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Lottery Advertisements and Comedies in Late Georgian England

In the current volume, a case has been made for the presence of the English state lottery in the contemporary cultural imagination. In his chapter, James Raven discusses the impression made by Henry Fielding's satirical ballad opera *The Lottery* (1732).[1] Also focusing on the English context, Paul Goring documents the lottery's occurrence in a wide range of literary works.[2] Raven and Goring both argue that some of these works are critical of the lottery fantasy. However, there are also openly positive representations of the lottery, such as those found in lottery advertisements of the period. A curious set of lottery advertisements from late Georgian England promote lottery play by referencing theatrical works staged in the early nineteenth century.[3] Some of these advertisements evoke plays that are critical of the lottery, such as playwright Prince Hoare's *The Prize* (1793), and plays with a more ambiguous stance, such as George Colman the Younger's *Heir at Law* (1797). Other advertisements promote the lottery by referencing popular plays and pantomimes, forty-seven in total, that do not mention the lottery at all. To market the lottery using non-lottery comedies like David Garrick's *The Country Girl* (1766) and Colley Cibber's *The Provoked Husband* (1728), the advertisements reinvent the theatrical works by introducing a twist: the state lottery as a peripety. In all instances, the comedies are adapted from their staged and printed forms into printed objects that contain both text and image. The resulting relationship between the new advertising content and the original plays is hypertextual,[4] but also *transfictional*; these advertisements connect two distinct, but related fictional worlds: the "source world" of the theatrical work and an "alternate world"

1 *Infra*, James Raven, "Imagining Trust and Justice".

2 *Infra*, Paul Goring, "The Lottery in British Prose Literature".

3 This chapter is based on work completed for the author's doctoral degree at the Department of Language and Literature at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology in Trondheim. The corpus of advertisements referred to in this chapter was assembled by the author across multiple libraries and archives, including: the British Museum (BM), the British Library (BL), the Houghton Library at Harvard University, the Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections Research Center at the Chicago Library, the John Johnson Collection of Printed Ephemera at Oxford University, and the Yale University Library.

4 Gérard Genette, *Palimpsests* (University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 5. Genette coined the term "hypertextual" to describe texts that build upon previous texts. Hypertextuality is one of five categories of "transtextuality", alongside "intertextuality".

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invented in the advertisement.[5] These unique advertisements mark an instance where fiction and its limitless capacity is used to market the lottery fantasy; a product that is uniquely subjective, somewhat intangible, and fuelled by the imagination.

This chapter addresses how approximately one hundred advertisements published for lotteries in the years 1813–1820 marketed the lottery by building upon the fictions of popular theatrical works. Lottery marketing during the period frequently reinvented and repurposed popular print.[6] While other lottery advertisements during this period reference iconic characters and performances through portraiture and caricature, none entangle theatrical works with the lottery to the extent of these objects. This entanglement can be attributed to their dual functionality: in addition to their role as advertisements, these objects are cards for the roleplay game "Twelfth Night Characters", played on the sixth of January, or the holiday known as "Twelfth Night".[7] The decks consist of eighteen to twenty-four cards and are organised around a theme, such as characters from theatrical works, but other decks might include, for example, tropes of common professions. To assign roles in the game by chance, participants sometimes drew scraps of paper; by the late eighteenth century, these scraps had evolved into standardised, professionally produced character cards that were sold seasonally.[8] The repurposing of these Twelfth Night cards into advertisements meant merging promotional lottery content with the game's existing generic conventions. John Strachan identifies this imitation of other genres as a common strategy of contemporary advertisements and demonstrates their tendency to engage with a wide array of high and low cultural products.[9]

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5 "Transfictionality", loosely defined as a relationship between the fictional storyworlds of texts, was first used by Richard Saint-Gelais in "La fiction à travers l'intertexte", in *Frontières de la fiction*, ed. René Audet and Alexandre Gefen (Presses Universitaires de Bordeaux, 2002). This chapter will refer to Marie-Laure Ryan's expansion of the term and specifically to the transfictional criteria she outlines in her chapter "Transfictionality across Media", in *Theorizing Narrativity*, ed. John Pier and José Angel García Landa (De Gruyter, 2008).

6 Although "advertising" is not wholly aligned with "popular culture". See Jib Fowles' discussion of the two terms in *Advertising and Popular Culture* (Sage Publications, 1996).

7 For a full discussion of the relationship of these objects to Twelfth Night cards, see Part III of the author's dissertation. Bridget Ann Henisch writes in detail about the Twelfth Night holiday and the card game in *Cakes and Characters: An English Christmas Tradition* (Prospect Books, 1984), although she does not mention lottery advertisements.

8 Henisch, *Cakes and Characters*, 67.

9 In *Advertising and Satirical Culture in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), John Strachan writes extensively about lottery advertisements from this period, although he does not include the Twelfth Night campaign. Particularly relevant chapters are 1 and 4.

Unlike the typical, free distribution of handbill lottery advertisements to pedestrians, it is likely that these advertisements were *sold* and in the same places as unsponsored Twelfth Night decks: pastry shops. A pastry shop would seem like an unusual setting for a contemporary to come across printed matter, but as party hosts also purchased a "King's Cake" for the Twelfth Night game there, it is not unlikely that the decks were also on offer.[10] These advertisements deviate from other lottery advertisements in yet another way: while other handbills might also overlap thematically, the timing of their distribution was less consistent. The circulation of these Twelfth Night advertisements, however, was predictable: they materialised regularly around the holiday to advertise January lotteries taking place from 1813 until 1820. The same decks weren't reissued; rather, the Twelfth Night advertisements were reimagined each year with only a few overlapping characters. The regularity of their publication linked the parlour game to the lottery, and it may also have established the advertisements as an anticipated part of the Twelfth Night tradition, even outside the London metropolitan area.[11]

In the closer examination of these Twelfth Night lottery advertisements, there will be moments of marketing sophistication that challenge previous claims about the advent of "modern" advertising, but also moments when the practice reveals itself as makeshift.[12] The first section of this chapter considers the advertisements that reference comedies where the lottery already exists in the source world: *The Prize* and *Heir at Law.*[13] The analysis will describe the form of the advertisements; in particular, it will expound on how the interplay between source world and alternate world opens the real-world lottery to fictional speculation. The chapter's second section addresses advertisements that reference theatrical works where the lottery is not originally part of the source world, specifically in *The Country Girl* and *The Provoked Husband.*[14] This section is more content-focused and

10 See Henisch, *Cakes and Characters*, 61 and William Hone, *The Every-Day Book, or, the Guide to the Year* (W. Tegg, 1825), 49.

11 Figure 1 includes the text "… London. And by their AGENT in This Town", which implies that the distribution of these cards reached beyond the London metropolitan area.

12 Nevett attributes modern advertising to the mid-century, while advertising in the first half of the nineteenth-century is generally thought of as experimental. Terence R. Nevett, *Advertising in Britain: A History* (David & Charles, 1982), 25.

13 Prince Hoare, *The Prize, or, 2, 5, 3, 8, a Musical Farce in Two Acts, as Performed by His Majesty's Company* (F. Farquhar, 1793); George Colman, *The Heir at Law; a Comedy in Five Act.* (Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Browne, 1818).

14 Colley Cibber and John Vanbrugh, *The Provoked Husband: Or, a Journey to London. A Comedy* (W. Lowndes, 1788); David Garrick and William Wycherley, *The Country Girl: A Comedy (Altered from Wycherley) as It Is Acted at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane* (W. and W. Smith, J. Hoey, Sen. J Murphy, W. Whitestone, H. Saunders, 1766).

asks what reimagining a source world as an alternate "lottery world" communicates about the lottery in the late Georgian cultural imagination.

1 Advertising the lottery with lottery comedies

The lottery was a recurring comic motif in British and European theatre.[15] As such, any number of theatrical works that incorporate the lottery might have been featured on these cards.[16] Instead, only two lottery comedies are referenced, *Heir at Law* and *The Prize*, most likely due to their popularity and continued relevance in the period in question. When these advertisements were published in the second decade of the nineteenth century, no other lottery plays were staged at the patent theatres.[17] *Heir at Law* was staged for a modest estimate of forty-two times from 1809 to 1818 in London, and *The Prize* was staged at least twenty-seven times in the same period.[18] Contemporaries were presumably well acquainted with these fictional worlds, their most iconic characters, and their associated actors or performances. Remarkably, the non-lottery comedies in these objects were also all staged during this period at the patent theatres, suggesting that the work's relevancy was central in the assembly of a thematic deck. Familiarity with the work's fictional world is also key to decoding the lottery's advertising message for both the advertisements featuring the lottery comedies and the non-lottery comedies. An audience familiar with a lottery comedy would recognise

15 See, *infra:* James Raven, "Imagining Trust and Justice"; Marius Warholm Haugen, "Staging Lotteries"; Jeroen Salman, "The Political, Socio-Economic, and Cultural Impact". See also Paul Goring's upcoming book *Spectacular Gambling: Lotteries and the Theatre in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (under contract with Cambridge University Press).

16 Lottery comedies not used for these advertisements include Fielding's *The Lottery*, Thomas Holcroft's *Man of Ten Thousand* (1796), Archibald McLaren's *The Lottery Chance or the Drunkard Reclaimed* (1803), and Frederick Reynold's *Fortune's Fool* (1796). One missed opportunity in the decks is with the character Caleb Quotem from Colman's *Wags of Windsor* (1800). Quotem lists "Lottery Officer" as one of his many professions. Although the humour in the lottery advertisement featuring Quotem picks up on the absurdity in the number of his pursuits, the advertising text does not mention the lottery as one of them.

17 Henry Fielding's *The Lottery* (1732) is no longer in the spotlight of popular culture and Holcroft's *Man of Ten Thousand* was only staged seven times after its premiere in 1796, according to *The London Stage Database*, *The London Stage, 1660–1800: A Calendar of Plays*, University of Oregon. Mclaren's *The Lottery Chance or the Drunkard Reclaimed* was never staged at the patent theatres in the period these advertisements were published, following the *Adelphi Theatre Project*, *Adelphi Theatre Calendar and Archival Resources*, University of Massachusetts Amherst, https://www.umass.edu/AdelphiTheatreCalendar/.

18 These numbers are retrieved by the author from the *London Stage Database*.

that the lottery's old role is distorted in the new, alternate world of the advertisement; similarly, an audience familiar with a non-lottery comedy would recognise the lottery insertion in the new, alternate world of the advertisement where it previously did not exist.

In two of the cards featuring lottery comedies, the advertisements obscure the distinction between fictional representation and real promotion simply by referencing the fictional lotteries from the source works. The most apparent association is made through their illustrations, which portray the characters Dr Lenitive (figure 1) from *The Prize* and Zekiel Homespun (figure 2) from *Heir at Law* in the emphatic moments of their wins.

Dr Lenitive is the only character from the comedy *The Prize* represented in a deck likely published in January 1817, which comprises six other theatrical works. As evidenced by the doctor's repetition in two decks from 1815 and another from 1817, he was a popular character; his illustration is also used in two advertisements unrelated to Twelfth Night, one of which includes him as an unlabelled hieroglyph of an archetypal lottery winner.[19] In this last instance, the use of his image for identification without the aid of text indicates the audience's familiarity with the character, but it also reinforces the idea that the character is irrefutably associated with the lottery. The illustration in figure 1, a tableau of Dr Lenitive, is found across multiple lottery advertisements; the doctor is pictured in the middle of an indecorous celebration, leaping out of his chair, with his wig in one hand and his "Prize" in the other.

Below the illustration is an intertextual reference to the source work that is likely also intended to describe the illustration: "My Ticket, No. 2, 5, 3, 8, drawn this day a Prize of Ten Thousand Pounds! – What a lucky number, indeed– Egad, I had forgot my patient, I must send him his draughts – *Drafts!* well thought on, I had better have it all sent down in *drafts!*" This inscription fulfils a condition of the Twelfth Night game: partygoers presented their characters by reading a few lines in an introduction round called "holding court".[20] But acknowledging the source work serves several other purposes for the object; firstly, the reference is placed within quotation marks that grammatically frame it as a direct quote

19 See Part I of the author's dissertation for a detailed analysis of the use of hieroglyphs in lottery advertisements. The advertisement referred to here is for the lottery taking place in January 1817: George Cruikshank, *Theatricals Extraordinary*, woodcut on paper, 278 × 104 mm, British Museum, accession no. 1862,1217.160.

20 Rachel Revel, *Winter Evening Pastimes; or, the Merry-Maker's Companion: Containing a Complete Collection of Evening Sports, Including Twelfth-Night Ceremonies with Copious Directions for Crying Forfeits, and Promoting Harmless Mirth and Innocent Amusement* (Alex. Mesnard, 1825), 157.

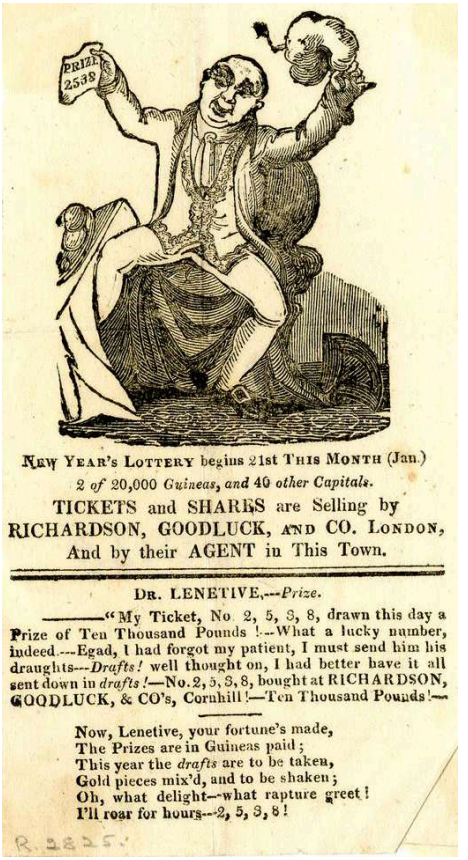

Figure 1: "Dr. Lenetive" by George Cruikshank. Woodcut on paper. Height 150 mm by width 90 mm. British Museum: 1862,1217.149. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Shared under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0) licence.

from the source work. Because these lines appear as if they are part of a dialogue taken from the comedy, participants might be more compelled to act them out in character when playing the game. The presence of additional text on this card means that the quotation marks also function as an intertextual boundary: the reader is intended to give the direct quote a different status than the surrounding text. It is not only the quotation marks that contribute to a division between types of text, but separation is also encouraged graphically with the use of borders and negative space.

In fact, this textual reference is not a direct quote, but is compiled from an interchange between Dr Lenitive, his patient Heartwell, and his assistant Label, from the first act and scene of the play.[21] For the advertisements, the textual properties of the source world, including in some cases the exercise of prose or verse, seem less central than establishing a connection to the source work's fictional world. Despite the quote's inaccuracy, the quotation marks ultimately function to legitimise the doctor's lines and, consequently, anchor the reader firmly within *The Prize*. The reader's mental situatedness in the source world is only temporary, however, as the subsequent text, presented without quotation marks and in verse, transports the reader to an alternate world distinct from, but linked to the source world as its point of departure. In this alternate world, the lottery is a positive force in Dr Lenitive's plotline.

The audience's awareness of and familiarity with the source worlds were necessary to derive meaning from the advertisement's alternate world and for it to succinctly communicate the lottery's allure. The illustrations on these cards exemplify this dependency of the alternate worlds on the source worlds to produce meaning. The characters selected for these advertisements are often those with the most iconic roles, and as such, the images referenced were already well-known and diffused throughout culture; they were circulating in actor portrait cards, frontispieces, and a mass-produced form of theatrical representation known as toy theatre.[22] These characters were not only fictional: in the early phases of character illustration, figures often resembled the actors who incarnated them, built on the artistic tradition of actor portraiture.[23] Alongside other printed media illustrating theatrical characters, the images on these advertisements follow in the artistic traditions of representing performance that are characteristic to actor portrait cards. These traditions include the use of shadowing, common stances, expressions based on comedy or tragedy, and costume.[24] One possible explanation for these similarities between advertisements and portrait cards is the use of the same artists to produce a variety of commercial character prints embraced by "high and low culture".[25] The influential caricaturist George Cruikshank

21 Hoare, *The Prize*, 1, I, 9–10.

22 Jim Davis, "'They Shew Me Off in Every Form and Way: The Iconography of English Comic Acting in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries", *Theatre Research International* 26, no. 3 (2001): 243.

23 George Speaight, *The History of the English Toy Theatre* (Studio Vista, 1969), 13.

24 Speaight, *The History of the English Toy Theatre*, 32.

25 Cruikshank's use of theatrical and pictorial traditions is expanded on by Jonathan Buckmaster in *Dickens's Clowns: Charles Dickens, Joseph Grimaldi and the Pantomime of Life* (Edinburgh University Press, 2019), 96.

(1792–1878), acknowledged as the illustrator of most of these theatrical Twelfth Night lottery decks, was simultaneously producing theatrical representations in toy theatre, graphic satire, frontispieces, and actor portraiture.[26]

Although some of their illustrations are much cruder renderings, these advertisements follow in the same tradition as actor portraiture, meaning that they might vaguely refer to specific actors or performances. The character of Dr Lenitive was consistently associated with the actor John Bannister (1760–1836) until 1809.[27] In line with traditional illustration, aspects of Bannister's performance such as posture, but also the costume, were often reproduced in the character's visual reiterations. Dr Lenitive's wig with large curls, for example, is a prominent feature of an 1802 pastel drawing of Bannister as the character by John R.A. Russel;[28] the "large and bushy" wig is included in the stage directions of John Cumberland's edition of *The Prize*.[29] Other components of these directions, as noted in the Garrick Club Collection online archive, are shared by both the drawing and the advertisement: "a coat and buff waistcoat, trimmed with black binding…breeches and stockings…shoes and paste buckles".[30] Dr Lenitive's lottery advertisement is thus one of many in the decks that participate in celebrity culture propagated by Georgian theatrical print; additionally, it contributes to the reception of *The Prize* as reflected by printed media.[31] Because these advertisements employ artistic traditions that were typical to representing *The Prize* at the time, audiences of these advertisements could readily identify the fictional world of the character, but also the real world of the actor. The image of Dr Lenitive references Bannis-

26 Cruikshank was known to have illustrated hundreds of lottery advertisements, including these Twelfth Night advertisements. See Robert L. Patten, *George Cruikshank's Life, Time and Art: Volume 1, 1792–1835* (Rutgers University Press, 1992), 34. For Cruikshank's association with Twelfth Night decks and toy theatre, see David Powell, *Sir John Soane's Museum, and Pollock's Toy Museum. William West & the Regency Toy Theatre: Sir John Soane's Museum and national tour, 2004–2005* (Sir John Soane's Museum, 2004). See also Speaight, *The History of the English Toy Theatre*, 41, for Cruikshank's working relationship with toy theatre producer William West.

27 According to the *London Stage Database*, John Bannister was the actor who most frequently played Dr Lenitive from the play's premiere until 1809.

28 John R.A. Russel, *John Bannister*, 1802. Pastel on paper. Garrick Club Collection, accessed 23 November, 2024, https://garrick.ssl.co.uk/object-g0036.

29 Prince Hoare, *The Prize* (J. Cumberland, n.d.), in *Cumberland's British Theatre*, vol. 26, PR1243 .C8, 34 pp., including frontispiece.

30 Garrick Club Collection, "John Bannister," accessed 23 November, 2024, https://garrick.ssl.co.uk/object-g0036.

31 For more information about the types of print surrounding the Georgian theatre, see Valerie Fairbrass, "'What Printers Ink Does Each Week for the Theatres': Printing for the Theatre in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries", *Publishing History* 67 (2010).

ter's performance, a network of other illustrations of the character, and a fictional world of *The Prize* that was familiar to contemporaries.

When considering their transfictional relationship, the source world and the alternate world communicate with each other for the benefit of the informed reader. In other words, the reader's preconceptions or understandings of the source world inform their reading of the new lines in the alternate world.[32] Readers that are familiar with the source world of *The Prize* are intended to recognise this world first, as opposed to the real world, when encountering the alternate world; this means that the alternate world is in constant conversation with the source world. Parts of the new lines, particularly the humorous muddle of "drafts" and "draughts" and the flustered repetition of Lenitive's lottery numbers "2, 5, 3, 8", connect the alternate world with *The Prize:*

> Now, Len[i]tive, your fortune's made,
> The Prizes are in Guineas paid;
> This year the *drafts* are to be taken,
> Gold pieces mix'd, and to be shaken;
> Oh, what delight–what rapture greet!
> I'll roar for hours–2, 5, 3, 8!

For a reader unfamiliar with *The Prize*, the advertisement still "sells" the lottery; but for the informed reader, the advertisement's alternate world appears incongruous with the source world. In the comedy, Dr Lenitive is a "false" winner, who mistakenly believes he has won, the lottery plays a role in satirising his attempt at social ascension. On the one hand, the humour of the new lines resides precisely in knowing that Dr Lenitive never actually won the lottery. But from a more literal perspective, this text modifies what is well-known about the comedy to create an alternate world where Dr Lenitive is a winner. The advertisement generates a world where an administrative mistake does not strip the doctor of his win.

Returning to the illustration, the mislabelling of his letter as "Prize" also supports this hypothesis of generating an alternate world. The prize never materialised for Lenitive in the source world, but, in this alternate world, the doctor is paid his prize, and his gold pieces are mixed. The physicality of the money in the alternate lines and the presence of the prize in the illustration, makes winning

32 Ryan, "Transfictionality across Media", 391. This idea is based on Ryan's "principle of minimal departure", a phenomenon where readers "fill in the gaps in the fictional world with information important from the world that they regard as actual" and following which "[t]he model provided by external reality can only be overruled by the text itself". See also Ryan's "Fiction, Non-Factuals, and the Principle of Minimal Departure", *Poetics* 9, no. 4 (1980).

a tangible reality for Dr Lenitive, unlike the thinness in the false promises of letters and tickets that persist in the source world. Thus, this advertisement walks a tightrope between the version of *The Prize* that the audience is already familiar with – where a lottery player is mocked for his vain attempts at social ascension – and a modified, alternate world where a lottery winner is also teased, but only for his eccentric celebration.

Even though the lottery already exists in *The Prize*, the advertisement alters the plot of the source work so that the lottery fool receives his lottery fortune. So far, the advertisement has linked two worlds, that of the theatrical comedy and that of an alternate plot; but as a product of marketing, this advertisement ultimately connects these two fictions to a third world – the real world – with the presence of the forthcoming state lottery. The third text on these cards presents particulars about the future draw, and like the other texts, the particulars are kept separate with borders, negative space, and a variation in form:

> NEW YEAR'S LOTTERY begins 21st THIS MONTH (Jan.)
> 2 of 20,000 Guineas, and 40 other Capitals.
> TICKETS and SHARES are Selling by
> RICHARDSON, GOODLUCK, AND CO. LONDON,
> And by their AGENT in This Town.

Despite the discord, the real world is also in constant conversation with the two fictional worlds in these advertisements. The placement of the practicalities of the upcoming lottery and the plot of the lottery fantasy in the two fictional worlds exaggerates what Jesse Molesworth describes as "the tension between the logical judgment of probability and the persuasiveness of the plot".[33] The intermingling of the real with the fictional is common practice for lottery advertisements of the period: real facts about upcoming draws are often seamlessly intertwined in fictional entertainment, making it difficult to identify the junction between the two realms.[34] In Dr Lenitive's card, the real manifests with the types of prizes mentioned, coinciding with the particulars of the lottery being promoted: "Guineas paid," as opposed to other payouts, such as consols.[35] The presence of the adver-

33 Jesse Molesworth, *Chance and the Eighteenth-Century Novel: Realism, Probability, Magic* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), 8.

34 See the author's dissertation for more about the common use of this tactic in lottery advertisements.

35 Geoffrey L. Grant, "The English State Lottery 1694–1826", *Journal of the Printing Historical Society*, n.s. no. 13 (2009): 12. Grant outlines the possible types of lottery prizes, which were not always paid in gold, but could be paid in, for example, consols.

tising text on the card acts as a type of verification for the addition of real-world particulars in the fictional text, further jumbling any clear division.

The deliberate alteration of the source-world text to include real-world particulars makes the confusion between fiction and reality even more apparent. In two variants of the same deck, Dr Lenitive's quote is modified to suggest he bought his ticket from the real-world sponsors of the advertisement: "…well thought on, I had better have it all sent down in *drafts!* No. 2, 5, 3, 8, bought at RICHARDSON, GOODLUCK, & CO's, Cornhill! – Ten Thousand Pounds! –". The other variant of this card is precisely the same, but Richardson, Goodluck, & Co. is replaced by a rival lottery office, "T. BISH's, No. 4, Cornhill!"[36] Inserting a real lottery office in an intertextual reference from the source world complicates the separation between the real and the fictional. Even though the lines, legitimised with quotation marks, derive from the source world, they generate an alternate world where the fictional lottery of *The Prize* is actualised by particulars about the upcoming draw; simultaneously, the real lottery offices Richardson, Goodluck, & Co and Thomas Bish are fictionalised as Dr Lenitive's ticket agents. Instances of intermingling run throughout these decks, repeatedly opening the real-world lottery to fiction and coyly exposing and complicating the fragile partition between the imaginary fantasy and real lottery play. The fluid boundaries between fictional and factual references might even be symptomatic of the advertisements' attempt to incite the readers' vision of an alternate future for themselves, i. e. to *plot their lives* within the model of a lottery fiction.

Moreover, by using comedies to advertise the lottery, these cards imply a similitude between, on the one hand, the fictional plots that use the lottery to enchant ordinary lives and, on the other, the transformational potential of real-world lotteries. Molesworth argues that the lottery fantasy and the realism present in the emerging novel are interrelated. Realism, seeking to eliminate the boundary between the reader and the text, in turn fictionalises the reader and re-enchants their material world.[37] According to Molesworth, readers during this period are exposed to the idea that "ordinary human beings could be involved in real events notable enough to be worthy of narrative representation".[38] Win-

36 George Cruikshank, *Dr. Lenetive – Prize*, c.1816, graphic, Yale University Library Digital Collections, https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/17339852.

37 See Molesworth, *Chance and the Eighteenth-Century Novel*, page 14, for his definition of realism, and page 9 for the re-enchantment of the reader. There are some Twelfth Night lottery advertisements that sourced characters from eighteenth-century realist novels to promote the lottery, such as a deck from 1815 that featured Molly Seagrim, Parson Adams, Sophia Western, and Tom Jones from Fielding's *The History of Tom Jones, a Foundling* (1749).

38 Molesworth, *Chance and the Eighteenth-Century Novel*, 25.

ning the lottery is precisely one of these real and notable events significant enough to add the literary element of "plot" to the narrative of ordinary lives.[39] By directly engaging fictional worlds through illustration and quotation, these advertisements place fully-fledged plots that provide teleological meaning to their chance events next to the transfictional plots that rewrite the lottery as *the* chance event. Although at times these advertisements, like realism, blur the boundary between character and reader, the graphic and formal distinctions between the source world and the alternate world, alongside the presence of real-world particulars on the card that call the reader into action, remind the reader that, unlike the fictionality of these theatrical plots, the lottery's plot is "real".

In these advertisements, the lottery is suggested as a pathway for both the fictional characters and the audience to re-enchant their real and ordinary lives. While the degree of difference between the alternate worlds and the source worlds varies from advertisement to advertisement, in most cases the lottery is presented as the rational solution to problems characters face in the source worlds. If the lottery is already present in the source world, as it is in these two lottery comedies, the alternate world does not necessarily rewrite the lottery as the pathway to success. For Dr Lenitive, the advertisement instead rewrites his loss. The source world in the second lottery comedy, *Heir at Law*, already includes a positive lottery outcome that enchants the ordinary life of Zekiel (figure 2), an orphan from the countryside. More than creating an alternate outcome, the advertisement amplifies the lottery plot.

Like the advertisement featuring Dr Lenitive, Zekiel's lottery advertisement capitalises on the existence of the lottery in the source world by depicting him celebrating his win. By deliberately choosing this moment, the advertisement decisively connects Zekiel's fictional lottery win to what the card advertises: a chance at winning the real-world lottery. Zekiel's celebration is also referenced through a quote, which in the comedy is a dialogue Zekiel has with his sister, Cicely, and her employer, Caroline:

> Tol de rol lol. –Rabbit it, I do most humbly crave pardon – but I be in such a flustration! – I ha' got – I ha' got – Tol de rol lol – I ha' got Twenty Thousand Pounds [i'the Lottery]! – Let me take a bit of breath – I do crave pardon – Father's Ticket – let me take a – have come up with a Prize of – a bit of breath – [Twenty Thousand Pounds!] Heaven send this good luck do not set my simple brain a madding. I ha' run all the way from the Lottery Office to – [Od rabbit it,] what shall I do with it? –What? – Why, I'll first provide for such as I do love, and then lend a helping hand to them as be poor about me.

39 Molesworth, *Chance and the Eighteenth-Century Novel*, 26.

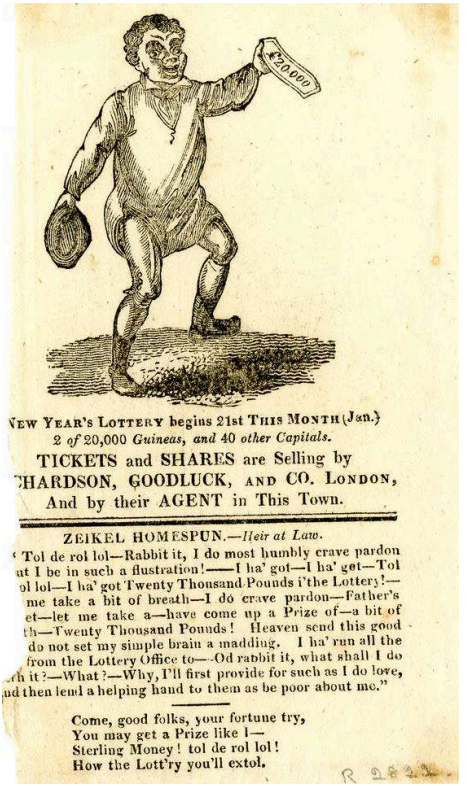

Figure 2: "Zeikel [*sic*] Homespun" by George Cruikshank. Woodcut on paper. Height 150 mm by width 85 mm. British Museum: 1862,1217.146. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Shared under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0) licence.

Just as the source-world quote from Dr Lenitive's card from the same deck that weaves in a real-world lottery office, the quote for Zekiel's advertisement is tailored to the real-world lottery promotion. The additional text "in the Lottery" is added after Zekiel's exclamation that he "ha' got Twenty Thousand Pounds" and the prize amount is repeated, which happens to be the top prize amount in all worlds.[40] While the modifications to Dr Lenitive's card generate an alternate world, they do not here deviate significantly from the source world; rather, they serve to emphasise the lottery's role in Zekiel's good fortune. The amendments demonstrate that the advertisements do not merely use popular plays to

40 The alterations are presented in brackets from Colman's *The Heir at Law*, 5, III, 82–83.

catch the audience's attention but are deliberately altering the texts of these comedies to promote lottery play.

In the alternate world, Zekiel becomes an intermediary spokesperson for the real-world lottery, and, as such, his experience is an example of real-world success:

> Come, good folks, your fortune try,
> You may get a Prize like I –
> Sterling Money! tol de rol lol!
> How the Lott'ry you'll extol.

Despite the fact that Zekiel's lines are now in verse, the alternate world still references *Heir at Law* on a textual level through the continuation of his diction and the musicality of his excitement: "Sterling Money! Tol de rol lol!" But in the alternate world, Zekiel directly addresses the audience of the advertisement: "You may get a Prize like I". This confrontation implies that the plot of *Heir at Law* can be an actual model of success for real lottery players. Rather than rewriting the plot in the source world, as is the case with Dr Lenitive's card, the advertisement purposely draws attention to Zekiel's extraordinary and sudden win in the original plot.

From a marketing perspective, Zekiel is indeed a better spokesperson to sell the lottery to an audience than Dr Lenitive, and not only because Zekiel actually wins the lottery in the source world. Zekiel is a positive character and a morally deserving winner. His windfall does not stir his unwavering moral fibre: he will provide for his loved ones with his newfound wealth and will lend a "helping hand" to those in need. This resolve starkly contrasts with the fantasy of Lenitive, who, in the moment of his win, declares "Damn the shop!" revealing only his desire to leave his tedious and toilsome work behind for a life of leisure.[41] Beyond revealing one's true character, these moments disclose that the lottery was perceived as a life-altering event.[42] For both Zekiel and Dr Lenitive, the prize is an assurance that their economic circumstances would improve and even solve their problems and give them access to upward social mobility. Money is essential to the lottery fantasy, but it is never the end goal.[43] Indeed, the problems these comedic characters face always have other solutions that do not necessarily require money, such as marriage. This also rings true in non-lottery comedies

41 Hoare, *The Prize*, 1.1, 9.

42 For more on the motif of winning the lottery as a test of character, see, *infra*, Haugen, "Staging Lotteries", and Goring, "The Lottery in British Prose Literature".

43 Molesworth, *Chance and the Eighteenth-Century Novel*, 22.

where advertisements introduce a lottery win: money tends to solve the characters' problems, which, however, can never be reduced to a desire for superficial wealth.

2 Advertising the lottery with non-lottery comedies

As opposed to the previous examples, the lottery did not already feature in the remainder of the forty-seven plays referenced by the theatrical Twelfth Night advertisements. By inserting the lottery into these source worlds, the alternate worlds typically generate, for the character in question, a "life plot" that is radically different from that of the original play. The contrast between the plots of the source world and the alternate world serves to augment the lottery's transformational capacity. To fully appreciate the potential impact that the lottery had for the plots of these fictional characters, the audience for these advertisements must first have been familiar with the source worlds. Where that was the case, the divergence between the source world and the alternate world highlighted the lottery's function as a problem solver, thus potentially strengthening the effectiveness of the advertisement; this section examines the repurposing of these comedies to sell the lottery fantasy by focusing on two recurring plays in these decks: *The Country Girl* and *The Provoked Husband.*

Both plays are Georgian adaptations of Restoration Comedies. Cibber revised *The Provoked Husband* to have a happier ending from John Vanbrugh's *The Provoked Wife* (1697), and Garrick reworked William Wycherley's *The Country Wife* (1675) into a five-act marriage plot with bourgeois values.[44] The Georgian alterations concerning marriage are significant to the advertisements' insertion of the lottery into their plots; the advertisements reinforce these emerging values around marriage and, in turn, tame the lottery's radical potential. The lottery could threaten the contemporary tradition of marriage and, in fact, a few advertisements outside these decks humorously toy with this destabilisation resulting from winning the lottery. Advertisements include narratives with controversial topics, such as runaway marriages at Gretna Green and independently wealthy

44 According to Misty G. Anderson, new values "downplayed the transactional function of marriage [...] and nourished a compensatory narrative of choice, domestic affection, and the substitution of love for lust". Misty G. Anderson, "Genealogies of Comedy", in *The Oxford Handbook of the Georgian Theatre, 1737–1832,* ed. Julia Swindells and David Francis Taylor (Oxford University Press, 2014), 350.

women who choose not to marry. However, in the decks examined here, most of the advertisements complement rather than disrupt Georgian values. The lottery's transfictional insertion into the source worlds of the comedies provides coupled characters a secure financial future, often implying that the alternate world marriages are now more "complete" because of the win. This solution pleases both sides of the marriage debate; on the one hand, it complies with traditional values that include treating marriage as an opportunity to secure wealth; and, on the other hand, completing the marriage with a lottery win satisfies values of choice and domestic affection.[45] In either scenario, applying money won through the immoral means of gambling to something as noble as love and marriage, benefits these advertisements by reframing the lottery as an honest pursuit.

It should be mentioned that some of these comedies do, strictly speaking, use the word "lottery", but only figuratively. In the instances where "lottery" is mentioned in the "Non-Lottery Comedies", it is as a metaphor for luck in life or in love and marriage, amid a sea of blanks.[46] While the way in which love and marriage are used figuratively seems to assign them the same meaning, the role of the state lottery in this set of advertisements accentuates the tension between shifting attitudes in love and marriage; or rather, this highlights the pursuit of both love *and* marriage common to these comedies, as opposed to an older tradition of marriages of interest. The appearance of the lottery metaphor amplifies a topic that is implicitly present in the comedies: the happy union between marriages of inclination and marriages of interest, between love and money.[47]

In *The Country Girl*, Miss Peggy is awaiting a large inheritance after her father's passing that is guarded by a family friend, Moody. The bequest is tied to a traditional view of marriage: that the parental guardian, in this case Moody, has the final say on a suitable match for Peggy. If Peggy decides to marry against Moody's will, she will only receive half her fortune.[48] The negotiation between marriage for love and marriage for money runs throughout the work. Lucy, Miss Peggy's maid, advises her against marrying for love and compares the risk to gambling: "'Tis a melancholy truth, Madam – Marrying to increase love, is like gaming to become rich – Alas! you only lose what little stock you had before

45 Anderson, "Genealogies of Comedy", 350.

46 For the relationship between the lottery and marriage, see also, *infra:* Haugen, "Staging Lotteries"; Salman, "The Political, Socio-Economic, and Cultural Impact"; Marly Terwisscha van Scheltinga, "If I Had the Great Prize"; Goring, "The Lottery in British Prose Literature".

47 For similar "compromises" between inclination and interest in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century French lottery comedies, see, *infra*, Haugen, "Staging Lotteries".

48 Garrick, *The Country Girl.*

– There are many woeful examples of it in this righteous town!"[49] Lucy's advice represents the traditional values that Garrick rewrites; Peggy has a choice, and she chooses domestic affection, marrying Mr. Belville to Moody's dismay.

In the last scene of the comedy, Peggy, now a married Mrs. Belville, addresses the audience directly, asking if it was a mistake to relinquish wealth in exchange for a loving relationship: "BUT you, good Gentry, what say you to this? / You are to judge me – have I done amiss?"[50] The lottery advertisement intertextually references Peggy's monologue, yet also deviates from the source world by including an unidentified, third-person narrator:

> A Country Girl you see before you,
> Who wants a husband not a little;
> Her smiles from pain would e'en restore you,
> Her ways would suit you to a tittle.
> Then youths, forsake the wily arts
> Of town-bred misses who may cheat you,
> And give to Country Girls your hearts,
> For they with love will ever greet you;
> Miss Peggy's fortune is but small,
> But then a Lottery Share she's got;
> And if she gives you up her all,
> The man who wants more is a sot.[51]

The advertisement mentions her reduced fortune – "Miss Peggy's fortune is but small" – but in this alternate world she still has a chance at increasing her wealth through her lottery share. The lottery makes the marriage she entered despite guardian disapproval "complete", satisfying the custom of marriage as a financial transaction, but also validating the pursuit of choice and domestic affection.

The second non-lottery comedy examined in this chapter is *The Provoked Husband*, which was immensely popular in the eighteenth century, being the fourth most popular comedy in the period 1737–1800, with a total number of 402 performances in London.[52] The brazen pursuit of money is a motive for several characters in this work, and also appears in two lottery advertisements featuring Sir Francis Wronghead and his daughter Jenny. In the source world, Sir Francis

49 Garrick, *The Country Girl*, 4, 45.

50 Garrick, *The Country Girl*, 5, 69.

51 Dawson Turner, *A Collection of Handbills, Newspaper Cuttings, Etc., Relating to Lotteries between 1802 and 1826, Formed by Dawson Turner. With a MS. Note by the Collector* (London, [1802]), British Library, shelf mark 8225.bb.78.

52 Anderson, "Genealogies of Comedy", 350.

Wronghead and his family are on the brink of financial ruin.[53] Manly, a gentleman in their circle, explains the urgency of Sir Wronghead's situation tersely in the comedy:

> In one word, your whole affairs stand thus – In a week you'll lose your seat at Westminster: In a fortnight my lady will run you into jail, by keeping the best company – In four and twenty hours, your daughter will run away with a sharper, because she hadn't been us'd to better company: and your son will steal into marriage with a cast-mistress, because he has not been us'd to any company at all.[54]

Lurking behind Manly's assertion is a changing conception of wealth from a steady reliance on a landed estate to a view of income and money as disposable.[55] Also reflected in his warning is the traditional view of marriage as transactional; the orchestration of marriage is a constant risk to young naïve offspring, who follow their impulsive hearts rather than listening to their parent's practical advice. Sir Wronghead's lottery advertisement card references his desperation to remain at the top of the social hierarchy, but also his ignorance of his own financial wrongdoings:

> The *Wrongheads* have been a considerable family ever since England was England; and since the world knows I have talents wherewithal, they shan't say it's my fault if I don't make as good a figure as any that ever were at the head of that numerous family.[56]

The lottery's extension of Sir Wronghead's world inserts the lottery into the equation as one of his possible attempts at wealth:

> As the *Wrongheads* by Fortune have ev'ry thing won,
> Adoration to her [Lady Fortuna] you must pay;
> A Ticket then buy, and I'll bet ten to one,
> You're her favourite next drawing day.

The alternate-world lines acknowledge Sir Wronghead's anxiety of losing his social positioning in the comedy, while humorously harmonising with him that he is not to blame; rather, the blame is placed on Lady Fortuna. If only he had

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53 Cibber, *The Provoked Husband.*

54 Cibber, *The Provoked Husband*, 5, II, 81.

55 John Vernon, *Money and Fiction: Literary Realism in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* (Cornell University Press, 1984), 40.

56 Anon., *A Set of 18 Handbills for the Second State Lottery of 1814–15, Which Commenced Drawing on 18th January, 1815. Each Bill with an Illustration of a "Twelfth Night Character" above Text, Promoting the Sale of Tickets* (London, 1815), 102 a.

paid "adoration to her", the lottery could have been one among his many attempts to regain control of his family's finances. The marketing tactic of the alternate world focuses on the anxiety of missing out on the possible future that gambling could provide, and spurs action to buy a ticket through guilt.

Money appears to be a motivator for some of the actions of nearly every character in the comedy. Sir Wronghead is constantly in pursuit of money, as Lady Wronghead points out: "you have so many projects of late about money, since you are a parliament-man".[57] Additionally, Lady Townly's biggest complaint is that she lacks the financial means to follow her own whims, and the scheming Count Basset tries to court Jenny to secure his financial future. Even Jenny holds money to a higher esteem than love, corrupted by both her mother's escapades at the gambling table and by Count Basset. Jenny is infatuated with money and fantasises about inheritance through a marriage to the Count, a marriage fantasy that bears resemblance to a lottery fantasy. As Jenny imagines in great detail her future life as a married woman, her expectations escalate exponentially: she begins with attending a masquerade on Thursday, then a play on Friday, and by Monday, her new routine includes visits with the King.[58] An extension of this fantasy is the only text featured on the lottery advertisement from 1815:

> Well, I say it will be delicious to have a fine gentleman, with a star and what-d'ye-call-um ribbon lead me to my chair, with his hat under his arm, all the way! – Hold up, says the chairman; and so says I, my Lord, your humble servant. – I suppose, Madam, says he, we shall see you at my Lady Quadrille's? – Aye, aye, to be sure, my Lord, says I. – So in he swops me, with my hoop stuffed up to my forehead; and away they trot, swing! swung! with my tassels dangling, and my flambeaux blazing – and –Oh, its [*sic*] a charming thing to be a woman of quality![59]

Recontextualising this quote as a lottery advertisement equates what marriage can secure for one's future with what the lottery can secure within the marriage plot typical to these plays. No longer do young lovers need their parents' bloodline or approval to marry;[60] yet, in these advertisements, money is still a central factor for a happy outcome or a more "complete" marriage. As Molesworth points out, however, the fantasy of winning the lottery is never only about the money, "it

57 Cibber, *The Provoked Husband,* 2, I, 33.

58 Cibber, *The Provoked Husband*, 4, I, 61.

59 Anon., *A Set of 18 Handbills for the Second State Lottery of 1814–15*, 104 d.

60 William J. Burling emphasises the importance of money despite a shift from the value of love in marriage, and the tradition of the parent's refusal in earlier Georgian comedies. William J. Burling, "Entrapment in Eighteenth-Century Drama from Congreve to Goldsmith", in *Reader Entrapment in Eighteenth-Century Literature*, ed. Carl R. Kropf (AMS Press, 1992).

is the money plus something else".[61] This "something else" provides plot to a lottery fantasy: for these two alternate worlds, it is not only winning the lottery that drives the plot but winning the lottery *to get married.* The alternative worlds generated by these advertisements expose the upended, transformational power of money in the contemporary imagination, and in the process, expose shifting views on love and marriage.

3 Conclusion: generating fictions out of fictions

Did these advertisements move their readers to purchase lottery tickets through transfictionality, by generating fictions out of fictions? Building on fictional worlds with embedded plots aligns with the notion of narrative bias: "a belief that narratives possess a vividness that makes them more likely to occur than non-narrative and that ordinary life may be best understood through the language of literary plot".[62] Plot also plays a persuasive role in imagining financial futures and the outcomes of investments, comparable to purchasing a lottery ticket.[63] As this chapter has revealed, these advertisements reimagine popular comedies to suggest the lottery as the solution to the problems faced by the fictional characters; in the process, they make a tongue-in-cheek case that the fictional unfolding of the theatrical plot is comparable to the theatrical unfolding of actual lottery play. In other words, by poaching existing storyworlds, the advertisements succinctly communicate that the lottery's "fictional capital" is like that of the plots of theatre and literature, and that these plots are available to everyone.[64] The blurring of the fictional and the real in these decks re-enchants the reader's world and fuels their lottery fantasies. Additionally, the regular publication of these printed lottery advertisements as Twelfth Night cards repeatedly reinforced the idea that fantastical events, like winning the lottery, can happen to anyone.

While these advertisements communicate by appropriating storyworlds, they also have other functions: they are material tokens of theatrical print, they reflect traditions in actor portraiture, and they diffuse the celebrity in a mass-produced, printed medium. The fact that these decks contributed to the afterlives of these

61 Molesworth, *Chance and the Eighteenth-Century Novel*, 25.

62 Molesworth, *Chance and the Eighteenth-Century Novel*, 8.

63 Jens Beckert, "Imagined Futures: Fictional Expectations in the Economy", *Theory and Society* 42 (2013), 226. Beckert uses "narrative" instead of "plot", but the idea is the same. On the purchase of a lottery ticket and "fictional depictions of futures states of investments", see note 14, 228.

64 See Molesworth, *Chance and the Eighteenth-Century Novel*, 9, for his thoughts on the lottery's "fictional capital".

comedies by extending their fictional worlds to other media, only added to the status of the theatrical works. Thus, it also complies with recent theories of remediation and adaptation.[65] According to Lissette Lopez Szwydky, "adaptation is the *only* way that a story can become truly culturally relevant" and is how narratives circulate.[66] These lottery advertisements played a part in the "widespread recognition and cultural visibility [...] that collectively make up [the] respective culture text" of the works they reference.[67] In generating fictions out of fictions, these objects both bolstered certain theatrical works in the cultural imagination, and fostered the idea that the lottery can re-enchant fictional and ordinary lives.

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65 Julie Sanders, *Adaptation and Appropriation* (Routledge, 2015), 24.

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