It is the final image of Troy's children before the holocaust" (Brady 198-9). Intended by Troilus to be an argument for securing future glory, the terms of that glory, the admiration of future generations, ironically folds into its costly failure. These two metaphors associated with children—one entwining transplanting with the prospects of continued lineage and "bear[ing fruit] in Manhood" (and the ironic failure of both), the other repeating the reference to Troy's vulnerable children as the inadvertent sacrifices of war—also more prosaically draws attention to warfare in the late seventeenth century as a potentially dislocating and spatially disorienting experience, in which the entry-points to national and military vulnerability occur across the globe. This is drawn attention to through the affective complexity of the transplanting metaphor.

While Dryden's revision is (rightly) considered in recent scholarship in the context of military and political conflict on English soil—such as through the gulf of the Civil War that separates Dryden the author from his Jacobean predecessors, and the Exclusion Crisis contemporary with the play that threatened a return to conflict at home—this has for the most

part not been extended to the military ventures abroad with which the Trojan War context resonates.[70] It is important to note, though, how closely entwined events at home were with military conflict abroad; for instance, controversies surrounding the maintenance and governing of Tangier, especially the large Catholic presence in the colony, shared in the same anxieties undergirding the Popish Plot and the Exclusion Crisis. This includes the danger Tangier came to stand for as a potentially "Catholic [military] stronghold" that might in turn threaten the English mainland (Lincoln 424).[71] The entwinement of dangers at home and abroad, and how they came together in Tangier in public consciousness, is encapsulated by Margarette Lincoln thus:

> The colony had always had its critics. On June 14,1667, [Samuel] Pepys had recorded in his diary that a mob had damaged the house of the Lord Chancellor, Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, who was blamed for the Second Dutch War. Rioters had painted a gibbet on Hyde's gate and daubed, "Three sights to be seen; Dunkirke, Tangier and a barren Queene." Charles II's unpopular sale of Dunkirk to France in 1662, the dowry of Tangier, and the childless Catherine of Braganza all seemed to be bad bargains. (Lincoln 430)

It is interesting to note that the message written by rioters—as if continuing the metaphors discussed above about children, broken lines, and failure to take root—likens the failing Tangier (a failure of colonial transplantation) to Catherine of Braganza's inability to produce an heir (of course, Catherine would also be closely associated with Tangier as it was part of her dowry). It is not a stretch to see Tangier, the first large-scale colonial venture of England involving vast public expense and military presence, serve as a symbol of broken promises and martial mismanagement, as well as the too-costly risks of the chance of war.

Tangier, like London the 'New Troy', also had contemporary associations with Troy. An epitaph that Dryden composed for Sir Palmes Fairborne, an English military commander who lost his life in Tangier, contains an ironic reference to the mythic fortifications of Troy that continues the elegiac but also ironic depiction of fortification seen earlier in his version of *Troilus and Cressida*. Dryden's poem begins:

> Yee sacred reliques which your marble keepe,
>
> Heere undisturb'd by warrs, in quiet sleepe:
>
> Discharge the trust which when it was below
>
> Fairborne's undaunted soul did undergoe:
>
> And be the towns Palladium from the foe.
>
> Alive and dead these walls he will defend:
>
> Great actions great examples must attend. (qtd. in Beach 563-4)

As Adam R. Beach suggests, this epitaph, composed after the colony of Tangier was successfully besieged by Moorish forces, possesses a subtle but "debilitating irony" that is odd for a tomb but perhaps not odd for Dryden (Beach 564). The reference to Fairborne as the Palladium, the "statue of Athena that was said to render Troy invulnerable while it remained inside the city's walls[,]" connects the English colony and the costly military presence it required to Troy's failure of security against invading forces (Beach 564). It is as if the tomb of Fairborne with its epitaph by Dryden functions as a monument to ruin (through the application of the language of triumph to obviously failed projects); it "stands as a satiric memorial to vain imperial dreams and fallacious visions of human grandeur" (Beach 565). An earlier version of these anxious associations of doom are present in Dryden's revision of *Troilus and Cressida*, just a few years earlier but at a point when the trajectory of Tangier was widely seen to be turning south.

Echoes of the loss of Tangier and its abandonment (which was somewhat shocking, including the blowing-up of the mole constructed by the English) can be found, as Deborah Payne Fisk and Jessica Munns argue, in another stage tragedy set in the ancient Mediterranean, Purcell and Tate's opera *Dido and Aeneas* (1688). In *Dido and Aeneas*, the north African queen betrayed by the Trojan prince ascends as the emotional center of the work, subtly reworking a familiar "equat[ion] of women with conquered lands" (Fisk and Munns 31). In the opera (as often with this trope), "The foreign woman's love, sometimes fatal to the hero, always destroys the woman in complex movements of mutual betrayal and contamination" (Fisk and Munns 30). Yet "*Dido and Aeneas*, although following that basic trajectory, offers a variant on it. . . .Whereas both Tate's *Brutus of Alba* and Dryden's *Albion and Albanius* treat the legendary hero's departure for his ordained land or his celestially heralded arrival as triumphant, in this work the departure of their analogue Aeneas is shabby" (Fisk and Munns 30). Aeneas's "abandonment of Dido[,]" like England's "recent loss of Tangiers and other colonies[,]" takes on an unflattering cast (31) as Aeneas "skulks, rather than strides, to his imperial destiny" (25). Again, triumph is used ironically, for obviously failed or flagging projects.

Troilus and Cressida, composed before the loss of Tangier but during its complicated decline, does not present a simple equation of the tragic heroine with the conquered land itself. Instead, national allegiance is unclear and mired with confusion in the play, from Cressida's in-between status in Troy as the daughter of a Trojan priest who betrayed his land to defect to the Greek side (and has left her behind), to the intermingling of Greek and Trojan lines, especially seen in the result of Ajax and Hector's one-to-one combat (the two are related, and Hector refuses to slay his own blood). Similarly, the situation in Tangier did not present as clearly English or foreign (indeed, English servicemen who served in the colony were known as

"Tangerines"); instead, it was rife with the fear that other colonial subjects (especially Irish soldiers) overextended influence in the colony. Furthermore, "the Tangier garrison was continually plagued with desertions to the Moors" (Beach 558). More akin to the petty (but costly and brutal) in-fighting in *Troilus and Cressida* than the now-familiar formula of imperial conquest outlined by Fisk and Munns, the colony of Tangier can be summed up thus:

> There was actually a shortage of water in the town. Whenever there were hostilities with the Moors, all food had to be sent from England or bought at some expense from Spain. The cost of the Fire of London, the impact of the plague, and the expense of the Dutch War meant that there was little public money for Tangier. The garrison never had enough troops to hold the place against attack, let alone take the surrounding hills: the soldiers' pay was generally in arrears, their rations short. The Moors tempted citizens beyond the walls with loose cattle and ambushed them when they exposed themselves to danger. Morale worsened as it became dangerous to walk beyond the walls, which soon imprisoned as much as protected the townspeople. The inhabitants of an increasingly claustrophobic town were much given to quarrels, gossip, and scandal. Some commentators were astute enough to lament the missed opportunities for cultural exchange and understanding with the Moors. This was no colony in which people put down new roots and worked to prosper; the garrison and largely isolated townspeople there could only hold on grimly to the limited territory in English possession. (Lincoln 420-21)

This "claustrophobic" scenario of constant danger, frequent skirmishes, and impending siege fits well with the play's descriptions of entrapment and "duress" (Colley 40). Linda Colley notes that

“Tangier was a ‘perfect prison’ [as] declared [by] some of its early occupiers”; and elsewhere, “a one-time settler in the colony claimed that the garrison troops viewed it as ‘an ill prison, from which they could only hope to be freed by a grave’” (Colley 40). This analogy of Tangier with “confinement” was so pervasive that even “Until the end of the eighteenth century, one of the worst sections of Newgate prison in London was colloquially referred to as Tangier” (Colley 40). No wonder that the confinement of Troy’s walls, as expressed in Shakespeare’s play, would seem so evocative of the present flagging colony. In a passage of Shakespeare retained by Dryden in his revision, Hector’s rationale to risk one-to-one combat to shorten the war (though it may cost his life and leave Troy fatally vulnerable) expresses this chafing at claustrophobic confinement within the city walls:

> Is not that Country ours? those fruitfull Fields
> Wash'd by yon Silver flood, are they not ours?
> Those teeming Vines that tempt our longing eyes,
> Shall we behold e'm? shall we call e'm ours
> And dare not make e'm so? by Heavens I'le know
> Which of these haughty *Grecians,* dares to think
> He can keep *Hector* prisner here in *Troy.* (2.1.95-101)

It is this element of entrapment and claustrophobic confinement, so definitive of siege warfare, that makes Shakespeare’s play especially applicable to the situation of 1679. Added to this is the play’s depiction of colonial exploit from the perspective of besiegement—here of the Mediterranean city under duress of martially savvy and superior foes. Tangier is uneasily categorized within the framework of wholly foreign stronghold captured by a European power. From this perspective, it makes more sense that the affective center of Dryden’s tragedy is a

woman who cannot clearly be considered foreign or familiar; instead, she could more accurately be defined as uprooted or rootless, like the characters in the play that come to be associated with her, Astyanax and Thersites.

In making Cressida a tragic heroine, Dryden expands the range of her literary and dramatic associations; as a forsaken woman who slays herself out of grief, she takes on shades of Dido, queen of Carthage, and the means of her suicide, stabbing, associates her with Lucretia, whose death, like Cressida's, is also connected to her purity. This renders her downfall and suicide political, as these two associations bring Cressida's tragedy more clearly within the purview of national founding narratives.[72] Aeneas (also a character in *Troilus and Cressida*, so it is not far-fetched, in the play, to envision his future adventures) must leave Dido, the North African queen, in order to found Rome, and Lucretia's death is used as a justification for the expulsion of the house of Tarquin from Rome and the founding of the republic. Cressida, though, through this association with founding narratives of nationhood that hold the female body to be a proxy for the conquered land itself, exposes the way this narrative does not quite fit in the tale of Troy's fall in the play. The play evokes mythical narratives of nation-building but focuses on the opposite—the failure to take root. Dryden's revision of Cressida as a tragic suicide like Dido and others (including the historical figure of Cato, and Priam's death by suicide in the *Aeneid*) brings Cressida's tragedy to the realm of the political. She is unrooted, like Dido, Aeneas, and Cato, and her tragedy stems from the poignant intersection of political exigencies with personal trauma and inner conflict.

This rootlessness is embedded in the implicit reference in Dryden's play to Aeneas's encounter with Dido and with Lucretia's suicide, especially as they occur in Virgil's *Aeneid* and Shakespeare's *Rape of Lucrece*. In both narrative poems, the respective heroes, Aeneas and

Lucretia, have surprising encounters with artworks depicting the fall of Troy. Troy provides a narrative framework for the trauma of war or sexual violence they have experienced and their encounters with Troy (or, reminders of Troy) are also extremely disorienting, halting narrative progression. The association does not bring closure, or even comfort, exactly. The fall of Troy uproots all the surviving characters in the Trojan war (even, oddly, many of the Greek ones, famously Odysseus). The fall of Troy depicted in artworks in *The Aeneid* and *The Rape of Lucrece*, described in vivid ekphrasis that momentarily arrests the action of the plot, narratively functions like trauma itself, "disrupt[ing] the previous framework of reality" after which "the protagonist must reorganize the self in relation to this new view of reality" (Balaev 40). In Virgil's epic, Aeneas's encounter with murals in Carthage depicting Troy is spatially disorienting—the memory of Troy's fall that Aeneas carries with him has a global scope, with its markers and monuments appearing in surprising places. The wonder and affective power of the murals, though, painfully and ironically demonstrate the limit of their power to effect change in the future:

> Detailing six different scenes from the Trojan War, the subsequent verses show indeed that these 'miranda' or wonders, for all their heuristic and emotional force, are not able to redeem Priam's grief, nor curb Achilles' savagery, nor, most importantly, prevent Aeneas himself from becoming another city's doom. For as soon as Aeneas turns his attention from the murals where, among other figures, the doomed Amazon warrior Penthesilea rages, Virgil resumes the main narrative by having Dido naively welcome the Trojans whose divinely ordained fate will be her downfall. (Johnson 198)

This underlying sense in the *Aeneid* that martial characters leave a wake of destruction in their path, even inadvertently to non-combatants, seeming allies, and even doubles, like Dido, another refugee-ruler, is echoed in Dryden's play, where the heroic project itself shows destruction outweighing creation (here, of colonialism and nation-building). Dido is destroyed by Aeneas, who betrays her which leads to outsized results (her suicide), and Rome, which Aeneas will found, will at some later date destroy Carthage.

Aeneas chancing upon the depiction of the fall of Troy in the Carthaginian temple, moreover, strengthens the sense of similarity between Dido and Aeneas in the epic; they are both refugees, displaced rulers attempting to found a new home for their people on foreign shores. Dido's trajectory is subtly suggested to be analogous to Troy and the Trojans when Aeneas, looking for the queen, chances upon these affecting images in the Tyrians' recently erected temple to Juno:

> What first Aeneas in this place beheld,
>
> Revived his courage and his fear expelled.
>
> For while expecting there the queen, he raised
>
> His wondering eyes and round the temple gazed,
>
> Admired the fortune and the rising town,
>
> The striving artists, and their arts' renown.
>
> He saw in order painted on the wall
>
> Whatever did unhappy Troy befall:
>
> The war that fame around the world had blown,
>
> All to the life, and every leader known . . . .
>
> He [Aeneas] stopped, and weeping said, "O friend, even here

> The monuments of Trojan woes appear.
>
> Our known disasters fill even foreign lands.
>
> See there, where old unhappy Priam stands.
>
> Even the mute walls relate the warrior's fame,
>
> And Trojan griefs the Tyrian's pity claim." (Virgil, trans. Dryden, 19)

As if recalling the characters of Dryden's play, though following a slightly different timeline, in Dryden's translation of the *Aeneid* "wakeful Diomede" with "cruel sword" appears, and prefiguring Hector's catastrophic death and defilement, "Elsewhere [Aeneas] saw where Troilus defied / Achilles, and unequal combat tried. / Then where the boy, disarmed, with loosened reins / Was by his horses hurried o'er the plains; / Hung by the neck and hair, and dragged around, / The hostile spear yet sticking in his wound, / With tracks of blood inscribed the dusty ground." (19-20). And more disorienting, Aeneas even "Himself he saw amidst the Grecian train, / Mixed with the bloody battle on the plain" (20). Dido, when she makes her appearance while Aeneas scans the images of Troy, is depicted as a stately ruler who "takes petitions and dispenses laws, / Hears and determines every private cause" (Virgil 21); in this way, she is presented, initially, in a political context analogous to Aeneas's own—as a refugee and ruler founding a new nation, though at that moment more powerful than the tempest-tossed Trojan. Along these lines, the Trojans implore Dido for aid by showing their causes to be essentially similar: "O Queen, indulged by favor of the gods / To found an empire in these new abodes, / To build a town, with statutes to restrain / The wild inhabitants beneath thy reign, / We wretched Trojans tossed on every shore, / From sea to sea, thy clemency implore" (Virgil 21-2).

Dryden's rewriting of Cressida, in the play, as a political suicide like Dido thus elevates the tragedy of Cressida's rootlessness and situates it more firmly in a critique of war waged in

the name of empire. It is a play that is especially uneasy about the costs of conquest. On this similar ideological ambiguity in Virgil's *Aeneid*, in which the founding of a new empire is supported by the teleology of the nation-building narrative but the affective focus is on the haunting and disturbing nature of the violent events, David Loewenstein suggests:

> Augustus's empire [which the *Aeneid* implicitly celebrates] was built upon the triumphs of warfare, yet much of the warfare in the *Aeneid* is presented negatively: from the treacherous, savage destruction of Troy and the shocking dismemberment of its king Priam, a headless trunk and a corpse without a name (related in book 2), to the madness of "grim wars" (*horrida bella*, 7.41) and the frenzy of uncontrolled violence and civil discord unleashed in Latium in the second half of the epic, which engulfs Italy and culminates in Aeneas's vengeful, furious killing of the supplicating, wounded Turnus at the end. (Loewenstein 178-9).

Similarly, Cressida's rootlessness in Dryden's play serves as a critique of the paternal, war-making society in which she lives, and the excision of her faithlessness shifts the emphasis, in this tragedy, to the vulnerable victims of warfare rather than, primarily, the heroes who wage it. She does not betray the heroes, they betray her. In essence, the play becomes more overtly about the losses experienced in wartime rather than the trials and tribulations of heroism. In terms of rootlessness, the stability that should be conferred by Cressida's father is rendered null since Calchas, her father, is a traitor to Troy, has abandoned her, and now resides in the Greek camps. This makes her mistress rather than wife material in Troy; it also renders her attachment to Troilus particularly pressing but also unstable. When Pandarus breaks the news to Cressida that she must leave Troy: "Thou must be gone girl; thou must be gone, to the fugitive Rogue Priest

thy father, (and he's my brother too, but that's all one at this time:) a pox upon *Antenor*!" (Dryden 4.1.15-17), Cressida's refusal relies on Troilus's potential to provide roots for her, as she says, "I will not [go]: I have quite forgot my father; / I have no touch of birth; no spark of Nature: / No kinn, no blood, no life; nothing so near me / As my dear Troilus!" (Dryden 4.1.20-23). In this speech by Cressida, Dryden excises her references to faithlessness that are present in Shakespeare's longer passage:

> I will not [go] uncle; I have forgot my father,
>
> I know no touch of consanguinity,
>
> No kin, no love, no blood, no soul so near me
>
> As the sweet Troilus. O you gods divine,
>
> Make Cressid's name the very crown of falsehood
>
> If ever she leave Troilus. Time, force, and death
>
> Do to this body what extremes you can,
>
> But the strong base and building of my love
>
> Is as the very centre of the earth
>
> Drawing all things to it. I'll go in and weep— (Shakespeare 4.3.93-102)

In Dryden's shortened, pared-down version, Cressida's precariously unmoored position is instead brought to the fore. Her assertion that "I have no touch of birth; no spark of Nature: / No kinn, no blood, no life; nothing so near me / As my dear Troilus" nakedly shows the tenuousness of her claims to belonging and male protection. She is practically though not literally an orphan, and has no one who really serves as her ward or protector (in terms of caring for her safety and not their own self-interest). In Shakespeare's version, her rootlessness is brought up but is not the focus; it serves more as a stepping-stone to her faithlessness, the dramatically ironic "strong base

and building of my love" that leads her both to seek Troilus and then betray him. Her inconsistency in Shakespeare's original is also to be seen in the way she refuses to leave Troilus, but then defers at the end of her speech, deciding instead to "go in and weep," as if she has already begun, in this leave-taking, the process of moving beyond him.

And it is Troilus, rather than Cressida, who more easily comes to stand for the city itself, which is emphasized through the wordplay on "Troy and Troilus" in the lovers' parting. The tale of Troy's downfall in the play—unlike, for instance, the opera *Dido and Aeneas*—does not present the analogy of the conquest of the heroine with the conquest of the city. Instead, the city serves as the powerfully affective site of meetings and partings, hopes and bereavement. Dryden's more abbreviated version (which shortens Troilus's 16 line speech on "injurious time" to two lines) draws attention to the too hasty separation that awaits the pair of lovers:

> Cressida: And is it true, that I must go from *Troy?*
>
> Troilus: A hatefull truth?
>
> Cressida: What, and from *Troilus* too?
>
> Troilus: From *Troy* and *Troilus:* and suddenly.
>
> So suddenly 'tis counted but by minutes. (Dryden 4.1. 41-45)[73]

Perhaps picking up on this sense carried from Dryden's play, Cressida's mournful uprooting from Troy and Troilus serves as the focus of a 1744 engraving of Shakespeare's work.[74] The artist depicts the exchange of Cressida for Antenor at the gate of Troy (though Antenor does not seem to be in the image), with the ancient city's imposing wall towering above the Greek and Trojan figures. Cressida, compelled towards the waiting Diomedes, serves as the focal point of the composition, and twisted in a stiff serpentine pose, she moves away from Troy and towards the desert wilderness beyond the city, while in opposition, her head wistfully bends back towards

Troilus and the city gate. Furthermore, the image is a mix of the familiar and exotic. The characters wear classical-seeming drapery, as one might expect, combined with early modern/contemporary elements, like the men's short hose. The walls of Troy look like a medieval fortification in line with the chivalric roots of the tale, with a retracting metal gate behind the figures and stone parapets above. Mixed in with this theatrical mishmash are exoticized elements: the whole scene is bathed in bright sunlight, evoking an equatorial climate, and rising above Troilus a tree (ambiguously fern or fir) waves in the wind above the figures, topping part of the wall's masonry. The emotions of the scene center on wistful leave-taking, forced movement, and a sense that the city and its inhabitants that are beloved by Cressida shall never be returned to or recovered. The image thus condenses a sense not only of the loss of Troilus but of the gates of the city itself, which are presented as grand, familiar, yet also foreign.

An engraving from Nicholas Rowe's 1709 edition of Shakespeare's play even more clearly shows the influence of Dryden's revision on the character of Cressida. In this scene, which shows Troilus and Ulysses in the background of the Greek tent spying Cressida and Diomedes in the foreground, the heroine is depicted in Restoration stage style. She "w[ears] contemporary dress with plumed headgear to indicate her tragic status" (Shirley 5). While plumed headgear is often referred to as a convention of the stage, its use to denote heroic characters would have been relatively recent. In the Restoration, plumes had in part the practical application of suggesting from a distance, in a poorly lit theater, who the heroic protagonists were of a stage performance.[75] And as seen in the "plumed helmet[s]" of warrior characters in the 1709 engraving, the plume provides a martial detail to male costuming suggestive of "Greco-Roman armour" (Shirley 5). This was similarly displayed in ballet from the mid seventeenth century: "The costume design for Louis XIV's appearance as Apollo in *Le Ballet de la Nuit* in

1653 clearly illustrates the male style . . . Louis is shown wearing a classical-style Roman breastplate, fitted to the form of his body and worn with tunic and heeled shoes. His helmet is surmounted by tall plumes in accordance with convention. Feathers had come to signify gods and heroic characters; the feathers added height and grandeur to these characters' presence, and allowed them to be easily distinguished, even at the back of a dimly lit stage" (Collins and Jarvis, 170). In ballets and masques of the mid seventeenth century and earlier, feathers were also important to the costume design of "fanciful characters" though, with the airy movement of feathers standing in for natural elements like wind (Collins and Jarvis 170) and connecting feathers more to associations with frivolity or vanity than regal dignity.[76]

In Restoration heroic drama, magnificent plumed headdress also became associated with exotic heroines of the stage; the most readily recognizable example of this is seen in the image of the Anne Bracegirdle in the role of an "Indian Queen" (either Zempoalla from Dryden's *Indian Queen* or Semernia, another Amerindian queen in Aphra Behn's play *The Widow Ranter*). The National Portrait Gallery in London has several engravings that possibly depict Anne Bracegirdle in different stage roles that include extravagant feather headdress (seven in all, with four different ones as the Indian Queen). Three of these engravings are of heroines who appear to be from the far and near East (one is titled "An Empress of China;" the others are untitled).[77] Like the Indian Queen engravings, they are distinguished in part by tall plumed headgear that even resembles the distinctive "fan-shaped arrangement[s]" of regal indigenous American headdress (Gonzalez-Trevino 108). This "semiotic" overlap of the luxurious markers of regal status in Old and New World contexts on the Restoration stage speaks to a "concept of 'new worlds' [that] could also be implicitly found in the fact that the restored monarchy [in England] had to function within a unique context of economic expansionism in which power relations between the old

institutions and increasingly powerful mercantile enterprises were also at stake" (Gonzalez-Trevino 105; 109). And the feathered headdress on the Restoration stage, Ana Gonzalez-Trevino suggests, presents an analogue for the crown that is both comforting and unsettling. It evokes ideals of innate royalty—feather ornaments seem as if they are easily provided by the bounty of the natural world and suggest that the regal crown is eminently cross-cultural and recognizable—while also ironically drawing attention to the uncomfortable sense that all crowns (whether of gold, jewels, or feathers) are performative, ornamental, and eminently vulnerable, like the fragile feather.[78]

The feathered plumes that Cressida wears in the 1709 engraving of Shakespeare's play reflects the influence (though likely inadvertently) of Dryden's interrogation of the waste entailed in heroic ventures, especially in their global context.[79] This is seen especially in the clearer presentation of Cressida as a sacrifice to the ambitions of a warrior culture and the references that thread his play of the proleptic loss of Trojan children. As Joseph Roach suggests of Restoration tragedy generally, in ". . . [the] semiotics of superabundance and sacrifice . . . the heaviest burden of signification was born by the frailest of their accoutrements: women, as both consumers and the consumed; children, as both the auguries of surrogation and its realization in the fullness of time; and feathers, as both exotic tokens of otherness and the polychromatic markers of its alarming copiousness and profusion" (Roach 125). The play dramatizes the failure of sacrifice to resolve tension, jealousy, and violence. While Cressida's suicide places her in the role of the surrogate that is sacrificed as if to resolve the tensions and jealousies that underly the conflict—at least, the triangulated conflict involving her, Troilus, and Diomedes—her death instead becomes subsumed in the vast wastage of the war and precipitously brings about the deaths of the jealous rivals who fought over her. She attempts, while alive, to mediate jealous

rivalry of the two men. She initially intercedes when Troilus overcomes Diomedes in combat, as Calchas her father unwisely advises her "To interpose betimes / Betwixt their swords; or if that cannot be, / To intercede for him, who shall be vanquish'd: / Fate leaves no middle course.------" (Dryden 5.2.192-95). Her intercession, of course, makes her seem even more guilty to Troilus, and becomes the point from which Diomedes can likewise treat her as a discarded object with which to taunt the Trojan, as Diomedes says: "Nay, grieve not: I resign her freely up: / I'm satisfi'd: and dare engage for Cressida, / That if you have a promise of her person, / She shall be willing to come out of debt" (5.2.238-41). As Troilus, incensed by Diomedes, rails against Cressida, she commits suicide as the spectacular means of resolving this triangulated conflict. Cressida states:

> Enough my Lord [Troilus]; you've said enough:
>
> This faithlesse, perjur'd, hated *Cressida*,
>
> Shall be no more the subject of your Curses:
>
> Some few hours hence, and grief has done your work;
>
> But then your eyes had miss'd the Satisfaction
>
> Which this I give you------thus-------
>
> [*She stabs her self; they both run to her*] (5.2.256-61)

Cressida represents herself as the hated object or monstrous double whose death, by removing her fatal presence, can resolve the tension and jealousy she evokes. This works only momentarily, and in a limited way—both Troilus and Diomedes run to her aid, and Troilus realizes she has been faithful (and also that she did not deserve this punishment either way, if she were faithful or not), saying: "This were too much, ev'n if thou hadst been false! / But, Oh, thou purest, whitest innocence . . ." (5.2.267-68). Troilus and Diomedes, though, quickly resume the

antagonism of their jealous rivalry, bickering and then with Troilus implacably pursuing Diomedes. Thus, the failure of Cressida's sacrifice through suicide to have the intended effect—to resolve the tension or conflict that has brought about violence—becomes a part of her tragedy, pointing to the elements of wastage in her death. It shows, in a way, that she herself is a substitute or surrogate in the rivalry of Troilus and Diomedes for something else, intensifying a sense of her rootlessness and lack of place.

This sense of profligate waste is intensified by the hasty descent of the action into the concluding battle of the war, which occurs before the siege of Troy, implied through the stage directions via the death of the foremost Trojan heroes:

> [Troilus *and* Diomede *fight, and both parties engage at the same time*: *The* Trojans *make the* Greeks *retire, and* Troilus *makes* Diomede *give ground and hurts him. Trumpets sound*. Achilles *Enters with his* Myrmidons, *on the backs of the* Trojans, *who fight in a Ring encompass'd round*; Troilus *singling* Diomede, *gets him down and kills him; and* Achilles *kills* Troilus *upon him. All the* Trojans *dye upon the place,* Troilus *last.* (Dryden p. 352; italics in text)

This final battle presents a chain of revenge, from Troilus slaying Diomedes, to Achilles slaying Troilus by ignominiously having his Myrmidons overpower the Trojan warrior (as it is later implied he did to Hector to revenge Patroclus). In this vein, the victory of the Greeks takes on a bitter, even pyrrhic tone, and the focus, despite the seeming return to order, is on loss, vexed heroism, and exhaustion. The first words spoken after the victory are by Achilles and refer to the impending siege and destruction of Troy's fortifications: "Our toyls are done, and those aspiring Walls / (The work of Gods, and almost mateing Heaven,) / Must crumble into rubbish on the plain" (5.2.302-4). In this context, the tone of ironic triumph is similar to Dryden's reference to

the Palladium on Fairborne's tomb epitaph, where Fairborne, like the walls of Troy, served as a pointless protector of a doomed place. Agamemnon attempts to shift the tone Achilles sets of exhaustion and near-apocalyptic destruction to one where victory seems ordained and orderly, an easy equation of the slaying of Hector for the walls themselves: "*Agam*: When mighty Hector fell beneath thy Sword, / Their Old foundations shook, their nodding Towers / Threatned from high, th' amaz'd Inhabitants: / And Guardian Gods for fear forsook their fanes" (5.2.305-8). Achilles tempers this again by redirecting the focus away from glory and back to loss, presenting a multiplication of the dead that led to victory:

> Achill: *Patroclus*, now be quiet: *Hector*'s dead:
>
> And as a second offring to thy Ghost,
>
> Lyes *Troilus* high upon a heap of slain:
>
> And noble *Diomede* beneath; whose death
>
> This hand of mine reveng'd (5.2.309-13)

The image he evokes of "a heap of slain" on which Troilus "Lyes high upon," and the multiplication of the dead from one (Hector, in Agamemnon's equation) to four in a chain of revenge, shows there is no easy calculation of waste versus gain in this prolonged siege.[80] Achilles's language of mourning—"Patroclus, now be quiet: Hector's dead"—and appeasement: "a second off'ring to thy Ghost," hints at closure though, through the logic of equal combat, revenge, and ritual sacrifice. This is immediately undermined by Ajax, who revises Achilles's statement that Patroclus and Diomedes have been, through equal combat, by "This hand of mine reveng'd":

> Ajax: Reveng'd it basely:
>
> For Troilus fell by multitudes opprest;

And so fell Hector, but 'tis vain to talk (5.2.314-16)

The chain of revenge balloons from a calculable engagement of bodies to "multitudes" and decidedly unfair odds. And it is also apparent that what won the war—Achilles slaughtering, with his Myrmidons, some key Trojan heroes—is the same "publique good . . . urg'd for private ends" that Ulysses warns against in his concluding speech of the play. As Candy Schille suggests of Ulysses's closing speech, "In context . . . it seems a rather desperate (and perhaps sycophantic) intervention against just the sort of 'discord' that Ulysses claims has been overcome already by 'peacefull order'" (Schille 562). This instability in how to frame victory and its relation to calculations of loss v. gain shifts the emphasis of war away from rightness, or even aptitude, to a game of chance. This is a view of warfare that is debased in a specific way: through the tension between vast expense and risk in war-making that places heroic sacrifice in the context of the uncontrollable and excessive. This waste includes the waste of lives and the destruction of defensive architecture that has become the center of complicated affective experiences (of hope, power, wealth, and deliverance). The walls and fortifications that promised protection during prolonged periods of siege have claustrophobically entrapped; this culminates in their ironic vulnerability after they are breached and serve as a weapon against the populace for which they were erected to protect.

While I have thus far discussed the victims of war in the play that primarily evoke pity—the children of Troy, Cressida, and the failed romance of the two main lovers—Dryden also expands the role of the sardonic Greek commentator Thersites, explicitly presenting him as another potential victim of this wasteful war. While Thersites' death is not implied within Dryden's play, it more seriously hangs over the action Act 5 than in Shakespeare's original, becoming in the Restoration play the crux of humorous entanglements that darkly satirize the

heroic ethos of the warriors of both sides. Dryden's revisions here specifically draw attention not only to Thersites's unwillingness to fight (as in Shakespeare), but also to his vulnerability, like Cressida, as a non-combatant in the conflict. While it is not likely that Thersites's plight is intended to evoke pathos in the same way as Cressida's death or Astyanax's implied demise, the unsettling treatment Thersites receives at the hands of heroes we are inclined to sympathize with, like Hector and Troilus, aligns Thersites's vulnerability with other non-fighting victims of war and political machinations in the play. Specifically, Dryden's amendments create scenarios of split identification, where laughter is elicited through discomfort with "taking sides" in the conflict (we laugh at Thersites but also sympathize with him, especially in seeing the casual cruelty of the martial heroes).

Thus, Thersites's strong presence in the battle not only undercuts the heroism of the war, but also distinctions between places and national allegiances, with statements like: "I fight not at all: I am for neither side" (spoken by Thersites to Hector) (5.2.94) and, when Troilus attempts to "dispatch" Thersites, the latter says:

> Hold, hold: what is't no more but dispatch a man and away! I am in no such hast; I will not dye for Greece; I hate Greece, and by my good will wou'd nere have been born there; I was mistaken into that Country, and betray'd my parents to be born there. And besides I have a mortal Enemy amongst the Grecians, one Diomede a damned villain, and cannot dye with a safe conscience till I have first murther'd him (5.2.105-110).

While in Shakespeare, Thersites primarily rails against the lechery and cuckoldry that seems to define both sides of the war, this shifts in Dryden to statements more generally about war itself: war as abstract concept and the values that undergird it. The running joke in the battle in Act 5 in

both Shakespeare and Dryden is that Thersites is a coward (he refers to himself as “a rascall: a scurvy railing knave; a very filthy Rogue” 5.2.97), but in Dryden’s play the quick succession of events has the effect of bringing attention to Thersites’s real physical danger within the scenes while simultaneously poking fun at his cowardice. Considering Dryden’s statement in the preface that Shakespeare should have expanded Thersites’s character, this effect of heightened vulnerability in Dryden’s portrayal of the character is likely intentional. On lines 62-4 of Act 5, Scene 2, Thersites notes “What shoales of fools one battle sweeps away! How it purges families of younger Brothers, Highways of Robbers, and Cities of Cuckold-makers!”, setting the tone for the battle as waste, and by line 76 of this scene, a Trojan attempts to engage him (quickly followed by the two others, Hector and then Troilus). Dryden has Thersites’s encounter with the first Trojan, “A Bastard Son of Priam’s” (named as Margarelon in Shakespeare) followed immediately (after a brief aside by Thersites that “these Gods have a fine time on’t; they can see and make mischief, and never feel it”) with a dangerous encounter with Hector, and then with Troilus, the last encounter of which does not occur in Shakespeare (5.2.78; 85-6). Furthermore, in Shakespeare, the engagement with the bastard Trojan and Hector are spread out, and there is no scene where Hector takes Thersites prisoner and Troilus attempts to dispatch him.

While Thersites does not acquire the pathos that Cressida gains in Dryden’s revision, the quickened succession of events in this scene emphasize the plight of non-combatants caught up in the war. Unequipped for war like the “younger Brothers” composing armies (and whose deaths Thersites sardonically refers to), the fact that Thersites navigates a war-scape that wantonly disregards life is repeatedly drawn attention to. Sympathy is directed in unexpected and contradictory ways—we have heretofore been inclined to laugh at or with Thersites and sympathize with Troilus’s impending tragedy, and Act 5 especially upends these expectations.

The new addition by Dryden of an encounter with Troilus that mirrors but also differs from the chance confrontations with the bastard and Hector adds another layer to the humor of these battlefield encounters, more clearly setting on display the casual cruelty of the field. First the Bastard Son of Priam disregards Thersites—to the latter's relief—for his cowardice (Troj."The Devil take thee Coward") after Thersites banters with him about illegitimacy (Thers. "I am a Bastard too; I love Bastards: I am a Bastard in body, Bastard in minde; Bastard in valour . . . let us part fair, like true Sons of Whores") (5.2.84;79-83). When Hector enters the scene, Thersites engages in banter as well, and the scene is set for a similar dismissal:

> Hect. to Thers. Speak what part thou fight'st on!
>
> Thers. I fight not at all: I am for neither side.
>
> Hect. Thou art a *Greek*: art thou a match for *Hector*?
>
> Art thou of blood and honour?
>
> Thers. No, I am a rascall: a scurvy railing knave; a very filthy Rogue.
>
> Hect. I do believe thee; live.
>
> Thers. God a mercy, that thou wilt believe me: but the Devil break thy neck for frighting me. [*Aside*.] (93-101)

Troilus, though, re-enters the scene, and his interaction with Thersites is with him as a prisoner-of-war rather than a potential warrior, subverting the structure of banter and dismissal seen with Hector that we now expect:

> Troilus returning: What Prisoner have you there?
>
> Hect: A gleaning of the war: a Rogue he says.
>
> Troil: Dispatch him and away. [*Going to kill him.*]

> Thers: Hold, hold: what is't no more but dispatch a man and away! I am in no such hast: I will not dye for *Greece* . . . And besides, I have a mortal Enemy amongst the *Grecians*, one *Diomede*, a damned villain, and cannot dye with a safe conscience till I have murther'd him. (102-5; 109-11)

Thersites thus manages to escape this close call by substituting Cressida and Diomede as objects of Troilus's violence in lieu of his own body. Troilus spares Thersites when he agrees to lead him to Calchas's tent to encounter Diomedes and Cressida together ("Troil. Shew me that *Diomede* and thou shalt live. / Thers. Come along with me and I'le conduct thee to *Calchas* his Tent, where I believe he's now making warre with the Priests daughter") (112-15). To Thersites had been applied the language of objecthood by Troilus; unlike Cressida (but subtly also like her), he is a mere "gleaning," a left-over object to be discarded, rather than a coveted object to be desired. This is the implied vulnerability of all objecthood—to be used, sacrificed, or discarded. The dark humor in the exchange hinges on Troilus's default to quickly dispatch Thersites in a way Thersites does not anticipate, and which briefly relinquishes him of any control in the situation (further solidifying him as an analogue to Cressida and Astyanax—non-combatants unable to navigate the arbitrary chance and cruelty of war). The previous encounters with Trojan warriors—the bastard son of Priam and then Hector—cue us into expecting, rather than the threat of hasty death, another quick dismissal from one-to-one engagement in fighting. We have been set up to see Thersites as a non-participant on the field of battle who observes and remarks but is in no real danger. Thus, what is so funny (or grimly so) is that Thersites is not immune to the violence of the battle, as we had been previously cued in to assume. Humor also hinges on the way this exchange refracts identification, which is perhaps a more accurate term than sympathy in this context. It is as if there are two value systems or focal points of identification that take

equal hold here: that of the seriousness of seasoned warriors (Hector and Troilus and the war in which their honor is entwined; a tone the brothers pompously resume right after Thersites's bawdy intervention) and the emphasis on the drama of personal survival seen through the eccentric pairing of Thersites and Cressida. Thus, Troilus casually saying "Dispatch him and away" is humorous because it highlights practices in war that are simultaneously awful and unremarkable. The crux of the joke is the discomfort evoked by this bifurcated identification, an unease that is continued through Thersites's deflection of violence and attention away from himself to another victim of the war—Cressida.

Like Cressida, Thersites comes from unclear provenance (his disavows his Greek-ness, and his participation in the conflict seems wandering and picaresque). He is a version of the rootlessness on which the play fixates. Thersites's survival becomes entwined with Cressida's downfall as he uses her as a lucky chance to divert Troilus's wrath away from himself by offering to bring the Trojan youth to Diomede. In the middle of the battle, disrupting the sense of the war's primary importance, this interpersonal drama plays out in Calchas's tent. This episode foregrounds the plight of two non-combatants—Thersites and then Cressida—whose actions are at odds with the war, and springs from the precarity of their position in the conflict. Cressida thus implores Troilus to understand that her actions, which seem faithless, have their source in a third motive, outside heroism or duplicity. As "a Captive held" in a highly subordinate position, her 'seeming' cannot be judged in the same context as a free person's in the war, especially a warrior's, actions:

> If ever I had pow'r to bend your mind,
>
> Believe me still your faithful *Cressida*:
>
> And though my innocence appear like guilt,

> Because I make his forfeit life my suit,
>
> 'Tis but for this, that my return to you
>
> Would be cut off for ever by his [Diomede's] death;
>
> My father, treated like a slave and scorn'd;
>
> My self in hated bonds a Captive held" (5.2.212-18).

As with the encounter with Thersites, the concerns of the war fade to the background, shown to be important insofar as they can accommodate the ability of this small cluster of characters to navigate and survive their entanglement in the conflict. Essentially, the selfishness of the heroic concerns of the war are placed in high relief when set against the vulnerability of non-combatants.

Chapter 2:
Wartime, Crip time, and Gendering Soldiers' Bodies
in Farquhar's *The Recruiting Officer*

Silvia in breeches enters the stage of *The Recruiting Officer* (1706) near the close of the third act, and we quickly see that she serves as an echo of Captain Plume and a distillation of the idea of the soldier.[81] As "Jack Wilful," wearing her recently deceased brother's suit of clothes, she sweepingly declares "I live where I stand; I have neither home, house, nor habitation beyond this spot of ground." [82] Like Plume, Wilful has aristocratic airs yet nothing to prop herself up on in the world but a self-willed personal presence, as she replies with braggadocio when asked about her lineage, "I'm related to all the Wilfuls in Europe, and I'm head of the family at present" (3.2.146-47). Not yet enlisted, she displays a freedom of movement and backtalking to authority that far exceeds Plume, the protagonist of *The Recruiting Officer*, a captain just returned after the victorious Battle of Blenheim (August 13, 1704) to enlist new recruits for the ongoing War of Spanish Succession (1701-14).[83] Yet for Wilful/Silvia, as a man with apparently limited means and a penchant for trouble, enlistment and thus an end to this liberty is inevitable. Reveling in a loss of freedom by assuming a masculine position in which she is granted the means to point out these cultural ironies in the first place, she serves the role of the good joke-teller in Freudian terms, displaying "a kind of narcissistic carapace—triumphant and invulnerable to pain, yet fully cognisant of it."[84] The identity category of the soldier in the eighteenth century reflected an alternate valuation of worth based on skill rather than birth or fortune, but remained at the same time unmoored, even vagabond, a view connected to the exigencies of military life (long deployments; high mortality rate; poor physical health of soldiers and recruits) and cultivated by the British government.[85] The popularity of Silvia's breeches role in performance highlights an aspect of the play not often considered—the

vulnerability of the soldier figure.[86] Lack of sustained consideration of the soldier's vulnerability in the play has left unexamined its management of the traumatic effects of prolonged military engagement, since the simultaneous inclusion and containment of the body's vulnerability in a time of war does not fit literary models of trauma that find closure and wholeness to be the goal of narration. The play, instead, serves as an often-repeated exercise in trauma-negotiating rather than healing, addressing insoluble cultural tensions.[87] The threat of violation that attends Silvia's breeches-role speaks to the way she is like the male soldier—a figure who is positioned, through enlistment, as imminently violable, already castrated. I propose that shifting the grounds of traumatic representation from the unrepresentable in experience to the irreconcilable in social practice helps account for the unpredictable ways *The Recruiting Officer* was taken up in performance—from patriotic and redemptive ends, to satire, subversion, or a placement of martial ethos above loyalty to the state.

Civilian life in *The Recruiting Officer* is suffused with military associations as the recruiters, Plume and Kite, intrude upon Shrewsbury and transform the rural locale into a quasi-martial space. This is highly appropriate, as the War of Spanish Succession was a "global war that witnessed pitched battles across Europe and at sea" and also enacted the intrusion of war abroad into everyday life in England to a degree not before seen.[88] The use of modern approaches to warfare (artillery and explosives, line-firing "between . . . closely packed troops" and innovations such as platoon firing) alongside older ones (cavalry, swords, siege tactics) made engagements in this period especially devastating; the Battle of Blenheim itself saw "over 30,000 casualties . . . out of the 108,000 combatants."[89] And while Blenheim was a much celebrated victory understood to be orchestrated by Marlborough's tactical innovations, the "limited victory" and massive casualties at Malplaquet (September 11, 1709) at a later date in the

same war contributed to Marlborough's falling out of favor with much of the public and the further association of the war with the too-costly diversion of funds and lives entailed in maintaining a large-scale army.[90] It is significant that the play, in its frequent performances throughout the century, could be taken up in a variety of contexts; for instance, from celebrating Marlborough and the victory at Blenheim to satirizing Marlborough just a few years later.[91] While Farquhar's apparent participation in the militarization of English society is noted by critics of this play, I would like to reframe this intrusion of the modern soldier into the folkways of English country life differently: as a psychosocial problem of the soldier's homecoming.[92] The theater is one of the places, historically, that "Combat veterans and . . . citizenry . . . meet together face to face in [the] daylight" of public life.[93] Plume and the other military figures' humor in the play, peppered with morbid, offhand references to battle, dismemberment, and the vulnerability of the body, subtly invites viewers to partake in the soldier's temporally distorted experience of the body, what Jonathan Shay describes in a twentieth-century context as the veteran's "cramped, eternal present, extending no further than the next C-rations, death, cigarette, or fire fight."[94] I suggest that by shifting the grounds of analysis from the play's "amiable" approach to the horrors of war and instead to the traumatic, ritual effect that humor in the face of extreme experiences often has, the morbid humor in *The Recruiting Officer* is revealed to function along an intersection of pain and public connection that evades the political uses that are often ascribed to the play's performances.[95] As an often-repeated performance that breaches traumatic content and evades clear ascriptions of ideological intent, the play is an expression of pain in the face of irreconcilable or increasingly entrenched social forces.

The undercurrent of traumatic or disrupted temporality in this comedy is carried via language and morbid joking that gives a sense of the closeness to death and injury that typifies

enlistment; it is also carried via the eccentric army plot and the physical presence of soldier-figures that carry associations of vulnerability. The play begins with Captain Plume and Sergeant Kite, just returned from the War of Spanish Succession, prowling for fresh recruits in rural Shrewsbury. Their search intersects with Plume's courtship of Silvia, the daughter of Judge Balance, which is paralleled by the courtship of Melinda (Silvia's childhood friend) by Worthy, a local gentleman. Plume, realizing he cannot win Silvia to his bed before marriage, begins to concede his rakish ways and consider honorable marriage, and we find that Balance looks favorably upon Plume as a match for his daughter. This changes with the unexpected death of Silvia's older brother, which renders her heir to her father's fortune and propels her out of Plume's league (now that she is a more marketable catch, Balance forbids concourse between the two). Amid these developments, Plume and Kite successfully recruit two Shrewsbury locals with rustic names, Costar Pearmain and Thomas Appletree. One is duped; the other enlists against his better judgment, but out of affection for his more gullible friend. This sense of fellow-feeling in the army connects with the running joke in the play that the army is like marriage. This joke echoes a commonplace trope that looms large in the eighteenth century, the "metaphorical association between sexual aggression and war[,]" as it is understood that Plume uses seduction tactics to gain recruits, and more darkly, that enlistment is like marriage in that it is often unto death.[96] In keeping with the morbid turn of the metaphor of enlistment as marriage, "the play refuses to sentimentalize the outcome for Pearmain and Appletree, making it clear that they are exchanging independence for a life of military slavery and probable death."[97] The army plot and the marriage plot fully intersect when Silvia cross-dresses as a young spark named "Jack Wilful" (and later named "Pinch") to observe Plume in his element, to see if he is sleeping with the country girl Rose, and to get recruited into the army by Plume (and, of course, to escape her

father's attempt to send her away from Shrewsbury to keep her away from Plume).[98] Wilful is brought before her father, Balance the magistrate, for debauching Rose (unhappily for Rose, the two shared a bed but no debauchery occurred); after much hilarious hyper-masculine performance as a rake and ne'er-do-well, Jack Wilful eventually reveals that she is Silvia in disguise, and Plume and Silvia marry.

In *The Recruiting Officer,* humor potentially lays bare deeply rooted cultural experiences of unease associated with war: trauma, uprootedness, precarity, injury. Humor in the play tends to be noted for its potential effect of naturalizing a rapidly technologized or changing experience of warfare, making ruthless warfare and its penetration into England and abroad the new normal and even attractively modern.[99] Yet how joking about vulnerability in this play fixates on and renegotiates the experience of pain and restriction brought on by modern warfare without resolving it suggests that humor has a more complicated function here. The comic performer or joke-teller in the context of trauma navigates painful subject-matter, opening up the possibility of "collective-restorative intimacy" between performer and audience in a shared cultural situation of pain and unease.[100] This role is taken up by Plume and Kite, but most of all by Silvia for her unique position as a cross-dressing soldier who is at once more and less vulnerable or physically constrained than the two recruiting officers. Her female embodiment makes her violability more apparent (as jokes and innuendo surrounding her cross-dressing role center around castration, impotence, and sexual violation). But as the female lead of high degree pursuing her lover within the framework of the comic plot, she is also able to backtalk to authority and flirt with enlistment without the risk of succumbing to the damage of the body that soldiers are subject to. Silvia takes on the ritual role of the comic performer who, as she is aware of pain associated with military service but also stands aloof of its silencing effects, "is able . . . to communicate, to figure, to

embody risky, concrete-fantasy material (shock, profanity, unease)."[101] I call this negotiation because the comic performer serves the role of bringing forth, within the performative space of the "affective sociality of the group," aspects of social life or cultural contradiction "that everyone 'feels' but people often do *not* make explicit."[102] As some theorists of disability and trauma suggest, the acknowledgement of pain in art affirms an experience of collective existence that may not have previously had a language, forging a connection of life "lived in common," revealed through pain and vulnerability.[103] In this way, mediums such as public performance provide affective strategies for living with precarity.

Applying theories of disability and trauma that foreground the experience of bodily suffering—such as the concept of crip time—to the army plot of *The Recruiting Officer* helps to show how the play not only voices, but ritually reenacts a non-normative experience of temporality, one that is defined by its relation to disrupted life-stages, non- or eccentric reproduction, and, most significantly, the foregrounding of death and physical debility in youth. *The Recruiting Officer* can be said to contain a bifurcated structure featuring a seemingly normative plot-line (the marriage plot) that is simultaneous with what we might call a crip plot—the one of army life and recruiting.[104] To discuss this plot-line as crip, I am using concepts of crip time that emphasize how illness, disability, or queerness, which create alternate or "strange temporalities," reveal the artificial structure of seemingly natural life-stages rather than reaffirm their naturalness.[105] "[C]rip time" can be understood "as [a] resistant orientation" in the way that it eschews, or shows the impossibility of "engaging in particular behaviors at particular moments [that have] become reified as the natural, common-sense course of human development."[106] The bifurcation of the plot in Farquhar's play easily lends itself to cross-pollination between the two plot-lines, with the marriage plot being cripped (or queered)—such as through Silvia's cross-

dressing and the elements of the play that highlight discontinuity in life-stages and vexed or eccentric reproduction.[107] The play ends on a note of eccentric and even morbid reproduction, with Plume declaring that by marrying, "With some regret I quit the active field, / Where glory full reward for life does yield; / But the recruiting trade with all its train/ Of lasting plague, fatigue, and endless pain, / I gladly quit, with my fair spouse to stay, / And raise recruits the matrimonial way" (5.7.150-55). This remaining tension between the concluding marriage and the ongoing conflict is often noted about the play, for instance, that it "ends normatively with the 'taming' of Plume in the form of marriage to Silvia, but the captain's resolve to quit the 'recruiting trade"' and "'raise recruits the matrimonial way' accentuates rather than obscures the blurring of boundaries between military and civilian worlds in the play as a whole[,]" yet the underlying effect of this continued tension remains to be explored.[108] That the two plots cross-pollinate and intersect, but are never fully reconciled, reflects the essential irreconcilability of large-scale, modern military life in what are perceived as traditional or natural life-ways; the military is both at the heart of modern culture but always set apart (which is especially seen in the difficulty of reintegrating the returning soldier back into civilian life). The morbid military humor that becomes a cultural commonplace through plays like *The Recruiting Officer* continuously evokes this frisson of presence and displacement.[109]

As mentioned above, *The Recruiting Officer* is suffused with darkly humorous references to the soldier's experience of temporality that break the soldier or veteran's world down to the details of survival and potential injury.[110] For instance, Plume asks early in the play, revealing a view of the world in which battlefield injury exists everywhere, "Suppose I married a woman that wanted a leg? Such a thing might be, unless I examined the goods beforehand" (1.1.231-32). When he agrees to join hands in matrimony with Silvia and leave the martial life behind, he

concedes "Why then, I have saved my legs and arms, and lost my liberty; secure from wounds I'm prepared for the gout" (5.7.80-81), suggesting that the hazards of war differ in degree but not kind from the disabilities that await him in civilian life. References to disability are picked up by civilian characters; the civilian gentleman Worthy complains to Plume that his romantic progress with Melinda, Silvia's friend, goes "Very slowly. Cupid had formerly wings, but I think in this age he goes upon crutches, or I fancy Venus has been dallying with her cripple Vulcan when my amour commenced, which has made it go on so lamely" (3.1.175-78). Metaphors, similes, and images that graphically reduce the body to blood and guts figure prominently in speech in the play. Kite's description of a ravelin ironically reveals the cruel effects of martial technology on the human body; Kite explains to the simple-minded rustic character Bullock "Why 'tis like a modern minced pie, but the crust is confounded hard, and the plumbs are somewhat hard of digestion" (3.1.91-2). Captain Brazen (the army officer in competition with Worthy for Melinda's favors) crudely mangles the martial bravura that Plume displays more attractively (and Kite knowingly satirizes) in grotesque references to bodies dismembered in war, figuratively including his own. Brazen declares to Melinda: "My hand, heart's blood, and guts are at your service" (3.2.71-72); similarly, he bloviates before a duel, "Why then, fire and fury! I have eaten smoke from the mouth of a cannon. Sir, don't think I fear powder, for I live upon't" (5.6.13-4); and without catching how morbid the detail is, he fixates on the missed snack of "Poor Jack Laconic: he was killed at the battle of Landen! I remember that he had a blue riband in his hat that very day, and after he fell, we found a piece of neat's tongue in his pocket" (3.1.215-18). One has here the "cramped, eternal present" of the soldier according to Shay, in which the prosaic things on one's person—the blue ribbon, the neat's tongue—are attached, without distinction, to violence and sudden death, and are often voiced irreverently.[111] In *The Recruiting*

Officer, strength and physical ability continuously fold back onto the capacity of a youthful, able body to be wounded and destroyed. The location of the moment of the militarization of the individual body to the moment of enlistment rather than on the battlefield demonstrates not only an understanding that military service thrusts the soldier (and by extension, the warring nation) into a temporality of injuring, but also reflects an uneasiness with this insight.[112] In Farquhar's play, the soldier carries wartime back with him, as it is understood to be enmeshed with his physical form, even if he has no visible wounds.

While *The Recruiting Officer* is a patriotic play that revels in the victory at Blenheim, it also has strongly satirical elements; recent analyses of the play have seen it as counterpoising pro-war and anti-war sentiment.[113] Another interpretive possibility would be that the play is, on some level, pre- or extra-ideological, embodying the trauma of war at the haptic level of experience, and that this has been the unarticulated source of the play's enduring appeal. "Haptic" techniques of identification, which are often found in performances and literature about the experience of war, encourage the viewer or reader to connect with characters at the level of the body.[114] Although "the non- or prelinguistic aspects of experience, perception, and affect" of haptic identification can be shored-up in the service of an ideological message, they are also diffuse, unstable, and easily unfocused.[115] Trauma, as I will discuss, is deeply connected to ritual, and this play, especially for its obsessive reperformance throughout the eighteenth century, can definitely be considered ritualistic. Theatrical performance in general is very ritualistic—connected to the creation and continued remembrance of cultural material in an embodied, often-repeated structure. It is through performance, Joseph Roach suggests, that "culture reproduces and recreates itself[,]" especially through "the process of surrogation [that] does not begin or end but continues as actual or perceived vacancies occur in the network of relations that constitute

the social fabric."[116] It is for this reason that Marvin Carlson calls "The physical theater, as a site of the continuing reinforcement of memory by surrogation . . . not surprisingly among the most haunted of human cultural structures," carrying the burdens of cultural myths and substituted bodies that, as Roach states, stage the "doomed search for originals by continuously auditioning stand-ins."[117] *The Recruiting Officer*, Kevin Gardner notes, "performed at the beginning of each season" in London for most of the eighteenth century following its debut in 1706, also "inaugurat[ed]" the openings of many theaters in the colonies.[118] While the plot seems to come to a resolution (both on the level of marriage promised in comedy and of recruitment promised in the subject matter of the play), the language of Farquhar's comedy creates a dark undercurrent that gives a strong sense of the body's vulnerability and destruction in combat and, perhaps more significantly, foreshadowed in enlistment. This is heightened by the dual fragility and predation suggested in the characters of Plume and Kite, and which is made particularly visible in Silvia's cross-dressing role. While gender tends to be the focus in analyses of breeches roles on the Restoration and eighteenth-century stage, this is not usually considered in relation to the identity of the soldier, which should not be casually conflated with ideals of masculinity broadly as well as specific to the period.[119] As Silvia-in-breeches, Kite, and Plume display through their morbid humor and stage appeal, the soldier's body serves as a site where irreconcilable tensions of modernity—the toll of martial power on individual bodies, the molding of strong and "able" soldiers for disability and destruction—are publicly, ritually, contended with, contested, and explored.

The play can thus be said to be an often-repeated exercise in trauma-negotiation rather than healing. Different cultural models of narrative lead to different ways of publicly addressing traumatic events or experiences.[120] For this reason, Allan Young suggests that "trauma" in its

contemporary usage as a label for addressing extreme suffering may be more usefully seen in the context of the ritual, cultural work of myth. The retelling and public acknowledgement of extreme events of suffering—such as the Holocaust, trauma connected to certain wars, or public movements that give voice to victims of sexual and childhood trauma—places the particular event or kind of suffering or extremity in the context of "trauma," which in turn defines how it is publicly addressed or even "sacraliz[ed]" via "the construction of collective mimetic rituals and sacred sites;" in this way, the extreme experience becomes a part of public recognition and collective mourning.[121] As Young suggests, an essential quality of the current concept of trauma is the public call to listen to the telling of the event, which elevates the traumatic event to the realm of "myth," understood to be "a narrative . . . [that] is shared by a group of people who believe that it . . . explains their collective identity . . . and illuminates their present condition."[122] Trauma is acknowledged publicly by an audience's attentiveness to the traumatic narrative and the memorialization of the event in public rituals; in this way, "The corresponding ritual attitude [to myth] is mimesis: a collective effort to enact the myth" by "efforts . . . aimed at imitating or identifying with people and tropes . . . from the past."[123] Young gives as a central example of this mythic-historicizing function of trauma the shift of the view of "the death camps" of Nazi Germany (which he suggests were originally not separated in public discourse from the general violence of the war) to the term "Holocaust" in the 1960s that memorialized the specific trauma of that event.[124] This is not to say that trauma does not exist; instead, theorists such as Young shift trauma from the realm of the functioning of individual memory to the public arena of rituals of remembrance and collective mourning that are specific to certain time periods and cultural moments.[125]

While Farquhar's comedy does not give a narrative reconstruction of events, it ritually invites civilians and other soldiers into a sense of the temporal landscape of warfare—the certitude of injury or injuring the soldier is locked into at the moment of enlistment, and his morbid humor and other coping strategies to survive in this situation of heightened but constant, even banal, closeness to death. Wartime, as Elaine Scarry suggests, has its own temporality enmeshed with the physical and psychological experience of receiving and doling out pain. This sense of "anticipatory injury," which pervades and defines not only combat but also the experience of enlistment and the development of battlefield strategy and tactics, refers specifically to "injury . . . judged to have the greatest effect if *foreseen.*"[126] It is essentially "[a] temporal form of injuring" that begins far before the soldier sets foot on the battlefield and remains far beyond.[127] Language that draws attention to this non-normative experience of temporality at the haptic level of bodily pain—in this play, language defined by the body's relation to injury, constraint, and imminent destruction—collectivizes rather than isolates the soldier's experience. It serves a different function than "victorious national fiction[s]" that purposefully set out to efface the primary purpose of war—injury and destruction.[128] In this way, the soldier in Farquhar's play is not exactly addressed as a mere pawn of the state machine that wages the war that potentially destroys his body, but is instead also a part of a community that has at least acknowledged, upon his return, this intimate and radical experience of suffering. This public evocation of how "anticipatory injury" is suffered brings it into the realm of what contemporary theorists call crip or trauma art, which gives primacy to the intimate ways in which time and place are defined by physical relations to constriction, pain, and relative ease of movement. Disability theorist Alison Kafer explicitly makes the connection between crip time and the modern understanding of trauma as PTSD, stating that the "'Strange temporalities' [of

crip time] . . . include the experiences of those with PTSD . . . who live in a kind of anticipatory time, scanning their days for events or exposures that might trigger a response."[129] In the play, the soldier's relation to his body through the destruction of it he anticipates on the battlefield merges with the evocation of emotional effects that last far beyond the war, the anticipatory time experienced by the traumatized individual who continuously recalls this sensation of anticipated injury. The public acknowledgement of this crip experience of time brings the play into the realm of "trauma art" and reveals its resistant potential.

Tobin Siebers defines "trauma art" in the context of disability aesthetics as a specifically "collective" form of expression through which

> emotions . . . are created by allowing individual events, bodies, and objects to be overlaid with communal significance. This significance relates specifically to the power of trauma to invoke a vision of collective existence, which explains why [such] work seems to "contain" trauma, that is, both to expose and organize it, to witness it both as a threat to and symbol of [the social fabric].[130]

Often grim, irreverent, or disturbing, trauma art centrally fixates on the "traumatic bod[y]" which "may serve the collective representation of competing communities" and is thus expansive in the possible associations it may evoke.[131] As Siebers suggests, "Images of wounding, danger, disability, and disaster travel well for this reason," picked up by "competing communities" and to a variety of ends.[132] The play begins with the recruiting officers, Captain Plume and Sergeant Kite, positioned as outsiders, with Kite cajoling a "mob" of rustics and presenting them with the "cap of honour" to entice them to enlist (1.1.13). One of the mob's unidentified members retorts "My mind misgives me plaguily," and announces that the cap "smells woundily of sweat and brimstone" (1.1.23-24). As Tiffany Stern observes, the smell of "sweat [on the cap] contains the

essence of physical suffering within it."[133] It suggests not only the exertions of battle, but also the pungent or putrid odors of blood, wounds, and gunpowder. The cap of honor, "smell[ing] woundily" and in this way inscribed with the extremity of its former wearer's experience, brings a piece of the foreign battlefields to an English audience. The cap, like the bodies of men returned from military conflict on the Continent and represented on stage as rakish war-heroes, possesses a surplus of meaning connected both to their symbolic status and to particular experiences.

The objects of war are at first positioned as grotesque and abject in the play. This subtly shifts when Captain Plume, also just returned from the successful Battle of Blenheim, replies to the local gentleman Worthy's exclamation, "Plume! My dear Captain, welcome. Safe and sound returned!" with:

> Plume: I 'scaped safe from Germany, and sound, I hope, from London; you see I have lost neither leg, arm, nor nose. Then, for my inside, 'tis neither troubled with sympathies nor antipathies, and I have an excellent stomach for roast beef. (1.1.140-4)

In this exchange, the objects indicative of war's destruction of the body are more clearly folded into their equivalents in civilian life. The conflation in *The Recruiting Officer* of injury anticipated and escaped in the battlefields abroad and the nightlife of London demonstrates how a sense of "anticipatory injury"—including its lasting effects on individual serviceman—is interwoven with the rakish, "devil-may-care" identity of the seasoned soldier Plume.[134] The alternate temporality of the battlefield is no longer placed in opposition to the normative time of the civilian world, which is more fully suggested to be beset by temporalities defined in non-normative ways, such as by the presence of disease and death in youth via the sex work

economy. The grotesque image of loss of an “arm, leg, [or] nose” conflates the dangers of the battlefield with the ravages of late-stage syphilis, and the recently outmoded reference to humoral balance of the body (“sympathies” and “antipathies”) comically folds into a reference to fortitude and perhaps even a morbid sense of the almost certain fatality of intestinal wounds on the battlefield.[135] Analogy is invited between the temporality of the battlefield, defined by the certitude of injury or injuring, and the dangers to the body that pervade civilian life.

Ritual and the Body

Theatrical performance in the Restoration and eighteenth century—especially heroic drama—has a highly ritualistic function, as argued by Joseph Roach; in the performances he examines, this is connected to the symbolic displacement through performance of the “mysterious play of ethnic identity and difference” precipitated by the circum-Atlantic feedback-loop of migration, commodification, and commerce.[136] Symbolic violence serves to ritually displace the real violence underlying the plentiful transactions across the Atlantic and the commodities they produced; at the same time, though, through the physicality of ritual performance—the necessary use of space, bodies, and objects—the traces of real violence carried in “circum-Atlantic memory remain visible, audible, and kinesthetically palpable to those who walk in the cities along its historic rim”.[137] Like the “trauma art” discussed by Siebers, the damaged body serves as an unstable, but ritually powerful locus of emotion.

The character of Plume in *The Recruiting Officer* and the play’s triumphal context—presented simultaneously as heroic and comic—subtly draws out the vulnerable side of martial victory or aptitude.[138] The ritual context of sacrifice that the plume carries on the stage in this period complicates the idea of Plume as an easy stand-in for a developing martial, masculine ideal; his association with an ideal of masculinity consistently flirts with satire. Furthermore, the

plume, by the eighteenth century, is itself a vexed gender prop that "by 1620 . . . was fit neither for women nor for men. The feather" by the seventeenth century "came to inhabit a dangerous gray area, a no-man's land and a no-woman's land."[139] Catharine Howey suggests that the feather in English dress, once a purely masculine article of adornment, shifted in the early modern period with the adoption of this item into women's fashion. Women who wore the feather with other articles of male attire associated with outdoors activity would have seemed to be cross-dressing, or at least flirting with disrupted gender boundaries in dress starting in the sixteenth century. This, combined with the erotic visual association of fantastic feather headdress with unclothed inhabitants of the New World, leads Howey to suggest that "the feather best symbolizes the breakdown of visual labeling through dress" in the early modern period.[140] It comes to represent the uncertainty of symbols and visual markers, and is even unstable as a ritual accoutrement and gender prop. Yet, in the subsequent centuries, rather than men dispensing with feathers because of these new associations with vanity and a New World exoticism that was also eroticized as feminine, "Men [wore] feathers well into the eighteenth century . . . Just because feathers were being used in new ways did not mean that the old associations"—such as with martial prowess and masculinity—"were quickly discarded for new ones. Instead, new and contradictory associations of the feather existed simultaneously."[141] Thus Captain Plume comes on the English stage in 1706 carrying a complex burden of disrupted gender norms, masculine vulnerability, and a sense of sullied heroism existing side-by-side with the feather as a prop associated with martial victory. One could say that Plume functions not so much as a new masculine ideal than as a ritual figure in which all these contradictory associations are publicly aired. The traditional military association of the feather folds into its vexed gendered connotations in much the same way that the elaborate or ostentatious image of the soldier in the

eighteenth century simultaneously carried clashing associations, such as effeminacy, vanity, physical aptitude, bravery, and physical expendability, that could not be exorcised or resolved.[142]

The central function of Silvia's character in her cross-dressed role as Jack Wilful, who the recruiting officers in the play vie to enlist, is to underscore the body's vulnerability that is more subtly implied in Plume. She serves as a ghostly but more vibrant echo of Plume—free-talking, sprightly, but possessing a fragility and capacity for violation that may be easier for the audience to affectively access or conceptualize. Silvia's breeches role is usually explored in terms of what it potentially says of gender construction and fluidity, including the sublimation of masculine insecurities into calls for patriotic sacrifice.[143] Another view of the trope of the stage lothario who is actually a cross-dressed woman is the potential this scenario holds for satirizing "aggressive male behaviour."[144] Such humor often hinges on the superior seducing skills of the rake who is actually a woman (and thus does a male job better than men), but like any good joke, the implications are complex and often contradictory. The specter of rape and violation of both female and male bodies is not far behind in these comic tropes. In the courtroom, Silvia in breeches is "charged with rape"[145]; Silvia retorts to the Constable: "Is it your wife or your daughter, booby? I ravished 'em both yesterday"(5.5.124). As Joel Schechter suggests, the context of this statement makes it especially multi-layered, for "Recited by an actress dressed as a man, these lines might have sounded comic to spectators, although the judges hearing her in the play take Silvia seriously[,]" since her braggadocious statement plays upon real fears of the sexual violence of soldiers.[146] Another layer would be the implied threat of penetration that follows Silvia's character. Silvia in breeches must dodge male attempts to share a bed with her, a situation which might reveal that she is a woman under her male garb and, more sinisterly, may lead to her own rape or seduction. Thus, to deflect Plume's attempt to sleep in the same bed with

her male alter-ego Jack Wilful, Silvia doubles up for the night with Rose instead. The rustic maid expresses her disappointment the next day that she was not violated by the young man and "d[idn't] know whether [she] had a bedfellow or not" (5.1.6 and 5.7.131). While sleeping in bed with another woman preserves Silvia's chastity, her scheme ironically also threatens to reveal what hides beneath her breeches, her lack of the organ by which Rose desires penetration. Silvia distills the idea of the recruit (satirically and literally): she is actually willing to join, she is already a rake and ne'er do well, and both like and unlike a male soldier, she serves as a symbol of castration and violability.[147] Silvia, as an emblem of the soldier in the play is thus a figure who is already castrated, more recognizably subject to violation; yet one who is, as the cultural logic of the play demonstrates, more physically safe from the technologies of war than male soldiers and recruits (since her recruitment functions as a plot device rather than a real possibility of deployment). This shows us the way humor in the play is oriented—it flirts with the irreconcilable.

Thus, the most significant way that Silvia and Plume intersect in their capacity to attract fascination is through their doubled intersection of magnetic strength and vulnerability. Airy, "effervescent," yet in control, in her sharp words, overcompensating behavior, and even uniform of white and silver (which offers a ghostly yet elegant echo of the male uniform), it is not difficult to see Silvia condensing the unstated but implied vulnerability of Plume, hinted at in the symbolism and semiotics of plumage.[148] Focusing on this image of Silvia as the center of the play speaks to what has been missed in examinations of the play's appeal—the social functioning of humor. This is especially important in the context of how humor mediates individual and collective trauma, which the play's subject matter and grim undercurrents tap into. Comic performance evokes tensions that cannot be resolved, or even directly addressed.[149] This

consideration is especially necessary to the play's malleability, the way it can move through so many performative contexts so as to seem incoherent, ideologically. Rather than humor necessarily being a vehicle for an underlying and coherent message—subversion and satire or a shoring-up of loyalty to the state—humor can be seen, more fundamentally, as a medium for testing deeply rooted social contradictions and tensions.

Joking in the structure of trauma, according to Iddo Tavory and Iain MacRury, essentially involves displacement of "traumata," but this displacement comes to function as one of the ways to access collective sympathy and commiseration, in daily life, for what is too painful, awkward, or confounding to address outright.[150] Two other key points are that this sort of humor functions as a strategy for coping in situations of daily extremity or psychological distress, and that for the joke to make sense in a collective context it must reveal a shared sense of fellow-feeling, with the audience, at the haptic level of the body. The joke must strike a chord in this way, either by forging a way to publicly address a shared but private experience of vulnerability, or by making intelligible the joke-teller's experience of distress by picking up on the wavelength of a broader cultural experience. Jokes surrounding Silvia's adept performance as a male soldier that also suggest nervousness about castration reoccur in the play with significant implications for Silvia's function as an echo of Plume and other soldiers. As Melinda Rabb argues, "the long eighteenth century" abounds with "male characters whose corporeality seems far more vulnerable and exposed than the" widely used "theory of the [male] gaze would suggest."[151] Rather than the safely "intact body of the male subject, on one hand, [and] eroticized female parts as objects of desire and fear, on the other," the period proliferates with literary and stage depictions of damaged male bodies, castration, and vulnerably exposed phalluses, from the obsession with castration in *Tristram Shandy*, to Lemuel Gulliver's awkwardly exposed or pruriently viewed

body in *Gulliver's Travels*, to the dismembered human remains that haunt *Robinson Crusoe*, to name just a few examples.[152] Rabb suggests of this obsession throughout the period: "We might say that if the concealed male organ is the [cultural] norm, then its exposure to the gaze is a kind of displacement, a dislocation of a body part from a position of secure concealment to a position of threatened detachment, misplacement, or devaluation".[153] Rabb traces this trend back to the traumatically disruptive and destructive English Civil War, connecting this literary fascination with exposing the phallus to view (and possible destruction) to the memory of the dehumanizing capacity of modern warfare, enacted all-too-close to home.[154] If we are to see Silvia's breeches-role identity, Jack Wilful, as a displacement of contradictory ideas about the physical state, identity, and masculinity of the soldier, jokes that touch upon fears, insecurities, and humorous situations involving castration or sexual inadequacy are significant.

The implied sexual prowess or powers of seduction of the woman in disguise as a man serves as a comic trope in *The Recruiting Officer*.[155] This resonates on many levels, including as a jab at the clumsy seduction techniques of men and the danger of the cross-dresser being exposed and rendered sexually or socially vulnerable. This trope is especially carried from act 4 to the conclusion of the play, initiated by Silvia's shift to sleep with Rose to evade doubling up with Plume or any other male soldier for the night. When Silvia in disguise as Wilful deflects Plume's attempt to share a bed with her for the night (he cannot tell she is a woman, but feels an attraction to her), she reiterates that she has agreed on another companion: "No, no, Captain, you forget Rose; she's to be my bedfellow you know" (4.1.163-4). Plume replies: "I had forgot; pray be kind to her" (165). Even here, the trope plays on a contrast between sexual vulnerability and sexual prowess, while also playing upon the capacity for these two opposites to fold into each other. Occurring right after Plume's speech that he is "not that rake that the world imagines"

(4.1.157), it quickly becomes entangled with questions about disjunctions between the world's perception of the soldier's life and his lived experiences. Silvia's shift to sleep with Rose is necessitated by her secretly vulnerable position, the feminine body beneath her hyper-masculine performance; this is echoed in Plume's perception of Rose as vulnerable in his injunction to Wilful: "pray be kind to her."

This dynamic is inverted by Rose's own reaction to the lack of penetration she experiences during her night with Wilful. The morning after:

> Silvia: I have rested but indifferently, and I believe my bedfellow was as little pleased. Poor Rose! Here she comes . . . Good morrow, my dear, how d'ye this morning?
>
> Rose: Just as I was last night, neither better nor worse for you.
>
> Silvia: What's the matter? Did you not like your bedfellow?
>
> Rose: I don't know whether I had a bedfellow or not.
>
> Silvia: Did I not lie with you?
>
> Rose: No. I wonder you could have the conscience to ruin a poor girl for nothing.
>
> Silvia: I have saved thee from ruin, child. Don't be melancholy; I can give you as many fine things as the captain can.
>
> Rose: But you can't I'm sure. (5.1.1-12)

Although this brief scene only occurs in the Q1 version of the play, part of the joke here ("I don't know whether I had a bedfellow or not") occurs word for word near the end of the play, further highlighting Rose's dissatisfaction and Silvia's loss or displacement of signifiers of male embodiment.[156]

A further point is that the threat of the lack of the phallus extends from Silvia, who embodies this lack and the vulnerability it suggests, to Plume, who does not seem to lack it, but who, as a soldier uniquely subject to the body's vulnerabilities, is continuously threatened by its loss. In the following exchange, all these elements come together—with Silvia and Plume both standing-in for plenitude and lack. Balance, Silvia's father, knows that Wilful (the "young gentleman soldier") is his own daughter Silvia, but Plume does not yet:

> Balance: Pray, Captain, what have you done with your young gentleman soldier?
>
> Plume: He's at my quarters, I suppose, with the rest of my men.
>
> Balance: Does he keep company with the common soldiers?
>
> Plume: No, he's generally with me.
>
> Balance: He lies with you, I presume.
>
> Plume: No, faith. I offered him part of my bed, but the young rogue fell in love with Rose, and has lain with her, I think, since he came to town.
>
> Balance: So that between you both, Rose has been finely managed.
>
> Plume: Upon my honour, sir, she had no harm from me.
>
> Balance: [*Aside*] All's safe, I find. (5.7. 21-32)

This exchange affirms that Silvia has not been violated; again, the joke that Rose desires the opposite returns and is played upon, absurdly twisting Silvia's real fear of rape, but also underscoring the plenitude entailed in the phallus and the loss entailed in its absence. In the exchange, Silvia does not keep "company with the common soldiers," but Rose keeps company with two young gentleman soldiers (Wilful and Plume). Rose, like Silvia, is the repeated subject of sexual innuendo in these comic exchanges and, like Silvia, remains unviolated ("between you both, Rose has been finely managed"). Furthermore, in the double entendre "finely managed,"

Silvia's lack of the phallus, connected to her vulnerability and capacity to be violated, subtly folds into Plume's. Rose has "had no harm" from either Silvia or Plume; the two officers are both part of the implied sexual lack in the construction of these comic exchanges.

Vulnerable yet adept in the role of a soldier, the female soldier who dresses as a man in performance opens up a public space for reflecting on the intimate ways in which martial masculinity itself is an artificial imposition, revealing the connection between the transformation wrought on the body by military training and the cruelty inherent in this transformation, as it locks the body in the certitude of injury and injuring.[157] Silvia's cross-dressing role serves as an experiential bridge, where the more familiar or culturally legible vulnerabilities and threats of violation to the female body function to give partial access to the experience of soldiering in a rapidly technologized (and increasingly violent and large scale) military and configuration of warfare. Looking for expressions of trauma in unexpected performative or narrative spaces—such as the subtle wavelength of shared experience that makes a joke about living with pain, fear, or vulnerability strike a chord with an audience-at-large—opens up new ways of understanding how trauma was negotiated in everyday life in the eighteenth century.

Cross-dressing and the Manual Exercise

Cross-dressed soldier roles in the theater, ballads, and other popular forms draw attention to the performativity of soldier-like behaviors, from displays of courage, self-control under duress, to rakish posturing.[158] While breeches roles in general were a mainstay of the eighteenth-century theater, certainly one of the most frequently performed of these roles was the martial one discussed above—Sylvia's in *The Recruiting Officer*, where she plays the backtalking and sexually alluring "Jack Willful." The presence of the woman's body in soldier breeches roles takes on an added layer of gendered significance to the breeches role, connected to the soldier-

figure's vexed masculinity. In cross-dressed soldier roles, the ability of the actress to perform male gender in breeches roles generally, which has the potential to reveal the artifice of masculine qualities or to, conversely, fixate the audience on the female body as a sexualized object, intersects in these performances with the soldier-figure's complicated relationship with ideals and concepts of masculinity, especially of bodily autonomy that may be part of the allure of military life but also cannot be maintained in the martial setting. The trope of the female soldier in male disguise draws attention to the liminal nature of soldiering; the grab-bag of contradictions associated with the woman warrior, from sexual allure, physical competence, vulnerability, physical restriction, to an air of independence, is not discontinuous with cultural views of male soldiers, and even highlights the contradictory ways male soldiers were seen. Part of the joke in soldier breeches roles is not just that a woman can so convincingly play a man, but that her aspects that are coded as feminine—such as her prettiness, physical smallness, and her overcompensating braggadocio—blend seamlessly with stereotypes of male soldiers. By donning breeches, scarlet coat, and an overacted swagger, she ironically steps into a position recently occupied by some other youthful and, it is implied, disposable recruit who is actually male.

The connection of the youthful recruit's prettiness and disposability is drawn out further in a play roughly contemporary with *The Recruiting Officer*: Charles Shadwell's *The Humours of the Army* (1713), which, similar to *The Recruiting Officer*, also includes a soldier breeches part. In this play, one sub-plot involves a woman named Belvedera who cross-dresses and joins the army to search for her lover, Wilmot. In part of Belvedera's role (placed in the epilogue), she "delivers her lines while performing elements of the manual exercise with her 'Fuzee,' or light musket" (Lock and Worrall 25). An earlier episode in the play highlights the way her feminine qualities are understood to be the qualities of a male recruit, which is part of the humor of the

exchange but also shows ways that her feminine gender folds into views of soldiers and youthful recruits (or shows an ambiguity between these categories). Here Belvedera has a somewhat contentious exchange with Blunder, "Lieutenant of Grenadeers":

> *Blun*. That smooth Countenance of thine is not made for Frowning; if thou valuest thy Life, or thy Commission, thou must be more civiliz'd, or thou wilt be the Thirteenth young handsome Impertinent Fellow we have run thro' the Body this Campaign; lookey, if you'll go to the Sutlers, we'll *Kiss* and Friends over a Dramb of Geneva: thou shalt have a Pipe of Tobacco out of my Box here, or if thou hast an Antipathy to Smoaking, I can give thee a Chaw of the best Oronoko in the Universe, which is an Offer that many a Sub. wou'd jump at.
>
> *Belv*. Faugh upon thy nasty Weed, Sir, you have us'd me Ill, and therefore I demand Satisfaction------- [*She draws*.]
>
> *Blan*. Ha, ha, prithee Babe put up thy Sprat Spit, 'tis fit only to make a Busk for thy Mistress. (Shadwell 27).

While Belvedera's soft, feminine qualities are remarked upon—her "smooth Countenance" and handsome appearance—they are immediately integrated into typical military life. The smooth countenance bespeaks youth and even wildness (she is asked to "be more civiliz'd"), and this combination of softness, youth, and intemperance evokes numerous ill-fated male predecessors, as she may outrageously become the "Thirteenth young handsome Impertinent Fellow we have run thro' the Body this Campaign." While it can be suggested that Belvedera's prettiness as a young recruit is quickly reconfigured to fit a normative, cishet context—as a pretty male soldier, she must have a mistress, and it is suggested that her energy has been expended in the erotic

rather than martial arena—it also draws attention to the way the soldier figure is sexualized generally, and how this connects to vulnerability and lack of physical autonomy.

In this play that begins with two captains, Hearty and Wildish, discussing the prospects of a sickness that is plaguing the camp taking out commanding officers and leading to their promotions, the physical debility or disability that attends army life distinctly frames the action, and as in *The Recruiting Officer*, is wryly woven throughout. Outside of cross-dressing role of Belvedera, the other women in camp, including the higher-class wives and daughters of high-ranking officers, take on a military toughness that intersects with the gendered ambiguity of the male soldiers. This is carried in the play with mutual gazing (ogling, in the play) between the sexes and the trope of hasty military marriages. The joke about the male soldier (who is actually a woman in disguise) as an irresistibly pretty fellow, a common device in cross-dressing roles, echoes a far earlier exchange between two young women in the play, Victoria and Leonora, while they catch sight of "Major *Young Fox*." The two women "Enter as From Horseback" (Shadwell 6), discussing Victoria's upcoming marriage to Mr. Bisket—whom she detests—when she notices the young major:

> Vict. . . . (espying young *Fox.*) Dear Child, what pretty Fellow is that with *Wildish* and *Hearty*?
>
> Leon. 'Tis Major *Young Fox*—I suppose, just arrived from *England*, he will be the Talk of the Camp for one Month.
>
> Vict. Prithee, why so?
>
> Leon. For rakish Exploits—in *Lisbon*, every Street us'd to be alarmed by him; his Father died since he has been in *England*, and has left him a Thousand Pound a

Year, which will give him the Opportunity of committing a Thousand more Vices than he us'd to do.

Vict. He's really a pretty Fellow, Why could not my Father have pick'd out such a Man for me? (Shadwell 6)

A few lines later we find Victoria's infatuation at first sight to be requited by Fox, along with some mixed martial metaphors for courtship reminiscent of Farquhar:

Y. Fox. What charming Creatures are those?

Heart. One is your old Friend *Leonora*, the Daughter of your late Colonel, who left her to the Care of the Brigadeer: And the other is Brigadeer *Bloodmore's* Daughter, who with her Mother was sent for from *Lisbon* on his late Illness; they say she is to be married to Mr. *Bisket*, the *Santista*, who supplies the Army with Bread and Forrage.

Y. Fox. I protest she has fine brilliant piercing Eyes, and therefore I'll forbid the Banes; she gives me a pretty thrilling Pain about my Heart; she sets my Soul on Fire, and I must have her; Serjeant, prepare the Men for an Attack, I am resolved to countermine *Bisket*, blow up all his Outworks, and take that fair Citadel Sword in Hand.

Wild. Most heroickly express'd.

Y. Fox. Now will I fix my self in a very languishing Posture, fire both my Eyes at her, and I'll lay my Life on't, one of them shall do Execution in some Corner of her Heart; ha, Faith she returns the Ogle! I am sure she must be a Prize—(*Kisses his Hand*) Oh those dear charming Eyes have captivated my very Soul! (Shadwell 7)

This mutual firing of their eyes is apparently enough to seal the courtship, as part of the plot later is that Fox will disguise himself as Bisket during the wedding vows (Victoria begs her parents to allow her to marry Bisket in the dark, since they won't allow her to marry a man of her choosing—it never comes to this, though, and Victoria's military father approves the union with young Major Fox). By the point in the plot that this subterfuge is devised, the young lovers, of course, still have not met; Hearty has to assure Victoria that "'Tis your Person now he [Fox] doats on: But I'm well assur'd, when he's acquainted with the Beauties of your Mind, he more and more will Love you: Give me but Hopes you like him, and for all the Time's so short, I'll engage the Major delivers you from this wretched Coxcomb [Bisket]; and with your Father's Consent too" (Shadwell 37). This plays on the stereotype of hasty military marriages that Jennine Hurl-Eamon discusses, exemplified, as she suggests, in Henry Fielding's "fictional account [in *Joseph Andrews*] of a drummer from an Irish infantry regiment and a woman he met on the road between Bristol and Frome. They reportedly 'struck a Bargain within a Mile, and lived together as Man and Wife' for the rest of the journey" (Hurl-Eamon 159). Behind the satirical take on these spur-of-the-moment unions that seem flighty and superficial is the reality of "[a]rmy restrictions on movement," hasty "return to service," and of course, the soldier's relatively close proximity to death; all these factors might encourage a hasty marriage (Hurl-Eamon 160). This sense of pressing need or haste is present even in a farcical play like *The Humours of the Army*, where a hasty union between Victoria and Fox is outwardly necessitated by her military family's equally hasty proposal to marry her off to Bisket within 24 hours of her voicing distaste of him.

On a more indirect register, references to gross bodily harm in the service accrue in this comedy, further coloring army life with a sense of fleetingness. This is seen from the plague in camp that opens the play to a comic exchange between low-ranking soldiers that occurs right

after Victoria and Hearty's conversation above, in which Soldier 1 says: ". . . we are Gentleman Souldiers, and have been so long in the Service we're weary on't, our Officers have so good an Opinion of us, that in case of an Attack, we shou'd be the Men pick'd to have our Brains knock'd out first" (Shadwell 43). This funny exchange between two soldiers who discuss their disposability and the absurdities of honor in war is typical of the play, but also significant. As Elaine Scarry suggests, the political language of how war is waged purposely effaces the primary purpose of war—injury and destruction—to the service of "a victorious national fiction" (Scarry 136): "[t]he radical unanchoredness of the language of war is in nothing so visible as in its separation from that phenomenon (the alteration of hands, heart, lungs, brain [via injuring]) that is, in the midst of so much fictiveness, not only the most indisputably and unalterably real phenomenon [of war] but also the phenomenon that is with massive, obsessive, dogged repetitiveness being brought into being often hundreds of times each day, day after day" (Scarry 136). *The Recruiting Officer* and *The Humours of the Army* could be said to do the opposite, or at least something very different, through their underlying insistence on looking at war through the basic level of the body and the many forms of harm it is vulnerable to in army life. This focus detaches war from its official language via a tendency toward ironic contrast that undermines official language. Paul Fussell considers this to be endemic to the modern experience of warfare (where official accounts so radically differ from actual experience, and more basically, technological advancement in wielding destruction in warfare is so seemingly discontinuous with the experiences of civilian life): "The very enormity of the proceedings [of war], their absurd remove from the usages of the normal world, will guarantee that a structure of irony sufficient for ready narrative recall will attach to them" in the narratives of soldiers (Fussell 326).[159] This is perhaps the key way that the two plays intersect the military world with the "normal world"--

through this irony arising from the experience of the body in war (or in pain) and the unreality of conventional language or ideas about heroism to explain it. This attention to earthy detail is connected to the molding of the body through drilling, for "[o]ne remembers [time in war] with special vividness too because military training is very largely training in alertness and a special kind of noticing" (Fussell 327).

Another layer to the role of the cross-dressed soldier would be the trope, in the eighteenth century, of the amorous female gaze on the object of the soldier, a trope recently explored by historian Louise Carter. As Carter suggests, the visual and sometimes erotic spectacle of the soldier in eighteenth-century culture forms another instance in which a revised view of both the gender dynamics of the objectifying gaze and how female erotic desire was understood in the period.[160] A somewhat less extreme version of the displacement of male bodies through their vulnerable exposure (to the gaze, or literal exposure) is seen in the female gaze upon the soldier as an object of desire, which is sometimes depicted obviously, such as through comic images of women furtively watching martial demonstrations through a spyglass. This is also a trope in ballads about soldiers, in which a pretty, new recruit is rescued by a wealthier woman, who often first lays eyes upon him during a martial procession. Images such as Thomas Rowlandson's *The Wonderfull Charms of a Red Coat and Cockade* depict the scrutiny and objectification of the viewer's gaze more subtly than the above examples, and in a way that is layered with humor, satire, and very subtly, pathos.

The self-reflexivity of spectatorship is, as Temma Berg suggests, of peculiar interest to Rowlandson's art in general, and can be found in his famous image of Vauxhall Gardens. Through the interplay of the variously life-like and caricatured figures peopling the fashionable spot —some aware of the performativity of their presence and even meeting the viewer's gaze,

others oblivious to it (as well as to their absurd appearance to other spectators)—"Vauxhall Gardens reveals the reciprocity between spectatorship and performance. We watch ourselves as we watch others watch us. This is how modernity works; to be modern is to be both freed and trapped by the possibilities of mimicry that help us define and redefine our expressions, postures, attitudes. No matter how much we resist the gestures that surround us, we observe them and repeat them" (Berg 27). This reflexivity is carried over in Rowlandson's satirical image of scarlet fever, The *Wonderfull Charms of a Red Coat and Cockade*, where the awkwardness of being scrutinized or receiving unexpected attention is etched upon the soldier's body language; he seems to almost shrink under the gaze and touch of the more robust and confident young woman, and by implication, from the viewer's gaze as well. While the satirical thrust of the image "is typical in implying that even a well-dressed, respectable and attractive young woman could be sufficiently fascinated by a red coat to overlook the less-than-youthful or beguiling specimen of manhood actually wearing it" (Carter 157), what is perhaps atypical is the degree to which this satirically inadequate soldier is aware that the social role of martial masculinity he inhabits is ill-fitting or out-of-joint. Unlike other similar images, the soldier in Rowlandson's does not exactly take advantage of his role but seems to be aware that he is awkwardly thrust into it. This could mean that such roles are implied to be ill-fitting in general—meaning that this image taps into the cultural substratum of awareness that the mechanization of the body through the drills and exercises of soldiers and actors is never complete, and always unsettling—or perhaps that the image suggests the temporality and behaviors of the camp awkwardly stand out in a civilian context, subtly implying that the military forever marks the body apart in the civilian world, rendering reintegration an ill-fit.

The cross-dressed soldier on stage (who is actually a woman) intersects with the phenomenon of real martial cross-dressers in the eighteenth century, such as Hannah Snell, who went on to perform the manual exercise in theatrical settings after her retirement from a storied career in the military, where she fought as a man. As Georgina Lock and David Worrall suggest, Snell's public performances of the manual exercise, which came to include ballad singing, intersects with the actress Peg Woffington's similar performances of martial routines connected with her popularity as a breeches performer, especially of Sylvia in Farquhar's play. While Lock and Worrall suggest that it is hard to tell exactly how such performances were delivered or perceived—as satirical feminine approximations of the difficult exercises or with emphasis on the female performers' physical prowess and coordination—the connection of Snell's theatrical career with her actual military service, which was recorded for her in the narrative *The Female Soldier* and of which many viewers would be aware, points to the latter interpretation. The very martial portrait of Snell that Lock and Worrall include further suggests the latter interpretation, as it draws attention to Snell's appearance as a respectable looking, retired military figure.

While Snell's gender seems to occupy a somewhat ambivalent place between masculine and feminine, what is really drawn attention to is her martial aspect. This attests to the way military service was understood to shape and transform the individual, which is of course the purpose of the manual exercises. War here is indelibly etched on the body's movements and appearance, from the suggestion of previous wounds anyone familiar with Snell's narrative would be aware of, to the telltale erect posture of the former soldier that she still displays. Dianne Dugaw and Elissa Gurman suggest that "the female soldier narrative" of the eighteenth century, of which Snell's narrative participates, "presents gender and gendered heroic ideals as performed and thus mutable; if the role of a hero can be taken on by a woman in disguise, then

heroism itself must be something performed or 'put on'" (Gurman 328). If we were to replace "heroism" with "martial behavior," we can see the way cross-dressing roles foreground and interrogate the molding of the body in the performance of military movements.

Snell's display of the manual exercises for theater audiences, and similar public displays by soldiers and actors, also had a pragmatic element, illustrating for civilian audiences how the complicated movements described and pictured in often confusing manuals coalesced in physical action (Lock and Worrell 27). The manual exercises, central to the modern British military of the eighteenth century and predicated on different movements with firearms, were learned by each soldier upon entering service and were essential to the incoming soldier's transition from civilian to military life. One could say that starting in this period, the soldier was not tested by war on the battlefield but instead right after recruitment, when initiated into the routines of military service. Mastering the movements prepared the soldier for the new, mechanized warfare centered on firepower and also imparted to him the telltale physical attributes of servicemen, such as the erect posture and gait that is drawn attention to in images contrasting new recruits with seasoned soldiers. While the "mechanization of [the] bod[y]" is more often discussed in relation to these performances—the way the soldier is turned into a killing machine and his individuality subsumed to the army as he is trained to be a moving part in tactical formations—the reality was that many soldiers never saw battle, and their immediate perils were disease in camp, especially for those stationed overseas.[161] The comic play *The Humours of the Army* especially reflects this, opening with the English camp in Portugal beset by a plague. For many soldiers, the manual exercises were experienced as a way to maintain discipline and some degree of physical dexterity in long deployments in strange outposts. Yet, outside the creation and avoidance of wounding on

the battlefield, the exercises become affectively involved with disease and waste in this additional way.

Starting in the early eighteenth century, publications describing and illustrating the manual exercises and theorizing the best ways to quickly and precisely master them became widespread; these manuals were aimed both at gentleman officers (who may be given commission without having learned the exercises themselves) and the general public. By mid-century, the manuals came to also be associated with the militia movements, and Snell's performances intersect with this period.[162] With the draw of Snell's performances being the curiosity of witnessing a woman who was actually a veteran soldier (and fought for the British army abroad) perform these dexterous military motions, it is not difficult to imagine that the body comes to the forefront in these performances to a degree that it may not for a male performer. Although we do not have descriptions of Snell's performance, we can gauge their difficulty from other illustrations of the exercises, which Snell's performance was clearly intended to reflect in precision and aptitude: "With up to seventy-four individual movements in the manual exercise, sometimes with several 'Motions' within each (including loading and firing the gun as well as fixing and unfixing the bayonet), the manuals suggest the complexity, dexterity, and sheer physicality of Snell's New Wells Spa performances" (Lock and Worrall 27). The awareness that Snell's body is a woman's—and has been exerted in military service—adds a new layer of physicality to the martial performance. The ease with which she likely performed perhaps had an ironically defamiliarizing affect, drawing attention to the difficulty of the demonstration, its "sheer physicality," in a way that a male soldier's performance may not have.

Conclusion

The female soldier who dresses as a man in performance (and performs well) defamiliarizes soldiering, placing in doubt assumptions about masculine performance and drawing attention to the soldier's body in the way it is rendered both vulnerable and adept through martial training. An illuminating analogy for the ironic ends of the body's transformation by enlistment and training can be found in a twentieth-century novel, Tim O'Brien's *The Things They Carried*, which contains a chapter framed as a sort of performance, the second-hand story of a teenage girl whose soldier boyfriend ships her over to Vietnam to be with him. Rather than fulfilling the fantasy of a sexual and domestic outlet (the sensationalist point of the story one would expect), she instead, to the consternation of her boyfriend, transforms into a highly adept soldier. The story becomes a metaphor for the complex, unsettling transformation through which all young recruits or draftees undergo in the course of training and deployment: "What happened to her . . . was what happened to all of them [the young recruits]. You come over clean and you get dirty and then afterwards it's never the same" (O'Brien 109) When "[h]er body," under the duress of adapting to the rigors of military life, becomes "foreign somehow--too stiff in places, too firm where the softness used to be," the similar experience of male recruits, their metamorphosis from soft, vulnerable youths to hard-bitten soldiers, is invested with a new pathos, or at least is paid new attention to via this different framing through the female body (O'Brien 94-5). This tale within a tale also functions as a soldier's complicated fantasy of being able to encounter someone who looks like a civilian outsider, but who can actually understand the cruel, transformative, temporally dislocating experience of war on the body. This performance of understanding through embodiment and physicality communicates that war, like the taste of "chocolate" or "shit," cannot be described but must be experienced in its life-or-death physicality to be understood, in this way adding to the alienation of returning

veterans who meet widespread misunderstanding and disavowal of their war experiences back home (O'Brien 108). Yet this young woman, the female soldier, seemingly interchangeable with any wholesome girl-next-door, has experienced it: "There it is, you got to taste it, and that's the thing with Mary Anne. She was there. She was up to her eyeballs in it. After the war, man, I promise you, you won't find nobody like her" (O'Brien 108). Silvia's cross-dressing role in *The Recruiting Officer* and Belvedera's in *The Humours of the Army* serve a similar function to this tall tale in *The Things They Carried*: as an experiential bridge that defamiliarizes the connection between soldiering and masculinity (as natural, easy, or expected) but in this process makes the vulnerabilities of enlistment more familiar and easier for outsiders to access or conceptualize.

Chapter 3:
“Ye dear remains of the most loved of men!”:
Bed tricks, dead tricks, and the waste of war

In Act 4 of Joseph Addison’s *Cato: A Tragedy* (1713), “a bizarre series of events” involving the mistaken identity of a corpse finally brings the lovers Marcia and Juba together.[163] An odd part of a seemingly tacked-on romantic subplot, its placement in the play might seem inexplicable.[164] As I will suggest though, this shift of a bed trick (the replacement of one person for another for the sex act) into what I will call a “dead trick” (the mistaking of one corpse for another) references recent popular plays like William Congreve’s *The Mourning Bride* (1697) and Thomas Otway’s *The Orphan, Or, the Unhappy-Marriage* (1680). The three plays I consider in this chapter—*The Mourning Bride*, *Cato*, and *The Orphan*—involve, in some way, “dead tricks” that obliquely or affectively suggest the fundamental waste of war and the pervasive sense that soldiers are reduced to bodies that are not distinguished from each other. All three plays have key sections where the inability of other characters to tell the difference between bodies becomes an important plot point associated with horror and tragedy; whether these outcomes are realized or deflected, they haunt the action of the play. This confusion of bodies is taken to ghastly and sometimes even darkly comic extremes, and the extenuated focus in the plays on characters’ reactions to the bodies (and to the realization of an interchange of bodies) creates a complex and multi-layered communication of emotions in a time of war.

One can find a genealogy of the bed trick turning into the dead trick through the different iterations of these devices of substitution between the plays. In *The Orphan*, where the bed trick notably involves interchanging men’s bodies rather than women’s, the love triangle at the center of the tragedy involves three characters who have been marked for war in some way but instead meet their ghastly ends in the wake of the fatal bed trick of the plot. The bed trick becomes a

proxy for war and allows for an exploration of the complicated emotions of war as they are felt at home; most evocatively, this includes the emotions of the survivor of past military conflict in the wake of present military conflict. And in *The Mourning Bride* and *Cato*, an intended bed trick (of sorts) turns into a dead trick; in both plays, grieving women mistake the corpse of another man for their beloved as the audience observes their reactions with dramatic irony, a framework similar to the revelation of the bed trick to characters in *The Orphan*. All three plays were also extremely popular from their debuts and extending throughout the eighteenth century; this contributes to the sense of a simultaneity of concerns within the three plays as they all address the same issue—the pervasive waste of bodies in war—from slightly different angles. As I suggest, this reflects a cultural preoccupation with grief and mourning in the shifting context of war, especially war engaged abroad (but with persistent references at home) and on a large scale. The plays repeatedly enact incomplete mourning of war in civilian life. The dead tricks and bed tricks serve as the climactic moment or a climactic purpose within these elaborate scenarios of loss and its after-effects.

Considering *The Mourning Bride* and *The Orphan* as war-themed plays elucidates the romantic elements in *Cato* and places the tragic romances of the two earlier plays in the context of mourning and grief at home during a time of war. These two earlier plays (*The Orphan* and *The Mourning Bride*) mark important shifts in the way these "tricks" are used to foreground the revelation of powerful emotional responses—minutely, and from a variety of angles and character reactions. Both tricks, in this variation, draw attention to the powerful emotions attending the encounter with anonymous bodies and the mistaken intimacy, of sex or grief, that ensues in the wake of this encounter. Dead bodies as spectacle in *Cato* carry particular significance as sites of revelation and meaning making,[165] communicating a darker narrative

about the waste of bodies in warfare. Thus, the episode of substitution between Juba, Marcia, and the slain body of Sempronius in *Cato*, by repeating two devices as they are enacted in Restoration tragedy, foregrounds the psychology and emotions of an encounter with a mistaken body either in death or sex and the reactions of horror at the realization of these anonymous interchanges.

Dead bodies as stage spectacles take on particular importance in three instances in *Cato*, and the first one, Marcia's mistaking of the slain Sempronius for her lover Juba, sets the tone for the others, the presentation of Marcus's body on the shield of battle and Cato's suicide, the tragedy that concludes the play. The dead trick scenario closely echoes one from the slightly earlier and also very popular play, Congreve's *The Mourning Bride* in such a way that would be readily apparent to many audience members. Thus, this seemingly out-of-place addition in *Cato*, read through the context of Congreve's gory tragedy, reveals important associations. A set of affects that are more clearly communicated in *The Mourning Bride*—horror, revulsion, and euphoric reunion in a deathly context—appear in *Cato* through the "ghosting" of this key climactic scene of the dead trick. I refer to ghosting in the sense of "present[ing] the identical thing they [the playgoers] have encountered before, although now in a somewhat different context[,]" here the context of the less gory and seemingly more patriotic play, *Cato* (Carlson 7). This influences how two other key moments should be read in *Cato*—the display of Marcus's dead body on his shield and Cato's own suicide, of which the gore is mostly elided but the ambivalence remains. A sense of waste of bodies in wartime is created by this confusion of the living for the dead and, in essence, the excess of bodies produced through these scenarios of substitution. The mistake of a dead body for a living loved one is coupled with careful attention to the visceral and emotional reactions of characters who encounter the substituted body.[166]

The waste of bodies in war is explicitly referenced early in Addison's play and ascribed to Caesar's abuses. The play opens with Portius, a son of Cato, lamenting that "Already Caesar / Has ravaged more than half the globe and sees / Mankind grow thin by his destructive sword" (Addison 1.1.6-8). Marcus, Cato's other son, puts it more passionately: "ev'ry time [Caesar's] named, / Pharsalia rises to my view—I see / Th'insulting tyrant prancing o'er the field / Strowed with Rome's citizens and drenched in slaughter, / His horse's hoofs wet with patrician blood" (1.1.17-21). This is, of course, a classic rhetorical ploy in wartime propaganda to ascribe the worst abuses in war to the enemy while painting one's own violence as noble and necessary. Yet opening the play this way with vivid images of "Mankind grown thin" and the field of war "Strowed with Rome's citizens and drenched in slaughter" also establishes the theme of wastage, picked up later in the play through focus on particular bodies and complicated affective responses to them. This is part of a larger tendency in war-themed literature of the Restoration and early eighteenth century; in these works composed in the shadow of the English Civil War, trepidation and "sheer horror" often contend prominently with discourses of heroism (Alker and Nelson 195). Even in works of propaganda, the material reality of war intrudes and disrupts. Here speaking of poetic representations of siege warfare (a popular theme in the late seventeenth century, and one that also draws attention to the intersection of war and civilian life), Sharon Alker and Holly Faith Nelson suggest that "The graphic, sometimes grotesque and gory depictions of the reality of siege warfare, and a periodic injection of fatalism, tends to undermine the heroic in these works . . ." of the period (Alker and Nelson 195). There is a similar tendency in *Cato*, not in the context of siege warfare but in references to the damage done to bodies generally in martial conflict. Representations of the mangled body in Addison's play—attached to war and its attendant political drama—complicate, through their arresting presence and

visceral appeal, the main plot of duty, glory, and sacrifice in war, contributing to the play's ambivalence.

This ambivalence towards the heroic is notable throughout drama in the Restoration and eighteenth century, where plays often contain two unreconciled strands, a heroic ethos vying with skepticism of heroic ideals. This is most readily seen in the ambivalent depiction of heroic characters, from the subtly problematic heroes in the plays I discuss (Alphonso/Osmyn in *The Mourning Bride*, the brothers Castalio and Polydore in *The Orphan*, Cato and the other positive military characters in *Cato*), to the debauched rake protagonists of comedy, to the "sullied patriarchs" of the "horror plays" of the 1670s. Discussing the Earl of Rochester, the real-life originary "rake-hero" (Neill 120) of the Restoration and an "impecunious heir of a distinguished war hero," Michael Neill puts it succinctly:

> In effect the pensioner of his father's gallantry, Rochester, like most younger members of the Restoration establishment, lived under the shadow of the Cavalier past. But it was a past which (for all its heroic ethos) presented to the coolly inspecting eye a history of incompetence, failure, and ultimate defeat that the rather prosaic circumstances of Charles's return could scarcely annul. (Neill 116)

Rather than, exactly, modeling the duties to the state, war-themed plays of the period explore the vertiginous scenarios of grief and mourning that attend this duty, as well as the implication of war in private life generally. These explorations of grief are attached to the skepticism towards and undercutting of the heroic ethos that is also an obsession in the plays and a part of their ideological doubleness; often it is the misguided actions of the heroes that propel scenarios of tragedy and mourning that are the emotional focus of the plays. *Cato* defines the aporia of patriotism that will be returned to again and again in war-themed plays throughout the eighteenth

century: the intimate trauma, experienced at the level of familial and romantic relations, at the crux of calls to sacrifice for the state in wartime. Sacrifice in *Cato* is entwined with familial loss and trauma; sacrifice is the occasion for trauma, imagined and evoked through familial strife, loss, and violence done to the body, and these broken family dynamics, in turn, spur on the politics of wartime in the plays. Military conflict, in this juncture of early modern warfare, is conceived of as "a kind of game . . . the outcome . . . determined by accident or chance" rather than "Divine Providence" (Manning 413); affectively, this translates in the plays to an understanding of sacrifice to the state as a double bind or no-win situation. This is articulated through the repeated re-enaction in drama of this tension between sacrifice to the state and scenarios of familial trauma that have no resolution.

In reference to the dead trick, which involves a corpse on stage mistaken for another person, the corpse on stage in general has an arresting and even volatile presence, in part due to its "liminal status" as something in-between "human" and "prop" (Gustafson 55); potentially inappropriate; and evocative of loss and mourning, as one might expect, but also horror or even humor in these same contexts.[167] Daniel Gustafson suggests that the unpredictable corpse in performance (in this case, of Lothario in Nicholas Rowe's *The Fair Penitent*) "hinders the ideological success of the specific political order that . . . the text instantiates" (Gustafson 55). Yael Shapira suggests that the corpse in eighteenth-century novels "can seize the reader's attention and add a powerful charge to key moments in the plot," especially when "made vivid through unflinching description" (Shapira, *Inventing the Gothic Corpse*, 3). The use of the corpse on the stage appeals to the senses in an added way through its physical presence; whether it is an actor representing the body or a stage prop, the physicality of the seeming corpse on stage lends an added weight to description and connects the sensations and feelings on stage with the

audience member with visceral immediacy.[168] Stage spectacle's appeal to the sensorium can evoke a "kinesthetic empathy" and "the potential of spectacle to 'reproduce mutual vulnerability' . . . is realized through apprehending the spectacle from inside out and from outside in simultaneously" (McKinney). The bodies on stage, reactions and interactions to and with them, adds an extra dimension to how performance is interpreted by the playgoer via the potentially very intimate associations that arise from visceral responses (McKinney). Along these lines, the early modern stage brought "visceral history[ies]" of military conflict to audiences; these utilized a sense of the "knowledge and affect" of combat and communicated the "deeply unsetting sights and sounds of early modern warfare" (Alker and Nelson 78; Cahill, qtd. in Alker and Nelson 66).

Thus, this chapter is in conversation with two developing strands in recent scholarship—the representation of war in performance and literature in the wake of the English Civil War and Restoration, and the shifting view of the dead body at this same juncture in English cultural history. The bodies that arrest attention on stage through their disturbing substitution for others and, sometimes, for their presence in death, place these two critical strands in conversation. The three plays that are my focus—*The Orphan*, *The Mourning Bride*, and *Cato: A Tragedy*—register a shift in the perception of the body in relation to mourning in the seventeenth and eighteenth century in England. This period is considered part of the early stages of the shift in view of the dead body, where it becomes "the abject body, unwanted and unloved[,]" a carrier of the miasma of disease and a mere shell of the former person (Oliver 6), in contrast to the earlier view (medieval and partly early modern), where "the dead remained members of the community, always close by, always waiting for the living to join them[,]" their remains also waiting to be re-fleshed on the day of judgement (Oliver 5). It should be noted that the degree to which this shift occurred in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (and if it really occurred at all with such

marked difference between periods) is contested. As Yael Shapira notes, "The eighteenth-century backdrop" to novels like Samuel Richardson's *Clarissa* and plays with on stage corpses "is . . . not one where the dead body is rapidly disappearing behind a veil of denial. On the contrary, it is a moment when the taboo, though perhaps beginning to take form, is not yet fully in place, and human remains still circulate in public space—and do so, moreover, with unprecedented vigor due to the workings of a new force: the consumer marketplace" (Shapira, "Problem of the Corpse on the Eighteenth-Century Stage," 15). In this way, it may be useful to consider this shift less as a rift or break with the past, especially in this period, and instead see how bodies are very present, though in different ways.[169] For my purposes, discussions of the shift in the cultural perception of bodies—how the shift is registered and adapted to—can be extended to the context of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century warfare, which also necessitated changes in how the body of the beloved decedent might be mourned in the context of mass death and death occurring abroad, where no remains or tokens might return.

The Orphan dramatizes the complicated sense in the period of remnants (or relics) of the dead as secular objects that are simultaneously ghostly (suggesting incomplete mourning) and powerfully, physically present, to the extent of having a controlling or fatal hold on the future. Monimia, the tragic heroine *The Orphan*, characterizes herself as a revenant or token of the war that took her parents. Her brother Chamont (of course, also an orphan) is referred to in the play specifically as a relic of the past by Monimia and Chamont's adoptive father, Acosto: "Welcome, thou Relick of the best lov'd man, / Welcome from all the Turmoils, and the Hazards, / Of certain danger, and uncertain fortune" (Otway 12). In this construction, Chamont is returning from military conflict (he is a "soldier of fortune"), which intensifies the sense of having survived the same kind of hazards in the past (the war that took his parents) as the present (the

contemporary war). Relick (or relict) in this context references Chamont's orphan status but also touches on his affective status as a token of the past.[170] Kathleen Oliver suggests that the "relic," often a token or keepsake, was mostly divorced, by the eighteenth century, from the religious meaning it had in the early modern period; over the course of two centuries the relic was "reimagined to meet new realities—offered itself as a form of recompense, metaphorically becoming the new body for the dead, one more lovely and more lasting than the corpse" (Oliver 7). It is significant that many plays in the period not only thematize mourning, but also, through the lens of mourning in warfare, present the dead body of those lost in war as an absent presence. The beautiful relic or the body to be mourned and then dignified or monumentalized through interment is not there to offer comforts; instead, bodies in these plays hint at abjection and horror and these affects are conveyed through convoluted plots that substitute one body for another and display outsized tragic results.[171] To borrow an insight from disability studies, "[t]hese works of art"—here, the plays—"disturb because they attach an excess of meaning to the objects designed to convey meaning. More specifically, their meaning grows and circulates via . . . the materiality of the body" that in these instances becomes itself an object of horror and unease (Siebers 103).

Similar to the broader changes in mourning practices and the view of the dead body stated above, onstage corpses also began to receive more criticism for their vulgarity and inappropriateness (although, of course, controversy did not stop playgoers from enjoying human remains-related horror and physical comedy).[172] Yael Shapira, in discussing the complicated presence of the corpse in Gothic fiction and on the eighteenth-century stage, suggests that besides attempts at excision, the stage corpse was often reframed. This could be through remaking it as a sanitized "romantic tableau" or as a patriotic sacrifice (Shapira 10).[173] A prime example of the latter that Shapira provides is from Addison's *Cato*, where Cato himself models

to the audience the appropriate way to frame the profligate display of a bloody corpse in the example of Marcus borne on a shield and Cato lauding his son Marcus's wounds. Shapira suggests that "Addison's handling of the moment reveals the conditions under which the stage spectacle of death could be mitigated and legitimized: the body . . . is not allowed to remain merely a horrific object, but is immediately transformed by his father's speech into an emblem of patriotism" (Shapira 9). In the context of war I am exploring, though, the mangled bodies in *Cato* take on an outsized meaning through their proliferation and substitutions. I would agree with the recent strand within criticism of Addison's play that holds that Cato's stoic and patriotic view of his son Marcus's death was not viewed unproblematically by all playgoers of the eighteenth century.[174] Instead, what Shapira says of the Horace Walpole's Gothic subversion of this trend of sanitizing the corpse from view in *The Castle of Otranto* seems perhaps more appropriate here, where "This process of removal [of Conrad's corpse] is exaggerated enough that it becomes, ironically, a *reminder* of the same body, which modern culture, like Manfred seems determined to ignore" (Shapira 4).

The dead body as stage spectacle in *Cato* reflects a mode of presentation that had already come to be associated with the wastage in war in the Restoration. The episode mentioned earlier where Marcia mistakes the body of her unwanted suitor Sempronius for her desired suitor, Juba, presents a variation of the bed trick which I will call the "dead trick" in this chapter. This variation, echoing Congreve's very gory and also very popular, slightly earlier tragedy, *The Mourning Bride*, reflects another innovation in the Restoration stage use of the bed trick, a heightened focus on characters' responses to the substitution of bodies which explores the scenario through the affecting and highly charged lens of horror. The iconic variation of this is found in the earlier Restoration tragedy, Otway's *The Orphan* (1680), where the bed trick

involves the substitution of men's bodies rather than women's (typically, in the bed trick as it would be familiar to early modern audiences, it is the other way around, with one woman substituted for another in anticipation of a sexual encounter with a man).[175] Moreover, in *The Orphan*, this scenario is implicitly linked to war in the way the two men involved, the brothers Castalio and Polydore, were meant to go to war but were kept at home instead; this initial substitution frames the plot, connecting it with the fatal substitution to follow in the bed trick. In the dead trick variation in *The Mourning Bride* and *Cato*, the acute attention to affective response and dramatic irony heralded in *The Orphan* is retained; the powerful emotions observed in the latter two plays relate to death, grief, and the implications of mistaken mourning. This device heightens our attention to substitution by way of these scenarios of grief for or sex with the mistaken person. The horror attached to the realization of encountering the anonymous (or abject) body serves as an affective proxy to the body enlisted in war and the liminal state between death, injury, and injuring this entails.[176] In these stage scenarios of bed tricks and dead tricks, a dual focus is created, placing attention on the emotional fall-out of substitution as it is felt at home and at war. Thus, focus is not just on the enlisted soldier but also those at home who feel his absence or encounter him, potentially changed by war, upon return. These plays, through their circuitous address to mourning (and its vexation and incompleteness) via these scenarios of substituted bodies, register the larger shifts in mourning and absent bodies, whereby ". . . intensive mourning undergone with the death of a loved one" in the changing rituals of death in the period "may have also included occluded mourning for death itself and for the disappearance of the dying/dead subject" (Oliver 7). In the plays I will discuss, the military deaths hidden by anonymity, notions of patriotic sacrifice, and often a literal lack of presence of the dead, reemerge a la the return of the repressed to wreak havoc via highly emotional encounters in

tragedy with substituted bodies. Thus, it is no surprise that plays like *The Mourning Bride* and *The Orphan* that thematize mourning itself—and grief and tragedy experienced at home during war—could speak so powerfully to audiences of the period.

The composition of *Cato* is contemporary with the War of Spanish Succession. Like Farquhar's comedy *The Recruiting Officer*, *Cato* was also extremely popular and performed frequently throughout the eighteenth century, thus extending beyond its initial context. The wartime and political associations of the play similarly exceeded this original context, taking on many others and attesting to the openness of the play to various uses and interpretations.[177] For instance, early on (in relation to the War of Spanish Succession) Tory playgoers might read the Duke of Marlborough, master strategist and military commander of the English side, into Cato, while Whigs might see Marlborough in Caesar.[178] Along these lines but unlike *The Recruiting Officer* (1706), the debut of Cato in 1713 was after the Treaty of Utrecht, which brought limited victory for the English after a very costly war riddled with scandal. Farquhar's comedy *The Recruiting Officer* is more clearly celebratory in context despite its dark and satiric elements; it is connected to an earlier part of the war where participants, like the Duke of Marlborough, carried more heroic associations. But by the time of *Cato's* debut, figures such as Marlborough are far more ambivalent. Another way to look at this is that an ambivalence to the heroic seen in Restoration tragedy returns in *Cato*, in subtler form. Despite the overall faith in the aptitude of war-heroes in *The Recruiting Officer*, as I suggest in the second chapter, the wastage of men's bodies in war and enlistment also plays an important role in understanding humor in *The Recruiting Officer* and its enduring appeal through a century marked by nearly constant military conflict. A similar cultivation of "haptic" techniques of identification—the cultivation of identification with characters through the suggestion of visceral affect—but through the context

of tragedy and the ghosting of elements from Restoration horror plays and critiques of heroic drama, is present in *Cato*.[179]

Key in understanding the affective work of these devices of substitution in war plays is the way that martial references—the body of the soldier and the multiplicity of affects attached to it, from grief, fear, loss, strength, expendability—likely hit home with a certain intimacy and familiarity to many playgoers, for, "[s]imply put, London was a military city" (Hurl-Eamon 12). Soldiers and veterans were present in English daily life—as spouses, sweethearts, family members, and through the passing sights of soldiers in quarter and aged or disabled veterans on the street—in a way that may be difficult to access now. It is not an exaggeration to say that most people were probably touched by military conflict, military life, and enlistment in some way, often within their intimate circles of sociality. Army regiments might be stationed or be "expect[ed] to do various kinds of duty in any number of geographical areas" on the island (Houlding 28), and "[f]rom the great concentration of troops at London and Westminster to the more thinly quartered areas like Monmouth and much of Lincolnshire, the map of quarters was a leopard-spot map" (Houlding 28). Most soldiers would pass through London at some point, and, with the capital receiving a constant influx of people from other parts of Britain, the quickly expanding population also served as constant fodder for recruitment.[180] Furthermore, "Battleworn veterans often flocked to Chelsea in the hopes of attaining the status of out-pensioners, making ageing soldiers [. . .] another distinct strand of London's military demography" (Hurl-Eamon 12). London, if inadvertently, always had on display the evidence and after-effects of the nation's wars, displayed on the bodies of men present in the city, and by extension, the people attached to these men in some way—their wives, partners, families, social networks, and communities.[181]

The War of Spanish Succession saw a massive increase in servicemen: "from a mere twenty-eight battalions in 1702 the army had been expanded, by the height of the War of Spanish Succession, to seventy-three battalions of marching Foot and six battalions of Foot Guards, a figure not to be equalled [sic] again for fifty years, and greatly reduced with the coming of peace in 1712" (Houlding 8). Running from 1701 to 1714, this war excited patriotic fervor with Marlborough's victory at Blenheim in 1704, but ultimately proved to be a prolonged and bloody conflict with excessive casualties and political scandal in exchange for incomplete victory: "The war had few decisive results for a conflict that had lasted 14 years and caused so many casualties … estimates of the total killed in battle on both sides ranges from 235,000 to 400,000. A higher estimate of 700,000 dead probably includes those who died of disease" (Clodfelter 73).[182] Though this war can be framed as one heralding new and modern elements, such as mechanized efficiency on the battlefield and a global scale in the theater of war, it is also a clear extension of the excessively costly wars of the seventeenth century.[183] The devices used in *Cato* to register the emotional costs of war also come from this seventeenth-century context. Speaking of another literary trope of warfare, the siege motif, Sharon Alker and Holly Faith Nelson note the profound impact wars on the continent, such as the Thirty Years' War, had on perceptions of conflict during the English Civil War, and the doubled effect of these accumulated fears and traumas on representations of sieges into the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[184] In this way, "as inherited motifs" related to warfare—like the age-old motif of the besieged city--"move through time, they may recede or intensify depending on the perceived relevance to the historical moment" (Alker and Nelson 5). The devices of substitution that are the focus of this chapter, long present in literature and performance but revived and transformed on the Restoration stage, similarly reflect how certain "motifs may be remarkably vibrant and multidimensional during

one period of time" and "lose momentum . . . when sociopolitical needs shift and require new forms, modes, and motifs to reflect that reality more usefully" (Alker and Nelson 5).

Bed tricks, head tricks, and dead tricks

The bed trick, a device of substitution originally coined in Shakespeare studies but present in the stories of many cultures, is defined by Wendy Doniger as: "You go to bed with someone you think you know, and when you wake up you discover it was someone else" (Doniger 1). Bed tricks in fiction "often begin with the assumption that sex is an act in which the parties are interchangeable, that bodies can be changed without one's knowledge" (Doniger 5). This frisson between interchangeability and fixed identity (and sexual rules and mores) is central to the device in its many forms, whether it tells the tale of gods consorting with humans, serves to resolve a conflict in marriage or betrothal, or is used to explore the emotional fall-out of violation. In early modern usage (especially Shakespeare) the device is used to resolve conflict, especially in comedy: "The brilliance of the bed trick is that it takes the complicating force of tragic love, in this case better thought of as tragic lust, and turns it to stabilizing and simplifying purposes. It does so, too, without altering at all the nature of this force—both Bertram (in *All's Well That Ends Well*) and Angelo (in *Measure for Measure*) believe they are enjoying forbidden fruit even as they are, in fact, doing the work of honest husbands" (Wiebracht 253). This bringing about of just sexual union or marriage through trickery hearkens back to examples from the Hebrew bible, such as with Tamar (who tricks Judah) and Rachel and Leah (who trick Jacob).[185] In Thomas Otway's *The Orphan; Or, the Unhappy Marriage* the bed trick is "reactivate[d]" after the Interregnum, with the added appeal that "Royal permission was granted to actresses to appear on public stage" (Mieszkowski 323). Beyond titillation, the presence of actresses in *The Orphan* in relation to the bed trick device also heralds a shifted focus away from

the carnivalesque play on multiple switched identities in Shakespeare's comedies and more towards the emotional implications of the substitution of bodies in moments of intimate betrayal. Comic usage, though, still appears in plays, such as Aphra Behn's *The Lucky Chance* (1686). The use of the device to explore the psychological or emotional effects of violation in a similar way to *The Orphan* can be found in Eliza Haywood's novel *Love in Excess*, and in this instance the individual who is violated is a man, D'elmont. We are meant to see this as ironic role-reversal, "as D'elmont's libertine and violent impulses are punished with acts of sexual coercion perpetrated on his person" but the text is also interested in the emotional fall-out of sexual substitution.[186]

Another key difference between the bed trick in *The Orphan* and many early modern/pre-Interregnum models is the gender of the substituted body. In plays like *Measure for Measure* and *All's Well That Ends Well*, as well the biblical examples listed above, it is a woman's body that is interchangeable, the body that, like an object of currency, is substituted to bring about a desired effect, such as securing a rightful marriage. For instance, in the Torah, Tamar employs a bed trick so as to fulfill divine injunction, disguising herself as a sex worker to secure a lawful conception of a child in Judah's lineage (Doniger 256-58). Even in a play like *The Revenger's Tragedy*, it is a woman's skull in replacement of a living body that is used in a pseudo-bed trick to complete an elaborate revenge through poisoning.[187] Yet in *The Orphan*, it is a man's body that is substituted for another man on the heroine Monimia's wedding night. The switching of genders in this device of substitution is significant, especially combined with the wartime context that frames the action of the play.

Sex is not the only place where the interchange of bodies is implied in Otway's play; *The Orphan* is framed with the understanding that the two brothers, Castalio and Polydore, rivals in

wooing their father's ward Monimia, are present in this situation only because their father has kept them at home and prevented them from participating as soldiers in the unnamed war that wracks Europe. The play begins with a conversation between two servants in the house of Acosto, Ernesto and Paulino, setting the context of the family dynamics, including Acosto's brave service in three past wars ("The Honours he has gain'd are justly his; / He purchas'd them in War; thrice has he led / An Army against Rebels; and as often / Return'd with Victory") and his current retirement and distaste of court life This is meant to be seen as a problem early on, starting with the servants contrasting of Chamont with Acosto's sons, Castalio and Polydore:

> *Ernesto*: Her Brother [Monimia's brother Chamont] to the Emperour's Wars went early,
>
> To seek a Fortune or a noble Fate;
>
> Whence he with Honour is expected back,
>
> And might marks of that great Prince's Favour.
>
> *Paulino*: Our Master never would permit his Sons
>
> To lance for Fortune in th' uncertain World,
>
> But wants to avoid both Courts, and Camp,
>
> Where Dilatory Fortune plays the Jilt
>
> With the brave noble honest gallant Man,
>
> To throw her self away on Fools and Knaves. (Otway 2)

It is also established that the two sons, Castalio and Polydore, are wasting their energies at home, or even that their warlike energies are being turned inward, inappropriately into family life:

> *Ernesto*: They both have forward, gen'rous active Spirits,
>
> 'Tis daily their Petition to their Father
>
> To send them forth where Glory's to be gotten;

They cry they're weary of their lazy home,

Restless to do some thing that Fame may talk of

To day they chas'd the Boar . . . (Otway 8).

This is made clearer where we see, as they return, the hunt is shown clearly to be an inadequate proxy for the war:

Castalio: So, *Polydor*, methinks we might in War

Rust [rush] on together; Thou shou'dst be my Guard,

And I be thine; what is't could hurt us then?

Now half the Youth of Europe are in Arms,

How fulsome must it be to stay behind,

And d'ye of rank diseases here at home? (Otway 3)

This close relationship that Castalio puts forth as comrades-in-arms resembles the one between Acasto and the elder Chamont (father of Monimia and her brother Chamont) that the servant Paulino describes: "He [the elder Chamont] was our Lord's Companion in the Wars, / Where such a wondrous Friendship grew between 'em / As only Death could end" (Otway 2). This love and loyalty is repeated in Acosto's great care for his ward, Monimia; as Paulino characterizes this relationship: "To such a care as she scarce lost a Father" (Otway 2). Of course, a wedge is placed between Castalio and Polydore's close relationship and it never develops into the one described between Acosto and the elder Chamont; this is revealed very early on through their rivalry for Monimia.

Another form of substitution in *The Orphan* connected to warfare has a clearly traumatic element, and in this way, the device of sexual substitution serves as its tragic fulfillment. Monimia is introduced early in the play voicing her feeling that she should have died in

childhood in the war that took her parents and left herself and her brother Chamont orphans. Her character is thus framed and self-characterized as a revenant, a left-over body from the previous war awaiting the fulfillment of this momentarily evaded destruction. The sexual substitution by which she is victimized on her wedding night, midway through the play, sets this destruction into motion, leading to the deaths of all three participants (Monimia, Chamont, and Polydore). Here, the bed trick itself serves as a substitution for the destruction of bodies in war. All three bodies had previously been marked for war, so neatly in the plot that the bed trick becomes a proxy for warfare. In the play, the bed trick opens up an exploration of the affective implications of interchange, substitution, and the horror entailed through such an effacement of identity through anonymous exchange.

This emphasis on the horror of anonymity in relation to exchanged bodies is perhaps even more apparent in the "dead trick" device of the stage, where the identity of a dead body is mistaken, and similar to the bed trick, this becomes an important plot point that can precipitate resolution or tragedy. An earlier variant of the dead trick can be found in *The Revenger's Tragedy*, through a "head-trick" that plays upon many of the elements previously discussed, such as the anonymity implied in a successful interchange of bodies (or parts of bodies) and the uncanny borderland between body as identity and body as object: "As Vindice [in *The Revenger's Tragedy*] substitutes the skull for a living virgin in a perverse bed-trick, and as Junior's head is mis-taken for that of Lussorioso, Middleton seems to revel in the exchange and anonymity of 'heads', reducing them once more to items among the King's Men's properties" (Gottlieb, qtd. by Marsalek 184).[188] Although these scenarios are certainly bizarre and grotesque, akin to the Jacobean (as well as biblical) bed trick they also enact an ironic justice. The lady's skull is used to take revenge on her murderer ("literally melting him with a kiss" since it is

poisoned, mirroring the poisoning that caused the lady's death), and the other mistaken head also used to enact just desserts (Sofer, qtd. in Marsalek, 191).

The framing of gore and violence in techniques of horror is as important, if not more so, than the level of gore actually depicted or suggested on stage. Anne Hermanson suggests that, for the decade of the 1670s, elements of horror in tragedy in this timeframe of the Restoration became uniquely cynical on the English stage.[189] Brutal violence in these horror-driven tragedies of the 1670s was not part of an economy of justified revenge or reassertion of order: "The cathartic effects of graphically violent stage spectacles, which could be tolerated by the audience when understood as a justified payback for horrible crimes, were unexpectedly shocking when … the spectacles were flagrant displays of brutality or showed bold perpetrators remaining unrepentant and unpunished" (Hermanson 15). In the excess violence in the earlier play, *The Revenger's Tragedy* (1606), horror is not "dwelt upon" in the same way as some later Restoration plays, where ghastly acts might be verbally described in extenuated detail.[190] Instead, in pre-Restoration plays like *The Revenger's Tragedy*, in scenes of murder, Hermanson notes, "the deed is done quickly and efficiently without further verbal assault. Neither the murderers nor their victims react in any detailed emotional way to the event" (Hermanson 19). In contrast, in plays like *The Massacre of Paris* (Nathaniel Lee, 1679) and *Thyestes* (John Crowne, 1680), descriptions of grisly mutilation and death are drawn out over many lines to create a multi-layered effect of shock, revulsion, and horror, perhaps to even revel in the "almost pornographic intensity" of sadistic brutality (Hermanson 19). In this multi-layered affect, "after the first jolt, there is another and often another until the audience is forced from a sense of shock into feelings of abhorrence" (Hermanson 19). This is coupled with an interest in observing characters' shock at moments of revelation and realization, such as when the body of Thyestes's son is revealed to

him and we observe Thyestes exclaim: “Oh! my Philisthenes! my mangled Son!” to top off the spectacle of the mutilated body revealed onstage (qtd. In Hermanson 19). Elkanah Settle’s play *The Empress of Morocco* has an especially elaborate, dramatically ironic reveal scene concerning the identity of substituted bodies, framed within a “Masque of Orpheus.” We as the audience know that the Queen Mother, Laula, has orchestrated to have the Young Queen slay the wrong person (whose identity is concealed through the costume of Orpheus). The framing of this murder of the wrong man within the masque performance sharpens our focus on the heightened drama of revelation, as we wait for the terrible deed to occur during the masque and then observe the Young Queen’s shock and realization that she has murdered her husband. The masque scenario sets these intense emotions in high relief.

Thus, while *Cato* does not directly appeal to horror, techniques that took a right-turn into the horror mode in the Restoration are echoed in Addison’s early eighteenth-century tragedy and influence interpretation of related elements, such as the framing of the spectacle of the dead body as dramatic revelation, the tainted figure of the patriarch, and the multi-layered sense of violence or gore. Horror lurks under the surface and attaches to other themes and elements, as tropes and techniques that had come to be seen as its vehicle are referenced in Addison’s play. For instance, in *The Mourning Bride*, the tragedy that has the same dead trick scenario as will be used in *Cato*, there is a tendency to describe extreme emotional states through excessively violent or gory figurative language and “ghastly images.”[191] In horror tragedy, such “merciless verbal and visual assaults” create a sense of violence from all angles; not just violence depicted on stage, but also in psychological or emotional states (Hermanson 19). A key element of the dark turn of the bed trick in the Restoration is revelation (of the true identity of the body exchanged in bed) as a spectacle that propels the ensuing tragedy and violence and sets the stage for observing

characters' complicated and varied reactions. Since plays like *The Orphan* and *The Mourning Bride* remained popular and were frequently performed throughout the eighteenth century, seemingly beyond their Restoration context, it's safe to say that connections could be made between them and the less-gruesome *Cato*, by proximity of performance and the way the affects of this trope—especially through their associations with war— are carried over from one context into another.

Revelation as Horror in *The Orphan*

Anne Hermanson locates Thomas Otway, author of the extremely popular tragedy *The Orphan* (1680), among the list of horror playwrights of the 1670s, not for *The Orphan* but plays such as *Alcibiades* (1675) and *Don Carlos* (1676).[192] It is appropriate though, as will become apparent, that the reintroduction of the bed trick on the Restoration stage comes from a playwright who honed his skills within the horror mode.[193] While *The Orphan* is often (when it is mentioned at all) located as the initiator of the genre of she-tragedy that would remain popular throughout the eighteenth century, critical focus on the elements of pathos and reestablishment of order at the end of the play have obscured some of this horror context.[194]

The Orphan is set in Bohemia, the central European power that was a key player in the notoriously bloody Thirty Years War. As mentioned earlier, descriptions of atrocities from this war, such as the Siege of Magdenburg, circulated widely and likely colored interpretation of events that occurred in later conflicts, such as the English Civil War (Alker and Nelson 8). And apparent in Daniel Defoe's 1720 text, *Memoirs of a Cavalier*, the two wars—the Thirty Years War and the English Civil War—were connected in public consciousness, especially due to their closeness in time but also to the sense they generated of a disintegration of the social order (and both were outcroppings of the ongoing religious conflicts between Catholics, Protestants, and

different Protestant factions that wracked Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries).[195] An unnamed war that conflates these wars that would still be fresh in the memory of many playgoers, either through experience or through heard or read accounts, serves as a framing device for the action of *The Orphan*; the two brothers, Castalio and Polydore, are at home, on their father's estate, because their father Acosto does not want them to participate in this unnamed war for which the youth of Europe have been recruited and engaged.

Thus, an explicit wartime context frames this shift in the gender of exchanged bodies in *The Orphan*. Male bodies that had been marked for war are instead inappropriately substituted on Monimia, the heroine's, wedding night, enacting the fatal bed trick of the play. Before this happens, we see Castalio and Polydore chafing at their confinement from the busy world:

Acasto: [. . .]

You both would fain be Great, and to that end

Desire to do things worthy your Ambition;

Go to the Camp, Preferment's noblest Mart,

Where Honour ought to have the fairest play, you'll find

Corruption, envy, discontent, and faction,

Almost in every Band: How many men

Have spent their blood in their dear Countries service,

Yet now pine under want, while selfish slaves,

That eve'n would cut their throats, whom now they fawn on,

Like deadly Locusts eat the Honey up,

Which those industrious Bees so hardly toyl'd for?

Castaglio: These Precepts suit not with my Active mind,

Methinks I would be busie.

Polydore: So would I,

Not loyter out my life at home, and know

No farther than one prospect gives me leave. (Otway 12)

And of the two brothers, Polydore especially uses military terms to describe love and erotic conquest; there is a sense that he is wasting his martial skills in the inappropriate scenario of his domestic life, where they end up causing inordinate destruction.[196]

This wartime context is sustained throughout the play, and all the characters are touched by it in some way. Monimia and Chamont are orphans because their parents were slain in a past conflict that is referred to as a rebellion or civil war, an oblique reference to the English civil war; references to an emperor evokes the Thirty Years War. Chamont, Monimia's brother, is "a young Souldier of Fortune" and Monimia depicts her sorrow and tragedy in the play in terms of her ghostliness.[197] A revenant of the war, she almost seems, by the play's end, the past war's last victim. Nearly her first lines in the play evocatively connect her fear and distrust of the future with this war-torn past:

Monimia: Sure some ill Fate's upon me.

Distrust and heaviness sits round my heart,

And apprehension shocks my timorous Soul.

Why was I not slain in my peaceful Grave

With my poor Parents? And at Rest as they are?

Instead of that I am wand'ring into cares.

Castalio! Oh *Castalio*! Thou has caught

My Foolish heart; and like a tender Child,

That trusts his play-thing to another hand,

I fear its harm, and fain would have it back. (Otway 6)

Monimia wonders aloud “Why was I not slain . . . With my poor parents?” and this expression of sadness is entwined with her future-oriented longings and cares, namely her problematic relationship with Castalio. Monimia senses that her hold on him is tenuous or fraught; this instability in the present connects with the central instability of her past—the chance of war by which her parents were lost.

An implicit question in the play becomes: how does one live up to one’s ancestors and position oneself in relation to the legacies of the past? Characters’ current behaviors are emphasized to be influenced by the past, often consciously. Monimia, for instance, rebuffs Polydore’s advances by evoking inheritance and living up to the expectations of the dead. She states: “Here on my knees by Heavens blest power / If you persist, I never henceforth will see you / But rather wander, through the World a Beggar . . . For though to Fortune lost, I’ll still inherit / My Mother’s Virtues and my Father’s Honour” (Otway 9). The patriarch Acosto’s pacifist tendencies come from his long experience in military conflict—the same conflict to which Monimia often refers and the loss it has inflicted; his attachment to the two orphans, Monimia and Chamont, springs from his close friendship to their deceased parents. As mentioned earlier, Acosto introduces Chamont thus, referring to him specifically as a relic or relict of the past, a living trace: “Welcome, thou Relick of the best lov’d man, / Welcome from all the Turmoils, and the Hazards,/ Of certain danger, and uncertain fortune” (Otway 12). This sentiment is repeated several times, variously by different characters in the play; the dead and their posthumous influence hangs over the current actions of the play. The problematic family dynamics in the play are connected to the ways characters are haunted by a brutal martial past

that continues into the present; the action of the play is precipitated by their independent ways of dealing with this (or more often, not dealing well with this). Acosto's war-wounds lead his generosity in adopting Monimia and Chamont into his house, but these wounds also spur his reluctance to let his own sons out into the world to find their way, disallowing them from becoming the man Acosto admires in his ward, Chamont. This intersection of legacy, loss, and war is where the theme of mourning is really situated in *The Orphan*. Monimia's tragedy begins far before the bed trick at the center of the play and instead with her (and her brother's) early characterization as a "relict," in this case, a left-over remnant and survivor of the war.[198]

Thus, in the play there is a strong interest in how the past influences the present. Variously, the major characters of the play invoke their ancestors both in the context of war and of legacy, to the extent that such invocations become a motif. Acasto, addressing his sons' proclamation of loyalty to their prince, conflates the legacy of ancestors, his deceased wife, and the war-wounds on his body with the memory of defying rebellion that cleaved the state:

> Acasto: Let me embrace you both. Now by the Souls
>
> Of my brave Ancestors, I'm truly happy,
>
> For this be ever blest my Marriage day,
>
> Blest be your Mothers memory that bore you,
>
> And double blest be that auspicious Hour,
>
> That gave the Birth. Yes, my aspiring Boys,
>
> Ye shall have business when your Master [their lord, who they would fight under] wants you,
>
> You cannot serve a Nobler, I have serv'd him,
>
> In this old body yet the marks remain

Of many wounds. I've with his Tongue proclaim'd

His right, even in the face of rank Rebellion,

And when a foul mouth'd Traytor once prophan'd

His sacred name, with my good Sabir drawn,

Ev'n at the head of all his giddy rout,

I rusht and Clove the Rebel to the Chine. (Otway 14)

Each legacy of the traumatic past correlates with a physical reminder in the present: the memory of the mother and the hour of birth with the two sons who stand before Acasto; service to the prince (who is still living) in the "marks [that] remain of many wounds" "In this old body[,]" as Acasto says. This set of images rounds off with a final, violent memory of destroying a traitor ("I rusht and Clove the Rebel to the Chine"), echoing a violent line from Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, where Macbeth, early in the play, is also recounted as slaying a traitor in a similar manner. Acosto's vivid memory of violence enacted in the war from the past makes real his reference to wounds on his body; this evokes the legacies of civil war and violence, present either spectrally or literally through memory and physical scars.

Castalio and Polydore's expression of loyalty that inspired this speech of their father similarly foregrounds the relation of the body to the state and legacy:

Castalio: I'd serve him [the prince] with my Fortune here at home,

And serve him with my person in the wars,

Watch for him, fight for him, bleed for him.

Polydore: Dye for him,

As every true born loyal Subject ought. (Otway 14)

These expression of loyalty and sacrifice (not yet served by the young men, but apparently desired) occur just before Acosto's speech on ancestors and the wounds of his body, quoted above. With Acosto's exclamation to his sons, "Let me embrace you both[,]" it would seem that the promises of ancestors and old wounds would be fulfilled by the two sons. Of course, this is early in the tragedy, and these sanguine hopes are dashed as the narrative progresses. There is a strong sense in the play that the sons waste their martial aptitude and potential at home; their warlike-ness, turned inward on the family, emerges in perverse fraternal rivalry, plotting, and subterfuge that even skirts incest in the way it is described. Polydore will come to secretly stand in for his brother Castalio on the latter's wedding night, betraying their father's ward, Monimia. Beyond this waste or inappropriate use of martial skills, in the play there is a surplus ghostliness, an excess of references to living in the shadow of ancestors lost to war—and the difficulty of the living characters to fulfill their virtues—that determines the tragic fate of the living.

With the switch in genders in the bed trick (a man's body replacing another man's in bed rather than, typically, one woman exchanged for another) and the martial framing of the play, the connection between substituted bodies and conscription becomes clearer. The two brothers should be in the war but are not; this is echoed in the improper replacement of one brother (Polydore) in the marital bed rather than the other, the correct one (Castalio). And as Polydore devises a plan to vex his brother's meeting with Monimia at night, it becomes clearer that his motive is just as much fraternal rivalry as it is desire for Monimia, which is expressed in military terms: "Oh! For a means now how to Counterplot / And disappoint this happy Elder Brother" (Otway 30). And this includes Polydore's description of this counterplot (to himself and the audience):

> She's not so well acquainted with him yet,

> But I may fit her arms as well as he.
>
> Then when I'm happily possest of more
>
> Than Sense can think, all loosen'd into Joy,
>
> And hear my disappointed Brother come,
>
> And give the unregarded Signal; Oh!
>
> What a malicious pleasure will that be! (Otway 31)

To say the least, there is a grotesque or perverse element to the exchange of bodies in Polydore's "counterplot" to his brother's assignation with Monimia. This is suggested through the hint of incest in Polydore's construction of an anticipated revenge-climax (involving his brother) to occur after sexual climax with his brother's love interest. And moreover, these heights of fraternal revenge are the focus.

The wartime framing of substitution in *The Orphan* foregrounds the element of unease and horror in an anonymous exchange or substitution of bodies, heightened by the intimacy of the wedding night scenario. This is rather different from the carnivalesque sense that often attends bed tricks. Intensifying this vertiginous effect of substitution, Monimia, on whom this experience of psychological horror centers (as she unwittingly receives the exchanged male body), speaks of herself before the event and early in the play as a misplaced body that should be in the grave but is not. Early in the play, as mentioned previously, she expresses this sense of being a revenant, a left-over body from the war that extinguished almost all of her family; through this ghostly self-characterization she frames her current anxieties and vulnerability ("Why was I not slain in my peaceful Grave / With my poor Parents? And at Rest as they are? / Instead of that I am wand'ring into cares"). Although the term "relic" or "relict" is not used by her, it is used in the play in reference to Chamont (called by Acosto a "relick"), also mentioned

above. Monimia's self-characterization brings to mind another meaning for the term relick or relict in the period, "such as a widow . . . or other persons 'left behind' by the decedent" (Oliver 10). Monimia functions as both the "left behind" person (relict) and the haunted object (relic), encapsulating both, for "while 'relic' is most often associated with the remains of the dead, the word also signifies any trace, vestige, remnant, mark, footprint, or shadow of something that has, in the main, disappeared physically, psychically, culturally, or historically—but not without leaving some trace" (Oliver 10). Through this, her current fear of abandonment powerfully connects to the war-time context that took her parents at a much earlier date. And in a shocking way, the horror of substitution, misplacement, or loss of bodies will culminate in her wedding night, with the absence of her husband and presence, concealed by night, of the wrong man.

The bed trick in this play serves as a way to observe the emotional effects and responses of all the major characters to this literal and disturbing substitution of male bodies marked for war. The bed trick occurs midway through the play, so the remainder is taken up with a succession of excruciating revelations of the event and the ripple effect this has through the family circle. At the center of this focus on emotional responses, of course, is Monimia's reaction, the grieving woman who experiences first-hand this horror-scenario of interchange. The revelation of what actually happened that night occurs piecemeal to Monimia in several parts in succession, a structure that places attention on her mounting horror. The audience already knows about the wedding night substitution; we witnessed Polydore devise and execute his plan, so the interest cultivated for spectators is through dramatic irony, as we observe/dread to observe the characters discover the more complete understanding of events we already possess. Moreover, the outsized tragedy that the event and then revelation enacts creates a sense that the event takes on a life of its own, exceeding the attempted containment or control of any of the characters.

After the bed trick occurs, interest in the remaining half of the play thus centers on how characters will discover this and react, starting with Monimia and Polydore, the participants. It should be noted that Polydore, although he orchestrates the bed trick, also only has partial knowledge of the situation: he was not aware that his brother had married Monimia, and instead thought he was intervening in a tryst arranged by Castalio (hence, Polydore's interest in savoring revenge against what he perceived as his brother's tryst by interceding with his own). The morning after, Monimia knows something is wrong early on, since Castalio greets her harshly, as he believes she turned him away that night. The scene of revelation between Monimia and Polydore begins with Polydore's morning salutation to her: "I come, my Love, to kiss all sorrow from thee, / What mean these sighs? and why thus beats thy heart?" (Otway 46), at which point she can not quite tell something is amiss because she thinks this is connected to Polydore's previous pursuit of her, before her secret marriage. Over 50 lines from Polydore's salutation to the outright revelation, Polydore's statements become more and more insinuating, and she begins to confront him directly: "Monimia: Away; what meant my Lord / Last night?" "Polydore: Is that a question now to be demanded? / I hope *Monimia* was not much displeased [last night]." And then several lines later, she expresses partial understanding and perceives Polydore too does not know the full situation (such as of her marriage):

Monimia: Hah----have a care.----

Polydore: Where is the danger near me?

Monimia: I fear y'are on a Rock will wreck your Quiet,

And drown your soul in wretchedness for ever;

A thousand horrid thoughts crow'd on my memory.

Will you be kind and answer me one question? (Otway 46-47)

Five lines later she asks him directly, "To tell me, Polydore, and tell me truly, / Where did you rest last Night?", her repetition of "tell me [truly]", singsong and direct, increasing our suspense as we await the characters' full realizations. Polydore replies, "Within thy arms / I triumph: Rest had been my Foe." Monimia faints (saying "'Tis done----") and it becomes apparent to Polydore that his version and evaluation of events is also flawed, but he does not discover why exactly until 22 lines later (Polydore: "Which way can Ruin reach the man that's Rich, / As I am in possession of thy Sweetness?" Monimia: "Oh, I'm his Wife." Polydore: "What says *Monimia*! hah! / Speak that again." Mon.: "I am *Castalio's* Wife." Pol. "His marry'd wedded Wife?" 47). Through the repetition of Polydore's questions the emphasis is on—as with Monimia just previously—the process of realization and the characters' mixed responses of incredulity and horror. Revelation occurs several other times as the play precipitates to its bloody conclusion

Horror is generated through the realization that the experience of one's body is not what it seems—in Monimia's case, this is sexual violation, and in Polydore's, the realization of the severity of his act of betrayal against his brother. Another way to look at it would be: realizing the emotions and actions of the event have been fatally misguided and inappropriate, in a very literal way (through sexual contact); it is a betrayal of the direction of emotions. We will see this again in *The Mourning Bride*, where it is specifically the direction of grief that is misplaced and mistaken, also generating horror and unease via an elaborate scenario of the substitution of bodies.

Substitution and Mourning Multiplied

William Congreve's play *The Mourning Bride* (1697), as indicated by its title, also thematizes mourning, especially intersections of eros and grief. Although obscure now, this immensely popular play had staying power throughout the eighteenth century and clearly struck

a chord with audiences. Charles Gildon, a contemporary of Congreve, says *The Mourning Bride* "had the greatest Success, not only of all Mr. *Congreve's*, but indeed of all the Plays that ever I can remember on the English Stage."[199] The two female leading roles, Zara and Almeria, stole the show. Zara even more so, as her complex and tragic characterization allowed for powerful performances, and "some of the [eighteenth] century's greatest actresses—Elizabeth Barry, Mrs. Porter, Hannah Pritchard, and Sarah Siddons—made the part of Zara, the captured Moorish queen, a signature role."[200] Almeria's role was also extremely affecting; for example, Almeria and Alphonso inadvertently meeting among the tombs after believing each other dead—both are mourning Anselmo, Alphonso's father, lost in the recent war—"was praised as particularly moving."[201]

Congreve's play includes a revision of the bed trick which I am calling the "dead trick." A bed trick is not present in the tragedy, although there is an attempted bed trick of sorts that inadvertently turns into this "dead trick" misidentification of a corpse. The man-in-disguise (King Manuel) is slain and then mistaken for his rival (Alphonso/Osmyn) by two women in succession, Zara, the captive Moorish queen, and Almeria, Manuel's daughter and the titular "mourning bride." Both women have a romantic history with Alphonso, Zara as the woman who rescued and fell in love with him (in his different identity as Osmyn, a Moorish prince) after a fateful shipwreck, and Almeria as his secret bride who wed him on that very ship before it was destroyed. *The Mourning Bride* creates a sense of a painful, emotionally charged, and complicated homecoming which, at the bare level of plot, is about a wife grieving the loss of her soldier-husband and his return, which surprises them both as they thought each other dead. The play thus enacts, all at once, wish-fulfillment in the return of the beloved dead and the pains of homecoming, poised in exquisite tension. Embedded within this complicated and circuitous plot

of reunion (reunion so ecstatic as to seem unreal) is a doubled "dead trick," where two women in succession grieve over the body of the wrong man.

War is also the backdrop of the play and is connected to all the romantic elements. Alphonso and Almeria are members of rival courts in Spain (Valencia and Granada) and for this reason their marriage was secret. Almeria is at odds with her tyrannical father, King Manuel, and along with mourning for Alphonso in the play (the young couple believe each other dead) she also mourns the death of her father-in-law, the gentler King Anselmo, who her father King Manuel considers the enemy. Zara, the Moorish queen, first encountered Alphonso when he washed up on her shore, and she falls in love with him (perhaps as Osmyn, although this is unclear); this love turns out to not be fully requited, as Osmyn purposely used this expedient situation to get Zara to convince her husband to wage war against Granada with him. The two, Zara and Osmyn, are captured by Manuel's forces after this failed military excursion. It should be noted that much of this is backstory provided in the play through dialogue. The play begins with Almeria mourning Alphonso at his father's tomb (thus, like *The Orphan*, the play is framed by a woman's mourning); among the tombs, she will later in the play encounter Alphonso in an affecting reunion. Manuel, when meeting the captive queen Zara, is overcome with desire for her and tries to become her lover; Zara plays along to an extent to try to secure his favor, but the audience is well aware that this is feigned, and she is in love with Osmyn. Much of the play (besides Almeria's mourning and the interactions of the various lovers) is composed of Manuel's political machinations; connected to this and hanging over Almeria for much of the play is her impending marriage to Garcia, her father's choice for her. While Alphonso/Osmyn is chained in Manuel's dungeon, Manuel disguises himself as a Moor to see what Zara, tasked by him to kill Osmyn, is actually doing; in this garb Manuel is slain by one of his own men, who then

decapitates the body to try to mitigate the situation by defacing the identity of the corpse. In this garb and headless, Manuel is mistaken as Osmyn first by Zara, who makes impassioned and affecting speeches about her hopeless love and then commits suicide. Then Almeria enters, finds the dead bodies, and likewise mistakes Manuel's corpse for Osmyn/Alphonso. As she is bending over to take a final kiss, she is horrified to find the body is headless, she faints, and is caught by the real Alphonso; this time the two reunite without hindrance, and the play concludes.

What lends *The Mourning Bride* such power is its foregrounding of emotional drama at home in the midst of war. The play cultivates unease and horror at the sacrifice of bodies to warfare and a sense that this trauma cannot be reconciled. For this reason the play seems to depict a state of perpetual mourning, which is created here through an accretion of scenarios and references to mourning and loss, presenting loss as multiple and manifold. Congreve, in this tragedy, draws from but also revises the heroic drama of the earlier Restoration,[202] and there is a shift in focus in this play from the grand affairs of empires to the private griefs of the leading women. Although, of course, the plot and setting deals with affairs of state between the leaders of warring courts, the convoluted and confusing plot is easily forgotten while the powerful emotional expression generated by the love triangles comes to the fore. Zara and Almeria are the emotional focus of the play, and while the griefs they express are outsized, they are also intimate and private. This private aspect is literalized by the elements of secrecy in their love for Alphonso/Osmyn, which serves as a plot-point (and is thus further drawn attention to) in that both women need to conceal their feelings from public view for their own safety and survival. For instance, Zara conceals (or tries to conceal) her affections for Osmyn from King Manuel, her captor, so as to gain the latter's favor; Almeria conceals her marriage to Alphonso/Osmyn from all but her maid and confidante, Leonora, for if her father were to discover he would deem her a

traitor. The device of the shipwreck to separate Almeria and Alphonso generates painful and fearful scenarios that must have been all-to-familiar to some audience members, such as the fear of returning home from war and finding one's spouse remarried, or the fear of losing someone while separated by seemingly vast distance. The importance of this element (especially the former, of being mistaken for dead and one's partner remarrying or loved ones moving on) is apparent in Alphonso's agonized imagining of Almeria's impending wedding night with another man, as well as the sympathy evoked by Zara's plight, as she did not know her lover essentially has another family and identity.

Beyond connections with heroic drama of the previous decades of the Restoration, *The Mourning Bride* also has many connections of plot and theme with *The Orphan*. Namely, the framing of the heroine and her romance in the context of past and current wars; plot complications that hinge on the mistake or substitution of one body for another; and emphasis on the visceral experience connected to these substitutions, frequently expressed in the play through the mode of horror. Like Monimia in *The Orphan*, Almeria in *The Mourning Bride* is introduced in the first act as a heroine torn by grief for the death of loved ones. While Monimia, in *The Orphan,* mourns the loss of her parents and her orphan state, Almeria, in *The Mourning Bride,* grieves for the loss of her husband Alphonso and his father, lost respectively in shipwreck and war, catastrophes that are connected, for instance, by imperial ventures.

Though *The Mourning Bride* has an ultimately happy ending for Almeria, the play can be placed in the category of she-tragedy, especially considering the way Zara's tragic role outshines.[203] Almeria's larger-than-life expressions of grief that create the vivid, sepulchral atmosphere of the tragedy easily become intermixed with the violent passions of Zara, the tragic queen who would be apparent to contemporaries as "descend[ing] from a long line of heroic

tragedy heroines, with her passionate desire and evidence of queenly power," as well as her "exotic[ism]" (Marsden 93). As Jean Marsden suggests, "Congreve's play rests on the opposition between and even confusion of its two heroines: Zara, the captive queen of the Moors; and Almeria, the play's mourning bride" (Marsden 93).[204] Almeria was originally played by Ann Bracegirdle and Zara by Mrs. Barry, who would become the winning pair of actresses in she-tragedy.[205]

The Mourning Bride is appropriately defined by numerous arresting descriptions of grief and a generally haunted, gloomy atmosphere: "Its visual power lies in the horrors of its setting amidst tombs and dungeon cells and to a greater degree in the verbal imagings of its characters" (Marsden 94). Indicative of the impact these elements might have had for contemporary audiences, Samuel Johnson, several decades after the play's debut, singled out one of Almeria's descriptions of the tombs as possibly "the most poetical paragraph" in "the whole mass of English poetry" for the "great increase of sensibility" it encourages in the listener, who he says "recognises a familiar image [i.e., the tombs], but meets it again amplified and expanded, embellished with beauty, and enlarged with majesty" (Johnson, "William Congreve").[206] Beyond this general atmosphere of gloom contributed by the play's setting and Almeria's monumental and "majestic" imagings of grief, the play is also notably gruesome, both in descriptions of literal gore and use of gory imagery by various characters to express their extreme passions. There is suffused throughout the play a memento mori-esque fixation on the physical markers of death, gore, and the decay of the grave. This gory imagery extends to the erotic and romantic elements of the play, from Almeria and Osmyn/Alphonso's substitution of wedding night consummation with fantasies of violent death to the mistaken identity of King Manuel's decapitated corpse for Osmyn (by Osmyn's two lovers).

The affective terrain of the play—its foregrounding of horror, the decay of the grave, and intense mourning—raises the specter of war and the waste of bodies, and specifically, a sense that this grief is focused at home. One could say that it is a depiction of war from the perspective of home. References to, descriptions, and metaphors of the grave accrete in the play, giving the action a subterranean quality and increasing the sense that the characters are, in some way, already deceased (as indeed, Alphonso and Almeria both believe the other to have died at sea, and much of the action of the play occurs among tombs or in dungeons). This is akin to the relict-like characterizations in *The Orphan*. The famous opening lines of *The Mourning Bride* reference the Greek hero Orpheus ("Musick has Charms to sooth a savage Breast, / To soften Rocks, or bend a knotted Oak. / I've read, that things inanimate have mov'd . . ."), further establishing an atmospheric setting ripe for underworld gloom, intense grief, and the ecstasy of reunion.[207] Almeria spends much of the play among graves, asking her lady in waiting early on to "steal forth, and visit good Anselmo's tomb" (Congreve 6) with her while others in her father Manuel of Granada's court are celebrating the recent victory against the Zara's Moorish forces. Thus, early on Almeria's loyalties are framed as being elsewhere, seemingly with the dead, as her father-in-law, Anselmo, has recently lost his life in military conflict, and she does not yet know her husband Alphonso lives on as Osmyn. Almeria's descriptions of this take on an earthier tone as the play progresses, as she says to Leonora again, ". . . shew me Anselmo's Tomb, / Lead me o'er Bones and Skulls, and mouldring Earth / Of Humane Bodies; for I'll mix with them, / Or wind me in the Shroud of some pale Coarse / Yet green in Earth, rather than be the Bride / Of Garcia's more detested Bed." (Congreve 16). More refined descriptions that liken the mourner to those already in the grave (Almeria: "O Alphonso, Alphonso! thou art too / At peace; Father and Son are now no more------ / Then why am I? O when shall I have Rest?") thus

imperceptibly shift in the play to more visceral descriptions of literally being embraced by corpses, seen in the gory fantasy above of intermixing with human remains (Congreve 2-3). Zara, also hanging around the tombs, is described by Manuel as similarly morbid. This is apparent when Manuel asks Zara, “Why does the Fairest of her Kind, withdraw / Her shining from the Day, to gild this Scene / Of Death and Night?” (25).

In *The Mourning Bride*, gore intermixes with mourning imagery most intensely when eros is foregrounded. I think there is a particular purpose to this, as both (gore and sex) create a connection with the audience at the visceral, immediate level of bodily experience. Although the following analogy is anachronistic, I think it provides a useful illustration of this dynamic. In Andy Warhol’s *Car Crashes* series, haunting images from newspapers of anonymous bodies and “hideous deaths,” blown up to the semi-monumental scale of large canvases, are used to tap into collective anxieties and fears of a culture (the erotic side of this is more apparent in Warhol’s references in other works to “the suicides of celebrities” like Marylin Monroe) (Siebers 110). In *Black and White Disaster #4*, which shows a silkscreen reproduction of a single image, repeated 17 times, taken from a newspaper photo of a fatal car crash, there are three bodies involved (one dead, the other two living). The viewer is confronted with oversized blow-ups of the grainy photo, in awful repetition, where the features of the car crash victims are unclear but the sense of volume and physicality via the effects of light and shadow are very much there and easier to see for the larger scale. The car is overturned, and the same woman’s body is in the center of each photo reproduction, haplessly tangled in the upside-down cabin of the car. Two living figures (possibly survivors of the crash) lay beside the car, looking inside at the woman as if sizing up the wreck (they also seem impotent, unable to do anything to remove the body from the oversized wreckage). The contrast of the tangled and crushed machinery of the car with the

fragile human figure creates a chilling and uncomfortable affect. The banal aspects—car, car accident, grainy newspaper photo—are uncomfortably juxtaposed with the larger-than-life scale and repetition of the images on the canvas. What is drawn attention to is a chilling sense of violence enmeshed in the fabric of everyday life but not fully acknowledged in it; this sensation is felt through the familiarity of such images juxtaposed with how this presentation of them touches the viewer in new ways. The body that has been haplessly tossed, trapped in crushed machinery in a position that displays the after-effects of the force and violence of the accident, viscerally connects to the viewer; a random victim, the body is both any body and every body, and more unsettling because it is both there in plain sight but also under the surface of the larger culture and not fully acknowledged by it.

Something similar, I argue, is occurring in plays like *The Mourning Bride* that use devices of substitution—where the emotional fall-out hinges on the mistaken identity of the substituted body, playing upon anonymity and its limits—mourning, and violence to register the experience of warfare at home. The feeling evoked is of discomfort and horror at the sacrifice of bodies to warfare and a failed attempt at reconciling or reabsorbing this trauma, which is subsequently played with over and over in nightmarish and tragic scenarios. As with the "hideous deaths" in Warhol's *Car Crashes*, which are both banal and unique, as the violence depicted can happen to any viewer but also stands out for its sheer extremity, "The victims and wounded bodies portrayed . . . do not die or suffer alone. They have caught the attention of a collectivity, through at great cost to themselves" (Siebers 110; 114).[208]

Thus, the many constructions of grieving (or imagining death or graveyard scenes) as a substitute for sex in *The Mourning Bride* serves a few key purposes: it creates a visceral unease and a sense of incompletion, especially of mourning or erotic fulfillment. Almeria and Zara's

imaginings of embracing corpses or the grave as a proxy for love (or to replace lost love) intensifies as the play progresses in bizarre descriptions that intersect gore with erotic consummation.

> Zara: See, where he [Osmyn] stands, folded and fix'd to Earth,
>
> Stiff'ning in Thought; a Statue amongst Statues.
>
> ……………………………………………
>
> Why dost thou leave my Eyes, and fly my Arms,
>
> To find this Place of Horrour and Obscurity?
>
> Am I more loathsome to thee, than the Grave?
>
> That thou dost seek to shield thee there, and shun
>
> My Love. But to the Grave I'll follow thee---- (Congreve 22-3)

In both *The Orphan* and *The Mourning Bride*, the husband's consummation of marriage has not occurred; in the latter play, Alphonso and Almeria exchanged vows on the ship, which is wrecked before consummation. Alphonso and Almeria throughout the play exist in a liminal state between being married and not married, and it is no wonder why death, in very physical terms, serves as a proxy for the sexual intimacy which did not occur.

The Mourning Bride evokes, in the first several lines, a reference to the mythological Greek figure of Orpheus, which is appropriate to a play that explores mourning and grief and the (here, seeming) death of lovers on the day of marriage. In this construction, Almeria, the speaker, likens herself to the inanimate objects that Orpheus moved with his song. But unlike these objects, Almeria cannot be soothed with music:

> Musick has Charms to sooth a savage Breast,
>
> To soften Rocks, or bend a knotted Oak,

> I've read, that things inanimate have mov'd,
>
> And as with living Souls, have been inform'd,
>
> By Magick Numbers, and persuasive Sound.
>
> What then am I? Am I more senseless grown
>
> Than Trees, or Flint? O Force of constant Woe!
>
> 'Tis not in Harmony to calm my Griefs.
>
> Anselmo sleeps, and is at Peace; last Night,
>
> The silent Tomb receiv'd the good Old King;
>
> He and his Sorrows now are safely lodg'd
>
> Within its cold, but hospitable Bosom.
>
> Why am not I at Peace? (Congreve 1)

Almeria is perhaps likening herself to a Maenad, one of the frenzied women who tore Orpheus to pieces in some versions of the myth and who, unlike rocks and trees, could not be moved by his song. The excess passion of the Maenad corresponds with the sense of Almeria's grief as excessive, as Leonora says in the next line: "For Heaven's sake, dear Madam, moderate / Your Griefs, there is not Cause----" (Congreve 2). There is cause though (the deaths of Anselmo and Alphonso); what is more interesting about the reference to Orpheus is the evocation of the alterity of extreme grief, as Orpheus serves as an example of grief so extreme that it leads to a journey to the underworld. And Orpheus's grief is imagined to be productive, in that from it he produces music that moves Pluto and Proserpine to return Eurydice to him, and then after he loses her again, his music moves "trees and plants, beasts, birds, rocks, and rivers" with "songs of mourning, regret, and forbearance" (Agnew 9).

Vanessa Agnew suggests that (especially for eighteenth century contexts), ". . . the Orpheus myth is also a discourse of alterity. . . . Orpheus's listeners—wild animals, trees, rocks, and savage women—exist outside the bounds of society, and his playing represents an effort to draw these listeners into the realm of the social" (Agnew 9). While Orpheus attracts these figures and entities from the "liminal edge," he also inhabits this liminality; he "acts on the margins of society[,]" first as a traveler, then a grief-stricken husband, then the founder of a cult (Agnew 10). The evocation of Orpheus in the first stanza of *The Mourning Bride* cues us in to a tension between isolation and inclusion through grief in the social realm; it plays with the idea of grief as a separation from normal life but also an integral part of it. The opening reference to Orpheus is picked up again in a climactic moment of the play, nearly midway through when Almeria and Alphonso (as Osmyn) ecstatically reunite at the tomb of Anselmo, Alphonso's father. In this construction, Alphonso/Osmyn takes on an Orphic role, "charming" seas and rocks so as to return from death:

Almeria: It is, it is *Alphonso*, 'tis his Face,

His Voice, I know him now, I know him all.

O take me to thy Arms, and bear me hence,

Back to the Bottom, of the boundless Deep,

To Seas beneath, where thou so long hast dwelt.

O how hast thou return'd? How hast thou charm'd

The Wildness of the Waves and Rocks to this?

That thus relenting, they have giv'n thee back

To Earth, to Light and Life, to Love and me.

Osmyn: O I'll not ask, nor answer how, or why,

We both have backward trod the paths of Fate,

To meet again in Life, to know I have thee,

Is knowing more than any Circumstance,

Or Means by which I have thee------

To fold thee thus, to press thy balmy Lips,

And gaze upon thy Eyes, is so much Joy;

I have not Leisure to reflect, or know,

Or trifle time in thinking. (Congreve 18-19)

Alterity is again suggested in the "Wildness of the Waves and Rocks" contrasted to the world of the living (Osmyn's return "To Earth, to Light and Life, to Love and me [Almeria]"). And that Osmyn's statement, "We both have backward trod the paths of Fate, / To meet again in Life[,]" evokes a successful journey to the underworld to retrieve Eurydice is not so strange considering the common trend in operas of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to give the Orpheus story a triumphal or comic ending.[209] This fits with the ecstatic quality of the reunion in Congreve's play, which contrasts so markedly with its otherwise overarching imagery of gloom and gore. Almeria's description of ecstasy shows a marked transformation from the beginning of the play, where music could not soothe and she seemed insensate. When she inadvertently reunites with Alphonso at the tombs, her description is of ecstasy too intense to bear: "I know not, 'tis to see thy Face I think------ / It is too much! too much to bear and live! / To see him thus again, is such profusion / Of delight, I cannot bear it------I shall / Be mad------I cannot be transported thus" (Congreve 19).[210] The play concludes similarly; believing Alphonso to be dead and with his apparent corpse before her, when he appears, living, Almeria says (after having fainted): "Giv'n me again from Death! O all ye Powers / Confirm this Miracle! can I believe /

My Sight, against my Sight? and shall I trust / That Sense, which in one Instant shews him dead / And living?" (Congreve 73).

This first ecstatic reunion between Almeria and Alphonso occurs before the middle mark of the play, to be followed, at the play's conclusion, by the more complete and secure one where "I [Almeria] have him now, and we no more will part" (Congreve 73). This provides a sense of circuitous homecoming, where Almeria's soldier-husband Alphonso seemingly miraculously reappears (this is intensified by the way both Almeria and Alphonso believed each other dead, so both are experiencing an ecstatic reunion). The pains of homecoming and longing for the impossible (or, unlikely) return of the beloved dead are poised in a tension that is unreconciled in the play. Embedded within this complicated and circuitous plot of reunion (reunion so ecstatic as to seem unreal) is a doubled "dead trick," where two women in succession grieve over the body of the wrong man.

While the bed trick in *The Orphan* becomes the vehicle for exploring the emotional fall-out of sex with the wrong person, the dead trick in *The Mourning Bride* emphasizes, in a similarly extenuated way, the varied emotional responses to the encounter with the dead body (that the audience, but not the mourner, knows is the wrong body). Attention is drawn first to the tragedy and then to the horror of the encounter. Using a variation of the bed trick invests the scenario with a framework that heightens focus on the intersection of emotions and the body, violation and responses to it, and emasculation/castration.

Also, presenting the dead body twice enhances the emphasis on and impact of its physicality, especially its gore. It is showcased by the two lead women in succession, Zara and Almeria, who describe and react to what they believe to be the murdered Alphonso, their lover, in King Manuel's dungeon (this mistake adds another layer of irony and tragedy, as well as

discomfort for the viewer, since Manuel is Zara's unwanted suitor and Almeria's father). Zara, finding the dead body of the king wearing the clothing of one of her "Mutes," mistakes it for Alphonso, who she has been tasked by the king to kill. The stage direction is "*They go to the Scene which opens and shews the Body*" (Congreve 70), showcasing its importance. Zara describes the corpse; presumably the audience can just see a muffled figure prostrate on the stage. This was likely an actor playing dead, which became very clear in one performance of another play (according to contemporary anecdote), Nicholas Rowe's *The Fair Penitent,* when the individual playing the deceased Lothario hilariously arose and tried to run offstage (Lothario's corpse was supposed to remain present and dead throughout the fifth act).[211] In *The Mourning Bride*, Zara's description of the on-stage corpse (presumed to be Alphonso) combines the literal gore she sees before her with the gruesome type of imagery used throughout the play to describe strong emotions. Zara shifts in the same line from describing the corpse to figuratively describing her own reaction; the corpse's gore intermixes with the violence she imagines of herself and the natural world, reacting to the death of her beloved Alphonso:

> Ha! prostrate! bloody! headless! O------start Eyes,
> Split Heart, burst ev'ry Vein, at this dire Object:
> At once dissolve and flow; meet Blood with Blood;
> Dash your encountering streams, with mutual Violence,
> 'Till Surges roll, and foaming Billows rise,
> And curl their Crimson Heads, to Kiss the Clouds! (Congreve 70)

As the audience knows the body is of the king and not Alphonso, the interest here is in observing Zara's reactions, which will prove to be rash and fatal, as she stabs Selim before he can tell her Alphonso is not here and then drinks poison. Beyond horror and desire for vengeance, her

reaction is of regret: "But Oh, He dy'd unknowing in my Heart. / He knew I lov'd, but knew not to what height" (Congreve 70). After Zara dies, Almeria enters this "dismal Scene / Of Death," which Leonora mistakenly interprets. Even more emphasis is placed on gore in this encounter compared to Zara's, as well as much more build-up. Like in *The Orphan*, dramatic irony is used to create tension as we await the response of characters to an impending, more complete revelation. The scene in Congreve's play is building up to something else though: the "full" revelation of an abject corpse, its horror and gore, which structurally takes the place of the prolonged revelation of the bed trick to Monimia in *The Orphan*. Moreover, this structure sets up the scenario of the mistaken corpse as a prolonged and climactic spectacle that is repeated through encounters with two different women/mourners.

In the second tableau in this spectacle, Almeria sees the corpse and believes it to be Alphonso, she dwells on the irrevocability of the situation, somewhat akin to Zara just previously, who had lamented that "He [Alphonso] dy'd unknowing in my Heart. / He knew I lov'd, but knew not to what height: / Nor that I meant to fall before his Eyes . . ." (Congreve 70). Before Almeria approaches the corpse, Leonora, her attendant, warns her to "look not on; for there's a Dagger that / Will stab the Sight and make your Eyes rain Blood[,]" increasing anticipation of Almeria's reaction, which we can assume must be extreme to match Zara's tragic performance and this warning given by Leonora (Congreve 72). Almeria responds to Leonora's warning,

> O I fore-see that Object in My Mind
>
> Is it at last then so? is he then dead?
>
> What dead at last, quite, quite, for ever dead?
>
> There, there I see him; there he lies, the Blood

Yet bubling from his Wounds—O more than savage!

Had they or [sic] Hearts, or Eyes, that did the Deed?

Could Eyes endure to guide such cruel Hands?

Are not my Eyes guilty alike with theirs,

That thus can gaze, and yet not turn to Stone? (Congreve 72)

This dead trick scenario provides the structure for Zara and Almeria to approach a sort of ground zero of loss and grief, where they encounter, in succession, the situation they dread of Alphonso "dead at last, quite, quite, for ever dead?" (Congreve 72). Over twenty lines later, Almeria finally approaches closer to the corpse, resolving to drink Zara's remaining poison after taking a final kiss. While the audience knows that she is making her way to kiss the headless corpse of her father, King Manuel (which adds to the sense of horror and the grotesque), she of course does not know this:

Yet I will take a cold and parting Leave,

From his [Alphonso's] pale Lips; I'll kiss him e'er I drink,

Lest the rank Juice [of poison] should blister on my Mouth,

And stain the Colour of my last Adieu.

Horrour! a headless Trunk! nor Lips nor Face,

[*Coming nearer the Body, starts and lets fall the Cup*.]

But spouting Veins, and mangled Flesh! O, O. (Congreve 73)

In this structure, resembling the prolonged revelations in *The Orphan*, where the audience painfully anticipates various characters' reactions to the awful truth, the revelation to Almeria here and her reaction of horror (at first) is not exactly of the identity of the body, but of its gory and mangled state. The body and Almeria's fainting in reaction to it takes special prominence as

the climactic moment in this structure, and the living Alphonso appearing immediately after (and his divulging to her that her father is dead) a part of the hasty resolution.

The play ends with a final and complete reunion between Alphonso and Almeria but this ecstatic conclusion, occurring at the last minute, is unable to supersede the overwhelming sense in the play of stalled and endlessly repeated scenes of grief. The many encounters with substituted bodies (especially dead bodies mistaken for the living, as well as the repeated fantasies of gruesome death in substitution for sex) tap into an underlying unease with another form of substitution, the sacrifice of bodies in wartime, which is evoked by the repeated scenarios of mourning for lost or absent bodies in the play. The headless corpse on stage is part of another thematic strand in the play, that of emasculation and vexed consummation.[212] This is most prominent in the lack of wedding-night consummation in the plot, where Almeria and Alphonso's marriage exists throughout the play in an in-between state. This comes to a head earlier in the play when, in the dungeon, Alphonso imagines his own gruesome death and Garcia's impending wedding night with Almeria as the replacement for his consummation of marriage. Addressing Almeria, who has secretly stolen into the dungeon to see him (and who proposes staying the night), he says:

> O thou dost talk, my Love, as one resolv'd,
>
> Because not knowing Danger. But look forward;
>
> Think on to Morrow, when thou shalt be torn
>
> From these weak, struggling, unextended Arms;
>
> Think how my Heart will heave, and Eyes will strain
>
> To grasp and reach what is deny'd my Hands;
>
> Think how the Blood will start, and Tears will gush

To follow thee my separating Soul.

Think how I am, when thou shalt wed with *Garcia*!

Then; will I smear these Walls with Blood, dash my

Disfigur'd Face, and rive my clotted Hair,

Break on the flinty Ground my throbbing Breast,

And grovel with gash'd Hands to scratch a Grave,

Stripping my Nails, to tear this Pavement up

And bury me alive; where I will bite the Ground

Till gorg'd with suffocating earth." (Congreve 36)

Notable, of course, is the excessive gore. Not only will Alphonso react with strong emotions, his "Blood . . . start" and "tears gush" when the two are separated, he provides Almeria with a viscerally violent and gruesome description of his suicide ("will I smear these Walls with Blood, dash my / Disfigur'd Face, and rive my clotted Hair," and "scratch" open a grave through the stones of the dungeon floor "with gash'd Hands" and "Stripping my Nails"). In more direct terms of emasculation, Alphonso imagines how Almeria will "be torn / From these weak, struggling, unextended Arms;" he will be literally unable to interpose because of the physical restraint and indisposition of his captivity (he is chained and seems to have wasted away in the dungeon). And another man will enjoy what should be his wedding night with his bride Almeria, which he describes as vividly as he does his suicide, heightening the sense of his emasculation: "Then Garcia shall lie panting on thy Bosom, / Luxurious, revelling amidst thy Charms;/ And thou perforce must yield, and aid his Transport" (Congreve 36).

What these elements add up to is a certain emotional sense, where gore, emasculation, grief, and alterity haunt the plot of a soldier's return, and, perhaps more importantly, the

experience of this return by the main women. The innovative use of a variation of the bed trick, a device of substitution, in this morbid way draws attention to the abject body. The corpse is a literal substitution for the returning soldier that is also indistinguishable from him, which creates the underlying sense of unease in the play. The soldier's return is also marked by horror, tragedy, and grief; it is a complicated homecoming. Part of an affective economy of wish-fulfillment, in this structure, return and no return exist as equal possibilities. The mangled and headless corpse as the emotional center of the play's climax potentially multiplies it; the corpse's prominence also equals a kind of vastness, as of mass death, which is hard to react to in a single way. The play captures this sense of the emotional cost of war as it is experienced on the home front.

Gore and Substitution on the Margins of Sacrifice: *Cato*

The episode in *Cato* that strongly echoes the dead trick from *The Mourning Bride* occurs near the play's end but not quite there (Act IV, scene 1, rather than Act V). Sempronius's death is anti-climactic and even throw-away—Juba encounters and easily defeats him, and Sempronius's last words are fittingly ignoble—though Marcia's confession of love for Juba (spurred on by this), is also suggestive of the climactic transport of *The Mourning Bride's* conclusion, echoing Almeria's reunion with Alphonso.[213] And much like with Manuel in Congreve's play, the dead trick here is a bed trick scenario (of sorts) gone wrong, Sempronius having disguised himself as Juba so as to gain access to Marcia (as Manuel had done, to gain access to and surprise Zara). Sempronius intends by this shift to abduct Marcia "and bend her stubborn virtue to my passion" (Addison 3.2.126). Present even is gloomy subterranean imagery evocative of *The Mourning Bride*, at least connected to Sempronius, who says of his plan: "So Pluto, seized of Proserpine, conveyed / To hell's tremendous gloom th'affrighted maid"

(3.2.151-52). After Juba exits the stage to notify Cato of this insurrection and his slaying of Sempronius, Marcia and Lucia find the dead body. Marcia describes the corpse thus:

> See, Lucia, see! Here's blood! Here's blood and murder!
>
> Hah, a Numidian! Heav'ns preserve the Prince [Juba]!
>
> The face lies muffled up within the garment.
>
> But hah! Death to my sight, a diadem
>
> And purple robes! Oh gods! 'Tis he, 'tis he!
>
> Juba, the loveliest youth that ever warmed
>
> A virgin's heart, Juba lies dead before us! (Addison 4.1.38-44)

As Marcia is raving over the dead body, Juba secretly returns and overhears what he believes to be Marcia mourning for Sempronius, which allows the audience to anticipate potentially tragic complications of mistaken identity:

> Marcia: I will indulge my sorrows and give way
>
> To all the pangs and fury of despair:
>
> That man, that best of men, deserved it from me.
>
> Juba: [Aside]
>
> What do I hear? And was the false Sempronius
>
> The best of men? Oh, had I fall'n like him
>
> And could have thus been mourned, I had been happy! (4.2.54-59)

This scene has an affective economy that is complicated and hard to pin down. The employment of dramatic irony, especially as we observe as Marcia "rave[s]" over the corpse she believes to be Juba while Juba listens and believes all these good things to be about Sempronius, has the potential for a comic edge due to the incongruities at play (Addison 4.2.49). For instance,

Marcia's praise is heard two ways at once: through our understanding of it as praise for Juba, and through Juba's understanding of it as praise for Sempronius. Thus, the audience hears it through these layers of irony. The latter, mistaken one invests a grotesque edge that might elicit humor, as Sempronius has been throughout the play a perfidious and undesirable character:

> Marcia: 'Tis not in fate to ease my tortured breast.
>
> This empty world, to me a joyless desert,
>
> Has nothing left to make poor Marcia happy.
>
> Juba: [Aside.]
>
> I'm on the rack! Was he so near her heart?
>
> Marcia: Oh, he was all made up of love and charms,
>
> Whatever maid could wish or man admire:
>
> Delight of ev'ry eye! When he appeared,
>
> A secret pleasure gladdened all that saw him,
>
> But when he talked, the proudest Roman blushed
>
> To hear his virtues, and old age grew wise.
>
> Juba: [Aside.]
>
> I shall run mad— (Addison 4.2.63-73)

And, as Julie Ellison describes it, when Juba realizes that Marcia does not realize the corpse is of Sempronius, "Juba is . . . treated to the spectacle of Marcia pouring out her love and admiration over the corpse she thinks is his," also suggesting a lighter or even possibly comic reading of this scene after the mistaken identity is cleared in Juba's mind (Ellison 60). The scene retains an uncanny element though, especially through the device of substitution: "When [Juba] shows himself, [Marcia] comments on the uncanny doubling of the scene: 'Sure 'tis a dream!

Dead and alive at once! / If thou art Juba, who lies there?'" (Ellison 60). While the employment of dramatic irony does not exactly create a scene of horror here (though it does skirt or evoke tragedy and horror as a potential), the original framework in the scene of mistaken corpse identity via *The Mourning Bride* is nearly the same. This allows elements of horror to be gestured towards, such as through the muffled corpse on the stage, anonymous and disguising not just the identity of the corpse but also what state it might be in, and Marcia's near-kiss of the corpse before Juba intercedes (Marcia: "Ye dear remains of the most loved of men! / Nor modesty nor virtue here forbid / A last embrace, while thus—", at which Juba hastily inserts, preventing a more disturbing scene: "See, Marcia, see, / The happy Juba lives! He lives to catch / That dear embrace and to return it too" (4.2.85-90)). This near kiss echoes another, more grotesque one, of Almeria bending down to kiss the headless corpse of her father, Manuel, who she believes to be her husband, Alphonso. Horror is also gestured towards in *Cato* when Marcia first sees the body and refuses to be consoled by Lucia: "Talk not of comfort, 'tis for lighter ills. / Behold a sight that strikes all comfort dead" (4.2.52-3). In other words, in this structure, the dead trick cues one into a climax that will open up to tragedy and horror, as well as a richly mixed or ambivalent affective economy.[214]

Carried over more overtly between plays is the sense of transport or ecstasy in the reunion of the lovers; this height of transport is to some extent dependent on the contrast with the scenario's previous elements of horror and tragedy, as it is a contrast between presumed gruesome or ignominious death and (revelation of) life. When Juba realizes Marcia mourns for him, he exclaims (as an aside in the play): "Where am I? Do I live? Or am indeed / What Marcia thinks! [i.e. the best of men] / All is Elysium round me!" (Addison 4.2.83-4); a little later he is "rapt with joy" (102) and "lost in ecstasy!" (108), proclaiming, "This, this is life indeed! Life

worth preserving, / Such life as Juba never felt till now!" and "How shall I speak the transport of my soul!" (111-12; 118). And when Juba reveals himself to be alive, Marcia exclaims: "With pleasure and amaze I stand transported! / Sure 'tis a dream! [You are] Dead and alive at once?" (4.2.92-3). Added to this revelation and its attendant affects of transport is not just a revelation of life but also of emotions to the two central lovers in the play. Interestingly for Marcia, this includes a new understanding of her own emotions, first when she thinks Juba is dead and she finds herself stricken with grief, then with her transport of feeling when he turns out to be alive:

> Marcia: Believe me, Prince, before I thought thee dead,
>
> I did not know myself how much I loved thee.
>
> Juba: Oh fortunate mistake!
>
> Marcia: Oh happy Marcia! (4.2.113-116)

Thus, though this sequence in the play is primarily comic (in both senses, the coming together of two lovers and its humor), the framework taken from *The Mourning Bride*, dependent as it is on a Lazarus-like contrast of death and the horror and gloom of the grave with ecstasy and life, intensifies this unusual revelation of Marcia's emotions to herself. The horror attending this framework of exploring the substitution of bodies is taken up in two other parts of the play, both involving dead or dying bodies—Marcia's brother Marcus, recklessly dying in battle, and then her father Cato's suicide.

Gore in Addison's play is elided yet referenced, taking on its own life under the surface. In ancient Roman literature, Cato's death was understood to be a particularly gruesome spectacle involving an initial and unsuccessful suicide attempt; the wound is stitched and bandaged, but then later that night Cato rends open the wound and pulls out his own entrails to accomplish the deed.[215] And in reference to Seneca's retelling of Cato's suicide, "the two-phased nature of

Cato's suicide—a circumstance which might readily be represented as a source of horror—is presented as a positive feature, an opportunity for Cato to display his bravery and persistence and for those looking on to relish an extended spectacle of virtue in action" (Edwards).[216] The original, gruesome suicide was of course well-known to Addison and his educated contemporaries of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and elicited a variety of responses, most often censure and distaste, but sometimes admiration. On the latter end, Michele de Montaigne wrote of the spectacle of Cato's death: "if it had been up to me to portray him [Cato] in his most exalted posture" in statuary, "it would have shown him all covered with blood and tearing out his own entrails, rather than sword in hand as did the sculptors of the time. For that second murder was more ecstatic than the first" (qtd. in Edwards, section on "Virtue's Image"). Montaigne's reaction is purposefully meant to be shocking and his admiration ironic in that way, but nonetheless, it shows that this fascination with the gory spectacle of Cato's death carried over into seventeenth- and eighteenth-century contexts. This is supported by the fear sometimes expressed in the eighteenth century that Addison's play or the figure of Cato in general would inspire copycat suicides.[217]

Catherine Edwards suggests that Addison's bringing to the stage of Cato's tragic death posed certain problems, as it was a suicide (morally suspect in a hero) and is also one that was recounted in antiquity as particularly gruesome (although if there were a play on Cato in ancient Rome, the gory, two-part death would have been described by another character rather than displayed on stage).[218] Addison shifts focus away from the death itself to the abstractions surrounding it—"Cato's commitment to liberty and on his fortitude in the face of death"—and also makes Cato regret the suicide at the last minute, as he is dying (Edwards, section on "The Morality of Suicide"). Yet the seeming absence of visceral gore so defining of Cato's death in

the classics subtly reemerges in the play elsewhere, through the presence of the other dead bodies and the references to earlier plays attached to them. And indeed, the gore of Cato's death is present (and even conspicuous) in its elision to audience members aware of the original Cato at Utica.

One place this emerges more explicitly is in the lines Cato says in the play after his son Marcus's body is carried onto the stage and expresses the (in this context) "paradoxical wish" that (Edwards): "What pity is it / That we can die but once to serve our country" (Addison 4.3.91-2).[219] In the classics, originally in reference to Cato's suicide with its failed initial attempt, Addison repositions these words in reference to Marcus, and in this way "the repeated nature of Cato's own suicide bid has surreptitious presence in the play" (Edwards, section on "The Morality of Suicide"). The gore of the original Cato's suicide is retained in this ghostly way, here reflecting "a certain elision between Cato's self-inflicted death and the patriotic death in battle of his son" (Edwards, section on "The Morality of Suicide").

The spectacle of Marcus's body on stage occurs right on the heels of the first spectacle, the more comic one of the slain Sempronius. Indeed, Cato at first assumes that the bad news of his son involves a similar perfidy as the news of his former ally Sempronius, and he is relieved to hear that the news of Marcus is of death in battle, not betrayal, as Cato exclaims: "Thanks to the gods! My boy has done his duty / --Portius, when I am dead, be sure thou place / His urn near mine" (Addison 79-80). Beyond this telling conflation of Cato's impending death with Marcus's death in battle (with their similar place in the grave), substitution also comes up directly in the way Juba is positioned in this scene as a replacement for several characters lost in the same span of time—the traitors Sempronius and Syphax, and Cato's own son, Marcus, who has slain Syphax (which mirrors Juba's slaying Sempronius). Cato adopts Juba in a way here, uttering

these lines to counter Juba's reservations (about being Numidian rather than Roman): "And a brave one too [Numidian]. / Thou hast a Roman soul" (47-8). It is implied by Cato that akin to Marcus, and in wide contrast to Sempronius and Syphax, "Thy virtue, Prince, has stood the test of Fortune / Like purest gold, that, tortured in the furnace, / Comes out more bright and brings forth all its weight" (spoken by Cato, 56-58). This imagery of refinement wrought by violent or brutal trial will be shortly echoed when Cato views Marcus's "bloody corse and count[s] those glorious wounds[,]" declaiming, "How beautiful is death when earned by virtue!" (89-90), to foreground again this idea of virtue proven by extreme trial, here with extremity extended to the farthest limit, death.

My reading of *Cato* has continued a developing strand in scholarship on the play that reads the figure of Cato as essentially flawed, with his contradictory elements—some troubling, some admirable—the source of tragedy rather than the until recently prevailing interpretation that he is a wholly admirable character whose tragedy is mainly derived from his failure in the face of injustice.[220] I am suggesting that these disturbing elements in the character of Cato, especially associated with intersections of intimacy, emotions, and violence, connect with another obscured thread in the play—the substituted bodies that haunt the margins (his reaction to his son Marcus's death, which appears admirable on the surface but we as the audience know comes from impure motives not connected to the patriotism Cato imagines, as well as Cato's hasty suicide, which, as suggested above, carries associations with excessive violence from the original Roman sources). While *Cato: A Tragedy* ostensibly portrays sacrifice for one's country as noble—a theme important to the patriotic jingoism of a country increasingly engaged in war and in need of bodies—the contexts of sacrifice in the play are far from pure, most notably with Marcus, who flings himself into battle recklessly after he realizes that Lucia, the object of his

infatuation, loves someone else. The presence of Marcus's corpse is especially interesting, as, grievously wounded and carried on a shield in description and possibly in visual presentation on stage, the body itself speaks to patriotic sacrifice (summed up in Cato's declamation over it), but the scenario is set up with some amount of dramatic irony as we know the motive behind his death is more sordid. Beyond this, the body-as-spectacle is inextricable from the elements of horror and satire that remain attached to Sempronius's dead body (mistaken for Juba), and the underlying connection with dead tricks and bed tricks. While the ostensible narrative is about heroic sacrifice, there is a narrative beneath the surface, carried by affective associations and collective trauma, of the horror of the substituted, anonymous, or misplaced bodies of men in conscription and war. These affectively rich and complex scenes of substituted bodies encountered in intimate scenarios attached to grief bring up a host of real-life associations—the emotional states of waiting for the body of living soldiers to return home; fear of the changes wrought by war and enlistment that might be apparent on this return, making the body seem no longer the same one that originally departed; the returning soldier's fear of having been replaced and no longer remembered; and of course the fear of no return or of returning to nothing, of complete and lasting absence. Encapsulating these emotions of war, the body encountered in the dark in these plays—anonymous, mangled, left behind—sets in motion tragedy and other, more horrific scenarios enacted by this same anonymity.

Chapter 4:
“Are these our triumphs? / —these our promis’d joys?”:
Marking Loss and Nervous Plots in *The Orphan of China*

The Universal Chronicle or Weekly Gazette (London) printed a letter in mid-October 1759 addressed to William Pitt from General Wolfe, then engaged in battle in Canada, with “*Headquarters at Montmorenci in the River St. Lawrence, Sept. 2, 1759*” (italics in text). Alarm, precarity, and a slightly belated immediacy suffuse this letter and its placement in print.[221] Wolfe begins: “I Wish I could, upon this occasion, have the honour of transmitting to you a more favourable account of the progress of his Majesty’s arms; but the obstacles we have met with, in the operations of this campaign, are much greater than we had reason to expect, or could foresee; not so much from the number of the enemy, (tho’ superior to us) as from the natural strength of the country, which the Marquis de Montcalm seems wisely to depend upon” (330). Wolfe paints a scenario of constant small skirmishes wearing down the ranks in an inhospitable country; for instance, “By the nature of the river, the most formidable part of this armament is deprived of the power of acting, yet we have almost the whole force of Canada to oppose” (331-2). Near the conclusion, Wolfe refers to “the list of disabled officers, many of them are of rank, you may perceive, Sir, that the army is much weakened” (331), and on the next page of *The Universal Chronicle*, right after Wolfe’s letter, is printed for the reader the “*RETURN of the killed, wounded, and missing*” abroad (italics in text).[222]

The play *The Orphan of China* by Arthur Murphy, first performed earlier that year (April 1759), taps into this pervasive atmosphere of nervousness and alarm concerning the war abroad; the disorienting sense that contemporary war is engaged in far-off, unfamiliar locales that have become, on another level, familiarized through frequent reference and colonial interest.[223] This disorienting affect is intensified through the multiplication and obsessive re-enaction of a popular

trope of domestic tragedy of the mid-eighteenth century—the reunion or recognition of a long-lost loved one that should be a source of joy or closure but instead propels the tragic crisis. This serves as one of the points at which anxiety and fear in Murphy's play, rather than asserting demarcations of "us" and "them," unsettles attempts to read national difference borne through warfare.

The sense of the Seven Years' War as spatially difficult to conceptualize yet immediately threatening (especially in terms of invasion) is thus picked up in Murphy's play, set in a China that is distant in time and space, yet familiar in terms of fears of invasion, ever-present news of sieges and battles, and struggles over different modes of monarchical power.[224] Though the play is a tragedy, it can be characterized as more "nervous" than tragic in emplotment as well as through its combination of luxury and woe and conflation of the distant with the domestic.[225] The intersection of loss at the center of the family and large-scale loss in wartime serves as the locus of tragedy in the play. I am extending Hsin-yun Ou's observation that "the dénouement [of Murphy's play] is anticlimactic, undercutting the heroic deeds that heroic plays purport to glorify[,]" exemplified in the royal orphan Zaphimri's statement near the play's conclusion: "Are these our triumphs? / —these our promis'd joys?" (qtd. by Ou 385). This re-framing of triumph as pyrrhic victory is part of a thread in the play that creates a countercurrent to patriotic zeal, for, "Echoing Mandane's point of view, this finale suggests that patriotic triumph cannot compensate for family loss" (Ou 385). While the play participates in the codification of national difference, separating ideals of English constitutionalism, virtue, and commerce from French absolutism and luxury, the wartime environment undercuts these boundaries.[226] As I will demonstrate, a plot device in domestic tragedy popular in the mid-eighteenth century—the reunion of long-lost loved ones that serves as the mechanism for a second, even more exquisitely painful loss—shifts

within Murphy's play to an obsessive repetition of reunions, loss, and sacrifice that suggests widescale devastation. Furthermore, the interest in purveying a sense of the landscape and atmosphere of war in *The Orphan of China* reflects the emphasis in military strategy of the period on topography and climate as essential to the success of martial engagement but also its greatest danger, as seen in the letter above by General Wolfe. In *The Orphan of China*, the landscape of "home" is defamiliarizing and disorienting—initially through the Chinese setting, but more significantly in the portrayal of China in a wartime atmosphere that remains, by the end, defined by the cyclical temporality of war more than anything else.

The play's composition by Arthur Murphy (starting 1756) and performance debut (1759) are contemporary with the official start of The Seven Years' war (1756) and the turn of the tide of war to British favor with a series of victories in 1759.[227] The Seven Years' War, often referred to in North America as The French and Indian War, involved, from the British side, conflict with France in many places across the globe, including Canada, India, the West Indies, Africa, and Europe. The early years of the conflict "began badly for Britain, with naval humiliation and the loss of Minorca to a French invading force under Marshal Richelieu in 1756, and widespread fears that the French would invade Britain itself that year" (Black 136). The war was, in large part, an extension of mounting conflict over colonial holdings between the two powers, for "A greater emphasis on colonial issues than before characterized Anglo-Bourbon relations in mid-century and led to the outbreak of hostilities between Britain and France [in North America] in 1754" on the North American front (Black 139), though "War with France was formally declared" a few years later, "in 1756" (140). The dispute in North America began with the French building forts "from Canada to Louisiana" to deter the encroachment of British colonies into French territory, especially when "in 1753 . . . the French began to build a fort in the Ohio

valley" (139). The major turning point in North America came in September 1759 (announced in London by October 17), with "a major military victory on the Plains of Abraham just outside the walls of Quebec[,]" an event that was much lauded in the English press but was also accompanied with mourning, as Wolfe did not survive the event (Fordham 103).[228] The year of 1759, or annus mirabilis of the war for the British, also included a number of "naval victories" that were "the decisive triumphs of" the year, including the sinking of the French ship, the *Thesee* (Black 137). A few years later, in India, the fort at "Pondicherry surrender[ed] on 15 January 1761 after an eight-month siege" (143) As the Seven Years' War was arguably the first global war, victory was dependent on naval supremacy and the ability to strategize, at key points across the globe, siege warfare, the taking of forts, naval battles, the internal politics of indigenous factions abroad, and the interception of enemy troops and supplies (or safe deployment of one's own).[229] The outcome of the war also propelled Britain to a major global power, with the "Peace of Paris (1763)" leading "to the recognition of significant colonial gains" (Black 143).

The action of Murphy's version of *The Orphan of China* begins at the tail-end of a twenty-years long occupation of China by Tartar invaders. The play is centered on a righteous Chinese family—the Mandarin Zamti and his virtuous but also headstrong wife Mandane, who are revealed to also be the center of political events of world-historical import. Their family drama—the concealment, twenty years before the start of the play's action, of the prince of China, Zaphimri, in the role of their son, Etan, while their biological son Hamet has been living in far-off Corea (Korea), and their attendant fears of either of the sons' deaths—is interwoven with larger events of state. This includes the capture of Hamet in a battle in Korea and the tyrant Timurkan's belief that Hamet is the lost prince of China, Zamti's more private revelation to Etan

that he is actually the lost prince Zaphimri, and the successive revelations to members of the rebellion that they now have a leader in Zaphimri. As suggested earlier, the revelation of identity and the reunion of long-separated family members occurs many times throughout the play, beginning early in Act 2 with the discovery by Zamti that the heroic youth captured by the Tartars after a failed rebellion in Korea is his son Hamet, and including Mandane's discovery, slightly later, that this youth is her son, who her husband is now willing to have executed in the orphan prince's stead, Zamti and Mandane's later, and separate, first meetings with their adult son in the dungeon where he is kept prisoner, and Zaphimri/Etan's meeting, in disguise as a Tartar, with the captured Hamet, who is suffering in the royal orphan's stead. Both Hamet and Zaphimri are unaware of their true identities until revealed to them by Zamti. The revelatory exclamation "Zaphimri!" occurs so many times in the play as to become a trope, including but not limited to Timurkan exclaiming this to the captive Hamet (who doesn't believe he is the royal orphan, but is also unsure, since his true birth is at that point unknown to him), to Zamti's true revelation to Etan in the graveyard mid-way through the play, Zaphimri's secret revelation to Hamet in the dungeon, and, confusingly, Zaphimri's two attempts to reveal his identity to Timurkan (the first time Timurkan does not believe him, but the second time he does). The play ends with Zaphimri, after this final revelation, slaying Timurkan offstage in one-to-one combat, the tragic deaths of Mandane and Zamti, who were rescued too late from their torturers, and Zaphimri somewhat reluctantly taking up the Chinese throne after the defeat of Timurkan (which occurs simultaneously with the successful Chinese rebellion). Hamet survives, and vows to remain a friend to Zaphimri.

While Murphy's Chinese-themed war play is heavily situated in the context of the Seven Years' War, it also participates in the mid-century fashion for chinoiserie. The tone of the play

diverges from the light-hearted escapism that typifies much chinoiserie, such as the "fantasy world of decorative rococo whimsy or of the magic, supernaturalism and irrationality of the literary Orientalism of the *Arabian Nights*" (Kitson 16). The play is also distinguished from the satirical bent of the 1741 closet version of the play in English, William Hatchett's *The Chinese Orphan: An Historical Tragedy* (Yu 156). Murphy's version of *The Orphan of China* instead retains the dark and tragic themes of fourteenth-century Chinese operetta it is based on, and remains, as Kitson says of the original operetta, "a highly tragic meditation on Confucian notions of family piety and dynastic loyalty" (Kitson 16). It is likely that the plot of the Chinese original seemed reminiscent of the popular political plays of Shakespeare, especially Hamlet,[230] and the themes of conquest, invasion, and problems of dynastic succession readily invite comparison between the remote context of the play and England's contemporary war with France and fears of foreign invasion on English soil.[231] The Chinese original, *The Orphan of the House of Zhao*, written by Ji Junxiang, focuses on a physician's noble sacrifice of his own son to preserve the last remaining male heir of the House of Zhao from a tyrannical general (Kitson 16). The operetta is quite violent, "contain[ing] scenes of torture, suicide and murder[;]" for instance, the physician's infant son is murdered in front of him, and after 20 years the physician reveals to the orphan, disguised as his son, his royal origins, which sets in motion the royal orphan's revenge on the tyrant (Kitson 17). *The Orphan of the House of Zhao's* "key theme of sacrificing one's only child in the name of a higher loyalty (family, state, nation) obviously fascinated Europeans, as did the twenty-year vengeance theme. The play was highly thought of and praised as equal to classical tragedy by Richard Hurd and adapted many times by European dramatists[,]" before Murphy, including Voltaire and William Hatchett (Kitson 17).

Voltaire's version of *The Orphan of the House of Zhao*, titled *L'Orpheline la Chine*, was first performed in August, 1755.[232] Although in Murphy's preface to his own play, first performed 1759, Murphy claims that he wrote his version of the tragedy independent of the influence of Voltaire's, Murphy's version of the play is heavily influenced by Voltaire's.[233] In the version of Murphy's play that was finally performed in 1759, there are still clear overlaps in the changes of the plot and characters Voltaire introduced, such as names of some characters (Zamti and Idame, or Mandane in Murphy's), the shifting of the action to the thirteenth century, and the context of foreign rule by northern invaders.[234] In *L'Orpheline la Chine*, the tyrannous general is the great Mongol conqueror Genghis Khan, which adds a new context of an overt clash of cultures that is continued in Murphy's version, where the conqueror is Timurkan, who historically claimed to carry on Genghis Khan's legacy.[235] Furthermore, in Voltaire's version, the action is shortened and does not extend from the infancy of the prince to his adulthood:

> In Voltaire's play the orphan of Zhao becomes the Song heir to the throne of China who is exchanged at birth by a mandarin, Zamti, for his own son and hidden in the ancestral tombs of China's kings. Zamti then delivers his son to Gengis Kan in place of the heir. Zamti's wife, Idame, in an attempt to save her son reveals the ruse. Gengis Kan, it transpires, had previously fallen in love with Idame when, as a young man, he was a beggar in China and was rejected by her. (Kitson 17).

Voltaire's play takes the well-worn theme of "the conquered conquering the conquerors through assimilation and sinicization" (Kitson 18), for "At the close of the play, the educated and reformed Khan now looks with 'steady reason's eye at the civilized Chinese[,]" pardoning Idame, Zamti, and their son to avoid the "intended mutual suicide" of the virtuous couple (Kitson 17). And, notably, the shifting of the conflict to the context of Mongol invasion allows Voltaire

to enter it into Enlightenment debates about the origin and maintenance of "ethical codes not derived from revealed religion" through the context of Confucianism that undergirds the play. Furthermore, in Voltaire's version, "The drama is also a rebuttal of Rousseau's famous privileging of the noble savage, in this case the Tartar, Gengis Khan. Rousseau had argued that the Chinese had become corrupted and enfeebled by their sophisticated living and hence their easy conquest by the noble and savage Tartars" (Kitson 18). To counter Rousseau's argument, in Voltaire's play the savage conqueror is converted by the strength of reasoned virtue of the Confucian couple, Zamti and Idame. Murphy's play will also take up this debate over savagery and civilization, although by adding a third element, the innate passion of familial affection, exemplified in Mandane, and clearly aligned with idealized notions of English common law that tempers the rigid but virtuous doctrine of Confucianism exemplified in Zamti.[236] This shift in the debate aligns Murphy's play with notions of gothic nationalism developing in the mid-eighteenth century, when, aesthetically, chinoiserie and gothicism still overlapped.[237] By making the focus of the play the fiery passions of familial bonds and the pains wrought when duty to one's country clashes with ties to one's family, the play subtly becomes a testament to the trauma of sacrificial violence (such as the sacrifice of family members and kinship bonds in a time of war).[238] The alignment of both Mandane, the heart-strings of the Chinese (or British) family, and Timurkan, the Northern invader, with the gothic further places the emotions and passions of wartime in unresolved tension.[239]

The play seems to have had such appeal for mid-century English audiences in part for its combination of elements that would seem familiar—such as the revenge-plot and overlaps with heroic and tragic drama—in novel ways through the Chinese setting and the distance in time and space it implies. The plot of the original Chinese operetta, propelled by the machinations of a

conniving general, involves virtuous characters pushed to make difficult moral choices in order to lay the grounds for the orphan heir of Zhao to revenge himself upon the general. As Ros Ballaster suggests, China in these European versions of the play serves as a screen on which to project European concerns; the exotic distance and strangeness of 'China' in literary chinoiserie folds back into its somewhat kitschy familiarity, as objects that are not-quite-authentic, that have become more Western than 'true Chinese'. For instance, in Hatchett's dramatic revision of Du Hald's narrative version of the play (used by Hatchett as a satire against Robert Walpole) the characters are brought to extremes associated with over-zealous Confucianism—such as suicide and the sacrifice of an infant child in the stead of the royal orphan—due to the abuses of "male-administration" that run across cultural contexts (as the satire suggests, maladministration occurs in both China, distant in time and place, and contemporary England, which is the thrust of the satire, as China serves as a screen for English politics) (Ballaster 210-11).[240]

As mentioned previously, the original operetta, with its convoluted and emotionally fraught emplotment, "may have appealed to England especially because of its similarities in plot and theme to *Hamlet* and more generally to the popular Renaissance tragedy of state" (Ballaster 209). In line with this, Murphy's *Orphan of China* "contains more of the violent brutality of the Chinese original" than Voltaire's version; "For instance, Zamti is painfully tortured to death offstage on the wheel and his wife Mandane is also threatened with torture. Mandane commits suicide" by stabbing herself "before the stricken Zamti dies from his torture in a scene highly reminiscent of the death of Lear" (Kitson 19). The slaying of Timurkan, though, occurs offstage. As Ros Ballaster suggests, the play offers a complex examination of patriotism in a time of war rather than just an endorsement of the patriotic war effort: "Murphy's play . . . offers a critique of 'Patriot' sentiment by presenting it as driven by the masculinist values of war and conflict" as

opposed to the mother, Mandane's, natural sentiments to protect her child Hamet against the state's requirement of sacrificial violence (216). To add another layer to these emotional conflicts, while Zamti is on one level portrayed in the vein of the overly rational Confucian, his characterization is notably complex. As Zamti resigns to let his son Hamet be executed as the lost orphan prince, the difficulty of his choice is retained despite his statement of its necessity. Zamti states (after learning that the captive from the Korean uprising is Hamet):

> No; let him [Hamet] bleed,
>
> Let my boy bleed: in such a cause as this
>
> I can resign my son—with tears of joy
>
> Resign him, --and one complicated pang
>
> Shall wrench him from my heart. (Murphy 32-3)

Thus, though Zamti is a "dubious character [. . .] A patriot [too] zealous in a monarch's cause[,]" as stated in the prologue to the play, the emotional toll of being forced by circumstance to make a great personal sacrifice for the public good is dramatically illustrated by the process Zamti anticipates of having to give his biological son up to execution. Zamti's repetition of "Let him bleed" and "resign" suggests the monumental effort and self-convincing required for his sacrifice of Hamet to the tyrant, and the heartbreak he anticipates is placed in evocatively physical terms: "one complicated pang / Shall wrench him from my heart" (qtd. By Kitson 20).[241] This statement, as I shall suggest, references domestic tragedy, in this case William Whitehead's *Creusa*.

The complex nature of the opposition between the Confucian 'Patriot' Zamti, who is willing, although at a great emotional cost, to sacrifice his son to preserve the royal line, with his wife Mandane, who is willing to throw out the culmination of all these efforts to preserve the

prince Zaphimri and the royal line in order to save Hamet, allows these two elements to remain in tension by the play's end (with the tragic death of the couple and the preservation of their loving union). Early on, sacrifice is presented as a problem at the heart of political engagement, with Zamti stating (when he ruminates on how Timurkan mistakenly believes the youth captured in Korea to be the royal orphan):

> Dream on, deluded tyrant!—yes, dream on
>
> In blind security!—whene'er high heav'n
>
> Means to destroy, it curses with illusion,
>
> With error of the mind.—Yes, wreak thy fury
>
> Upon this captive youth;--whoe'er he is,
>
> If from his death this groaning empire rise,
>
> Once more itself, resplendent, rich in arts
>
> That humanize the world—he pays a debt
>
> Due to his King, his Country, and his God.
>
> His father—wheresoe'er he dwell—in tears
>
> Shall tell the glory on his boy deriv'd;
>
> And ev'n his mother, 'midst her matron shrieks,
>
> Shall bless the child-bed pang that brought him forth
>
> To this great lot, by fate to few allow'd!---- (Murphy 28-9)

The irony of his willingness to sacrifice a seemingly random youth to preserve the empire is, of course, that he unwittingly resolves to sacrifice his own son, Hamet. The excess of violence ("Yes, wreak thy fury/ Upon this captive youth") and its unsettling anonymity ("whoe'er he is") becomes the contingency on which civilization, "resplendent, rich in arts / That humanize the

world[,]" rests. And Mandane will do the opposite of "bless the child-birth pang that brought him forth" when she discovers the youth is Hamet; she proves to be vehemently opposed to his sacrifice, and even when she agrees to Zamti not to reveal Hamet's identity to Timurkan, she still resolves to find another way to save her son. And, near the play's end, after Zamti and Mandane have reconciled, the bed of marriage and childbirth is typified by Mandane in the language of loss and mourning: "Alas, the loves that hover'd o'er our pillows / Have spread their pinions, never to return; / And the pale Fates surround us!---- / Then lay me down in honourable rest: / Come, as thou art, all hero, to my arms, / And free a virtuous wife!----" (77-8).

Contemporary reviews of the play (such as from the year of its debut, 1759) return to two major strands as the center of the play's affective appeal: this moral struggle between Zamti and Mandane (which receives the most attention) and the revelation of the true prince to various characters and to the prince himself. Reviews thus tend to focus on the affective capacity of these moral struggles in the play to move the audience—the main Chinese characters' exquisite agonizing over the difficult choices they must make to preserve their country and their filial bonds, and the tragic conflict between these separate but interrelated emotional ties that the conquest of China has created. The center of the play is the agony of sacrifice—though not of oneself, as in Shakespeare's *Hamlet* (as Hamlet knows that engaging in the overthrow of Claudius will lead in his own death, and certainly the end of his familiar life).

While *The Orphan of China* participates in the general turn to domestic tragedy, a sense of the scale of global conflict is also folded into domestic sentiments in this play, and attention is especially brought to this intersection.[242] This is intensified by the interchangeability of the two sons—the citizen Hamet and the prince Etan/Zaphimri, who seem to share the same noble qualities of heroism and sacrifice and are several times mistaken for each other—and is one of

the prime places that the domestic drama becomes intimately connected to larger scale elements of time and space in the play. The impression of this intersection of the global with the domestic is suggested in a 1759 review and summary of the play in the *Universal Chronicle*. Hamet, captured after a failed revolt in Korea against the Tartar forces occupying China, is in prison in the capital city Peking and is believed by the enemy to be the lost prince Zaphimri (by this time Zamti has revealed to Timurkan that Hamet is not the orphan, but refuses to reveal where the orphan is; Hamet is still imprisoned, and Zaphimri, by now, knows he is himself the lost prince). At this juncture, the reviewer states that "We are now all on fire to see the issue, and the passions of hope, doubt, and fear are finely moved; our breasts are interested for the safety of the Orphan [Zaphimri], who in the fourth Act appears in the disguise of a Tartar, going to pay a visit to Hamet, so nobly suffering for him [in the dungeon].—" ("The Universal Chronicle" 160). And on Zaphimri in disguise, visiting Hamet in the dungeon, the reviewer suggests "There is no person so void of tenderness as not to be amazed at this unexpected stroke of intrepidity, and we are as it were hanging over the precipice of despair, for the whole Chinese party, whom we almost entirely give up, on so formidable a resolution as this" ("The Universal Chronicle" 160). Zaphimri is represented in the play as a reluctant prince who regrets the loss of his life as a private citizen and suffers under the knowledge that so much has been sacrificed by others to preserve him, which this review suggests is an extremely affecting aspect of the play.

While most reviews, like the one noted above, report the play to be extremely affecting, the review by Oliver Goldsmith for Tobias Smollett's periodical, *The Critical Review*, is notably less sanguinary. Critique of the play in *The Critical Review* emphasizes the lack of contrast between distress and felicity in the plot. In terms of plot, Goldsmith notes that *The Orphan of China* begins in the middle of general distress, with Mandane and Zamti voicing their anguish at

the debased state of China under the occupation, which moves to the more acute distress of the domestic plot that takes hold in the second act. Thus, the situation in the play goes from bad to worse, which is suggested by the reviewer to be inadequate for setting up tragic distress. In contrast, great tragedians like

> Shakespear, Otway, and Rowe, seemed to have been perfect oeconomists of their distress (if we may use the expression) they were so sensible of a necessary gradation in this respect, that their characters frequently make their first appearance in circumstances of joy and triumph: they well knew that we are apt to pity the sufferings of mankind, in proportion as they have fallen from former happiness. Othello therefore meets the mistress he soon must kill, in all the extasy [sic] of an happy lover: Acasto surveys the felicity of his family with the most unreserved degree of rapture; and the father of the Fair Penitent, who soon is to be wretched indeed, begins in a strain of exultation that forces us almost to envy his felicity. (Goldsmith 435)

Murphy's play, in contrast, is found to be pleasing, but not in the way a tragedy should be, such as by evoking "that fine agony of distress, so common among the great masters of his art" (435). Instead,

> We have been led into these reflections [on the play's faults], from observing the effect the ingenious performance before us had upon the audience the first night of its representation; the whole house seemed pleased, highly and justly pleased, but it was not with the *luxury of woe* they seemed affected: the nervous sentiment, the glowing imagery, the well-conducted scenery, seemed the sources of their pleasure: their judgement could not avoid approving the conduct of the drama, yet

> few of the situations were capable of getting within the soul, or exciting a single tear: in short, it was quickly seen, that all the faults of the performance proceeded from vicious imitation, and all its beauties were the poet's own. (Goldsmith 435-6; italics in text)

The review suggests that the tragic elements in *The Orphan of China* are conflated with the effect of the dazzling and exotic (but not sublime) stage setting; the effect is implied to be exciting but surface-level. As Chi-ming Yang suggests of the "luxury of woe" that Goldsmith states the play produces, "In linking the excesses of wealth generally attached to China with the play's overwrought sentimentality, the phrase condenses the competing visions of virtue, moral and economic, into a single expression of luxury" (Yang 168).

Beyond the "luxury of woe" and the pleasures of the exotic scenery, costumes, and props, a "nervous sentiment" is drawn attention to in Goldsmith's review as one of the play's main affects that distinguishes it from tragedy. "Nervous" is ambiguous here, as it can refer to two seemingly opposed affects; the now more familiar sense "Of a person or temperament: [that is] excitable, highly strung, easily agitated, anxious, timid; hypersensitive; worried, anxious (*about*); afraid, apprehensive (*of*)" which emerges mid-eighteenth century (OED, "Nervous," n. 9.a) with the also concurrent sense of "vigorous, powerful, forcible; free from insipidity and diffuseness" more often used in reference to "argument, prose, poetry, literary style, etc." (in this latter sense, nerves imply the older idea of sinews and strength, rather than the nervous system specifically) (OED "nervous," n. 4.a). Nervous in the mid-century can also imply the now obsolete sense of something "stimulating to the nerves," as in "The gentle fair, on nervous tea relies" (1775) (OED, n. 10). If this latter sentiment is implied, it would connect the play's pleasing "nervous sentiment" to the stimulation provided by the consumer economy, which, as the review suggests

elsewhere, enervates the tragedy's appeal to a sort of undifferentiated "luxury of woe" that is not dissimilar from material aspects of the performance, like "the glowing imagery" or "well-conducted scenery" (or, perhaps, from the caffeinating effects of tea) (Goldsmith 435).

This "nervous" sentiment that the review applies to or detects in the play can be likened to Frederic Jameson's concept of "intensity[;]" a thrilling but ambivalent affect associated with the aesthetics of consumerism, where violence is always near the surface of cultivated desire.[243] The play is nervous—whether through the production of anxious suspense or pleasing tension that lasts throughout—rather than tragic. The play itself cultivates, in the reactions of the characters, a free-floating anxiety connected to the situation of prolonged wartime. This can be seen early on in Mandane's laments that begin the play and is exemplified in Zaphimri's guilt and nervousness about being the orphan prince who is the center of so much strife. In the exchange in the dungeon in which Hamet is interred that another contemporary review found so affecting, Zaphimri goes in disguise as a Tartar to see Hamet, who is to take the fall to save him (as Timurkan mistakenly believes Hamet to be the prince). Zaphimri reveals his identity to Hamet, and then reveals his own torment: "A nation's happiness!—There, there I bleed!--/ There are my pangs! For me this war began [. . .] These are the horrors of Zaphimri's reign!/--I am the tyrant!—" (Murphy 62). Hamet interprets this outburst as the workings of an overwrought, hypersensitive imagination or nervous system, resulting in what modern psychology might call catastrophizing. As Hamet diagnoses, "Alas! thy spirit,/ Thy wild disorder'd fancy pictures forth/ Ills, that are not—or, being ills, not worth/ A moment's pause" (Murphy 63). The sense of nerve or nervous in the older understanding of sinew or the newer one of sensitive point of stimulation is evoked more directly soon after, when Zaphimri asks Hamet: "[. . .] Tell me, thou gallant youth--/--A soul lik thine knows ev'ry fine emotion--/ Is there a nerve, in which the heart of man/

Can prove such torture, as when thus it meets/ Unequall'd friendship, honour, truth, and love,/ And no return can make?" (63). And though Zaphimri, eventually victorious over Timurkan, will take up the kingship at the end, this is less in a sense of triumph than of a continuity with the nervous or mournful affects of wartime cultivated throughout the play.

Although one review of the play does not effectively gauge the consensus of public opinion, it does bring up interesting issues of how emplotment in *The Orphan of China* diverges from popular, contemporary tragic drama, and what this says about how the play makes itself 'felt'. *The Orphan of China* was considered Garrick's most affecting performance besides Lear,[244] and Mary Anne Yates equally carried the moral force of the play as Mandane (for instance, reviews return again and again to the emotional struggles between the married pair).[245] Unlike other tragedies popular at the time, the play is not primarily focused on one larger-than-life tragic figure, such as Monimia in *The Orphan*, Jane Shore in *The Tragedy of Jane Shore*, Calista in *The Fair Penitent*, and the eponymous figures of Creusa, Oroonoko, Othello, Richard III, and King Lear. Though Zaphimri is a Hamlet-like character, a reluctant prince, he both is and isn't the central focus of the play. The play revolves around Zaphimri's preservation, but the interaction of the several virtuous Chinese characters (Mandane, Zamti, Zaphimri, Hamet, Morat, etc.) and their emotional struggles and tensions as a "unit" are instead the focus.[246] This diffusion, beyond being a part of the general turn in tragedy to the realm of the domestic and networks of sensibility, emphasizes these characters' reaction to events that are larger than life and beyond their control. The emphasis is thus on various virtuous but individuated characters' reactions to wartime and the central sacrifice the plot necessitates they must contend or come to terms with.

The Orphan of China also takes the obsession with mistaken identity and the reunion of long-lost characters in eighteenth-century tragedy of the time to an extreme, as the lost prince's hidden identity and its successive revelations serve as the focus and impetus of the plot. Plays that are echoed in Murphy's, such as *Creusa*, *The Orphan*, and *Jane Shore*, have one major revelation of mistaken identity that is crucial to the tragedy of the plot. In *Creusa*, *Queen of Athens* (1754), the eponymous protagonist discovers, almost too late, that the beautiful youth Ilyssus she has set in motion a plot to poison is actually her long-lost son; she prevents his death nearly at the last minute, but the weight of this revelation (and her subsequent guilt) leads her to drink the poison herself. *The Orphan* by Otway, an earlier play (1680) that persisted in popularity throughout the eighteenth century, has as the central crisis a bed trick and its fatal implications: Monimia, an orphan raised in the household of Acosto, secretly marries one of his sons, Castalio, but Monimia mistakenly consummates the marriage with her husband's brother, Polydore. This occurs because of Polydore's jealous machinations, as he is also in love (or lust) with Monimia: overhearing the two young newlyweds making an assignation to secretly meet in the night (he does not realize they are married), he decides to take this opportunity to spend the night with Monimia in Castalio's stead. This central crisis of mistaken identity propels the destruction of the family, including Monimia's tragic death. And in *Jane Shore*, a very frequently performed tragedy in the mid-eighteenth century, the revelation towards the end that Jane's one protector (Dumont) is actually her believed-to-be-dead husband, their tearful reconciliation towards the end of the play and then just as hasty separation when Shore/Dumont is arrested for aiding Jane, renders Jane's outcast death especially affecting, according to a contemporary review.[247] In *The Orphan of China*, this fascination in the period with the

revelation of identity is extended and carried throughout the play, rather than forming a singular crisis that swiftly unravels the threads of the plot to enact the tragic end.

The plots in these popular tragedies present, through the frequent performance of the plays, a continuous re-enactment of revelation of identity, reconciliation, and reunion that is just as quickly and dramatically followed by loss. Ruth Perry finds a similar phenomenon—"scenes of tearful reunion" between long-lost family members and the heroine or hero's subsequent reinvestment in a powerful, protective, legitimate family—to be a central obsession in eighteenth-century prose fiction (Perry 90). In the case of the novels Perry examines, the twist in the plot that reveals the (usually female) protagonist is not of dubious birth (i.e., lacking social protection) reflects "a nostalgic and compensatory recreation of a time when a father's word protected his daughter from the vicissitudes of the marriage market and the arbitrary power of the man she married[;]" before the shift from consanguineal family relations, where daughters and younger sons had protections courtesy of their kinship bonds, to the conjugal (or nuclear) family structures that favored husbands with property and eldest sons that would be the beneficiaries of large inheritances (90). An easily recognizable instance in fiction of this nostalgic longing can be found in Frances Burney's *Evelina*, where "two complex and ambivalent recognition scenes between father and daughter precede the marital denoument" (Perry 86). Though the meeting is ambivalent (which captures the precarity and emotional complexity of the situation), Evelina's reinstation into a respectable patrilineage *before* her marriage hearkens back to an older time in English history when "a woman born into a powerful family shared the power of the family"—including the "sustaining" kinship network of father, emotionally intimate siblings, protective uncles, and powerful aunts—a time when she would not wholly be in the precarious situation of depending on a husband (Perry 88).

This is important in respect to the tragic plays popular in the mid-eighteenth century not so much for the father/daughter aspect but because the trope of the "tearful reunion" speaks to a psychological longing for a lost and essentially irrecoverable situation; it is poignant in fiction in part because it is understood to be unlikely. Versions of the unmoored heroine return again and again in fiction because she represents the most precarious situation in the economic/social shift to "keeping property in the male line [,]" carried on by the eldest son (Perry 90). Her situation condenses the alienation the individual faces in this world of newly mercenary and unfamiliar social relations, and her reinvestment, in the end, into an older form of legitimacy and loving kinship relations renders the issue even more affecting, as it speaks to a larger cultural nostalgia. The terms of a secure marriage for the heroine are laid out (the protection of a father and kinship network that would make her more equal to her husband in social power) when the kinship structures that would have allowed such a scenario have broken down as a cultural model. It is likely that the tragic plays reenact the same sense of loss by creating a similar scenario—recognition of identity, sometimes joyous, sometimes fatal—and making it the condition of a second, even greater loss or the denouement of the tragedy, which renders the pattern of recognition or reunion and then denouement so affecting in contemporary reports.

Murphy's *Orphan of China* picks up and extenuates patterns of tearful reunion that necessitate the denouement of the tragedy, but for the purpose of representing a decidedly wartime situation. While this seems similar to the emphasis in Seven Years' War plays that John Richardson notices—the focus on the death of a singular hero to deflect from the large-scale disaster of war—two aspects in particular of *The Orphan of China* make this a tragedy about large-scale loss (or anticipation of loss) rather than its deflection.[248] These two aspects include 1) the obsessive repetition within the play of scenarios of recognition and tragic loss that clearly

reverberate with this cultural obsession, and 2) the emphasis on the "atmosphere" of wartime, including its expanse in time and space.

The play opens in a setting that goes from bad to worse (rather than, more typically in tragedy, a swift decline from a state of relative felicity), as noted by Goldsmith in the *Critical Review*. Set after 20 years of Tartar occupation, two major characters, Mandane the wife of the Mandarin Zamti, and Mirvan, who is loyal to the Chinese cause, are discussing in occupied Peking the dubious outcome of a rebellion in Korea against the Tartars. The exchange in this beleaguered atmosphere shifts back and forth between troubled affairs of state to personal loss. Mandane opens the play mid-conversation with a meandering, periodic question that emphasizes the atmosphere of unrest: "O, never; Mirvan, never—still this heart/ Must throb with ceaseless woe--/All-gracious heav'n!/ Will not this palace drench'd in gore; the crown/ Of China's kings fix'd on the Tartar's brow;/ Will not a tract of twenty years in bondage!/ Ah! Will not these suffice, without fresh cause/ Of bitter anguish in Mandane's breast?—" (1). This sense of general 'ceaseless woe' shifts to (Mandane speaking again) "a private source; bleeds for the woes/ That hang o'er Zamti's house—" (2). And as Mandane continues to Mirvan, after he urges her that all of the inhabitants of China are also suffering private griefs, she laments: "Yes, all. We all/ Must feel the kindred-touch; --daily the cries/ Of widows, orphans, father, son, and brother/ In vain are sent to heav'n" (2). We then find that Mirvan also bears private griefs (earlier in the conquest of China, his father was slain and his sister was raped by Timurkan the conqueror), and he presses Mandane to "reveal her [own private] griefs" so "her wrongs/ Will add new fuel to my hidden fires" to aid in China's cause against the Tartars (4). With Mandane's response, the audience learns that her private woes uniquely intersect with the public cause of China, and the theme of hidden identity is thus introduced in this first act:

"Urge no more—

My woes must rest conceal'd—yet should the tyrant

Learn from the captives of yon vanquish'd host,

That China's Orphan breathes the vital air,

And to himself unknown within his breast

Unconscious bears the gen'rous glowing flame

Of all the virtues of his royal line;

Oh! should they know that the dear youth survives,

That for his righteous cause this war began,

Their fury then would kindle to a blaze,

Might wrap the world in flames, and in the ruin

My blameless son might perish." (4).

The long-drawn out revelations of identity in the emplotment of Murphy's *Orphan of China* closely echo a slightly earlier play, William Whitehead's *Creusa* (which is not surprising; Whitehead contributed the prologue to Murphy's play, and arbitrated in favor of Murphy to convince Garrick to have the play produced).[249] *Creusa*, a re-writing of Euripides's play *Ion* with the supernatural elements taken out—Ion's parentage is no longer half mortal, half god, and instead of being the product of rape by Apollo, Ion's parents were mortals in love. The play *Creusa* focuses on the vexed reunion of Creusa, queen of Athens, with her long-lost son, who she believes to have died in infancy when his father, the commoner Nicander, was cast out of the city with him. *Creusa,* like *The Orphan of China*, is set nearly two decades after the mournful backstory: in this case, of the fateful separation of the young family, Creusa, Nicander, and their son Ion. The play opens with Creusa and her (second) husband Xuthus, the king of Athens,

consulting the oracle on their inability to produce an heir. In the first act, at the temple Creusa encounters a youth, Ilyssus (who is, unbeknownst to either, actually her lost son, Ion), who she notices strongly resembles her first husband Nicander. Ilysus/Ion's identity is not entirely confirmed until the end of the play (although it is likely obvious to the audience), after many tragic misunderstandings, including Creusa's attempt to poison the youth Ilyssus after her minister Phorbus convinces her that Ilyssus is a foreigner trying to usurp the throne by gaining her favor. The play is emotionally centered on the mother-son pair, especially the orphan Ilyssus's yearnings for parentage and acceptance by Creusa even before he knows she is his mother, and the unfortunate Creusa's longings, doubts, and then terrible remorse (she nearly poisons her son), which culminates in her suicide when, in order to save him, she drinks the poison in his stead.

Creusa and *The Orphan of China* are both centered on the pangs of parent-child reunions, the revelation of identity of the long-lost or separated son, and his potential sacrifice by his parent (it is not hard to see in this a potential metaphor for the griefs of military enlistment perhaps felt by some families). Although Creusa is duped by Phorbas into believing that Ilyssus is a foreign threat to the Athenian throne, her motives for sacrificing Ilyssus to the cause of Athens by assassination is similar to the willingness of Zamti to let Hamet die in Zaphimri/Etan's stead in *The Orphan of China*, in that these sacrifices in both plays are portrayed as patriotic, but ambivalently so, in that they are extreme or misguided. While Zamti is too rigidly virtuous (which leads him to such excesses), Creusa is too passionate and vengeful. Yet both figures are shown to go through affecting tribulations in their decision to sacrifice a son. Although Creusa is convinced by Phorbas that Ilyssus is an imposter, the youth has already begun to fill the emotional role of her son, and he is indeed biologically her child. Fearing that

her inaction will lead to, as Phorbas suggests, Athens' demise, Creusa concedes: "Never, Phorbas. / Do what thou wilt. With this last parting Pang / I give him to thy Rage.—Yet oh, beware / I see him not again. One Look from him / Would baffle all my Schemes" (Whitehead 48). Zamti's decision to let Hamet be executed as Zaphimri clearly echoes Creusa's lines, as Zamti states: "Let my boy bleed: in such a cause as this /I can resign my son—with tears of joy / Resign him, --and one complicated pang / Shall wrench him from my heart" (Murphy 32-3). As suggested earlier, Zamti's overzealous and rigid patriotism is humanized through the difficulty expressed between the lines in his decision. Similarly, Creusa is also pushed to a corner by political circumstance to commit extreme acts; Phorbas suggests to her that her reluctance to kill Ilyssus is weakness as a ruler and protector of her city, for "She who should defend / Thy [Athens's] Rights, thy Liberties, stands tamely by / And sees the Yoke impos'd, nay smiles to see it: / Thy Queen, the last of her illustrious Line, / Consents to thy Destruction" (Whitehead 48), which forces Creusa to agree to sacrifice Ilyssus "With this last parting Pang." Although Creusa does not yet know that Ilyssus is her long-lost son, her attraction to him follows the "*cri du sang*" or call of the blood trope that Ruth Perry notices in eighteenth-century fiction, in which long-separated family members (often believed to be dead) meet as strangers but are inexplicably "drawn" to each other as kin (Perry 97). In novels the *cri du sang* is a trope of wish-fulfillment, reflecting the hope that somehow, in the wide world, one would feel a powerful call to long-lost kin, and in plays such as *Creusa*, the tragic potential of this scenario is painfully drawn-out: Creusa feels that Illyssus is kin, blood of her blood, but political and social circumstances vex the revelation of identity and the full reunion of these long-lost loved ones.

This *cri du sang* is reciprocated by Ilyssus, who grieves to Aletes (his tutor, who he does not yet know is actually his biological father Nicander) that Creusa, who earlier offered to adopt

him to the court, now seems to withdraw her initial "Fondness" and "Tenderness." Ilyssus laments:

> Where are the Parents
>
> Whom thou didst promise to my Hopes? Alas
>
> I find no Parents here, no kind Regards,
>
> No inexpressive Fondness. Stern Debate,
>
> And foul Dissention kindle here their Torch
>
> To usher in my Greatness. Ev'n *Creusa*,
>
> Whose Tenderness I know not how alarm'd
>
> My throbbing Heart with Hopes, and Doubts, and Fears,
>
> Unfelt before, ev'n she has taught her Eyes
>
> To look with Strangeness on me . . . (Whitehead 53)

With the play revolving around Ilyssus and Creusa's respective hopes to fill the parent-child gap, this statement, mid-way through the play, forms its affective center (or central problem): the disruption of the bonds of kinship by political circumstance; first by the separation 18 years ago of Nicander and Ilyssus from Creusa, and then through Phorbas's machinations to eliminate Ilyssus as adopted heir to the throne. The early tentativeness of Ilyssus and Creusa's pull towards one another and the hopes it engenders establishes the depths of repressed feeling we are to understand Creusa and Ilyssus have felt and the tender chord of injury when these hopes seem dashed. In Ilyssus's lament, reunion is negated three times ("Alas . . . no Parents; no kind Regards, / No inexpressive Fondness"), magnifying its loss, and like romantic love though perhaps more powerful (as the mother/son relationship upstages the husband/wife reunion in the play), these yearnings are described as painfully intense. Ilyssus states that Creusa's "Tenderness

I know not how alarm'd / My [Ilyssus's] throbbing Heart with Hopes, and Doubts, and Fears, / Unfelt before." The apparent rejection of the hoped-for bond returns Ilyssus to his previous state of orphanhood, for Creusa now "look[s] with Strangeness on" him.

As *The Orphan of China* clearly references the tragedy of *Creusa*, this adds another dimension to Murphy's play as a politically and patriotically oriented war drama, as both plays can be seen as ambivalent dramas of the internal, affective *process* of sacrifice in times of war and political strife. Though *Creusa* takes on some of the broader trends of war literature of the mid-eighteenth century (for instance, the tragedy dramatizes fears of foreign powers taking control of the Athenian throne), it is the political machinations and duplicity of Athenians such as Phorbas that leads to the play's tragic conclusion.[250] Ilyssus/Ion is, of course, actually Athenian and the rightful heir to the throne, and Xuthus, the king of Athens who is a foreigner and thus distrusted by some, remains the rightful king by the end, though he will eventually be superseded by Ion. The requirement of sacrificing one's son rather than oneself in the two plays—and the painful, equivocating process of unease this initiates—foregrounds the pain attached to the patriotic duties of wartime and casts a pall of ambivalence over the situation. It is as if patriotic duty and its internal contradictions are dramatized at the same time, with neither point reconciled to the other. Or, in other words, while *The Orphan of China* and to a lesser extent the even more ambivalent *Creusa* seem, on the surface, patriotic appeals to defending the (British-coded) homeland from foreign invasion and influence at all costs, the structure of the tragedies and their affective power, the way they revolve around the cultural obsession with longed-for reunions and painful partings, tell another story of doubt, unease, and irrevocable loss.

Murphy's version of *The Orphan of China*, like *Creusa*, also revolves more around the drama of identification and reunion of long-lost sons and parents than the tragic potential of the romances (the conflict between Zamti and Mandane is entirely focused on what to do with the two sons, Hamet and Etan/Zaphimri).[251] In *The Orphan of China*, these issues of identification and reunion are doubled, as there are two sons, one actually an orphan but who is raised to believe he is not (Etan), the other, like Ilyssus, who is raised away from the court and believes himself to be an orphan of perhaps infamous origins, but his parents are actually alive and respectable (Hamet). In the first act, this slippage between the two sons and their placement in this affective drama is introduced, and it is established that the impetus of this drama is the state of wartime and foreign occupation China has been plunged in for 20 years and its dissolution of familial bonds. As Mandane and Mirvan lament this state of their country and the failure of the recent rebellion in Korea against Timurkan's forces, Mirvan fears a renewal of the tyrant's "wrath," to which Mandane responds:

> *Man*. Oh! there—there lies the thought
>
> At which imagination starts, appall'd
>
> With horror at the scene her busy workings
>
> Have colour'd to my sight—there lies the thought
>
> That wakens all a mother's fears—alas!
>
> I tremble for my son!—
>
> *Mir*. Your son!—kind heaven!—
>
> Have you not check'd his ardour?—with your tears,
>
> Your soft authority, restrain'd the hero
>
> From the alarms of war?—

Man. Alas, good Mirvan,

Thou little know'st his danger!—but that truth

Must never pass these lips.— (Murphy 18-19)

Mirvan interprets Mandane's fear to be for her son Etan who lives with her and Zamti in Peking; that he will rashly rise up in rebellion against Timurkan, his "ardour" incited by "the alarms of war" (like Ilyssus, he is warlike despite his mild religious upbringing, presumably hinting at his princely origins). Mandane, though, is more likely speaking of her biological son Hamet (though there is a lack of clarity at this early point in the play), who, as an infant, was removed from Peking to Korea, far away from Timurkan, so that Mandane could raise the orphaned prince Zaphimri as her own son. This slippage has the effect of multiplying the two sons, as the dual vulnerability and parental fears they both evoke extend beyond the family drama to the fate of China. Mirvan presses Mandane to reveal her secret knowledge of the rebellion connected to her son, assuring her that he is loyal to the Chinese cause, as his family suffered destruction at Timurkan's hands. Mandane maintains that

My woes must rest conceal'd—yet should the tyrant

Learn from the captives of yon vanquish'd host,

That China's Orphan breathes the vital air,

And to himself unknown, within his breast

Unconscious bears the gen'rous glowing flame

Of all the virtues of his royal line;--

Oh! should they know that the dear youth survives,

That for his righteous cause this war began,

Their fury then would kindle to a blaze,

Might rap the world in flames, and in the ruin

My blameless son must perish. (Murphy 20)

The identities of the two sons are again collapsed in the intersection of parental anguish with political strife. "China's Orphan," lives "to himself unknown" and knowledge of his identity seems to be held by the defeated army in far-off Korea (where Hamet, Mandane's actual son, lives). And in the ensuing "ruin" of renewed conquest by the enemy, Mandane fears her "blameless son must perish," which again, conflates Etan, the son she seems to refer to, with Hamet, the son she fears will be lost in the destruction that "Might rap the world in flames."

Similar especially to *Creusa* and Otway's *The Orphan*, the revelation of identity in *The Orphan of China* is presented through the structure of dramatic irony, which slightly distances the audience from the experience of surprise and foregrounds interest in observing the emotional responses of the characters to the revelations. For instance, the audience already knows or highly suspects that Ilyssus is Creusa's son, that Monimia in *The Orphan* has inadvertently consummated her wedding night with the brother of her husband, and that Etan and Hamet are likely not who they seem to be. The fascination, instead, is on the characters' responses to (and tragic misunderstanding of) the concealment or revelation of identity, which is notably repeated several times throughout Murphy's play in a way that references and extenuates this structure seen in other thematically similar tragedies. In *The Orphan*, the audience observes Polydore's plan to gain sexual access to Monimia by pretending to be his brother Castalio, who Monimia will have her servant allow entrance into her room during the night. After this bed trick, the play builds up to the awful revelation to Monimia that she has made love to the wrong man (and other related revelations, such as Polydore realizing that Castalio and Monimia had just been married, occur in the wake of this fatal one to Monimia). And in *Creusa*, the audience observes with

distress as Creusa is swayed by Phorbas's ill counsel to believe that Ilyssus must be a foreign imposter attempting to gain the throne, and tragically agrees to have Ilyssus poisoned at a banquet; all of this builds up to the penultimate moment in the play, the full revelation to Creusa that Ilyssus is her lost son. The end of the fourth act is structured around building suspense to increase the effect this revelation will have on Creusa. First, Aletes reveals to her that he is Nicander her husband who she believed to be dead (upon which she faints), and that he and her son's deaths were fabrications, as Nicander thought "by my Death to save thee from Dishonour" and "therefore stain'd/ With Blood my well-known Garments, which produc'd.—". Creusa finishes his statement: "A curst'd Effect—But I have nearer Fears./ How cam'st thou hither? wherefore to these Shades?/ The Boy, where is he?" (Whitehead 60). The suspense mounts as it is apparent she is uneasy, as she was reluctant from the start to have Ilyssus poisoned. Nicander is evasive and says Ion is "Far from hence—" (Whitehead 60), which renders the impending revelation more awful:

> *Nic*. We need not wait [to have Ion made heir];
> For by my Care th'important Means is found
> Already, and no human Power but thine
> Can hinder our Success. I would have hid
> The Secret from thee till thy wish'd Consent
> Had giv'n my Purpose Strength, but thou defeat'st
> My utmost Caution, and wilt force me tell thee,
> *Ilyssus* is young *Ion*!—Ha! *Creusa*!
> Thou art not mad! Good Heaven! How her Eye fixes!
> What have I done? what said, which could attack

The Seats of Sense with this amazing Force?

My Wife, my Queen, O speak?— (Whitehead 63).

Irony is intensified in Nicander's speech with his assurance that Ion's future is safe ("For by my Care th'important Means is found/ Already, and no human Power but thine/ Can hinder our Success"), as, of course, it is Creusa who has unwittingly vexed this reunion. The narration of Creusa's shock by Nicander as it occurs ("How her Eye fixes!") emphasizes the interest in encouraging the observation of her emotional response. The revelation precipitates her demise, as she rushes off to rescue her son by drinking the poison instead.

This fascination with cultivating a slightly distanced view of shock (rather than encouraging the experience of shock first-hand) is extenuated in *The Orphan of China*, as it notably occurs many times in the play rather than building up to a penultimate moment of revelation. That the orphan is actually Etan can come to the audience as no major surprise, and indeed, the intricacy of the plot makes these elements difficult to follow and the emotional struggles of the characters instead take center stage. Etan's real identity is hinted at by Mandane in the first act and scene and is suggested further by Mandane and Zamti in the second scene. Mandane addresses Zamti: "High heav'n / Protected thee for it's own great designs; / To save the royal child, the new-born babe, / From the dire slaughter of his ancient line" (Murphy 22). Zamti responds: " . . . full twenty years / I've hid him from the world, and from himself" (22), and later, Mandane says: "And lo! the trial comes-- /For see where Etan mourns—See where the youth, / Unknowing of the storm that gathers o'er him, / Brings some new tale of woe.—" (23). While ambivalence is maintained concerning the identities of the two young men (and whether Mandane knows Etan is the royal orphan), at the beginning of Act 2, Scene 1, Zamti makes it clear to the audience, through his private musings, that the youth captured in Korea is not the

royal orphan, though he does not yet know the young man is Hamet, his own son: "Dream on, deluded tyrant!—yes, dream on / In blind security! [. . .] Yes, wreak thy fury / Upon this captive youth;--who'er he is" (28). The identity of the captive youth is quickly revealed in act 2, in a conversation between Morat, Hamet's tutor, and Zamti, as Morat explains why he and his charge are no longer in Korea:

> *Morat*. [. . . Hamet,] Indignant of controul/
>
> He burst his covert, and now, hapless youth—
>
> *Zamti*. Ah!—dead--!—in battle fall'n!—
>
> *Morat*. Alas! ev'n now
>
> He drags the conqu'ror's chain.—
>
> *Zamti*. Mandane then
>
> May still embrace her son—My boy may live,
>
> To know the sweets of freedom, ere he die.
>
> *Morat*. Alas! the measure of your woes is full.
>
> Unconscious of our frauds, the tyrant thinks
>
> The prince his pris'ner is your son.— (29-30)

As the initial "fraud" (exchange of the two sons) threatens to fall apart, the emphasis is on the losses experienced in wartime. Zamti initially assumes Hamet has "in battle fall'n," and the confusion of his captured son for the royal orphan brings the emotional turmoil of sacrifice to the foreground, as Timurkan now threatens execution of the captive. Zamti laments this turn of fate, which renders his initial loss/separation from his son more dreadful: "There was but this—but this, ye cruel pow'rs, / And this you've heap'd upon me!—Was it not / Enough to tear him from his mother's arms, / Doom'd for his prince to wander o'er the world? /--Alas! what needed

more?—Fond foolish eyes, / Stop your unbidden gush—tear, tear me piecemeal--/--No, I will not complain—" (30).

The first of the dramatic revelations of the royal orphan (some mistaken and some true) begins in Act 2 in a dialogue between Timurkan and the captive Hamet. Timurkan interrogates Hamet, mistakenly believing him to be the lost prince: "[. . .] –Now tremble at my words! / Thy motive to these wars is known—thou art / Zaphimri!—" Hamet replies in disbelief: "I Zaphimri!" Timurkan: "False one, yes! / Thou art Zaphimri!—thou!—whom treach'rous guile / Stole from my rage, and sent to distant wilds, / Till years and horrid counsel should mature thee / For war and wild commotion" (36). Zamti is brought in to identify the youth and reveal the plot of hiding the orphan abroad, and what ensues is a piecemeal and constrained moment of a parent's recognition of his child, very reminiscent of Creusa's initial meeting of Ilyssus. As Timurkan addresses Hamet, Zamti exclaims to himself, not having seen Hamet since infancy (Aside): "'Tis—it is my son!-- / My boy—My Hamet!" (38).

> *Timur*. Where was your abode?
>
> *Hamet*. Far hence remote, in Corea's happy realm;
>
> Where the first beams of day with orient blushes
>
> Tinge the salt wave—there on the sea-beat shore
>
> A cavern'd rock yielded a lone retreat
>
> To virtuous Morat.
>
> *Zamti*. Oh! ill-fated youth!   [Aside.

Hamet goes on to explain his education in "the paths of wisdom: what the great Confucius / Of moral beauty taught . . ." (38), to which, as an aside, Zamti exclaims: "Oh! lovely youth—at ev'ry word he utters, / A soft effusion, mix'd of grief and joy, / Flows o'er my heart!" (38). And

much like Ilyssus and the heroines of sentimental fiction, Hamet speaks of a birthright that promises legitimacy, but this inadvertently makes him seem even more to be the royal orphan: "My birth, the pious sage [Morat]—I know not why-- / Still wrapp'd in silence; and when urg'd to tell ,/ He only answer'd that a time might come, / When I should not blush to know my father" (39). Then Hamet venerates Zamti, who he has been raised to see as a heroic figure, though not yet knowing that he is his father (while Zamti, of course, knows Hamet to be his son):

Hamet: Oh! heav'ns!

Can that be Zamti?

Timur. Yes, that is the traitor.

Hamet. Let me adore his venerable form,

Thus on my knees adore—

Zamti. I cannot look upon him,

Lest tenderness dissolve my feeble pow'rs,

And wrest my purpose from me-- [*Aside*. (28)

The climactic scene in which it is dramatically revealed to Etan that he is the royal orphan Zaphimri occurs in Act 3, Scene 1, directly following the affecting debate between Mandane and Zamti over whether to relinquish or save Hamet. The definitive revelation of the true prince following the affective heights of this debate has a curiously moribund and belated quality. The meeting between Zamti, Etan, and the elder mandarin's comrades is mournfully set in "*A Temple. Several Tombs up and down the Stage*[,]" and the knowledge of Etan's royal parentage has already been implied in the plot, though not revealed to all the key players, including the youth himself. Thus, the emphasis is again on the spectator observing reactions of shock rather than experiencing surprise directly. After Morat sets the scene by describing "these

the long winding isles, / The solemn arches . . ." that "Attun[e] the mind to melancholy musing" (45), Zamti "*comes out of a Tomb*[,]" according to the stage directions (45). The revelation that will be made in this scene among "these mansions of the dead" (Zamti speaking here; 45) is given piecemeal, as if to prolong the effect on the characters involved (some of which know the identity of Zaphimri). For instance, Zamti asks Morat concerning their comrade Orasming: "Hast thou not told him?—hast thou nought reveal'd / Touching Zaphimri?" (45). This cultivation of an aesthetic of surprise is shown to have a political purpose, in the way Zamti times the revelation when rebellious yearnings in China are highest; as Orasming states: "Oh! could you give us back Zaphimri!—then / Danger would smile, and lose it's face of horror" (46). The rhetorically savvy Zamti then reveals tantalizing information that the captive (Hamet) is not the prince; instead, the prince, "Unconscious of himself, and to the world unknown [. . .] walks at large among us" (46).

What follows is a series of highly cultivated layers of revelation; a recessive structure that reveals what the audience already knows but observes the impact of from a distance. From this distance, the intersection of aesthetics and history is emphasized. Zamti calls Etan forth, who rises from a tomb. Zamti sets the scene: "You seem transfix'd with wonder—oh! my friends, / Watch all the motions of your rising spirit, / Direct your ardour, when anon ye hear / What fate, long pregnant with the vast event, / Is lab'ring into birth" (47). As Etan then suggests, the "tombs" and "altars" themselves "[seem] to shake, as if / Conscious of some important crisis----" (47). In the exchange that follows, there is an interplay of history as an "unknown" moment in time—as in, in the process or on a precipice, with unclear or inscrutable outcomes—and history as a matter of aesthetics that can be organized in the aftermath and dramatically manipulated in the present. In Zamti's reply, history (which is decidedly martial) is organized as an allegorical

painting of the moment of crisis, with two sides on the scales and decorative cherubs (emphasizing artifice), which ends in an abrupt reference to an actual frieze depicting the events of China's fall up to the present moment: "Yes; / A crisis, great indeed, is now at hand!--/ Heav'n holds it's golden balance forth, and weighs / Zaphimri's and the Tartar's destiny, / While hov'ring angels tremble round the beam. / Hast thou beheld that picture?" (47). Etan, unaware of his placement in this history (and unable to orchestrate its narrative aesthetic), says of this picture in the tombs that "Fix'd attention / Hath paus'd on ev'ry part; yet still to me / It shadows forth the forms of things unknown; / All imag'ry obscure, and wrapp'd in darkness"(47).

Going back to the original operetta *The Orphan of the House of Zhou*, the revelation of the revenge-plot is remediated through a work of art. In the Chinese operetta, the painting depicting the destruction of the House of Zhao is on a scroll; in Hatchett's 1741 closet drama based on narrative retellings of the operetta, it is delineated on a robe, and in Murphy's play, the representation of the slaying of the royal family is on a frieze in a temple/graveyard. In Murphy's play, the depiction is perhaps changed from a moveable object—such as a robe or scroll—to a frieze (with its classical implications) to distance the impact of its disturbing scenes of violence from the consumer associations Chinese artwork may have for an English audience.[252] Despite this classicizing effort, the description of the frieze retains the sense that it is an aesthetic experience or artwork to be consumed, complete with a setting of mood to prepare the orphan prince and the audience for the best mindset to take in the scene, as Zamti states "You seem transfix'd with wonder—oh! my friends, / Watch all the motions of your rising spirit, / Direct your ardour, when anon ye hear / What fate, long pregnant with the vast event, / Is lab'ring into birth" (Murphy 47). Zamti interprets the frieze for Etan, describing how the infant, "the last sacred relict / Of China's ancient line," is preserved from destruction and raised by a civilian

family, while their own son is sent to a remote place to serve as a sacrifice to preserve the prince if needed (47). The frieze thus anticipates the present day, and this curated version of history converges with the revelation to the prince of his true identity and is attended with his desire to avenge the wrongs perpetrated against the royal family. In the build-up to the revelation, Etan is described as experiencing an open-ended emotional intensity, which is directed to a particular avenue, vengeance, by Zamti:

> *Etan*. Amazement thrills
>
> Through all my frame, and my mind, big with wonder,
>
> Feels ev'ry power suspended!
>
> *Zamti*. Rather say
>
> That strong imagination burns within thee.
>
> Dost thou not feel a more than common ardour?
>
> *Etan*. By Heav'n my soul dilates with some new impulse;
>
> Some strange inspir'd emotion----Would the hour
>
> Of fate were come!----this night my dagger's hilt
>
> I'll bury in the tyrant's heart! (Murphy 48)

After revealing to Etan that he is Zaphimri, Zamti describes a more gruesome version of historical events than depicted on the frieze to add further fire to Zaphimri's and his comrade's ardor for revenge. The second version of events is highly reminiscent of the most famous example of the horrors of siege warfare from the Greek classics—the sack of Troy, especially the slaying of Priam and Hecuba:

> *Zamti*. How my heart burns within me!—Oh, my friends!
>
> Call now to mind the scene of desolation,

Which Timurkan, in one accursed hour,

Heap'd on this groaning land!—Ev'n now I see

The savage bands o'er reeking hills of dead

Forcing their rapid way. I see them urge

With rage unhallow'd to this sacred temple,

Where good Osmingti, with his queen and children,

Fatigu'd the Gods averse. See where Arphisa,

Rending the air with agonizing shrieks,

Tears her dishevell'd hair; then, with a look

Fix'd on her babes, grief choaks it's passage up,

And all the feelings of a mother's breast

Throbbing in one mix'd pang, breathless she faints

Within her husband's arms [. . .] (50)

The children, gathered at the king's knees in supplication, "sue for parental aid," and later, Timurkan, "the cruel spoiler seiz'd him [the king,]" much like Neoptolemus debasing Priam as recounted in Virgil's *Aeneid*, and "basely dragg'd him / By his white rev'rend locks . . . while the queen, / And her dear fondlings, in one mangled heap, / Died in each other's arms.----" (51). A similar affect of thrilling horror that Etan experiences leading up to the revelation of his identity by Zamti is intensified in this description, which is vividly rendered so as to show its continuity with the present but is also highly aestheticized through clear referencing of Graeco-Roman classics.

The two descriptions of the destruction of the royal family and the way they mesh with the present-day action in the play (the burgeoning uprising, which will enact yet another martial

conflict within the city of Peking) establishes a sense of warfare—especially siege warfare—as cyclical, with the factions who are enacting sieges changing throughout history, but the sites of destruction remaining the same.[253] The terms used to vividly describe Timurkan's besieging of the city 20 years previously mesh with description of the ardor of the current rebellion they are intended to stoke. For instance, the ardor evoked in Etan's "expanding breast" by the frieze is guided by Zamti "Anon to burst/ With hideous ruin on the foe" (49); this evocation of swift ruin is continuous in affect with the second description of the death of the royal family, "the scene of desolation / Which Timurkan, in one accursed hour, / Heap'd on this groaning land!" (50), with "ruin" and "desolation" taking place at different times (past and future) but blending into one another.

This portrayal of siege warfare as cyclical and endlessly repeating subtly destabilizes the "border anxiety" of invasion fears. Sara Ahmed, writing of the post 9/11 context of the early twenty-first century, suggests, "the politics of fear is often narrated as a border anxiety: fear speaks the language of 'floods' and 'swamps', of being invaded by inappropriate others, against whom the nation must defend itself" (Ahmed 76). In political discourse that depends on both the fiction of rigid borders and their continued manipulation and permeability, various modes of circulation are policed differently rather than circulation itself being censured: "the mobility of the bodies of subjects in the West, while presented as threatened, is also defended, along with the implicit defense of the mobility of capital in the global economy (whereby capital is constructed as 'clean money' and defined against the 'dirty money' of terrorism, which must be frozen or blocked)" (Ahmed 73). In *The Orphan of China*, the "nervous" affect of wartime and the language of widespread ruination permeates both sides, the Chinese and the Tartars.

The border anxieties of warfare are destabilized in the play through its aesthetics, which are 'Chinese' but, as Hsin-yun Ou suggests, also 'gothic'; in the play, lines are drawn between French absolutism, Chinese traditionalism, and English liberty, but these are also continuously blurred. The intersection of the Chinese and the gothic is most apparent in the graveyard scene, described in a "scenic direction [that] indicates that the setting combines oriental remoteness and Gothic terror" (Ou 37). Verbally painting a picture of this scene, the character Morat describes ". . . these the long winding aisles, / The solemn arches, whose religious awe / Attunes the mind to melancholy musing, / Such as befits free men reduc'd to slaves." As Ou suggests, David Garrick, in attempting to produce the play with success and avoid the disaster of his "production of Noverre's *The Chinese Festival* (1755)," which "triggered a riot" spurred by anti-French sentiment, relies on a specifically English variation of chinoiserie to create a visual distinction from its French rococo associations (Ou 25). The stage setting and costumes of *The Orphan of China* approximate a sense of autochthonous origins that for the Chinese and implicitly English elements, which are evoked through Chinese costuming that was made to seem more ethnographically Chinese than French rococo, references to native liberty that align the Chinese characters with ideals of Englishness, and possible "Romantic" visual elements that favored the English fashion for windswept unevenness over neoclassical regularity (Ou 29). The latter two elements can be seen in the description of the graveyard setting above, with its evocation of lost native liberty and melancholic musings in a haunting, visually irregular setting. Furthermore, from the standpoint of aesthetics, *The Orphan of China* was written and first performed in a time when the style of chinoiserie was not clearly delineated from gothicism. For instance, "In the 1750's, buildings in the Chinese taste and the Gothic style were [both] regarded as relaxations from classicism" (Ou 31), and irregularity in architecture and gardening could both reflect "the

Chinese practice of planting ('sharawadgi') in an apparently haphazard manner" and "the image of liberty in the British constitutional regime" (Ou 31; 32). Yet, as Ou suggests, Murphy, "though employing Chinese subject matter, criticizes Chinese political and social institutions[,]" which aesthetically surfaces in the way "Garrick's production probably presented the more Romantic *jardin anglo-chinois* with graceful disorder. Thus, Garrick may be creating" a decidedly "English Chinoiserie style on the stage" distanced from the association of French aesthetics and political absolutism (32). This attempt at distancing China from France and aligning the Chinese characters with gothicism also comes out in the fierce martial depictions of Chinese characters in the play, such as Etan/Zaphimri and Hamet, as well as geophysical descriptions of the atmosphere of wartime conflate the Chinese landscape with a desolate (and desolating) barbaric north.[254]

Conclusion

The play, I have suggested, creates a sense of war as cyclical, felt as nervous (and unnerving), and in the larger scale of history, serving as the constant though shifting backdrop of the metropolis; war is shown to ebb and flow but never cease. In the play, the invaders will be cast out with the same uprooting violence with which they first came in; as Zamti explains and anticipates, speaking to Etan/Zaphimri:

> When Timurkan led forth his savage bands,
>
> Unpeopling this great city, I then seiz'd
>
> The hour, to tamper with a chosen few,
>
> Who have resolv'd, when the barbarians lie
>
> Buried in sleep and wine, and hotly dream
>
> Their havock o'er again,--then, then, my son,

> In one collected blow to burst upon ‘em;
>
> Like their own northern clouds, whose midnight horror
>
> Impending o'er the world, at length breaks forth
>
> In the vaunt of lightning's blaze, in storms and thunder
>
> Thro' all the red'ning air, till frighted nature
>
> Start[s] from her couch, and waken[s] to a scene
>
> Of uproar and destruction. (Murphy 13)

Zamti imagines a Trojan horse scenario, where he attacks the enemy by surprise while they are “Buried in sleep and wine.” Of course, instead of attacking the original inhabitants of the city (like the Greeks attacking the Trojans), he will attack the occupiers. Yet the perpetual quality of war, referenced on some level by the circularity of the Tartar’s “dreaming / Their havock o’er again” and the mixed-reference to the Trojan horse, unsettles the division of occupant and occupier. This scene of destruction is imagined very early in the play, setting the tone of violence which will continue throughout. Hamet and Zaphimri begin the play associated with orphanhood and then by the play’s conclusion have ended up in that state again. Their lives are centered on a traumatic past that is at the intersection of personal and communal: the slaying of the royal family—Zaphimri’s parents and kin—which is echoed in the disruption of kinship in other families, such as Zamti/Mandane’s and Morat’s. From this background of instability and martial strife, the two youths become very warlike, akin to the environment that produced them. When Hamet is first introduced, via a description by Etan of a captive in the train of Timurkan’s “triumph mov[ing] within the gates / In dread barbaric pomp” after the conqueror’s victory against the uprising in Korea: “With these a

youth, distinguish'd from the rest, / Proceeds in sullen march. Heroic fire / Glows in his cheek, and from his ardent eye / Beams amiable horror" (24) The two youths are presented through the uncanny scenario of meeting, in each other, their double or other half; this is part of a long chain of confusion of identities. Timurkan, describes Hamet (who he believes to be the prince) in such a way as to also make him someone else again, another version of himself (the conqueror), as he says to Hamet in the dungeon: "Thou art the youth, / Who mow'd our battle down, and flesh'd your sword / In many a slaughtered Tartar?" and then, "Too well I mark'd thy rage, and saw thee hew / A wasteful passage through the' embattled plain" (35). The play unsettles through this ambivalence; we know the differences of character and motive but are also haunted by the same "wasteful" effects of war enacted by both sides and perpetuated by the wartime environment.

Conclusion

This project brings attention to the emotional work performed by these plays about war—how they position soldiers and communities in relation to one another and the state—and in what ways these dynamics contribute to the work of negotiating trauma. I find that these war-themed plays of the long eighteenth century return, again and again, to certain tropes and devices that convey particular affective scenarios or experiences of wartime. These affective experiences include the "cramped, eternal present" of soldiering and enlistment that locks the recruit in a cruel temporality of injury and injuring;[255] the longings for return of someone seemingly lost or displaced and the simultaneous fear of the outcome of this return (or no return); and a sense of rootlessness or displacement that unsettles surety in homeland, homecoming, or nation. The tropes and devices that convey these affective scenarios include devices involving the literal substitution bodies, such as bed tricks and dead tricks; an obsessive repetition of scenarios of recognition of identity, reunion, and the many complications of mistaken identity; and humor, joking, and comic tropes (like the soldier breeches role) that communicate a sense of the temporal experience of war through the body. From these devices an experiential bridge is created in the playhouse between home front and war front by which we see that the soldier is not only positioned abroad, isolated by their experiences of the battlefield, but is also positioned at home, as the returning veteran, the soldier on leave, or the new recruit. From these plays, we see the affective experience of war at home from the community networks touched by military conflict or the military in general.

A socially oriented approach to trauma, inflected by the history of emotions and disability studies, has guided this examination. Rather than seeking for gaps, fissures, or evidence of fragmentation in texts, I explore how the plays convey a visceral sense of particular wartime

experiences and affective states.[256] This conveyance of visceral information and states of the body in performance forges a shared sense of fellow-feeling; extreme experiences of pain and suffering, in this way, are acknowledged by a collective. Through the public re-enaction of fears that may be unspoken or might take a variety of forms—like the fear, upon encountering the returning soldier, of an intimate encounter with the 'wrong' body—these difficult to articulate emotions are potentially negotiated in the collective space of performance and playgoing. It is perhaps an anachronism to call this therapeutic; instead, this tendency in the plays shows that the constant warfare of the period, and the populations' sense of closeness to it and unease, necessitated public ways of managing, negotiating, and trying to process the emotions of war. This contributes to the appeal and power that the plays carried for audiences of the eighteenth century.

The original direction I envisioned for this project was to explore the ways that soldiers and those connected to them used or appropriated the official language and pageantry of war for their own ends—especially in relation to mourning. This was sparked by Denver Brunsman's argument that sailors in the British navy of the eighteenth century both used the reputation of the navy as a point of personal pride yet also, as the numbers show via the perpetual problem of desertion, did not feel the need to translate this to devotion and sacrifice to the navy.[257] These working-class strategies of negotiation and adaptation of imposed discourse—affective ways of negotiating limiting circumstances—can often be found in war-related media of the period. For instance, in popular ballads, the appropriation of familiar framing narratives—the woman left behind by the new recruit or soldier on leave, the dying soldier requesting a military funeral—to communicate a message or experience that is more complex or even subversive than it would seem to be on the surface. In "The Unfortunate Rake," a ballad about a soldier dying of syphilis

and requesting a military funeral (thus referencing a literal appropriation of military symbolism for personal use), the tone wavers between tragedy and satire to a degree that seems significant and points to a meaning outside these two options.[258] The profuseness and popularity of war-themed literature can provide insights into what it meant for war to be woven into everyday life, both topically and affectively.

The intersection of war and literature in the eighteenth century is under-researched but is picking up momentum; to borrow an exhortation from another recent work, my project "is an invitation to scholars to investigate further the cultural expressions of" war "in this period and beyond" (Alker and Nelson 23). As with the ballads mentioned above, the saturation of war-themed literature in everyday life brings up many further questions: in what ways were texts connected to the military or elements of military culture repurposed or appropriated by different groups? And how was military discourse used in lateral rather than hierarchical ways through this re-purposing? The vast, incohesive body of military literature from the period would be of interest here. For instance, there was an explosion in the printing of military manuals and translated classical histories of warfare in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These served the practical application of instructing new generations of English military officers who did not otherwise have education or experience with command; these texts set out "to assist an officer corps which otherwise had no formal training, a large part of which often had little or no active experience of warfare, to acquire a sound understanding of the basics of the service" (Houlding 171). These texts were, of course, also widely consumed by the civilian public. The informal or unofficial quality of these military texts can be seen in a 1755 publication, translated and with commentary by William Duncan, of *The Commentaries: Of Cæsar, Translated into English. to Which Is Prefixed a Discourse Concerning the Roman Art of War.* This text serves

(especially through its extensive commentary and prefatory material) as a crash course in Roman military arts with an eye to how they can inflect or comment on the present. "Translat[ed]" and "up-dated editions of the military classics of antiquity," such as this one, "made up an important part of the body of private publications to appear in English during the [eighteenth] century" (Houlding 168). In this 1755 edition of the *Commentaries*, added prefatory material on the Roman manner of declaring war and maneuvering the surrounding nations of an enemy in support of a Roman conquest (illustrated by the example of the Punic Wars and eventual destruction of Carthage) serves as a critique, in parts, to contemporary armies, as was not unusual in "the voluminous literature privately published," much of which was "critical of various aspects of current British practice" (Houlding 166; 167). The work forms a sense of multi-layered critique though: of current British military practice (such as training) compared to the exemplar of Rome, and, in turn, critique of the insidious way that Rome waged war and manipulated politics, eventually destroying Carthage. Texts like these bring up questions as to how military self-perception and fashioning in reference to the past translated to contemporary configurations of home front and warfront, self and other, in the disparate communities that fell under the umbrella of military culture.

And looking to the present, war literature, as it reflects on the affective ties between soldiers and their communities, has the potential to also be about healing from war. My discussion of eighteenth-century plays signals the importance of the frame in war in a war story or performance: framing war from home, in the domestic sphere, can show how focusing on the battlefield, even if it is via the horror or extremity of war, reinscribes discourses of heroism even as it tries to critique them. The framing of war from home acknowledges the manifold varieties of loss and grief as well as the many positions from which they are experienced in wartime and

its aftermath. Devices of doubling and substitution are used in a recent film, *Frantz* (dir. by Francois Odon, 2016), for strikingly similar ends as the plays I look at: the prospect of one soldier (who is living) replacing another (who is dead) is used in this film to explore the limits of substitution as well as its connection to processing grief—of moving on not as a form of replacement, but as a lateral movement towards the prospect of new affective ties.

Set after the end of the First World War, *Frantz* initially focuses on a German family in mourning of the central but absent figure Frantz, killed in combat. Frantz's grieving fiancé becomes his first substitute, as she now lives with his parents as the daughter-in-law they intended. His next substitute is even more uncanny: a youthful French veteran named Francois who shows up one day and is seen by the fiancé at Frantz's grave. Francois, who knows intimate details of Frantz's life and claims to have been his pre-war friend in Paris, is at first reluctantly but then warmly welcomed into the family's circle, as his knowledge and seeming closeness to Frantz gives life and tangibility to the traces of the dead man. And as Francois begins to become Frantz's erotic replacement for the fiancé, he confesses to her that he was not Frantz's friend but was instead the soldier who killed him (and found letters on his person that provided his knowledge of Frantz). He leaves again for Paris (abandoning the family) midway through the plot. In this exploration of the limits of substitution, Frantz's fiancé undergoes a process of feeling betrayal and horror at Francois's actions to then falling in love (or, back in love) with him, yet her circuitous quest to find him in Paris reveals disillusion instead of the fulfillment promised by this desired substitution of the deceased Frantz. Francois has his own family and fiancé and thus pre-war affective ties; his insinuation into the life of the German family was inadvertent and fleeting.

Substitution of Francois, who is, vertiginously, the substitute of Frantz, is evoked at the very end: a stranger, nearly identical to Francois, speaks to Frantz's fiancé. In this closing scene, they are seated before Eduoard Manet's painting *The Suicide.* Surrogation and its impossibility (or inevitable incompletion) hang in unreconciled tension. It seems as likely that the two will remain chance acquaintances as become lovers, two post-war survivors contemplating a painting of shocking violence from an era before their own era of shocking violence. The film ends here on a note that is oddly vibrant and hopeful, where the incompleteness of surrogation does not detract from its lateral prospect of change. This is communicated through the vertiginous testing of scenarios of substitution and the processes of grief it explores.

[1] Shay 190. For war as a temporal experience defined by the certitude of injuring and injury, see Scarry, *The Body in Pain*.

[2] Orphanhood as "ground zero of the social contract" is courtesy of a remark by Joseph Roach at ASECS 2021. Allan Young, in discussing the relation of/interest in memory in trauma theory suggests that in this field, "Trauma is reality at ground zero" (Young 350).

[3] "If the relict is a child, particularly one who has lost both parents, then she/he not only embodies the trauma of physical separation, but is (re)named ('orphan') and, often, physically and socially dislocated/relocated" (Kathleen M. Oliver, Introduction).

[4] Favret, *War at a Distance*, 187-88. This closeness of war to home and interest in the period in the conflation of warfront and home front is seen in an especially violent way, the trope of the siege in literature, as Sharon Alker and Holly Faith Nelson suggest in *Besieged*.

[5] Indeed, Alker and Nelson suggest that the waning of the siege trope at the end of the eighteenth century, its movement away from depictions of vivid immediacy, occurs at this point "perhaps because the [English] Civil War and wars involving sieges that happened in its immediate aftermath had been, to a certain extent, purged and catharsis achieved. It was replaced by other new concerns . . ." (Alker and Nelson 23).

[6] For this see Melinda Rabb's essay "Parting Shots: Eighteenth-Century Displacements of the Male Body at War."

[7] For an introduction to the many media forms that addressed war in the period, see Gillian Russell, "The eighteenth century and romantics on war." Russell in particular discusses poetry and plays, noting of the latter that "Throughout the period the theater was an important mediation of war across the whole range of genres and theatrical forms—tragedy and comedy, pantomime and farce, stage pageants, topical prologues and epilogues, and towards the turn of the nineteenth century, new genres such as melodrama" (Russell 112-13). And J.M. Cardwell notes that "During the mid-eighteenth century, the prevalence of war created an avid interest among Britain's growing and increasingly literate political nation for reports of its progress, and explanation of how it was waged. This information was conveyed to all stations of society through newspapers, periodicals, pamphlets, broadsheets, and ballads" (Cardwell 160).

[8] Dates and titles of the wars listed here, ranging from the Anglo-Dutch Naval Wars to the Napoleonic Wars, are from Rabb, "Parting Shots," note 37.

[9] On movement in and out of London, Hurle-Eamon states: "London was a military city with a 'great concentration of troops'. . . [Furthermore] Reunions occurred here as well as separations. For a wife like Jane Guthrie, who followed her trooper from Scotland to the capital in 1710 after being apart from him for two years, London symbolized the growth, not the destruction of her family" (Hurle-Eamon 12).

[10] Hurl-Eamon notes that "A detailed study of St Margaret's parish, Westminster, shows that a significant number of low-ranking soldiers lived in marriage-like relationships with London women in the first half of the eighteenth century" (156).

[11] I borrow "indirection" in this context from Melinda Rabb, who suggests there is a common tendency in Restoration and eighteenth-century texts to indirectly reference the English Civil Wars and its shocking destruction of bodies enacted on familiar territory, rather than addressing them head-on. Related to indirection as it was deployed in reference to the genres of classical heroism:

> Given the symbolic importance of the intact male body, and the cultural anxiety aroused by its vulnerability, the need for coping mechanisms is pressing, and indirection can assume many forms. In the eighteenth century, literary heroism (and mock-heroism) alludes repeatedly to the warriors and battles of Homer and Virgil. Even Achilles—half-divine and fully clad in armor made by a god—has a point of corporeal vulnerability. These epic precedents may be understood, at least in part, as replacements or evasions of a classical text that had spoken more directly to the civil wars: Lucan's *Pharsalia. Pharsalia* is an ironic anti-epic, a formal parody of the *Aeneid*, showing that civil conflict cannot be represented in Homer or Virgil's accounts of international wars. Purkiss notes the familiarity of this grim poem during the 1640s and 50s, and points out the parallels between the actual "spectacle of dead bodies" and Lucan's account of battlefields "scavenged by hags intent of carrying off body parts": "Mutilation is also loss of self, loss of image and propriety, and loss of ownership and control over appearance and the body . . .

dislocation of laboriously established social, military, and gender identity at the very moment when it is called upon to display itself." (Rabb 110-11)

Of course, the comedies I discuss are not in the genre of heroic tragedy, but they deal with many of the same themes, especially the ambivalent figure of the military hero.

[12] For this, especially see Daniel Gustafson and Michael Neill.

[13] Rosenthal, *Ways of the World*, 7.

[14] Reddy, qtd in Downes, Lynch, and O'Loughlin 2.

[15] Hultquist's approach is also, it should be noted, very influenced by affect theory.

[16] This view comes from Yuval Noel Harari, whose "book has one overarching argument: War became a revelatory experience in the period of 1740-1865" (Harari 22). Before this, Harari states that early modern "memoirists almost never describe war as an experience of revelation, they almost never describe themselves as flesh-witnesses, and as a rule, they do not lay claim to the authority of flesh-witnessing. The overriding impression one gets from reading these texts is that their authors passed through war without learning anything new and without being changed in any profound way" (Harari 58). One major issue with this expectation of a revelatory narrative to communicate the profound effects of war is that the surfaces of generic convention are mistaken for heartfelt expression or direct meaning between different kind of war narratives from different eras (and thus with very different purposes, conventions, etc.). Alker and Nelson discuss, in relation to siege narratives, that it should be understood that these texts are accomplishing a different kind of emotional work than Romantic revelation; for instance, "It is as if, through the written word and more frequently numerical designations, they can capture and control the space they formerly attacked or inhabited. It is, to some extent, a psychological managerial device" (Alker and Nelson 27). This, they suggest, should be understood as registering just as powerful emotional responses to war, but in a different physical, cultural, and textual context.

[17] "Harari believes, as does Neil Ramsey, who draws upon his work, that it was not until the Romantic period that military memoirs in particular become more sentimental and began to convey the 'personal experience and suffering' of military personnel" (Alker and Nelson 26, also quoting Ramsey).

[18] Harari also notes this connection between revelatory narration and trauma: "The disillusioned [war] narrative easily merges with another dominant narrative, which draws on psychological theories and which views war as 'trauma.' The widespread expectation that veterans must suffer at least some degree of . . . PTSD . . . is often just another twist on the basic theme of martial revelation" (Harari 4). I would suggest that both of these models are culturally specific, artificial impositions though (the view of trauma as a particular form of testimony that equates all war experience, for instance, as traumatic, or traumatic in the same way, and the view of revelatory narratives as especially suited to conveying meaning). Along these lines, Allan Young suggests, "emergent notions of autobiographical personhood and techniques for narrating the self, in the culture at large" have contributed to this interrelation of trauma and literal memory (ability or inability to remember and the need to recall) (Young 349).

[19] As Marvin Carlson argues in *The Haunted Stage: The Theater as Memory Machine*.

[20] In an anecdote of Freud's theorization of trauma in his work with returning WWI veterans, Cathy Caruth says: "In the dreams of returning veterans, however, the encounter with death and horror cannot be assimilated to the fulfillment of desire: rather than turning into a symbol or vehicle of psychic meaning, these traumatic dreams seem to turn the psyche itself into the vehicle for expressing the terrifying literality of a history it does not completely own" (Caruth, *Literature in the Ashes of History*, 3).

[21] Stef Craps, qtd. in Andermahr, "Decolonizing Trauma Studies: Trauma and Postcolonialism" Introduction.

[22] "The speed of travel itself was viewed as potentially traumatic, and individuals caught in railway accidents might suffer not only from physical injuries but also from a sort of physical shock to the nervous system that left them anxious and ill with 'railway spine'" (Kirmayer, Lemelson, and Barad 5).

[23] "The diagnosis of PTSD supported veterans' claims for services and compensation for their war-related disabilities" (Kirmayer, Lemelson, and Barad 7).

[24] "Trauma theory's subject is collective memory: why particular events are singled out for remembering, how memories are transmitted" (Young 349).

[25] Jonathan Shay, in *Achilles in Vietnam*, 194.

[26] McKinney, Abstract in "Scenography, Spectacle and the Body of the Viewer."

[27] Mckinney, "Being Moved in Liverpool and Prague" and "The Paradox of Spectacle" sections in "Scenography, Spectacle and the Body of the Viewer".

[28] McKinney, "The Spectator's Body in Space" section in "Scenography, Spectacle and the Body of the Viewer".

[29] Postcolonial studies offer persuasive critiques of the framework that assumes "trauma results from a single, extraordinary, catastrophic event" (Stef Craps, qtd. in Andermahr, "Decolonizing Trauma Studies: Trauma and

Postcolonialism" Introduction). "This paradigmatic model of trauma does not necessarily work for non-Western and/or minority group trauma (nor even for groups and individuals within Western societies). In particular, the experience of racism does not fit either of the 'classical' forms of trauma," but is a persistent form of trauma (Andermahr). For, "Unlike structural trauma, racism is historically specific; yet, unlike historical trauma, it is not related to a particular event, with a before and an after" (Craps, qtd. in Andemahr). In terms of trauma fragmenting wholeness and the traumatic memory being unrememberable, victims often have much more agency in terms of their awareness of their experiences: "proponents of [the existence or universality of] traumatic amnesia conflate unwillingness to think about trauma with an inability to do so" (Pederson 337).
[30] For more on this, see Alison Kafer, *Feminist, Queer, Crip*.
[31] Alker and Nelson 59, specifically discussing Daniel Defoe's depiction of cities as connected commercial hubs.
[32] The concept of wartime experience as a temporality of injury and injuring comes from Elaine Scarry's work, *The Body in Pain*. As Scarry suggests, the sense of "anticipated injury," which pervades and defines not only combat but also the experience of enlistment and the development of battlefield strategy and tactics, refers specifically to "injury . . . judged to have the greatest effect if *foreseen"* (Scarry 79). Enlistment, Scarry suggests, is defined by the expectation of receiving or doling out injury, and warfare itself is dependent on this threat.
[33] For an analysis of crip time intersecting with queer futurity, see Alison Kafer, *Feminist, Queer, Crip*.
[34] "Nervous" in reference to the play is borrowed from Oliver Goldsmith review of the play for Tobias Smollett's periodical, *The Critical Review*.
[35] As Marvin Carlson says, "The physical theatre, as a site of the continuing reinforcement of memory by surrogation, is not surprisingly among the most haunted of human cultural structures" (Carlson 2). Carlson is drawing from Joseph Roach's discussion of theater and surrogation, or the "doomed search for originals by continuously auditioning stand-ins" (Roach, qtd. in Carlson 2).
[36] The period sees an important shift in views of warfare: "by the end of the seventeenth century war had come to be viewed as a kind of game, and the outcome was determined by accident or chance" rather than "Divine Providence" (Manning 413). This increasingly "rational analysis of war" emphasized manipulating the exigencies of siege, terrain, supplies, artillery, and manpower, and minimizing the risks of chance (Manning 413).
[37] On this martial heroic ethos as it plays out in Dryden's tragedy: "*Troilus and Cressida* has detailed instance after instance of masculine self-promotion, of contests wherein the motivation is not public good so much as self-aggrandizement, and of attempts to get and keep love and honor, most often at the expense of others as well as oneself" (Schille 563).
[38] "Tangier and Bombay were part of the dowry of Charles II's Portuguese queen, Catherine of Braganza. The marriage contract was signed on June 1661, when Tangier seemed much the greater prize; Bombay in comparison was considered too distant" (Lincoln 417). On the promises that Tangier seemed to contain: "England did not own Gibraltar at this time, and Tangier was in a strategic location, overlooking the entrance to the Mediterranean, the world's greatest center for commerce. Tangier provided a base from which England could monitor the rival fleets of Spain and France, and even advance in Africa. It offered a stopover for merchant ships trading to the East Indies and the Levant" (Lincoln 418). The colony was abandoned by the English by 1683 (Lincoln 418); by 1679, it was fully on the decline, which was reflected in the press by this time: "By 1679, published impressions were more negative and overtly critical of the Catholic majority in the colony[,]" as this majority was seen as a potential problem of security and loyalty. Furthermore, "The author of *The Present Interest of Tangier* set out reasons why the colony had failed to prosper. He explained that, although Tangier's climate was healthy, colonists had died from 'Follies, Debaucheries, and Lust'" and, among other internal and external problems listed in this account, "people who had been sent to Tangier aimed only to fill their purses, not work for the common good; the jarring, litigious community . . . the garrison was neglected and sickly; and the Moors, who had gained the upper hand in many skirmishes, were now excessively feared for their military prowess" (Lincoln 422).
[39] As Linda Colley suggests, "Tangier was a 'perfect prison' [as] declared [by] some of its early occupiers"; and elsewhere, "a one-time settler in the colony claimed that the garrison troops viewed it as 'an ill prison, from which they could only hope to be freed by a grave'" (Colley 40).
[40] As Candy Schille notes, "Most discussions of Shakespeare's Cressida" in critical conversations "treat her as emblematic of the play's pervasive cynicism about love, and about war and its pretexts. Such readers agree with Ulysses' remark in the play that she is a true 'daughte[r] of the game," either monstrously fickle or unfeelingly manipulative" (Schille 544-45). Readings of Cressida can be varied and complex though, and "Some feminist readers . . . defend her as a victim, a woman who is unwillingly twisted by a vicious and/or masculinist culture," as it is kind of obvious (or should be) that Cressida has little choice in being unfaithful (the other choice would be failing to navigate the game of war and likely dying) (Schille 545).

[41] Candy Schille argues that, through Dryden's "primary revision—his rehabilitation of Shakespeare's Cressida" we can see how "These changes demonstrate Dryden's interest in female agency and interiority" (Schille 544). This is also evident in his dramatization of Andromache, who, "Like Cressida . . . suffers through her lover's pursuit of glory" (544). Schille also finds that "Dryden preserves and extends Shakespeare's critique of masculine heroic behavior," despite his overall making the characters of the play more heroic (544).
[42] Thomas H. Luxon, in "Heroic Friendship in Dryden's *Troilus and Cressida*," considers the play in light of the emphasis added by Dryden to the fraternal relationship between the brothers Hector and Troilus, especially their ability to negotiate differences of opinion (which, for royal brothers, has significant political importance). They provide a model, Luxon suggests, for Charles II and James, Duke of York to practice "virtuous friendship" during the contentious Exclusion Crisis contemporary with the play (Luxon 197). Candy Schille, in "Why Did John Dryden Rehabilitate Cressida?", argues that Dryden's rewriting of Cressida as faithful and fully tragic, and his expansion of the parts of women in the play generally, strengthens the play's antimilitarism by more clearly showing the abuses of a violent heroic culture through its impact on women (544). In "Anxious Comparisons in John Dryden's *Troilus and Cressida*," Jennifer Brady connects Dryden's revisions in the play—especially the increased emphasis on the inability of character's to live up to their models and forebears—with an anxiety of influence connected to the trauma of the English Civil War and the gulf it left between Dryden and his Jacobean predecessors, who he can never fully connect with or extend in his achievements. Janet Dawson, in "Searching for Peace: John Dryden's *Troilus and Cressida, or Truth Found too Late*," reads Dryden's revisions of the play through the lens of Hobbes. Dawson "argue[s] that [Dryden] used the Greeks and Trojans to draw instructive parallels with recent English history, which, as he saw it, would avoid the mistakes of the past by embracing the need for change without humiliating those who had been defeated. The portrayal of disorder in Dryden's play can be read as pointing to the need for democratic institutions that are based on freedom and that uphold the rule of law rather than private and arbitrary violence" (Dawson 120). See Hussein Alhawamdeh's dissertation, in which he discusses the play in terms of the "Trojan Turk" trope (and in this way connects it to near-East conflict of the time).
[43] Candy Schille suggests of Dryden's pro-feminine rewriting of the play, which engages with the literary history of Cressida that the audience might be aware of, also purposely subverts this history by making Cressida a character with self-reflection and conscious decision-making: "So how does [her] speech work on a 'knowing' audience—an audience, that is, like ourselves? One way it may work is by citing, then discrediting, the narrative tradition. Dryden's Cressida is not trapped by the story as it has always been written; she is trapped instead by circumstances that make her assume, in future tense, a false identity" (Schille 549).
[44] "More specifically, the tedium and monotony of the siege allow Shakespeare to demonstrate the cracks in the literary representation of great men of action, put in a situation where matters cannot be resolved with quick and efficient brutality" (Alker and Nelson 73). The first quote is from page 71.
[45] "In engaging directly and solely with the siege, Shakespeare writes what critics recognize as a profoundly antiheroic play" (Alker and Nelson 71). "We are faced not with glorious combat but with the way atrocity and revenge replace glory in war. Most shockingly, Shakespeare depicts Hector's death in battle as a monstrous act of murder in which the unarmed hero Hector is killed not by Achilles" (which would be considered equal combat) "but by a group of brutal Myrmidons who mob him, following Achilles's orders" (Alker and Nelson 71). This sullies both heroes, through Hector's inglorious death and Achilles's ignoble means of attacking and dispatching his rival Hector.
[46] The quotations are from Alker and Nelson, 59.
[47] As Janet Dawson notes, the "Trojans" for "the 1679 audience are not a remote 'them' but a nostalgic part of 'us'" (142), as "London had long been referred to as New Troy" (141).
[48] Adam R. Beach suggests that although the acquisition of Tangier by Charles II in 1661 held great promise as a military and trade port for its location in the Mediterranean, "by the late 1670s, English Tangier had neither lived up to its great expectations nor continued to command unanimous political support" (547). This was due to the perception of mismanagement and corruption in the flagging colony, the high percentage of Irish Catholics in the military stationed there, increasingly dangerous incursion of Moorish forces, and that the port turned out to not be conducive to naval docking (548).
[49] "Engineers were engaged to build a huge breakwater, or 'mole,' at Tangier to shelter ships in harbor. The Tangier Committee was set up in London, responsible for the oversight and supply of the garrison and for the building of the mole" (Lincoln 418).
[50] "A key historical lesson of the Tangier episode was that it was no model for imperial expansion. The driving impetus to advance an empire would be merchant interest rather than mere acquisition of land" (Lincoln 434). And further, "Events in Tangier [i.e., its failure] supported the Whig view that the national interest was best served by a

political economy that favored manufacturing and commerce rather than the Tory view of empire as territorial acquisition" (Lincoln 434). Of course, the commercial view of empire is dependent on military outposts and the outcomes of wars too, though perhaps less blatantly.

[51] Post 2000s analyses of the play take a decidedly historical turn, focused on uncovering the political backdrop of Dryden's composition of the play. This extends the sporadic interest in previous decades with the politics underlying the changes to the play, with essays such as Douglas G. Atkins's "The Function and Significance of the Priest in Dryden's Troilus and Cressida" (1971) and Lewis D. Moore's "FOR KING AND COUNTRY: JOHN DRYDEN'S 'TROILUS AND CRESSIDA'" (1982), which examines, among other aspects, Thersites's anti-war critiques in the play.

[52] To list a few; Sergio Rufini's chapter "'To Make that Maxim Good': Dryden's Shakespeare," and most recently, Candy Schille's essay.

[53] See Schille for how Dryden emphasizes, in his revisions, an anti-war stance by drawing more attention to the plight of female characters. Also see Jennifer Brady, "Anxious Comparisons," for an analysis of "unresolved mourning" in Dryden's revision of the play, an extension of his "highly anxious focus on pre-[Civil] war writers, the 'giant race' against whom he measured himself and his generation's achievements" (Brady 198; 187).

[54] Schille 544.

[55] In Shakespeare's play, "As prescribed by the ancient narrative, Cressida betrays Troilus. This is the primary fact of her literary existence, the role she had always played since she was invented in the twelfth century by Benoit de Ste Maure" (Anthony B. Dawson 27). Shakespeare seems to use this format, though, as an opportunity to create a character of whom "It is difficult to catch . . . exactly, since Shakespeare has conferred on her a kind of opacity consistent with an only partially knowable subjectivity. As with Hamlet, we sense a mystery at the heart of her character, difficult if not impossible to pluck out" (Dawson 27).

[56] Candy Schille suggests of Dryden's dismissal of the authority of chivalric romance in the portrayal of Cressida: "May we not detect weariness or impatience in that 'I suppose'? If Dryden sounds somewhat dismissive here of his medieval predecessors and defensive of Shakespeare, then it is because he is after something more than the caricatures of 'Satyr'" (Schille 552).

[57] Thersites is one of the characters that seemed to Dryden promising but incomplete; he thus "improv'd those Characters which were begun, and left unfinish'd: as *Hector, Troilus, Pandarus* and *Thersites;* and added that of *Andromache"* (Dryden, Preface).

[58] While controversially "War had been regarded as an art by Renaissance writers such as Machiavelli . . . it was coming to be studied as a science" in a more mainstream way "by the time of [the] Nine Years War" in the late seventeenth century (Manning 413).

[59] Manning similarly states: "War, as it was practised during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, consisted of numerous sieges of fortified places, while pitched battles occurred less frequently" (413). This would place the emphasis on the experience of siege in both Shakespeare and Dryden's plays within the same martial trend.

[60] This is seen in the explosion, in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in the printing of military manuals and translated classical histories of warfare, which served the practical application of instructing new generations of English military officers who did not otherwise have education or experience in the arts of command; these texts set out "to assist an officer corps which otherwise had no formal training, a large part of which often had little or no active experience of warfare, to acquire a sound understanding of the basics of the service" (Houlding 171). A 1755 translation of Caesar's *Commentaries*, for instance, serves as a crash course in Roman military arts with an eye to how they can inflect the present. "Translat[ed]" and "up-dated editions of the military classics of antiquity," such as this one, "made up an important part of the body of private publications to appear in English during the [eighteenth] century" (Houlding 168—endnote that pg. too). In the 1755 edition Caesar's *Commentaries*, extensive prefatory material on the Roman manner of declaring war and maneuvering surrounding nations of an enemy in support of a Roman conquest (illustrated by the example of the Punic Wars and eventual destruction of Carthage) serves as a critique, in parts, to contemporary armies, as was not unusual in "the voluminous literature privately published," much of which was "critical of various aspects of current British practice" (Houlding 166; 167).

[61] As Linda Colley puts it, "Starved of manpower, it's garrison's pay always in arrears, hemmed in on the one side by the angry sea, and on the other by superior Moroccan military numbers, Tangier became a prey to festering internal divisions. Many of the garrison troops had fought in the civil wars of the 1640s and '50s for the sake of Parliament and a godly English republic. Sweating now under an alien sun, some of them wondered aloud why they should venture their lives for the sake of a king" (Colley, *Captives* 38). The settlement was very cosmopolitan; "Main groupings though were English and Irish, with Protestants and Catholics well represented in both camps. These religious and national factions constantly jostled against each other, not always in predictable ways" (Colley

38-9). Furthermore, "desertion was a major problem at Tangier. To begin with, a few dozen of the garrison's troops slipped away every year; but much higher numbers defected as the years went on, as pay fell into arrears, and excitement and professionalism faded into boredom and loss of hope" (Colley 39).
[62] As Alker and Nelson similarly suggest, "Sieges—extended, exhausting martial events reliant on engineering work and the hard labour of ordinary soldiers to build earthworks—offered fewer opportunities than the battlefield for decisive acts and thus less chance for lasting glory" (Alker and Nelson 75). Sieges are also highly volatile and variable in their outcome, for "their length and periodic resolution by diplomatic means rather than military victory meant that a successful skirmish one day might be diminished by the events that follow" (75).
[63] "Charles' proclamation to set up a free port in Tangier in November 1662 was part of a broad strategy to encourage English trade and shipping. Even when the general mercantile policy then drifted towards more protectionism, Tangier's port was declared 'free to all Merchants, as well Foreigners as others, with their Ships and Vessels'. Charles was sensitive to the rising cost of maintaining the new colonial establishment and hoped his incentive measures would attract enough trade to ensure the economic viability of the city" (Colley 18).
[64] "Dryden's version was revived on four occasions between 1679 and 1734, each time for a small number of performances (Variorum lists ten in all)" (Anthony B. Dawson 2, n.1). The play should not be characterized as entirely unpopular though; it is speculated in the *London Stage* that there were more performances than we currently have records for (pt. 1, pp. 301; 441), and in June 1709, a playbill even states that the play was performed "At the Desire of several Ladies of Quality" (*London Stage*, pt. 2, v. 1, pg. 194), suggesting there was some public interest in the play and that it was still being read or remembered.
[65] For instance, this can be seen in the depiction of Cressida from Shakespeare's play as a tragic heroine following Restoration "stage conventions" (as she likely would be in Dryden's play) in the illustration from "Nicholas Rowe's edition" (1709) of the play (Shirley 5n.10).
[66] In Dryden, this is 2.1. 127-30.
[67] Jennifer Brady suggests that "Priam's speech, suffused with a proleptic melancholy, envisions Astyanax's brief life after Hector's death" in a complex metaphor that mixes "the sheltering, nurturant, life-giving" properties of "the Mother tree" with an "Oedipal contest" between generations (here, Hector and his son Astyanax, along with the mournful position of the patriarch, Priam) (Brady 190-91).
[68] It is Astyanax who initially gives Hector the idea for single combat; Schille perceives this as ironizing the heroic war-making of the play by revealing it to be ultimately too costly and destructive: "The first thing we can say about this is that Hector's challenge is not inspired by a worthy woman [Andromache], as Rufini claims, but by a pugnacious child. That Dryden would wholeheartedly endorse such heroic daring in a child or a man is suspect. In a later play, *Cleomenes, the Spartan Heroe* (1692), he reprises this scene with Cleomenes taking Hector's part and his young son Cleonidas taking Astyanax's. Cleomenes' mother Cratisclea seems to recognize the downside of such heroism. . . . Ultimately, she, along with Cleomenes' wife, two children, his friends, and Cleomenes himself, is destroyed. And in *Troilus and Cressida* this is also the case with Hector and Troy, as Priam foresees and, seconded by Aeneas, attempts to convince Hector" (Schille 557).
[69] Passage also cited in Brady, 198-99.
[70] An exception would be Alhawamdeh's dissertation.
[71] Similarly, Beach suggests, "Much of the initial enthusiasm for the colony eroded early on when Charles's government began staffing the garrison with large contingents of Irish soldiers and gave leadership opportunities to Catholics in both the officer corps and, several times, in the governorship." (547-48). Furthermore, considering the expense of the mole and the strategic problems it did not solve, "As early as 1667, commentators such as Samuel Pepys and Sir William Coventry, both members of the Tangier committee, had reached the pragmatic conclusion that money spent on Tangier was completely wasted." (548)
[72] This element of foundational national narratives associated with conquest is already present in the setting of Troy, which is part of the power of Shakespeare's satire of this setting, conflict, and characters in his *Troilus and Cressida*: "The play's resistance to categories [especially of genre], along with what Cora Fox has called an impulse to parody that undermines 'the matter of Troy, the foundational story of Western literary culture,' makes it especially unsettling—a counter site in which conventional cultural representations that gild war and conquest are peeled away to reveal the brutality they work to elide" (Alker and Nelson 70).
[73] Lines 44-45 in Dryden's play conflate Troilus's response to Cressida's question, "Is't possible?" His response appears in Shakespeare's as:

> Troilus: And suddenly—where injury of chance
> Puts back leave-taking, jostles roughly by
> All time of pause, rudely beguiles our lips

Of all rejoinders, forcibly prevents
Our locked embrasures, strangles our dear vows
Even in the birth of our own labouring breath.
We two that with so many thousand sighs
Did buy each other must poorly sell ourselves
With the rude brevity and discharge of one.
Injurious time now with a robber's haste
Crams his rich thiev-ry up he knows not how:
As many farewells as be stars in heaven,
With distinct breath and consigned kisses to them,
He fumbles up into a loose adieu,
And scants us with a single famished kiss
Distasted with the salt of broken tears. (Shakespeare 4.4. 32-47)

[74] "Cressida is delivered to Diomedes in exchange for Antenor, from Thomas Hamner's edition (1744)," figure 1, page 2 in *Troilus and Cressida*, edited by Anthony B. Dawson. (Title as listed in the Illustrations).

[75] Chloe Wigston Smith, in "Dressing Up Character: Theatrical Paintings from the Restoration to the Mid-Eighteenth Century," quotes Diana de Marley on this: "the audience could tell at one glance as soon as the actors walked onto the stage that the one with the most plumes was the star of the piece" (qtd. in Smith, 91n. 42).

[76] On the early modern stage (circa Shakespeare), feathers might help signify a character is French (with attendant associations with frippery and vanity): "Unlike the articles of clothing that signified other nationalities in early modern drama, the wearing of feathers fulfilled no utilitarian purpose, serving only to render one's overall ensemble more ostentatious." Indeed, in one play, "the character of Vanity appears onstage 'all in feathers'" (Lublin 108).

[77] Cited by Gonzalez-Trevino: https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/person/mp50361/anne-bracegirdle

[78] "When worn as a headdress, feathers modified the symbol of the king's crown, making monarchy appear to be a 'natural' form of government, universal and inevitable, compatible with the aims of a society which valued 'nature.' The headdress could thus be smoothly translated from otherness into sameness as a 'natural' crown at a time when monarchy was being re-defined as a form of government in Restoration England" (Gonzalez-Trevino 109). "A sign of monarchy par excellence, the English crown had undergone the major ordeal of the Civil Wars, and while it may have survived the strain of regicide and republicanism, during the Restoration it would never recover its former ascendency thanks to increased parliamentary control and new economic conditions. Through the portrayal of the fallen Aztec empire with its noble if politically unskillful 'Indian emperor,' the crown and the feather headdress overlapped as signs of rule. The significance of the former was somewhat disturbed or even modified by the latter: the restored monarchy was essentially different from what it had been before the Protectorate and it could never entirely reestablish continuity with Tudor and early Stuart rule. But in this new age, its altered status was more suitable to the present circumstances, including the fact that as a 'crown' it was becoming more explicitly decorative" (Gonzalez-Trevino 105).

[79] A sense of the waste of war is also present in Shakespeare's version, though I would say that the meaning it imparts shifts between contexts and the two plays: "[T]he war in [Shakespeare's] *Troilus and Cressida* is an unjust war . . . Greeks and Trojans alike are presented as fully aware of the 'wastefulness' of this war, which causes the dark and cynical implication of the play. In fact, both sides argue for the injustice of this war yet continue fighting, which emphasizes the gruesome irony of their conduct" (Franziska Quabeck, qtd. in Alker and Nelson 69).

[81] A version of this chapter (pages 76-98) appears as a book chapter: Tamar LeRoy, "Trauma, Ritual, and the Temporality of War in George Farquhar's *The Recruiting Officer*," *Early Modern Trauma*, edited by Cynthia Richards and Erin Peters (University of Nebraska Press, 2021).

[82] George Farquhar, *The Recruiting* Officer, ed. Tiffany Stern (London: New Mermaids, 2010), 3.2. 149-50. All parenthetical references are to this edition.

[83] Denys Van Renen, "'The Air We Breathe': Warfare in Farquhar's *The Recruiting Officer*" *College English* 43, 2 (2016): 397-426; 397.

[84] Iain MacRury, "Humour as 'social dreaming': Stand-up comedy as therapeutic performance" *Psychoanalysis, Culture & Society* 17, 2 (2012): 185-203; 189.

[85] Hurl-Eamon suggests, for instance, that the British army's discouragement of marriage via policy and army culture is connected to the convenience of having unmoored men in the military. Jennine Hurl-Eamon. *Marriage*

and the British Army in the Long Eighteenth Century:"The Girl I Left Behind Me" (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 2014.
[86] Elizabeth Heard, *Experimentation on the English Stage, 1695-1708: The Career of George Farquhar* (London: Pickering and Chatto (2008), 87.
[87] As Tavory suggests in examining the function of morbid joking in social situations of extremity, "*Humor does not resolve tensions, but sustains them*," giving access to ironic connections that may be otherwise unspeakable (or inaccessible). Iddo Tavory, "The Situations of Culture: Humor and the Limits of Measurability," *Theory and Society: Renewal and Critique in Social Theory* 43, 3-4 (2014): 277; italics in text.
[88] As Van Renen continues, "the daily newspaper appeared for the first time during this period," giving English civilians frequent information on military engagements in far-flung places in this war. Van Renen "'The Air We Breathe'", 397.
[89] Jeremy Black, *European Warfare: 1660-1815* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 112, 111.
[90] Black, *European Warfare*, 111; quote in Bruce Lenman, *Britain's Colonial Wars,1688-1783* (Harlow: Pearson, 2001), 37. On Marlborough's falling out of public favor, see Richard Holmes, *Marlborough: England's Fragile Genius*. (London: Harper, 2008), 460-61; 441. For platoon firing and Farquhar's play, see Kevin J. Gardner, "George Farquhar's *The Recruiting Office*: Warfare, Conscription, and the Disarming of Anxiety." *Eighteenth Century Life* 25 (2001), 51.
[91] *The London Stage* notes that a 1710 performance of *The Recruiting Officer* included a raucous song, performed by soldiers, satirizing Marlborough's "avarice" (227).
[92] Shay, in *Achilles in Vietnam*, argues that how the returning soldier is received back into the civilian world has profound effects on the mental health of veterans. Jonathan Shay, *Achilles in Vietnam: Combat Trauma and the Undoing of Character* (New York: Atheneum, 1994). In terms of the militarization of English culture in the eighteenth century, Gardner and Van Renen see *The Recruiting Officer* as a successful attempt to condition the nation for ongoing military conflict and violent colonial venture. As Gardner suggests, this is also connected to attempts to shift public perception of soldiers away from distrust, since soldiers returned from conflict could be volatile members of the playhouse audience. Gardner, "Theatrum Belli," 44-52.
[93] Shay, *Achilles in Vietnam*, 194.
[94] Shay, *Achilles in Vietnam*, 190. Gardner notices a similarity between *The Recruiting Officer* and war humor deployed in the wake of twentieth-century armed conflicts, which "continues even today to make war appear amusing, for it defuses potential anxiety over" the way war is enmeshed with the structures of modern life. Gardner, "Disarming of Anxiety," 57. Stern views humor in the play more ambiguously, noting that "Hardly surprisingly, the recruiters have bad memories; their jokes and hard drinking may relate to this" Stern, "Introduction," xiii.
[95] On the humor in the play as "amiable satire," see Gardner, "Disarming of Anxiety," 43.
[96] Gillian Russell, "The eighteenth century and the romantics on war," in *The Cambridge Companion to War Writing*, ed. Kate McLoughlin. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 113.
[97] Russell, "the romantics on war," 117
[98] Silvia takes the name "Pinch" in court (5.2.62-4).
[99] See Gardner, "Disarming of Anxiety," and Van Renen, "'The Air We Breathe'"
[100] Macrury, "Humour as 'social dreaming,'" 201.
[101] MacRury, "Humour as 'social dreaming,'" 193.
[102] MacRury, "Humour as 'social dreaming,'" 202; Tavory, "The Situations of Culture," 286; italics in text.
[103] Tobin Siebers, *Disability Aesthetics* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010), 100-20, 111.
[104] The play is often noted as having two plots, but the subversive content of the army plot has not been linked to crip temporalities.
[105] Alison Kafer, *Feminist, Queer, Crip* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013), 38.
[106] Kafer, 40, 35.
[107] Kafer explicitly draws out overlaps between crip time and queer temporalities in order to emphasize the resistant potential of affirming crip modes of life. Contrary to this, Silvia's breeches role is instead often seen as largely affirming the marriage plot, since like the stereotypical cross-dressing "woman warrior" of eighteenth- century performance and narrative, she puts on a male identity in the heterosexual context of seeking out her male love interest. For a reading of Silvia in an American performative context as the patriotic "woman warrior," see Jason Shaffer, "The 'female Martinet': Mrs. Harper, Gender, and Civic Virtue on the Early Republican Stage" *Comparative Drama* 40, 4 (2006), 422-23. Also see Beth H. Friedman-Romell, "Breaking the Code: Toward a Reception Theory of Theatrical Cross-Dressing in Eighteenth-Century London" *Theatre Journal* 47, 4 (1995): 459-79 on this common structure in cross-dressing performances.

[108] Russell, "the romantics on war," 118.
[109] As Russell suggests, "Shrewsbury in the play stands for 'Fortress Middle England,' a stable and secure social community able to distance itself from the wars fought in its name. But even here, war is able to penetrate in the form of Captain Plume and his agent, the wily and ruthless Serjeant Kite . . . The space of the stage, in standing for both Shrewsbury and Plume's larger freewheeling domain, signifies the extent to which these two 'theaters of war' are inextricable." Russell, "the romantics on war," 117.
[110] As Stern suggests, "Youthful fatality" plays a prominent role in the plot, and "Death overshadows the drama, as is predictable in an army play." Stern, "Introduction," xiv.
[111] Shay, *Achilles in Vietnam*, 190.
[112] See Elaine Scarry on how the structure of warfare locks the soldier (and warring nation) in a "temporal form of injuring" in *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World*. (New York: Oxford University Press), 79.
[113] Especially see Gardner, "Disarming of Anxiety," and Van Renen, *The Other Exchange: Women, Servants, and the Urban Underclass in Early Modern English Literature* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2017), for how this balance can be shored-up to normalize the war-effort.
[114] For an analysis of sympathetic techniques in early war films, see Jaimey Fisher, "The Haptic Horrors of War: Towards a Phenomenology of Affect and Emotion in the War Genre in Germany, 1910s to 1950s" *Seminar: A Journal of Germanic Studies* 50, 1 (2014): 51-68. According to Fisher, war necessitates certain approaches to representation focused on the sensations of the body. On techniques of identification between character and viewer in horror and war films, Fisher states that "horror has consistently posed a problem" for critics of film "because it so clearly plays on negative affects and emotions that complicate any facile identificatory" structure (54).
[115] Fisher, "The Haptic Horrors of War," 52.
[116] Joseph Roach, *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 2.

[117] Marvin Carlson, *The Haunted Stage: The Theatre as Memory Machine* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002), 2; Roach, *Cities of the Dead*, 3.
[118] Gardner, "Disarming of Anxiety," 58, 1, 3.
[119] On ways the soldier diverged from masculine ideals, see Louise Carter, "Scarlet Fever: Female Enthusiasm for Men in Uniform, 1780-1815 in *Britain's Soldiers" Rethinking War and Society, 1715-1815* ed. Kevin Linch and Matthew McCormack. (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2014) and Jennine Hurl-Eamon, *Marriage and the British Army.*
[120] On this, see Michelle Balaev, *The Nature of Trauma in American Novels* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2012).
[121] Allan Young, "Bruno and the Holy Fool: Myth, Mimesism, and the Transmission of Traumatic Memories" in *Understanding Trauma: Integrating Biological, Clinical, ad Cultural* Perspectives ed. Laurence J. Kirkmayer, Robert Lemelson, and Mark Barad. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 352.
[122] Young, 339.
[123] Young, 347; 339.
[124] Young, 351.
[125] As Balaev argues, the traumatic event does not necessarily disrupt a previous wholeness in the protagonist's consciousness, but instead often serves as the disruptive event that precipitates the individual's reevaluation of their positioning to outside forces and social structures. Balaev, *The Nature of Trauma*, 40.
[126] Scarry , *The Body in Pain*, 79.
[127] Scarry, 79.
[128] Scarry. 136.
[129] Kafer, *Feminist, Crip, Queer*, 38.

[130] Siebers, *Disability Aesthetics*, 109, 110.
[131] Seibers, 118.
[132] Seibers, 118.
[133] Stern, "Introduction," xiii.
[134] Myers, "Introduction," *xxi*.

[135] Geoffrey L. Hudson finds that theories of the humors heavily inflected wounded veterans' views of their own bodies in the early modern period. "Disabled Veterans and the State in Early Modern England" in *Disabled Veterans*

in History, ed. David A. Gerber (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2012), 130-132. Plume appears to carry over this older framework of humoral balance in his view of the emotions. Stern, ed., *The Recruiting Officer*, 16 n.143.
[136] Joseph Roach, *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 153.
[137] Roach, 30.
[138] For a discussion of plumes in the context of ritual sacrifice, heroic drama, and transatlantic trade, see Roach, *Cities of the Dead*.
[139] Catherine Howey, "The Vain, Erotic, Exotic Feather: Dress, Gender, and Power in Sixteenth-and Seventeenth-Century English" in *Religion, Gender, and Culture in the Pre-Modern World* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 234. For gender props, see Jarred Wiehe, "Propping Up and Stripping Down: Stage Properties as Technologies of Gender in Edward Ravenscroft's *The Careless Lovers* and *The London Cuckolds*," *Restoration: Studies in English Literary Culture, 1660-1700* 40, 2 (2016): 20.
[140] Howey, "The Vain, Erotic, Exotic Feather," 233.
[141] Howey, 233.
[142] On these complicated and contradictory associations with military masculinity in the period, especially see Hurl-Eamon, *Marriage and the British Army* and Louise Carter, "Scarlet Fever"
[143] For instance, actresses playing Silvia in breeches could deploy specific recruiting elements in the performance, such as by performing the manual exercises, as Shaffer discusses in "The Female Martinet." Shaffer also discusses the patriotic uses of the "woman warrior" trope on the stage.

[144] Joel Schechter, *Eighteenth-Century Brechtians: Theatrical Satire in the Age of Walpole* (Exeter, UK: University of Exeter Press, 2016), 21.
[145] Schechter, *Eighteenth-Century Brechtians,* 21.
[146] Schechter, 21.
[147] On the prevalence of images of martial male vulnerability and castration in the eighteenth century, see Melinda Rabb, "Parting Shots" Eighteenth-Century Displacements of the Male Body at War" *ELH* 78, 1 (2001): 103-35.
[148] *The Revels History*, qtd. in Heard, *Experimentation on the English Stage*, 87.
[149] As Tavory points out, deeply entrenched cultural, social, or experiential tension is central to the way humor functions: "jokes" are legible as such "because unresolved tensions and condensations of meaning always exist in social life." Tavory, "The Situations of Culture," 278.
[150] MacRury, "Humour as 'social dreaming,'" 193.
[151] Rabb, "Parting Shots," 109.
[152] Rabb, 108-9.
[153] Rabb, 109.
[154] Rabb, 109-10.
[155] As Wiehe says of the 1673 play *The Careless Lovers* by Edward Ravenscroft, "a young woman convincingly cross-dresses as a sexually viable gallant. Dressed as a man, she carries her masculinity so well that two experienced London whores fight for her attention." Wiehe, "Propping Up," 5.
[156] As noted by Sterne, the line is repeated by Rose at 5.7.131.

[157] Beyond presenting the view that "military masculinity" is an artificial imposition or "theatrical performance," I am suggesting the female soldier on the eighteenth-century stage shows how this imposition goes deeper, beyond gender props and braggadocio, to the profound changes wrought on the body via military training and deployment. Shaffer, "The Female Martinet," 423.
[158] And this uncomfortable attention to the performativity of masculinity might be deflected (or attempted to be). For instance, "*The Female Soldier*, the biography of real-life cross-dressing soldier Hannah Snell, in many ways follows the traditional structure of the female warrior ballads, as theorized by Dianne Dugaw. Like the typical female warrior, Snell enters into battle to seek out her husband, and display both masculine heroism and feminine virtue. Her story, like those in the ballads, points to the possibility of gender, and gendered heroism, as performative. However, Snell's masculine valor is described as innate, and explicitly un-performed. It is her masculine lewdness that is performed and unnatural" as portrayed in the text (Gurman 337).
[159] This is very similar to Scarry's assertion that "War is in the massive fact of itself a huge structure for the derealization of cultural constructs and, simultaneously, for their eventual reconstitution" (137).

[160] For instance, there was a fear in the period that "inculcating scarlet fever could ultimately detract from military efficacy and make men appear foolish rather than manly" (Carter 177)
[161] In reference to *The Recruiting Officer*, Kevin J. Gardner suggests that the play "makes the appropriation and mechanization of bodies a seemingly natural and amiable state of affairs," presenting the audience's favorable acceptance of the increasing mechanization of war as "a synecdoche of [the] modern civil[izing]" process, the internalized policing of the body by the state entailed in the shift to institutions of biopower (Gardner, "Disarming Anxiety," 55; 43). And in reference to training, "The harsh drills and discipline had the military advantage of creating what historians believe were the first signs of professionalism in the British army . . . Moreover, the effectiveness of close-order drill in training soldiers to perform precisely the same functions as all the others allowed for the vast growth of military operations" like "the largest battles of the War of Spanish Succession" (Gardner, "Disarming Anxiety," 53). Somewhat counter to this, on the actual fitness and preparedness of soldiers (individually and as a group), J.A. Houlding states: "we must conclude that at least one-fifth and often as much as one-quarter of the marching foot of the British army, strewn abroad, was in a perpetually low state of interior economy and training and was, consequently, either unfit for service or capable of only modest exertion" (Houlding 23).
[162] "Snell's musket-firing drill and the political implications of its performance had immediate resonance in a nation urgently considering its defensive organization" via militias (Lock and Worrall 28).
[163] Richard Terry, "Reading Cato against Cato," 131.
[164] Terry details how "the love scenes in Cato, which make up roughly 30 percent of the play, have long had a tarnished reputation" (129). This began with the play's inception, early on inviting critique from contemporaries like Alexander Pope, Mary Wortley Montague, and John Dennis (129-130). Dennis in particular saw the love plot to be inappropriate to the wartime context: "Is it convenient, is it consistent, or is it expected that . . . [the lovers] should play the whining amorous Milk-Sops, upon that very Day, when Reason is about to yeild [sic] to Force, Liberty to Tyranny, *Rome* to *Caesar*, and the sacred Life of their Father to the universal Tyrant, Death?" (Dennis, qtd. by Terry 131; italics in text).
[165] This is clearest with the spectacle of Sempronius's body: "When Juba quits the scene" to notify Cato of Sempronius's treachery and death, "the spectacle of a dead body clothed in Juba's customary habit causes the returning Marcia to break down in grief, and it is her publicly expressed sorrow that leads to an emotional union between the two lovers (4.1)" (Terry 131).
[166] This chapter participates in the small but growing turn in scholarship on *Cato* that uncovers ways that Addison complicates the figure of Cato (as well as his Stoic Roman cause) in the tragedy; how "Addison's depiction of Cato stops short of being an unqualified endorsement" (Henderson and Yellin). Key moments (explored in this critical shift) show the limits of Cato's Stoicism include his inability to account for the future happiness of his children (especially seen in his mismanagement of their love lives), his cool response to his son Marcus's death in battle, and his suicide, which goes against the moral ideals of Addison's contemporary audience and in the play proves to be unnecessary (as reinforcements arrive just after Cato's death). So, within the play Addison "is critical of Cato on several fronts, particularly the rigidity of his Stoicism and his prioritizing 'stern' principles over personal attachments and the 'softer' passions of sympathy, love, and friendship. . . . Via the play's various subplots—particularly the Marcia-Juba subplot which unites Cato's two closest surrogates in marriage—Addison indicates the direction such a modification must take" for a "peaceable civil and commercial society" to grow in the wake of Cato's conflict with Caesar (Henderson and Yellin). Richard Terry, in "Revolt in Utica: Reading *Cato* against Cato," looks at the ways the Roman cause and Roman exceptionalism are problematized in the play, such as through the dispute between Juba and Syphax over Roman Stoicism vs. African warlikeness that (unintentionally for Juba, who argues for the Roman side) blurs the two without reaching a clear resolution. Terry also considers the importance of the romantic subplots, which in critical history of the play have often been dismissed as cumbersome additions that disrupt the overall unity of the plot; Terry, though, asserts, in reference to the events that push Marcia to fully confront her feelings of love for Juba, that "This parable about the young people awakening to the power of their own feelings should not be dismissed as a distracting sub-plot, for it intersects fully with, and comments sharply on, the main plot involving Cato" (Terry 132). And Catherine Edwards, in "Modelling Roman suicide? The afterlife of Cato," explores the difficulties of bringing the suicide of Cato onto the eighteenth-century stage and navigating in a palatable way the problematic on-stage end of the hero (such as by excising the extreme violence of the suicide as depicted in the classics, as well as trying to show the suicide as both worthy of tragedy but also morally flawed). In "Antigone and Addison's Cato: Redeeming Exemplarity in Political Thought," Joy Connolly examines the way Addison uses Cato to complicate the concept of the exemplar; Connolly argues that "Cato is presented to us not as an object of simple identification or imitation but as a figure through whom the politics of exemplarity is examined and evaluated. . . . This exemplarity is constituted in self-conscious ambivalence, interdependence, and a blend of

stoicism and sentiment that resist easy dismissal as the expression of an inflexible, excessive self-sovereignty" (Connolly 324).

[167] Gustafson 55. The skull in Hamlet was especially problematic: "Indeed, the gravedigger scene was the crux of the problem: beloved by audiences for its wild physical humor, the scene momentarily transformed Hamlet into a spectacle that . . . seemed to pull tragedy down into a vulgar, material realm of popular entertainment" (Shapira, "Shakespeare, The Castle of Otranto, and the Problem of the Corpse on the Eighteenth-Century Stage," 11-12).

[168] On this, see Shapira, *Inventing the Gothic Corpse*.

[169] A point that both Shapira and Oliver suggest.

[170] Oliver 10

[171] This can be contrasted to the stage trend, prominent by the mid-eighteenth century, to sanitize or idealize the presentation of corpses. For instance, David Garrick, in his version of *Romeo and Juliet*, "allowing the lovers a brief moment of mutual recognition in the vault: Juliet wakes up before Romeo dies, so that when both of them expire shortly afterwards, their still, beautiful, young bodies form a romantic tableau whose pathetic impact serves to counterbalance the horror it might arouse" (Shapira, "Shakespeare, The Castle of Otranto, and the Problem of the Corpse," 10).

[172] For instance, the gravedigger scene in Hamlet was popular for its "wild physical humor" and the potential "use of real human bones could not have done much to lessen the connotations of vulgarity" (Shapira, "Shakespeare, The Castle of Otranto, and the Problem of the Corpse" 11)

[173] This is from Shapira's essay, "Shakespeare, The Castle of Otranto, and the Problem of the Corpse."

[174] For this, especially see Richard Terry.

[175] "Since 'men are not necessarily dishonoured by a bed-trick, [while] a woman is if marriage is not forthcoming, or if she is already married" . . . Desens stresses how deeply relevant it is to which gender trickster and trickee belong" (Mieszkowski, discussing Marliss Desens, 321).

[176] As Elaine Scarry asserts, "injuring is, in fact, the central activity of war. Visible or invisible, omitted, included, altered in its inclusion, described or redescribed, injury is war's product and its cost, it is the goal toward which all activity is directed and the road to the goal, it is there in the smallest enfolded corner of war's interior recesses and still there where acts are extended out into the largest units of encounter" (Scarry 80-81).

[177] On this ideological instability of the play through performance of the eighteenth century, see Daniel O'Quinn's essay.

[178] Jorge Bastos da Silva 97.

[179] I am borrowing this concept of sympathetic identification from film studies, in particular Jaimey Fisher's essay, "The Haptic Horrors of War: Towards a Phenomenology of Affect and Emotion in the War Genre in Germany, 1910s to 1950s." According to Fisher, war necessitates certain approaches to representation focused on the sensations of the body. On techniques of identification between character and viewer in horror and war films, Fisher states that "horror has consistently posed a problem" for critics of film "because it so clearly plays on negative affects and emotions that complicate any facile identificatory" structure (54).

[180] "The capital's rising population was fuelled by the constant arrival of new migrants, some of whom the army eagerly intercepted as recruits" (Hurl-Eamon 12).

[181] Hurl-Eamon notes that "A detailed study of St Margaret's parish, Westminster, shows that a significant number of low-ranking soldiers lived in marriage-like relationships with London women in the first half of the eighteenth century" (156).

[182] The destruction of bodies that haunts this war also extends to its connection to the transatlantic slave trade, as the Treaty of Utrecht gave England further access to this trade through the Asiento.

[183] On the efficiency of the battlefield connected to Marlborough in this war, see Gardner, "George Farquhar's *Recruiting Officer*."

[184] "Though the mechanics and experience of siege warfare were horrifically new to many British citizens, since war generally took place elsewhere in the Tudor period, circulating accounts of the Thirty Years' War (1618-48) would have certainly made them dreadfully aware of the horrors of notorious sieges on the Continent, such as the siege of Magdeburg (1630-31) that infamously ended in horrific acts of plunder and slaughter and the near annihilation of the city. So, disturbing images may have already been forming in the minds of the British about the potential horror of this type of military space and event" during the English Civil War, intensifying even further the negative affects attached to anticipating and interpreting sieges on English soil (Alker and Nelson 8). In turn, during the Restoration, "the growing presence of sieges in British literature throughout the mid- to late seventeenth century and well into the eighteenth century emerged from intense everyday experiences of civil war sieges and from detailed reports of them

that were disseminated throughout the nation by word of mouth and by a prolific number of published texts given the increasingly far-reaching influence of print culture" (Alker and Nelson 10).
[185] "The paradigmatic tale of a substitute bride occurs in the Hebrew Bible story of Jacob, Rachel, and Leah. Jacob wishes to marry Rachel, but her father, Laban, substitutes Rachel's older sister, Leah, in the bed, and Jacob cannot tell the difference until the morning, when, 'Behold, it was Leah' (Genesis 28.15-24)" (Doniger 161). The story of Tamar is a little more convoluted; Tamar tricks Judah, the father of her two previous husbands, Er and Onan, because Judah "keeps postponing Tamar's marriage to his third son, Shelah" (Doniger 254). Tamar obscures her face and places herself "at the entrance to Eynaim on the road to Timnah" where Judah encounters her and mistakes her for a sex worker (and the two have sex) (Doniger 255). From this she conceives and "Having married two of Judah's sons" previously (but who died), "Tamar bears him a replacing set of twin sons" (Doniger 256).
[186] Jennifer L. Airey, "He stood like one transfixd with thunder," unpaginated.
[187] For more on this head trick, see Karen Marsalek, "'Whose head's that then?: Head-Tricks, Bed-Tricks and Theatrics in *The Revenger's Tragedy*."
[188] In *The Revenger's Tragedy*, "Gloriana's skull is in the tradition of dead body parts that have circulated outside the scope of legal protection for centuries: in museums, curiosity cabinets, and anatomy schools. These are remains that are not considered human, or whose claim to dignity is overshadowed by their necessity to the work of another (the anatomist, the collector, the revenger)" (Christine M. Gottlieb, qtd. Karen Marsalek, 188).
[189] Anne Hermanson suggests these "horror traged[ies]" of the 1670s "are characterized by a cynical and unrelenting depiction of evil, violence, an insatiable human drive for power, and an explicit absence of providential justice or moral absolutes" (Hermanson 1).
[190] "In the horror plays, violence is not only seen; it is described and dwelt upon, and the verbal enhances the visual horror" (Hermanson 18).
[191] Hermanson provides an example of this from *Caesar Borgia* (1679), where the title character expresses his extreme emotional state with a very gruesome image: "I could mangle, tear up my own Breast, / Drag forth my heart that holds her bleeding image . . . And dash it in her face" (quoted by Hermanson, 19). Similarly, *The Mourning Bride*, though a post-1670s tragedy, is suffused with gory imagery used to describe excessive emotions, as will be discussed in more detail in this chapter.
[192] Hermanson 13.
[193] Thomas Otway is one of the playwrights, along with Elkanah Settle and Nathaniel Lee, that Anne Hermanson singles out as examples of "young dramatists" who "were effectively born into a republic; they did not experience life before the civil wars and interregnum" (Hermanson 7). Hermanson continues: "These dramatists were, rather, a *product* of this time of profound change and unease in England" in the Restoration, and "as such, they were deeply involved in mirroring the repetitious nature of the anxieties that coloured their own early years and their experiences with conflicting and changing ideologies, often within their own families" (Hermanson 7; author's emphasis).
[194] On the reestablishment of order, the play "dishonors the blameless woman [Monimia], and turns her into the unwitting instrument of her own destruction to finally present her as an idealized martyr of the patriarchal order" (Mieszkowski 332).
[195] During the English civil war, "Though the mechanics and experience of siege warfare were horrifically new to many British citizens, since war generally took place elsewhere in the Tudor period, circulating accounts of the Thirty Years' War (1618-48) would have certainly made them dreadfully aware of the horrors of notorious sieges on the Continent, such as the siege of Magdenburg (1630-31) that infamously ended in horrific acts of plunder and slaughter and the near annihilation of the city. So, disturbing images may have already been forming in the minds of the British about the potential horror of this type of military space and event" (Alker and Nelson 8).
[196] A similar dynamic (with Chamont, the soldier of fortune, cast as a foil to Polydore and Castalio) can be found in a later iteration in Richardson's novel *Clarissa*, where "The rake is juxtaposed to the most admirable male character in the novel, the army officer Colonel William Morden, 'a man of fortune, generosity and courage.' Morden personifies military virtue legitimately exerted in defence of king and country, or to avenge betrayed innocence in the case of his cousin and ward Clarissa. In this sense, it appears appropriate for Lovelace, the mock-soldier who wages a perverted war of sexual conquest, to fall at the hands of an honourable professional soldier, the diametrical opposite of everything Lovelace represents" (Cardwell 179).
[197] As Chamont is referred to in the cast.
[198] "Relicts are the persons left behind, such as widows, widowers, orphans, or other family members, and friends" (Oliver 17). Moreover, Oliver finds that within the novels she examines, "relicts may also function as the remains or residual effects of earlier narrative events or actions" (Oliver 17).
[199] Quoted by Rosenthal, *Ways of the World*, 133.

[200] Rosenthal, *Ways of the World*, 140-41.
[201] Rosenthal, *Ways of the World*, 143.
[202] Laura Rosenthal suggests that "Congreve's audiences understood this play [*The Mourning Bride*] as a kind of revival of Dryden's Mesoamerica plays" (Ways of the World 133). *The Mourning Bride* "recalls Restoration themes, but with a difference" (Rosenthal 133). These revised themes and elements include "conflict in a remote location in the past" that is nonetheless associated with current European exploits of empire (such as in Mesoamerica, Africa, or Granada), the classic clash of heroism and love, and the hero's entanglement with exotic, tragic queens (133).
[203] As Marsden discusses.
[204] "Congreve's tragedy differs most notably from its heroic predecessors in its incorporation of pathos as well as passion, a quality that was a necessary part of serious drama by the end of the seventeenth century. In his play, the qualities of pathos and passion are embodied, literally, in the figures of its two heroines who become the exemplars of proper feminine virtue and of an exotic and dangerous zeal" (Marsden 92).
[205] "Although Congreve wrote the role of Almeria to showcase Bracegirdle, Almeria's proper feminine sufferings interested theatergoers less than the ardor of Barry's Zara. As Anthony Aston recounts, 'Mrs. Barry out-shin'd Mrs. Bracegirdle in the Character of Zara in The Mourning Bride, altho' Mr. Congreve design'd Almeria for that Favour'" (Marsden 93-94).
[206] Samuel Johnson, "William Congreve," *Lives of the English Poets (1779-81)*; ed. Hill (1905)2:212-34. <http://spenserians.cath.vt.edu/BiographyRecord.php?action=GET&bioid=33599> Accessed 2/4/2021.
[207] Spoken by Almeria, these are the first lines of Act 1, Scene 1 and open the play (Congreve 1).
[208] Siebers also discusses the sacrificial quality of the victims of car crashes (as well as the deaths of famous people, like politicians and celebrities). Warhol's "work on unknown disaster victims is about the making famous of the dead" by the media "and thus about the coming into being of the society that kills them" (Siebers 114). And furthermore, "They [the victims] are sacrifices killed on the altar of America" (Siebers 114).
[209] In "the Baroque Age, most operas" about Orpheus "contained an altered version of the legend with a happy ending (*lieto fine*). Orpheus was presented as exalted into the heavens, reunited with Eurydice on earth, or at least consoled for his sufferings by the god Apollo" (Buller, "Looking backwards: Baroque opera and the ending of the Orpheus myth," Abstract; italics in text).
[210] Even though the context is not music here but the emotions of reunion, this correlates with the "irresistible effects on its listeners" of Orpheus's song (Agnew 6). Almeria is transported by emotion beyond her ability to contain it.
[211] "According to popular theatrical lore, such a potential was actualized in the 1703 premiere of *The Fair Penitent* at Lincoln's Inn Field when Lothario's corpse—personated by a live actor—got up and walked off in the middle of the fifth act" (Gustafson 52). The impersonated dead body, Gustafson suggests, has an unpredictable and distracting potential both as an object and as an acted part: "When confronted with the printed text, readers may well forget Lothario's presence in the final act; but in live performance, the longer Lothario's body lingers onstage, the more it may distract audiences from the scene's moral and sociopolitical aims. . . . the lingering presence of the corpse retains an ontic potential that may exceed the play text's pretensions to its banishment" (Gustafson 52). In the anecdote, the body is played by the "Dresser" of the actor who played the living Lothario (qtd. by Gustafson 53).
[212] Rebecca Merrens also notes the threat of emasculation in the play; Merrens interprets it as a function of showing the political threat of women, especially Zara and Almeria. On Almeria, Merrens says that "Osmyn displaces his anxieties about his political impotence on her" (Merren 38). Furthermore,

> Osmyn casts Almeria as not only parasitically devouring him, as her disturbing language suggests, but also destroying and pulling him apart. Indeed, he posits a clear connection between his idealized constitution as a coherent, authoritative male subject . . . and Almeria's fragmenting influence upon him when he bewails, 'Why dost thou thus unman me with thy words / And melt me down to mingle with thy weepings?' (III.i; 411) . . . While I do not mean to suggest that Almeria functions exactly as Zara does, becoming the means through and against which imprisoned, emasculated men reassert their authority, this scene indicates that even the most 'perfect' and beloved woman impinges dangerously upon privileged homosocial bonds and upon the integrity of male subjectivity. (Merrens 40)

I am also suggesting that Almeria's grief is meant to be seen as over-passionate or excessive in some way, and that emasculation or its threat plays an important role in the characterization of men like Osmyn, although I see this more as demonstrating the affects of wartime generally than as a battle of the sexes. Osmyn/Alphonso and Almeria's distress and lack of completion can instead be seen as all of a piece, since they are a wartime couple and the play expresses their tribulations. "Unmanned with Thy Words: Regendering Tragedy in Manley and Trotter," *Broken Boundaries: Women & Feminism in Restoration Drama*, ed. Katherine M. Quinsey, 31- 53

[213] Sempronius's last words, rendering him even more unsympathetic as he insults the youthful couple, include:

> Curse on my stars! Am I then doomed to fall
> By a boy's hand, disfigured in a vile
> Numidian dress, and for a worthless woman? (Addison 3.2.22-24)

[214] Julie Ellison finds that through the disguise/mistake of Sempronius for Juba, "the play reaches a mimetic climax . . . Juba, who has defined himself all along as a cultural other who is trying to be the same, is faced with a parody of his own otherness" in Sempronius, especially through the latter's sordid end (Ellison 60). Ellison is speaking here specifically of Juba encountering Sempronius alive and then slaying him.

[215] Cato's two- part suicide usually entailed his "tr[ying] to kill himself with his own sword—but because his hand is injured, the blow is not quite powerful enough. His companions come to his rescue and his wound is sewn up by a surgeon. But such is Cato's determination that he tears open the wound again with his bare hands and eventually succeeds in taking his own life. His companions are, however, present for the tearing open of the wound and for Cato's final moments" (Edwards). And furthermore, "The most glaring contrast with ancient treatments of Cato's death . . . is Addison's glossing over of the initially unsuccessful nature of Cato's attempt to kill himself and his persistence in ending his life by tearing out his entrails with his bare hands. Indeed, it is only in the lines . . . uttered by Cato in response to the death of his son . . . with their paradoxical wish that one might die more than once for one's country—that the repeated nature of Cato's suicide bid has a surreptitious presence in the play" (Edwards).

[216] Catherine Edwards, "Modelling Roman Suicide?", "A Roman Death" section.

[217] Catherine Edwards notes that "Whether any individual was decisively influenced by Cato's example in opting to commit suicide is quite impossible to know for certain. Yet it is nevertheless striking that suicide was a subject so widely debated in the early eighteenth century and that examples drawn from Greece and Rome, particularly that of Cato, played such a key role in these debates" (Edwards, "The Morality of Suicide" section).

[218] "Even if it [an ancient play on Cato] did exist, it will almost certainly not have included an on-stage representation of Cato's death. According to the conventions of Roman drama such a death might be described but not represented directly (though the 'corpse' might subsequently be wheeled on stage)" (Edwards). Edwards notes that "There was perhaps a Roman precedent for Addison's play," but the evidence is tenuous (Edwards).

[219] Edwards, in "The Morality of Suicide" section, uses the phrase "paradoxical wish."

[220] "The play's critical reception up until quite recently has consisted of taking Cato essentially at his word, as a self-proclaimed moral hero" (Terry 121).

[221] Mary Favret suggests that these qualities, now typifying the modern experience of warfare on the homefront, arose in the late eighteenth century: "As a wartime phenomenon, British Romanticism gives its distinctive voice to the dislocated experience that is modern wartime: the experience of war as mediated, of time and times unmoored, of feeling intensified but also adrift" (Favret location no. 94; Kindle edition).

[222] News of Wolfe's death (and English victory) would be printed shortly after this; as early as the October 16-18 *London Evening Post*, Robert Monckton, also writing from the River St. Laurence (Sept. 15), addresses Pitt "I Have the Pleasure to acquaint you, that, on the 13th Instant, his Majesty's Troops gained a very [can't read] Victory over the French, a little above the Town of Quebec. Gen. Wolfe exerting himself on the Right of our Line, received a Wound pretty early, of which he died soon after; and I had myself the great Misfortune of receiving one in my Right Breast by a Ball, that went through part of my Lungs (and which has been cut out under the Blade Bone of my Shoulder) just as the French were giving way; which obliged me to quit the Field" "News." *London Evening Post*, October 16, 1759 - October 18, 1759. *17th and 18th Century Burney Collection*, http://tinyurl.galegroup.com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/tinyurl/84DWo1. Accessed 17 Oct. 2018. On the delay in time between the occurrence of an event abroad and its relay in England, Favret suggests that "In the late eighteenth century, news of war came with considerable lag time; reports of a particular event or the death of your brother, could take months to be communicated home and confirmed" a situation that lends itself to "unjoined feelings . . . empty, lacking solid attachment" in "the experience of war at a distance" (Favret location no. 163 and 171).

[223] Mary Favret, in *War at a Distance*, locates the later eighteenth century as the beginning of the British public's highly mediatized relationship with war: "War on home turf happened back then [in the past]; it was history. If it occurred now, it occurred beyond the reach of eyes and ears, somewhere else, over there" (Favret location no. 107).

[224] This is how the disorienting sense of temporal simultaneity of warfare in the Chinese city of Peking (it is ambiguously under siege, foreign occupation, civil strife, and rebellion) overlaps with the invasion scare context of Murphy's play (the legitimate fear of a French invasion of England). As Mary Favret suggests of the Daniells' landscape paintings of India, such as *The Rope Bridge of Serenigar* (1800), which depicts the deceptively peaceful

location of a siege conducted by British forces, "The cities and hill towns of India are [are shown to be] intimately connected to" cities across the globe also involved in these global conflicts, including 'London'" (Favret location no. 2833). The picturesqueness of the scene in Serenigar shifts to an ominous register considering the subject matter and details; such as when the viewer notices that "Barely discernible on the bridge, hardly more than dark marks, isolated individuals, some hauling baggage on their backs, flee the city in anticipation of a siege" (Favret location no. 2773). This very distance—the smallness of the fleeing figures, the emphasis on landscape and military works in the scene— is what renders the anticipation of a siege and the effects of warfare halfway across the globe eerily close to home: "Or could this scene [of Serenigar], in part because of its framed, generic quality, be played out throughout the world, not in one mountainous terrain but in any mountainous terrain? Not in one city but in any city? What is to keep this in-different scene from recurring all the time and at no great distance, if not its potential to make someone question her position in the world? Here, I believe, lies the endless suspense of the picturesque siege" (Favret location no. 2876).

[225] As suggested in Oliver Goldsmith's review of Murphy's play, which will be discussed in more depth later in this chapter.

[226] As Ou suggests, "Reflecting the colonial rivalry between England and France, Murphy's play emphasizes the Chinese heroine's defense of individual rights in order to criticize the Chinese (and implicitly French) patriotic passion for absolutist monarchy" (Ou 383; abstract for "Gender, Consumption, and Ideological Ambiguity"). Threat of invasion is intertwined with the consumption of luxuries: "Murphy turned the Tartar invasion of China in *The Orphan of China* into an allegory of French cultural incursions into England, which succeeded largely because of the English aristocracy's appetite for foreign goods" (Ou, "Gender, Consumption, and Ideological Ambiguity" 388), and the critique of patriotic zeal in the play is involved with distinguishing English and French political systems (thus implying different kinds of requirements for duties to one's country between them): "Written at a time of English national crisis during the Seven Years' War, the allegorical representation of national patriotism in *The Orphan of China* pays tribute to English constitutional monarchy more than it does to patriotic absolutism" (Ou 386). Chi-ming Yang suggests that the consumption of luxury, through the example of China, has a somewhat more complex function in the play: "Performing China was an especially compelling exercise in reconciling private with public interests—that is, in testing the ability of trade to improve economic and ethical character—given China's dual status as exemplary commodity and moral system" (Yang 150).

[227] The lengthy delay in the debut of Murphy's play is due to David Garrick's reservations at having it performed. See Ian McIntyre, *Garrick*, 280-282.

[228] Douglas Fordham suggests the sense of a surprising and major turn of fortunes that was exacerbated by the delay between printed news from the events themselves: "For the London public, Britain's military fortunes seemed to turn around quite literally overnight. On Tuesday, October 16, 1759, the *London Gazette* printed a letter from Major General James Wolfe apprising Secretary William Pitt of the difficulties that British forces had encountered as of September 2, following an unsuccessful attempt on the heavily fortified capital of French Canada. One day later, on Wednesday, October 17, the *London Gazette* published letters from General Robert Monckton and Brigadier General George Townshend, dated September 15, announcing a major military victory on the Plains of Abraham just outside the walls of Quebec and describing General Wolfe's death at the moment of victory" (Fordham 103).

[229] As Jeremy Black suggests of the year that turned the tide of the war: "naval victories were the decisive triumphs of 1759, because it was naval power that enabled Britain to make colonial conquests—and naval power on which the security of the country depended" (138).

[230] As Yu suggests, "The revenge story of *The Orphan of Zhao* resembles that of *Hamlet*. Both plays depict palace power struggles that result in murders. The protagonists of both plays are the heirs of the murdered victims, and they eventually kill their foster fathers to avenge their natural fathers. But the resemblance ends there. Hamlet is tormented by doubt, as can be seen from his famous 'to be or not to be' speech[,]" while, as Yu points out, the distinction between good and evil characters and their actions in the Chinese play are stark, and the good characters unhesitatingly make sacrifices in the name of Confucian duty, though their emotional pains are powerfully expressed, especially through song (150). On the importance of song in the original Chinese play, which was lost in translation in eighteenth century rewritings that excised the operatic element, also see Yu.

[231] John Richardson, for instance, argues that much British Seven Years' War literature (including Murphy's play) attempts to morph "a successful expansionist war, conducted with the most advanced military logistics, training, and technology, and resulting inevitably in large-scale death and injury" into "a defensive war, fought largely by humane soldiers who absolve themselves of killing either by kind actions or by their own death and/or defeat" (Richardson, "Imagining Military Conflict" 588).

[232] Kitson, "Reason in China is not Reason in England." 17.

[233] For instance, McIntyre considers Murphy's "tragedy [. . .] an adaptation of Voltaire's play [. . .] which had been put on in Paris in 1755" (McIntyre 281).
[234] Yu notes that Voltaire "changed the time of the play from ancient China to the thirteenth century when China was under the Mongol rule" (157), also noting that this is not a wide revision, since the original Chinese operetta, written in the medieval period and set in ancient times, implicitly critiqued the unstable and violent rule by the Mongols: "Ji Junxiang's *The Orphan of Zhao* was a reflection of that bloody period [of Mongol rule] disguised as ancient history" (158). It should also be noted that it was Hatchett's version that first "shorten[ed] the time span of the play from twenty years to a few months at most, apparently in observance of the three [dramatic] unities" (Yu 156) (the original play dramatizes both the infancy of the orphan and the revenge-plot enacted in his adulthood twenty years later). In Voltaire's version (as in Hatchett's), the royal orphan remains an infant in the action of the play; in Murphy's, the action is also shortened to a brief span of time but set twenty years in the future, when the Mandarin couple is more aged, and the royal orphan is a young adult. See Yu on these plot differences between the plays.
[235] "While Temur was alive, the successes of his armies, the strength of his personality, and the symbolic claims he asserted through his actions could counteract the inferiority of his strictly legal claims to power." The latter includes the ways "he had connected himself with" the historical Mongol leader "Chinggis Khan through marriage and the maintenance of a figurehead khan" (6). Beatrice Forbes Manz, "Tamerlane's Career and Its Uses."
[236] As Hsin-yun Ou suggests, "Furthermore, Murphy, who transformed French-inflected Chinese exoticism and absolutism into English aspirations for national liberty, also succeeded in rendering Mandane as a more sympathetic, self-determinate heroine" (384).
[237] On this, see Hsin-yun Ou.
[238] Chi-ming Yang states of this tension: "Ultimately, though, public and private are merged into a new virtue of compromise performed by not one, but a family of patriots. As the epilogue announces, 'So many heroes,--and not one in love!'" (157).
[239] As Yang suggests, Mandane serves as a passionate maternal center that tempers the excesses of patriotism and monarchy: "Ultimately, hers is an emotional excess that the male characters absorb and channel into a proper balance of private and public virtue" (Yang 157). Furthermore, "however wild Mandane's sentiments, they represent the side of civilization rather than barbarism. Maternal anguish, at once elevated and crude, demarcates a mixed form of virtue by dethroning the loftiness of classical patriotism while exhibiting a nobility of the senses that thoroughly confounds the northern barbarian [Timurkan]" (Yang 154).
[240] On Hatchett's version of the play, "While the theme of revenge all but disappears, political feuds are greatly played up. Indeed, Hatchett wrote this play with a political purpose in mind, as can be seen from his dedication to the Duke of Argyle, 'It is a Maxim with the Chinese Poets to represent Prime Ministers as so many Devils, to deter honest People from being deluded by them.' The devil Prime Minister Siako in the play stands for Robert Walpol, who was prime minister and Duke of Argyle's political enemy" (Yu 156).
[241] As Kitson says of Zamti's speech of filial sacrifice, "It is 'a complicated pang' indeed, and Murphy's drama remains a powerful piece" (Kitson 20). Kitson sees the play as offering a clear distinction between the virtues embodied in Zamti and Mandane, for "the strict Confucian piety of Zamti, with its public and masculine virtue, is markedly opposed to the feminine private and domestic virtues represented by Zamti's wife Mandane," which Kitson locates as "really the focus of the tragic conflict of the drama" (20). Furthermore, "The strict morality that allows Zamti to sacrifice his own son is to be moderated by Mandane's natural, maternal feelings. Thus Chinese patriotism is to be humanized, in effect, by British sensibility and constitutionalism, into a compassionate and benevolent ideology" (Kitson 20).
[242] As Elaine McGirr suggests of the plot structure and genre: "*The Orphan of China* is double-plotted, but even this structural similarity exposes generic innovation. Murphy's *Orphan of China* is not a tragi-comedy: there is no low plot. Instead, the play smuggles a domestic tragedy into a nationalist frame. It combines she-tragedy and heroic drama, rewriting both genres in the process" (McGirr 3-4).
[243] On the ambivalent nature of postmodern intensity, Jameson suggests "The world thereby momentarily loses its depth and threatens to become a glossy skin, a stereoscopic illusion, a rush of filmic images without density. But is this now a terrifying or an exhilarating experience?" (34).

[244] Chi-ming Yang mentions this was considered one of Garrick's most affecting performances (Yang 149).
[245] Recent criticism has tended to find Mandane's passionate maternal presence as central to the play, either balancing the more status-quo bearing Zamti or taking center stage. Elaine McGirr argues that Murphy's play is very innovative in the portrayal of Mandane, as interpreted by the actress who debuted the character, Mary Ann Yates. In this character, the theater-going public "finally had a heroine for whom there was no need to blush: a woman who

was both passionate and faultless, an active mother rather than a passive lover" (McGirr 10). Unlike the tragic but "culpable" heroines of she-tragedy, Mandane's character in "*The Orphan of China* moved audiences to tears – not of sentimental pity, but of admiration" (McGirr 11; 10).

[246] "The dramatic structure of Murphy's *The Orphan of China* turns on the generation of sympathy for each member of a Chinese family unit: just as the parents set an example of virtue for the younger generation, their mutual displays of affect bind together the family as a moral community in microcosm. In fact, the profuse emotions shared between parents and children create a circuit of sympathetic identifications that forms the Chinese resistance to Tartar tyranny. Even as affect can serve the interests of the nation, there is a heightened awareness that passions can, however, just as easily run amok or become dangerously unpatriotic. It is thus the work of the play to manage the transformation of private passions to public sentiment" (Yang 152).

[247] According to "A Review of the Tragedy of Jane Shore: Consisting of Observations on the Characters, Manners, Stile, and Sentiments," "The Contrivance of the Poet [Nicholas Rowe] that the Wife [Jane Shore] should not discover that *Dumont* is her Husband, till the very last Minutes of her Life, is a Circumstance probable, and gives Occasion for a very passionate Scene of mutual Distress in the Close of the Tragedy" (10; italics in text).

[248] Richardson suggests that much literature of the Seven Years' War in Britain "sedulously avoid at least some of the realities of their subject [of the war], and in particular, they avoid territorial expansion and enemy death [. . .] Though patriotic and enthusiastic about British military glory, they are chary of showing killing or conquest, and are often drawn instead toward contemplation of the death of heroes. The contradiction betrays doubt, usually unacknowledged, about both the war and the possibility of adequately representing it" (Richardson, "Imagining Military Conflict" 588).

[249] For instance, by 1758 "Garrick was still unpersuaded that *The Orphan* [*of China*] was 'fit for representation'" (McIntyre 282). It was finally decided "that the question should be settled by an arbiter of Murphy's choosing. He settled on [William] Whitehead, Colley Cibber's successor as Poet Laureate" (282). As McIntyre notes, Whitehead would support the play. For more on the play's "intertheatricality" see Ou, who notes that "several parts of Murphy's tragedy were [. . .] produced collaboratively by the playwright, the manager, the actors, and their friends, for Murphy had to accommodate suggestions from Fox, Whitehead, and Garrick, and perhaps from George Colman and Horace Walpole as well. This was indeed a collaborative age when together, the audience and the makers of theatre articulated multiple layers of social meanings and political power through both stage design and dramatic enactment" ("Gender, Consumption, and Ideological Ambiguity" 384).

[250] Richardson notes that in "The year before the beginning of the war, William Whitehead, soon to become poet laureate, includes in his critically successful tragedy, *Creusa*, advice to a prince not to be seduced by the 'Pride of War.' Rather, the prince should 'remember thou are placed/ The Guardian of Mankind, nor build thy Fame/ One Rapines, and on Murders" (Richardson, "Imagining Military Conflict" 591). Richardson suggests that Whitehead's play participates in the broader tendency in the period to publicly efface the brutality of war in order to ameliorate a central contradiction about changing views of war versus how they were actually waged: "There was a widespread sense that the progress that was thought to have enhanced humane virtues should have made war either unnecessary or less brutal and a widespread recognition that it had not" (Richardson 591).

[251] This shift away from romance as the center of the plot and its conflict is in part carried by Mandane, "her character, and particularly its embodiment in Yates's performance, offered audiences a new way of seeing she-tragedy. Yates's Mandane seemed to demand a new gaze, a new affective relationship, from the audience. As the plot synopsis above demonstrates, the play is not structured like the period's she-tragedies; although Mandane is passionate, the play resolutely avoids romantic love" (McGirr 5). Moreover, Mandane's innovative role lends generic and structural complexity to the play by eschewing the resolutions offered by different genres, like heroic tragedy: "If the heroic plot offers the traditional binary of love / honour, then the domestic plot emphasises the fragility of interpersonal relations and suggests that "Orphan" is a role, rather than a fixed identity. Mandane cuts through this dilemma by declaring that both boys are her sons: her maternal love means there need be no Orphan of China. She refuses to compromise; she will not choose between blood and nation or stoically sacrifice the personal for the public good. By rejecting the false binary of love or honour, she is able to save both the boys and the nation . . ." (McGirr 4).

[252] On how the play negotiates views of consumerism, see Chi-ming Yang.

[253] As Jonathan Lamb notes of Uncle Toby's obsession with reenacting the siege of Namur (its architecture and destruction) in his garden in England in the novel *Tristram Shandy* (1759--): "Of all the various forms of battle, siege warfare seems most replete with these impediments to an orderly narrative because it operates according to a fractal logic based on the multiplication of identical phenomena, each a miniature of the total form of the event. With great care and extraordinary fidelity Toby imitates in his garden the pulse of the war of which the siege of

Namur formed a part, where labour is commanded not to frame a future benefit for humankind but instead to avert and to attract destruction. Toby raises cities only that they might arrive at 'a condition to be destroyed,' and then when they have been levelled, raises them again for the same purpose.3 Like siege architecture itself, whose every improvement is the trace or promise of dilapidation, Toby's wars are contrivances of ruin" (Lamb 18).

254 On formal links between gothicism and English nationalism in Murphy's play, see Hsin-yun Ou, in "David Garrick's reaction against French Chinoiserie in *The Orphan of China.*" Ou suggests that Garrick, in his stage production, distinguishes between English and French Chinoiserie by associating the former with English elements, such as landscape picturesque (and other 'gothic' details, such as the tomb scene). Beginning in this period, gothicism began to be especially associated with 'Englishness', as well as, more broadly, geohumoral notions of ethnic difference; for example, Thomas Percy, the author of the influential *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765), in another work, *Northern Antiquities* (1770), distinguishes "between independence-loving Goths and benighted, superstitious—implicitly orientalized—Celts" when discussing the historical influences that contributed to English culture (Watt 103).

[255] To borrow Jonathan Shay's turn of phrase and Elaine Scarry's concept.

[256] Examinations of early modern war trauma/drama have taken this turn to looking for visceral conveyances for the changing experience of war; this is especially seen in the work of Patricia Cahill in *Unto the Breach* and Sharon Alker and Holly Faith Nelson in *Besieged*.

[257] In Brunsman's book, *The Evil Necessity: British Naval Impressment in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World*.

[258] Kenneth Lodewick characterizes "The Unfortunate Rake" as a "a soldier's song" that dates back to at least the 1790's, and is likely older (98).

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