

The Undead Eighteenth Century 2010 EC-ASECS Presidential Address

by Linda Troost

As both EC-ASECS president and one of the troika organizing the conference, it seemed appropriate that my presidential address should unite my two jobs. A subject that connected things Pittsburgh with the eighteenth century would be ideal. Perhaps an analysis of the political policies of William Pitt the Elder, the source of this town's name? Steel manufacture in the eighteenth century? Canning? After all, Pittsburgh is the home of the H. J. Heinz Corporation. I could discourse eloquently on Nicolas Appert, who won the twelve thousand franc prize with his method to preserve food for military stores.¹ Not only that, but I could bring along some of my home-grown tomatoes and discuss their role in eighteenth-century culture as I demonstrated Appert's method. Dr. Johnson may not have included *tomato* in his dictionary,² but we know that they were definitely eaten by the "metropolitan elite" in the second half of the eighteenth century.³ Jane Austen was eating them at the start of the nineteenth: "Fanny & I regale on them every day," she writes from Godmersham Park.⁴ But, novel as such a demonstration might be, the technical requirements proved daunting. So, what else in Pittsburgh would have an eighteenth-century tie-in? What else is Pittsburgh famous for, other than the steel industry, the utter collapse of the steel industry in the 1970s, and the city's subsequent return from the dead to become a symbol of economic recovery—the reason it was chosen as the host for 2009's G-20 Summit? Ah—that's it: "return from the dead."

You can hardly go into a bookstore or through the menu on your cable television without stumbling on zombies and vampires. They may be among the best known creations from our period in the modern non-scholarly world (along with the novels of Jane Austen). As Markman Ellis observes, "the vampire's origins can be located quite precisely in the mid-eighteenth century."⁵ Early tales of the bloodsuckers, however, turn out to be allegorical more often than supernatural. In *The Craftsman* (20 May 1732), for example, an account of a Hungarian vampire-attack turns out to be a satire on Robert Walpole, whose economic policies were seen to be draining the life blood of the nation (Ellis, 165–67). Proper vampires, however, appear or are mentioned in later works, including Oliver Goldsmith's *The Citizen of the World* (1762), Robert Southey's *Thalaba the Destroyer* (1801), and John Stagg's poem "The Vampyre" in *The Minstrel of the North: or, Cumbrian Legends* (1810).

But what about the zombie? (I assure you that it will have a Pittsburgh connection.) While the term may date from our period, none of the meanings matches our current concept of "the walking dead."⁶ The Enlightenment zombie, in contrast, was a spirit, a ghost, a deity, or, in some cases, a high-level administrator.⁷ The earliest use of the term in print seems to be Pierre-Corneille Blessebois 1697 *Le Zombi du grand Pérou*, in which a woman is tricked into thinking she's an invisible spirit, a zombi.⁸ A meaning closer to our modern usage occurs in English in 1726 in *A History of the Voyages and*

Travels of Capt. Nathaniel Uring: “at the Death of a Person, it is customary for them to kill Hens, and sprinkle the Blood both without and within-side the House . . . thereby they prevent the Spirit of the dead Person from coming to give Zumbi to any of the future Inhabitants; the Word *Zumbi* signifies the Apparition of the dead Person, they being of Opinion to whomsoever it shall appear the Person will presently die.”⁹ A 1788 translation of the French *History of Okano* explains in a footnote that zombies are ghosts, “the spirits of dead wicked men, that are permitted to wander, and torment the living.”¹⁰ Eleven years later, in 1799, zombies are mentioned in a tale in the *European Magazine*, “The Generous Carib.” This time, however, they are deities to whom Orra prays after his beloved Yarro is taken by slavers: “He threw himself on the earth in agony, calling on the Zombies to restore him his love.”¹¹ All three of the English uses, incidentally, predate the *OED*’s reference from Robert Southey’s 1819 *History of Brazil*, in which *zombi* refers to the elected chief of the maroons in Pernambuco.¹²

The concept was there in the eighteenth century, however, but under another name—after all, Samuel Taylor Coleridge evokes the walking—well, ship-sailing—dead in *Rime of the Ancient Mariner*. The closest things were Icelandic *draugar*, animate and malevolent corpses, surprisingly common in ancient Norse sagas, which were enjoying a revival in translation during the Enlightenment. *Draugar*, who take “the offensive” by either attacking and eating those who invade their burial barrows or by venturing out of their barrows to “cause trouble further afield” are the true ancestors of modern zombies.¹³ While some saga material was available to European readers before the eighteenth century through Saxo Grammaticus, and similar stories existed in medieval England,¹⁴ ancient Norse literature benefitted from the eighteenth century’s interests in primitive national literatures and things antiquarian. As a result, the bloodthirsty, gothic subject matter of the sagas gained currency outside of Scandinavia in the second half of the eighteenth century. Paul Henri Mallet, a professor in Copenhagen, published (in French) studies of ancient Scandinavian culture in 1755 and 1756, which were translated into English in 1770 by Bishop Thomas Percy as *Northern Antiquities: or A Description of the Manners, Customs, Religion and Laws of the Ancient Danes, and Other Northern Nations*. In 1763, Percy published *Five Pieces of Runic Poetry*, which influenced a surprising number of later writers, such as Thomas Gray and Anna Seward.¹⁵ An 1814 text, *Illustrations of Northern Antiquities*, recounted the legends of the north and also included an abstract by Sir Walter Scott of the *Eyrbyggja Saga*, a work that contains a wealth of *draugar*, such as an account of the restless corpse of Thorolf Baegifot, who “walked forth from his tomb to the great terror and damage of the neighbourhood, slaying both herds and domestics,” as well a description of the first zombie epidemic in literature.¹⁶

Thorolf Baegifot. When you think of zombies, you think of something like him, or like the *draug* Asuidus, who attempts (with partial success) to eat Asmundus when he tries to share his barrow as an act of loyalty to his dead

friend.¹⁷ These are *Thriller* zombies, the living dead. And this is where the Pittsburgh connection comes in. George Romero, a Carnegie-Mellon graduate, created that kind of zombie in the many films he made in this area, the first being *Night of the Living Dead* (1968) and the last being *Diary of the Dead* (2008), which features characters who are students or faculty at the University of Pittsburgh.¹⁸ Romero set the modern standard for the zombie, a slow, inarticulate, shambling, undead thing motivated only by a desire to eat human flesh, knowing no master and being horribly persistent.

Recently, the long eighteenth century has become a preferred setting for comic horror literature, appropriate since it was our century that invented the Gothic novel. For example, *Pride and Prejudice and Zombies* and *Sense and Sensibility and Sea Monsters* were all the rage last year. In May 2010, at the Cannes Film Festival, a trailer was shown for a comic film in the style of Tony Richardson's *Tom Jones*. The name? *E'gad, Zombies!* It features Sir Ian McKellan as the narrator, discoursing wittily about the tribulations of the residents of Upper Trollop, a village infested with zombies in hoop petticoats and tricorne hats.¹⁹ Why the affinity for the long eighteenth century instead of, say, the 1920s? Kyle Bishop suggests that "apocalyptic narratives . . . particularly those featuring zombie invasions, offer a worst-case scenario for the collapse of . . . social and governmental structures."²⁰ It may be that the popular perception of Enlightenment and Regency England as a time of rigid, stable, elaborate social codes and costume provides the ideal setting for parodying apocalypse narratives. The propriety of the powdered wig contrasts comically with the decaying zombie wearing it.²¹

Jane Austen was the first in our period to get the monster treatment and still is the particular focus of it. Since 2009, new books have been created, rather as Dr. Frankenstein created his monster, from bits and pieces of her books, other authors' books, and films. Works like *Pride and Prejudice and Zombies* and *Sense and Sensibility and Sea Monsters* are just some of the entries in the quest to eat Jane Austen's brains. In the future, we can look forward to an Elton-John-produced film called *Pride and Predator*—about space aliens in Meryton.²² These comic "mash-ups"—blends of mostly Austen's own text with interpolated monster mayhem—may seem like nonsense, but they do manage to reanimate bits and pieces of Austen's novels that a modern reader might not notice in the original. Like the various film adaptations, they, too, are acts of interpretation.

How did these book come about? Jason Rekulak, creative director at Quirk Books, admits the conception for the Austen mash-up was serendipitous but calculated:

The inspiration came from the copyright violations that you see online, [at] places like YouTube, where people create their own interpretations of movies, music videos, and other media. I compiled a list of public domain books . . . and looked for ways to add to those books. So I had two lists, one of books and one of new elements [pirates, ninjas, space aliens,

zombies], and as soon as I drew a line between *Pride and Prejudice* and zombies, I knew that was the one. But it was in large part inspired by trying to do something creative, and a desire to not get sued.²³

Austen may be in the public domain, but she is also a hot property, and her power comes from her symbolic function in modern popular culture. The use of her name as shorthand for the elegant life took off in the mid-1990s with the lush Emma Thompson adaptation of *Sense and Sensibility* and the famous BBC *Pride and Prejudice* with Colin Firth. *Austen* became a signifier for another way of life: one that was genteel, restrained, subtle, and tasteful. In the financial madness and “irrational exuberance”²⁴ of the dot-com era and its unfortunate aftermath, that restraint and slowness has had great attraction. For many, Austen represented *rational* exuberance, the antithesis of apocalypse, and she serves as a patron saint to protect her fans from the crassness of the world.

Inevitably, such sacred status provokes iconoclasm. Because of this rock-solid reputation in the non-academic world as a writer of taste, restraint, and class, she becomes the perfect vehicle for parody—of her work, of Janeites, of our times. For some readers, *Pride and Prejudice and Zombies* is merely good-natured mockery of a “classic” rammed down throats in school, a burlesque in the tradition of Scarron’s *Le Virgile Travestie* (1648). Others are amused by the incongruity of the pairing, seeing it as satire of readers of escapist romantic fiction. To a third group, however, it is an appropriation that comments perceptively on the original as well as on our culture. It is best to think of these pastiches in the tradition of *Clueless*—Amy Heckerling’s modernization of Jane Austen’s *Emma* translated to modern-day Los Angeles—or perhaps as alternative-universe plots, like the ITV television serial *Lost in Austen* or the novel *Mr. Darcy, Vampire*. To the surprise of the publishers, it has been Austen readers who seem to enjoy the burlesque the most: zombie fans find the 85% of the original novel that remains “too much Austen.”²⁵ Unintentionally, the mash-ups have brought Austen readers to horror fiction, not the reverse.

Monsters have always had a place in classic literature. For example, Grendel and his mother in the Anglo-Saxon poem *Beowulf* exhibit some qualities of the modern zombie: they are inarticulate, they eat human flesh, and they just keep coming after the Danes for no reason. And most telling of all, they are strangely human and represent the Danes’ failings: pillaging, vengeance, pride. Spenser and Milton employ monsters (Error, Sin) in a similar fashion. Using an allegorical monster to represent social and spiritual fears and failings, in short, has a long history, one into which *The Craftsman* could tap in 1732. Zombies function the same way. The best modern films, such as George Romero’s landmark film *Night of the Living Dead*, work within this allegorical tradition. Romero’s film is about a monster invasion, but it also taps into anxieties of the late 1960s: the dehumanizing violence of the Vietnam War, uneasy reactions to the Civil Rights movement, about how humans easily become as monstrous as the monsters (Bishop, 27, 94–95). Romero’s other

films, such as *Dawn of the Dead* (1978), update the allegory. Here, he situates zombies in the Monroeville shopping mall (twelve miles from downtown Pittsburgh), where they represent a different kind of brain-dead consumer and expose “the true problem infecting humanity” (Bishop, 130). The 1990 remake of *Night of the Living Dead* makes the connection between zombies and humans explicit: protagonist Barbara, now updated to a kick-ass feminist heroine instead of a shell-shocked blonde, ends the film with the lines “They’re us. We’re them and they’re us” as she watches the local sheriff and his posse manhandle corpses destined for a pyre with as little care as the zombies treated humans. So, on one level, zombies are gross monsters in B movies; on another, they are sites of “social and cultural anxieties,” symbols of our own lack of humanity (Bishop, 127, 95).

Zombies succeed because they can work on many levels. It is the complex history behind the American zombie film that makes *Pride and Prejudice and Zombies* successful. Regency England is certainly a place deeply laden with social and cultural anxiety, rife with selfish and hypocritical people, so the introduction of gratuitous zombies works surprisingly well. I do not think that Seth Grahame-Smith was aiming at anything other than entertainment when he took on the commission to add zombies to *P&P*, but the book works because the zombies add a new dimension to Austen interpretation. The interpolations expose the civilized veneer covering a competitive, Hobbesian world. In the original novel, Elizabeth uses rapier wit to duel with Darcy; why not go one step further and give her a rapier?²⁶ Or, even funnier: ninja throwing-stars and a samurai sword? As she spars verbally with Mr. Darcy, well, why not let them really spar? One technique of satire is to treat the metaphorical literally; so does the mash-up. The first proposal scene shows this nicely:

“Do you think that any consideration would tempt me to accept the man who has been the means of ruining, perhaps forever, the happiness of a most beloved sister?”

As she pronounced these words, Mr. Darcy changed colour; but the emotion was short, [*new material*] for Elizabeth presently attacked with a series of kicks . . . One of her kicks found its mark, and Darcy was sent into the mantelpiece with such force as to shatter its edge.²⁷

It’s not subtle, but satire rarely is. The interpolations make concrete Elizabeth’s aggression.

As in the Romero films, though, we see the violence of the zombie barely distinguished from the violence of the zombie slayer. The five Bennet girls, Mr. Darcy, and Lady Catherine de Bourgh—all extensively trained in the Far East in martial arts—become as violent and bloodthirsty as the zombies themselves. In the original novel, Mr. Darcy notes that “I have faults enough, but they are not, I hope, of understanding. My temper I dare not vouch for.—It is I believe too little yielding . . . certainly too little for the convenience of the

world . . . My temper would perhaps be called resentful.”²⁸ In the mash-up, this gets kicked up a notch: “I have faults enough, but they are not, I hope, of understanding. My temper I dare not vouch for. I have taken many a life for offenses which would seem but trifles to other men.” Elizabeth Bennet is his equal, in both wit and weaponry. She replies in the mash-up: “That is a failing indeed! . . . But you have chosen your fault well for it is one which I share. [*new material*] I, too, live by the warrior code, and would gladly kill if my honour demanded it” (Austen and Graham-Smith, 46). In fact, we see her kill several of Lady Catherine’s ninjas as well as nearly take out Lady Catherine. The training Elizabeth has received so that she can slay zombies makes her as callous about human life as the zombies themselves. Considering that the original Austen novel shows us a heroine of honor, deeply interested in human character, the mash-up makes painfully clear just how violence desensitizes even an Elizabeth Bennet, let alone the modern reader, and how much violence can underlie the word *honor*.

Rather oddly, what Grahame-Smith is embarrassed by is Austen’s hard-headedness and lack of sentimentality. In the original novel, the one person willing to put herself up for marriage without love is Charlotte Lucas, rapidly approaching thirty and with no dowry to speak of. Austen has her make a marriage of convenience with the ridiculous Mr. Collins, but Grahame-Smith cannot bear that, so he rewrites her fate to make her romantically tragic. Charlotte is the only principal character in the novel to be zombified or, as the book calls it, *stricken*. Therefore, her reason for a hasty marriage with Mr. Collins is to grab a little happiness. Grahame-Smith tries to generate some sympathy for Charlotte by having her desire more than mere security, which is all Austen has her desire: “I don’t have long, Elizabeth. All I ask is that my final months be happy ones, and that I be permitted a husband who will see to my proper Christian beheading and burial” (Austen and Graham-Smith, 99). Of course, the final bathetic phrase reminds us where we are: in a dark comedy. In the middle section of the novel, we see Charlotte humorously degenerate before our eyes—humorous because Mr. Collins apparently never notices that his wife is dwindling into a zombie, despite her inability to eat with utensils, speak clearly, or walk without lurching. She gradually metamorphoses into what those in the novel call “an unmentionable”—quite literally. No one talks about what is happening to Charlotte. In fact, no one much talks directly about the “unpleasantness” that the “dreadfuls” cause in this world full of superficial people, a rather nice satiric touch that Austen herself might enjoy. After all, “so much of Austen is about the unmentionable”; Grahame-Smith’s book makes that explicit and funny.²⁹

Not everything works equally well in this book. For instance, having Mr. Collins commit suicide after beheading his wife seems inappropriate for a comic butt—more Brontë than Austen—but it fits with the author’s nervousness about Charlotte. Of course, the mash-up does incredible violence to Austen’s subtle touch—that’s the point of satire. The joke mostly lies in playing against that famous subtlety, as well as trashing the shallow elegance

of the world about which she writes (or that we see in the films). But the zombie version does highlight some of Austen's blind spots: the tendency to avoid discussing unpleasantness, for instance, or the rigid class structure.

The latter failing is developed in both Austen mash-ups. It is no accident that the zombies, normally equal-opportunity monsters (unlike aristocratic vampires), are mostly members of the lower classes—servants, coachmen—not members of the gentry (although they, too, are attacked and killed). We do not know what has brought on the plague of zombies, but we can see the lower classes suffer from it disproportionately. In Quirk Books' second offering, *Sense and Sensibility and Sea Monsters*, by Ben Winters, the class issues are more obvious. Essentially, the plot arc is the same as Austen's, but the characters are jiggered to fit into a dystopian world in which all the creatures of the sea have declared war on mankind. The social snobbery is most apparent in Sub-Marine Station Beta, an allegory for London, where the rich can afford to live protected from the malevolent animals that prowl the coast of England and Wales. In scene after scene, we read about servants being regarded as expendable. When the dome of Sub-Marine Station Beta begins to crack, servants are sent outside to deal with the aggressive fish that have instigated the damage. Guess who ends up eaten?

Servants are to be invisible. Austen has no trouble with that. For example, she describes the arrival of Edward to Barton Cottage as if he were alone: "Amongst the objects in the scene, they [Elinor and Marianne] soon discovered an animated one; it was a man on horseback riding towards them." But a few lines later, we learn that there is not just one man: "He dismounted, and giving his horse to his servant, walked back with them to Barton, whither he was purposely coming to visit them."³⁰ But Winters, like many a modern reader of Austen, is not comfortable with erasing the working classes from the text, and he parodies this blindness in his mash-up. In one key scene of *Sense and Sensibility*, when Edward, Lucy, and Elinor—a romantic triangle—find themselves unexpectedly alone together, they really are alone. In the Winters version, however, Edward, Lucy, and Elinor most pointedly are not:

It only contributed to the awkwardness when the loud bang was heard against the glass back wall of the docking; turning their heads, they saw that a servant, who had been changing the water filtration tank and come detached from the breathing hose of his special Ex-Domic Float-Suit, was clamouring for their attention. The operations of the Station's various life-sustaining apparatuses were meant to be entirely invisible to the inhabitants, and the man's noisy exhibition was a rather embarrassing violation of decorum; Elinor and her guests studiously ignored him, and his increasingly insistent thrashing became the background to the ensuing uncomfortable exchange.³¹

The scene concludes with the servant's being bitten in half by a giant anglerfish, noticed only by Marianne, who has arrived on the scene. Written in

imitation of Austen's restrained style, it underscores the invisibility in Austen's novels of the servants who make life in Regency England so smooth for their masters—and the indifference of those masters. But the books are comedies, not works of social criticism, and if they make some salient points about life in the long eighteenth century, they do so as a sideline—most of their barbs are aimed at the twenty-first century. Our culture is not necessarily more sensitive to the plight of the working class.

Could Jane Austen have written horror novels? Certainly. Vampires would have been available literary constructs as well as sea monsters. The first description of a *kraken*, a giant squid, reached England in 1755, and according to newspapers, one washed up on the coast of Orkney in 1808, during Austen's lifetime.³² Zombies, too, might have lurched across her path. I can imagine she had friends who may have read the recently published translations of the *Eddas* and discussed *draugar* in her presence. She was not squeamish, after all. She well could have read about Asmundus and the *draug* who nearly ate him in *The European Magazine* of 1799, a mere one page away from the "The Generous Carib," the tale that mentions zombies.³³ She would have known the reference in Shakespeare's *Hamlet* that I like to think of as a zombie invasion foretelling an apocalyptic moment:

A mote it is to trouble the mind's eye.
In the most high and palmy state of Rome
A little ere the mightiest Julius fell,
The graves stood tenantless and the sheeted dead
Did squeak and gibber in the Roman streets.³⁴

Shakespeare doesn't tell us if the shroud-wrapped corpses went around eating brains, but the fact is, Jane Austen knew her monsters. She *could* have written horror literature but she chose not to.

She did not need vampires, zombies, or giant squid because she had human beings to write about who were fully as terrifying. Think of Mrs. Norris in *Mansfield Park*, who tries to deaden timid Fanny Price's spirit through belittlement and insult: death by a thousand psychological cuts. Or Mr. Willoughby in *Sense and Sensibility*, who nearly destroys Eliza II (Colonel Brandon's ward) and Marianne Dashwood by tearing out their hearts. Or the cheapskates, Mr. and Mrs. John Dashwood, who happily would let their relatives in *Sense and Sensibility* bleed to death financially. Austen did not use a stake to the heart or the "slovenly Butchering" of a brain to halt these monsters in their tracks; she beheaded her social monsters with the swordsmanship of the satirist, "the fineness of a stroak that separates the Head from the Body, and leaves it standing in its place."³⁵

Even if Austen's protagonists do not get all the money they deserve or get to marry their first loves, they are as powerful as zombie-slayers. They successfully negotiate a world full of friends and relations—friends and relations who can do as much damage as a monster. In fact, Austen's heroines

are *more* powerful: after all, compared to dealing with people, handling monsters is fairly straightforward. Fanny Price survives her thousand cuts, both Eliza II and Marianne recover their health and happiness, and the Dashwood daughters need never bother with their stingy brother again. Like the hapless protagonists in *Shaun of the Dead* or *Zombieland*, Austen's protagonists become stronger and better people through trial by fire and sheer persistence. Fighting monsters is a necessary part of life for everyone, not just heroes: that is the message many allegorical classics and monster films have shown us. The monster-mashups and Austen both offer the same unsentimental advice for life, albeit with differing degrees of subtlety: kill the zombies and get on with it.

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Notes

1. Nicholas Appert, *L'art de conserver pendant plusieurs années toutes les substances animales et végétales* (Paris, 1810).

2. Susan Harvey, "Jane Austen's Spelling," *The Virtual Linguist*, 23 October 2010, <http://virtuallinguist.typepad.com>.

3. Mark Harvey, Steve Quilley, and Huw Benyon, *Exploring the Tomato: Transformations of Nature, Society and Economy* (Cheltenham; Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar, 2002), 30, 31.

4. Jane Austen, Letter to Cassandra, 11–12 October 1813, *Jane Austen's Letters*, ed. Deirdre Le Fay (Oxford: Oxford U. Press, 1995), 235. Of course, Austen spelled the word *tomata*—no doubt why she needed to be copyedited.

5. Markman Ellis, *The History of Gothic Fiction* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh U. Press, 2000), 161 (hereafter cited as "Ellis").

6. The book that introduced Americans to the notion of the zombie as the walking dead was William Seabrook's adventure travelogue *The Magic Island* (New York: Harcourt, 1929). It describes the apparent ability of Haitian sorcerers to animate corpses through voodoo for use as slaves. Later research has suggested a possible chemical mechanism for zombification. In *The Serpent and the Rainbow* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1985) and *Passage of Darkness: The Ethnobiology of the Haitian Zombie* (Chapel Hill: U. of North Carolina Press, 1988), Wade Davis describes poisons that he claims constitute "zombie powder."

7. For a detailed discussion of the historical origins of these various types of zombies, their presence in current Haitian culture, and a refutation of Davis's zombie-powder theory, see the excellent and witty article by Hans-W. Ackermann and Jeanine Gauthier, "The Ways and Nature of the Zombi," *Journal of American Folklore* 104 (1991): 466–94.

8. See Jim Chevalier, "The Zombie Wore Taffeta," *Sundries: An 18th Century Newsletter*, no. 36 (24 June 2006), <http://www.chezjim.com/sundries>. A quick search through *Gallica* does not turn up significant additional French references in our time period.

9. Page 67. I thank Diedre Stuffer, a recent graduate of the University of Pittsburgh at Greensburg, for mining *ECCO* to find these pre-*OED* English references for me.

10. *European Magazine* 14 (October 1788): 280n.

11. W[illiam] H[olloway], *European Magazine* 35 (March 1799): 164.

12. Robert Southey, *History of Brazil* (London 1819), 3.24. Also see Markman Ellis, 212.

13. Hilda Roderick Ellis, *The Road to Hel: A Study of the Conception of the Dead in Old Norse Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 1942; rpt. New York: Greenwood, 1968), 93.

14. For a good synopsis of the walking dead in English and Scottish traditions, see Nancy Caciola, "Wraiths, Revenants and Ritual in Medieval Culture," *Past and Present* 152 (August 1996): 3–45, and Jacqueline Simpson, "Repentant Soul or Walking Corpse? Debatable Apparitions in Medieval England," *Folklore* 114 (2003): 389–402.

15. Frank Edgar Farley, *Scandinavian Influences in the English Romantic Movement*, vol. 9 of *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature* (Boston: Ginn, 1903). See 229–31 for a substantial list of British works before 1814 that translate or are inspired by northern sagas and legends.

16. Walter Scott, "Abstract of the Erbyggja-Saga" in *Illustrations of Northern Antiquities from the Earlier Teutonic and Scandinavian Romances*, ed. Henry William Weber, Robert Jamieson, and Walter Scott (London: Longman; Edinburgh: Ballantyne, 1814), 477–513. Also see Caciola, 15–16.

17. This grim tale from *Egils saga ok Ásmundar* was widely distributed. Saxo Grammaticus includes it in the fifth book of his history of the Danes; in England, Thomas Nashe repeats it near the end of *Pierce Penilesse* (1592), and it is still current at the end of the eighteenth century, turning up in John Pinkerton's *An Inquiry into the History of Scotland* (1794), among other places. Hilda Ellis gives the names of the two friends as Aran and Ásmundr (55–56).

18. The most recent Romero film, *Survival of the Dead*, was filmed in Canada.

19. See <http://www.egadzombies.co.uk>. The trailer is available via YouTube; a feature-length film is under development by Fizz and Ginger Films under the name *The Curse of the Buxom Strumpet*.

20. Kyle Bishop, *American Zombie Gothic* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2010), 23 (hereafter cited as "Bishop").

21. This may explain the prevalence of "eighteenth-century zombie wigs" at internet-based costume stores.

22. Ben Child, "Pride and Predator to give Jane Austen an extreme makeover," *The Guardian*, 17 February 2009, www.guardian.co.uk.

23. Jason Rekulak, Celebrity Interview with Steven Shaw, 16 October 2009, *AskMen*, http://www.askmen.com/celebs/interview_300/352_jason-rekulak-interview.html.

24. Alan Greenspan, Remarks at the Annual Dinner and Francis Boyer

Lecture of the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 5 Dec. 1996, www.federalreserve.gov/BOARDDOCS/SPEECHES/19961205.htm.

25. Rekulak.

26. Deidre Lynch suggests that Elizabeth Bennet's "ninja training" goes well with muddy petticoats. Quoted in Jennifer Schuessler, "I was a Regency Zombie," *New York Times*, 22 February 2009, www.nytimes.com.

27. Jane Austen and Seth Graham-Smith, *Pride and Prejudice and Zombies* (Philadelphia: Quirk Books, 2009), 151 (hereafter cited as "Austen and Graham-Smith").

28. Jane Austen, *Pride and Prejudice*, ed. Vivien Jones (London: Penguin, 2003), 56–57.

29. Lev Grossman, "Pride and Prejudice, Now with Zombies!" Interview with Seth Grahame-Smith, *Time*, Thursday 2 April 2009, www.time.com.

30. Jane Austen, *Sense and Sensibility*, ed. Ros Ballaster (London: Penguin, 2003), 85–86.

31. Jane Austen and Ben H. Winters, *Sense and Sensibility and Sea Monsters* (Philadelphia: Quirk Books, 2009), 213.

32. *Caledonian Mercury* (Edinburgh), Saturday, 3 December 1808.

33. "Instance of Posthumous Friendship," *European Magazine* 35 (March 1799): 1641–43.

34. William Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, ed. Ann Thompson and Neil Taylor, *The Arden Shakespeare* (London: Thomson, 2006), 1.1.111–15.

35. John Dryden, "Discourse Concerning the Original and Progress of Satire," *The Works of John Dryden*, gen. ed. H. T. Swedenberg, Jr. (Berkeley: U. of California Press, 1974), 4: 71. Coincidentally, beheading was the preferred method of dealing with revenants in both Icelandic and medieval English practice. See Simpson, 390, 394.

'A Tale of a (Book-)Barrel': Another Meaning of the *Tale's* Title

by Kirsten Juhas

The difficulty of analyzing Jonathan Swift's multi-layered, chameleonic satirical masterpiece, *A Tale of a Tub*, starts with the difficulty of explaining its polysemous title. Remarkably, the degree of confusion generated in generations of readers has been increased by the facts, first, that none of the meanings proposed can be excluded as not germane to the work, second, that they have to be placed in different allegorical, iconographical, proverbial, literary, and historical contexts,¹ and third, that several of these meanings and contexts intersect and supplement each other.

The first proposal on the *Tale's* meaning is made by the Tale-teller himself. In the Preface, the Hack offers what reads like a plausible, if allegorically loaded, explanation:

That Sea-men have a Custom when they meet a *Whale*, to fling him out an empty *Tub*, by way of Amusement, to divert him from laying violent Hands upon the Ship. This Parable was immediately mythologiz'd: The *Whale* was interpreted to be *Hobbes's Leviathan*, which tosses and plays with all other Schemes of Religion and Government, whereof a great many are hollow, and dry, and empty, and noisy, and wooden, and given to Rotation. This is the *Leviathan* from whence the terrible Wits of our Age are said to borrow their Weapons. The *Ship* in danger, is easily understood to be its old Antitype the *Commonwealth*. But, how to analyze the *Tub*, was a Matter of difficulty; when after long Enquiry and Debate, the literal Meaning was preserved: And it was decreed, that in order to prevent these *Leviathans* from tossing and sporting with the *Commonwealth*, (which of it self is too apt to *fluctuate*) they should be diverted from that Game by a *Tale of a Tub*.²

In fact, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century travel accounts frequently refer to the custom of seamen trying to divert a whale from destroying their ship by flinging out an empty tub to the animal.³ Accordingly, as the Hack suggests, the whole *Tale* may be understood to have been written for the purpose to divert the wits of the age from sporting with the ship of state. This allegorical reading has most frequently been claimed as the title's meaning, whatever its precise import is taken to be.⁴ It is often supplemented by the information that 'a tale of a tub' was a proverbial expression used as a synonym for 'idle discourse,' 'cock and bull story,' and 'apocryphal tale.'⁵ Thus, the Tale-teller, whose "Genius being conceived to lye not unhappily that way," is writing a nonsensical story in order to parry the "new Levies of Wits" should "these Gentlemen, during the intervals of a long Peace ... find leisure to pick Holes in the weak sides of Religion and Government" (*Prose Works*, 1: 24).

The narrator's commitment to the defence of his country recalls the Cynic philosopher Diogenes of Synope (412/16-323 BC), who also became the target of Swift's satire in his *Trritical Essay* (*Prose Works*, 1: 248).⁶ A source for *A Tale of a Tub* may either be Lucian's *How to Write History*, in which he tells the story about Diogenes rolling his tub about when the King of Macedon undertook to besiege and destroy Corinth,⁷ or the "Prologue of the Author" to the Third Book of François Rabelais's *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, in which the narrator not only echoes Lucian, but also refers to his own "Diogenic barrel"⁸ with the help of which he intends to "divert the molesters of civil peace in France" (Korkowski, 101).

Not coincidentally, an engraving of the whale scene was chosen as the frontispiece of the important fifth edition of the *Tale*, published in 1710 with an Apology and Notes.⁹ And not coincidentally, either, the second out of eight engravings produced by Bernard Lens and John Sturt shows a preaching scene,¹⁰ illustrating the three wooden machines for the use of orators, the pulpit, the ladder, and the stage-itinerant. The pulpit, which dominates the engraving, is no normal church pulpit but a tub.¹¹ According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the

word “tub” was used “contemptuously or jocularly” in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to describe the pulpit of a nonconformist preacher.¹² In his *Amusements Serious and Comical*, Tom Brown, for example, pokes fun at a Presbyterian meeting near Covent Garden, “where the vociferous holder-forth was as bold and saucy as if the Deity, and all mankind, had owed him money ... ‘He,’ says the *tubster*, ‘that would be rich according to the practice of this wicked age, must play the thief or the cheat; he that would rise in the world must turn Parasite or Projector.’”¹³ Swift utilized this meaning in his attack on religious enthusiasm when creating, in the *Tale*, a sect with the telling name of “Learned *Æolists*,” who “maintain the Original Cause of all Things to be *Wind*” (*Prose Works*, 1: 95), which they tried to carry and to preserve in casks and barrels. Into one of these barrels, “upon Solemn Days, the Priest enters; ... swell[ing] immediately to the Shape and Size of his *Vessel*,” and “disembogue[ing] whole Tempests upon his Auditory” (*Prose Works*, 1: 98).

Swift’s satire on the Dissenters’ pompous and preposterous way of preaching continues to unfold further potential in the bawdy and scatological implications of the *Tale*’s title. For one thing, “tale” is a homophone of “tail,” which represents the male genital, while “tub” symbolizes the vagina.¹⁴ For another, and, more importantly, “tub” often meant “sweating tub,” a barrel in which patients suffering from venereal disease would sit to be sweated or fumigated over roasted mercuric sulphide.¹⁵ “A Clap’d Man,” Samuel Butler records in his *Characters*, “has spent all the forenoon of his life in catching of diseases, as men do fish, and the greatest part of the afternoon in pickling them up in tubs,”¹⁶ and Ned Ward’s *London Spy* explains:

‘Pray,’ said I, ‘what is the cause of that great painted tub that stands upon wheels? It looks as if it were designed as a whimsical cottage for some maggot-brained Diogenes. I hope there are no such fantastical humorists among this learned society?’ ‘No, no,’ replied my friend, ‘you are much beside the cushion; that engine is a kind of water syringe ... a device to cast water into houses that by accident have taken fire, from whence, I suppose, the doctor undertook to extinguish after the like manner all venereal fires that had unhappily taken hold of the instruments of generation.’¹⁷

The Dissenters’ zeal, Swift ostensibly implies, is as contagious and dangerous as syphilis and has to be cured by the notorious tub treatment, more particularly, by the acid satire of *A Tale of a Tub*.

However, this is not the end of the story. Since *A Tale of a Tub* is told by an unreliable narrator, the Hack, a former “unworthy Member” of Bedlam (*Prose Works*, 1: 111), presumably suffering from phases of mental derangement,¹⁸ the whole *Tale* oscillates between sense and nonsense, between ostensibly ‘mad,’ digressive ramblings and serious religious allegory. Through the *persona* of the bedlamite Grub Street writer, Swift’s *Tale* judges the Moderns harshly, like its companion piece *The Battle of the Books*, even if paradoxically pretending to do otherwise. In its excessively digressive style, its dedications to real and fictive

persons, multiple prefaces and *lacunae* pervading the text, *A Tale of a Tub* imitates and distorts the works of the many “*Scriblers, who daily pester[ed]*” the literary scene (*Prose Works*, 1: 27). Both in its (fragmentary) form and content, “its thinginess,”¹⁹ the *Tale* points to the materiality of the book itself, to the making of books, and, thus, to the conditions of their production.²⁰

The English book trade of Swift’s days not only had to cope with the rise of the writing profession on a large scale, many of them mercenary and barely able to eke out a living by their pen; it was also facing an increasing number of imports from Holland, often of pirated editions. The Copyright Act of 1710 declared free the importation of all books in foreign languages.²¹ Continental books were transported by ship and by covered wagons, and they were packed in boxes, chests, caskets, baskets, bales, and barrels.²² In fact, barrels were preferred to other containers of dispatch into the eighteenth century. (See the cover illustration of the copperplate engraving *Der Buchhändler* by Jan Luyken (1698) for an image of such a barrel of books.²³) Books packed this way were able to withstand distant and dangerous transports better than others: barrels made of strong wood and tarred on the outside held out against blows and rain.²⁴ Barrels would be filled both with whole books and with unbound sheets, and they were provided with an identifying mark.²⁵ Generally, the buyer paid for packaging and transport; prices charged varied strongly and would depend upon weight and volume as well as distance covered and means of transport.²⁶ Packaging methods were not always to the customers’ satisfaction; the German printer and bookseller Anton Koberger (1440/45-1513), for instance, complained to one of his colleagues in Basle that to judge by the condition in which the barrels arrived, they should have made them better.²⁷

Numerous descriptions and illustrations of the method of packing books in barrels are still extant. Although these examples come from Holland and Germany, it seems likely that Swift more than once saw books and the barrels in which they had arrived from the Continent at one of the printer’s shops when seeing the works of Sir William Temple through the press before and after his patron’s death.²⁸ Through this experience, he may have felt inspired for his critique of the low quality of modern books, which resemble the ‘tubs’²⁹ in which they were transported, in a twofold sense: “physical objects consisting of matter *and* void.”³⁰ Hence, “a tale of a tub” may be read as “a tale of a barrel,” referring to a container stuffed with meaningless modern matter, with (non-)books, and, thus, paradoxically being ‘full of emptiness.’ Through the image of the book-barrel, Swift was excoriating a generation of authors who were capable not of *writing* books but only of *manufacturing* massive numbers of booklike artefacts. “How to analyze the *Tub*” properly and thoroughly is “a Matter of difficulty” still; but the “empty tub” thrown to the wits of Swift’s age and to the readers of posterity, may have been nothing but a book-barrel.³¹

Notes

1. Almost all of the *Tale's* tubs “are introduced figuratively, by way of analogy, metaphor, or incidental allusion, and these mentions of tubs are heavily endowed with proverbial and traditional meanings, involving metonymy, allegory, iconography, and other figures beyond literalism” (Eugene Korkowski, “Swift’s Tub: Traditional Emblem and Proverbial Enigma,” *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 4, no 4 [1978], 103).

2. *The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift*, ed. Herbert Davis *et al.*, 16 vols (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1957 [1939]), 1: 24-25. All quotations of the *Tale* are from this edition.

3. In their Introduction, A. C. Guthkelch and D. Nichol Smith mention Sebastian Münster’s *Cosmography* (1544), Olaus Magnus’ *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* (1555), the *Emblems* of Camerarius (1604), Marvell’s *Rehearsal Transpos’d* (1673), as well as Francis Osborne’s *Advice to a Son* (1656) (see *A Tale of a Tub, to which is added, The Battle of the Books, and the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit*, edited by A. C. Guthkelch and D. Nichol Smith, 2nd ed. [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958], xxix-xxx).

4. See Henry Craik, *The Life of Jonathan Swift*, 2nd ed., 2 vols (London and New York: Macmillan, 1894), 1: 134-35; Pierre Frédéric, *Swift: le véritable Gulliver* (Paris: Hachette, 1964), 65-66; Philipp Wolff-Windegg, *Swift* (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett, 1967), 39; John R. Clark, *Form and Frenzy in Swift’s “Tale of a Tub”* (Ithaca: Cornell U. Press, 1970), 57-58; Johann N. Schmidt, *Satire: Swift und Pope* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1977), 89-90; and Michael Seidel, *Satiric Inheritance: Rabelais to Sterne* (Princeton: Princeton U. Press, 1979), 191-92.

5. See *OED* s.v. tale; Morris Palmer Tilley, *A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: A Collection of the Proverbs Found in English Literature and the Dictionaries of the Period* (Ann Arbor: U. of Michigan Press, 1950), T45; *The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs*, rev. F. P. Wilson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 803. For further evidence, see W. B. Carnochan, “Notes on Swift’s Proverb Lore,” *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 6 (1976), 64. Guthkelch and Smith refer to examples from Sir Thomas More’s *Confutacyon of Tyndale* (1532), Cotgrave’s *Dictionary of the French and English Tongues* (1611), and Ben Jonson’s *Tale of a Tub* (1633), among others (*A Tale of a Tub*, eds Guthkelch and Smith, xxviii). See also Aphra Behn, *The Luckey Chance*, where Sir Caution remarks, “why this is the strangest thing—to see an old Fellow, a Magistrate of the City, the first Night he’s married forsake his Bride and Bed, and come arm’d Cap-a-pee, like *Gargantua*, to disturb another old Fellow and banter him with a Tale of a Tub; and all to becuckold him here” (*The Works of Aphra Behn*, ed. Janet Todd, 7 vols [London: William Pickering, 1996], 7: 254, ll. 376-81, and 447).

6. For a new edition and commentary, see Online.Swift, *Tritical Essay*.

7. *Luciani Samosatensis opera*, ed. Ioannis Benedictus, 2 vols (Amsterdam: P. and I. Blaeu, 1687), 1: 602 (3-4) (see Dirk F. Passmann and Heinz J. Vienken, eds, *The Library and Reading of Jonathan Swift: A Bio-Bibliographical*

Handbook, 4 vols [Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2003], 2: 1114-15).

8. *The Complete Works of François Rabelais*, trans. Donald M. Frame (Berkeley: U. of California Press, 1991), 257 (see Passmann and Vienken, *The Library and Reading of Jonathan Swift*, 3: 1559-60).

9. David Woolley identified the fact that the frontispiece shows a stylized dolphin instead of whale as a foible of the engraver, John Sturt (see "The Textual History of *A Tale of a Tub*," *Swift Studies*, 21 [2006], 24).

10. Bernard Lens and John Sturt kept a drawing-school in St Paul's Churchyard. The original pen-and-wash designs for the engravings are still at Narford Hall in Norfolk, the country seat of Sir Andrew Fountaine. In comparison with the drawings, the cuts are generally thought to be inferior (see *A Tale of a Tub*, eds. Guthkelch and Nichol Smith, xxv-xxvii; and *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, D.D.*, ed. David Woolley, 4 vols [Frankfurt on Main: Peter Lang, 1999-2007], 1: 284-85, n. 2).

11. An image reminiscent of the illustration of the tub added to the *Tale's* fifth edition accompanies the title-page of John Taylor's *A Svvarme of Sectaries, and Schismaticques* (1641). Compare also the theme of his *A Tale of a Tub: or, A Tub Lecture* (1641) (*Works of John Taylor, the Water Poet* [New York: Burt Franklin, 1967 {1870}], 1-6).

12. David P. French, "The Title of 'A Tale of a Tub,'" *Notes and Queries*, 196 (1951), 473. However, since a broadside, *A Tale of the Tubbs or Romes Master Peice Defeated*, of November 1679 shows a tiaraed Pope in full clerical garb pontificating from a 'meal tub' (*Poems on Affairs of State*, vol. 2, facing p. 300), the 'tub' not only referred to the preaching of Protestant Dissenters but to all Nonconformists, including Roman Catholics, especially so since the Meal-Tub plot of 1679. Hugh Ormsby-Lennon even draws a connection between tub-preaching and the performances of mountebanks ("Classis? Under the Stage-Itinerant," *Swift, The Enigmatic Dean: Festschrift for Hermann Josef Real*, edited by Rudolf Freiburg, Arno Löffler, and Wolfgang Zach [Tübingen: Stauffenburg Verlag, 1998], 192-93).

13. Tom Brown, *Amusements Serious and Comical and other Works*, ed. Arthur L. Hayward (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1927), 61 (my emphasis). For further examples of 'tubsters,' see Dryden's "Prologue at Oxford, 1680," (*The Poems of John Dryden*, ed. James Kinsley, 4 vols. [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958], 1: 211); and *Lovers, Rakes, and Rogues: Amatory, Merry, and Bawdy Verse from 1580 to 1830*, ed. John Wardroper (London: Shelfmark Books, 1995), 230-33.

14. See Gordon Williams, *A Dictionary of Sexual Language and Imagery in Shakespearean and Stuart Literature*, 3 vols (London: The Athlone Press, 1994), vol. 3, s.v. tail, tub; E. A. M. Colman, *The Dramatic Use of Bawdy in Shakespeare* (London: Longman, 1974), s.v. tale; James T. Henke, *Courtesans and Cuckolds: A Glossary of Renaissance Dramatic Bawdy (Exclusive of Shakespeare)* (New York: Garland, 1979), s.v. Tale of a Tub; Eugene F. Shewmaker, *Shakespeare's Language: A Glossary of Unfamiliar Words in his Plays and Poems* (New York: Facts on File, 1996), s.v. tale.

15. See, in addition to Colman, *The Dramatic Use of Bawdy in Shakespeare*, s.v. tub, all the *Dictionaries* listed in n. 14 s.v. Tale of a Tub, tub, as well as Johannes Fabricius, *Syphilis in Shakespeare's England* (London and Bristol, Pennsylvania: Jessica Kingsley, 1994), 33-38, 139-42. One of the characteristic side-effects of the treatment with mercury was the increased flux of saliva (John Marten, *A Treatise of All the Degrees and Symptoms of the Venereal Disease, in Both Sexes* [1708] [New York: Garland, 1985], 318-20, and *passim*), to which Swift also refers in the Preface (*Prose Works*, 1: 25).

16. Samuel Butler, *Characters*, ed. Charles W. Daves (Cleveland: The Press of Case Western Reserve U., 1970), 255 and n.

17. Ned Ward, *The London Spy*, ed. Paul Hyland, 4th ed. (East Lansing: Colleagues Press, 1993), 99. Further examples occur in Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure* (III, ii, 50-51): "Troth, sir, she hath eaten up all her beef, and she is herself in the tub" (*Measure for Measure: Updated Edition*, ed. Brian Gibbons [Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 2006], 149 and n. 50-51); in *Timon of Athens* (IV, iii, 85-87): "Make use of thy salt hours; season the slaves for tubs and baths; bring down rose-cheeked youth to the tub-fast and the diet" (*Timon of Athens*, ed. Karl Klein [Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 2001], 140 and nn. 86-87); in *Henry V* (II, i, 59-62): "No, to the Spital go, and from the powdering tub of infamy fetch forth the lazar kite of Cressid's kind, Doll Tearsheet, she by name, and her espouse" (*Henry V: Updated Edition*, ed. Andrew Gurr [Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 2005], 103-4 and n. 60); in the Epilogue to Aphra Behn's *The Luckey Chance*: "'Tis Bulkers give, and Tubs must cure your Pain" (*The Works of Aphra Behn*, ed. Todd, 7: 283, ll. 30, 450); as well as in Shadwell's *The Humorists*: "Have I no given you de sweate, not in a damn'd English Tub or Hot-house ...?" (*The Complete Works of Thomas Shadwell*, ed. Montague Summers, 5 vols [London: Fortune Press, 1927], 1: 198, 304).

18. "The giddy speaker ... is ostensibly the madman and the object of satire" (John Traugott, "A Tale of a Tub," *The Character of Swift's Satire: A Revised Focus*, ed. Claude Rawson [Newark: U. of Delaware Press; London: Associated U. Presses, 1983], 83); "It is to the chaos and void of the hack-narrator's brain that the chaos and void of the *Tale* no doubt are to be imputed" (Marcus Walsh, "Telling Tales and Gathering Fragments: Swift's *Tale of a Tub*," *Reading Swift: Papers from the Fifth Münster Symposium on Jonathan Swift*, ed. Hermann J. Real [München: Wilhelm Fink, 2008], 153). Some critics even diagnosed the *Tale*'s narrative voice as schizophrenic, an ahistorical pathological category I would not like to use for a literary text (see, for example, Frank Palmeri, *Satire in Narrative: Petronius, Swift, Gibbon, Melville, and Pynchon* [Austin: U. of Texas Press, 1990], 56 and n.).

19. Herman J. Real, "A Taste of Composition Rare: The *Tale*'s Matter and Void," *Reading Swift: Papers from The Third Münster Symposium on Jonathan Swift*, eds Hermann J. Real and Helgard Stöver-Leidig (München: Wilhelm Fink, 1998), 86 and n. 81.

20. "Une des caractéristiques du 'mock-book' est d'insister sur le processus de fabrication du livre" (William Kinsley, "Le 'mock-book,'" *Études françaises*,

18, no 2 [1982], 54; see also 57-58).

21. See P. G. Hofijzer and O. S. Lankhorst, "Continental Imports to Britain, 1695-1740," *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, V: 1695-1830*, eds Michael F. Suarez and Michael L. Turner (Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 2009), 513. The Dutch often acted as intermediaries in the Anglo-Continental book trade, supplying the British with books from all over Europe. Many printers and publishers in Amsterdam, Leiden, and The Hague gained their living through piracy (5: 514, 516).

22. There are numerous references to this type of packing; see, among others, Sigfred Taubert, *Bibliopola: Pictures and Texts about the Book Trade*, trans. Roy Giles, 2 vols. (Hamburg: Dr Ernst Hauswedell, 1966), 2: 20-21, 70-71; *Geschichte des Deutschen Buchhandels bis ins siebzehnte Jahrhundert*, ed. Friedrich Kapp, 4 vols. (Leipzig: Verlag des Börsenvereins der deutschen Buchhändler, 1886), 1: 300-01, 344-45, 347-48; *Der deutsche Buchhandel in Urkunden und Quellen*, eds Hans Widmann *et al.*, 2 vols (Hamburg: Dr Ernst Hauswedell, 1965), 1: 46-47; Helmut Presser, *Papiermacher und Drucker in der Vergangenheit* (Mainz: Gutenberg Museum, 1971), 20-23; Leon Voet, *The Golden Compasses: A History and Evaluation of the Printing and Publishing Activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp*, 2 vols (Amsterdam: Vangendt, 1972), 2: 427-31; *Lexikon des gesamten Buchwesens*, eds. Severin Corsten, Günther Pflug, Friedrich Adolf Schmidt-Künsemüller, 2nd ed., 2 vols (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1989), 2: 556; Julian Roberts, "The Latin Trade," *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, IV: 1557-1695*, eds. John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 2002), 142-43, Hendrik Mäkeler, *Das Rechnungsbuch des Speyerer Druckherrn Peter Drach d. M. (um 1450-1504)* (St. Katharinen: Scripta Mercaturae, 2005), 106-8; Marion Janzin and Joachim Güntner, *Das Buch vom Buch: 5000 Jahre Buchgeschichte*, 3rd and revised ed. (Hannover: Schlütersche, 2007), 203.

23. The copperplate engraving reproduced on the cover is by Jan Luyken (1649-1712) for Christoff Weigel's *Abbildung der gemein-nützlichen Haupt-Stände* (Dortmund: Harenberg, 1977 [1698], p. 147). The inscription at the top ("Der Buchhändler . . . Platz") can be translated, "The Bookseller. If you are looking for the treasure of wisdom: make room for good books." The six lines below the illustration translate, "What is a man's body here (on earth)? | A wandering commodity at all times, | a piece of paper, printed over and over again, | a book bound in affliction | with which death and time negotiate | until unpacked by eternity."

24. See Presser, *Papiermacher und Drucker in der Vergangenheit*, 20. However, this did not protect them from being taken by street robbers thinking of a better bargain (see Presser, *Papiermacher und Drucker in der Vergangenheit*, 23, and Voet, *The Golden Compasses*, 2: 430-31).

25. See Voet, *The Golden Compasses*, 2: 429, and Roberts, "The Latin Trade," 143.

26. Voet, *The Golden Compasses*, 2: 430.

27. See Presser, *Papiermacher und Drucker in der Vergangenheit*, 23.

Koberger was not only a successful printer and bookseller with his own printing office and shop in Nuremberg in which more than a hundred people worked, he was also the first large scale manufacturer in the field of books, maintaining branches in Antwerp, Paris, Lyons, Vienna, Venice, Cracow, Buda, Lübeck, and Milan (see Janzin and Güntner, *Das Buch vom Buch*, 137-38). Several of his letters discuss the importance of using good barrels for the transport of books (see also *Geschichte des Deutschen Buchhandels bis ins siebzehnte Jahrhundert*, ed. Kapp, 1: 344-45, 347-48).

28. "I think it highly probable that Swift was employed to deliver the manuscripts to Temple's publishers, and not unlikely that he attended the press to read proof" (Michael Treadwell, "Swift's Relations with the London Book Trade to 1714," *Author / Publisher Relations during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, eds. Robin Myers and Michael Harris [Oxford: Oxford Polytechnic Press, 1983], 5).

29. In the sense of "an open wooden vessel," "tub" is "also loosely applied to a butt, barrel, or cask" (*OED* s.v.). For the synonymous use of "tub" and "barrel," see also one of the earliest replies to Swift's *Tale*, which has been attributed to William King (*Some Remarks upon the Tale of a Tub* [London: A. Baldwin, 1704], 4-7), and which was published in November 1704 (*The Term Catalogues, 1668-1709*, ed. Edward Arber, 3 vols [New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1965 {1903-6}], 3: 427; 3: 441).

30. Real, "A Taste of Composition Rare: The *Tale's* Matter and Void," 89 (my emphasis).

31. I would like to thank my colleagues from the Ehrenpreis Centre for Swift Studies, Ulrich Elkmann and Sandra Simon, M. A., for their kind assistance in my search for adequate graphic material.

Johnson and Gibbon: An Intertextual Influence?

by Anthony W. Lee

In 1914 James Joyce published his collection of short stories, *Dubliners*. One story would go on to be perhaps his most widely anthologized piece of writing, "Araby." When I try to teach this story to fidgety freshman and slumbering sophomores, few want to comprehend it, let alone enjoy it. One approach I use to try and awaken interest is to examine the story as replay of the Fall, as an initiation from innocence to experience—an aspect that most of them, innocent and relatively inexperienced, and weaned and bred in the Bible belt, can easily latch onto. In addition to the various elements of religious symbolism evoked by the story, I always point to the possible allusive relevance of the title—citing the lines from Milton's epic description of paradise,

As when to them who sail
Beyond the Cape of Hope, and now are past

Mozámbic, off at sea north-east winds blow
 Sabean odors from the spicy shore
 Of Arabie the Blest; with such delay
 Well pleased they slack their course, and many a league
 Cheered with the grateful smell old Ocean smiles.¹

Sadly, Milton's epic simile seems to do little to stem the flow of classroom lethargy. Most of my students don't know who Milton is, and seem rather unimpressed when I try to tell them about his greatness, let alone Joyce's.

Long before 1914, and much further back than my teaching career, others found Milton impressive, and were attracted to these very lines—perhaps as long ago as 1667, the year they were published. Dryden, who published his greatest narrative poem, *Annus Mirabilis*, some three months after *Paradise Lost* came out, concludes it with this stanza:

Thus to the Eastern wealth through storms we go;
 But now, the Cape once doubled, fear no more;
 A constant Trade-wind will securely blow,
 And gently lay us on the Spicy shore.²

We know that Dryden was keenly interested in Milton, and often used him as an authoritative source for allusions and as a poetic model.³ It should not be surprising, then, that Dryden might allude, at a climactic moment in his miniature epic, to Milton's simile, especially as it coalesces with tactical efficiency the image of a virgin, Edenic paradise to that of untapped "Eastern wealth," collapsing the resonance of a Biblical sanction with the prospects of endless imperialist appropriation.

Another writer of the long-eighteenth century who dreamed of imperial themes, Edward Gibbon, was also attracted to the passage. Near the beginning of chapter fifty of his *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, the chapter devoted to Arabia and the formation of Islam, Gibbon pauses as he begins to describe "the peculiar gifts of frankincense," and offers a poetic aside:

The aromatics, especially the *thus* or frankincense, of Arabia, occupy the xiith book of Pliny. Our great poet (*Paradise Lost*, l. iv.) introduces, in a simile, the spicy odours that are blown by the north-east wind from the Sabæan coast:
 —Many a league,
 Pleas'd with the grateful scent, old
 Ocean smiles. (Plin. Hist. Natur. xii. 42.)⁴

The interest registered by Gibbon's marginal reverie was preceded by that of Samuel Johnson. Johnson quotes the passage in both his 1755 first edition and his 1773 revised editions of the *Dictionary of the English Language*, under the entry for "spicy":

SPI'CY. adj. [from spice]

1. Producing spice; abounding with aromatics.

For them the Idumæan balm did sweat,
And in hot Ceilon *spicy* forests grew. *Dryden*.

2. Aromatick; having the qualities of spice.

Off at sea north-east winds blow
Sabæan odour, from the *spicy* shore
Of Araby the blest, with such delay
Well pleas'd they slack their course, and many a league,
Chear'd with the grateful smell, old ocean smiles. *Milton*.⁵

Furthermore, Johnson apparently alludes to the same passage in his *Rambler*. In his first Oriental tale, found in *Rambler* 38, Johnson situates two Indian shepherds Hamet and Raschid, who are offered a choice by the giant “Genius of distribution” between “sheaves of plenty” and “the sabre of destruction.” Predictably, within the allegorical tradition, one chooses wisely and the other not. However, of most interest to us here is the simile Johnson employs to characterize the giant’s voice: “The shepherds stood trembling, and would have retired before him; but he called to them with a voice gentle as the breeze that plays in the evening among the spices of Sabaea.”⁶ Sabaea is the ancient name for modern day Yemen, located on the southwest coast of the Arabian Peninsula. That Johnson uses an image from that Arabia—rather than the Ganges area of India, where his tale takes place—and the verbal resemblances between “a breeze ... among the spices of Sabaea” and Milton’s “northeast winds blow / Sabeian odors from the spicy shore” militate to suggest a misdirected geographical allusion, a solecism. It is perhaps noteworthy to remark how swiftly Milton arises to mind when both authors think of the exotic East: Milton’s paradisaical account frames their thinking about Orientalism.

If we shift our focus from Milton to Gibbon and Johnson directly, these textual propinquities should alert us to a possible intertextual relationship between two of the greatest prose stylists of the mid- to late-eighteenth century—and also, two minds which in temperament and religious orientation, could perhaps not be more different. The intertextual relationship between Johnson and Gibbon has not passed without notice.⁷ However, I don’t believe it has been given the full attention it deserves, and this present note seeks, at the very least, to begin identify the firmness of the intertextual connection uniting the two writers. We see another example, also between the *Rambler* and *Decline and Fall*, centering around an intertextual node found in Herodotus. In the first paragraph of *Rambler* 96, Johnson writes, “It is reported of the Persians, by an ancient writer, that the sum of their education consisted in teaching youth ‘to ride, to shoot with the bow, and to speak truth.’”⁸ This alludes to a passage from Herodotus’ *Histories*: “They educate their boys from five to twenty years old, and teach them three things only, riding and archery and truth-telling.”⁹ At the end of chapter eight of *Decline and Fall*, Gibbon offers this analogue:

But the nobles of Persia, in the bosom of luxury and despotism, preserved a strong sense of personal gallantry and national honour. From the age of seven years they were taught to speak truth, to shoot with the bow, and to ride; and it was universally confessed, that in the two last of these arts they had made a more than common proficiency. (*Decline and Fall*, 1: 229)

In a footnote to the paragraph containing this passage, Gibbon mentions Herodotus, but goes on to offer a list of other sources, including Xenophon, Herodian, Ammianus, and Chardin. Gibbon's imprecise notational method muddies the attributional waters. However, a passage in Xenophon's minor treatise, *Cynegeticus* ("On Hunting"), bears a passing resemblance to the Herodotus passage:

Therefore I charge the young not to despise hunting or any other schooling. For these are the means by which men become good in war and in all things out of which must come excellence in thought and word and deed.¹⁰

Despite this resemblance, the Herodotus source is clearly the best candidate for both the *Rambler* and *Decline and Fall* allusions. And it is also clear that, as in the Milton simile, both Johnson and Gibbon read the same books and admired the same passages. It is not immediately clear, however, whether Gibbon's choice to enlarge upon Persian education in his *Decline and Fall* was influenced by *Rambler* 96. Yet it is rather probable that Gibbon *did* run across the Herodotus passage in the course of reading the *Rambler*.

Edward Gibbon's personal library possessed several items by Johnson, including a 1755 edition of the *Dictionary of the English Language*, two sets of the *Idler*, *Rasselas*, the 1779-81 edition of the English Poets, the *Journey to the Western Islands*, some political tracts, and two editions of the *Rambler*.¹¹ The *Rambler* editions include one dated 1752 (probably Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 50.3R/4a) and another dated 1784 (probably the "10th ed.," Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 50.3R/16).¹² The presence of duplicate sets of the *Rambler* in Gibbon's library is suggestive. Gibbon probably acquired the first set shortly after it came out, as the periodical series, bound now in an accessible book format, grew increasingly popular. But why the later 1784 edition? This might have been a gift from a friend, but this seems a rather unlikely hypothesis, given the publicly acknowledged hostility between the two writers, a hostility especially fueled by antipathies regarding religion. The presence of the later edition suggests Gibbon's interest in the *Rambler*, as something that he found valuable on the first perusal and useful and worthy of the merit of repeated readings.

In 1959 Donald Greene published a note, "Gibbon Cites Johnson," on a borrowing from Johnson's *Rambler* by Gibbon. He points to Gibbon's 1770 *Observations on ... Sixth Book of the Aeneid*:

The heroic character of Aeneas has been understood and admired by every attentive reader. But to discover the LAWGIVER in Aeneas, and A SYSTEM OF POLITICS in the Aeneid, required the CRITICAL TELESCOPE of the great W———n [William Warburton]. The naked eye of common sense cannot reach so far.¹³

Greene observes that Gibbon footnotes *Rambler* No. 176; here is the passage Gibbon refers to:

Others are furnished by criticism with a telescope. They see with great clearness whatever is too remote to be discovered by the rest of mankind, but are totally blind to all that lies immediately before them. They discover in every passage some secret meaning, some remote allusion, some artful allegory, or some occult imitation which no other reader ever suspected; but they have no perception of the cogency of arguments, the force of pathetic sentiments, the various colors of diction, or the flowery embellishments of fancy; of all that engages the attention of others, they are totally insensible, while they pry into worlds of conjecture, and amuse themselves with phantoms in the clouds.¹⁴

Apart from Greene's discovery, my own reading of Johnson and Gibbon has turned up another textual resemblance that reiterates the suggestion that Gibbon enjoyed a close knowledge of the *Rambler*. In *Rambler* 175 Johnson expounds upon the "depravity of mankind." In the course of making his point, he employs a rhetorical *anaphora*, which culminates in another rhetorical trope, a *gradatio*, or ascending climax:

For what are treatises of morality, but persuasives to the practice of duties, for which no arguments would be necessary, but that we are continually tempted to violate or neglect them? What are all the records of history, but narratives of successive villainies, of treasons and usurpations, massacres and wars?¹⁵

Gibbon uses a different rhetorical trope, a congeries, but achieves a similar literary effect in his remark upon the peaceful reign of Titus Antoninus Pius: "His reign is marked by the rare advantage of furnishing very few materials for history; which is, indeed, little more than the register of the crimes, follies, and misfortunes of mankind" (*Decline and Fall*, 1: 102). The semantic resemblance is reinforced by the fact that, in both instances, the writer is providing a definition of "history"—and a couple of very dark ones at that. The resemblance shared by these two passages corroborates Martine W. Brownley's suggestion that Johnson and Gibbon shared a similar view toward history.¹⁶

A further and final textual similarity—this one to a different Johnson

book—merits note. Near midnight, on 27 June, 1787, Gibbon concluded his magnum opus with these words: “It was among the ruins of the Capitol that I first conceived the idea of a work which has amused and exercised near twenty years of my life, and which, however inadequate to my own wishes, I finally deliver to the curiosity and candour of the Public.” He is remembering a moment that he would recall again in his *Memoirs*: “It was at Rome on the fifteenth of October 1764, as I sat musing amidst the ruins of the Capitol while the barefooted fryars were singing Vespers in the temple of Jupiter, that the idea of writing the decline and fall of the City first started to my mind.”¹⁷ Three distinctly different versions of this account appear in the memoirs, and further, the most recent editor of *Decline and Fall* has noted that on the day of this purported event, “Gibbon’s companion, William Guise, wrote in his diary that the day was rainy, and mentioned no excursions to view monuments” (*Decline and Fall*, 1:xix, n. 41). After a few decades, Gibbon’s powers of recollection may be hazy. But it is also possible that he takes his cue from a similar moment in Johnson’s *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*:

I sat down on a bank, such as a writer of Romance might have delighted to feign. I had indeed no trees to whisper over my head, but a clear rivulet streamed at my feet. The day was calm, the air soft, and all was rudeness, silence, and solitude. Before me, and on either side, were high hills, which by hindering the eye from ranging, forced the mind to find entertainment for itself. Whether I spent the hour well, I know not; for here I first conceived the thought of this narration.¹⁸

As we have seen above, Gibbon owned a copy of Johnson’s *Journey*, and he doubtless read it, given the great (much of it adverse) publicity generated by its publication at the height of the Ossian controversy in 1775. If the scenes and subtexts are dramatically different—Johnson’s rude Gothic romance setting poises the civilized decadence Gibbon’s friars in the temple of Jupiter—the form is essentially the same. Both passages utilize versions of the “modesty formula” in order, with varying degrees of explicitness, to solicit the approbation of the reader; and both passages descend from the austere objectivity that marks the narrative posture typical of both books to offer a small, quiet moment of personal intimacy. As Gibbon constructed his climactic peroration, he had not only his Italian journal but quite possibly Johnson’s own quietly poignant declaration as a model and guide.

If my analysis and intuition are correct, it is possible that Gibbon may have held Johnson the writer in a fairly high estimation. Boswell’s *Life of Johnson* manifestly urges that Johnson did not personally like Gibbon, and that Gibbon reciprocated in this aversion. The following anecdote is typical and summoning:

The mention of the wolf had led Johnson to think of other wild beasts; and

while Sir Joshua Reynolds and Mr. Langton were carrying on a dialogue about something which engaged them earnestly, he, in the midst of it, broke out, "Pennant tells of Bears—" {what he added, I have forgotten.} They went on, which he being dull of hearing, did not perceive, or, if he did, was not willing to break off his talk; so he continued to vociferate his remarks, and *Bear* ("like a word in a catch," as Beauclerk said,) was repeatedly heard at intervals, which coming from him who, by those who did not know him, had been so often assimilated to that ferocious animal, while we who were sitting around could hardly stifle laughter, produced a very ludicrous effect. Silence having ensured, he proceeded: "We are told, that the black bear is innocent; but I should not like to trust myself with him." Mr. Gibbon muttered, in a low tone of voice, "I should not like to trust myself with *you*." This piece of sarcastick pleasantry was a prudent resolution, if applied to a competition of abilities.¹⁹

This passage sums up Boswell's bias as much as it does Gibbon's witty baiting of Johnson. Boswell didn't like Gibbon, and his view may subtly influence our perception of Johnson's attitude toward Gibbon.²⁰ The notion that Boswell's handling of Gibbon was personal and prejudiced is further reinforced by Sir Joshua Reynolds more temperate and objective construction of an imaginary debate between Johnson and Gibbon over the merit of David Garrick in "T'Other Side."²¹ This treatment demonstrates a picture of the two as intellectual equals, rather than a Gibbon cowering furtively in a dark corner, shielding himself from Johnson's luminous brilliance. And furthermore, there is a difference between a writer and his or her works—a distinction Johnson himself stoutly maintained.²² Hence, despite the apparent differences between Gibbon and Johnson as literary personalities, perhaps it is time that we considered their relationship in intertextual terms—an inquiry that might reveal a more sympathetic intellectual kinship than we have hitherto suspected.

This conclusion, and the preceding discussion, would likely only befuddle my undergraduate students, still struggling with the intricacies of Joyce; I can only hope I have had a bit more success with the more informed and discerning audience perusing these pages.

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Notes

1. *Paradise Lost*, 4: 159-65; in *Milton: Paradise Lost*, ed. Alastair Fowler, 2nd ed. (Harlow, U.K.: Pearson Longman, 1998), 225.

2. Ll. 1213-16; in *The Works of John Dryden*, ed. Edward Niles Hooker, *et al*, 20 vols. (Berkeley: U. of California Press, 1956-2000), 1:105. According to the California edition editors, *Annus Mirabilis*, was completed 10 November 1667 (1: 256); according to Milton biographer William Parker, "Paradise Lost was registered by Simmons on 20 August, ... and the book was on sale ... soon

after” (*Milton: A Biography*, 2 vols., 2nd ed., revised by Gordon Campbell [Oxford: Clarendon, 2004]: 1 602).

3. For a brief précis of the Milton-Dryden relationship, see my essay, “Through the spectacles of books’: Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden and a Johnsonian Intertextual Topos,” (forthcoming, *The Age of Johnson* 21 [2011]).

4. *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. David Womersley, 3 vols. (New York: Penguin, 1995): 3: 153. Cited hereafter as “*Decline and Fall*.”

5. “Spicy” s.v. Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language* (London, 1755; facsimile reprint, Essex, UK: Longman, 1990); and *A Dictionary of the English Language*. 4th ed. (London, 1773; facsimile reprint, Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1978).

6. See Donald Greene, “Gibbon Cites Johnson,” *Notes and Queries* [N&Q] (March 1951): 148 (this note will be discussed later; cited hereafter as “Greene.”); Robert C. Olson, “A Johnsonian Echo in Gibbon,” *N&Q* (February 1975): 59 (This discusses an intertextual crux in chapter 47 of the *Decline and Fall* and the “Life of Cowley”); and Martine Watson Brownley, “Gibbon, Johnson, and the Use of History,” *N&Q* (February 1980): 56 (cited hereafter as “Brownley.”). For a related discussion, see Anthony W. Lee, “An Intertextual Node: Johnson’s ‘Life of Dryden,’ *Rambler* 31, and *A Letter from a Gentleman to the Honourable Ed. Howard Esq.*” in *The Age of Johnson* 19 (2009): 21-28.

7. *The Yale Edition of the Works of Samuel Johnson*, gen. ed. Robert DeMaria, Jr. 18 vols. to date (New Haven: Yale U. Press, 1958-), 3: 209. Cited hereafter as “*Yale Edition*.”

8. *Yale Edition*, 4: 148.

9. 1: 136; in *Herodotus, The Loeb Classical Library*, trans. A. D. Godley, 4 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard U. Press, 1981, 1: 177.

10. 1: 18; in *Xenophon, The Loeb Classical Library*, trans. Edgar Cardew Marchant, Otis Johnson Todd, and Glen Warren Bowersock (Cambridge: Harvard U. Press, 1925), 373. My thanks to Barry Baldwin for tracking this reference down.

11. *The Library of Edward Gibbon*, St. Paul’s Bibliographies, No. 2, ed. Geoffrey Keynes, 2nd ed. (Dorchester: Dorset Press, 1980), 161-62.

12. The parenthetical Fleeman references are to David Fleeman, *A Bibliography of the Works of Samuel Johnson*, prepared for press by James McLaverty, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 1: 204-06, and 1: 228-30.

13. London, 1814, 4: 479; Greene, 148.

14. *Yale Edition*, 5: 167.

15. *Yale Edition*, 5: 160. Johnson writes similarly of this topic in his *Journey to the Western Islands*: “What is recollection but a revisal of vexations, or history but a record of wars, treasons, and calamities?” (*A Journey to the Western Isles of Scotland*, ed. J. D. Fleeman [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985], 90); see also *Adventurer* 120, where he writes: “When we take the most distant prospect of life, what does it present us but a chaos of

unhappiness, a confused and tumultuous scene of labour and contest, disappointment and defeat?" (*Yale Edition*, 2: 466).

16. Brownley, 56.

17. *Decline and Fall*, 3: 1085; Edward Gibbon, *Memoirs of My Life*, ed. G.A. Bonnard, (London: Nelson, 1966), 136, n. 7. Gibbon describes the circumstances attending his writing of the conclusion of *Decline and Fall* in *Memoirs*, 180.

18. *A Journey to the Western Isles of Scotland*, ed. J. D. Fleeman (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 31.

19. *Boswell's Life of Samuel Johnson*, ed. G. B. Hill; rev. L. F. Powell, 2nd ed. 6 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1934-64), 2: 347-48.

20. One reason for Boswell's dislike may be psychological. He, like Gibbon, defied his father and converted to Catholicism. Boswell may have felt uneasily close to Gibbon's eventual movement to religious skepticism.

21. *Portraits by Sir Joshua Reynolds. The Yale Editions of the Private Papers of James Boswell*, ed. Frederick H. Hilles (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1952), 108-19.

22. See, for example, Johnson's memorable remark in *Rambler* 14:

A transition from an author's books to his conversation, is too often like an entrance into a large city, after a distant prospect. Remotely, we see nothing but spires of temples, and turrets of palaces, and imagine it the residence of splendor, grandeur, and magnificence; but, when we have passed the gates, we find it perplexed with narrow passages, disgraced with despicable cottages, embarrassed with obstructions, and clouded with smoke. (*Yale Edition*, 3: 79-80).

Eighteenth-Century Book Tracker, the ESTC, and Google Books: Some Updates and an Announcement

by Benjamin Pauley

At the 2009 meeting of EC-ASECS in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, I offered a brief introduction to Eighteenth-Century Book Tracker (<http://nutmeg.easternct.edu/~pauleyb/c18booktracker>), a web-based resource I have been developing to index links to freely-available digital facsimiles of eighteenth-century primary texts. I wanted to provide readers of the *Intelligencer* with a brief introduction to the site for those who don't know about it, an update on recent developments for those who do, and a sketch of some future directions that I hope will be of interest to all.

Eighteenth-Century Book Tracker provides a system for users to register links to scanned volumes that they have found at sites like Google Books and the Internet Archive, and to provide better bibliographical identifications of those texts than are typically to be found at those sites. On the one hand, the

site aims to allow students and scholars of the eighteenth century to work together to build up an archive of links to freely-available digital facsimiles. Those of us working at institutions without access to resources like EEBO, ECCO, and the Burney Collection can actually find a rich trove of material for our research and teaching online at no cost, but those materials can be scattered and difficult to find. (Even a casual user of Google Books has likely experienced how difficult it can be to find, say, that elusive fourth volume of a six-volume work, or to find again today what you know for a fact you saw last week.) By pooling and preserving what would otherwise be fugitive, serendipitous discoveries, the site offers to build a more durable, curated guide to what's available online.

At the same time, the site works to bring a measure of bibliographical order to the sometimes haphazard-seeming world of mass book digitization. It's not hard to come up with cases where the bibliographical information Google provides, for example, isn't enough to identify a text with the kind of precision a scholar needs—yes, it's *The Dunciad*, but which *Dunciad* is it? To use Google Books or the Internet Archive effectively requires scholars of all stripes—literary critics, historians, philosophers, what have you—to become textual critics, as well, scrutinizing the results of their searches to determine just what it is they have found. Eighteenth-Century Book Tracker aims to preserve the identifications that users of those sites have made (and perhaps sweated over) in order to make those promising resources more fit for serious scholarly use. I've described the site, variously, as a “bibliographical reclamation project” and an exercise in “defensive bibliography” because it seeks to recover and restore our sense of the identities of the books that provided the basis for the scans available online. The site works to re-connect digital page images to the bibliographical information we already had about the books for which those page images are surrogates in an effort to ensure that digitization doesn't end up meaning a step backward, a loss of knowledge that librarians and scholars have worked hard to establish.

The result is an orderly database that allows users to discover links to the works they're interested in, and to know what they'll be seeing when they visit Google Books or the Internet Archive. The site's bibliographical records include the kinds of information that scholars expect—full titles, full imprints, edition statements, and references to standard bibliographical authorities, such as ESTC numbers. These bibliographical records display links to individual volumes at Google Books and the Internet Archive, which have been identified by their holding library and shelfmark, so it's possible to know not simply which edition you are viewing, but which copy (a typical entry is pictured in the following screenshot). By the time you read this, the site will have indexed links to over 1,000 eighteenth-century editions and more than a dozen periodicals (including complete runs of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, the *Critical Review*, and the *Monthly Review*). When compared to the combined reach of ECCO and ECCO II, that seems like a very small number, I recognize; but it's one that is poised to grow markedly, as I'll discuss below.

Though a technical discussion of the site's structure and workings would probably be of little interest to most readers, I would point out one tool associated with the site that those who use Google Books or the Internet Archive might find helpful. In the Spring of 2010 (after my presentation at EC-ASECS), I made available the Eighteenth-Century Book Tracker bookmarklet—a small, purpose-built bit of JavaScript that allows users to integrate Eighteenth-Century Book Tracker into their day-to-day browsing at Google Books and the Internet Archive.

In brief, the bookmarklet pulls identifying information from records at those sites and queries the database at Eighteenth-Century Book Tracker to see if a volume has already been submitted and identified. When a link is already in the database, the bookmarklet returns the identification with a link to the bibliographical record at Eighteenth-Century Book Tracker. The bookmarklet thus provides a kind of “reverse look-up” feature for Google Books and the Internet Archive: a user can easily learn just what they’re seeing at those sites and be directed to related volumes. When a link is not yet in the site’s database, the bookmarklet greatly simplifies the process of submitting it by drawing in the bibliographical information that Google Books or the Internet Archive provides for the volume (such as it is) and using it to pre-populate a link submission form. Thus the bookmarklet makes it much easier for users to get involved in building the site’s collection of links.

I will refer readers interested in more detailed discussion of the site as it now stands to the site itself (especially the “About This Site” and “Frequently Asked Questions” pages), and to two postings at the Early Modern Online Bibliography blog moderated by Eleanor Shevlin and Anna Battigelli: an introduction to the site (available at <http://bit.ly/9avXhE>) and a description of recent changes, including a discussion of the Eighteenth-Century Book Tracker bookmarklet (available at <http://bit.ly/9Wsnk9>; both URLs are shortened for the sake of convenience). In what remains, I’d like to offer a glance ahead at some new developments on the horizon.

In July of 2010, Brian Geiger (director of the English Short Title Catalogue) and I received word that our proposal for Google’s first round of Digital Humanities awards had been successful. Our project, “Early Modern Books Metadata in Google Books” proposes to match bibliographical data provided by Google against the ESTC’s records using a combination of automated computerized matching (the system that the ESTC has used for several years now to identify works in libraries’ electronic catalogues) and crowdsourcing using Eighteenth-Century Book Tracker, or a similar successor site. When completed, this project will allow for the incorporation of links to volumes at Google Books directly into the ESTC, and will return better bibliographical metadata to Google, bringing a new level of accuracy to a resource used by millions of people every day. The project is still in its planning stages, and there are many details to be worked out, but it promises a number of benefits.

Foremost, of course, will be the creation of at least the beginnings of a comprehensive census of the early modern and eighteenth-century texts scanned by Google. It’s not yet entirely clear just how large this corpus is, but our early discussions suggest that, at a conservative estimate, Google has scanned enough pre-1801 texts to represent a collection at least half the size of the William Andrews Clark Library’s holdings (and half a Clark, we might say, is better than none). Of course, Google intends to continue its scanning activities, so the size of the collection will only continue to grow in the future. This project, then, takes on the same kind of work that I had begun with

Eighteenth-Century Book Tracker, but will do so on a scale and at a speed that are both far greater than anything I have been able to achieve so far, working essentially on my own. That said, my experience of identifying books one at a time for the past two years may provide an inkling of what we are likely to see emerge from this project: it will surely add thousands and thousands of holdings records to the ESTC (as Google has partnered with a number of libraries whose holdings are not yet indexed in the ESTC); it will identify a number of works not available through existing collections like EEBO and ECCO; and it will turn up several editions not yet recorded by the ESTC at all. Identifying the texts that Google has scanned will thus create new opportunities for students and scholars who do not have access to expensive research databases, but it will yield benefits for those who do have ECCO, as well, and it will also facilitate genuinely new discoveries and refinements of the bibliographical record.

While we are excited about the prospects of bringing the ESTC's long experience and expertise in electronic cataloguing to bear on Google's corpus, it is important to recognize that computerized matching is not infallible. Many records will simply not produce matches, or will produce too many potential matches to yield a confident identification; on the other hand, some records will be matched incorrectly due to errors in metadata. Because of its sheer size, the Google corpus will likely produce many "orphans" (texts that can't be identified with confidence), and there will, inevitably, be errors, as well. In the interests of grappling with such problems, this project provides the occasion for beginning a process that some have been calling for for some time—developing a mechanism for user comments on and curation of records in the ESTC. While it is far too early to predict the final form of such a system, we expect to use Eighteenth-Century Book Tracker (or a site modeled on it) as a portal for interested users to identify texts at Google Books that the ESTC's automated routines could not match, as well as to correct errors that may have made it through those routines. This process will form a kind of experiment in crowdsourcing: as it gathers information to refine and correct the identifications of items at Google Books, it will also provide lessons in how a rich resource like the ESTC can become more dynamic and open to user interaction.

In the coming months, Brian and I will be sharing new developments as they happen. We will participate in a roundtable on "Scholarship and Digital Humanities: Authoritative Sources" at ASECS in Vancouver, and hope to participate on a panel at SHARP, as well. We will also be providing updates to the Early Modern Online Bibliography blog (<http://earlymodernonlinebib.wordpress.com>), and, if you're so inclined, you can follow the site on Facebook (search for "Eighteenth-Century Book Tracker") and on Twitter (@C18BookTracker). We hope that the project will be of interest to readers of the *Intelligencer* not just for their research, but for their teaching, as well: helping to sort out the Google Books corpus could, we believe, be an excellent exercise for students in courses in a variety of disciplines, and a compelling

introduction to questions of bibliography and book history for graduate students and undergraduates alike. Please keep an eye on the EMOB blog and on email lists (like C18-L and SHARP-L) for more information in coming months on how you and your students could become involved in this new data curation project.

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Helen Maria Williams (1759-1827)

by Deborah Kennedy

New biographical information has come to light about the British writer Helen Maria Williams, famous for her poetry and her books on the French Revolution and Napoleonic era. Williams was born in 1759, not 1761, as was previously thought. I have made the correction to my *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* article, but I also wanted to write this brief explanation. Thanks to information provided by Andrew Ashfield, I was able to confirm that Williams's birth date was 17 June 1759, as noted in the parish records for St. James's Church in London, and summarized on the International Genealogical Index (I. G. I.), the family history website of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, an invaluable source for biographers.

Prior to this new discovery, no birth records had been found for Helen Maria Williams, despite searches by amateur and professional genealogists, conducted when I was working on my book *Helen Maria Williams and the Age of Revolution* (Bucknell University Press, 2002). Earlier scholars had assigned her dates of 1761, 1762, 1769, and even, as fate would have it, an unsubstantiated 1759 in a few European sources. In order to work out Williams's birth date, I at that time used information I had collected from her parents' marriage record, her father's will and burial record, and the death notice written by her nephews, Charles and Athanase Coquerel, the children of her sister Cecilia and her husband Athanase Coquerel. The death notice stated that when she died on 15 December 1827, she was sixty-six years old. That would make her born in 1761. The date of her birth had been given as 17 June in her French naturalization records, where the year of birth was listed as 1769.

With this confusion, it was reasonable to follow the record left by her nephews and give her birth date as likely 1761, as Lionel Woodward had also done in his book *Une Anglaise Amie de la Révolution française: Hélène-Maria Williams et ses Amis* (1930). However, it turns out that date was incorrect.

The St. James parish records list Helen Maria Williams as the daughter of Charles Williams and Helen Williams, born on 17 June 1759. Records for the next year also provide the birth date for Williams's sister Cecilia, who was born 29 September 1760. The discovery that the two sisters were baptized there is significant, since their parents had been married in nearby St. Martin-

in-the-Fields. The St. James parish already boasts one famous English writer (and artist) William Blake. Today The Blake Society makes its home at St. James's, and now Helen Maria Williams adds another literary connection to the church.

While one is happy to obtain new and accurate information about an author, I am disappointed that I did not uncover it earlier. After all, there are few vital statistics more important than the date of birth. I also have mixed feelings about having to add to Williams's age. She was thirty-one when she published her first book of *Letters from France* (1790), not twenty-nine, and it seems somehow unchivalrous to make her older. But, of course, the age of chivalry is gone. Perhaps Williams never meant for her age to be such a mystery and would be glad to have the record set straight. Now she shares her birth year with Robert Burns, Laetitia Matilda Hawkins, William Pitt, William Wilberforce, and her friend Mary Wollstonecraft. So, a belated Happy Birthday to Helen Maria Williams. The year 1759 was a good one too.

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Dan Edelstein. *The Enlightenment: A Genealogy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, [Dec.] 2010. Pp. 184. ISBN: 0226194498. Paperback, \$20.

The word "Modern" started out as *modernus*—devised about fourteen centuries ago by combining *modus* and *hodiernus* to make a Latin neologism meaning the "style of today." From the resulting, ever-receding horizon of todays that hopelessly conflate the present and the past, Dan Edelstein, who teaches at Stanford, has figured out how to detach our admired Enlightenment and re-ensconce it firmly as the intellectual fashion of a single century, the eighteenth, with no need at all for the puzzle-word "modern."

Thus, his book stands out among hundreds of books and articles with the word Enlightenment in their titles, not only as a critical account of the history of ideas in the Enlightenment, as a brief account of the history of ideas *about* the Enlightenment, and indeed an introduction to the history of ideas in general, but more importantly as an introduction that is epistemologically convincing and historically useful.

Edelstein has done this, not by excluding all those supposedly new and seductive ideas about science, religion, gender, economics, literature and politics (though he has compressed these so much that his *précis* is only 52 pages longer than Dorinda Outram's *The Enlightenment* (1995) at 132 pp. but instead by concentrating on the term itself—"Enlightenment." What, he asks, did "Enlightenment" refer to at the moment when people first began using it as a general reference term; and what did those contemporaries *think* it meant. Again, this is not what "Enlightenment" might mean as a single philosophical metaphysic, or by contrast as an eclectic stew of ideas, some of whose flavors we can claim are still fresh, but instead what it first denoted, which is, in

Edelstein's view, a narrative, a story line—the story, in fact, that the first partisans of Enlightenment told themselves and the world as they looked over their shoulders and tried to establish the distant horizon of the movement's own sunrise.

Edelstein is convinced that “Enlightenment” did not mean a resumed pagan classicism, as Peter Gay tried to show (1966-69), or a replacement faith, as Carl Becker suggested (1932), or a ruined faith, as Paul Hazard once lamented in *La Crise de conscience européenne* (1935), and Preserved Smith (1934), Frank Manuel (1959) and Alan Charles Kors (1990) have cheered.¹ He is also fairly sure that the “Enlightenment” was not a liberal (or *a fortiori* a democratic socialist) movement, as Kingsley Martin assumed (1929), and that it was not fundamentally “radical” as Margaret Jacob (1981) and Jonathan Israel (2001-06) have voluminously proposed.² Edelstein hardly mentions Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer's reading of the Enlightenment as proto-fascist (1947, 1972)³ and Michel Foucault's reading of it as proto-anarchist in “Qu'est-ce que les Lumières?” (1984), and he assumes that all attempts to demonstrate that the Enlightenment had any single philosophically consistent reading will succeed no better than Ernst Cassirer's did in *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment* (1932).

Edelstein is respectful of all the recent work on early modern modes of communication, and what we often call Enlightenment “sociability,” from the likes of Jürgen Habermas (1962), Robert Darnton (1982ff), Dena Goodman (1994), Anne Goldgar (1995), Antoine Lilti (2005) and Anthony Grafton (to which he should certainly have added Roger Chartier).⁴ For Edelstein, however, this cannot be quite as fundamental as the public creation (cobbling together?) of the common story of rising “*lumières*” (Enlightenment) and “*esprit philosophique*” (philosophical spirit).

While leaving out Owen Aldridge's and Henry F. May's Americanization of the Enlightenment's history, Edelstein welcomes Franco Venturi's full Europeanization (1969-79).⁵ However he is somewhat dismissive of Roy Porter's Euro-forward attempt to get England equal credit with France for the Enlightenment's origins (*The Creation of the Modern World: The Untold Story of the British Enlightenment*, 2000). As far as Edelstein is concerned, the Enlightenment back-story was essentially concocted in France, because of the Quarrel of Ancients and Moderns, a debate which, although it broke out in both England and France, was first debated in a royal academy and first formulated as a historical narrative only in France.

More surprisingly, given his preference for the Enlightenment's opinions of itself, Edelstein does not think the meaning of “Enlightenment” what Moses Mendelsohn (“education is composed of culture and enlightenment”) or even Immanuel Kant (“*sapere aude!*”) wrote when they were asked “What Is Enlightenment?” in 1784. Edelstein is even wary of basing the meaning of “Enlightenment” on what the *Encyclopédie* thought it was in the 1760s, although it does help his case that the computerized database made out of that great “engine of Enlightenment” by ARTFL has shown it to be far more

respectful of the past than we once thought.

So Edelstein consigns all this formidable and fascinating 20th-century erudition to the realm of third-order observations, and begins his book instead with the “second-order observations” of the abbé Jean-Baptiste Dubos or Du Bos (1670-1742), member and later permanent secretary of the Académie Française, whose 1719 book, *Réflexions critiques sur la poésie et la peinture* (Critical Reflections on Poetry and Painting), Edelstein embraces with delighted enthusiasm, quoting no less a fan than Voltaire, who wrote in his historical-critical compendium of comparatives and superlatives titled *The Century of Louis XIV* (1751), that Dubos’s *Réflexions* was “the most useful book ever written on such subjects in any European nation.”

In the *Réflexions*, Edelstein finds not only an important early salvo in the Académie-sponsored *Querelle des anciens et des modernes*, but also several discrete and relatively novel ideas, including the singling out of Bacon and Descartes as originators of something called the “*esprit philosophique*,” and more importantly the identification of “*esprit philosophique*” with “superiority of reason,” and the observation that it had spread (*répandu*) throughout “our century” since it had been “born sixty years ago” (“eighty years” in Dubos’s second edition of 1733). The dating suggests a year between 1653 and 1659, or less precisely the decade of the 1650s that ended ten years before Dubos was born. (I would have been drawn to the years between 1648, when the Thirty Years War ended and young King Louis XIV survived the Fronde revolt, and 1661 when King Louis’ rule became absolute, or 1660 when Charles II was restored to the throne of Britain and founded the Royal Society.)

Edelstein sees no need to specify a year. “What the above citations clearly show,” he writes, “is that the key French contribution to the genealogy of the Enlightenment was not epistemological but rather narratological: it simply happened that it was in France that the ramifications of [what we now call] the Scientific Revolution were interpreted as having introduced a philosophical age, defined by a particular *esprit*, and as having a particular impact on society” (28).

The book takes off smoothly from there, and is supported by a wide range of solid instances and quotations as the Enlightenment’s story line is filled in. Dubos points out that Copernican astronomy, like Cartesian philosophy and Harvey’s circulation of the blood, only began to be taught in the universities toward the end of the 17th century. Diderot and D’Alembert are quoted asserting that the spread of Enlightenment was a dissemination of the truth as common sense, not as a new invention (88). “[T]o put it somewhat paradoxically,” writes Edelstein, “for there to be an Enlightenment certain people already had to be enlightened [...] This apparent paradox vanishes, however, if one accepts the thesis [...] that the foundational act of the Enlightenment was narratological and not epistemological” (88).

The *Encyclopédie*, larded with the writing of lesser lights than Newton, Locke and Montesquieu, which nevertheless quoted them without attribution in

order to undermine medieval received ideas and validate the narrative of the rise of the *esprit philosophique*, is for Edelstein the keystone of the Enlightenment (97). The “success” of the Enlightenment in turn depended, he writes, not on its intellectual consistency or its attractiveness to radicals and rebels but on “the close alliance between academicians, scholars, professors and philosophers, on the one hand, and members of the high aristocracy and government, on the other” (90) who all agreed that the rise of the *esprit philosophique* had been a good thing—and that the story of its rise, beginning in the reign of Louis XIV, was true.

The enlightened were intellectually dominant but never as confident as an intellectual majority. I can confirm from my own research the classically aristocratic view Edelstein finds among the “*philosophes*” that atheism and even deism are not to be discussed among ordinary folk lest they lose their principal inhibition against stealing from the upper classes (97). The same restriction did not, however, apply to religious toleration (95). In politics, one might discuss the rule of law, but not government by consent of the governed which was, after all, a medieval idea (97).

Most of the *philosophes* preferred absolute monarchy to government by consent. To help remind the reader that the French Revolution was not predicted or at first even welcomed by the surviving *philosophes*, Edelstein profiles the royal astronomer Jean-Sylvain Bailly, enlightened scientist, academician and humanitarian, who reluctantly accepted election as deputy of the Third Estate, then as first President of the National Assembly and finally as mayor of Paris, in which capacity he ordered the National Guard to fire on a crowd of petitioning citizens in 1791, and ended by being executed as an enemy of the people by the democratic Republic two years later (100-01).

It is the story that stands, the story of the “Enlightenment” as it was told where its protagonist was first named “Regency France.” It works well, though I miss the alternate use of “Enlightenment,” well known to today’s English-speaking Buddhists, as a term for religious revelation or encounters with the divine. We “Moderns” persist in overlooking the tens of thousands of Westerners in the eighteenth century who were “enlightened” by “grace” as the authors of the King James Bible claimed to have been in 1611, and as the Moravians, the Methodists, the New Lights, the Hassidim, the Sufi Muslims and the Jansenist convulsionaries claimed to have been in the eighteenth century. The question of how these two contemporary groups of the “enlightened” are related remains open.

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Notes

1. Preserved Smith, *History of Modern Culture*, vol. 2: *The Enlightenment*, 1934; F. Manuel, *The Eighteenth Century Confronts the Gods*

(Cambridge: Harvard U. Press; Atheneum, 1959); A. C. Kors, *Atheism in France, 1650-1729* (Princeton: Princeton U. Press, 1990).

2. Martin, *French Liberal Thought in the Eighteenth Century* (1929; rpt. New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1963); Jacob, *The Radical Enlightenment: Pantheists, Freemasons and Republicans* (London: George Allen, 1981); Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity, 1650-1750* (Oxford: OUP, 2001); Israel, *Enlightenment Contested: Philosophy, Modernity, and the Emancipation of Man, 1670-1752* (Oxford: OUP, 2006).

3. Adorno and Horkheimer, *Dialektik der Aufklärung*, Amsterdam, 1947; trans. as *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (New York: Continuum, 1972).

4. Habermas, *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit*, Darmstadt, 1962; trans. by T. Burger as *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Enquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989); Darnton, *The Literary Underground of the Old Regime* (Cambridge: Harvard U. Press, 1982); Goodman, *The Republic of Letters: A Cultural History of the French Enlightenment* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell U. Press, 1994); Goldgar, *Impolite Learning: Conduct and Community in the Republic of Letters, 1680-1750*, (New Haven: Yale U. Press, 1995); Darnton, *The Forbidden Best-Sellers of Pre-Revolutionary France* (NY: Norton, 1996); Lilti, *Le monde des salons: Sociabilité et mondanité à Paris au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 2005); Anthony Grafton and Ann Blair, eds., *The Transmission of Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Philadelphia: U. of Pennsylvania Press, 1999); Chartier, *Lectures et lecteurs dans la France d'ancien régime* (Paris: Seuil, 1987). All, and especially Darnton and Grafton, have published many times on the subject.

5. Aldridge, ed., *The Ibero-American Enlightenment* (Urbana: U. of Illinois Press, 1971); May, *The Enlightenment in America* (New York: Oxford U. Press, 1976); Venturi, *Settecento riformatore*, vol. III: *La prima crisi dell' Antico Regime* (Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1979), trans. by R. Burr Litchfield, *The End of the Old Regime in Europe 1768-1776: The First Crisis* (Princeton: Princeton U. Press, 1989).

Sir John Hawkins. *The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL. D.* Edited by O. M. Brack, Jr. Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 2009. Pp. xxvi + 554; notes; bibliographic references; 16 b/w illustrations; index. ISBN: 9780820329956. Hardcover: \$59.95

This definitive edition of the first full-length biography of Samuel Johnson should be in every library, available to anyone seeking information about this significant writer who has been deemed an “icon of modern culture” (John Wiltshire).

Most who first encounter Hawkins’ *Life* now—certainly most readers of this review—will already be somewhat familiar with Hester Thrale Piozzi’s

Anecdotes of Samuel Johnson, James Boswell's *Life of Samuel Johnson*, and some of the many *Lives* of Johnson written in the last fifty years. Few will open this edition without having already poked into some of these others. But when first published in March 1787—a year and a half after Boswell's *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides* and a year after Piozzi's *Anecdotes*—Hawkins' *Life of Samuel Johnson* was the first extended biography of the scholar, moralist and critic who had died in December 1784. For its initial readers Hawkins was charting much new terrain, providing fresh information concerning all phases of Johnson's long career.

Hawkins had met Johnson soon after the aspiring author came to London in 1737, and from his own experience could describe Johnson's early work for the *Gentleman's Magazine*, including his composing the Parliamentary Debates “at those seasons when he was able to raise his imagination to such a pitch of fervour as bordered upon enthusiasm.” A member of the Ivy Lane Club, which Johnson formed in 1749 “to soothe his mind and palliate the fatigue of his labours,” Hawkins is the only biographer who could report first-hand how Johnson came to the weekly meetings “with a disposition to please and be pleased,” with “both a corporal and mental appetite,” and how he soon was “transformed into a new creature: his habitual melancholy and lassitude of spirit gave way; his countenance brightened; his mind was made to expand, and his wit to sparkle: he told excellent stories; and in his didactic stile of conversation, both instructed and delighted us.” In particular Hawkins tells how Johnson coaxed him in 1751 to join the others in celebrating “the birth of Mrs. [Charlotte] Lenox's first literary child,” as he called *The Life of Harriet Stuart*. Then after describing the elegant supper Johnson arranged, including “a magnificent hot apple-pye . . . stuck with bay-leaves,” Hawkins reports that at five in the morning, when “far the greater part of us . . . were with difficulty rallied to partake of a second refreshment of coffee,” Johnson's face “shone with meridian splendour, though his drink had been only lemonade.”

Hawkins describes many other specific episodes over the next thirty years, including the melancholy reunion late in 1783 of the four surviving members of the Ivy Lane Club. He reports how early in 1784, with “the prospect of death before him,” Johnson surprised him by confessing that he regarded himself as “the greatest sinner he knows of,” and “dreaded to meet his Saviour”: “Shall I, who have been a teacher of others, myself be a castaway?” Hawkins also describes attending Johnson during his final weeks, including their receiving communion together eight days before the end, when Johnson, “with a degree of fervour that I had never been witness to before, uttered the . . . most eloquent and energetic prayer”—a prayer Hawkins then quotes in full, keeping the suggestive words George Strahan had omitted from the *Prayers and Meditations* and Boswell also would exclude: “forgive and accept my late conversion.”

I hope I have quoted enough to entice those unfamiliar with Hawkins' *Life* to look into a book that has too long been neglected. Early reviews criticized Hawkins for frequent digressions and ponderous, clumsy writing,

including awkward legal diction like “in the doing thereof” and “hereinbefore inserted.” More important, Boswell in 1791 established his authority by repeatedly noting Sir John’s inaccuracies, and misleadingly claimed that throughout Hawkins’ book there is “a dark, uncharitable cast, by which the most unfavourable construction is put upon almost every circumstance in the character and conduct of my illustrious friend.” These criticisms held. When Johnson’s *Works* were reprinted in 1792, Arthur Murphy’s relatively short *Essay on the Life and Genius of Samuel Johnson* replaced Hawkins’ *Life* at the start; and Boswell’s massive *Life*, with so many personal letters and vividly rendered public and private conversations and its engaging image of Johnson, was the one reprinted, richly annotated and carefully studied, even before the discovery of Boswell’s journals and other papers.

Boswell’s *Life* deserves the attention it has received and will continue to receive. But Hawkins’ *Life of Johnson*, despite its deficiencies, also merits study, since it provides information not available in other biographies, including substantial paragraphs about key figures like Edward Cave and Anna Williams, Robert Levett and Dr. Thomas Lawrence, gives a grounded account of Johnson that complements those by Piozzi, Boswell and others who knew him well, and brings to life another of Johnson’s many significant friendships. Bertram H. Davis started to generate interest in Hawkins fifty years ago: first publishing a study of his *Life (Johnson before Boswell)* [Yale, 1960], then a lightly annotated abridgment of his *Life of Johnson* (Macmillan, 1961), and finally a biography of Hawkins (*A Proof of Eminence* [Indiana, 1973]). Now thanks to O. M. Brack and the University of Georgia Press, this handsomely printed edition makes it easy for readers to explore Hawkins’ neglected text.

Readers who assume Hawkins’ writing is always stiff and awkward will often be surprised by crisp, even elegant sentences—like this one concerning Johnson’s young friend Topham Beauclerk: “In painting and sculpture his taste and judgment were accurate; in classic literature, exquisite; and in the knowledge of history, and the study of antiquities, he had few equals.” But most readers will be tempted to move quickly past many of the long digressions. Hawkins needed an editor to insist that he compress or omit material that was not essential to understanding Johnson and the world he inhabited. A good example of excess comes between Hawkins’ telling why Johnson formed the Ivy Lane Club and his describing—seventeen pages later—Johnson’s behavior at the weekly meetings. Hawkins sensibly begins describing those no longer alive from this group of men Johnson chose to join once a week. But after briefly telling about Dr. Samuel Salter and Dr. John Hawkesworth, Hawkins writes six pages about Samuel Dyer, a man Hawkins “once loved with the affection of a brother.” Then after adding a paragraph each about William M’Ghie and Edmund Barker, and two about Richard Bathurst— all physicians who failed to succeed in London – Hawkins quotes Johnson’s remark in the *Life of Akenside* that “a very curious book might be written on the fortunes of physicians,” then adds four pages showing how in London “neither learning, parts, nor skill, nor even all these united, are

sufficient to ensure success” in this profession, followed by four pages of “particulars” concerning Mark Akenside, “with which few but myself, who knew him well, are acquainted,” and a page of generally unknown facts concerning Dr. Thomas Secker, the late Archbishop of Canterbury, who had studied medicine before being ordained a minister. Only then does Hawkins self-consciously “return from this digression.” Were I not preparing to write this review, I would probably have skipped over much of this material, half of which Davis cut from his abridgment.

On this fresh rereading, however, I found Hawkins much less negative concerning Johnson than Boswell suggested. His criticisms of Johnson’s “dogmatical behavior” and “impatience of contradiction” coincide with Boswell’s, as does his speculation that Johnson was “unsusceptible of almost all those delights which we term pleasures of the imagination.” But mainly Hawkins marvels at Johnson’s massive intellect and extensive knowledge. Johnson’s composing parliamentary debates “of such excellence . . . as scarcely to be equaled by those of the most able and experienced statesmen, is . . . proof of talents that qualified him for a speaker in the most august assembly on earth,” and he could also “describe, with great accuracy, the process of malting; and, had necessity driven him to it, could have thatched a dwelling.” Hawkins describes how eagerly and quickly Johnson read what he nevertheless remembered forever, and praised him as “one of the most quick-sighted men I ever knew in discovering the good and amiable qualities of others.” In addition, he applauds Johnson’s “talent of humour,” and his ability “to give any relation that required it, the graces and aids of expression, and to discriminate with the nicest exactness the characters of those whom it concerned.”

While insisting on Johnson’s unbending integrity as a writer, Hawkins faults his early “political prejudices,” but he warmly applauds *Taxation No Tyranny* (1775), whose violence against the American colonists Boswell would lament. Hawkins was unable, however, to understand or respect the “indiscriminate humanity” that led Johnson to fill his house with needy, often quarrelsome people, and prompted him in 1777 to assist Dr. William Dodd after this fashionable clergyman, having been indicted by a grand jury headed by Hawkins, had been convicted of forgery. Also Hawkins closes the book protesting Johnson’s “ostentatious bounty” in leaving most of his estate to his black servant Francis Barber.

Hawkins follows Johnson in describing “constitutional melancholy” as the chief “disease of his mind”—a condition that prompted him to form the Ivy Lane Club and to begin writing Rambler essays, and that made drink heavily so hard to resist. But Hawkins sided with Johnson—as Boswell would not—in regarding Johnson’s notorious indolence as *habitual* rather than *constitutional*.

Hawkins anticipated Boswell, however, in explaining that Johnson’s inability to rise at eight, despite repeated resolutions, was “less inexcusable than he thought it, for he was ever a bad sleeper.” In describing the long delay of the Shakespeare edition, Hawkins reports how he and Johnson’s other friends

feared he might never recover from “mental lethargy.” But even more emphatically than Boswell, Hawkins insists that “Johnson’s intellectual faculties could never be unemployed: when he was not writing he was thinking, and his thoughts had ever a tendency to the good of mankind; and that indolence, which, in his hours of contrition, he censured as criminal, needed little expiation.” So Hawkins marvels—as Hester Piozzi had and as Boswell would—at Johnson’s fear that he had done too little to merit salvation.

Throughout the book we hear Johnson talking with Hawkins about politics, religion and mutual friends. When “at a loss in the steps to be taken” as executor of Henry Thrale’s will, Johnson sought Hawkins’ advice, and early in 1784, when Johnson received “wonderful” relief from dropsy by voiding twenty pints of liquid, he asked Hawkins to comment on this event, which he initially described to Boswell simply as a “natural evacuation” of fluids. Nine months later Johnson asked Hawkins to promise “to be as well the guardian of his fame as an executor of his will,” adding this longtime friend to group he had explicitly asked to write his *Life*.

Prim and judgmental, studious and sober, Hawkins may not have seen or appreciated key aspects of Johnson. But he had known Johnson much longer than any of the other early biographers. Also Hawkins was less conflicted in his motives than his main rivals. Midway through the *Life* he explains in a footnote why he was “the only seceder” from the distinguished Club Johnson and Sir Joshua Reynolds had formed in 1764, and near the end he reports having alarmed Johnson by pocketing a volume of his journal. But unlike Mrs. Piozzi, Hawkins was not seeking to justify having abandoned Johnson at the end of his life. Nor was he trying to justify himself to Johnson, as I think Boswell was, for having failed to write for more than three months near the end. Hawkins did not claim to be Johnson’s best friend. Instead he offered what he knew of this significant man, while insisting—as all the biographers who knew Johnson did—that the man he knew was the real Johnson. Now we can more easily read and assess what Hawkins wrote, incorporating his “Johnson” into the composite each of us has formed by reading accounts by others and responding to what Johnson himself wrote.

The packed “Introduction” sketches Hawkins’ life within a framework of his friendship with Johnson, describes the composition of his *Life of Samuel Johnson*, reports the chief early criticisms, and argues the importance of the book as a distillation of what Hawkins had experienced and learned during forty-six years of close friendship. Hawkins’s numerous, often-digressive footnotes are printed as such throughout the 366-page text. The following ninety-four pages are packed with 756 endnotes: many simply defining words, some correcting factual errors and misquotations, others adding information and directing readers to a range of current and even forthcoming scholarship. This edition also contains a full listing of the sometimes significant differences between the two 1787 editions, plus the suggestive cancellations made before the first edition was published. The index is remarkably full: seventy-two easy-to-read pages, eighteen for “Johnson.” There are also sixteen illustrations,

including two portraits of Hawkins and the first three pages of Volume I of the *1787 Works of Samuel Johnson*.

Anyone interested in Johnson or biography should make time to explore this volume.

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Lisa Rosner. *The Anatomy Murders: Being the True and Spectacular History of Edinburgh's Notorious Burke and Hare and of the Man of Science Who Abetted Them in the Commission of Their Most Heinous Crimes*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010. Pp. 328; bibliography; index. ISBN: 978-0-8122-4191-4. Cloth, \$29.95.

The historian Lisa Rosner's book *The Anatomy Murders* is a gripping and compelling true crime story about a serial killing team that captured media attention sixty years prior to Jack the Ripper's rise to infamy. William Burke and William Hare suffocated sixteen people – three men, twelve women, and one child – over a course of twelve months in Edinburgh, Scotland in 1827 and 1828. They were aided and abetted by their accomplices, Burke's common-law-wife, Helen M'Dougal, and Hare's wife, Margaret Hale. Their motive for murder was financial profit. Burke and Hare sold corpses for medical dissection, and would receive up to ten pounds for a body.

Rosner's book is written in a scholarly style that is highly readable. Her treatment of the Burke and Hare murders is epic in scope. As she recaptures the story of the murderers and their unfortunate victims, Rosner focuses unflinchingly on the everyday lives of early nineteenth-century working-class people, the daily struggles of the so-called dangerous underclasses, Scotland's early nineteenth-century police force and judicial system, and the burgeoning medical profession, whose passionate interest in the advancement of scientific knowledge demanded an increasing supply of cadavers. In the world that Rosner so deftly evokes, a dead body was more valuable than a living person from the lower classes.

In the Introduction to her book, Rosner discusses the notoriety of Burke and Hare, and explains her purpose. Burke and Hare were infamous in their day. After Burke's and Hare's arrest, Edinburgh newspapers eagerly followed their story. The murders and murderers became part of the lore of Edinburgh, generating novels, short stories, songs, and ballads. Much has been written about Burke and Hare. Rosner's intent as a historian is to fill a gap in existing accounts of the Burke and Hare murders. To present a more complete and accurate account of Burke and Hare than has been previously presented, Rosner has turned to unpublished materials from Edinburgh's library. Her sources include letters, account books, police reports, and medical notebooks. Through what she refers to as her "historical detective work" (7), Rosner's goal is to depict "a city, a profession, and a crime on the edge of modernity, suddenly confronting

innovation in murder as well as in the arts and sciences” (7).

In Chapter 1, “The Corpus Delicti: Margaret Docherty or Campell,” Rosner is especially effective at depicting a city on the edge of modernity. The focus of this chapter is Burke and Hare’s final murder victim, Margaret Docherty, who was also known by her married name, Campbell. The discovery of her corpse on November 1, 1828 by a relative of Burke’s initiated the murder investigation. Margaret Docherty, whose nickname was Madgy, was an Irish immigrant, between forty and fifty years old. She had been living in Glasgow and travelled to Edinburgh in search of her son, a day laborer who had arrived for the harvest. Rosner’s descriptive abilities in this chapter are strong. As Rosner relates Madgy’s journey through the West Port district of Edinburgh, she vividly captures the essence of an urban neighborhood filled with narrowed courtyards, and clusters of high tenement buildings in which impoverished families lived, packed in one or two room apartments. Rosner evokes images of the factories, shops, businesses, and professional establishments that bustled with activity, including the Royal Infirmary and Surgeon’s Square of Edinburgh University.

At one of those shops Madgy Docherty met William Burke, a shoemaker from Ireland who was living in Edinburgh. He invited her back to his room, in a nearby tenement. Burke’s superficial charm concealed his deadly intentions. That night, October 31st, 1828, Madgy celebrated Halloween with William Burke, and his common-law-wife, Helen M’Dougal, at their apartment. William Hare also visited, along with his wife, Margaret Hare. Madgy was provided with an ample supply of alcohol, and when drunk, she lay down on the bed. Burke and Hare seized their opportunity. Burke positioned himself on top of Madgy to compress her lungs, while Hare covered her mouth and nose with his hands. The defenseless Madgy could offer no real struggle and died quickly. A relative of Burke and M’Dougal discovered Madgy’s body and immediately went to the police station. Burke and Hare, along with M’Dougal and Margaret Hare were arrested for murder. As Rosner notes, by this time, “news of the most shocking murders anyone could remember had spread throughout the world” (24).

Chapter 2, “The Anatomy Wars: Donald, the Old Pensioner,” recounts the beginnings of Burke’s and Hare’s foray into the profiting of dead bodies. After an elderly man died of natural causes in Hare’s lodging house, Hare turned to his friend Burke for advice on the problem of how to dispose of the man’s body. Burke helped Hare sell the body to Dr. Robert Knox. After receiving seven pounds for the body, Burke and Hare realized they had entered into a profitable enterprise, and decided that murder would be an expedient method to acquire additional bodies. Rosner thoroughly explains the circumstances that enabled Burke’s and Hare’s murderous plans to flourish. She provides in-depth commentary on the early nineteenth-century Edinburgh medical establishment and the fierce rivalries among surgeons who competed for limited professorial positions. Surgeons relied on cadavers for their teaching and research, and cadavers were scarce. To attain the much-needed cadavers, surgeons turned to grave-robbers, or led their own students in nocturnal raids on local cemeteries. Rosner’s account of this “dark chapter in the history of medicine” (51) is

disturbing and intriguing.

Chapters 3 through 9 each begin by relating the story of one or more of Burke's and Hare's victims. Dr. Robert Knox, the surgeon who received and paid for all of the bodies that Burke and Hare supplied, asked no questions about the dead people's identities, their lives, or the cause of the deaths. By bringing the victims' personalities to life, Rosner thereby gives them the attention and deference that they were previously denied and rightly deserved.

In addition to discussing victims in these chapters, Rosner extends her commentary to describe an aspect of early nineteenth-century Edinburgh's social and economic life. With each chapter, and each new victim, Rosner opens an additional window on the cultural forces that played a part in making the circumstances surrounding each murder possible. For example, in Chapter 3 Rosner evokes the injustice of a society that paid a mere 2 ½ to 3 shillings per day to skilled workers but up to ten pounds for a dead body. Chapter 6 describes the vagrants and prostitutes inhabiting Edinburgh's criminal underworld, as well as the efforts of the criminal justice system to rid the streets of these individuals. The story of Margaret Haldane, who was murdered by Burke, reveals the vulnerability of those who lived on society's fringes. Haldane was a vagrant who likely perceived Burke's offer of hospitality as a welcome alternative to the possibility of arrest for vagrancy and begging. Chapter 7 provides a detailed account of the structure of anatomical teaching and the practices of Dr. Robert Knox's dissecting class. This fascinating chapter is not for the squeamish.

The remaining chapters are devoted to the events occurring after the arrest of the murderers. Chapter 10, "Day in Court: William Burke," focuses on the trial for the murder of Madgy Docherty, a full-blown media event that was covered exhaustively in newspapers and broadside ballads. Since death by suffocation left little physical evidence to prosecute a murder, and Burke, Hare, Helen M'Dougal, and Margaret Hare all insisted they had no knowledge of how Madgy died, the prosecutor promised the Hares immunity if William Hare would testify against Burke. William Hare agreed. On December 24, 1828, William Burke and Helen M'Dougal were tried for murder, with William Hare as a witness for the prosecution. M'Dougal was acquitted. Burke, however, was convicted and subsequently hanged. The fact that William Hare, Margaret Hare, and Helen M'Dougal escaped legal punishment is unsettling. But Rosner creates a sense of justice, as well as suspense, through her narrative of the criminals each being threatened, hounded, pursued, and driven out of Edinburgh by angry, rioting mobs.

Chapter 11, "All that Remains: Robert Knox," focuses on the notoriety that followed Dr. Knox after the public became aware of his role as buyer of the bodies of Burke's and Hare's victims. Rosner makes it clear that Dr. Knox did not know that the bodies he received from Burke and Hare had been murdered by them precisely because his unwavering dedication to scientific research left little space in his life for moral reflection about the lives of the cadavers that were used to further his career.

The Anatomy Murders is an important and valuable book for true crime

story enthusiasts, and for those concerned with the early modern medical establishment. The story of Burke's and Hare's criminality, and Dr. Knox's questionable anatomical practice gives us cause for reflection in light of the current debates about the ethics of cloning, genetic engineering, and stem-cell research that steadily fuel our news stories. As Rosner claims, the story of the Burke and Hare murders remains captivating because it raises ethical questions "about the costs of medical progress" (7) that remain with us today.

The Anatomy Murders will also be of interest to readers seeking a glimpse into Edinburgh on the edge of modernity. Rosner skillfully places the reader in the milieu of Edinburgh's West Port district in the early nineteenth-century. The book includes portraits of the story's principal actors, and maps of Edinburgh's streets. As I read *The Anatomy Murders*, I could envision Burke and Hare lurking in the shadows of a tenement building in pursuit of a new body, and Dr. Knox's eager expression at receiving a fresh cadaver.

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David Mazella. *The Making of Modern Cynicism*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2007. Pp. xi + 305. ISBN 978-0-8139-2615-5. Cloth, \$35.

This generous, learned, comprehensive, and eminently readable study of the meaning(s) of cynicism across the centuries begins with a timely chapter (and concludes with an epilogue) about what the term has come to signify in our day. First, to act cynically means to exploit public circumstances for private benefits, crassly manipulating events or bending the truth, often under the guise of public spirit, while really pursuing self-interest. Second to be cynical means to deny the possibility of addressing serious problems through reasonable avenues. Those who hold cynical views, in this sense, "are feared because they threaten the public with a genuinely worrying prospect, a future without hope of meaningful change." This cynicism undermines faith in progress; ironically, a tacit conviction that social problems are open to amelioration may coexist with the practical sense that "those concerned will never act together to solve their problems" (4). Public professions of good will and sincerity are suspect. Persiflage and crass manipulation may be discerned in public discourse everywhere—and such perceptions are not always exaggerated.

It is strangely comforting to read such a clear-eyed explication of the corrosive powers of cynicism today. But though Mazella's take on the deadlocks of modern cynicism is as telling as the views of any political commentator now practicing, he has more to offer. The cynicism of slippery twenty-first-century politicians or of disillusioned citizens is not the cynicism of Diogenes, not the cynicism of early-modern philosophers, and not the cynicism(s) of the eighteenth century. The purpose of *The Making of Modern Cynicism* is to trace "the

complexities, involutions, and internal structures” of the term through its semantic history, clarifying “the various and discontinuous layers of historical meaning encompassed by the seemingly simple, unitary term ‘cynic’” (12). The father of cynical philosophy, Diogenes of Sinope, questioned social custom with disrespect, mockery, and shameless displays of unconventionality; Plato famously called him “Socrates out of his senses.” But his method was not simply negation, though he practiced extreme *parrhesia*, or “scandalous truth-telling.” Those he scandalized, he insisted, were guilty of behaving irrationally, and he declared that reason is essential to control impulse “For the conduct of life we need right reason or a halter” (Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, VI.liv, VI.xxiv).¹ Diogenes mocked pretentious and sophisticated reasoning, insulted the supposedly great, and flouted accepted norms of behavior—all to emphasize his premise that the good consists in action, not in formulas of language, nor custom, nor social status.

Through a process of semantic narrowing, Mazella demonstrates, the term “cynic” came to indicate any person “disposed to rail or find fault” (15). In the afterlife of cynical philosophy, two modes or versions of Diogenes appeared, the classical and the vernacular, the high and the low. Both versions drifted farther and farther from the historical philosopher, partly because of the “lack of authoritative foundational texts or doctrine,” and partly because the figure of Diogenes was malleable, serviceable as a trope, the “object of authorial projection and identification” (48, 50). Early-modern writers tended to reduce the cynical position to a character fault, the misanthropy of a compulsive mocker of normative values. In vernacular literature, especially collections of proverbial wisdom, his image devolved almost into parody, his criticism reduced to “misanthropic railing or melancholic ‘humours’” (51). The high view attempted to minimize the crudeness of attack, comparing Diogenes with Cato as a corrector of morals. In claiming the freedom to speak truth to power—when Alexander asked if there was anything he could do for him, Diogenes tartly requested he move because he was blocking the sunlight—he became for some an exemplar of freedom of speech, and of the nonmetaphysical practice of philosophy in the world as it really is.

Nonetheless, as Mazella demonstrates, with the growth of the importance of politeness, together with the notion of the superiority of modernity over antiquity, the status of cynical philosophy (and individual cynical characteristics) descended to the level of burlesque. The cynic became a comic type, sneering, jeering, and railing, thoroughly devoid of any moral or social value. For Fielding, Diogenes was “a complex symbol of a political rationality that paradoxically unites elite disbelief with mass disbelief.” The story of Alexander’s offer of any gift at his command and Diogenes’ contemptuous answer no longer embodies philosophic self-sufficiency and disdain for social definitions of “greatness.” Rather, the story reveals “hatred and contempt for others” behind a deceitful mask of grotesque rudeness (97-102).

In another shift, the cynic became an object of fear, a crude voice leading the mob, unlettered, angry, antisocial. The seventeenth-century Diogenes most

resembled his snarling caricature in the satires of Lucian. Lyttelton's Diogenes is almost Wilkesian, a hyperbolically snarling figure of opposition politics, a demagogue whose power emerges from his identification with the uncouth people. Shaftesbury, on the other hand, discerned an earnestness at the heart of Diogenes' "low, plebeian jests," selectively appropriating cynical philosophy "into his larger project of using philosophical history to reimagine the domain of the social in the present" (90).

In a vigorous chapter, Mazella lays out the complex appropriations of the image of Diogenes on the continent, first as a device for ridiculing the *philosophes*, and then as a handy stick for beating Rousseau. The burlesque version of Diogenes served generally as a "moral caricature" of the ambitious, thwarted *philosophe*, the exemplar of perverted rationality leading to madness. Mazella argues convincingly that Rousseau was one of the few historical figures labeled a cynic in both premodern and modern senses. Intending to present himself as "an example of authentically Stoic, manly, philosophical independence," Rousseau instead found himself labeled "a rude and rough-edged moralist," a modern Diogenes in his resistance to politeness, conventional notions of gender, and modern commercial morality (113). The early Rousseau questioned the assumption that improvements in the arts and sciences produced improvements in individual or social morality; indeed, he mistrusted politeness, suspecting it tended toward dissimulation. The *philosophes*, he insisted, were compromised by luxury, i.e., by their dependence on wealth and fashion. As a "modern Diogenes," Rousseau's hostility to the "complacent, self-institutionalizing, "strategic" tendencies of the *philosophes* parodied their pretensions. The "wasteland of empty social forms and behaviors" could not produce any improvements for humanity; rather, it would be necessary to rediscover the presocial state of nature through exercises of sensibility (116). Rationalists like Hobbes and Mandeville were for Rousseau monsters of insensibility. In this phase of his public career, Rousseau endeavored to historicize the human race, identifying the egotism of philosophical reason as the cause of distance from human suffering. His greatest achievement, Mazella observes, was to "redefine his own era not in terms of its polite superiority over previous, rude eras, but in its increasing degrees of inequality" (120).

The personal consequences of this campaign proved destructive to Rousseau; his moralistic accusations against others left him vulnerable to counterattack. Voltaire, Grimm, Marmontel, Palissot, and others characterized Rousseau as "a misanthrope, rude and plebeian cynic, and an enemy not just to society, commerce, or the advancement of the arts and sciences, but to morality itself" (126). Just as opponents of ancient cynicism disabled Diogenes' critique of the *mores* of his time, so Rousseau's adversaries belittled his critique as the product of fundamental flaws of character, misanthropy and ego: "a monster of pride and vanity, a dangerously duplicitous hypocrite who paraded his false sensibility to impress others, and a selfish man who insisted on presenting himself as a paragon of unselfishness" (128). Indeed, Rousseau's strategy of self-presentation, his public show of self-examination, exposed him to such attacks,

especially when his actions exposed inconsistencies—his inconstancy and suspicion toward friends, his fascination with aristocratic women, his coldness toward his “pseudo-spouse” Thérèse and his abandonment of their children at the Foundling Hospital. Such matters were soon taken up in what Mazella calls grotesque redescription, as if Rousseau had made a philosophical choice to abandon his children as a victory over prejudice and feminized sensibility, as a victory for masculinized philosophy. The famous shamelessness of principled cynicism was here inverted: Rousseau’s cynical posturing was seen as a sham, a posture devised to evade social controls. The posthumous publication of the *Confessions*, with its revelations of dissimulation throughout his career, only reinforced negative responses to Rousseau, allowing his entire philosophical output to be dismissed as “a fraud or symptom of madness.”

For much of the eighteenth century, British readers judged Rousseau favorably because of his “presumed honesty and sensibility” (113), apparently more impressive than his emotional excesses and reported lapses of judgment. However, this relatively benign view was eclipsed when conservative British writers brought their powers of mockery to bear. Mazella’s chapter on Burke’s counter-Enlightenment attack on Rousseau vividly shows how Rousseau’s reputation for dishonesty and insensible detachment undermined his arguments for universal benevolence. Fearing the possible influence of Rousseau on the unsophisticated public and alarmed at the prospect of reformism transmogrifying into revolution, the government generated “a regular manufacture of governmentally-approved and –subsidized opinion in the press.” The *Anti-Jacobin* journals were typical instruments in the “highly coordinated publicity war” against Wollstonecraft, Godwin, Paine, and their supporters. Pitt’s government spent £5,000 a year on this campaign. In the process, they developed an effective caricature of Rousseau as a “fraudulent philosophizer,” revising the understanding of the “Cynic” in terms of the failure of the *philosophes* and the disillusionment of the man of feeling (144). Mazella cogently argues that this was the most successful political redefinition; indeed, it still influences views of Rousseau and revolution today.

Mazella’s parallel analysis of Burke’s criticism of Diogenes and Rousseau is particularly rewarding. Diogenes, Burke contends, was a philosopher who had gone too far “in the road of refinement” to understand the value of the conventions he exposed to ridicule. Similarly, Rousseau was too self-infatuated to see the utility of forms and ceremonies. Celebrating rather than demonizing the traditional “prejudices” of ordinary people, Burke transformed the term into a key anti-Enlightenment weapon. For Burke, Mazella contends, “Prejudice is what attaches us to our nation and makes us love it as part of ourselves” (153). In Burke’s words, it is “the decent drapery of life” that makes sense of community and national identity. It also protects us from “cynical” leveling of social structures and reduction to a predatory state of nature.

Mazella considers Godwin’s novel *Fleetwood* as a fictional reexamination of reformist ideals, presenting a picture of the decay of sensibility into disillusionment. *Fleetwood* in fact contributes to the myth of the failure of

Enlightenment—the *ad hominem* dismissal of Rousseau leads to the rejection of the belief that correcting popular prejudices will lead to the improvement of human existence. And this leads into the modern redefinition of cynicism as political disenchantment. Thus modern cynicism is the product not of Rousseau's writings and career, but of "the long-term reaction to his public image in a post-1789 British culture that defined itself defensively against a cosmopolitan, Jacobin Enlightenment with violent political ambitions" (170). Mazella takes a brief detour to discuss the discussion of Hobbes (and Mandeville) as cynical philosophers of power and self-interest in Disraeli's *Quarrels of Authors*.

A chapter on "Cynicism and Dandyism" carries the transformations of the term into the nineteenth century of Byron, Beau Brummell, Beecher, Mackay, and Wilde. Here Mazella charts the notions of the relation of philosophical reason to power: Hobbes, Machiavelli, La Rochefoucauld, Mandeville, Helvetius, Swift, and Chesterfield were "polished cynics" whose dissimulation inverted the rude truth-telling of Diogenes. Somewhere between 1755 and 1814 the "semantic cluster" of terms from Johnson's definition (misanthropy, rudeness) shifted to admit a refinement, creating a division between "snarling" and "sneering" cynics, the latter being critics of society both disillusioned and disempowered. Piozzi's *British Synonymy* compares the traditional and emergent meanings—the deviser of biting answers either from misanthropy and voluntary distance from mankind, or from ill humor and rudeness among them.

The Making of Modern Cynicism is without doubt the best serious work of intellectual history I've read in some time. It masterfully illustrates the protean nature of important concepts, showing how thinkers over many centuries have reshaped them to suit their present needs. Sometimes this refashioning reveals the ethical, social, and political ideals of the time of writing, and sometimes the fears. Grounded on meticulous attention to language—the evolution and transvaluation of key terms—Mazella's arguments and explications are clear, witty, provocative, and always stimulating.

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Anthony W. Lee, editor. *Mentoring in Eighteenth-Century British Literature and Culture*. Farnham, Surrey, and Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate, 2010. Pp. 240. ISBN: 0754669777. Hardcover, \$99.95.

The editor of this collection asserts that the long eighteenth century "recommends itself as a golden age of mentoring," meaning perhaps that, at least for literature, more mentoring relationships (or more interesting relationships?) can be found in that period than in earlier or later times. In his view, closer attention to "the perspective of literary mentoring" will yield exciting or at least interesting insights. But he wisely refrains from offering a grammar of mentoring or from extracting any rules of mentoring from the individual examples offered in

these essays, so that we are left essentially with analyses of individual mentoring relationships. In a few of these essays, detailed attention to mentoring seems to be minimal or entirely absent because their authors were apparently more interested in literary influence or in education; this suggests the editor desires to expand the range of reference for his central term to include ideas of instruction, education and influence. With or without the assumed connection with mentoring, these essays as a whole are well worth reading for the light they shed on their subjects.

In some cases, as in the essay on Lord Rochester's mentors by James William Johnson, the writer stays close to the primary theme and doesn't lose sight of mentoring. Johnson reviews in succession those individuals who influenced Rochester to take one direction or another. That continuum, concluding with Bishop Burnet, gives the reader a fine survey of the changes in Rochester's mind-sets when swayed by one mentor or another.

Writing on Dryden and the mentoring of women writers, Anne Cotterill notes that most treatments of Dryden as mentor have usually been restricted to his male pupils or mentees. She attempts to rectify this one-sided view by reviewing a series of women authors—Centlivre, Manley, Pix, Trotter, Lady Sarah Piers, Sarah Fyge, Elizabeth Thomas and especially Aphra Behn—all of whom relied upon Dryden or his writings for guidance and inspiration. Cotterill's essay is not restricted to Dryden as mentor but takes in a wider survey of his relationships to women in general, which makes this article more appealing and significant.

Shel Rogers' treatment of Pope and mentoring aptly begins with Mentor in Homer and Fénelon, continuing what Lee began in his Introduction. After surveying various older authors who profited from their younger contemporary's advice, Rogers then turns from Pope as a literary adviser to the successful and independent Pope who became a man of charity by distributing not only literary advice but also gifts of money to needy authors and others, whether friends or enemies. This occasional mentor, we are reminded, was "fiercely independent of patronage" in his later career.

Brean Hammond and Nicholas Seager in their essay on Swift emphasize the impact that Sir William Temple's distanced and remote mentoring had on Swift, a style of involvement that Swift apparently applied to male and female friends, and to servants and others. The authors skillfully weave insights from an array of modern scholars (Barnett, Downie, Ehrenpreis, Elias, Rawson, Wyrick etc.) into a convincing view of the complexities of Swift's mentoring relationships.

E.M. Langille's case for Tom Jones as a major source for *Candide*, on the other hand, appears to be less a study of mentoring than a conventional study of literary influence. Langille argues for a closer relationship between these two famous works than anyone had previously suspected. Voltaire, who apparently knew *Tom Jones* through its French translation, *L'Enfant trouvé . . .*, modeled *Candide* on Tom, Cunégonde on Sophia, Pangloss on Square, and so on. The evidence and argument are more or less credible but unless we have a clinching confession from Voltaire himself regarding the sources of *Candide*, this case, strong as it seems, will remain at best speculative.

Unlike the half-dozen essays on Rochester, Pope, Swift and Johnson,

Nicholas D. Nace's essay on Samuel Richardson and Urania Johnson, a daughter of Aaron Hill, gives a lot of space to an almost unknown author. Her novel *Almira* was thought to be lost, but it was recently "rediscovered" through Nace's commendable scholarly detective work. The upshot of Richardson's "unsuccessful mentorship of Urania Johnson" is that she published her novel after breaking off her correspondence with Richardson, who apparently did not think it worthy of publication.

Lance Bertelsen, writing on "The Education of Henry Sampson Woodfall, Newspaperman," gives us an excellent review of the varied forces that shaped Woodfall and his *Public Advertiser*, including John Wilkes, Bonnell Thornton, Philip Francis (a classmate), and even Benjamin Franklin. Though not widely known today, Woodfall "may have been," according to Bertelsen, "the most important newspaperman of the eighteenth century" (149)—mainly because he published the letters of Junius, which are usually ascribed to Philip Francis. To qualify for inclusion in this book, the author mentions mentoring a few times, but that is not the main focus of his very informative essay.

Probably the most speculative of these essays is Thomas Simmon's complex treatment of "the missed encounter" between Samuel Johnson and Kit Smart and, for the twentieth century, W. Jackson Bate and Lionel Trilling. Considering that Johnson omitted Smart from his *Lives of the Poets*, Simmons speculates that Smart became a haunting ghost for Johnson. How Simmons connects Bate and Trilling to Johnson and Smart is a bit of a tour de force. He wonders why Smart is "such a haunting absence in Bate's work." Before the essay ends we come to see that Bate more than any of the others may be the central focus of this deliberately unconventional essay.

In exploring "Mentorship, Alliance, and Rivalry in the Carter-Johnson Relationship," Anthony W. Lee treats us to the most detailed analysis available of the mutual influences of Elizabeth Carter and Sam Johnson, whose literary friendship spanned decades in their adult lives. Common belief will usually place Johnson as the mentor, but Lee convinces us that Carter was as much a mentor to SJ as he was to her, at various points in their friendship, and Lee posits "a tension running beneath the surface of [their] relationship." As one might expect from the editor of this volume, mentoring remains a leading concept throughout his essay.

Elizabeth Hedrick re-examines Mrs. Piozzi's account of Johnson in her *Anecdotes* (1786), more particularly her views on Johnson as scholar and public intellectual. Hedrick reminds us about Piozzi's ambivalence toward SJ which is visible in Piozzi's alternations of praise (for SJ's view of the scholar's role) and blame (for his incivility and perhaps for his failure to live up to his own standards for the public intellectual). Toward the end Hedrick wonders whether Piozzi found SJ's rough edges "worth tolerating for the sake of his wit and erudition" (221). In general, a limited inquiry but well executed.

Margaret K. Sloan, writing on the importance of mentoring relationships in the lives and writings of Mary Wollstonecraft and Mary Hayes, analyzes their mutual influence and the strong presence of mentoring in their novels *Maria, or the Wrongs of Woman* and (at greater length) *Victim of Prejudice*. Sloan tries to

advance beyond the common concern with the issue of Hays's omission of her mentor Mary Wollstonecraft from her *Female Biography*. All in all, an informative piece that attempts a fresh view of their intersecting careers.

The last offering to be considered here, out of its assigned order, pursues a subject that is probably least expected in such a collection: what on earth can eighteenth-century jokes have to do with the seriousness of mentoring, a seriousness assumed in virtually all of these essays? Yet Kevin L. Cope bravely undertakes to show that the jokes or jests of some authors, while certainly playful and amusing, also have an instructional or mentoring dimension. Cope, one of our best analysts of this era's jokes and sources of the risible, again shows that he is himself a most accomplished mentor.

The reader will find many useful remarks in Lee's introduction, including those on Lord Chesterfield. But shouldn't this collection have included an essay on one of the century's most popular works of mentoring, Lord Chesterfield's posthumously published *Letters to His Son*? I shall barely mention the fact that much more proofreading was needed. The editor, finally, hopes to advance the idea of "mentoring as [a] globally operative critical concept," an idea that might perhaps spawn a host of critical studies, but I remain unconvinced that mentoring as a "critical concept" will ever become prominent or "globally operative" in eighteenth-century studies.

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Jack Fruchtman Jr. *The Political Philosophy of Thomas Paine*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009. Pp. ix + 212. ISBN: 13:978-008018-9284-4. Hardcover, \$45.00.

Jack Fruchtman's compact study of the political philosophy of Thomas Paine constitutes the fifth volume in the series, "The Political Philosophy of the American Founders," edited by Garrett Ward Sheldon. Fruchtman's study adds more luster to the fine reputation already enjoyed by this series in progress.

For many years Fruchtman has thoughtfully pondered Paine's life and career. As a result, he proves able to generalize trenchantly on the "unity and consistency underlying [Paine's] thought . . . from 1774 until his death thirty-five years later" (7-9). The scholar also foregrounds what he sees to be Paine's serious concerns with religion, and this despite the seeming reality that, as an adult, Thomas Paine never attended religious services.

Fruchtman's analysis of Paine's political philosophy is especially welcome, since the pamphleteer himself never penned a formal statement of his political belief system. The scholar's first chapter, "Paine's Political Thought in Historical Context," proves especially valuable. Here Fruchtman economically highlights the formative experiential influences on Paine's adult mind-set. In these pages Fruchtman sagely notes the importance to the younger man's eventual career of

his fortuitous mentorship by Benjamin Franklin. In this chapter, too, the monograph calls attention to the twin influences of Locke and Rousseau, and “the melding of the two, which took place during his [Paine’s] years in France after 1787, when he added to his commitment to Lockean liberalism a newly realized devotion to the ideal of community as a means to guarantee the people’s financial protection and social security” (21).

While Fruchtman deserves much credit throughout this slender book for highlighting valuable Paine connections to other leading enlightenment era political figures, on occasion, as in the passage quoted above, the scholar’s literary style can be somewhat obfuscatory. Such minor shortcomings are more than compensated for by the scholar’s ready ability to generalize about Paine’s argumentational vision. Fruchtman notes, for instance, that “for Paine, human beings are innately good and sociable creatures, who work best when they join with others to achieve common goals and when they are neither oppressed nor neglected by those who rule them” (45). The scholar likewise excels at finding and nicely placing “gems” in Paine’s prose. For instance, the rise of Parliament after the 1649 execution of Charles I, “hath made kings more subtle—not more just.” (*Common Sense*, p. 63 in Fruchtman’s text). And on whether pacifist Quakers should participate in a defensive war against Britain: “I am thus far a Quaker, that I would gladly agree with all the world to lay aside the use of arms, and settle matters by negotiation; but unless the whole will, the matter ends, and I take up my musket and thank heaven he [*sic*] has put it in my power.”

In Fruchtman’s discussion of the reasons he sees the third edition of *Common Sense* to be the most important one, the scholar aptly notes that its theme remains “that monarchy, hereditary succession, aristocratic rank and privilege everywhere had to be eradicated.” In the same chapter an interesting passage speculates on Paine’s cogitations concerning the French monarchy with respect to the British one, particularly in the light of American interests during the Revolutionary era, c. 1750-1800 (67-76). On the direct subject of Fruchtman’s exposition, these pages are revelatory, as far as they go. But here some commentary might have been provided on the penetrating influence of Vergennes on Louis XVI. *Pari passu*, some insightful glimpses of Vergenne’s influence on the political, economic and military issues of the revolutions in America and, eventually, in France, could have helped round out the finely detailed picture Fruchtman presents.

In passing, Fruchtman mentions Paine’s views on slavery. A more detailed view of 18th century racial mores and their apparent relation to Paine would be of interest to modern readers, although possibly this topic did not much concern Paine. In the section “Religious Liberty” (93-95, especially), Fruchtman cogently explains Paine’s important distinction between religious tolerance and how the 18th-century penman envisioned that this distinction should fit into the scheme of governmental responsibilities. At this place in his text, however, the scholar could have speculated with profit on the kinds of conduct and attitudes that religious beliefs tend to produce in individuals and groups, and perhaps even compare these speculations with those which could be discerned on these subjects by

Paine. This approach could prove especially insightful in Fruchtman's monograph, since the scholar stresses that Paine "based the central tenets of his political and social thought on his religious faith" (27).

Fruchtman's chapter "From Hamiltonian Spirit to Public Welfare" revealingly compares and contrasts Paine's views on the necessities for a "democratic republic to flourish in a competitive world." Here Fruchtman points out that Paine proved "more skeptical [than Alexander Hamilton] of the role England would soon play in the years following the American Revolution" (see, in particular, 104-07). Here, however, Fruchtman might well have added a few paragraphs outlining how, why and by how much Paine and Hamilton erred in envisioning how important Britain would become to the early American republic—almost as soon as the Treaty of Paris received ratification.

In a book so carefully researched (37 pages of Notes, including 412 footnotes), a reviewer would be churlish to ask for still more information. But an interesting addendum to Fruchtman's text could have included a brief overview of the seeming influence of Paine's writings on subsequent revolutionary figures and radical movements, such as William Davidson (1786-1820) and the Marylebone Union Reading Society.

As Fruchtman points out, during the past twenty years alone, eight biographies of Paine have appeared. In addition, numerous book-length analyses of Paine's writings have been published. But the reader desirous of perusing a cogent and thought-provoking exposition and analysis of Payne's writings should consider reading, first, this monograph, *multum in parvo*, by Jack Fruchtman.

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Goethe Yearbook, Volume 17. General editor: Daniel Purdy. Rochester, NY: Camden House [a division of Boydell & Brewer]: 2010. ISBN-13 978-1-57113-425-7.

Back in graduate school I often got a quizzical response when I said I was writing a dissertation on Goethe: "Hasn't *everything* already been done?" I hope I proved the skeptics wrong, but the *Goethe Yearbook (GYB)*, now in its seventeenth incarnation, certainly gives lie to that importunate question. The *Yearbook*, which has been published since 1982, is the organ of the Goethe Society of North America (GSNA), which itself was founded only in 1979 but now represents the major American organization devoted to encouragement of study and research on Goethe and the "age of Goethe." The last encompasses a rather large brief, to judge by the contents of volume 17. Of the eighteen articles, two—on Johann Elias Schlegel and the Austrian writer Franz Grillparzer— seem at first glance somewhat removed from the age of Goethe.

In 2008 the GSNA organized its first conference, which drew Goethe specialists to the University of Pittsburgh from the U.S. and abroad. Its theme

was "Goethe and the Postclassical: Literature, Science, Art, and Philosophy 1805-1815." Volume 17 of the *GYB* includes a special section of twelve articles, edited by Karin Schutjer and Clark Muenzer, that had their origin in that conference. Surprisingly, since approximately sixty papers (at twenty-one sessions) were delivered at the conference, eight of the twelve are on the *Faust* drama. One might infer from the approaches to *Faust* represented here that there is indeed little left to say about the conditions of its composition: in other words, there is no conventional literary history here, aside perhaps from the article by Gerrit Brüning on the wager in *Faust*.

Two articles by doyens in the field, Ulrich Gaier and Benjamin Bennett, connect in an interesting respect. Gaier sees evidence in *Faust* of what he calls "chronotextual markers (e.g., Nostradamus, the Montgolfier Brothers, Byron) that can be read as "metaphorical or exemplary representations of European history from around 1500 to 1830" (4). This "historic aspect" allows Gaier to ruminate on Napoleon, the development (or the retrogression) of the idea of beauty (embodied in the figure of Helena) from antiquity to the modern era, and German cultural nationalism. Bennett's subject is the "histrionic nationality" of the verse forms in *Faust*. These forms—"Knittelvers" (the supposedly "German" form), ottava rima, blank verse, and so on—operate only as "gestures" and offer "no sense of ... being somehow filled with the authentic national life in question" (26). Thus, in connection with the larger issue of cultural nationalism—as this might be discerned from *Faust*—"all nationality ... is fundamentally gestural and histrionic, not an inborn or ingrained determinant of being" (27).

That Goethe's scientific interests represent a still promising field of exploration is exemplified by Heather Sullivan's "ecocriticism," which evaluates Faust's ascent at the end of the drama alongside Goethe's 1825 treatise on weather ("Witterungslehre"): thus, Faust's upward motion is not final but is "part of the circulation of the elements ..." (55). Frederick Amrine, who has previously performed such valuable work with his estimable bibliography of Goethe in the history of science, has here turned his attention to Freud and the disenchantment felt by the scholar Faust. A non-*Faust* article in this section by Chad Wellmon relates one of Goethe's principal poetic-botanical texts, *The Metamorphosis of Plants*, to the history of science and of knowledge generally.

As mentioned above, of the other six articles in the *Goethe Yearbook*, two—on Johann Elias Schlegel (1719-1741) and Franz Grillparzer (1791-1872)—would seem to have little relation to Goethe. Nevertheless, they are of great interest to "the age" alongside the article on Gotthold Lessing (1729-1781). All three were dramatists, and, if their appearance here is accidental, it is a serendipitous coupling (though I would quibble about the order in which the three appear). Their oeuvres encompass three different literary publics, ranging from the mid-1740s to the 1820s, and describe changes in aesthetics over that period, from Neoclassicism to Romanticism and beyond. All three articles are well documented, with impressive marshaling of scholarship. In the case of Schlegel (uncle of August Wilhelm and Friedrich), the review of scholarship is welcome, since, as Herb Rowland points out, there has been no major study of this mid-

18th-century dramatist for two decades. Karl S. Guthke's article is a masterly instance of literary detection, investigating parallels in reviews during the 1750s in the journal *Neue Erweiterungen der Erkenntnis und des Vergnügens* and in Lessing's criticism, in particular with regard to the reception of English literature. Though Lessing is usually portrayed as a "lone wolf," and was indeed openly contemptuous of *Neue Erweiterungen*, the similarity—indeed, even in wording—of criticism in his writing and in the journal indicates the overturning of the Zurich-Leipzig quarrel (in which Schlegel figures as a transitional figure, though not so stated by Rowland) and a change in literary taste by 1755, by which time Lessing can be said to have "arrived." Peter Höyng details Grillparzer's long and anguished preoccupation with Beethoven's art—at one point, the composer and the dramatist were to collaborate on a *Melusina* opera—due to Grillparzer's preference (to some extent following Kant) for the "Classical" aesthetics of regularity, stability, and self-control that was transgressed by the rule-breaking, sublime music of Beethoven. The article is a valuable reminder of Grillparzer's reflections on aesthetics. Among the other articles, Christian Clement relates Goethe's *Märchen* to the Apocalypse of St. John, and Pamela Currie makes a defense of Goethe's "boundary colors," especially green, drawing on recent scientific experimentation on spectra. If Goethe's scientific speculations continue to fascinate, so too do his "erotica," especially the poem "Das Tagebuch" (The Diary). Matthew Bell reminds us of the many intertextual influences, focusing on one that he contends has not been previously examined, the satires of Juvenal, which Bell in turn relates to Schiller's discussion of satire in *Naive and Sentimental Poetry*.

The book review section covers twenty-five publications that appeared, with some exceptions, in 2008 and 2009, a timely and commendable feat of reviewing for a scholarly periodical. The section demonstrates the number of American Goethe scholars that can be drawn upon and serves to keep one abreast of the views of one's colleagues. Again, the coverage goes well beyond the age of Goethe, e.g., the wanderer in nineteenth-century German literature and Ehrhard Bahr's *Weimar on the Pacific: German Exile Culture in Los Angeles and the Crisis of Modernism*. To judge from the content, the latter appears to have been included because of the magical place name in the title—though perhaps also in tribute to Bahr's many contributions to the *Goethe Yearbook*, e.g., his compilation of North American Goethe dissertations.

The Goethe Society of North America welcomes new members. Members receive the *Yearbook* as well as the biannual *News and Notes*. The Society enjoys allied organization status with the Modern Language Association and the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies. Since 2006 it has sponsored a book series in connection with Bucknell University Press. Details can be found on the Society's website: [http:// www.goethesociety.org](http://www.goethesociety.org).

Elizabeth Powers
New York, New York

**Stephen Karian and Dolores O'Higgins Win
Irish-American Research Travel Fellowship**

Partly as a result of many exceptionally strong proposals, two Irish-American Research Travel Fellowships for 2011 have been awarded by the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies. The fellowships, as ever devoted to primary-source research, will support Dolores M. O'Higgins' research on Irish hedge schools and Stephen Karian's research on topical references in and the Irish contexts of the poetry of Jonathan Swift. Although both are traveling to perform their research in Ireland, Dr. Karian is a member of the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies (and of the EC/ASECS); Dr. O'Higgins, of the Eighteenth-Century Ireland Society.

Dr. Stephen Karian (English, Marquette University), whose Ph.D. dissertation at Wisconsin treated Swift's poetry, has recently published *Jonathan Swift in Print and Manuscript* (Cambridge University Press, 2010). His fellowship-winning project is entitled "Annotating the Irish Context of Jonathan Swift's Poems." During fall 2011, while a Visiting Research Fellow at Trinity College Dublin (TCD), and also aided by a National Endowment for the Humanities fellowship, Dr. Karian will research "printed and manuscript sources to understand topical references to people, places, and events alluded to in Swift's Irish poems of the 1720s and 1730s. This research will clarify the meaning of individual lines of the poems as well as Swift's purposes for having written them." The work will be conducted at TCD, the National Library of Ireland, and the Royal Irish Academy. The principal product of this work will be introductions and annotations to that poetry in relevant volumes of the Cambridge Edition of Jonathan Swift, co-edited by James Woolley.

Dr. Dolores (Laurie) O'Higgins (Classical and Medieval Studies, Bates University), took her Ph.D. from Cornell University and her B.A. from Trinity College Dublin. Her fellowship project is entitled "Classics in the Hedge Schools of Ireland." Following the publication of her book *Women and Humor in Classical Greece* (2003), Professor O'Higgins began research, now well along towards publication, on the classical education offered Irish Catholics in clandestine "hedge schools," a clandestine effort in response to English penal laws. She has studied the operation and significance of the schools with the aid of government documents, insider accounts, and Irish literature, especially poetry. The "story traverses the fields of Classics, Irish literature, 18th-century social history, and the history of education." The hedge schools, a "contested symbol of Irish identity," were taught mostly by Irish speakers, who sometimes taught Greek as well as Latin (some students were destined to the priesthood, but many others were not). Some of her conclusions about the schools were published in her article "(In)felix Paupertas: Scholarship of the Eighteenth-Century Irish Poor" in *Arethusa* 40 (2007): 421-50. Professor O'Higgins' research will be conducted at TCD, the National Archives, University College Dublin, the Royal Irish Academy, and St. Patrick's University in Maynooth.

ASECS's Irish-American Research Travel Fellowship, with its \$2500 for awards, supports "documentary scholarship on Ireland in the period between the Treaty of Limerick (1691) and the Act of Union (1800), by enabling North American-based scholars to travel to Ireland and Irish-based scholars to travel to North America for furthering their research." Original research on any aspect of eighteenth-century Ireland qualifies for consideration, but recipients must be members of ASECS or its Irish sister organization, the Eighteenth-Century Ireland Society. Prize winners are chosen by an independent jury of three distinguished scholars from different disciplines, working in different countries, supported by a network of research specialists in Ireland, the UK, and the USA. Each application first is evaluated by several readers, both from the pertinent field and outside disciplines.

The ASECS Irish-American Research Fellowship was established in 1993-1994 by the late Dr. A. C. Elias, Jr., of Philadelphia, who long coordinated the fellowship, aided by co-trustee Alexandra Mason (emeritus curator, Spencer Research Library). The fellowship is presently coordinated by Dr. Máire Kennedy, Curator of the Dublin and Irish Collections of the Dublin City Public Library (maire.kennedy@dublincity.ie; 138-144 Pearse St. / Dublin 2 / Ireland) and James May of Penn State U.—DuBois (jem4@psu.edu; College Place / DuBois, PA 15801). The next fellowship will be awarded early in 2012, with applications due on 15 November. The application materials are largely those required for other ASECS travel fellowships (CV, proposal, budget, recommendations). They should be sent electronically to the Trustees (ideally as PDFs); if the two letters of reference cannot be supplied as PDFs, the actual hard copies of those letters should be sent to one of the two trustees. Further information is available at ASECS's website (google up "ASECS research travel fellowships" or see <http://asecs.press.jhu.edu/travelgr.html>).

Notes from Newark

by Theodore E. D. Braun

An old Greyhound Bus ad promised that getting there is half the fun. Hyperbole aside, we found that going from Newark, DE, to Philadelphia by SEPTA and from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh by AMTRAK matched that hype. Imagine a yard of foot room, only two ample seats per row, a chance to move around freely, restrooms that you don't have to cram yourself into, and no need to arrive two hours before leaving, not to mention no full-body scans or pat-downs. And you get to see the scenery, in this case the Amish farms, the small towns along the way, the dramatic Horseshoe Curve just west of Altoona, fall foliage. Compare that to flying: cramped seating, the impossibility of stretching your legs, the fees for having the audacity of bringing a valise. Sure air is faster, but for a trip of a few hundred miles, how much time do you save? It took us about 12 hours each way, door to door. By plane it would have taken a good 7 hours, and

cost us over twice as much. And Philadelphia's 30th St. Station is architecturally and esthetically superior to its airport. We arrived in Pittsburgh fresh and relaxed, not harried and worn out from the trip, and let's not talk about driving that distance! After being stuck in traffic on the Washington beltway for two hours on the way to Richmond, you are anything but calm on arrival. End of sermon, but not the end of memories of a nice trip. Getting there was indeed half the fun.

Why were we going to Pittsburgh, you might ask. To attend the annual EC/ASECS meeting, which was held in the incredibly and beautifully refurbished and splendidly ornate Omni William Penn Hotel in the heart of the downtown area, just a 10-minute walk from the railroad station. Great, helpful, happy staff. Immense rooms that reminded me of the opening lines of the second and third stanzas of "La Complainte de Mandrin," an 18th-century thief and folk hero who describes the scene of his first crime, grand larceny from a parish priest's abode: "I went into his bedroom, God! was it big! ...I went into another room, God! were the ceilings high!" My only complaint about the hotel was not like Mandrin's, who was standing at the gallows, but the failure to consider the health value of the meals served, most of which consisted of a full week's worth of artery-clogging fat available at a single serving. Not Heartbreak Hotel, but Heart-Attack Alley. The continental breakfast provided by EC/ASECS was, unfortunately, in the same category. Not even a bagel in sight! Only pastries and donuts, alas!

The meeting was terrific, splendidly organized, smoothly run. And the people! But then you expect good company, outstanding scholarship, and all the excitement of lively discussions at our meetings, and this was no exception, even though we did miss the wild fun of the Oral-Aural Experience and the sessions preceding it, which included papers read by our friends Peter Perreten and Jim May, *inter alia*. On Friday, breakfast at Starbucks with Brij Singh and John Radner was followed by a session on "'The Disaffected': King George's 'Good' Americans," chaired by Elizabeth Lambert. The question posed by the session had to do with the issue of "loyalty" to the Revolutionists or to the King. Examples were provided on both sides of the issue, which included religious considerations (the pacifism of the Moravians, for instance), personal security, and other matters, all convincingly argued by James P. Myers, Jr., Rodney Mader, Doreen Saar, and Scott Paul Gordon, whose paper presented a neat bridge between last year's meeting and this year's. The next session I attended was Martha Koehler's "Suspenseful Strategies across Genres." Joshua Gass reported on an unusual genre in his paper, Suspense and Trash Fiction, while Martha Koeller took on a more mainstream author in her study of "Suspense in *Sir Charles Grandison*"; both were excellent, as was John Radner's paper "Revealing and Concealing, Recovering and Discovering Johnson's Secret Sex Life." Huh? I never knew he even had a sex life, let alone a secret one.

Jim May's Research in Progress roundtable followed lunch. The first three papers were particularly insightful. Joseph Rudman revisited the question of The Non-Traditional Authorship Attribution Case for *The Federalist*, clearing up some interesting points. Jordan Howell looked at 18th-Century Abridgment and *Robinson Crusoe*, showing how very shortly after the appearance of Defoe's

novel, shortened versions of the story were published, often removing the religious character of the tale and concentrating on the adventure story aspects that determined the characteristics that the YA novel of today is mostly known by. Katharine Kittredge read what I thought was the most fascinating paper in the session, "Child Poets of the End of the Long Eighteenth Century." Who knew that contests were held for young poets (OK, not all of them were children, since the age limit was 21, but still, most of the authors were 16 and under)? My contribution paled by comparison, although it concerned a letter from one of Voltaire's school friends criticizing a new play and offering pages of good suggestions for improvement. Voltaire refused the advice because his only interest in publishing the play was an appendix of anti-Catholic critiques.

I believe it was at lunch Friday that I learned that Walter Gershuny, one of the few French dix-huitiémistes interested in poetry, is seriously ill and on medical leave. It would be nice if those who know him dropped him a line.

Wearied by the morning and early afternoon sessions, Anne and I took a bit of time off to go to Point State Park, the spot where the Monongahela and the Allegheny Rivers meet to form the Ohio, and if time allowed, to experience anew the Monongahela Incline, a funicular taking passengers up the hill. Unfortunately, the combination of very brisk temperatures, a very brisk wind, and briskly driven rain made us turn back before we could achieve any of this, and—thanks to my muddled sense of direction, even with a map in hand—we managed to get lost on the way back. Well, I got in the brisk walk I take daily for the benefit of my cardio-vascular system. And we did return in time for David Brewer's excellent plenary address, *The Literary Use of Authorial Names*.

A very nice reception followed, with drinks, etc. afterwards. I am afraid to name names lest I omit some who might resent the fact that I broke bread with them or shared a drink, but I can say that the aforementioned Brij Singh and John Radner were among them, as were our genial hosts, Linda Troost, Sayre Greenfield, and Laura Engel. Beth Lambert, Mary Margaret Stewart, Beverly Schneller, Linda Merians, Jean-Marc Kehres, Geoff Sill, Christine Clark-Evans, Don Mell, Mark Malin, Laura Kennelly, Rob Meyerovich and many others made for great company at the reception and throughout the days of the meeting.

I attended a fine session chaired by Sayre Greenfield, *Rethinking Literary History*. Peter Briggs was the lead-off man here, with an interesting (as always!) paper, "The Turn Toward Oral Sources for Poetry in the 1760s." I could immediately see the application of this thesis to French literature of the epoch. Jonathan Pritchard slammed a hit with his "The Polite World of the Smithfield Muses," and Robert D. Hume mad it three for three with "The Print Culture Contexts of the English Novel, 1660-1750." Much original-source material backed up these papers, a refreshing alternative to the excess of secondary source materials that (as I have learned in my research on France authors) too often makes extensive use of shoddy or otherwise uncertain scholarship to support its arguments. Bravo to this trio of Pennsylvanians!

My addled brain remembers my being at two places at the same time during the next session. Was I at the book exhibit sponsored by the Rowman and

Littlefield Publishing Group, which is now printing and distributing the publications of the University of Delaware Press, the Bucknell University Press, the Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, and the Lehigh University Press? Lots of great books available here! And I distinctly remember being there. But at the same time I distinctly remember attending the session chaired by Jean-Marc Kehres featuring papers by Patricia Gael (*The Importance of Satire in William Congreve's Comedies*), Lorraine Eadie (*Recovering Religious Implications in The Spectator*) and Michael Genovese (*Backruptcy and Plague: Recovering the Value of Sympathy in Defoe*). The only way I could have been at both places at the same time was to split into my particle and my wave selves, as I once reported having done at an ASECS conference.

Somewhere along the way, I asked Jim Moody if he'd be interested in taking over the duties of Webmaster for the organization. Jim already has a full plate, and hesitated. Perhaps Ellen in the end convinced him to do what had to be done, and eventually I mailed him a DVD of the code, which he used to update the site. Thank you for taking on this task, Jim! Tom McCone, my guru at the UD Media Center, has redirected all messages to the old site, located on my Web pages, to the new site, the URL of which is www.jimandellen.org/ecasecs and which I hope all will consult regularly. Already Christine Clark-Evans has provided a link for the 2011 meeting, to be held at Penn State 3-6 November.

I did attend the business lunch and hear Linda Troost's Presidential address, delivered just a week after Hallowe'en. Its theme was "The Undead Eighteenth Century," and was delivered with the humor and grace and at the same time profundity that we associate with Linda. Are all our Enlightenment heroes and heroines now zombies, still walking among us in a horrible new form? Well, you know the answer to that question if you've already read her paper above.

I then attended the roundtable chaired by the ineffably affable Sayre Greenfield on Teaching the 18C *without* Technology. Now there's a new thought! We keep hearing about using technology and the latest apps to teach our courses, but here were three a counter-proposals: Logan Connors addressed the question of "Dramatic Criticism in Drama Courses"; Jack Fruchtman provided some answers to his question "What is a Constitution?"; and Sonia Kane spoke on "In-Class Presentations Using the *OED* to Foster Close Readings." Three home runs! While I was there, Anne was "On the Road" next door in a session of that name chaired by Laura Kennelly. She reported enthusiastically about Brij Singh's paper, "Two 18C South Indian Priests Go to Europe." Their trip was unintentionally set off course, so they reached Europe via Brazil. They met with total indifference in Rome, though they did manage to speak to the Pope.

Don Mell's panel on Jonathan Swift opened with a paper on "Using Swift's *Examiner* Essays to Solve Key Interpretive Questions," like the two that followed it, showed me once more—as if I needed the prodding!—how much I don't know. I've never understood the *Tale of a Tub*, it seems like a madman's dream to me, and Kelly Centrelli's presentation on the "Rhetoric of Madness" in this story was, IMHO, right on. And Patrice Smith's talk on the Swift-Ecclin "Cantata" drove home the point of my apparently invincible ignorance. And yet everyone else in

the room took all this in stride!

I was more in my element with the final session of the meeting, Jean-Marc Kehres's panel Sympathy and Satire 2. Mark Malin began with a strong paper on Passion, Virtue, and Subversion in the Anonymous Epistolary Novel *Rodrigo and Paulina* (by my count, the fifth non-British or American paper, out of 85-90 all told: two in French, one each in Ibero-American, Indian and German. Where are our members who study foreign cultures?). He was followed by Julian Fang's convincing study of Frances Burney as Satirist, Thomas Kinnahan's presentation on War and Recovery of Puritan Virtue in Timothy Dwight's *Greenfield Hill*, and Sonia Kane's sobering analysis "His Heart was not susceptible": Unfeeling Husbands in Scott's *Millenium Hall*. And so the meeting ended.

But Pittsburgh demanded at least one more day from us, and we were glad we stayed. After a lazy Sunday morning we boarded a bus to the Carnegie Museum of Art and Museum of Natural History, which occupy two wings of the same very large edifice. On the Art side of things, we confined ourselves mainly to the rooms dedicated to Ancient through Modern Art. The exhibits were not exhaustive, as in say the Louvre or the Metropolitan, but were all well chosen to present examples of the best of each period in European and American art. I found myself sitting down more than once to rest my back and to reflect on what we'd seen. We ended the Art scene by a visit to the special exhibition of photographs, *On Reading*, by André Kortész. In every picture, from Paris to London to New York and other places, there was someone reading indoors or out on a porch or fire escape or in a public park. Sometimes the readers appeared to be secondary characters: the main subjects seemed to be people in the streets, but the readers were in a house or a café. A delightful exhibit. In the Museum of Natural History, given the short time remaining before closing, we limited our serious visiting to the hall of "Dinosaurs in Their Time." With three grandchildren now 10, 8, and 8, we might have thought we'd seen or read it all. How mistaken we were! Two hours were hardly enough, just as three hours or more in the Art Museum had us leave many things unseen. We returned to the hotel worn out and happy, and retired early to catch the train leaving at 7:20 Monday morning. A great end to a great conference.

University of Delaware

East-Central American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies November 3-6, 2011

The next annual meeting of the East-Central / American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies, hosted by Penn State University's University Park campus, will be held at the Nittany Lion Inn in State College, Pennsylvania, on 3-6 November 2011. Since our very successful meeting at University Park over a decade ago, the Inn has been remodeled. Those staying on campus will be a short walk from the University's library and several of its museums.

The theme for ECASECS 2011 will be “Liberty” in all its aspects from 1660 to 1815. In the long eighteenth century, the hopes & aspirations of people in the Americas and the transatlantic and transpacific worlds were inspired by dreams of liberty and freedom as well as by individual and collective actions that transformed the world. We invite panels and papers across disciplines that capture the themes of liberty, “liberté,” “libertad,” or “Freiheit.”

The plenary speaker will be Professor Jennifer L. Morgan (History, New York University), whose work on comparative slavery and early African-American history is highly regarded by historians. She is the author of *Laboring Women: Gender and Reproduction in New World Slavery* (Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), and numerous articles, including essays on gender and race in the January 1997 and January 2003 issues of *The William & Mary Quarterly*. The title of Professor Morgan’s talk will be “‘Their Children . . . Shall Be Bound’: Freedom and Family Life in New World Slavery.”

The Organizing Committee will consider panel proposals submitted by April 15 and proposals for papers submitted by June 15, 2011. Please address the abstract with your contact information and affiliation, if any, to:

Christine Clark-Evans, Department of French & Francophone Studies, 237 Burrowes Building, Pennsylvania State University, University Park, PA 16802, tel. 814-865-1960, fax 814-863-1103, email: cclarkevans@gmail.com

Michael Genovese and Kate Parker Win 2010 Molin Prize

We are pleased to announce that EC/ASECS is awarding two first prizes for the 2010 Molin Prize competition. Committee members, Jean-Marc Kehres, Corey Andrews, and Christine Clark-Evans, were very impressed by the number and quality of the contestants but, particularly, by the strength of two winning presentations. Awarding two first prizes is a great way to underscore EC/ASECS’s willingness to encourage and reward good work from our graduate students. So, meet your winners:

Michael Genovese’s paper on “Bankruptcy and Plague: Recovering the Value of Sympathy in Defoe” impressed the prize jury. Corey Andrews praised it for an especially deft blending of literary critical analysis and economic theory. Corey wrote that Mike’s paper provided fresh insight into the role of Scottish economic theories and their impact upon eighteenth-century literary production. Michael, a graduate student at Virginia presently teaching English at Villanova University, has recently accepted a position as an Assistant Professor of English at the University of Kentucky, where he will continue to pursue his interests in eighteenth-century literature and culture. His recently completed dissertation explores how periodical essays, georgic poetry, and novels incorporated overlapping discourses of sympathy and economics to construct a model of selfhood that was relational rather than individualistic.

Kate Parker’s paper, entitled “Thomson in Love: The Heaving Bosoms of *Spring*,” explored the poem’s interesting intersections of gender, poetics,

aesthetics and ethics. Kate's engagement with the audience during her presentation and her generous and skilled response to questions won Christine Clark-Evans's admiration. Kate is completing her Ph.D in English and Comparative Literature at Washington University in St. Louis, with her defense anticipated in the fall of 2011. Her dissertation examines the problem of sensibility as a philosophical and generic category in the eighteenth century, and it theorizes the erotic as a way of negotiating the tension between individual and communal feeling in the period. Currently, Kate is an Editorial Associate at Bucknell University Press, where she works with its new series in eighteenth-century history and culture, *Transits*. She will teach two classes on Restoration and 18th-century literature at Bucknell in 2011-2012.

We are looking forward to future presentations from Mike and Kate as they advance further into their careers and studies. We salute them now for their excellent work. Graduate students interested in submitting their papers for consideration in the 2011 Molin Prize competition should keep an eye on the website for special instructions. In addition to the Prize, EC/ASECS will fund a reception for graduate students at the meeting.

Linda E. Merians

Minutes of the EC/ASECS Business Meeting, November 6, 2010

We began our Business Meeting by giving Linda Troost, Sayre Greenfield, and Laura Engel a hearty round of applause for their organizational genius. The annual meeting at the famed Omni William Penn Hotel was satisfying in every way, from the great food of our opening reception, to Linda's fantastic Presidential address, to renewing ties of friendship, and to learning from one another about our century of choice.

We announced that the 2011 meeting will be hosted by Pennsylvania State University and held at the spacious and welcoming Nittany Lion Inn on November 3-6, 2011. The theme will be "Liberty" in all its aspects from 1660-1815. In the long eighteenth century, the hopes and aspirations of many people in the Americas and the transatlantic world were inspired by dreams of liberty and freedom, and realized through their creativity and resourcefulness in representing these ideas through their actions. We invite panels and papers across disciplines that capture themes of "Liberty," "Liberté," "Libertad," or "Freiheit" from different perspectives. Christine Clark-Evans (French, Penn State U.) will lead our conference committee. Please send her panel proposals by **April 15** and paper proposals by **June 15, 2011** (cclarkevans@gmail.com).

As chair of our Nominations Committee, Linda Troost presented the following slate of nominees: Lisa Rosner for President; Kathryn Temple for Vice President; Rivka Swenson for Board Member; and Linda Merians for the position of Executive Secretary. The membership approved these nominations with a round of applause as usual.

As chair of the Molin Prize Committee, Jean-Marc Kehres reported that there were 11 submissions. At the meeting, the Executive helped to support a graduate student assembly organized by Kate Parker, a new member. Thank you so much Kate for your effort in this regard. We hope the 2011 conference will be as rich or richer with graduate student participants. We will offer special registration rates for graduate students at the conference.

Next, Jim May, the indefatigable editor of *The Eighteenth-Century Intelligencer*, thanked sponsors at Penn State and the many contributors to recent issues. He encouraged members to submit for future issues the sort of copy they want to read in their society's newsletter. If you want to write book reviews or short articles for the newsletter, please contact Jim at jem4@psu.edu. We are grateful to Jim for the time he devotes to EC/ASECS and to our newsletter, which is recognized throughout the world of eighteenth-century studies as the finest of any regional society.

To our great delight and to his great surprise, Brijraj Singh was awarded the Leland Peterson Prize. Corey Andrews and Linda Merians had great pleasure in presenting Brij with the award, which brings a framed certificate and bottle of wine. Brij's long years of service to EC/ASECS, his willingness to chair sessions and offer such excellent papers himself, and his welcoming warmth to so many new members makes him a most deserving recipient.

To conclude our Business meeting, Linda Merians promised a full financial report in the next newsletter (see below), and she reassured the membership that we are in great shape. Thanks to you—our membership—our Society continues to attract and maintain smart and spirited scholars.

Here is a list of members of our Executive Committee for 2011:

President: Lisa Rosner (2011)

Vice President: Kathy Temple (2011)

Elected Board Members: Christine Clark-Evans (2011); Corey Andrews (2012); Rivka Swenson (2013)

Immediate Two Past Presidents: Linda Troost, Geoff Sill

Newsletter Editor: Jim May [jem4@psu.edu]

Executive Secretary: Linda E. Merians (2013) [lemeria@aol.com]

Past and Future Chairs: Linda Troost, Sayre Greenfield, Laura Engel, Scott Gordon, Monica Najar, Christine Clark-Evans (2011), Beverly Schneller (2012)

Web Master(s): Ellen and Jim Moody

Financial Report, January 1, 2010-December 31, 2010

We are in fine financial shape. As of January 7, 2011, we have \$5,566.00 in our bank account. We currently have 408 members. (Now is a good time to urge and thank you for paying your dues in a prompt fashion).

For fiscal/calendar year 2010, you will see that our expenses just about matched our revenue. Contributing more than anything to our sound financial health is that Linda Troost, Sayre Greenfield, and Laura Engel worked

wonders ensuring that the Society's conference expenses were kept in check, something extremely hard to do when the meeting is held at a hotel rather than on a campus. The registration fee, which was sent directly to the organizing committee, fundamentally paid for the conference. Our newsletter expenses were less than FY 2009 because, as you'll remember, we printed a double issue of the *ECI* in February 2010. In response to the high quality of the submissions, we were happy to award two Molin prizes for the most excellent graduate student papers presented at the 2009 conference. It is a pleasure to pay this kind of extra expense!

Revenue received in 2010: Total revenue, \$5,320.18
 Bank interest, \$5.95
 Misc. 2010 conference registration, \$180.00
 Post-Bethlehem (2009) meeting, \$800.75
 Post-Conference receipt after Omni bill paid, \$1,438.48
 Membership dues, \$2,895
 Expenses paid in 2010: Total expenses paid, \$5,341.15
 Bank charges, \$34.99
 Conference expenses paid centrally by EC/ASECS
 (plenary honorarium/expenses, deposit, postage), \$1,847.94
 Molin Prize 2009, \$300.00
 Newsletter printing, \$1,159.27
 Office supplies (envelopes, labels, checks, copies), \$220.32
 Peterson Prize expenses, \$40.77
 Postage for *ECI*, dues letter and other mailings, \$1,737.86

Respectfully submitted,
 Linda E. Merians, Executive Secretary

In Memory of Frank Shuffelton

Last year, on 4 March 2010, Frank Shuffelton died at age 69. We only heard of it last fall, missing tributes to his "warmth, humor, and intellectual energy" circulated on ASECS's weekly postings and the memorials in newsletters like NEASECS's (May 2010) and the *Rochester Review* (May/June 2010). It was shocking news as Frank was so extraordinarily full of life, so animating, leaving everyone who chatted with him feeling like they'd just touched an angel. He couldn't pay his dues without adding a friendly note. He was so vital that I've always recalled his face as I saw it at a conference: ruddy and drenched from jumping in and climbing out of a swimming pool to jump in again. Yet his publications made him a truly distinguished Americanist—not many distinguished professors carry themselves *jovially* through conferences. You knew it didn't bother him that you'd misspelled his name.

Frank Shuffelton advanced American literary studies. He helped establish a number of organizations for scholars of American literature and the 18C (as

NEASECS, which he served as Secretary-Treasurer and President), he produced two generations of scholars, and he aided many colleagues, as they later testified in praising his memory. His accomplishments earned him the Lifetime Achievement award from the Early American Literature section of the Modern Language Association. Frank was one of those EC/ASECS members that I've always wondered why we hadn't tapped to give our plenary lecture. He worked on literature, history, and culture of the Revolutionary and early Republic period: Jefferson and architecture, authors like Thomas Hooker (the 17^C Connecticut divine), Charles Brockden Brown, Philip Freneau, and Phillis Wheatley, genres like pamphlets, periodical literature, and poetry, regions including the Caribbean, groups like the American Indians and African slaves, etc. —quite a range. He edited collections *The American Enlightenment* (1993) and *Mixed Race: Ethnicity in Early America* (1993), as well as the *Letters of John and Abigail Adams* (2003). Many of his important publications concern Jefferson: he compiled *Thomas Jefferson: Comprehensive Annotated Bibliography of Writings about Him* (1982; suppl. 1992), “the best guide to the historical literature,” and edited Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1999) as well as the *Cambridge Companion to Thomas Jefferson* (2008).

Frank took his B.A. from Harvard, served in the Coast Guard, and then took his Ph.D. from Stanford. He taught for forty years at the U. of Rochester, where he served as chairman and director of graduate studies. He was survived by Jane, his wife of 46 years, his children Amy and George, and five grandchildren. Googling him will bring up news of a symposium in his honor, tributes from students and colleagues, a library of publications and citations, and his faculty profile, with his photo, still offering us his beaming smile!

Additions and Corrections to the Directory

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News of Members

We owe great thanks to **Jim Moody** for taking over as webmaster from T.E.D. Braun and creating a new “**EC/ASECS home**” page (google that quoted phrase for a link). The new EC/ASECS website is located within Jim and Ellen Moody’s larger site, at www.jimandellen.org/ecasecs/index.html. There, within the “**newsletter archive**,” is placed the bibliography for the EC/ASECS newsletters between 1978 and 2004 (first published in the January 2005 *Intelligencer*), three indices covering articles by topic and contributors in issues from 1997-2007, and issues for May 2007 through February 2010 (some are in two parts; mastheads and cover illustrations are not reproduced).

We thank **Laura Engel**, **Sayre Greenfield**, and **Linda Troost** for organizing a memorable conference in 2010 that brought us many members. Among the 120+ registrants were many new members: **Thora Brylowe**, at Pitt, who works on Blake, the sister arts, Shakeapearian editions, and antiquarianism; **Clorinda Donato**, the George L. Graziadio Chair of Italian Studies at California State U. at Long Beach, who has edited ASECS’s online review website, EBRO, since setting it up in the mid 1990s, who recently co-edited *Discourses of Tolerance and Intolerance in the 18C*, and who works in both 18C French and Italian studies, as on Jesuits in America, secret societies in Florence, and the Grand Tour; **Robert Griffin**, now at Texas A & M, the co-author and editor of *The Faces of Anonymity* (2003), who in Pittsburgh argued well on Defoe attributions; **Jeffrey Leichman**, who works on French literature and performance at Sarah Lawrence; **Lin Nulman**, at U. of New Hampshire, working on early American drama, London, and theater history; **Ailsa Kay**, who may be finishing her Ph.D. in English at McMaster or is already Dr. Kay; **Thomas P. Kinnahan**, who teaches American lit at Duquesne; **Nicole Reynolds**, Asso. Prof. of English & Women’s Studies at Ohio U., working on Romanticism and material culture; **Devjani Roy**, a graduate student in English at the U. of Kentucky, working on economic and social history and visual culture; **Timothy Ruppert**, who works on British Romanticism, literature of the Napoleonic Wars, drama, and visionary poetics; **John Savarese**, in English at Rutgers; **Danielle Spratt**, who works on literary philanthropy, the novel, satire, and science at Fordham; **Jeff Stoyanoff**, a graduate student at Duquesne working on Medieval drama and spectacle; **Morgan Strawn**, who works at Wisconsin-Madison on the British novel and church history, and spoke on William Cowper, George III, and Clerical reform at the SCSECS; **Jason Vanfosson**, an instructor at Duquesne, working on drama, the gothic, and transatlantic studies; and **Deborah Varat**, who teaches Humanities and Fine Arts at Southern New Hampshire and works on family life & portraiture. The papers I heard in Pittsburgh were weighty and substantial, relative to those at many meetings, and for that I’m also grateful to

the chairs. There were some extraordinarily fine sessions on literature, free of jargon, full of facts marshaled into arguments—many good papers concerned attribution; many were on minor figures, as **Peter Briggs'** discussion of Homeric criticism, and many involved untapped primary materials, as **Katharine Kittredge's** empirical study of poetry books by children (she had found 121 titles between 1770-1830). Repeatedly I sat in panels where ALL the papers were good, as the American panel with **James Myers, Rodney Mader, Doreen Saar, and Scott Gordon**, and the Defoe panel with **John Richetti, Kate Levin, Robert Griffin, and Jesse Edwards**.

This past year, **Robert Barry** (C. A. Stonehill, Inc.), **John Price**, and **Alex Fotheringham** have all issued one or more antiquarian book catalogues. In October **Barbara Benedict** lectured to the Columbia U. Seminar on 18C European Culture on "Sublime Oddity: Sir Hans Sloane and the Reputation of the Collector in Britain, 1670-1800." **Lisa Berglund** published "Hester Lynch Piozzi's *British Synonymy* in Imperial France" in *Dictionaries*, 31 (2010), 69-86, and "Oysters for Hodge, or, Ordering Society, Writing, and Feeding the Cat" in *JECS*, 33 (2010), 631-45. **Kevin Berland**, who brought much expertise to a fine review above, spends his spring sabbatical researching physiognomy and finishing up an edition of and writing a complementary monograph on William Byrd. **Elisa Beshero-Bondar** last summer had her book "Women, Epic, and Transition in British Romanticism" accepted by Delaware. It "investigates early 19C long poems as modernized epics that place female figures at the focal point of traumatic, jarring experiences of historic transition." She considers the reinvention of the epic in long poems by Mary Russell Mitford, Margaret Holford, and Mary Tighe in the context of others, better known, by Byron, Scott, and Southey.

This month the U. of Georgia Press published *The Adventures of Gil Blas of Santillane* by Alain René Le Sage, in Tobias Smollett's translation of 1749 (frequently reprinted). The most recent volume of the "Georgia Smollett," whose general editor is Alexander Pettit, the translation is edited by Leslie A. Chilton (critical ed.) and **O M Brack, Jr.** (textual ed.): pp. xxix + 698, reproducing all 33 plates of the original editions and four other facsimiles; with intro, notes, textual intro, lists of emendations, historical collation, descriptive bibliography, index). Skip Brack has served as the Georgia Edition's official Textual Editor, having edited all but one of the Georgia Smolletts from the very first—at least seven volumes to date, with the hefty, *Roderick Random* and *Peregrine Pickle*, in the press. This is the third translation by Smollett that Skip and Leslie A. Chilton edited (earlier they did Fénelon's *The Adventures of Telemachus* and Le Sage's *The Devil upon Crutches*)—it's heartening that, as solitary as we are by profession, some of us can work with colleagues on successive projects over decades. Last fall Skip worked on a retrospective catalogue for the Huntington exhibition of Johnson he curated earlier, and in the winter he catalogued Loren Rothschild's library and edited miscellaneous works of Johnson for what will be the final volume of the Yale edition.

Ted Braun gave invited lectures in April 2010 at SUNY New Paltz,

“Voltaire et les Lumières françaises” and “The French Enlightenment and Others [i.e., the Catholic Enlightenment and the Spanish Enlightenment]”; and at New Paltz High School, he talked on three sci-fi tales, “Cyrano de Bergerac (*Voyage dans la Lune*), Voltaire (*Micromégas*), and Jules Verne (*De la Terre à la Lune*).” **Caroline Breashears** published “The Female Appeal Memoir: Genre and Female Literary Tradition in 18C England” in *Modern Philology*, 107 (2010): 607-31. Her essay “‘Justifying myself to the World’: Paratextual Strategies in Teresia Constantia Phillips’s *Apology*” is forthcoming in *Script & Print*. **Vincent Carretta** is completing a biography of Phillis Wheatley to be published by Georgia later this year, the 250th anniversary of her arrival in Boston from Africa—it contains “some discoveries about her life.” This and other work over the past two years was completed with fellowships from the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, the Library Company of Philadelphia, the John Carter Brown Library, and the Massachusetts Historical Society. Vin has recently published the following: “Early Print Literature” in the *Cambridge History of African American Literature*, ed. by Maryemma Graham and John W. Ward. (2011), “Phillis Wheatley’s First Effort” in *PMLA*, 125.3 (2010), 795-97; “Transatlantic Literatures of the Early Black Atlantic” in *The Blackwell Companion to African American Literature*, ed. by Gene Jarrett (Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 11-24; “Revisiting the Identity of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African” in *Repercussions of the Atlantic Slave Trade*, ed. by C. Brown and P. Lovejoy (Africa World Press, 2010), 151-64; “Teaching Transatlantic Literatures of the Early Black Atlantic” in *Teaching the Transatlantic Eighteenth Century*, ed. by J. Frangos and C. Silva (Cambridge Scholars, 2010), 173-84; “Venture Smith, One of a Kind” in *Venture Smith and the Business of Slavery and Freedom*, ed. by James Stewart (U. of Massachusetts Press, 2010); “‘I began to feel the happiness of liberty, of which I knew nothing before’: 18C Black Tales of the Lowcountry” in *African Americans in the Georgia Lowcountry*, ed. by Philip Morgan (Georgia, 2010), 77-102. Also, in 2010, Georgia published *The Life and Letters of Philip Quaque, the First African Anglican Missionary*, co-edited with Ty Reese.

After bringing out the 30th volume of *ECCB: The Eighteenth-Century Current Bibliography* in 2009, **Kevin Cope** and his fellow general editor Robert Leitz, brought out two more volumes in 2010: 31 (for 2005; c. 630 pp.) and 32 (for 2006; c. 580 pp.); they sent Vol. 33 to AMS Press before the year’s end, too. Much can be said in gratitude to AMS Press for supporting our field—particularly for the receptions hosted by Kevin at ASECS and regional meetings. Kevin and Bob have organized for mid-May a small conference on exaggeration in the eighteenth century, to be held at the Noel Rare Books Collection in Shreveport, where Bob is the Noel curator. Kevin and his learned and lovely wife **Baerbel Czennia** both gave papers, as did **Hermann J. Real**, at the Colloque Paul-Gabriel Boucé, held this past February at the Ernst-Moritz-Arndt U. in Greifswald (on the Baltic in eastern Germany, now, well after the reunification of Germany, flourishing again like other towns in the Mecklenburg-Vorpommern state), principally organized by **Mascha**

(**Gemmeke Hansen**, with Jürgen Klein. Cancellation by several participants induced Mascha to produce a paper, too: “Great Expectations: Young Girls’ Plans in Old Women’s Memoirs,” looking at the memoirs of Caroline Herschel and Mary Mommerville, and also Frances Burney’s “Memoirs of Dr. Burney.” Mascha will be editing the revised papers for submission to a press. Speaking of Kevin Cope, who is esp. burdened during these lean times as a faculty senate chair (LSU), I’m reminded of how we need scholarly meetings if only to whine about the state of public expenditures (there’s no law against collective whining yet). The budget proposed by the new Pennsylvania governor would cut state funding by over 50% for Penn State, Temple, Pitt, and the state universities like Millersville and West Chester—nothing like phasing cuts in! Actually, I was at a conference last month, the SCSECS, organized by the good humored **Murray Brown** and held on gorgeous St. Simons Island, a sort of southern Martha’s Vineyard, and nobody was whining—we all, **Frances & Brij Singh, Kevin Cope, Baerbel Czennia, Louise Barnett, Barbara Benedict, Temma Berg, John Dussinger, Judith Mueller, Frieda Koeninger, Kathy Temple, Cathy Parisian**, et al. (some dropped out and stayed), felt lucky to stroll along the beach and by cottages under live oaks.

Many members are speaking at the second **Defoe Society** conference in Worcester: **Max Novak** chairs a roundtable on which **J. Alan Downie** and **Ashley Marshall** speak; and **John Richetti** reads a paper on “The State of Wit in 1700”; **Gabriel Cervantes**, on “Defoe’s London in the Atlantic World”; **Geoffrey Sill**, on “Un-Locke-ing Defoe and His Contemporaries”; and **Laura Stevens**, on “Gender in the Fiction of Manley, Haywood, and Defoe.” **JoEllen Delucia** published “From the Female Gothic to a Feminist Theory of History: Ann Radcliffe and the Scottish Enlightenment,” *The Eighteenth Century*, 50.1 (Spring 2009), 101-15. At the Johnson Society of the Central Region in 2010 **Lorraine Eadie** spoke on “Women’s Moral Purpose Envisioned in the *Spectator*, the *Female Tatler*, and the *Rambler*,” and **Stephen Karian**, on “The Publication and Composition of *A Tale of a Tub*.” **Robert Erickson**, who’s writing a book about ecstasy and the affections, published “Swift, Sterne, and the Anglican Sermon Performed” in *Divine Rhetoric: Essays on the Sermons of Laurence Sterne*, ed. by **W. B. Gerard** (Delaware, 2010). **Gloria Eive** has edited *Visions and Realities*, due this year from Cambridge Scholars, and is editing “Musica Toscana: Selected String Music of Pietro Nardini, Nero Bondi, Ignaz Franz von Mosel & Giovanni Francesco Giuliani.” Two other projects are “Paolo Alberghi and Musical Activities in the Romagna, 1700-1850,” and “The Music of Giuseppe Sarti.” This year **Ian Gadd** is living in Washington while researching at regional libraries and teaching a Folger seminar. In late February he was at Penn to lecture to Peter Stallybrass’s Material Texts seminar. The summer 2010 issue of *The Eighteenth Century* contains **Michael Genovese**’s “‘Profess as Much as I’: Dignity as Authority in the Poetry of Sarah Fyge Egerton” (51.1-2:45-66), **Anthony Lee**’s “Mentoring and Mimicry in Boswell’s *Life of Johnson*” (67-86), **Rivka Swenson**’s “Optics, Gender, and the 18C Gaze: Looking at Eliza

Haywood's *Anti-Pamela*" (27-44), and **Amy Witherbee**'s "The Temporality of the Public in *The Tatler* and *The Spectator*" (173-92). **Mascha Hansen**'s essay "Love, Honour and Revenge: Suicide and the Question of Honour in 18C European Literature" appears in *Britannien und Europa: Studien zur Literatur, Geistes- und Kulturgeschichte*, ed. M. Szecekalla (2010). **William Hogeland** every couple weeks posts an essay at his blog, "Hysteriography: Hogeland's Commentaries on populism, liberalism, and conservatism in American history, politics, and poetics." One in February has a link to his lecture "Liberty vs. Equality, 1776," offered last year at the National Archives. Welcome to **Katie Homar**, who works on Romanticism, 18C rhetoric, and anthologies. *The Cambridge Companion to Children's Literature*, co-ed. by **Andrea Immel** (2009), is reviewed in the last *Children's Books History Society Newsletter*.

Christopher Johnson has finished editing, for publication this spring, the festschrift *New Contexts for Eighteenth-Century British Fiction: "Hearts Resolved and Hands Prepared": Essays in Honor of Jerry C. Beasley* (U. of Delaware Press in association with Rowman & Littlefield), c. 360 pp. **Donald Mell**, the Director of UDP, has repeatedly praised Chris as a press's dream editor—and much the same could be said by contributors, too. After Chris's introduction and a tribute to Jerry from his colleague Charles Robinson, the volume contains essays by Chris himself ("Rescuing Narcissa: Monstrous Vision, Imagination, and Redemption in *Roderick Random*"), **O M Brack, Jr.** ("Tobias Smollett: The Life of an Author"), **Paula Backscheider** ("Elizabeth Singer Rowe: Lifestyle as Legacy"), **Robert Erickson** ("Cleland's Gospel of 'Extasy'"), **Marta Kvande** ("Jane Barker's *Exilius*: Politics, Women, Narration, and the Public"), **Mary Anne Schofield** ("A Brief Note on Haywood Scholarship: or, *The Fatal Enquiry* into the *Timely Discovery* and *Fruitful Enquiry* into the *Fatal Fondness* of Contemporary Scholars for Eliza Haywood"), **Rivka Swenson** ("Revising the Scottish Plot in Tobias Smollett's *Roderick Random*"), **James May** ("The Publication and Revision of Tobias Smollett's *Continuation of the Complete History of England, 1760-1771*," with "Appendix: A Descriptive Bibliography with Collation of Variant Readings for Lifetime Editions"), et al. Half the volume concerns Smollett, which seems about right for a festschrift to the former general editor of the *Georgia Smollett*. Don Mell must be glad to have a hand in bringing out a festschrift to his old friend. **Steve Karian** and **James Woolley** are editing Swift's poetry for the *Cambridge Swift* (see the article above on Steve's winning ASECS's Irish-American fellowship to support work this fall in Dublin). **Deborah Kennedy** published "British Portraits of Women Reading" in the 2009 *1650-1850*. **Ellen Malenas Ledoux** is writing a book called "Fantastic Forms of Change: Social Reform in Gothic Writing 1764-1834." She spoke at the SEA this month on yellow fever in Charles Brockden Brown's *Arthur Mervyn*, and this fall her "Defiant Damsels: Gothic Spaces and Female Agency in *Emmeline*, *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, and *Secresy*." will appear in *Women's Writing*, 18.4. **Anthony Lee**'s book "Dead Masters: Mentoring and Intertextuality in Samuel Johnson" was accepted for publication by Lehigh U. Press. Tony published

“Samuel Johnson as Intertextual Critic” in *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, 52.2 (2010), 129-56. He reported in the Sept. 2010 *JNL* about the ASECS session he chaired on Roger Lonsdale’s edition of Johnson’s *Lives of the Poets*. Also in that issue of *JNL* is **Anthony Tedeschi’s** “Between the Covers: Newly Discovered Johnsonian Prospectuses” and a review of *Samuel Johnson after 300 Years*, co-edited by **Greg Clingham**. **Kate Levin’s** review of Felicity Nussbaum’s *Rival Queens: Actresses, Performance, and the 18C British Theater* appears in *Eighteenth-Century Studies (ECS)*, 44.3 (spring 2011), 423-25. **April London** has published *Literary History Writing, 1770-1820* (Palgrave, 2010) and is now completing “The Cambridge Introduction to the Eighteenth-Century Novel.” **Jack Lynch** bought out the 20th volume of *The Age of Johnson* in September. It includes **Lorna Clarke’s** “Epistolarity in Frances Burney”; **Paul Ruxin’s** “*Dorando* and the Douglas Cause”; and Jack’s own “Nothing odd will do long”: *Tristram Shandy* after 250 Years.”

Ashley Marshall, who will take a position at U. of Nevada—Reno next fall, has published in the *ECS* out this month (44.3: 405-11) a review essay on five books on Swift, including **Louise Barnett**, *Jonathan Swift in the Company of Woman* (OUP, 2007), **Stephen Karian**, *Jonathan Swift in Print and Manuscript* (CUP, 2010), and **Claude Rawson** (ed.), *Politics and Literature in the Age of Swift: English and Irish Perspectives* (CUP, 2010). Ashley has an essay entitled “Epistolary Swift” in the forthcoming 2011 issue of *Swift Studies*, where we will also find **James McLaverty’s** “Italics in Swift’s Poems.” **Sylvia Kasey Marks** has been poking around English Catholic women writers and the novelist Jane Porter. **William McCarthy** has been awarded ASECS’s 2011 Annibel Jenkins Biography Prize for his *Anna Letitia Barbauld: Voice of Enlightenment* (JHUP, 2008). Bill’s current projects are Vol. 5 of the Cambridge Edition of the Correspondence of Samuel Richardson and a collected works of Anna Letitia Barbauld. Bill participated in the CSESC, October 14-17, 2010, chairing a panel on biography (“Getting a Life”), with Isobel Grundy, Shelley King, and Lissa Paul. He has forthcoming two articles: “How Dissent Made Anna Letitia Barbauld, and What She Made of Dissent,” in *Religious Dissent and the Aikin-Barbauld Circle, 1740-1860* ed. by Felicity James and Ian Eukster (CUP) and “Anna Letitia Barbauld, Alienated Intellectual” (in a special issue of *Enlightenment & Dissent*). Bill isn’t alone in working on dissent in the Aikin circle: CUP in 2011 publishes Daniel E. White’s *Early Romanticism and Religious Dissent* with two chapters on it. **Kathy McGill** this month at the Society of Early Americanists presents “I am myself Head Gardener”: Eliza Lucas Pinkney Communicates through Horticulture” and at the Virginia Forum, “The Loyalist Experience of Nicholas Cresswell.” Her article “‘The Most Industrious Sex’: John Lawson’s Women Domesticate the Land” appears in the July *North Carolina Historical Register*.

Kudos to **Linda Merians**, as Executive Sec’y, who has had to write hundreds of notes to ask members to renew dues payments or to provide basic information, and then she had the more odious task of cutting the rolls of those not paying in several years and breaking the bad news to me—all this is not

news, but it need be said with great thanks, esp. since she's been repeating these tasks for 15 years, along with lining up our meetings—usually troublesome. (She's proofread much of this issue, too.) **Ellen Moody** gave papers at our meeting in Pittsburgh, the JASNA / Burney Society in Portland, and the ASECS in Albuquerque. She recently published "People that marry can never part': An Intertextual Reading of *Northanger Abbey*" on *Persuasions Online*, 31.1 (2010), and has forthcoming in *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* a review of *The Politics of Gender in Anthony Trollope's Novels: New Readings for the 21C*, ed. by M. Markwick, et al. Ellen has an essay on "Trollope on TV" in the forthcoming volume *Teaching British Literature of the 19C and Film*, ed. Abigail Burnham Bloom (Cumbria). She continues to work on a book on the Austen movies or just on those of *Sense and Sensibility*. Ellen has already sent us a long review of Mary Trouille's *Wife Abuse in 18C France* for the next *Intelligence*, which I apologize for being unable to include. **Yvonne Noble** writes that her children and grandchildren are flourishing—grandson Felix was born 24 December—and that "the glory of 2010 has been a feast of opera." **David Palumbo's** "Death Becomes Her: Figuration and Decay in Swift's 'Birthday Poems' to Stella" appears in *The Eighteenth Century* of Winter 2010, and his "Mary Wollstonecraft, Jonathan Swift, and the Passion in Reading" will appear in this Summer's *SEL*. **Kate Parker**, applauded above for winning our Molin Prize for her fall paper, co-chairs ASECS's graduate student caucus, which holds an annual luncheon at ASECS. The most recent ASECS *News Circular* contains her article on the caucus's activities, in part requesting applicants for the co-chair position. At ASECS the Caucus bestows the Jay Fliegelman Excellence in Mentorship Award—won last year by **O M Brack, Jr.**, to his delight—as well as Arizona State's. Keep the award in mind for your mentor: the application process, not demanding, closes in December).

Elizabeth Powers, who favored us with a review above of the *Goethe Yearbook* XVII, has edited a collection of 18C studies entitled "Freedom of Speech: The History of an Idea," forthcoming from Bucknell in late 2011. Contributions originated at the Columbia U. Faculty Seminar on 18C European Culture while she was its organizing chair). She was finishing her own contribution amidst the protests against the "Ground Zero mosque" and the proposed Koran burning. Some of her ideas were drafted and explored on her blog *Goethe Etc.* ([http:// gothetc.blogspot.com/](http://gothetc.blogspot.com/)), where thoughtful reflections (as now on the catastrophes in Japan) are matched by stunning photographs. In November she spoke on the "Pre-Kantian Sublime" (in Swiss critics J.J. Bodmer and J.J. Breitinger, both influenced by Addison) at the German Studies Asso. in Oakland, CA. On 16 December she lectured to the Columbia Seminar in 18C European Culture on "From 'The Pleasures of the Imagination' to the Free Play of the Cognitive Powers: The Transmission of the Discourse of the Sublime in Germany." The chair of the seminars passed on in May from Elizabeth to Al Coppola (English, John Jay College, CUNY), who's posted the titles for spring talks on the WWW. The lecture follows drinks and dinner (\$24 in cash or check; if you wish to join for the dinner, make reservations with the

rapporteur, Ariel Rubin, at ajr2112@columbia.edu; note that advanced graduate students are welcome). **Hermann J. Real** has completed editing *Swift Studies* remarkably early this year and expects to mail it before summer ends, freeing him up to concentrate on his sixth Münster Swift Symposium in June and his major project, the Online Swift edition and related bibliographical and textual projects (see announcements below for some of those developments). We wish **Alvaro Ribeiro** many productive years of research upon his retirement from Georgetown. **Michael Ritterson** is collaborating with biologist Kay Etheridge to produce an English translation of *Der Raupen wunderbare Verwandlung und sonderbare Blumennahrung* (1679), studies of insect metamorphosis, by the naturalist-illustrator Maria Sibylla Merian. He spoke on the project at the American Literary Translators Asso. meeting in Philadelphia last October. He is also working on translations of two novels by German realist Wilhelm Raabe and serving on the jury for a translation prize.

Peter Sabor edited a special section of **Kevin Cope's** *1650-1850* (Vol. 16: 2009) on "Horace Walpole: Beyond the *Castle of Otranto*." In the Fall 2010 *Burney Letter*, Peter reports that in August Vols. 1-2 of the *Court Journals and Letters* of **Frances Burney** were submitted to OUP (Vol. 1 1786, ed. by Peter; Vol. 2, 1787, ed. by Stewart Cooke). He notes that **Lorna Clark** hopes to submit her edition of Vols. 3-4 (1788) in 2011 and **Geoffrey Sill**, his of Vol. 5 (1789) in 2012. Cooke and Lars Troide finished the fifth and final vol. of *Early Journals and Letters* (1782-83) and sent their MS to McGill-Queen's UP. Cooke is now editing journals for 1784-86. Elsewhere in this *Burney Letter* there is an account of the Burney conference held last June in Paris (at which Peter spoke on "Madame d'Arblay, Parisienne") and a review of **Lorna Clark's** edition of Sarah Harriet Burney's *The Romance of Private Life*—which we soon hope to have a review of from **Emily Friedman**. Last year, in celebration of his 80th birthday, **Harold Schiffman's** music was performed in concerts at The Morgan Library & Museum and the U. of North Carolina at Greensboro (Harold's home town). **Jane Perry-Camp**, his wife, joined in both performances. Two CDs also appeared: one, *Harold Schiffman at 80!*, with *Duo Concertante*, *Fantasy-Suite*, *Blood Mountain*, *Bagatelles*, and *Piano Sonata No. 1* (North/South R 1053), which features Jane on piano; and the other, *Harold Schiffman: Orchestral Works*, with *Symphony No. 2*: "Music for Győr," *Ninnerella Variata*, *Variations on Branchwater*, *Blood Mountain Suite*, and *Overture to a Comedy* (North/South R1050). Both are reviewed in the Sept./Oct. 2010 *Fanfare* (34.1: 428-30). Jane thinks, "the reviewer, Robert Schulslaper, captures the heart and true nature of Harold's music"—from it I learned that Harold plays the banjo and employs ballad materials. The review and much news of his music in performance and recording can be found at Harold's webiste via Google. Much news too appears at the UNCG website, including an account of the Harold Schiffman High School Composition Competition, the winner of which receives a music scholarship to the University. **Shef Rogers** is working on 18C supplements and editing *Script & Print*. **Beverly Schneller** signed on as assignments coordinator for *The*

Scriblerian. She's been in my mind, for, as a department chair, Beverly must cope with drastic cuts to Millersville University's budget. **Manny Schonhorn** paper at the Georgetown EC/ASECS, "Climate, Sites, and a Sanctuary: Austen's *Mansfield Park*," will appear in the 2011 *The Age of Johnson*. Manny's working on the projects "Johnson's *Journey* and the Tri-Partite Ideology" and "Lipsius and Pope: A Reading of *Dr. Arbuthnot*." **Norbert Schürer** in the fall was revising "an article on Haywood, completing the last revisions on my Lennox correspondence manuscript, and incorporating reviewers' comments into an anthology *British Encounters with India, 1750-1830*," which he's co-editing with a colleague from History, Tim Keirn—Norbert has a sabbatical this spring. **Eleanor F. Shevlin** and Eric N. Lindquist contributed "The Center for the Book and the History of the Book." *Libraries & the Cultural Record*, 45 (2010), 56-69. It appears in a special issue on the Library of Congress, honoring John Cole; the issue also includes Jane Aikin's "Histories of the Library of Congress" (5-24) and Josephus Nelson's "Properly Arranged and Properly Recorded: The Library of Congress's Archives" (25-36). Shevlin and Lindquist's essay covers Cole's leadership in book history in the 1970s and provides a history of book historical efforts by Cole, the LC, and others—it folds into the survey an account of the creation of SHARP.

Four Courts Press of Dublin has published **Catherine Skeen**'s edition of William Dunkin's *The Parson's Revels* (Sept. 2010; 150 pp.; 27 euros). Katie took as her text a contemporary manuscript that she transcribed and edited. Dunkin's poem is lively and humorous like much of his work, which Swift spoke highly of. **Rivka Swenson**, had a month's fellowship at UCLA & the Clark Library to work on optical theory. She's now writing a chapter for her book on narrative form and national identity after the 1707 Act of Union. **James Tierney** and **Thomas McGeary** received additional funding from the Andrew Mellon Foundation to support the entry of likely library locations for early British periodicals in their on-going indexing database project for Mellon (Jim's wife Pattie Tierney also contributes to that project). This is a "bridge grant" to insert material formerly gathered, and Jim has applied for a much larger grant for the coming year. Those at **Eleanor Shevlin**'s electronic tools section at our Bethlehem meeting would have heard something further from Jim on the project. Jim and others in EC/ASECS have contributed essays to a special section of **Jack Lynch**'s *The Age of Johnson* that Eleanor has edited, presumably for the 2011 volume. (Thanks to Jack, too, who was there at Bethlehem and rightly saw that Eleanor and later Anna Battigelli at ASECS were creating forums for observations on electronic tools transforming 18C studies.) **Dennis Todd**'s book *Defoe's America* was published by Cambridge in 2010. His projects now are "William Byrd II and His Slaves" and "*Robinson Crusoe* and *The Female American*." **Linda Troost** has nearly finished editing her sixth volume of the annual *Eighteenth-Century Women*, due out this year.

Robert G. Walker's review of Kevin Killeen's *Biblical Scholarship, Science and Politics in Early Modern England* (2009) appears in *1650-1850*, 17 (2010), 347-50. His essay "Malaparte and Literary Strangeness: A Critical

Preface to *Kaputt* [1944]" in the *Sewanee Review* last year (118.2:270-82). Bob's forthcoming essays include "An Obscured Cromwell Reference in One of Sterne's Letters" in *The Shandean*; "An Allusion to Suetonius in Johnson's 'Life of Savage' in *JNL*," "Boswell's Mistaken Saint: A Note to *Hypochondriak* No. 47" in *N&Q*, and "Fugitive Allusions in *Boswell in Search of a Wife*" in *1650-1850*. During the past several years, aided by co-editors **G. Blake Gerard** and E. Derek Taylor, Bob has diligently prepared *Swiftly Sterneward: Essays on Laurence Sterne and his Times in Honor of Melvyn New* for publication by the U. of Delaware Press in association with Rowman & Littlefield, which should occur by the end of April. Those with essays therein, such as **Martha Bowden**, W. G. Day, James May, Frank Palmeri, and Eric Rothstein, owe Bob thanks for help correcting our essays and getting them published. About a third of the thirteen essays concern Sterne (others concern Fielding, Johnson, Lyttelton, and Smollett). The most satisfying title to my mind is Donald R. Wehrs' "The Centrality of Sterne in the Culture of Modernity, or Melvyn New and the Rewriting of the West," reminding us of how, through his editions and criticism, Mel New has long shaped the discussion of Sterne. The generous collegiality Mel offered his students at Florida (and many others) is evident in Blake's and Derek's joining him as co-editors of the journal *The Scriblerian*—and the frequency of hearing him called "Mel," not "Professor New," despite his erudition and thoroughness.

Roy Wolper and his editorial team produced a rich double-issue of *The Scriblerian* (Vol. 42, no. 2 and 43, no. 1 [spring & autumn 2010]) at year's end. Of special note here is Roy's tribute to one of his two co-founders of *Scriblerian* over 40 years ago, **Peter Tasch**, who died at age 76 in 25 July 2010. The memoir leads off the issue, under a photo of Peter. As Roy makes abundantly clear with great anecdotes, excerpts, and quoted comments (as by Irvin Ehrenpreis), Peter was a huge pleasure to work with and penned the most incisive and witty reviews. To select several of the many gems quoted from Peter's reviews: "The article is a start towards a reappraisal, but not the thing itself"; and, within another review, "literary judgments yawn at the reader." Peter was much beloved by students and colleagues at Temple University, where he taught alongside Roy for 37 years, before retiring ten years ago. Peter took his B.A. from Bucknell, served in the military, then took his M.A. from Columbia; further graduate work at Edinburgh followed, where he met his wife Alison (who, with three children, survives him). While at Temple from 1964-2001, Peter headed both the composition and honors programs in English and served a stint too as departmental chair. Early in his career he published several books, as *Dramatic Cobbler: the Life and Works of Isaac Bickerstaff* (1972) and an edition of Gay's *Fables* and the plays of George Colman the Younger. *The Scriblerian*, as it added its review coverage, took up increasing amounts of his and his co-editors' time. But he still managed other tasks, like co-editing *Britain in the Hanoverian Age, 1714-1837: An Encyclopedia*, published by Garland in 1997, to which many EC/ASECS members contributed. Roy's tribute to Peter also serves to provide a much-

appreciated account of the founding and development of *The Scriblerian*.

The new *Scriblerian* includes dozens of reviews written by, or on scholarship by, members of EC/ASECS. For instance, **Geoffrey Sill** reviews *The Cambridge Companion to Daniel Defoe* (2008), edited by **John Richetti**, which contains essays by John, **Paula Backscheider**, **J. Paul Hunter**, and **Max Novak**, and E. Derek Taylor reviews *Approaches to Teaching the Novels of Samuel Richardson*, edited by Lisa Zunshine and **Jocelyn Harris** (2006), with essays by Jocelyn, **Teri Ann Doerksen**, **Robert Markley**, **John Richetti**, **Peter Sabor**, **Kristina Straub**, and **Janet Aikins Yount**. Besides many books by members' being reviewed (**Eve T. Bannet**, **Kevin Cope**, **Jack Lynch**, **Steven Newman**), many of the book reviews are by members: **Martha Bowden**, **Frank Boyle**, **John Irwin Fischer**, **W. Blake Gerard**, **Alexander Gourlay**, **Charles Hinnant**, **Sandro Jung**, **Anthony Lee**, **Jack Lynch**, **Melvyn New**, et al. It's the reviews of journal articles, so easily missed, that make *The Scriblerian* the most useful journal in my field, and here we find reviews by members like **Ian Higgins** and reviews of articles written by many more: **W. B. Carnochan**, **Tita Chico**, the late **A. C. Elias**, **Ian Higgins**, **Ann Kelly**, **Ashley Marshall**, **Jonathan Pritchard**, **Shef Rogers**, **Laura Rosenthal**—there are accounts of half a dozen essays in *Reading Swift*, ed. by **Hermann J. Real**. The issue also contains **Jim May's** "Scribleriana Transferred: English Verse 1701-1750: Recent Listings, Especially from Ximenes and C. R. Johnson," on rare books and MS sales. (Note: Ximenes and Johnson this month published in PDFs Part II of their "Foxon verse" catalog.)

About our last issue: When I eulogized **Donald Eddy** in our last issue, I should have mentioned that **David Vander Meulen**, like me much aided by Don's help over the years, had written a fine tribute to Don in the *Johnsonian News Letter* of March 2010—David's expert and sympathetic account of Don's bibliophilia and scholarship is there (pp. 79-80), after Bob DeMaria's. David notes how Don's uncle, "the Swift scholar William A. Eddy, gave him six hundred volumes related to the period," which David speculates encouraged Don's many gifts of books to others, as some of his uncle's "to the Cambridge Swift editors." David emailed me, "Don was unaccountably kind to me"—right! In Don there was a degree of generosity that surprised one. At the Albuquerque ASECS, I heard **Cedric Reverand** recollect how Don had bought bottle after bottle of wine when he had joined Rick and other young scholars for dinner during a conference.

Mel New had two insightful comments on the last issue, sent to me 14 September. He noted the editors of *The Scriblerian* are often also unsure about dates of printing and find Amazon's dates sometimes wrong and press websites often annoying. He's begun "to suspect some playing with dop [dates] has to do with budget justifications and the like—last minute shifts to the next year because the quota for this year has been met." And, regarding the review of Patrick Müller's *Lattitudinarianism and Didacticism in 18C Literature*, which Mel thinks "one of the best books on Lattitudinarianism in the last 25 years" but not as "good on literature," Mel rightly surmises, "I think the reviewer

reversed this, being more familiar with literature than religion.”

Please note the following errata to the last issue: 22, up 21: change “Elzevier” to “Elzevir”; 43, down 20: change “*lagrima*” to “*lacrima*”; 48, 12 ll. up, change “Chamberlain” to “Chancellor”; 51, 12 ll. up: change “*Moore*” to “*More*” and “Orland” to “Orlando”; 67, down 19: change “forward” to “foreword”; 70, up 8, change “*stoffegeschichte*” to “*stoffgeschichte*” (thanks to Hermann Real and Yvonne Noble for some of these corrections).

Forthcoming Meetings

The 2011 annual meeting of **SEASECS** will be held in Winston-Salem, NC, 3-5 March 2011. The conference website will be up and running soon. In the meantime, the call for papers can be accessed at: <http://www.seasecs.net/meeting2011.html> (contact the respective organizers of panels directly with your paper proposals).

The **Johnson Society of the Central Region** meets in Ann Arbor April 8-9, chaired by Sean Silver, with a plenary by John Barrell.

The Tenth Annual Workshop sponsored by the Center for 18C Studies at Indiana U., Bloomington, occurs 11-13 May, devoted to the 18C and the Unconscious. Contact voltaire@indiana.edu.

The **SHARP** 2011 conference is in Washington, DC, 14-17 July.

The **Mozart Society of America** meets in Minneapolis 20-22 October.

The **Canadian Society for 18C Studies**, the **NEASECS**, and the **Aphra Behn Society** hold a joint 2011 meeting at McMaster University on 27-29 October 2011, with the theme “The Immaterial Eighteenth Century.” The press release explains, “In response to the sustained scholarly focus on the material aspects of eighteenth-century culture, the core concern . . . will be reactions to instability in the material realm, including but not limited to the emergence of an affective public sphere; a reevaluation of labour; cosmopolitanism; sensibility; the new spiritualism; political radicalism and rights discourse; supernaturalism and the rise of the gothic; and anti-slavery and anti-imperial movements.” Papers on any topics related to the material and the immaterial (or other facets of the period) will be welcomed. Send proposals (in English or French) to immat18@mcmaster.ca or Peter Walmsley (walmsley@mcmaster.ca). During 2012 NEASECS will meet in Middleton, CT.

That same weekend the McNeil Center for Early American Studies and the Library Company of Philadelphia sponsor the conference “**Ireland, America, and the Worlds of Mathew Carey.**”

I’ve not seen any location for the **Midwestern ASECS** this fall; it met in Wichita in 2010. The newsletter editor is Jeanine Casler (j-casler@northwestern.edu); the new treasurer-sec’y is Jeanne Hageman at North Dakota State (replacing Kathy Leicht after a decade’s service).

Our next **EC/ASECS** meeting occurs 3-6 November 2011 at Penn State’s Nittany Lion Inn in State College, with the program chaired by Christine Clark-Evans (French / 237 Burrowes Bldg., Penn State U. / University Park,

PA 16802, tel. 814-865-1960, fax 814-863-1103, email: cclarkevans @ gmail.com). See the article above (p. 63), noting panels are sought by 15 April and paper proposals by 15 June. For 2012 Dr. Linda Merians and others are planning a meeting in Baltimore.

The **South-Central SECS** meets 23-25 February 2012 in Asheville, NC, organized by Phyllis Thompson (English, East Tennessee State U.; Thompson @etsu.edu) —Phyllis was the program chair for the 2010 SE/ASECS in 2010! She provided a slide-show promoting Asheville during lunch at the 2010 SCSECS, showing us that the city is awash in art deco buildings (and microbreweries). The 2013 SCSECS is expected to be held aboard ship at sea!

The **SEASECS** for 2012 will be in Decatur, GA, 1-3 March.

ASECS meets in San Antonio, TX, 22-25 March 2012 (then in Cleveland during spring 2013, and Williamsburg during 2014).

The English Dept. at the U. of Maryland, College Park, on 6-7 May 2011 is holding the conference "**Bloodwork: The Politics of the Body, 1500-1900**," organized Ralph Bauer, Kimberly Coles, Zita Nunes, Carla L. Peterson. Generally, the conference explores race while focusing on "blood," as one of the four humors, which bathes "discourses of human difference." One specific question is "how fluid transactions of the body have been used in different eras and different cultures to justify existing social arrangements." From Thomas Elyot's *Boke named the Governour* (1537) to Defoe's *A True-Born Englishman* (1708), the organizers find term "race" crosses over "from family lines to national groups, but also supplies evidence that both kinds of racial ideology—whether affirming social hierarchy or national superiority—rest upon the invisible qualities of the blood." The organizers sought papers that were trans-historical and transnational and drew "literary critics and historians of cultures on both sides of the Atlantic world, will make a significant contribution to this ongoing debate about the "invention" of race. Plenary speakers include Jennifer Brody (African and African American Studies, Duke U.), Michael Hanchard (Political Science, Johns Hopkins), Ruth Hill (Spanish, Italian & Portuguese, U. of Virginia), and Mary Floyd-Wilson, (English, U. of NC at Chapel Hill). For conference info email bloodwork @ umd.edu.

The colloquium "**Bluestockings: The Social Network**" will be held at Swansea U. and Swansea's National Waterfront Museum on 3-4 June 2011, the "first in a series initiated by an AHRC-funded network whose purpose is to set in motion a project to edit **Elizabeth Montagu's letters**." The c. 8,000 letters of the "Queen of the Bluestockings" (1718-1800) have been described by Barbara Schnorrenberg as "among the most important surviving collections from the eighteenth century." The Steering Committee of Caroline Franklin (Swansea), Elizabeth Eger (King's, London), Nicole Pohl (Oxford Brookes), and Michael Franklin (Swansea) aims "to complete a critical edition in electronic format, providing unparalleled access to these documents." There will be keynote lectures by Betty Schellenberg and Felicity Nussbaum. Other papers are sought that approach bluestocking culture from diverse disciplines. Possible topics "include: the chief salonnières and their correspondents and

how this interchange affected . . . 'the increase of arts, pleasures, and social commerce'; the distinctions between friendship, patronage and love; the role of letters in bridging distances." Abstracts of 200 words for 20-min. papers were due in mid March to both Caroline Franklin (c.franklin@swansea.ac.uk) and Elizabeth Eger (elizabeth.eger@kcl.ac.uk)—contact them about the network.

The **Eighteenth-Century Scottish Studies Society** holds its annual meeting on 7-10 July 2011 at the Univ. of Aberdeen, hosted by the Research Institute of Irish and Scottish Studies, with the theme "The Arts and Sciences of Progress" (on the notion of progress and its limitations, in society, politics, and the arts & sciences). Also, this conference celebrates the 250th anniversary of the publication of James Macpherson's first Ossianic poetry and the 300th of David Hume's birth (the latter is also celebrated at the Hume Society/IASH conference in Edinburgh one week later). Fiona Stafford (Oxford) will deliver the plenary "Everything Unreconciled? The Place of Macpherson's Ossian." The submission deadline passed on 1 Dec., but you can contact the chair, Prof. Cairns Craig, Director of the sponsoring Institute (cairns.craig@abdn.ac.uk).

The **Second Biennial Meeting of the Defoe Society**, with the theme "The Culture of Grub Street," will be held 14-16 July 2011, hosted by The University of Worcester (UK). The Society's continued ambition is to attract contributions that range across the extraordinary variety of activities and writings of Daniel Defoe and his contemporaries. This conference's aim is "to encourage fresh examination of the socio-cultural and literary milieu of Grub Street and its 'duncical' authors and 'Scriblerian' enemies." There will be keynote lectures by Pat Rogers (U. of South Florida) and Paula McDowell (NYU) and a President's Roundtable on the topic of "Defoe bibliography," chaired by Maximillian E. Novak (UCLA)—including David A. Brewer (Ohio State U.), J. Alan Downie (U. of London), Kit Kincade (Indiana State U.) and Ashley Marshall (Johns Hopkins U.). Proposals for twenty-minute papers were due the end of January, sent to Andreas Mueller (a.mueller@worc.ac.uk). Abstracts for the panels may be found at www.worc.ac.uk/earlymodern.

The **29th Print Networks Conference** on the history of the British book trade occurs on 19th-21st July 2011 at the National Library of Wales. The organizers have arranged housing on the campus of Aberystwyth U. overlooking Cardigan Bay and an outing to the Roderic Bowen Library in Lampeter. This year's theme, with 2011's being the 400th anniversary of the Authorised Version of the Bible, is "**Religion and the Book Trade**" (broadly defined, Middle Ages through the modern era). Papers were due the end of January to Timothy Cutts, Head of Rare Books Unit, NLW (tjc@llgc.org.uk). We can expect the papers to be published. The following Print Networks Conference will be held at the University of Leicester on 10-12 July 2012, with the theme being "Cheap Print and the Book Trade."

The 10th Annual "**Literary London Conference**" will be hosted 20-22 July 2011 by the Institute of English Studies, U. of London. These conferences investigate the changing cultural and historical geography of London, analyze representations of London, and celebrate the contribution London and

Londoners to literature and drama. This year's theme is "Green London," focusing on the city's green spaces, environmental issues, the treatment of the city in opposition to the country, etc. Send 250-300-word proposals (in Word or RTF) for 20-minute papers on any period or genre of literature, by 31 March 2011, to: contact @literarylondon.org. The program is organized by Lawrence Phillips (U. of Northampton) and Brycchan Carey (Kingston U.) and registration is handled by the Institute. See also <www.sas.ac.uk/events/ies/conferences>. The meeting supports and is supported by the e-journal *Literary London*.

The **17th Biennial Colloquium of the Rousseau Association / l'Association Rousseau**, with the theme "Rousseau's Republics / Les républiques de Rousseau," will be held in Bristol (UK) on 21-23 July, 2011, with the program chaired by Christopher Bertram (C.Bertram@bristol.ac.uk). Rousseau gave much thought to republics, for instance, "The republic of Geneva informed Rousseau's vision from the preface to the *Discourse on Inequality*, through the *Letter to d'Alembert on the Theatre* to the *Letters from the Mountains*, the Roman republic formed the basis for his reflection on institutions in the *Social Contract* . . ." Proposals were due the end of December; the program should by now be on the WWW.

The **ISECS's 13th International Congress for Eighteenth-Century Studies** will be held in Graz, 25-29 July. For news of the meeting, see the Congress's website (www.18thcenturycongress-graz2011). The deadline for submitting papers was January 31 and that for registering will be April 30. The final program will be posted in early June. Note that the Seminar for Early Career 18C Scholars, where fifteen new scholars meet beforehand on July 21-24 in Graz, shares the main topic of the Congress: "Time in the Age of Enlightenment: Situating the Present, Imagining the Future" (applications deadline 31 March).

The **Goethe Society of North America** received a generous endowment from Mr. Stuart Atkins to fund triennial Goethe conferences. The first, with the theme "Metamorphoses: Goethe and Change," occurs 3-6 Nov. 2011 at the U. of Illinois at Chicago, hosted by Astrida Tantillo of that university and current GSNA President (proposals were due 7 March; registration 25 April). The *Goethe Yearbook*, 17, is reviewed above; submissions for Vol. 19 are due 30 April to Daniel Purdy (dlp14@psu.edu)—Chicago style, under 35 pp.

Presses, Publications, Resources, Exhibitions, Grants, etc.

We received the following reply from Julien Yoseloff, Director of **Associated University Presses** (via email on 13 September 2010), in response to remarks about AUP in Nina Forsberg's article on Bucknell University Press (24.3 [Sept. 2010]: 13-16). Mr. Yoseloff wished to offer the following to the 18C community: "I did want to correct one item in Nina Forsberg's piece on Bucknell University Press. It is not the case that I will be turning off the lights or locking the doors on Associated University Presses in June 2011. We will

be moving from our current location, since our lease expires at that time, but we are not out of business, nor will we be going out of business. Associated University Presses continues to distribute more than 90% of the in-print titles published by Bucknell and our other member presses over the years. (Rowman and Littlefield will be the exclusive distributors for about 5% of the previously published titles.) In addition, Associated University Presses continues to hold publishing rights, including all subsidiary rights, for more than 5,000 previously published titles. Thus, anyone seeking to reprint material from Bucknell or the other presses should come to us for the necessary permission.”

Since AUP distributed a great many 18C studies, its decision to stop producing new books threatened our field, and it was a relief to learn that Bucknell, Delaware, Fairleigh Dickinson, and Lehigh university presses had migrated to Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group (Lanham, MD). The negotiations involving all six parties over old and new contracts produced many anxieties, such as what would become of MSS that had been accepted by the presses but could not be submitted to AUP for production before Yoseloff’s deadline of 30 June 2010. Scott Paul Gordon, Director of Lehigh UP, told us that from February to June he and the other directors didn’t know what would happen to MSS not ready for press, not then knowing that R&L or any entity would save their operations; thus, initially they could only urge submitting authors to get their MSS in pronto. Scott explains, “AUP would have continued to produce any books submitted before June 30, 2010. Why not? AUP would have thus guaranteed itself a year or two of ‘full’ income on the basis of these titles. But it made little sense to me or was undesirable for authors to have a press whose future operations were uncertain (no new monographs for now . . . and would AUP be actively distributing these new titles or any new titles in five years?) responsible for forthcoming titles or for the works in the pipeline. The directors decided to exercise our right, according to our contract with AUP, to purchase the works in process, as well as an extensive selection from our backlist; only our new association with RLPG made this vast and expensive purchase possible. So, in the end, the works in process as well as projects due to each press in 2010 will come out with R&L instead of AUP. The exception is Susquehanna UP.” What’s implicit here is that AUP wished to hold on to the inventory of the university presses’ books and wasn’t required to sell them to R&L or any third party, but had by contract to allow the university presses to buy them back.

Susquehanna was the only confederated press in AUP not accepting a cooperative agreement with Rowman & Littlefield: rights to their published books were not purchased from AUP, thus allowing distribution by R&L. This month Susquehanna’s website notes, “Susquehanna University Press is on hiatus and is not accepting manuscripts.” It directs us to AUP for orders.

We asked Scott (he’s always helpful) about how his university’s press would be related to the others that migrated to R&L. He replied, “It is unclear to me and perhaps also unclear to Greg [Clingham], Don [Mell], and Harry [Keyishian] whether Bucknell, Delaware, Fairleigh Dickinson, and Lehigh

retain some sort of "divisional unity" within Rowman & Littlefield. R&L will generate catalogs for each press and feature the books from each press in their subject catalogs (religion, literature, etc.). But I don't think there will be a 'University Press' catalog that would feature all four of our books, say." What I have noted this month is that Rowman & Littlefield has descriptions of forthcoming books from Bucknell and Delaware in advance of their being listed at the sites of Bucknell and Delaware. R&L is not dragging any feet in marketing the publications. This month Scott observed, "RLPG has begun issuing a wide variety of catalogs (religion, Latin American studies, anthropology, etc.) that feature nice color images of many of our books, which is a big advance over the colorless and imageless catalogues that AUP produced (but did not distribute except to the presses themselves)." The R&L website has good search functions, graphics, ordering info, and other features common at major university press sites. The four university presses will continue to decide what they publish (they maintain their "editorial autonomy") and much will remain unchanged. R&L will perform tasks from copy-editing to royalty disbursement as AUP once did. Fairleigh Dickinson's website, while still providing its old account of AUP, has newly added an explanation of its relations with R&L and the services R&L provides it. It notes that because of R&L's print on demand abilities, "no Fairleigh Dickinson University Press book will ever go out of print in the future."

"A **Bibliography of Critical Studies in the Ehrenpreis Center** for Swift Studies, Münster" has been revised and expanded at the Center's website (<http://www.anglistik.uni-muenster.de/Swift/>), with the special assistance of Dirk Passmann. The site also offers indices of articles in *Swift Studies* and in the five volumes of *Reading Swift* produced after Swift symposia as well as a catalogue of rare books in the library. This month Dr. Hermann Real, Uli Elkmann and others at the center are working up more focused bibliographies, such as of "Critical Studies of Swift's Early Satires," "Studies of "Swift's Poetry," and of "Studies of *Gulliver's Travels*." These will be followed by general criticism, Gulliveriana, and translations into other languages. Finally, it is at this website that the Centre's *Online Swift* edition, several years in the works, will be posted in installments.

Aphra Behn Online: The Interactive Journal of the Aphra Behn Society will publish its first issue in March 2011 at www.aphrabehn.org/aphraonline/. The Society seeks a volunteer experienced in web-based and multi-media technologies to assist Anne Greenfield, its Lead Web Builder. Contact Anne Greenfield at anne.greenfield@du.edu.

The editors of ***The Burney Journal*** (sponsored by the Burney Society, with a website at McGill U.) seek MSS addressing Frances Burney d'Arbly's life and works, her contemporaries, and her times. Submit papers 5000-7,000 words in MLA style for anonymous reviewing, ideally on Word, but hard copies are welcome, too, to Marilyn Francus / English Dept. / West Virginia U. / PO Box 6296 / Morgantown, WV 26506; Marilyn.Francus@mail.wvu.edu.

For a special issue of *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature* on **English Catholic Women Writers** (including those abroad), 1660-1829, the editors, Anna Battigelli and Laura M. Stevens, request submissions. Their focus is on the "women's imaginative work as it was inflected by Catholicism or through self-identification with a Catholic minority culture." Sample topics include: strategies "to express, promote, or protect their faith"; "intersections of gender and faith, particularly in the face of anti-Catholic polemic equating all Catholics with women or with the feminine"; education; the role of religious orders within literary texts or as sites of literary production; the "reciprocal influence of Anglo-Catholic culture and Gothic literature"; women's political engagement; and women's "responses to the Catholicism of the Restoration Court, the Stuart kings, the Revolution of 1688," etc. Articles, which need reflect recent research, "should not exceed 25 pages (6250 words) and should conform to the 15th ed. of the *Chicago Manual of Style*. Submissions should be in Microsoft Word. Initial queries and abstracts are encouraged, though final acceptance will be determined by the completed essay." Send abstracts by 1 June 2011 and final submissions by 1 Sept. via e-mail to both Professors Battigelli and Stevens (a.battigelli @att.net and laura-stevens @utulsa.edu).

Anna Battigelli and Eleanor Shevlin's website **Early Modern Online Bibliography** (<http://earlymodernonlinebib.wordpress.com/>) has many articles (and responses to them) on digital tools and topics related to bibliography & technology. For instance, in the past month Battigelli posted articles on discussions of a public digital library, on EEBO interactions, and on sessions at ASECS related to technology. Back in Sept., Shevlin offered two postings of note. One concerned "Gale's **ECCO and BiblioLife: Print-on-Demand Initiatives**" (texts often for \$25, useful especially to those at schools without access)—EEBO too is allowing POD copies of its text-base. Shevlin also provided an introduction to a database demonstrated at the Material Cultures 2010 conference in Edinburgh: *The French Book Trade in Enlightenment Europe, 1769-1794: Mapping the Trade of the Société Typographie de Neuchâtel*. The database on this archive, under the direction of Simon Burrows and Mark Curran, is expected to become available on line this year.

In the context of that special issue of women Catholics, I would note that in 2009 **Georgetown University acquired the John Tatcher Collection** of nearly "1,500 books concerning female Catholic piety," 16C-20C. Georgetown's rare books room had an exhibition based on the collection last fall, attending esp. to the earlier imprints. There's an account of the show and the collection by Barnaby Nygren in *SHARP News*, 20.1 [Winter 2011], 8.

The Folger Shakespeare Library exhibits through May "**Beyond Home Remedies**," curated by Rebecca Laroche, on recipe books for cookery and medicine, esp. by women and in MS. (The latest *Folger Magazine* has an article on this, related topics as herbals, and acquired Civil War materials.) The Grolier Club is exhibiting "**The Enchantress: Emma, Lady Hamilton**," curated by Jean Kislak and Arthur Dunkelman. This is an extraordinary collection, developed over 25 years by Kislak, with three portraits of Lady

Hamilton by George Romney, another by Sir Thomas Lawrence, and many other works of art, plus such MSS as Admiral Horatio Nelson's first letter to Emma. (M-Sat. 10-5:00; 47 E. 60th St., NYC). On the 400th anniversary of the King's James Bible, the Thomas Fisher Rare Books Library at Toronto offers, to 17 June, "**Great and Manifold: A Celebration of the Bible in English.**"

Clark Librarian **Bruce Whiteman** has left the Clark Library, writing his last account of "recent acquisitions" for the *Center & Clark Newsletter* in October—he'd begun writing them 14 years earlier. Through such articles, the acquisition of rare materials, and countless favors for scholars working at the library or corresponding with it, Bruce performed a great service for 18C studies and will be sorely missed. In recent years he added many translations of 18C English works and rare literature of the late 1700s and the 1800s.

Articles on the legacy of **Northrop Frye** are invited for an issue of *ESC: English Studies Canada*, to be published on the centenary of his birth in 1912. Submissions may be long or short and from diverse disciplines but must treat a subject relevant to Frye and assess his impact and continued relevance. (Recollections are also sought.) Submit by 15 July via email—attachments in Word 2003—to Mervyn Nicholson (English, Thompson Rivers U., Kamloops, British Columbia V2C 5N3) at mnicholson@tru.ca.

Submissions (up to 6000 words, in English or French) are invited by 30 Nov. 2011 for a special issue of *L'Esprit Créateur* entitled "**Rousseau and the Discourse of Emotions.**" The issue explores the various and complex ways in which Rousseau represents or mobilizes the language of emotion. The editors are particularly interested in "contributions that explore these questions in an historical perspective." They contemplate treatment of such questions as: Are there gendered or sexualized emotions for Rousseau? How does new research on emotions shed light on Rousseau's remarks on emotions? And how distinct from the culture of sentimentalism are his remarks? The editors are Laurence Mall (Illinois at Urbana; lmall@illinois.edu) and Brigitte Weltman-Aron (U. of Florida; bweltman@ufl.edu)—make preliminary inquiries.

The Leverhulme Godwin project announced publication of *The Diary of William Godwin (1788-1836)*, ed. by Victoria Myers, David O'Shaughnessy, and Mark Philp (Oxford Digital Library, 2010; <http://godwindiary.bodleian.ox.ac.uk>). It's been encoded to be fully searchable, and has "high resolution scanned images of the manuscripts. The PR notes, "The diary maps the radical intellectual and political life of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, as well as providing extensive evidence on publishing relations, conversational coteries, artistic circles and theatrical production over the same period. One can also trace the developing relationships within one of the most important families in British literature, Godwin's own, which included his wife Mary Wollstonecraft (1759-97), their daughter Mary Shelley (1797-1851) and son-in-law Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792-1822). Many of the most important figures in British cultural history feature in its pages, including Anna Barbauld, Charles James Fox, William Hazlitt, Thomas Holcroft, Elizabeth Inchbald, Charles and Mary Lamb, Mary Robinson, Richard Brinsley Sheridan, William

Wordsworth.” The editorial team welcomes feedback for future revisions.

Money, Power and Print is an association of scholars interested in genuinely interdisciplinary studies of contemporary attitudes toward the Financial Revolution in Britain (including Ireland & the colonies), specifically the rise of banks, paper money, joint-stock corporations, stock markets, and long-term public debt. The association's focus is a series of biennial colloquia organized by Chris Fauske (Dept. of Communications; christopher.fauske@salemstate.edu), Rick Kleer (Economics, U. of Regina), and Charles Ivar McGrath (School of History & Archives, University College Dublin). Fauske and his colleagues have posted (and energetically distributed) an enjoyable account of the 2010 meeting. It might well induce some to propose a paper for the next (the fifth), on 14-16 June 2012, to be held at The Citadel, Halifax (due 15 June). They've posted a bibliography of sources employed by participants in 2010 and maintain a database of scholars with expertise on various aspects of the 18C financial revolution. Chris has sent out short lists of publications related to “money, power and print” by participants. Drop them a line if you're looking for assistance from other disciplines and aren't quite sure where to start looking. A selection of the papers presented at the 2004 colloquium has been published under the title *Money, Power, and Print: Interdisciplinary Studies on the Financial Revolution in the British Isles*, ed. by McGrath and Fauske (U. of Delaware Press, 2008). For postings, start at <http://moneypowerandprint.org>. For the next colloquium, add “/coll2012/cfp.htm.” Note that this group eagerly reaches out to younger scholars, hoping to engage them in this field.

Oxford U. Press is marketing the **Electronic Enlightenment**, an online searchable text-base with 60,000 letters & documents from 7000 writers, also with a cross-searchable bibliographic database of over 90,000 sources; original language editions in French, German, Italian and English; a map collection; and an expanding network of external links to other online sources as the *ODNB* and Chamber's *Cyclopaedia*. It's expanded with monthly updates. See www.e-enlightenment.com—free institutional trials were offered. It received the British SECS' 2010 Digital Prize, with praise for “wide coverage, wonderfully full annotation and superb presentation”—“immensely valuable.”

Gale is promoting four digital resources beside ECCO and the Burney Collections, with trial access at www.galetrials.com/ASECS11.aspx: *British Literary Manuscripts Online, c. 1660-1900*; *The Making of the Modern World, 1450-1914* (Part 1 is “The Goldsmiths-Kress Collection, 1450-1850”); *Slavery and Anti-Slavery: A Transnational Archive*; & *Sabin Americana, 1500-1900*.

Watch for reviews of **Bernd W. Krysmanski's *Hogarth's Hidden Parts: Satiric Allusion, Erotic Wit, Blasphemous Bawdiness and Dark Humour in Eighteenth-Century English Art*** (Hildesheim: George Olms, 2010). To judge from the PR, this re-evaluation, offering an amoral Hogarth, is sure to generate controversy: Krysmanski “questions the established view” that Hogarth “was chiefly a social moralist who charitably took care of fondling children and produced serialized satires for ethical guidance.” In place, he offers “an opportunistic and hugely immoral English artist who disguised an unsavoury

predilection for cruelty, malignity, wayward perversity and promiscuity hidden away from view behind a public mask.” Much is made of *double entendre*.

Those working on 18C children and pedagogy should look at some exciting work published in recent years by Arianne Baggerman and Rudulf Dekker. The most important is *Child of the Enlightenment: Revolutionary Europe Reflected in a Boyhood Diary*, trans. by Diane Webb. (Egodocuments & History Series, 1; Leiden: Brill, 2009; 556 pp.). This study, first published in Dutch in 2005 (*Kind van de Toekomst*), digs into the diary kept by Otto van Eck from ages 10 to 16 (1791-97), prior to dying of TB, and reveals much about the views and pedagogical practices of wealthy, well educated Dutch in the late 1700s. (Baggerman and Dekker published that diary in 1998.)

The **Ibero-American Society for 18C Studies** has established two opportunities for graduate students. First, it awards the **Pilar Sáenz Student Essay Prize** (honoring a long-time EC/ASECS member) to the best essay by a N. American graduate student on 18C Spain, Portugal or Ibero-America (under 22 pp.). The prize brings \$100, a two-year membership in the IASECS, and a year of the journal *Dieciocho*. The revised version of the essay will be considered for publication in that journal. Send three copies of the essay with a coversheet giving title and personal info inside a sealed envelope with name, address, affiliation, and email address, to Prof. Enid Valle / ATTN: IASECS Annual Student Prize / 1200 Academy St. / Kalamazoo College / Kalamazoo, MI 49006. The second opportunity involves the **María Salgado Student Travel Grant** of \$400 for a graduate student in N. America presenting a paper on 18C Spain, Portugal or Ibero-America at ASECS (funds are dispersed after presentation at the conference). Contact Professor Valle at valle @kzoo.edu.

The Bibliographical Society of America’s next **William L. Mitchell Prize** for Bibliographical or Documentary Work on Early British Periodicals and Newspapers, awarded to work published (or dissertations completed) after 31 Dec. 2007, has the deadline of 30 Sept. 2011. See: www .bibsocamer.org.

The **Bibliographical Society** in London offers major grants (apply by 15 January) and minor grants (apply whenever): www.bibsoc.org.uk

Indiana U.’s Center for 18C Studies calls for submissions for its annual **Oscar Kenshur Book Prize**, awarded for an outstanding monograph from any discipline of 18C studies (translations and multi-authored collections are excluded). Submissions, in English, can come from author or publisher. A \$1000 prize is awarded together with an invitation to a workshop at which scholars from different disciplines discuss the book (the Center covers the author’s expenses). Eligible books must carry a 2011 copy-right date. Three copies, marked as submissions for the Prize, must be received at ASECS by 31 January 2012 (2598 Reynolda Road, Suite C, Winston-Salem, NC 27106). Contact Mary Favret, Director of the Center (email favretm@ indiana.edu).

Cover illustration: Der Buchhändler (“The Bookseller”), copperplate engraving by Jan Luyken (1649-1712) for Christoff Weigel’s *Abbildung der gemein-nützlichen Haupt-Stände* (1698; rpt. Dortmund: Harenberg, 1977).