

The Mighty Cavern of the Past
EC/ASECS Presidential Address, Fall 2007

by Kevin Joel Berland

People who drive too much, as I do, often find themselves regretfully hurrying past roadside attractions without stopping, on the way to somewhere. One year, however, I turned off the main road for a little exploring. I think it was in West Virginia, and we'd lined up at the cave entrance and listened to the guide's spiel about the history of the place and the safe practices of visiting caves. After we'd made our way inside, the guide told us a cautionary story about the dangers of straying from the group: apparently, some years ago, before the iron gate was installed at the entrance, a young boy decided to sneak inside for a little solo exploring. Inevitably, he got lost, and after many hours of wandering—here the guide pointed her flashlight upward into a crevice in the rock wall—he took another wrong turn, snagged his trousers and got stuck head-first in a narrow place—and here she swept the beam down to a rock formation that looked just like the pale, bare bum of a young person. Some laughter ensued.

The episode was slightly embarrassing, but memorable. Eventually, when I visited another cave in Pennsylvania a few years later, I discovered that this sort of thing is typical of the framing of touristical experience in show caves all over the map. The entrepreneurial showman (or show-woman) seems unable to resist likening rock formations to "real life" objects. In the U.S. there is the *Bath Towel* at Luray Caverns, the *Missile Silo* at Arkansas's Fitton Cave, the *Heart* at Utah's Timpanogos Cave, the *Chinese Pagoda* at Howe Cavern, and the *Pipe Organs* at Howe Cavern, West Virginia's Organ Cave, California's Crystal Cave, and Luray—where they have actually added a working keyboard. One of the most common of the mineral simulacra is "cave bacon," striated formations in England's famous Poole's Hole (Defoe calls it "the First Wonder of the Peak"), Pennsylvania's Lincoln Caverns, Arkansas's Fitton Cave and Mystic Caverns, and Texas's Sonora Cave. Poole's Hole also features a formation they call the *Poached Eggs*, and to round out the feast there is Timpanogos Cave's *Salt and Pepper*.

Evidently, it is not uncommon to assume geological phenomena will only be interesting (to paying visitors) if it is framed in this way as a freakish similitude to something familiar in "real life." Theoretical exploration—is metarealism more cogent than simple material facticity?—will have to wait for another occasion. In the mean time, it must suffice to say that this phenomenon kindled my interest in investigating what our 18th-century friends thought about caves. My title today comes from the Nottingham poet Henry Kirke White (1785-1806), who mused on the mysteries of "Time,"

Where are conceal'd the days which have elapsed
Hid in the mighty cavern *of the past*,
They rise upon us only to appeal,
By indistinct and half-glimpsed images.

For the historically minded, to adapt White to my use, the challenge is to seek out the remains of elapsed days—their facts, quirks and key ideas—by attempting to focus on the half-glimpsed images that constitute the cavernous archive.

Now, caves have puzzled the curious from time immemorial, perhaps because to many observers a cave is little more than a place characterized by a dearth of solid matter in an area where one might expect solid matter to prevail. These absences are all the more impressive because they occur in mostly inaccessible regions (underground), and in mostly impenetrable substance (solid rock). Caverns, then, are empty spaces, vacuums often filled with metaphor. From ancient times abstract entities have been located there. Caves are where the winds reside, the forge of the gods, and so forth. And their darkness and uncertainty suits them for accommodating dark, destabilizing, or unknown forces: the cavern as the grave writ large, as the retreat of despair, as the home of malevolent forces, as hell-mouth. Such dark places in the earth, some divines insist, are the habitations of demons and evil influences. By extension, poets often adduce caves as the abode of this or that dire abstraction—consider, for instance, Robert Burns on the death of Robert Dundas:

Wrongs, injuries, from many a darksome den,
Now, gay in hope, explore the paths of men:
See from his cavern grim Oppression rise,
And throw on Poverty his cruel eyes;
Keen on the helpless victim see him fly,
And stifle, dark, the feebly-bursting cry¹

And, on a somewhat lighter note, there is Pope's Cave of Spleen, populated by sylphs fare less threatening than fierce abstractions opposing liberty. It should not be necessary to multiply examples, for nearly everybody will be able to recall a few metaphorical caves. But one interesting development should be noted. In 1790 Connecticut legislators enacted a provision for building a public gaol and workhouse over a conveniently situated cavern in Granby, -thus, in a sense, reversing or literalizing the metaphor of constricting darkness by putting the empty space to practical use.²

The limited knowledge of the geology of caverns during the early years of our period gave rise to some interesting theories. Explanations of the fractures and breaches of the solid earth most often hinged upon scripturally-based cataclysms, the shuddering of the earth as Adam and Eve were expelled from the Garden of Eden or the drying and cracking of the earth after the Deluge. It seems natural enough that observers should connect gas-emission and volcanic activity with earthquakes, so frequently found together. In his list of queries concerning natural phenomena that need further investigation, within the second English edition of the *Opticks* (1717), Newton wondered about the way sulphurous steams in the earth ferment with minerals and "take fire with a sudden Coruscation and Explosion." According to this view

earthquakes were caused by explosions of gases "pent up in subterraneous Caverns." Moreover, as Vladimir Jankovic notes, vapors released by these explosions were thought to cause "tempests, hurricanes, and a number of fiery meteors."³

Responding to a New England earthquake on October 29, 1727, Massachusetts divine John Barnard introduced this principle to young readers:

It is very rational to suppose that there are Caverns and Hollownesses, some very large and extended, others of more contracted Dimensions, in the Body of our Earth, containing Wind, or Water, or both of them. Lesser ones we find in our Digging of Wells, from whence we are supplied with Water.

The water-filled caverns were the "Fountains of the Earth" broken to supply the deluge in Genesis. Barnard notes that the existence of "Subterraneous Fires in the Bowels of the Earth" is proven by volcanic eruptions "in divers Parts of the World":

Now these Subterraneous Fires approaching near to those Caverns, filled with Wind or Water, must necessarily give a vehement Agitation to them; as the fired Gun-powder does to the Wind in the Gun, and as the Fire under a Pot sets the Water a Boiling in it: and because the Wind and Water thus rarified and put into violent Motion, by the approaching Heat, naturally seeks a Vent, or Room to expand themselves, therefore that Part of the Earth . . . in which they are closely pent, is naturally and necessarily put into a strong and violent Motion to make Room for their Expansion.

The surface is thrown into motion by this underground shock, causing either trembling or cleaving and rending asunder.⁴ Barnard acknowledges that the supernatural cause of earthquakes is the immediate hand of God, but focuses on the secondary or natural cause. Other divines such as Benjamin Colman, Cotton Mather, Thomas Prince, and John Rogers, writing on the occasion of the earthquake and the fasts and thanksgivings marking the event, speak of God's immediate use of secondary causes. Prince maintains that God "in the very Constitution and Frame of this Earth" prepared it "for such fearful Convulsions" by fashioning it with "a very loose Contexture," penetrable by air and water. Further, "He has also formed in with a vast and inconceivable number of *Caverns* or hollow Places within," where "great multitudes of *Sulphurous, nitrous, fiery, and mineral Particles*; such as those in the Clouds, which are the natural Causes of Thunder and Lightning." These particles explode; towns situated over caverns emptied by explosions are thus subject to sinking and shaking. But Prince moves on to divine agency,

warning his readers, "How exceeding apt we are to terminate our views and rest in second Causes; and look at them as certain fatal Things that move and act of themselves, and without Design or Reason." Since God exerts his power on the invisible caverns of explosive atoms, who can tell how far he will increase the force of punishing earthquakes "to the speedy & utter Destruction of those that neither fear nor regard him?"⁵

Mather notes that earthquakes cause sinkholes called "Hell-kettles," lamenting, "Alas, the World is wicked enough to be filled with *Hell-kettles*, and Millions of People are wicked enough to be thrown into them."⁶ In the fact that the earthquake came at night, Samuel Wigglesworth reads a warning about "moral Sleep and carnal Security" of the people given to "Rioting and Drunkenness, Slumbering and Wantonness," never thinking of the Last Judgment—and this is why "God was pleased to cause the Earth to roar from its deep Caverns, to awaken us out of that lethargick Frame."⁷ Likewise, John Rogers warns that the surface of the Earth is only

a thin Crust, a brittle Shell, over the most formidable Vaults and Caverns, which may be repleat with Wind, Fire, or Water, which might easily, (if the GOD of Nature should so order) break forth, and let the heavy Earth sink beneath; or otherwise open, and you and your Houses sink and be buried therein.

Earthquakes are indeed God's warning of Judgment Day, but the warning is merciful because "subordinate end of Earthquakes" is "to stir up People to . . . repent and turn from all their Transgressions, that so their Iniquities may not be their ruin."⁸ As far away as Charlestown, South Carolina, churchgoers were instructed that the providential warnings delivered to Massachusetts could also emerge among them. Josiah Smith declares, "We know not what vast Subterraneous *Caverns* We stand over; and what store of *nitrous Sulphurious* Particles are lodged below us; to fulfil their *Sovereign's* Will, upon his *Word or Touch*." If not earthquakes, God has been known to send wild boars or lightning to warn against sin.⁹ Geological phenomena—weather, too, and wild beasts—supply hell-fire preachers with a rich supply of examples. But this has taken us a ways from the similitude of lost boys and cave formations. So, I'd return to the topic of show-caves and the history of how entrepreneurs framed the experience for visitors. Because time (and your patience) is limited, I'll limit myself two, one old world cave and a few curious details about new world caves. Perhaps the best known touristical cave in our period was Poole's Cave, near Buxton, Derbyshire. Mary Queen of Scots supposedly visited in 1580 (there's a pillar named after her), and Michael Drayton's *Poly-Olbion* indicates that by the 1620s curious visitors were creeping into the narrow entrance on a regular basis. Entering, they observed "Of strange and sundry formes, both in the Roofe and Floore, / As Nature show'd in thee, what ne'r was seene before."¹⁰

Before long the de facto proprietors commodified the experience of visiting by providing access for a price. In 1681, Charles Cotton noted in *The Wonders of the Peake* that the entrance had been fitted with a door "which some poor Woman there / Still keeps the Key of, that it may keep her."¹¹ Gentlemen were accompanied by local guides, who provided safety and support, as well as pointing out the cave's most striking features, an experience Cotton describes vividly:

Propt round with *Peasants*, on you trembling go,
Whilst, every step you take, your *Guides* do show
In the uneven Rock the uncouth shapes
Of *Men*, of *Lions*, *Horses*, *Dogs*, and *Apes*:
But so resembling each the fancied shape,
The *Man* might be the *Horse*, the *Dog* the *Ape*. (pp. 7-8)

Cotton is unconvinced by these names, and offers these wry comments on the striated formation known as the Bacon Flitch. It was so named not because it resembles a side of bacon (the formation is round, while a real flitch is flat), but "Because it hangs i'th' roof like one of those, / And shines like salt" Another similar formation once existed, "But long ago, I know not how, the one / Fell down, or eaten was; for now 'tis gone" (p. 10). Thomas Hobbes, too, waxes facetious about the naming of stone formations:

This Cave by Gorgon with her snaky hair
You'd think was first possest; so all things there
Turn'd into Stone for nothing does appear
That is not Rock. What from the ceiling high
Like hams of Bacon pendulous you spy,
Will scarce yield to the teeth; stone they are both.
That is no Lyon mounts his main so rough,
And sets as a fierce tenant o'th' dark den,
But a meer yellow Stone. That grave old Man
That leaning lyes on his hard Rocky bed,
Himself may truly part of it be said¹²

Daniel Defoe, at once promoting and deflating the Wonders of the Peak, dryly notes that the celebrated named features of Poole's Hole are

nothing but ordinary Stones; and the Shape[s] very little resemble the Things they are said to represent; but the fruitful Imagination of the Country Carls . . . will have them to look like them; a Stranger sees very little even of the Similitude, any more than when People fancy they see Faces and Heads, Castles and Cities, Armies, Horses and Men, in the Clouds, in the Fire, and the like.¹³

What travelers apparently sought in caves was novelty, sometimes from the physical strangeness of the place, and sometimes from the uncanniness of historical associations. Thus Defoe drily relates the fantastical accounts of Peak locals:

The story of one Pole or Poole a famous Giant or Robber, (they might as well have called him a Man Eater) who harboured in this Vault, and whose Kitchen and Lodging, or Bed-Chamber, they show you on your Right-hand, after you have crept about ten Yards upon all-Fours; I say, this I leave to those who such Stories are better suited to, than I expect of my Readers.

By the end of the eighteenth century Derbyshire locals had professionalized cave-tour guiding, and in the mid-nineteenth Poole's Hole was completely refurbished for the tourist trade by the 6th Duke of Devonshire.

Although new world caves were discovered from time to time, I have found no evidence of the practice of setting up show caves in the eighteenth century. A more detailed study could trace a gradual shift from the cave interpreted metaphorically, then exploited touristically, and then to the cave scientifically studied, mapped, and set in the context of the slow development of geological science and ethnography. For now it will be interesting to note that some of the traditional elements remain even in the midst of the 18th-century scientific project. Consider the "Description of the Grotto at Swatara" published in the *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* in 1786, in which the Rev. Peter Miller, before he discusses the formation of stalactites and the workings of petrifying matter, first describes high-roofed "apartments" with pillars arranged like the "sanctuary in a Roman church" or a throne room. His party also "discovered the resemblances of several monuments, incorporated into the walls, as if the bodies of departed heroes were there deposited" (Vol. II., No. xv, pp. 177-178). Their guide showed them a rock formation known as "the bell," which rang when struck.

In the end, then, the history of the caverns of the past could employ Drayton's line—"As Nature show'd in thee, what ne'r was seene before"—to serve as a template for explicating what kinds of things nature might be expected to show, according to the cultural context of succeeding decades. In this brief sketch I have endeavored to bring these "indistinct and half-glimpsed images" to kindle your curiosity. In the dim and shifting light of the cavern of the past, we may discern the outlines of characteristic patterns of explanation. It's almost as if history consisted of a parade of metaphors; even obdurate mineral structures are subject to fancy. In the mysterious underground regions, stones are not themselves—they are castles, thrones, monuments, bells and bacon.

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Notes

1. *The Poetical Works of Robert Burns*, ed., J. Logie Robertson (London: Oxford U. Press, 1904), p. 238.
2. *Acts and Laws, Made and Passed, by the General Court or Assembly of the State of Connecticut . . .* (Hartford: Elisha Babcock, [1790], pp. 394-97.
3. Vladimir Jancovic, *Reading the skies: A Cultural History of English Weather, 1650-1820* (Chicago: U. of Chicago Press, 2000), p. 28.
4. John Barnard, *Two Discourses Addressed to Young Persons; To which is added, A Sermon Occasioned by the Earthquake, Which was October 29, 1727* (Boston: S. Garrish, 1727), pp. 77-78.
5. Thomas Prince, *Earthquakes the Works of God & Tokens of his just Displeasure...* (2nd ed., corrected, Boston: D. Henchman, 1727), pp. 9-10, 11, 15. Other references to the theory of subterraneous explosions may be found in Benjamin Colman, *The Judgments of Providence in the hand of Christ: His Voice to us in the terrible Earthquake, and the Earth devoured by the Curse* (Boston: J. Phillips and T. Hancock, 1727), p. vi; and Thomas Paine, *The Doctrine of Earthquakes. Two Sermons Preached at a particular Fast in Weymouth, Nov. 3, 1727, The Friday after the Earthquake, Wherein this terrible Work appears not to proceed from natural Second Causes . . . But from the Mighty Power of GOD immediately interposed; and is to the World, A Token of God's Anger, &c. and Presage of Terrible Changes* (Boston: D. Henchman, 1728), p. 15.
6. *The Terror of the Lord: Some Account of the Earthquake That shook New England . . . 29 and the 30 of October, 1727* (3rd ed., Boston: S. Kneeland, 1727), p. 42.
7. *Religious Fear of God's Tokens, Explained and Urged; In a Sermon Preached at Ipswich November 1, 1728. Being a Day of Humiliation on account of the terrible Earthquake, October 29, 1727* ([Boston]: D. Henchman & T. Hancock, 1728), p. 29.
8. Rogers, *The Nature and Necessity of Repentance, with the Means and Motives to it. A Discourse Occasion'd by the Earthquake* (Boston: S. Gerrish, 1728), pp. 49, 47.
9. Smith, *The Greatest Sufferers Not always the Greatest Sinners. A Sermon Delivered in Charlestown, . . . South Carolina, February 4th, 1727, 8. Then Occasioned by the Terrible Earthquake in New England* (Boston: n.p., 1730), p. 18.
10. Drayton, *The Second Part, or a Continvance of Poly-Olbion from the Eighteenth Song. Containing all the Tracts, Riuers, Mountaines, and Forrests: Intermixed with the most remarkable Stories, Antiquities, Wonders, Rarities, Pleasures, and Commodities of the East, and Northerne parts of this Isle . . .* (London: Augustine Mathewes for Iohn Marriott, et al., 1622), p. 124.

11. *The Wonders of the Peake* (London: J. Brome, 1681), pp. 5-6.
12. Hobbes, *De Mirabilibus Pecci: Being the Wonders of the Peak in Darby-Shire, Commonly called the Devil's Arse of Peak* (London: William Crook, 1678), p. 51.
13. [Defoe], *Curious and Diverting Journies Thro' the whole Island of Great Britain . . .* (London: G. Parker, 1734), no pagination.

ECCO and the Future of Eighteenth-Century Studies

by Corey E. Andrews

Scholarly discussion of Thomson-Gale's database Eighteenth-Century Collections Online (ECCO) has continued unabated since the recent publication of articles by Sayre Greenfield and Robert Hume in *The Eighteenth-Century Intelligencer*.¹ For example, ECCO was the subject of a lively roundtable discussion at this past year's MLA convention in Chicago (entitled "Got ECCO?" and still enjoying an appropriately digital afterlife in YouTube²), and remains a key topic in many online forums, listservs, and casual academic conversations. Robert Hume is certainly correct in stating that ECCO is "genuinely revolutionary," changing the nature and practice of the scholarship and teaching of eighteenth-century studies (9). In his presidential address published in the *Intelligencer*, Sayre Greenfield comments that it often feels like one is "watching the emergence of a cultural trend" when researching with ECCO (6). The happy accidental discovery of emergent "cultural trends" has become a preferred rhetorical mode for many conference papers, where previously "hidden" trends are brought to light by ECCO-based research.³ Because of these new research opportunities, Hume delivered a passionate, polemical prediction about the future of eighteenth-century studies in institutions with (and without) ECCO:

A university that does not have ECCO is not a serious player in eighteenth-century British and American studies—in literature or in anything else. Any institution giving graduate degrees reduces itself to below minor-league status if it does not provide ECCO to its students—and is putting its publishing faculty at a crippling disadvantage Every serious scholar of the eighteenth century must find a way to get access to what ECCO attempts to provide (16).

It is hard to argue against the merits of a revolutionary database like ECCO, but placing such primary importance on a proprietary database may have unexpected consequences for the field of eighteenth-century studies. It is worth stating the obvious to begin with, and that is the commercial nature of the ECCO enterprise. Hume admits that "Thomson-Gale calls ECCO a 'product,' which from their point of view of course it is" (16). Thomson-Gale has invested heavily in

ECCO, and the expected returns for the company are not projected to extend beyond the point of sale. As noted in *The Electronic Information Report*, "because the database is sold for a one-time fee . . . rather than on a reoccurring subscription basis, returns are not likely to be major for Gale."⁴ However, the article confirms the profitable return from negotiated one-time sales: "the company is collecting a significant sum for each sale. List price for the collection is about \$500,000" (5)—though smaller institutions have been able to purchase it for less. Financial reportage on ECCO indicates that Thomson-Gale has made a "profit on centuries-old collections," with buyers ranging from university libraries to the National Science Council from Taipei.⁵ In fact, business has been so good that Thomson-Gale merged its databases with rival ProQuest, creating a digital warehouse of archival information.⁶

Given this scenario, which might remind some readers of a certain software giant, it is again worth stressing that ECCO has been created for the very specific reason of making money. However, the database is simply too expensive for many medium-sized universities and small colleges, and Thomson-Gale has no immediate plans to offer a subscription service for individuals.⁷ Because of this factor—one that is clearly beyond the power of individual scholars to resolve—Perry Willett has pointed out that "with the growing body of collections available from commercial publishers, the divide between the haves and have-nots in this area is growing."⁸ Referring specifically to ECCO, Kevin Berland comments that "access for students and scholars tends to be limited to those attached to institutions large enough, well-off enough, and technology-inclined enough to spend the often hefty subscription fees."⁹ He continues by stating that "this effectively creates a knowledge gap whose scale we do not yet know" (405). This last point should be lingered over by any practicing eighteenth-century scholar. If ECCO-based research truly assumes the stature and cachet described by Hume, it will come at a considerable cost. Hard-working scholars at non-ECCO institutions may find themselves increasingly blocked from presenting and publishing their work, and graduate students at such institutions may discover that they cannot compete in the job market without ECCO-based dissertations and training. Indeed, Hume notes that this latter scenario will be the case, remarking that "only a fool would go to a school that did not have ECCO if he or she intended to work in the eighteenth century" (13).

Given the grim nature of such predictions, those without access to ECCO might be tempted to pack it in and pursue other options. However, I believe that scholars who haven't "got ECCO" don't necessarily have to admit defeat. In fact, such scholars might desire to create their own digital archives, producing searchable texts in a non-proprietary format for universal use. A recent issue of *PMLA* devoted an entire section of "The Changing Profession" to a discussion of electronic databases entitled "Database as Genre: The Epic Transformation of Archives."¹⁰ Celebrated databases like the Walt Whitman Archive, the William Blake Archive, and the Rossetti Archive were examined as innovative, open-source examples of digital scholarship. Participants in the debate described the

potential of databases to transform the ownership of knowledge, suggesting (in Peter Stallybrass's words) that "one of the most radical aspects of database is its power to separate knowledge from its attendant regime of intellectual property."¹¹ This liberating possibility is easily assessed with a cursory look at the proliferating number of full-text databases available on the Internet, ranging from international collections of archival materials to massive scholarly storehouses. Such electronic databases offer researchers an array of sources and strategies unthinkable even ten years ago. However, as Jerome McGann cautions in the "Changing Profession" debate, while databases (like ECCO, for example) are literally changing the nature of the humanities, they may nevertheless not be appropriate for all kinds of research. Indeed, McGann states that "for scholars interested in migrating our cultural inheritance to digital environments, databases are by no means the most useful tools for the task."¹²

Part of this difficulty involves what might be described as the "reification" of the database concept. In his contribution to "The Changing Profession" debate, Jonathan Freedman notes the tendency for "the choices and decisions, inclusions and exclusions, that go into making the database [to be] occluded or even excluded in favor of a veneration of the database as a reified entity entire unto itself."¹³ In relation to ECCO, I believe this is especially true. Berland observes that, while the database allows for so-called "fuzzy" searching (defined as "a remarkable software feature that expands a keyword search to include a variety of terms that 'look' more or less like the search term" [394]), ECCO searches promote "the myth of comprehensive on-line access" (408). Indeed, "those using the resource may be tempted to present their findings as empirically based and comprehensive," but Berland rightly warns that "the corpus is by no means complete" (406).

ECCO's promotional brochure suggests otherwise, stating that material found in this revolutionary resource is based on the *English Short Title Catalogue* bibliography and is derived from some of the world's largest and most prestigious university, private, public and research libraries.¹⁴ While Thomson-Gale hails ECCO's adherence to ESTC as a marker of comprehensiveness, others may pause at this assertion. Hume agrees that "ECCO is radically dependent on the ESTC," observing that "the ESTC is notoriously a minefield" (15). Jim May has demonstrated that the ESTC is incomplete,¹⁵ and by their own admission, Thomson-Gale claims to have digitized works from only *some* of the holdings of the world's major libraries. Add to this the fact that archival manuscripts are not included in ECCO, and we suddenly find that "the largest and most comprehensive online historical archive of its kind"¹⁶ is not so comprehensive after all. Given such facts, user-generated keyword results from this database should be met with considerable scholarly skepticism. In fact, Sayre Greenfield underscored this problematic feature quite plainly in his presidential address:

Given the vagaries of electronic searching, one should probably keep in mind, when one is dating a particular cultural phenomenon, that one's

conclusions can always be disproved or adjusted by subsequent researchers who are more clever in their patterns of searching, in getting around the limitations of the search engine, and in exploiting the potential of the search mechanisms to winkle out information (8).

As with other research tools that have promised much and been found wanting, ECCO must be used with caution in developing generalizations about the eighteenth century.

Along these lines, not only does ECCO convey the "myth of comprehensive on-line access," but it may also distort the historical record of a work's production and distribution. ECCO provides multiple editions of many works, but such apparent abundance can be deceptive. In dealing with poetry, for example, one must be particularly alert to the specific conditions of a work's print appearance. This calls for the tools of descriptive bibliography, as well as access to historical artifacts. Such details can often become lost in the migration of texts to the full-text database. As Meredith McGill attests, "the comprehensiveness of the database is a liability as well as a strength. Digitizing archives makes it harder to see the partial nature of the printed record, the limited reach of print at any moment in history, and the supersession of one edition by another."¹⁷ Such attention to detail is demanded of any rigorous scholarship, and it is likely that ECCO may prove to be a counter-productive influence if scholars do not recognize the inherent limitations of its results.

Therefore, instead of simply acceding to the Orwellian future of ECCO haves and have-nots, it is more productive, democratic, and fair to assess the non-proprietary tools available for all scholars working on the eighteenth century. For instance, Google Books is in the process of constructing a massive searchable database that includes many useful texts for eighteenth-century scholars. In a recent article, Brendan Rapple has argued that scholars should give Google Books a chance to prove its value against competitors like ECCO. He writes that "access to these extremely expensive databases is invariably highly restricted The great potential benefit of Google's plan to digitize millions of the world's books is the democratization of the dissemination and availability of information and knowledge."¹⁸ Though the Google Books project invites a host of controversies about copyright and other issues, its promotion of universally available knowledge and resources is much more revolutionary than Thomson-Gale's ECCO.

Along with non-proprietary databases, producing DIY digital archives is another possibility for online scholarly activity that promises a substantial return on the time and effort invested in construction. Economist Yochai Benkler has argued in *The Wealth of Networks* that "today's users of information are not only today's readers and consumers . . . [but] they are also today's producers and tomorrow's innovators."¹⁹ He lauds "the rise of effective, large-scale cooperative efforts [focused on the] peer production of information, knowledge, and culture" (5), pointing out that "we have come to rely ever more exclusively on proprietary business models of the industrial economy to provide some of the most basic

information components of human development" (14). Arguing against this commercial tendency in knowledge-production, Benkler offers that "nonproprietary production can play an important role in our information production system" by allowing users to produce, interpret, and share knowledge (41). The net result may prove more revolutionary for scholarship than the future according to ECCO. In Benkler's words:

The result is a flourishing nonmarket sector of information, knowledge, and cultural production, based in the networked environment, and applied to anything that the many individuals connected to it can imagine. Its outputs, in turn, are not treated as exclusive property. They are instead subject to an increasingly robust ethic of open sharing, open for all others to build on, extend, and make their own (7).

With the help of non-proprietary databases and the sharing of knowledge in digital formats, the future of eighteenth-century studies for those without ECCO may not be as dire as it appears.

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Notes

¹ See Sayre N. Greenfield's "EC/ASECS Presidential Address, October 2006, Gettysburg: 'ECCO-locating the Eighteenth Century,'" *Eighteenth-Century Intelligencer*, 21, no. 1 (Jan. 2007): 1-9; and Robert D. Hume's "The ECCO Revolution," *Eighteenth-Century Intelligencer* 21, no. 1 (Jan. 2007): 9-17.

² See the website <<http://www.youtube.com/CompassJournals>>.

³ Greenfield calls this type of research a form of "cultural paleontology" (1).

⁴ "Gale, ProQuest Profit on Centuries-Old Collections," *Electronic Information Report* (25 August 2003), 5.

⁵ An interesting item from the Central News Agency of Taiwan states that the National Science Council appropriated 3.4 million dollars (American) to purchase ECCO along with four other databases.

⁶ See "ProQuest, Gale Agree," *Advanced Technology Libraries* 36, no. 12 (2007), 2.

⁷ There have been some recent "free" days of access for individual use of Thomson-Gale databases, but ECCO has not yet been included even in this advertising scheme. It remains uncertain how long it will take for

Thomson-Gale to surrender its profit-heavy practice of institutional subscriptions only.

⁸ "Electronic Texts: Audiences and Purposes," *A Companion to Digital Humanities*, ed. Susan Schreibman, Ray Siemens, and John Unsworth (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), 7.

⁹ "Review Essay: Formalized Curiosity in the Electronic Age and the Uses of On-Line Text-Bases," *Age of Johnson*, 17 (2006), 405.

¹⁰ See "The Changing Profession" section in *PMLA*, 122 [no. 5] (2007), 1571-1612.

¹¹ Stallybrass, "Against Thinking," *PMLA*, 122 (2007), 1581.

¹² "Database, Interface, and Archival Fever," *PMLA*, 122 (2007), 1589.

¹³ "Whitman, Database, Information Culture," *PMLA*, 122 (2007), 1601.

¹⁴ See the promotional material at the following website:
<http://gale.cengage.com/EighteenthCentury/index.htm>.

¹⁵ See May's "Who Will Edit the ESTC? (and have you checked OCLC lately?)," *Analytical & Enumerative Bibliography*, 12 (2001), 288-304.

¹⁶ See Thomson-Gale's brochure for ECCO (available at <http://www.walkerlargeprint.com/EighteenthCentury/>).

¹⁷ "Remediating Whitman," *PMLA*, 122 (2007): 1594.

¹⁸ Rapple, "Google and Access to the World's Intellectual Heritage," *Contemporary Review* (June 2005), 343.

¹⁹ *The Wealth of Networks: How Social Production Transforms Markets and Freedom* (New Haven: Yale U. Press, 2006), 38

The Gerald Coke Handel Collection at the Foundling Museum

by Katharine Hogg

Abstract: Handel was a major benefactor of the Foundling Hospital, London's first home for abandoned children. The composer's benefit concerts for the hospital raised thousands of pounds, and these performances also established Messiah as a central work in the English repertoire. Gerald Coke (1907-90) was a collector of Handel material for over 60 years and his collection is now in the Foundling Museum. It includes books, scores libretti, manuscripts, art works and ephemera relating to Handel and his contemporaries, including Handel's will, now displayed alongside the score he bequeathed to the Foundling Hospital.

Handel and the Foundling Hospital

The Foundling Hospital was established by Royal Charter in 1739, after a

long struggle by Captain Thomas Coram, a successful shipwright and sailor who had retired to England after a life's work in the New World of America. Coram had been appalled by the abandoned and dying children in the streets of London, and his scheme for a "Hospital for the Maintenance and Education of Exposed and Deserted Young Children," to provide a refuge for foundlings, was the first of its kind in England, although other countries were ahead in this respect. Nevertheless, Coram encountered a good deal of prejudice from those who thought it would encourage irresponsible behaviour on the part of the mothers, and it was only when he enlisted the ladies of the nobility to support his request to Parliament that he was successful in obtaining the necessary Royal Charter. The site for the Hospital, originally fifty-six acres in the country just north of London, was acquired from the Earl of Salisbury in 1740, and money was raised by public donations. In 1745 children were moved into the new buildings, designed by Theodore Jacobsen, who was also a Governor of the Hospital.

From the start, the artistic influence on the Hospital was established, led by the artist William Hogarth. He was a founding governor of the Hospital and recognised the opportunity for artists to display their work whilst supporting the charity, by donating works to decorate the fine rooms in the building— chiefly the Governors' offices, where polite society and potential donors could be received. There were no art galleries in England at this time, and Hogarth's designs were no less ground-breaking for artists than Coram's were for abandoned children. Patronage was unreliable and there were few opportunities to display artists' works in public. A generous donation of artwork to the Foundling Hospital could bring many rewards, raise the artist's profile, and attract future commissions.

The first endowment—Hogarth's portrait of Thomas Coram, given to the Hospital in 1740—served as an example to his peers of the benefits of philanthropy. These intentions were well realised as both artists and collectors donated pieces for the ornamentation of the hospital, as gestures of goodwill that would receive wide attention. Other artists of the time contributed to what is still one of the most impressive eighteenth-century interiors in London, the Hospital's Court Room, which was formally opened in 1747. It includes paintings by Hogarth, Francis Hayman, James Wills, and Joseph Highmore, all featuring children or foundlings from Biblical stories—Moses was represented as one of the first foundlings. The room includes an ornate plasterwork ceiling, chimney-piece, Rysbrack's bas-relief over the fireplace, plaster busts and a series of roundels all donated by the artists and craftsmen; the roundels have landscapes and views of eight London hospitals, including Greenwich, Christ's and Charterhouse, painted by artists including Gainsborough, Samuel Wale, Edward Haytley and Richard Wilson.

The unique environment of the Foundling Hospital, which had been designed from the outset not only as a children's home, but as a place of polite assembly, meant that it quickly became one of the most fashionable places to visit during the reign of George II, and a hub of philanthropic activity, where artists, children, and patrons were able to benefit together from the contemporary culture of "enlightened self-interest." The inclusion of a Picture Gallery added to the

attraction for polite society, and another fundraising initiative, the Ladies' Breakfasts, became so popular that in 1747 the windows had to be nailed shut to prevent uninvited guests from climbing in.

The governing artists benefited from the Hospital not only as an exhibition space, but also as a place to meet and discuss their activities, as an alternative to the St Martin's Lane Academy. The annual Foundling Hospital dinner, attended by the governors and London's leading artists, provided a lively atmosphere for discussion. At this occasion in 1759, Francis Hayman proposed the idea of founding "a great museum all our own," and this museum--the Royal Academy of Arts--was finally established in 1768. However, artists and patrons continued to donate works, including, for example, the Roubiliac bust of Handel presented in 1844 by Sir Frederick Pollock, but only recognised as Roubiliac's work after restoration in 1966.

Alongside Coram and Hogarth, the other major benefactor was George Frideric Handel. The composer had already supported the "Fund for Decay'd Musicians," established in 1738, and this charitable society was to benefit from a bequest in his will. Handel's first appearance in the Committee minutes of the Foundling Hospital, on 4 May 1749, records that he attended to offer a fundraising performance to benefit the building of the chapel. Handel's interest may have come about through his music publisher John Walsh, who had been elected a Governor in 1748 and would have known of the financial difficulties encountered by the Hospital. Most Governors of the Hospital attended only one meeting, and the title of Governor seems to have been only nominal, as few took any active part in the Hospital governance, other than attendance, at their own expense, at the annual Foundling Hospital dinner. Handel's name was put forward to be a Governor after his offer of a concert in 1749, but he declined the invitation, preferring to serve the Hospital "in his own way."

The 1749 concert took place three weeks after Handel's offer to the Committee and was a great success. It was attended by the Prince and Princess of Wales, attracted a full house, and raised over £350. The final work in the concert was the Foundling Hospital anthem, which Handel created largely from existing material (including the "Hallelujah chorus" which he borrowed from his then little-known *Messiah*) with words from the Scriptures. The composer's conducting score of this work is now on display in the Foundling Museum.

Handel continued to serve the charity "in his way"; the concert in 1749 was so successful that the governors asked him to put on another concert the following year, and he chose to perform *Messiah*. The oratorio had been composed eight years earlier but had not yet been well received by London audiences; its few performances had been overshadowed by a debate over whether it was appropriate to perform a work with so sacred a subject in a theatre, which was commonly associated with more worldly interests. The performance of *Messiah* in 1750 was oversubscribed, and the Hospital minutes note that the High Constable and his assistants were to be asked to attend keep gate-crashers out. There were double-bookings for the first performance in May, when tickets were sold at the door as

well as in advance, and Handel attended a further meeting at the Hospital, when a second performance was hastily arranged to accommodate the ticket-holders who had been turned away. The performance in the Foundling Hospital Chapel, for the benefit of such a worthy cause, made the oratorio acceptable to London audiences, and Handel then gave an annual benefit performance of *Messiah* in the chapel, a practice which continued after his death, and which also established *Messiah* in the concert repertoire. The *Messiah* became very closely associated with the Foundling Hospital, and in his will the composer directed that a score and parts of the oratorio be given to the Hospital, so that benefit performances could continue.

In addition to its collections of artworks, the Foundling Hospital has a poignant assortment of items relating to its social function. Despite its name, the children were usually not strictly foundlings, abandoned to their fate, but were brought to the Hospital by their mothers who could not support them. The archives include many tokens which mothers left with their children so that they might identify them again one day if they were in a position to reclaim them. These include tags, buttons and pieces of jewelry, poems or scraps of paper with a name and perhaps a date of birth. All children were given a new name on admission; at first they were frequently named after benefactors and governors, until suspicions about paternity were raised and this practice was discontinued. The Hospital applied various selection criteria over the years, most famously the ballot, when a mother picked a coloured ball out of a bag and, depending on the colour drawn, her child would or would not be admitted.

The Foundling Hospital moved out of London in 1926, by which time the building was no longer in healthy country air, as London had expanded rapidly. The original Hospital buildings were demolished, but the Court Room was taken down in sections, including the plasterwork ceiling and reassembled in a room built to the same dimensions for that purpose in the new administrative building which is now the Foundling Museum. The Hospital ceased to be a foundling institution in 1953, and is now the childcare charity Coram Family, in premises adjoining the Foundling Museum. The original gates and walls of the front of the Hospital can still be seen; they now form the entrance to a children's park and playground where adults can enter only if accompanied by a child.

The Gerald Coke Handel Collection

Gerald Coke (pronounced "Cook") was a businessman who described himself as "a willing victim of the collecting bug." In his case this led to the creation of two main collections at his home, Jenkyn Place in Hampshire; one devoted to 18th-century English porcelain decorated in the studio of James Giles, now in the Dyson Perrins Museum of Porcelain in Worcester, and the other concerned with the life and work of the composer George Frideric Handel. Coke himself was a banker who combined a successful career in the City of London with contributions to music and gardening. He was a founder of the Glyndebourne Arts Trust, a governor of the BBC and a director of the Royal Opera House, Covent

Garden, and of the Royal Academy of Music. His home also had extensive gardens, which were opened to the public on occasion.

Coke started to collect Handel material in the 1930s, combining his love of music and fine books. He chose Handel after a brief period collecting Mozart (which proved too expensive) because, as he said, "virtually the whole of Handel's output was first published in England, and was still obtainable at a reasonable price." The collection was developed over the next half century to include books, documents and objects important to the understanding of the life and work of Handel.

Coke himself always acknowledged the help of a network of friends in music libraries and publishing, and among booksellers, in building up his collection, and in particular the book dealer Percy Muir, of the booksellers Elkin Mathews Ltd, and William Smith, then head of the Music Department at the British Museum. He also consulted and befriended the Handel scholars of the day, seeking their advice and opinion on items to be acquired and those in the collection, and allowing generous access and hospitality to those who wished to study items in his home.

His collection grew rapidly to include such significant items as one of the two original copies of Handel's will, autograph letters, rare first editions, and contemporary portraits. In later years he also acquired the manuscripts of the Earl of Shaftesbury, and William Smith's Handel collection, including 39 boxes of his working papers relating to both his published and his unpublished books.

The Coke collection now comprises several thousand items, chiefly manuscripts, books (including extra-illustrated volumes), and music by or relating to Handel and his contemporaries. However, with the freedom of the private collector, Coke also acquired paintings, prints, ceramics and other art works, and a large collection of programmes, libretti and ephemera, which now form one of the major Handel research collections in the world. Coke extended the scope of his collection to include such objects as medals, ceramics, admission tickets and tokens, press cuttings, sale catalogues, photographs and other material, even a 19th-century Swiss musical box, covering a continuous period from the composer's lifetime to the present day.

Gerald Coke was an avid and knowledgeable collector, in particular of 18th-century material, and every reprint was--quite rightly--considered a separate item, however slight the change. This makes it a valuable collection for students of music printing and publishing history, where, for example, odd pages of re-engraved music can be identified within various printings of the same item; it also requires fairly "extreme" cataloguing, now underway in our cataloguing project. Although not a music scholar, he clearly gained a great deal of knowledge about his chosen subject, but would call on the relevant expert when advice was needed on particular items, and the collection now includes numerous boxes of his correspondence with the Handel scholars of the 20th century. His central place in Handel research is confirmed by the number of books and journal articles in the collection inscribed to Coke by their authors.

The large collection of manuscripts includes another private collection, assembled by the Earl of Shaftesbury and passed through his family until acquired by Gerald Coke in 1987. In this instance Coke was able to reunite with the rest of the collection a volume from the Shaftesbury collection--Handel's oratorio *Joshua*--which had gone missing in 1757, and which Coke had purchased before 1939. Contemporary manuscripts in the collection were copied as soon as a work was composed, and can be studied alongside a range of contemporary publications of the music. Other manuscripts offer alternative versions of particular arias, for example, which were composed for different performers in early performances; many manuscripts note the names of the first performers at the head of the songs. This is also true of the printed music and programmes, and the sources provide a wealth of information about the early performers and their repertoire.

Coke was both fortunate and astute in his choice of collection, assembling a rich collection for comparatively little financial investment in today's terms, and the collection includes, for example, unique copies of the first printed edition of the *Messiah* libretto purchased for a few pounds. Coke's own account of his collecting was published in a collection of essays in 1993, where he recalls various triumphs and disappointments of his collecting. As a collector rather than scholar, Coke also delighted in buying items in their original wrappers or bindings, even where he already had another copy of the publication in a later binding; the satisfaction he gained from acquiring items "as issued" makes the Coke collection particularly rich in this area, and many items are in pristine condition. Performers who visit the collection take particular pleasure in seeing items in the state in which they would have been at their first performance, with the individual instrumental and voice parts in their distinctive blue-grey paper wrappers.

The non-book items in the Coke collection are also carefully chosen and of particular interest to those studying Handel. The collection of hand-painted busts from the workshop of Ralph and Enoch Wood reflect the continued popularity of Handel since his lifetime. Handel was the first composer to have a collected edition of his works published, the first composer to have a statue erected to him in his lifetime, and the first European composer to have an extensive biography published, in this case within a year of his death. The numerous commemorative medallions in the collection also illustrate the continued interest throughout the nineteenth century, along with the extensive runs of programmes from London and the provinces, providing rich source materials for those researching individual performers, local history, and amateur music-making in England.

What Coke described as "a minor triumph" was the purchase of one of Roubiliac's models for the monument to Handel in Westminster Abbey. Coke bought it unseen after it was found in an antique shop in Bristol, and the terracotta model, which differs from the monument in the Abbey, is now in the collection. Ironically, Coke was particularly pleased to have beaten the V&A Museum to this particular acquisition, as he wanted "to prevent this terracotta from passing into

the dead hands of a museum"--we hope he would not be disappointed in its present home.

Gerald Coke died in 1990, and his widow Patricia died in 1995. The Handel collection was left to the nation, with the request that it be allocated to the Thomas Coram Foundation (now Coram Family). Gerald Coke was anxious that the collection be kept together, and Coram Family was already considering how to look after its valuable 18th-century collections which now required care beyond the scope of the charity. In 2004 the Foundling Museum was opened, which now holds the Foundling Hospital's major collection of 18th-century art, a social history exhibition, and the Gerald Coke Handel Collection.

Coke's choice of the charity to benefit from his collection was made not least because Handel had been a Governor of the Foundling Hospital and a major fundraiser for many years. One particularly happy reunion has been made by bringing together the Hospital's archives and Gerald Coke's collection. Handel's will survives in two copies--one at The National Archives and the other in Coke's collection,--and it makes a specific bequest to the Foundling Hospital of a copy of the score and parts of *Messiah*. This would, of course, have enabled the benefit concerts to continue, as there were no printed orchestral parts at that time. The music was duly copied and given to the Hospital, where it was preserved and now sits alongside the will from the Coke collection in the Handel exhibition gallery.

The Gerald Coke Handel Foundation which administers the endowment accompanying the collection continues to buy new publications, fill gaps by purchase or donation, acquire programmes and ephemeral material, and, where money allows, to purchase antiquarian material from dealers or in the auction house. The breadth of the collection gives many opportunities for exhibitions, and items are also loaned to other institutions. The Byrne Collection, which belongs to the Handel House Museum in London, is also currently stored with the Coke collection and will be added to the online catalogue; this reunites the printed music owned by the Earl of Shaftesbury (now owned by Handel House) with the Shaftesbury manuscripts. The study facilities serve a range of scholars: primarily performers, editors and musicologists, but also historians and students of art and architecture, local studies researchers, creative writers and historians of book and music printing and publishing. The range of material in terms of artefact and content reflects every aspect of Handel and his contemporaries and offers a multi-faceted approach to the composer and his music.

The online catalogue (in progress) can be found via the museum's website at www.foundlingmuseum.org.uk; enquiries should be addressed to the Museum's or by email to handel@foundlingmuseum.org.uk.

Editor's note: Katharine Hogg is the Librarian of the Gerard Coke Handel Collection (40 Brunswick Square, London, WC1N 1AZ).

Eighteenth-Century Imprints in the Art Research Library of the National Gallery of Art, Washington

by John P. Heins

Since its beginnings when the National Gallery of Art opened in Washington in 1941, the Art Research Library has developed into a major art research center with substantial resources benefiting not only the Gallery's curatorial staff, but also visiting scholars and members of the general public with an interest in art-historical research. The Library contains a comprehensive collection of more than 350,000 books, periodicals, and documents on the history, theory, and criticism of art and architecture, with a clear emphasis on Western art from the Middle Ages to the present. The library holds about 2400 periodical titles, 900 of them current, as well as subscribing to auction catalogues from all major American and European auction houses and holding "a rich retrospective collection of catalogues from the seventeenth century to the present" (www.nga.gov/resources/dldesc.shtm). These statistics place the Library among the largest of American museum libraries, in the company of such institutions as the Frick Art Reference Library in New York (285,000 books and 80,000 auction catalogs) and the Museum of Fine Arts Library in Boston (320,000 volumes). The two largest museum libraries in the U.S. are the Watson Library at New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art (holding approximately 600,000 volumes, with perhaps another 100,000 in the other more specific collections taken together), and the J. Paul Getty in Los Angeles, with about 900,000 volumes of books, periodicals, and auction catalogs.

To satisfy my own curiosity, and to gather information that might be of interest to the wider community of eighteenth-century scholars, in the summer of 2007 I undertook an informal study of the collection to find out what the Library holds in the way of eighteenth-century imprints. In order to get an overview of this part of the collection, I worked with the Systems Librarian, Karen Cassedy, to isolate titles corresponding to 18th-century imprints (defined strictly, 1700-1800), excluding microform resources (since these might more easily be found elsewhere as well). The total came to 1823 distinct titles. To be clear about context, I should mention that this number represents the holdings of material in the main catalog of the research library only. It excludes auction catalogs, which are in a separate database (and of which, according to my count, the library holds 257 18th-century titles, representing art auctions that took place for the most part in London, Paris, or Amsterdam), as well as excluding material held in the Department of Prints and Drawings, which also collects books. The distinction between the collection policies of the library on the one hand and that of Prints and Drawings on the other is that the latter collects printed matter which is considered art, whether in book form or separate sheets, for limited study and potential exhibition, while the Library is a working research collection meant for more intensive use by scholars. Thus, the library does not look necessarily for the most beautiful copies, but rather

for books in good condition useful to art historians. The taxpayers among you may be relieved to know that current acquisitions of rare books by the Art Research Library are made exclusively with private money, not federal dollars.

The first point of my curiosity was the language distribution of the holdings. Of the 1823 titles I identified, 534 are Italian (29%), 493 French (27%), 298 English (16%), 169 German (9%), 161 Latin (9%), 147 Dutch (8%), 18 Spanish (1%), and 3 Swedish (.2%). This distribution of languages might reflect any number of factors, including the relative importance of particular national-cultural contexts to the study of European art history (or their perceived importance at various points in the history of the discipline), but also the availability on the market of particular kinds of books over the last 60 years or so, and at the specific time when the Library has had funds to spend on rare books. Funds from private sources are sometimes earmarked for particular kinds of books; a donor might, for instance, request that donated funds be used to purchase exclusively architecture books. And some donors over the years have donated their own collections, which have been formed according to their own views of what is important or interesting. Finally, the central function of the book collection from the start has been to support research related directly to the Gallery's art collection, so the Art Research Library's profile reflects the profile of the National Gallery as a whole.

Perhaps due to my limited formal training in art history, I was not sure what varieties of things I would find in such a collection, and compiling a list of the types of books was really quite instructive for me. Perhaps a glance at the types of books in a library like this might be instructive for the readers of the *Eighteenth-Century Intelligencer* as well (or at least the non-art historians among you). I would break the list down into four generally distinct but sometimes overlapping categories, the first being books with copperplate reproductions and/or descriptions of works of art, the second being practical books intended for use by artists, the third being scholarly books in the discipline of art history as manifested in the eighteenth century, and the fourth being books of interest in print history and general historical research. Into the first category, books with descriptions of works of art, would fall such things as descriptions of particular collections of paintings and sculptures, books of print reproductions of paintings, descriptions of travels, with maps and views, sometimes including locations and descriptions of art collections, descriptions of buildings, churches, noble houses, and gardens, city guides, and festival books and other books about public events like coronations and funerals, containing descriptions and often also images of related ephemeral architecture. The second category, practical books originally intended for use by artists, would include such things as collections of architectural designs, instruction books on drawing and painting, technical manuals on tasks related to the visual arts (e.g. dying), dealers' catalogs of art supplies, and books on perspective. The third category, of particular use to art historians, includes exhibition catalogs, lives of the artists, histories of art forms, histories of the fine arts generally, and treatises on art-related institutions like the Royal Academy.

The fourth category, books of interest in print history and general historical research, would include items like bibles and devotional books, emblem books, reference works like encyclopedias and dictionaries, atlases, catalogs of private libraries, illustrated literary works, illustrated theological tracts, catalogues of vices, and books with images of torture methods. Finally, there is that category beyond all categories, the miscellany.

Some of the highlights of this collection that might be of particular interest to scholars researching the eighteenth century include Joshua Reynolds's personal copy of Walpole's edition of the four-volume *Anecdotes of Painting in England* (1762-1771), with his marginal annotations; Reynolds's *A Discourse delivered to the students of the Royal Academy on the distribution of the prizes, December 11, 1769* published in that first year of its existence (as well as several such discourses in subsequent years in their original editions); a 1797 edition of Edward Young's *Night Thoughts* illustrated by William Blake and hand-colored, perhaps by Blake himself or by Mrs. Blake; Keyssler's *Neueste Reise durch Teutschland, Böhmen, Ungarn, die Schweiz, Italien und Lothringen* (1740-42) as well as an English translation of that work (1756); Samuel Ireland's *A Picturesque Tour through Holland, Brabant, and Part of France*, 1790, with extensive engraved and aquatint views; a 1788 second edition of Gilpin's *Observations, relative chiefly to picturesque beauty, made in the year 1772, on several parts of England*, also with aquatint illustrations; *A Pocket Companion to the Royal Palaces of Kensington, Kew, and Hampton Court*, 1785; *A Pocket Companion for Oxford . . . to which are added correct descriptions of Blenheim, Ditchley and Stow*, 1762; a complete 4-volume early English edition of Lavater's *Physiognomy*, 1787, illustrated with several hundred engravings; and *The Ear-wig, or, An Old Woman's Remarks on the Present Exhibition of the Royal Academy*, 1781. Those researchers whose projects go beyond the boundaries of the eighteenth century may find that the collection in other centuries is even stronger.

This is a non-circulating collection, and so for those outside of Gallery staff and resident fellows, using the Art Research Library requires requesting materials to be brought from the stacks for use in the reading room, both from the regular stacks and from the rare book room. Persons with an interest in this collection are encouraged to seek further information in the online catalog (<http://library.nga.gov/>), and to call (202) 842-6511 to arrange a visit.

Editor's Note: We thank Dr. Heins, a rare-book cataloguer at the National Gallery's Art Research Library, for providing a short reprise of his talk at the 2007 EC/ASECS conference.

The S. Eric Molin Prize for Conference Best Paper by a Student

EC/ASECS members last winter received the CFP for our annual meeting in Georgetown, November 6-9, 2008. Paper proposals were due to the Georgetown EC/ASECS conference committee by May 1, 2008. If you are a graduate or advanced undergraduate student presenting a paper at the meeting, please consider applying for the Society's Sven Eric Molin Prize for the best paper presented by a student. Faculty members who supervise students should encourage them to apply. EC/ASECS established the Sven Eric Molin Prize in 1989 to encourage and reward student participation in our society. We named the award after Eric Molin, one of our earliest and most beloved members, because his dedication to teaching and to EC/ASECS inspired us all. The first prize award is \$150.00, and, at the discretion of the committee, a second prize award for \$100.00 may be given. The winner will be recognized in the *EC/ASECS Intelligencer* (glory will ensue!). If you want to enter your paper, please send an abstract of it to the three committee members to arrive no later than **October 15, 2008**. The members of this year's committee are Cheryl Wanko (English, 523 Main Bldg., West Chester University, West Chester, PA 19383; cwanko@wcupa.edu), Lisa Berglund (English, Buffalo State College, 1300 Elmwood Ave., Buffalo, NY 14222; Berglul@BuffaloState.edu), and Jean-Marc Kehres (Romance Languages & Literatures, Trinity College, Hartford, CT 06106-3100; JeanMarc.Kehres@trincoll.edu). Don't hesitate to direct questions to the prize committee's members.

Guidelines for the Molin Prize Contest

(1) Length: The presentation must be an appropriate length; that is, the talk should last no more than twenty minutes. Members of the committee will attend each presentation and time the talks. In practical terms, the text of the essay (exclusive of endnotes) should be no more than ten pages, double-spaced, with twelve-point type and reasonable margins. The committee advises contestants to practice the talk in advance to ensure that it does not run over the allotted time.

(2) Presentation: In order to be eligible for this competition, contestants must be physically present to read the paper at the EC/ASECS conference in November. An entrant cannot have someone else give the paper since a part of the committee's evaluation will be on the actual presentation and the way in which the contestant fields questions after the talk. **The paper must be unique;** that is, a contestant cannot submit the paper to another conference or recycle a paper previously presented elsewhere. After the conference, contestants must send the committee a copy the paper in full (and with endnotes) by **Monday, December 1, 2008**. A summary of the talk as part of a roundtable or panel discussion is unacceptable.

(3) Audience: In addition to the content of the paper, the committee will

also evaluate the writer's ability to make a specialized topic accessible to a wider audience of eighteenth-century scholars. Contestants should recognize that one element of a paper's success is its understanding of the broader context in which the argument is situated. Because the prize committee is composed of scholars from a range of specialties in 18th-century studies, in various disciplines and national cultures, they may not be familiar with all the criticism on the paper's topic. Therefore, the essay should establish how the writer's perspective relates to those of other scholars who have written on the same subject.

(4) Submissions: Entrants must first submit an abstract to the members of the committee by **October 15, 2008** (see the e-mail addresses above). After the conference, those who submitted their abstracts should send a full copy of the paper (as read) to the committee by **December 1, 2008**. An electronic submission should be a Microsoft Word attachment; members of the committee will send an e-mail confirmation of receipt and will alert entrants if any problem arises with transmission. If using regular mail, please e-mail members of the committee to alert them that you are sending an entry by post so that you and they are sure that your entry arrives. Please attach a **vita** to your submission, including the titles of any articles you have published and other conference papers you have delivered.

(5) Membership in EC/ASECS: You must be a current dues-paying member of EC/ASECS by the time of the conference. In order to join EC/ASECS, please contact Linda Merians at <lmeria@aol.com>.

Editor's note: We thank Cheryl Wanko, chair of this year's Molin Prize Committee, for the above invitation and guidelines, and we thank our Executive Secretary, Linda E. Merians, for the following list of Prize winners.

Former Winners of the EC/ASECS Molin Prize

EC/ASECS established the Sven Eric Molin Prize at our meeting in October 1989 in order to encourage the participation of graduate students in our society. We named the award after Eric Molin, one of our most beloved members, because his dedication to teaching and to EC/ASECS inspired so many of us. During his career, Eric taught at Ohio University, Randolph-Macon and, finally, at George Mason University, from 1973 until his death on November 4, 1987. In memory of Eric, many EC/ASECS members contributed generously to the Molin endowment.

1990-Amy Fulton-Stout, "The Search for Characters in the Journals of James Boswell."

1991-Jennifer Georgia, "French Sources of English Women's Conduct Books: *The Gentlewomen's Companion* and *The Rules of Civility*."

1992-Michael Kugler, "Provincial Intellectuals: A Model for Enlightenment Studies."

1993-Kate Levin, "The Cure of Arabella's Mind: *The Female Quixote* and the

- Disciplining of the Female Reader."
- 1994-Nathaniel Paradise, "Generic Incursions: Verse Interpolations in the Early British Novel."
- 1995-Julie Rak, "The Improving Eye: Travel Narrative and Agricultural Change in Eighteenth-Century Scotland."
- 1996-Susan Essman, "A Collection of Natural Curiosities: Spectacle and Science in Erasmus Darwin's *The Loves of the Plants* and Charlotte Smith's *Conversations Introducing Poetry*."
- 1997-David Liss, "Liberty, Property and Love: Imagining the Nation Through the 1753 Marriage Act."
- 1998-Jenny Davidson, "The Livery of Religion: Hypocrisy and Servants in Swift's *Project for the Advancement of Religion*."
- 1999-John Gilbert McCurdy, "The Maryland Bachelor Tax: Gender and Politics in the Seven Years' War."
- 2000-Brett Wilson, "Whig Sympathies: Partisan Feelings in Nicholas Rowe's *Tragedy of Jane Shore*."
- 2001-no prize awarded
- 2002-Diana Solomon, "Tragic Play, Comic Epilogue? The Eighteenth-Actress's Genre-Bending Century Epilogues in *The Distrest Mother* and *The London Merchant*."
- 2003 and 2004 -no prizes awarded
- 2005-Ashley Marshall, "Melmoth Affirmed: Maturin's Defense of Sacred History"
- 2006-Lori H. Zerne, "The Harlequin Savage: Omai the Tahitian and the Eighteenth-Century British Construction of Racial Difference."
- 2007-Anna Foy, "Colonel Martin's *An Essay upon Plantership* (1750) and the Problem of Tossing Dung."

Review Essay: Discovering and Cataloguing Franklin's Books

by Yvonne Noble

Edwin Wolf 2nd and Kevin J. Hayes. *The Library of Benjamin Franklin*. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society / Library Company of Philadelphia, 2006. (Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society Held at Philadelphia For Promoting Useful Knowledge, Vol. 257.) ISBN: 0-87169-257-0. Cloth, \$100.

This book is exceptionally interesting as the record of a lifetime spent trying to make up for a missed chance. In 1947 Edwin Wolf 2nd attended the auction at Freeman's of books in the estate of Nannie T. Bache, widow of the last in a series of Benjamin Franklin Baches, descendants of Franklin's daughter Sarah. The sale included a number of books that her husband had put in

distinctive cloth wrappers with labels identifying them as having been owned by his illustrious ancestor. Most of them seemed to have no other indication of Franklin's ownership: the Bache claims did not impress buyers and the bidding was low. Many lots went for only a few dollars. One of the highest bids, for example, was a mere \$90.00 for three volumes in original boards on oxygen inscribed to Franklin by the author, Joseph Priestly. I remember trying to follow up lots in this sale and finding that a number of low-bid items had apparently been pulped.

During the viewing Wolf had noticed code marks in pencil in an early hand on the title-pages, front endpapers, or pastedowns of a number of the books--a "C" followed by an arabic number, then an "N" and another number. Nearly a decade after the sale, now become Librarian of the Library Company of Philadelphia, examining titles that Franklin had bought at James Ralph's auction and volumes that had come to the library directly from Franklin's estate, he realized that these ciphers must have been shelf marks, indicating case and shelf position, in the man's own library at Franklin Court in his last years, and that the numbers must have been keyed to a catalogue. His collection had been large--4276 volumes according to the executors.

Though there had been hope both before and after Franklin's death in 1790 that the substance of his collection could be preserved intact in a public institution, various intentions and efforts had failed, and from the time of his death the books began to scatter. Apart from bequests of a few specific volumes, such as those to the Library Company, and a group left to Benny Bache, most of the library passed to another grandson, William Temple Franklin, who had been raised by Franklin and who had accompanied him as his secretary when negotiating the Peace of Paris. Temple did not embrace with reverence his inheritance--or his grandfather's hope that he could become, in Hayes's words, "a leading member of the rising generation of Americans." Within a year of Franklin's death, Temple left America never to return, using the library as collateral for a loan from Robert Morris jr. or selling it to him. The Morris family bankruptcy forced its liquidation, and in 1801 the books became part of the stock of a Philadelphia bookseller, Nicholas Dufief. He ventured for two years to sell the books in various ways, including unsuccessfully to the incipient Library of Congress, finally auctioning off the remainder in 1803.

No copy of the Dufief auction catalogue is known to survive. Franklin's own catalogue is also lost. What Wolf did find in the papers of an earlier Franklin scholar, George Simpson Eddy, was a typescript of a list of the books Franklin had assigned to go to Benny Bache, with only binder's titles (frustratingly), but (gloriously) with accompanying "C" and "N" numbers. Later, in 1962, the proof of Wolf's theory was clinched when the manuscript original of this list in Benny Bache's hand surfaced in the papers of the late Franklin Bache (it is reproduced as Hayes's figure 2). Wolf located corresponding ciphers in the list and in an appropriate book with clear Benny Bache provenance. The lost opportunities of the Nannie T. Bache sale had nagged; the evidence of the shelfmarks, he realized,

could make up some of the regret by enabling him to reconstruct rather fully the holdings of Franklin's library.

In the late 1950s after taking my master's degree, I worked for Wolf on this project. He found me money first from the Rosenbach Foundation, then from the Library Company budget. My education in literature and New Criticism had little bearing (except for me to enjoy the "paradox, ambiguity, and irony" of the Library Company's address at Broad and Christian). I knew nothing of old books and had never studied the eighteenth century, but under Wolf's tutelage I learned about octavos and quartos and paneled and mottled bindings and how to tell sheep from calf. My duties were to go to local institutions that might have Franklin books, to inspect such books for "C" and "N" marks or other inscriptions and to type short-title entries. I learned to guess the country and decade in which a piece had been printed as I turned over leaves from back to front, and I developed a good typing speed in eighteenth-century French. I worked in various cells or strong-rooms, then returned to the Library Company to look up what authors I could of pseudonymous and anonymous items in reference works like Halkett and Laing.

The Library Company was then marooned well away from any other cultural institutions in its monumental block-long Greek revival edifice. Encouraged by the opening of South Station, its nineteenth-century donor had believed that the heart of the city would move south, but history had proved him wrong. Philadelphia area residents in my experience, at least at that time, strongly resisted venturing into unfamiliar terrain: few readers came to use the collection, and those who came in winter stayed bundled up in overcoats and gloves to work under the reading room's lofty ceiling (seventy-foot high, as I remember it). Just as Franklin and his journeymen friends had established, shareholders could still take out books, but the heritable shares had become prized as evidences of colonial descent by owners who generally preferred to read modern books, which were posted to them from an office uptown. The old books--the ones that Franklin and his fellows had bought, the ones that the out-of-town delegates had used at Carpenter's Hall during the Constitutional Convention--had long languished in storage. Wolf was bringing the eighteenth-century library back to life. Everyone but the person on duty at the desk (if there was a reader), the restorer, and the janitor, worked in the same room, one about twenty-foot square with a reasonably low ceiling and some heat. Wolf would be reading dealers' catalogues or drafting his eloquent reports; staff would be bringing up armloads of books from the damp basement to catalogue and to conserve. There could be exciting finds--I remember the 1602 blackletter Chaucer bound with the coat of arms of Henry, Prince of Wales. (Those thrifty 18th-century shareholders had bought second-hand.)

Wolf was successful in years after my time in breaking the Rush-Ridgeway will, in finding money to build in Center City next to the Historical Society, and in negotiating transfer of many books from other local collections into Library Company custody, thus making it the major academic research center for American and eighteenth-century studies that readers of the *Intelligencer* now know. The work involved in these great accomplishments, however, prevented his

finishing the Franklin library project, though he continued to work on it until his death. Now Kevin J. Hayes, known for his studies of the libraries of William Byrd of Westover and of John Montgomerie, has completed what remained to be investigated, mainly by consulting electronic resources and parts of the Franklin Papers project unavailable in Wolf's lifetime.

In many cases, as with the *Encyclopédie* (Lausanne and Berne, 1789, 39 vols.), not knowing Franklin's exact copies is little loss, for he rarely annotated his books. What one could never reconstruct would be lost pamphlet volumes--the random accumulations of octavo or of other format tracts that had piled up to book thickness and been sent off to be bound. Afterwards Franklin or one of his grandsons would write a table of contents on the front flyleaf. Fortunately, a great number of these volumes have been preserved--the majority having been bought from Dufief by William Duane (who had married Benny Bache's widow); he later sold these and other Franklin material to the Philadelphia Athenaeum. I remember when cataloguing the Athenaeum pamphlets my excitement in coming across a tract by Jean-Paul Marat, and another (on a lightning-rod lawsuit in St. Omer) by a lawyer named Robespierre, neither of whom had arrived at their moment of greatest fame by the time of Franklin's death. Unfortunately lax controls at the Athenaeum in the nineteenth century meant that many of the choicer items were stolen, or borrowed and not returned (among these was Franklin's annotated run of the *Pennsylvania Gazette*).¹ A number of the stolen pamphlets, which can be identified from their presence in a tables of contents, along with a corresponding sequence numbers on their title-pages or annotation by Franklin, after passing through a number of hands over the years, were bought in good faith by institutions like the New York Public Library. The Franklin Athenaeum volumes were eventually sold to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania² and are now next door at the Library Company, in which the Historical Society has deposited its books. Pamphlet volumes with a different provenance include forty on seventeenth-century English public affairs that Franklin had bought in London believing that they had belonged to an uncle of his. The sweep of pamphlet volumes afford this catalogue its greatest richness--more than fifty per cent of the entries.

The catalogue brings together titles that have been identified through provenance, by shelfmarks, inscriptions, annotation, lists like Benny Bache's, the Nannie T. Bache sale catalogue, accession records of Philadelphia institutions, records of individuals who bought heavily from Dufief, and writings by and to Franklin and his family in Franklin Papers files and elsewhere. It comprises identified copies owned by Franklin, such copies that have now disappeared, works known from the *Franklin Papers* and elsewhere that he purchased or owned or gave away or was given, works containing his handwriting, works listed (usually with binders' titles) on partial inventories from his lifetime, and works with onetime ownership strongly suggesting a Franklin provenance (as for example, items so identified by the last Franklin Bache). Lifetime coverage has thus been aimed for, from the "Collection of John Bunyan's Works, in separate

little Volumes" the *Autobiography* mentions as having been sold early on. The entries of precise copies owned by Franklin are marked with an asterisk, and their present location is given. Provenance, including purchase prices, is given whenever known, both for these items and for ones now lost, such as those in the Nannie T. Bache sale. The extracts Wolf collected from the Franklin Papers mentioning books have been included in the entries. Where title or edition of an item cannot be identified precisely, Hayes has affixed to the entry a question mark and given a range of dates, publishers, and/or places of publication, as appropriate, occasionally having to offer a conjectural title. Franklin owned nearly eight hundred British almanacs for years between 1663 and 1752; these are not included in the main catalogue but instead set out in tabular form in an appendix. I was unable to find in the catalogue an entry for the (lost) run of his own *Poor Richards* Wolf mentions as having come to the Library Company from a collector who had bought heavily from Dufief ("Franklin's Library," in *Reappraising*, p. 321). The term "pamphlet volume" in the index sets forth all these by provenance, listing the entry numbers of the contents of each item (in catalogue order, not, except for the first tract, in their order within the volume); one has to look up all the entries to reconstruct the volume, but it is possible to do so. Hayes has assigned for each item Library-of-Congress-style keywords that reappear in the index, enabling a user roughly to group works by subject. He states that the printed index is not intended to be exhaustive, for a searchable electronic edition of *The Library of Benjamin Franklin* expected in the near future on the Library Company's web site (www.librarycompany.org/ERresources.htm), with a link at the American Philosophical Society site (www.amphilsoc.org).

Franklin's copies of over four-fifths of the titles in this catalogue have been located. This does leave approximately 750 potentially to be found, many in multi-volume sets, for fewer than half the number of volumes mentioned by the executors have been identified. Hayes gives Wing, NUC, and ESTC numbers with the entries, but he does not state whether he investigated the file of extra comments on individual ESTC copies held at the ESTC California office, so it is remotely possible that copies might be discovered there. Others might surface during conservation: Wolf found a number of shelfmarks under paste-overs in books that had been rebaked. Readers of *The Intelligencer*, when handling old books, should bear in mind these penciled ciphers (examples are reproduced in articles by Wolf in the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, and James Green's *Poor Richard's Books*).

I would like to end by saying how glad I am personally to see the project completed and in such a handsome form. Kevin J. Hayes must be thanked for completing the work. The publishers, the American Philosophical Society and the Library Company of Philadelphia, have properly honored their printer-founder by this beautifully-printed volume. It was through working for Ed Wolf on this project that I came to choose the eighteenth-century for my own field of study. It is gratifying to see his scholarship recognized in this way.

Notes

1. In his "Introduction" on p. 49 Hayes writes of this stolen set as comprising eight volumes, while he quotes Wolf on p. 53 as speaking of a dozen and a half, i.e., eighteen volumes. Wolf describes the copies as having been annotated by Franklin with the names of authors. The catalogue here has only one entry (2601) for the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Nos. 689-772 (24 February 1742 - 29 September 1743), at the Wisconsin Historical Society. It is described as having Franklin's name written at the top of several issues and as having a shelf mark, but no extra annotation is mentioned. The binding, if any, is not described. This run does not seem to be adequate to correspond to the stolen volumes, but, puzzlingly, Hayes has not included an entry for them.

2. Hayes states that the Athenaeum sold the books in 1885, but I have a distinct memory of cataloguing them there—could the date be 1985? My inability to find any trace of the blackletter Chaucer or of Henry Prince of Wales on the LCP website brings home how unreliable might be memory—though the image of those three feathers on the folio binding is vividly clear.

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O M Brack, Jr., editor. *Tobias Smollett, Scotland's First Novelist: New Essays in Memory of Paul-Gabriel Boucé*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2007. Pp. 320; 2 illustrations. ISBN: 978-0-87413-988-4. Hardcover, \$63.50.

Among his many accomplishments, Paul-Gabriel Boucé (1936-2004) wrote *Les romans de Smollett* (1971), translated as *The Novels of Tobias Smollett* (1976), which has had a shaping influence on subsequent Smollett scholarship. Additionally, Boucé produced popular editions for several of Smollett's novels and by doing so introduced generations of readers to one of the eighteenth century's most engaging writers. It is appropriate, therefore, that Brack's memorial volume focuses exclusively on Smollett.

The introduction traces the development of Smollett studies, provides a brief history of the magisterial University of Georgia Press Smollett Edition, and summarizes the significance of Boucé's work, especially his repeated warnings against reading the novels as "inverted autobiography" (p. 14). Boucé's colleague from the Sorbonne, Serge Soupel, offers a touching biographical essay that introduces the man—curious, gregarious and unfaltering—whom future generations will know only through his many books and articles. In the first scholarly essay, Brack convincingly settles the issue of the authorship of "The Memoirs of a Lady of Quality," which was printed within *The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle*. Addressing the strengths and inadequacies of the argument provided in Howard Buck's 1925 Yale dissertation, Brack ably demonstrates that the earlier scholar relied too heavily on circumstantial external evidence and further limited himself by assuming the "Memoirs" could only have one author. In contrast, Brack thoroughly and skillfully examines internal evidence and posits that the work, although replete with details only Lady Vane could have supplied, is largely Smollett's. Brack concludes: "That Lady Vane would share numerous stylistic habits and word choices with Smollett is impossible to believe. The exact extent of Smollett's contribution to the 'Memoirs' will, of course, never be known, but that it was considerable cannot be doubted" (p. 62). To the degree that the "heart of Buck's argument . . . is based on identifying Smollett with his character Peregrine Pickle," Brack's essay reiterates the dangers of inverted autobiography (p. 36). Ian Campbell Ross extends this theme in "When Smelfungus Met Yorick: Tobias Smollett and Laurence Sterne in the South of France, 1763." As several critics have noted, Sterne's depiction in *A Sentimental Journey* of Smelfungus has defined and severely limited readers' understandings of Smollett's *Travels through France and Italy*, a development that is both unfortunate and ironic, for "the role of discontented traveler," Ross demonstrates, "more properly belonged not to

Tobias Smollett but to Laurence Sterne" (p. 78). The force, however, of Sterne's portrait of "Smollett as the perpetually dissatisfied Smelfungus" has exerted an influence "way beyond anything a more dispassionate appraisal might have justified" and has, consequently, prevented readers from recognizing that "compared with most of his contemporaries, Smollett was an indefatigably curious traveler" (p. 89).

In a daring and deeply compelling essay, Robert Erickson illustrates that in spite of Boucé's warning, biographical readings have a place in Smollett studies.

Erickson examines *An Essay on the External Use of Water*, which Smollett published in 1752, in relation to *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*, arguing that Smollett used the novel to imaginatively transform his "miserable Scottish excursion of 1766 into the successful search for health and spirits" (p. 96). In Erickson's interpretation, Clinker becomes both the embodiment of "the purity and efficacy" of water and the "true, 'simple,' primitive Christian" (pp. 102-03). The novel's ending marks "the dying Smollett's evocation of the genial, original paradise of his childhood in the natural bosom of Leven Water, a fictional journey to the wellspring of his creative life" (p. 106). Allan Ingram also discusses *Humphry Clinker*. Examining Matthew Bramble's correspondence with Dr. Lewis within the context of changing eighteenth-century medical practices, Ingram finds a relationship between doctor and patient reminiscent of that between Dr. Arbuthnot and Alexander Pope. In "Boucé, Céline, and *Roderick Random*," Gerald J. Butler discusses Boucé's favorite twentieth-century novelist, Louis-Ferdinand Céline, and traces Boucé's evolving understanding of Smollett's first novel, which ultimately awakens the reader "to those moments of human compassion" that redeem an otherwise bleak existence (p. 140).

Linda Bree offers an engaging and nuanced discussion of the rivalry between Smollett and Fielding and provides a particularly useful examination of the pamphlet *Habbakkuk Hilding* (1752), which may have been written by Smollett, and which continues the critique of Fielding and George Lyttelton introduced in *Peregrine Pickle*. By the end of his career, Bree notes, Smollett seems to have forgotten his earlier antagonisms and writes glowingly about both Fielding and Lyttelton in *The Continuation of the Complete History*. In a lively essay, Elizabeth Durot-Boucé discusses the influence of *Ferdinand Count Fathom* on Gothic fiction. Tracing not "biofactual literary" links, but rather a "general contemporaneous nexus of developing concepts, moral notations, and aesthetic thrills," Durot-Boucé places her discussion within the context of Edmund Burke's theory of the sublime and argues that Smollett, like the later novelists, creates catharsis through the arousal of pity and terror (p. 168). Hoping to "bring a measure of recognition to Smollett's translations," Leslie A. Chilton examines the degree to which these frequently overlooked works define Smollett as a literary craftsman with an exquisite "sensitivity to the works of others" (pp. 186, 195). Moreover, Chilton argues, the translations shed valuable light on the more widely read novels. The essay includes a fascinating account of the 1950 hoax in which Francesco Cordasco used forged letters to suggest that Smollett was not

responsible for his own translation of *Don Quixote*.

Walter H. Keithley provides the only essay to address *The History and Adventures of an Atom*. Using ideas from Foucault's *The Birth of the Clinic* to define changes in eighteenth-century medical practice, Keithley juxtaposes Smollett's satire with the anti-Scot print *The Evacuations: An Emetic for Old England's Glory*, which pillories the roles Bute, Fox, and Smollett played in the Peace of Paris. Smollett, using scatology to "make his technical medical critique accessible to as many of his readers as possible," reverses the print's meaning and places the blame for the unsatisfactory peace on the "mismanagement of the war by Newcastle and his successor, William Pitt" (pp. 210, 213). Smollett, Keithley concludes, "inverts all of the insinuations of *The Evacuations*, and creates in their place an effective pro-Scottish argument" (p. 214).

The final two essays address Smollett's historical writings. Ian Simpson Ross explores how Hume and Smollett's histories of England "came to be published together in 1785" (p. 220). Particularly interesting is Ross's discussion of Hume's work as a response to Paul de Rapin de Thoyras's *Histoire d'Angleterre*, which anticipates the "triumphalist Whig interpretation of the national past" found more prominently in nineteenth-century historians, such as Thomas Babington Macaulay and William Stubbs (p. 222). *The Intelligencer's* own James E. May provides the collection's final essay—an exhaustive, but fascinating, discussion of the textual history for *The Complete History of England*. First published in four quarto volumes, *The History* was almost immediately reissued in two octavo editions: a revised and illustrated eleven-volume edition, which appeared in 110 weekly numbers; and a concurrently published seven-volume edition, which was sold with a "promissory note for plates and index" (p. 240). May points out that the seven-volume octavo, though "long neglected and confused by scholars and librarians," is "crucial to our understanding of Smollett's revisions," which are important not only because they correct errors from the original quarto volumes, but also because "they reveal changes in Smollett's attitudes and understanding" (pp. 249, 258). In order to appreciate fully Smollett's achievement, however, scholars need what might prove to be a practical impossibility: "a critical edition reproducing all of the substantives in the three authoritative editions" (p. 258). In the absence of such an edition, May suggests that facsimile editions should be based on the eleven-volume octavo, as this work provides "far more of Smollett's final authorial intentions" than do the other two authoritative editions (p. 258). May's essay includes a detailed discussion of the illustrations from the *Complete History* and a stunning forty-three page descriptive bibliography of the hundreds of texts he has examined and collated, including texts—this reviewer is proud to note—from the volumes at the James A. Rogers Library at Francis Marion University.

Each of the works in the volume is thoroughly researched and carefully argued, and each provides a valuable addition to our understanding of Tobias Smollett. O M Brack is to be congratulated on assembling and editing a remarkable collection, which comprises a fitting memorial for a man who taught

us much about Scotland's first novelist.

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Richard B. Sher. *The Enlightenment & the Book: Scottish Authors & Their Publishers in Eighteenth-Century Britain, Ireland, & America.*

Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2007. Pp. xvi + 815; appendices; bibliography; index; 61 illustrations. ISBN: 0-226-75252-6. Cloth, \$40. [A revised paperback edition is forthcoming.]

What is "The Enlightenment," "the Book"; what are "Authors," "Publishers"? What about the use of "Britain"? Would not the use of "England" and "Scotland" be more precise? Doesn't England mean London, Scotland mean Edinburgh, Ireland mean Dublin, and America mean Philadelphia? Not wishing to ignore at least one of the lowly "&," why authors *and* publishers or, for that matter, why *Scottish* authors? A storm of controversy has been raised by the title alone. Will the author be able to navigate the reader through these rough and perilous seas? When the reader reaches port, will the trip have been worth the trouble? When the reader picks up this large book it is understandable to feel daunted at the prospect of such a long journey. The sailing is smooth, however, and there is much to be discovered along the way. Richard B. Sher has written an important book on the Scottish Enlightenment, a book that should change the ways students look at the subject for years to come.

Sher does not duck any of the complex issues raised by his title, a title meant to suggest that any history of the Enlightenment book must be as inclusive as possible and, certainly international in scope. He begins, for example, by using the term "publisher" instead of "bookseller," the more common term in the eighteenth century for the one who purchases an author's manuscript, sees that it is produced, and markets it, thinking, rightly, that if his study is to reach more than the specialized reader who is a bibliographer or historian of the book, a general reader will find it less confusing to have the functions of publisher and bookseller brought together under one name. He also carefully weighs the validity of various definitions of "Enlightenment" before positing his own. Undoubtedly, Enlightenment definitions will continue to be a matter of dispute, but Sher's own definition is pitched at a level of generality that will not harm his argument for the role that authors and their publishers played in the dissemination of these ideas (pp. 16-17). "Enlightenment book culture," Sher argues, is the "product of interaction between authors and members of the book trade, contingent to a large degree on decisions made by the publishers within a given technological and social setting, . . . the role of publishers and authors and their relationships with each other," and with their audience. It is also important to keep in mind that it was not only publishers who had complicated agendas, but authors, and "they therefore

should not be treated as rarefied intellectuals who were unconcerned with fame, money, and other factors, besides the substance of their texts" (p. 7). He wishes to explore "in multiple genres and in local, national and international contexts . . . the values, aspirations, actions, and interactions of eighteenth-century authors and publishers, and does not seek to restrict one to the realm of the mind and the other to the realm of the purse" (p. 11). To state it simply, the primary thesis of the book involves "The development and international expansion of the Scottish Enlightenment through the power and influence of books" (p. 23).

The empirical basis for this study is a database of 115 Scottish authors who published 360 books between 1746 and 1800. In the Appendix, which fills ninety-four pages of the volume, Table 1 lists the authors, their dates, and a brief career summary. Table 2, the most important, which totals seventy-eight pages, lists the books chronologically by the imprint date of the first British edition; the second column gives the author, the third, the title, format, number of volumes, price, topic, and popularity rating; the fourth, the place and publisher for the first British edition; the fourth Irish editions, and fifth American editions; this is followed by an index to the publishers mentioned in the table. Table three gives the subjects and formats of the first British editions of Scottish Enlightenment books. Of the nineteen subjects (with an additional miscellaneous category), the top six are history-68, medicine-61, philosophy-39, science (including mathematics)-29, fiction-21, and poetry-20. Table four gives the popularity of these books: forty six sold ten or more editions and 213 of 360 sold two editions or more. Tables five and six provide the number of books "Printed for" and the number "Sold by" for the principal publishers of Scottish Enlightenment books in London, Edinburgh, and Dublin. The final table gives the account of Thomas Cadell from the Strahan printing ledgers, 1793-98, including edition sizes, some unexpectedly large.

Throughout the text the works in Table 2 are given by a number in parentheses. Although at first this may seem distracting to the reader, the text can be read through without turning to the table. For example, in the first chapter, part one, the section devoted to Scottish authors, Sher focuses on the information in the tables, organizing and discussing it in a way that provides the reader with a clear understanding of the books that the authors published: subjects, formats, print runs, and popularity. The second chapter deals with "the social and cultural conditions of authorship" in Scotland. A general reader may find this chapter, and the following, the most fascinating, assuming that this reader is not looking for a sweeping generalization and a definition of what a Scottish Enlightenment author is. Not that Sher does not make generalizations. The generalizations he makes, however, are supported by a complex analysis of his empirical data, combined with extensive research in manuscripts and printed books of the period, and a thorough examination of later scholarship. The Scottish authors he discusses range from the professional elite of Edinburgh to the minions of Grub Street in London. There is a sense of "unity-amid-diversity," Sher discovers, after he carefully traces the ties of blood, marriage, friendship, teacher-student, membership in clubs,

professional, and social ties, that in some way bind together what is a disparate group of individuals. The following chapter is concerned with how authors' writings were supported and how they were compensated. A persistent and over-simplified story is that authors were supported by patronage of the nobility and the wealthy until the reign of Queen Anne (the exact time varies), at which time the professional author appeared, and booksellers (publishers) took over the role of patron, and, in other accounts, the public takes on this role. Sher has a more complex view in which patronage continues into the eighteenth century, but in a different form, which, ironically, enables authors to become independent and free themselves from patronage. The remainder of the chapter shows how various authors worked within the system to earn money, some not only becoming rich, but famous.

The three chapters in the second part of Sher's study discuss the publishers who produced most of the important books of the Scottish Enlightenment and who enabled Scottish authors to achieve critical acclaim and financial reward for their writings. Many of the principal Scottish Enlightenment publishers of the first generation were Scots by birth, enabling them to form a London-Edinburgh axis between publishers (booksellers) and authors. Andrew Millar, arguably the most important bookseller (publisher) in London (certainly the most important Scottish bookseller) from the 1740s through the 1760s, is a central figure in Sher's story. In the 1740s Millar teamed with William Strahan, a young Scot from Edinburgh who had set up shop as a printer, and arranged to co-publish David Hume's works with Alexander Kincaid in Edinburgh, thus introducing a kind of collaboration that would continue into the next generation when, for example, Strahan joined with Millar's protégé and successor, Thomas Cadell, and Kincaid's successor, William Creech in a number of publishing ventures.

Although the London and Edinburgh publishers produced the important new books of the Scottish Enlightenment, and continued to bring out new editions, the more popular of them deserved wider dissemination through less expensive reprints. The Dublin booksellers, especially those who joined forces as the Dublin Company of Booksellers, were more than happy to oblige. The London booksellers complained, of course, about Dublin piracies, in spite of occasional collaborations between publishers in the two markets. The authors of the books that were being reprinted were not paid in cash, but may have enjoyed payment in the satisfaction that increased fame brought them, as their ideas were reaching a wider audience. No doubt, cheap Dublin imprints reached America, but, when Robert Bell, a Scottish émigré, who had learned the reprint trade in Dublin, removed to Philadelphia, and began reprinting titles there, the Scottish Enlightenment became truly international. Part III of Sher's study tells this story.

Sher focuses on the Scottish Enlightenment, its authors and publishers, and the centers in which their books were produced in England, Scotland, Ireland, and America. It obviously provides new ways to look at the Scottish Enlightenment, but the study also has important lessons to teach to those who have

little or no interest in eighteenth-century Scotland and its authors. To a great extent studies of the book trade, and the history of the book in general, have been carried out by teachers of English literature, and much of the work has been excellent. Understandably, these scholars have been interested primarily in literary authors. But as Sher points out, this narrow focus has given a disproportionate importance to a professional author like Samuel Johnson, and his friend, the bookseller (publisher) Robert Dodsley. It also has meant that authors have been privileged over their publishers, and that undue weight has been given to the complaints of authors about greedy booksellers who are filling their pockets at the expense of authors, who are little better than slaves. The truth is that authors and their publishers are in a symbiotic relationship, the extent of which is made clear in this study. For only a few literary figures, Pope and Fielding come to mind, has there been an attempt to understand the author-publisher relationship. How such an exploration might be done is suggested by this study. Sher reminds us that literary works only represent a fraction of the publications in the eighteenth century, and the historical context in which such works were written and produced is important. Our understanding of patronage, payments to authors, perpetual vs. limited copyright, especially the 1774 House of Lords' decision, marketing and reprinting of books, need to be re-examined in light of the evidence presented in this study. This is a well-written and informative study; it is hoped that it reaches the wide audience it deserves.

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Steve Newman. *Ballad Collection, Lyric and the Canon: The Call of the Popular from the Restoration to the New Criticism*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007. Pp. ix + 294; bibliography. ISBN: 9780812240092. Hardcover: \$65.00.

Steve Newman's new book *Ballad Collection, Lyric and the Canon: The Call of the Popular from the Restoration to the New Criticism* examines an important and timely topic of interest for many scholars of the eighteenth century. Exploring ballad transmission from the early eighteenth century to the mid-twentieth, Newman's book offers an ambitious survey of its subject, with coverage of familiar figures such as John Gay, Robert Burns, William Blake, William Wordsworth, and Francis James Child as well as lesser-known writers and collectors like Allan Ramsay, John Home, and Francis Barton Gummere (who, as shown by Newman, came up with the idea of "imagined communities" well in advance of Benedict Anderson). Constructed with careful attention to chronology and much theoretical finesse, *Ballad Collection* will serve as an essential primer to the study and analysis of the ballad form and its relation to historical canon-formation.

Newman offers a vivid simile to describe the role of the ballad in literary history: "ballads run like radioactive dye through elite literature in the eighteenth century and beyond," he writes, "illuminating the structures and workings of high culture" (1). This assertion serves as the book's critical refrain, where ballads are regarded (in the words of a definition from 1728) as "songs commonly sung up and down the street" (2) that express the "call of the popular." Enmeshed in the lives and culture of common folk, the ballad ironically became a prime object of interest for collectors of elite culture, who often viewed it as the unconscious voice of *das Volk*. Newman suggests that the ballad form might have even signified such a transcendent spirit for some of its non-elite collectors too, stating that "the ballad [served] as the catalyst of a profound interest, a strong call to feel its communal power, a passion mediated but not dissipated by a reflexive knowledge of self and history" (10). This is quite a task for the ballad to perform, but Newman makes a strong case for seeing the ballad as a meaningful literary form rather than merely as a folk culture commodity.

For this reviewer, the book's most interesting section deals with the ballad's role in Scottish culture, particularly how Scottish poets wrote, collected, and distributed "songs commonly sung up and down the street." The second chapter (entitled "Scots Songs in the Scottish Enlightenment: Pastoral, Progress, and the Lyric Split in Allan Ramsay, John Home, and Robert Burns") describes the cultural trajectory that led from Allan Ramsay, an early eighteenth-century wigmaker turned poet and collector, to Robert Burns, still Scotland's favorite son. Of Ramsay, the decisive figure for Scottish song collection at the beginning of the century, Newman comments that "his decision to focus on modern Scots poetry, especially on a genre as unprestigious as Scots song, is unusual. [Ramsay] . . . insists that Scottish culture is not for Scottish ears alone" (52). This assertion is further analyzed in relation to John Home, author of the pastoral drama "Douglas" from the mid-century. Newman offers an intriguing discussion of "Douglas," a work based upon a ballad source that was widely popular in its day but little known outside of Scottish studies circles now. The chapter ends with a fine examination of Robert Burns, whose influence upon ballad collection in any language has been unequivocally understood since he first started collecting in the 1790s. *Ballad Collection* provides a thorough discussion of Burns's difficulties in negotiating with his collections' publishers (especially the irascible George Thomson), as well as offers a compelling interpretation of Burns's nationalist aspirations in collecting Scottish ballads.

Other chapters are equally interesting, particularly Newman's discussion of Francis James Child in the fifth chapter, "Reading as Remembering and the Subject of Lyric: Child Ballads, Children's Ballads, and the New Criticism." The discussion of Child's influence as a scholar, teacher, and ballad collector is especially useful, providing a well-researched analysis of the early stages of elite literary canon-formation. The concluding chapter on the New Criticism is an appropriate capstone, offering a strongly-argued examination of reasons that the ballad appealed to this group of influential critics. Interestingly, considering the

ballad's place in the elite canon constructed by many New Critics, Newman observes that the ballad was "understood to be particularly well suited to developing the mental capacities of schoolchildren because those capacities are frequently likened to the more primitive civilization in which the ballads were initially composed and preserved" (205). For this reason, ballads were core texts in New Critical pedagogy, particularly in such works as *Understanding Poetry* by Brooks and Warren. In fact, Newman explores how this apparently paradoxical scenario came to be—that is, how and why the self-consciously elitist critics of the New Critical camp revered the "primitive," popular ballad form. As Newman notes, "the marked presence of ballads in *Understanding Poetry* may make us suspect that we have to alter our understanding of New Criticism, including our sense of just what was new about it" (210). Assessing the "call of the popular" in *Ballad Collection* helps us to rediscover such newness in the venerable old form of the ballad itself.

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Peter Sabor (editor). *The Cambridge Companion to Frances Burney*.

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. Pp. 214. ISBN: 978-0-521-61548-8. Paperback: \$29.99; £17.99 (also available in hardback).

"Scholarly articles and essays on Burney total more than one hundred since 1990. Such a dramatic increase in attention paid to a once-neglected figure is remarkable in itself; so too is the abundance and variety of viewpoints and methodologies represented," Lorna Clark writes in the last chapter of the *Cambridge Companion to Frances Burney*, appropriately dealing with "The Afterlife and Further Reading" (175-76). Indeed, one feels, it was high time for Burney to be awarded her own *Companion*, but the result has been well-worth waiting for. A brief look at the contents page reveals the range of topics covered: Burney's novels as well as plays and diaries are discussed, but chapters on politics, gender, society and the marketplace are also included. Not only does this edition bring together a number of fields that have interested Burney scholars over the last three decades, it also reflects, as Clark points out, the variety of approaches that Burney criticism encompasses, though its focus is on the "life in the works," with "life" standing for Burney's personal experiences as well as her position within a more general frame of eighteenth-century society and culture.

The *Companion* appropriately begins with a biographical chapter by Kate Chisholm which surveys the whole Burney family, an excellent introduction to a writer who cannot be separated from her social and literary background. Talent abounded in the Burney family and, as Peter Sabor points out in the Introduction, they may well represent a "microcosm of eighteenth-century culture" (3), besides sharing, as Chisholm shows, "a knack of being in the right place at the

right time" (8). Reading through this admirably short summary of their overall achievements, one begins to wish Chisholm would write a full-length biography of the whole family, even if that were bound to run to hundreds of pages.

The *Companion* next deals with the novels, separating the earlier, widely successful ones from the later, more controversial works. *Evelina* and *Cecilia* are considered by Jane Spencer with a special emphasis on the patriarchal structures revealed by the father-figures involved. Spencer argues that the eighteenth-century saw new writers in a tradition of "literary fathers and literary sons" which necessarily changed with the advent of literary daughters as successful as Burney (24). While the argument is valid, it seems to me that the ensuing feminist reading of *Evelina* is somewhat one-sided. Poor Mr Villars is made out to be the villain of the piece: "Mr Villars is a study in obsessive fear of the social world" (26) who "has something of a habit of keeping babies from their natural relations" (27), thus revealing a personality whose dominant trait is a "hostile passivity" (28). This seems to me to be a distinctly postmodern reading of *Evelina*: it is highly unlikely that Burney was aware of having created a villain in Mr Villars, nor do I think that her contemporary readers would have considered him to be one. *Evelina's* ending—the just-married heroine's hastening to see the "best of men", her beloved Mr Villars—does not need any elaborate explanation if one accepts the fact that it is not the novel which provides the "critical analysis of the foster-father's wish to keep the young lady well away from the world," but the modern reader. Spencer regards Samuel Johnson as Burney's principal literary father figure, and, though she claims that in *Cecilia* Burney followed Richardson and Fielding as well (25), her reading of that novel is almost confined to Johnson's much-deplored influence on its narrative style, except for a passing reference to Fielding (35). Richardson may have had a more distinct influence on her diaries (the *Early Journals and Letters*, I personally think, often read like Harriet Byron's letters in *Sir Charles Grandison*), but he should not be dismissed from a discussion of Burney's literary ancestors, neither should her willingness to please the often equally ponderous Bluestockings. Although I do not wish to engage in a debate concerning the validity of interpretation, or the superiority of one interpretation over another, it seems to me that a book intended as an introduction—the Cambridge University Press websites advertise it as a "student-level guide"—should try to cover a broader range of possible interpretations to these novels.

Sarah Salih's discussion of *Camilla* and *The Wanderer* is concerned with "gender construction and disintegration" (39), besides considering Burney's "witting or unwitting representation of the contradictions" in contemporary morality (39-40). Salih argues that in Burney's later novels, such contradictions, ambiguities and doubts are raised only to be shut down by conventional endings and the author's seeming insistence that ultimately, "identity is essentially, ontologically stable" (40). According to Salih, Sir Hugh, dressed up by the children, is "neither male nor female," while Eugenia, after the accident she has suffered as a child, "no longer possesses a body that is identifiably female" (41): again, it seems to me that the analysis reveals at least as much about postmodern

anxieties as it does about eighteenth-century gender specifications. Salih links *Camilla's* concern with feminine identity to the characters' role-playing, consistently explored throughout the novel, arguing that "the novel's highly conventional conclusion suggests that we have not progressed from spectacle to real life, but from spectacle to picture," thus unsettling gender identities once more (45). The concern with theatricals is, Salih points out, even more pronounced in *The Wanderer*, which she places in a context of contemporary novels such as Austen's *Mansfield Park* and Edgeworth's *Patronage*, which also appeared in 1814. Dealing with the popular topic of the cultural/racial other, *The Wanderer* is shown to contain a "plea for the integration of otherness" (51) by, among other strategies, doubling the conduct-book heroine Juliet/Ellis, who possesses an "extraordinary ability to disrupt the apparent fixity of male/female, white, English, middle-and upper-class identity" (50) with the Wollstonecraftian Elinor.

Tara Ghoshal Wallace presents a less well known Burney, i.e. the ill-fated dramatist rather than the novelist concerned with role-playing. After the foregoing two chapters' focus on gender, I was glad to hear that Ghoshal Wallace "cannot entirely subscribe to a reading of the tragedies that focuses exclusively, or even primarily, on the victimisation of women" (63). Instead, she links the plays' topics to those raised by the French Revolution: political divisions and arbitrary power. Ghoshal Wallace argues that "Burney undertakes in the tragedies an ambitious and historically grounded project," i.e. the representation of "pressure points" in her country's political history (66), and that the comedies deal with the nation's volatile economy (67), indicating "how seriously Burney has reflected on their role in contemporary British life" (71).

John Wiltshire's chapter on Burney's diaries and letters discusses her audience, her character studies, and her skill in making the most out of seemingly trivial incidents, but also the value of her journals as documents revealing "the way in which history is enacted through the experience of the private subject" (77). Having just read Ghoshal Wallace and considered Doody's later chapter on Burney and politics, at a first glance I found it somewhat odd to encounter Wiltshire's claim that "as a woman and a lady, Burney is an apolitical person," but Wiltshire here points out one of the central dilemmas of Burney's life as an eighteenth-century woman writer: how was she to reconcile her public persona as a novelist with the demands made on her as a gentlewoman? Burney wrote her diaries and letters to various correspondents, in various moods, with various purposes in mind. As regards her narrative style, Wiltshire argues, besides making extended use of dialogue, she was "mistress of two main modes—the expressive, dramatic, immediate style of sensibility, and the austere, concentrated, summary prose of Johnson, Hume, and the later eighteenth century" (86). Burney's journalizing, he claims, is at her most effective when she combines those two styles, as she does in some of her later diary letters.

The second half of the *Companion* is dedicated to some of the general topics dealt with in Burney's works. The Grande Dame (if that is still a politically correct term to use) of Burney scholarship, Margaret Doody takes place of honour

here with a first chapter on Burney and politics. "In the limited sense sometimes accorded to the word 'politics', Burney had none," (95) she concedes, only to show in the following that, within the limited space accorded to eighteenth-century women in the field of political action, Burney was by no means unacquainted with the territory. Whereas Sarah Salih is of the opinion that "Burney problematically and opportunistically equates slavery with the oppression of white middle-class women" (50), Doody argues that the haggling between Harrel and Sir Robert Floyer over Cecilia merely indicates Burney's awareness that "slavery had reached every corner of the Empire, including home" (97). According to Doody, Burney was reluctant to offer philosophical, let alone practical, solutions to political problems; she refused to "preach and teach" (97), preferring instead to push her readers gently towards questioning certain norms, customs and assumptions (98). Similar to Ghoshal Wallace, Doody argues that "Burney always notes the flux and flow of power" (99) and that all her novels are ultimately "constructed around political questions or problems" (101).

Since the chapters dealing with Burney's novels are preoccupied with problems of gender, I was surprised to find an extra chapter on that matter by Vivien Jones. However, though some of the aspects raised before are touched upon again, Jones explores the context of eighteenth-century women writers' achievements and intellectual women's position in society rather than Burney's fictional dealings with gender issues, claiming that "for contemporaries, it was Burney who first broke through the prejudices of gender and genre . . . to achieve unequivocal canonical status as a practitioner of the new form of the novel" (111). Jones discusses *Evelina's* entrance into the world, already briefly mentioned by Spencer, but with an added emphasis on its reception by the Bluestockings, among whose numbers Burney is now generally counted. Jones, too, devotes a subchapter to Burney and politics, arguing against Doody that it was "central to Burney's novelistic principles" that "politics was not the business of her fiction" (124) but that she nevertheless ultimately participated in the "politicisation of gender" (126) taking place in the 1790s.

In the next chapter on Burney and society, Betty Rizzo discusses aspects of class in Burney's life and, to a lesser extent, in her fiction. Outlining the position of the Burneys within their contemporary society, Rizzo reveals the struggles especially Dr Burney and Frances faced in their way up the social ladder, beginning with their acceptance by the Thrales at Streatham Park. Belonging to the "meritocracy" rather than being born to a clearly defined place in society, their unremitting efforts continued throughout their long lives. By the time Burney came to write *Cecilia*, Rizzo claims, she had "grown increasingly expert at understanding social nuance" (143), and she would continue to express her "experience of social hegemony" in all of her later works, incorporating her ever-widening knowledge of society's subtle structures (146).

The penultimate chapter by George Justice deals with Burney and the literary marketplace, outlining her successes and failures as a writer depending on her works for (part of her) income. Justice analyses the various perspectives on her

publishing manoeuvres made available by Burney herself in her diaries, prefaces and memoirs in order to understand especially her first venture into the worlds not only of publishing but of commodity: *Evelina* "was formed perfectly for the market," Justice claims (151). In the course of this chapter, Burney's various dealings with publishers and the public are carefully outlined, thus providing a still all-too-often neglected insight into the world of eighteenth-century literature. Although one might conclude that, all things considered, Burney did well with regard to the money she made with her fiction, Justice concludes on a less celebratory note: "[a]ll of Burney's works have earned much more for their publishers and distributors than their author" (161).

The bold overview provided by Lorna Clark in the last chapter not only effectively summarizes Burney criticism from the eighteenth century to the present day, it also provides a clue to some of the seemingly contradictory statements made by the various contributors to this volume in that it contextualizes criticism itself. Clark sees three stages of Burney reception and scholarship: the early stage lasted until the late 1950s when Joyce Hemlow's biography initiated a rediscovery of Frances's writings. The second one includes the 1970s, when feminist critics, aiming "to recover the rich heritage of forgotten women writers" (169) explored Burney's writings in psychological terms, emphasizing the costs of conformity to social expectations as they are more or less openly expressed in Burney's novels and leads up to the 1990s, which saw at least *Evelina* canonized and most of Burney's other works made available in modern editions. Clark sees a new approach to Burney beginning in the early 1990s, one that would "contextualise Burney within a broader sweep of history and literature" (173). The *Companion*, as it stands, does just that: it provides a broad variety of perspectives on and approaches to Burney's life, time, and works, and is thus a valuable resource not only to students but also to more experienced scholars (re-)discovering the diaries, novels, and plays of Frances Burney. Even dedicated Burneyites will find a lot of juicy matter to sink their teeth in...

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William Baker. *Critical Companion to Jane Austen: A Literary Reference to Her Life and Work*. New York: Facts on File, Infobase Publishing, 2008. Pp. 644. ISBN: 978-0-8160-6416-8. Hardcover, \$75.00.

In reviewing William Baker's *Critical Companion to Jane Austen*, I've discovered the seeker of information about Austen faces a proliferating array of companions, handbooks, encyclopedias, dictionaries, guides, to say nothing of websites and blogs. Most nowadays are aimed at a specific audiences within the highly diverse body of Austen's readers: new and continuing, young and old, teachers, scholars, writers, and we should not forget people seeking to make films,

to stage plays, and to organize conferences and tours. The niche Baker's volume belongs to is the one David M. Shapard aims at in his excellent *The Annotated Pride and Prejudice*, one coterminous with that of high school and college teachers when they turn to Modern Language Association "Approaches to Teaching" volumes (which Baker cites) to teach new, young and serious readers.

Baker's double-columned book is divided into four parts. The first part is a nineteen-page retelling of Jane Austen's life. The second part (near three-quarters of the book) consists of detailed close readings of Austen's writings, done in such a way as to teach the reader at the same time how to close read; each close reading is prefaced by a retelling of the present consensus on the composition and publication of the particular text and a plot synopsis; the close reading is then followed by a review of what major critics and critical schools have written about the text, a bibliography and a dictionary of characters (which entries are sometimes further interpretative essays). Part III is a hundred-page dictionary that consists of compendious entries about people, places, books, and authors connected to or said to have influenced Austen; literary terms, pre-20th century critics, critical controversies, and historical events; and modern topics of interest (e.g., "libraries" and "the slave trade"). Quite a number read like small lucid essays; when appropriate, these are followed by bibliography. The fourth part ("Appendixes") consists of a twelve-page chronology of Austen's life and work (basically Deirdre Le Faye's deductions), a five-page general bibliography, and a twelve-page index (in five-columned pages) that goes well beyond providing cross-references for names.

For those who've read Baker's scholarship (on George Eliot and the Victorian period, but also modern figures like Alexander Baron, novelist and screenplay writer of the first half of the twentieth century), will not be surprised that Baker's *Critical Companion* does the work of an excellent, knowledgeable college teacher. When compared with other earlier companions intended to offer biographical and literary history and assessment, his book is also a bellwether of trends in scholarship. For example, an intelligent, clearly-written, and well-informed book produced thirty-five years ago to appeal to the same niche of general, serious and new readers, F. B. Pinion's *A Jane Austen Companion: A critical survey and reference book* (Macmillan, 1973), opens with the equivalent of a biography: a "life" and "background." Compared to Baker's, though, Pinion de-emphasizes the romances Baker supposes Austen to have experienced and tells little of Austen's commercial transactions as an author, but rather provides an array of elegant picturesque photographs of houses then standing in relatively unchanged states in order to convey something of Austen's experience of life. Baker has been influenced throughout by an awareness of a strongly female audience and the many biographies, has literally more knowledge (he is indebted to Jan Fergus's work), at the same time as he assumes less knowledge on the part of his readership (he has an entry for "The Bible and Book of Common Prayer"). In lieu of Pinion's choice of staid but accurate (not glamorized) depictions of old-fashioned houses, countryside and scenes, Baker provides earlier illustrations to

Austen's novels. Previous scholarly handbooks, such as the now venerable *The Jane Austen Handbook*, edited by J. David Grey (Athlone Press, 1986), give book history and illustration only the briefest treatment; translation (the global Jane Austen) does not come up as a topic in Grey's collection or in equally-respected *The Cambridge Companion to Jane Austen*, edited by Edward Copeland and Juliet McMaster (1997). The most recent scholarly companion, Janet Todd's collection of essays, *Jane Austen in Context* (Cambridge U. Press, 2005) has long, thorough essays on the history of Austen's books' illustrations and translations; so too a recent book of essays, *Re-Drawing Austen: Picturesque Travels in Austenland*, edited by Beatrice Battaglia and Diego Saglia (Naples: Liguori, 2004); and book and film history are central to the choices and content of the essays in *A Companion to Jane Austen Studies*, edited by Laura Cooner Lambdin and Robert Thomas Lambdin (Greenwood Press, 2000), which also emphasizes the role of public reception. Baker's choices for pictures, his discussion of publication histories, and choice of critics show the influence of all these new perspectives and his strong Victorian background. In his reviews of recent critical commentary, he consistently discusses feminist, post-colonial and various recent eclectic perspectives. He has a long entry and bibliography for "Films, Television, Radio, and Video Adaptations" and "Janeites" and describes the Republic of Pemberley.

There are a few problems in the volume. If reprinted, it needs much more rigorous copy-editing than it has had. I found numerous small errors, particularly in the close-reading sections. A young reader will probably not be misled by these, but might be confused; omissions of lines, reverse references, and typos should be corrected if the book goes into a second edition. There should be some acknowledgement that biographical materials are scarce, polarized accounts of Austen's life and character common, and a very different picture of her life's events could be told. There should be a separate entry for James Austen-Leigh, his 1870 *A Memoir of Jane Austen*, the history of the biography, and the controversial nature of the portrait of Austen that is on the cover and third page of Baker's book. Similarly, although every effort is made to keep the close readings impartial and although alternative views are considered, there should be some acknowledgement that Baker's interpretations are those of a specific individual who is an older male scholar and no more universal than say the feminist and other perspectives he places after his readings. He often de-emphasizes literary allusion or intertextuality (for example, the close reading of *Northanger Abbey* does not discuss gothic much) and tends to take a very middle of the road point of view, preferring (usefully) to bring out aesthetic structure, and much in the manner of, say, Barbara Hardy (in *A Reading of Jane Austen*, 1979) to look at the characters from an assumed universal human and ethical standpoint. This might appeal to the common reader, but it might not. For example, there should be some discussion of why a masterpiece like *Mansfield Park* has caused such dissatisfaction, and the heroine and hero have been bitterly complained about since the mid-20th century and often by young readers.

As someone who has taught Jane Austen, I would recommend this

volume for library purchase in high schools and colleges. The individual essay-like entries (on for example, Shakespeare in Austen, money and trade) are sensible and perceptive in salutary ways for graduate students. There is no condescension towards any group of readers (a common problem in secondary materials on Austen nowadays). As a long-time, older reader of Austen and eighteenth-century scholar, I found myself learning new and useful information and insights. I found evidence I didn't know before which points to when Austen most recently revised a book. For all readers the slow-moving, chapter-by-chapter, sometimes paragraph-by-paragraph close readings in lucid English with changes in language and assumptions taken into account will be central to the volume's strength. It's sometimes said that close reading and respect for factual information has gone out of fashion; well, not in this literary companion.

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Philippe Huneman (editor). *Understanding Purpose: Kant and the Philosophy of Biology*. (North American Kant Society Studies in Philosophy, 8.) Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2007. ISBN: 1580462650. Paperback, c. \$29.

With *Understanding Purpose: Kant and the Philosophy of Biology*, edited by Philippe Huneman, the North American Kant Society Studies in Philosophy series under the imprimature of the University of Rochester Press has provided Kantians and other interested parties—especially those concerned with the much-discussed intersections in Kant's work between the science of living beings on one hand and his epistemology on the other—with a solid, chronologically ordered series of investigations of this important question and its sometime answers, philosophical and biological. But the volume is more than solid. It is galvanizing, as via specific texts it parallels the histories of what would become the biological sciences, and Kant's pre-critical and critical writings, reviewing the long-recognized impact of the new biology on his thought, re-examining the specifics of both, and showing the two moving in the direction of Owen, Darwin's mentor, and Darwin himself.

The outer, and demonstrably specific, temporal horizons of the volume are represented by Aristotle and Darwin, for, though neither is a focus of discussion, each is acknowledged, Aristotle as the point at which epigenetic thought emerges in the West, though to be profoundly altered, Darwin (implicitly) as epigenetic thought's dramatic fulfillment. But, if Wilhelm von Humboldt's observation that the present is the invisible part of every past, and Goethe's "Geschichte ist der Herren eigener Geist, in dem die Zeiten sich bespiegeln" hold as true for the readers of history as for historians themselves, this volume's later (now virtual) temporal horizon is in fact today, and less because today is always a lens that

delivers our seeing than because the volume is likely to be encountered in part across current discussions of intelligent design, the contemporary form of the divinely disposed preformatism that, as this volume shows, Kant was crowded, by the epistemology of an increasingly epigenetically-oriented life science, into reluctantly leaving, or almost leaving behind, but to which his quasi epigones, Schelling and Coleridge, and certain of their British readers, had no unrelinquishable epistemological attachment.

Thus, this volume comes at a time when, it might be said, we can appreciate it most, for though, as it notes, the histories it recounts may no longer be immediately influential, it is eye-opening to observe epigenetic thought and empirical investigation laboriously tracing their way from Wolff, Blumenbach, Kant, Herder, Vicq d'Azyr, Goethe, Kielmeyer, Cuvier, Coleridge, Schelling, and innumerable others to British physician and comparative anatomist Joseph Henry Green and the coherence he would bring, in part via the thought of the *Naturphilosophen*, to the "massive" and "confusing [17,000-item] conglomeration" that was the Hunterian anatomical collection at London's Royal College of Surgeons, and thence, implicitly, to Owen, more implicitly to Darwin himself, and more implicitly still to our own much altered version of the preformation-epigenesis debate.

But it is not essential to make this link with today in order to lend the present volume meaning. It is rich, detailed, and thorough in its investigations and more than amply informative in its own right in no small part in that it again and again provides its own pertinent contexts for understanding.

The narrower, most explicit temporal horizons of the volume are represented by Caspar Friedrich Wolff's *Theoria generationis* (1759; German trans. 1764) and Green's five John Hunter lectures (1824-28). Situating themselves within these horizons, the volume's studies provide meticulous accounts of pertinent sections or aspects of the biological texts in question, Kant's two essays on race, and certain of his comments in the First and Third *Critiques*, and of the questions these together raise about the Kant-biology connection and its aftermaths, particularly as they relate to Kant's understanding of preformation and epigenesis in his pre-critical and critical writings and especially to shifts in meaning undergone by both words between his First and Third *Critiques*.

Contributing to the volume are some of the most knowledgeable and readable of the scholars in its field, one in which questions of the roles of purposiveness and epigenesis in the histories of biological and philosophical thought continue to assert their aliveness. This aliveness means, among other things, that there will be differences of opinion driving some of the essays, though not always or necessarily differences with other essays here and not necessarily contradictions. Such contestations as exist here remain subtle, revealed primarily in the authors' angles of vision and where they choose to place their emphases. But it would be especially interesting, these essays in hand, to hear their authors speak unequivocally about their proximity to or distance from one another. In this connection however, it is already clear from Huneman's introduction that he sees

the volume, in its inclination toward a reappraisal of the *Naturphilosophen*, in part as a strategic move in the direction of superseding the work of Timothy Lenoir, not represented here and long an influential contributor to the field.

Among yet-to-be-noted excellences of the volume are its general amplitude of reference, on one hand, as the authors point with the particular generosity characteristic of the field to pertinent related investigations and their investigators, and, on the other, the general fullness and complexity of the historical background it provides, not all at once or in one place, but in which one encounters a plethora of the great names in natural history and the life sciences of the West between Aristotle and Darwin, with greatest emphasis on the period immediately under discussion. References, usually brief, to earlier figures' insights and discoveries serve to fill in the space between the volume's outer and inner temporal horizons, and provide a briefly detailed idea of the specific contexts in which Kant's biological thinking and that of his contemporaries, immediate forerunners, and followers (including misinterpreters) took place.

The essays that are the main body of the volume, though each is complete in itself, and some quite different from others, even in geographical situatedness (Germany, France, Italy, Britain), nonetheless form an archipelago of sorts, in Hamann's sense, its constituents temporally ordered and proximate, separate but mutually enriching and resting on a foundation of a generally-shared subject matter. Together they constitute an important segment of the grand narrative of scientific and philosophical thought progressing from natural history to biology (embryology and comparative anatomy) in Kant's time and shortly thereafter. The single exception to the narrative character of the volume, and providing a remarkably different view of the whole *because* otherwise ordered, is its introduction, "Kant and Biology? A Quick Survey," one of the volume's fullest chapters. Here Huneman attempts to render the field covered by the volume understandable in its range, depth, and specific concerns, as well as pertinent scholarship, via subject categories.

Because Huneman goes out of his way to express an interest, unusual and welcome, in "reader[s] entering the field," because the introduction emphatically serves such readers, because its freighted categories could prove more assimilable after the narratively ordered accounts will have laid out its concerns otherwise, and because its editing is problematic, dotted with multiple hazards including difficult crossings from French to English, a start in medias res could be desirable--through an essay such as the third (here, Chapter Two), "Kant's Persistent Ambivalence toward Epigenesis, 1764-90."

This is John H. Zammito's clear and riveting account of the chief question at hand in his essay (perhaps the volume's foundational question) and the grounds of his answers to it. The question has to do with the relation between Kant's preformationism and his epigenesis, with how we are to understand his apparent shift from a rejection of epigenesis in the First *Critique* to his apparent adoption of it in the Third, when the adoption appears to mark not a rejection of preformation, as one might have supposed, but rather a strategic assimilation *of* epigenesis *to*

this, its former opposite, to which Kant has long been and appears to remain committed, and which Zammito convincingly argues Kant will indeed never have relinquished. Related questions here have to do with the precise meanings of preformation and epigenesis in the two critiques. Zammito importantly notes what deterred Kant from recognizing recent developments in eighteenth-century science, distancing him from it: he had metaphysical positions to defend.

Zammito's essay also provides (as does Mark Fisher's Chapter Four), a direct route into and a special comprehensibility for the volume's concluding investigation, Phillip R. Sloan's impressive sleuthing in Chapter Seven, "Kant and British Bioscience," which recognizes that it is a Kant *mis*-understood (via Schelling) who proves productive for John Henry Green's thought in his Hunter lectures. It is apparently Kant's residual, or at least partial, preformatism that required Schelling's partial misreading if Kant is was to be saved for the *Naturphilosophen*.

The Homeric start recommended renders Jean-Claude Dupont's ample and superb Chapter One, "Pre-Kantian Revival of Epigenesis: Caspar Friedrich Wolff's *De formatione intestinorum* (1768-69)," doubly interesting, in that one now knows the key outcome of the story for which it provides a foundation: the story of Kant's shift. This knowledge sets DuPont's essay in special relief as the story behind the story that centers the volume. DuPont provides an account of the genesis of Wolff's *De formatione*, the work succeeding the *Theoria generationis* (1759) and that, "situated between the mechanistic biological tradition and the new German biology," clarifies the new epistemological situation that Kant had to face on encountering the "emergent biological science" supportive of epigenesis and that "appears to have been the first great work of modern embryology."

The Homeric start also paves the way for Huneman's robust Chapter Three, "Reflexive Judgment and Wolffian Embryology: Kant's Shift. Between the First and the Third Critiques," which thereby assumes the identity of a still earlier story behind the central story. Huneman takes a step back from Wolff's later, better-known work to find the *Theoria generationis* to be the definitive influence on Kant's bio-epistemological thinking and considers how it will have affected Kant's new formulation of finality in the Third *Critique*. Wolff's work did not close the curtain for Kant on the preformation-epigenesis debate. But it could have made case enough, when Herder energetically took the side of epigenesis in his *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* to press Kant to accommodate the idea.

Fisher's "Kant's Explanatory Natural History: Generation and Classification of Organisms in Kant's Natural Philosophy" begins squarely and deals immediately and directly with Kant's statement from the Third *Critique*, in which he appears to identify preformation with epigenesis when he "claims that the theory of epigenesis . . . is really a version *of* preformation" (emphasis added). Fisher sees the claim as "part of an original defensible position within the eighteenth-century debate concerning the generation of plants and animals," and shows how it will have been understood by Kant, epigenesis being "the best way to

account for the generation of *individuals*" among living beings, but preformation the best way to account for their *genus*. Fisher focuses further, and emphatically, on the significance of the role of natural history in Kant's philosophy.

Stéphane Schmitt's Chapter Five, "Succession of Functions and Classifications in Post-Kantian *Naturphilosophie* around 1800," focuses on the role notions of vital force played in the thought of Haller, Blumenbach, and Kiemeyer, and on the role of the concepts of function and force, in connection with organs, in attempts to classify the animal kingdom. One of Schmitt's chief references here is to the *Naturphilosoph* Lorenz Oken, a follower of Schelling also well acquainted with the work of Vicq d'Azyr and Cuvier and their understanding of the essential role of organs for animal classification. Although with this essay the volume turns its sympathetic attention to the *Naturphilosophen*, it argues "a novel continuity" between French anatomy (Vicq d'Azyr) and Oken and suggests a revision of the idea of Kantian biology in light of this French influence. Might the fact that Cuvier studied with Kiemeyer not complicate this picture?

Though still moving toward a sympathetic view of *Naturphilosophie*, with Chapter Six, Robert J. Richards' "Goethe's Use of Kant in the Erotics of Nature," the tone of the volume changes abruptly, and Richards prepares us, observing that though "it might provoke a throat seizure" to utter the words "'erotic' and 'Kantian' in the same breath," they nonetheless "describe the bichambered heart of Goethe's morphological theory." Circling through the highly erotic fifth of Goethe's *Römische Elegien*, Richards' elegant essay is not without its own subtly erotic language for a time, but his point is this: supposing, with Winckelmann, that "great art can be produced only after experiencing the most sublime beauty" (i.e., in Greek sculpture), Goethe comes to see, memorably on the basis of his love-filled nights with his Italian enamorata Faustina, that "the hard marble of the statu[ary] speaks to him only after he has experienced the . . . pliant flesh of the girl." This direct experience prepares him for a productive absorption of Kant's *Third Critique*, contributing to the maturation of his morphological understanding and to the "affirm[ation]" of "a Schellingian Spinozism: God, nature, and our intellect [are] one."

Phillip R. Sloan's "Kant and British Bioscience" provides an intriguing, hardwon, and fittingly final essay for this collection as, showing one of the far-flung fruits of the thought of the *Naturphilosophen*, it points toward a future already underway, in which, the editor suggests, the history of bioscience may find room in its schemes for serious consideration of the *Naturphilosophen*, thus leading "to a critique of our [own] analytical, reductionistic, anti-holistic conception of natural science." This essay turns its position at the end of the volume into an almost numinous opening: it expands our desire for much more of what this volume has provided.

This much said, and justice still not done to this remarkable collection, it is still essential to go on. Attunement to the generally high standards of editing in this series can make reading the introduction and consulting the bibliographies and index here a discomfiting experience. Their surprises will be no impedimenta

for the sympathetic reader. But, if they do impede, the contributors who have closely attended their texts to ensure that they are not sprinkled with the miscellany of irregularities through which the reader of the introduction must stumble were done a disservice if readers understand the introduction as a foretaste of the copy-editing to come (it is not) and, being unequipped with off-road capabilities, seek out smoother ground.

For readers seeking the isolated essay here, the introduction's editorial abandon will be of no consequence. But those seeking to move through the whole, in the total reading the volume intends and rewards, would have been well served by a copy-editor's concerted and evenly distributed efforts.

A dependable index of names would be indispensable. The index is but scattershot useful, omitting through no perceivable principle numerous names referred to in the text proper and the notes. Even figures noted as "great" or "major" and pertinent to the period focused on may remain absent from the index. One figure to whom the volume devotes an entire chapter and names many times elsewhere makes no appearance. The introduction, more than many introductions a key contribution to the volume and thus of no mean importance, features no fewer than thirty historically significant names that go unindexed. The index also fails to account for all of the occurrences of the names it does include (so that the reader has no reliable means of efficiently locating or relocating mentions or citations) and it sends the reader to search for mentions that do not appear.

The volume's three bibliographies are significantly more complete than the index but omit the works of numerous sources cited as important, scramble the titles of some works, and feature entries inconsistent in form. When publication dates of historically important texts are of the essence, it is surprising to find a definitive text much discussed here listed in only a present-day edition.

The scholarly achievements exhibited in each of the volume's chapters warrant attention and acknowledgment. Devoutly to be wished for this remarkable collection would have been "the most ferocious editor available."

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Souls for Sale: Two German Redemptioners Come to Revolutionary America: The Life Stories of John Frederick Whitehead and Johann Carl Büttner. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by Susan E. Klepp, Farley Grubb, and Anne Pfaelzer de Ortiz. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006. Pp. xvi + 272; bibliography; index. ISBN: 0-271-02882-8; 0-271-02881-1; respectively, paper: \$25; cloth: \$75.

As a German living in the US, I have recently been complaining much about the rising cost of flights to and from Germany, which has made visits to my family, especially during the semester breaks, prohibitively expensive. When we

have been able to afford the tickets, I griped about the flights: endless security lines, delayed departures, tight space on the planes, poor service, and ten hours in the air, which—with two young children—seems like an eternity. After reading the accounts of the German immigrants John Frederick Whitehead and Johann Carl Büttner, who came to Philadelphia on the same ship, the *Sally*, in 1773, I am grateful for my \$1400 economy class seat roundtrip to Germany and poor leg space. Occurring a debt equaling roughly \$2,044 in today's currency for their passage to America, Whitehead and Büttner tell tales of a 17-week Atlantic crossing, scurvy and typhus, a staggering death-rate, zero privacy in toiletry as well as childbirth, extremely poor nutrition, and—upon arrival in Pennsylvania—a six and a half-year period of servitude.

Such comparisons may be ahistorical and cliché, but my point is that these two accounts—one published here for the first time—convey the conditions and reality of immigrant experiences to the present-day reader with an immediacy that is rivaled by few other first-hand narratives of emigration, Atlantic passage, indentured servitude, and life in early America. Speaking to lay-readers and scholars alike, these accounts also topple some long-standing and much-cherished historical paradigms and cultural clichés, while illustrating and advancing recently emerging revisions in scholarship on the experience of immigration and indentured servitude, Revolutionary and Atlantic history, immigrant literature, and the ethnic composition of early America. The editors assembled three informative, highly readable, and generally nuanced introductions, one on general contexts of immigration and servitude, the Revolutionary context, and textual strategies, as well as one introduction each on the authors' personal backgrounds and experiences. This volume will not only serve scholars of early American history and culture as key source material in the interpretation of the immigrant experience, but it should become assigned reading for American history or literature courses from the survey course up.

If paired with Benjamin Franklin's towering *Autobiography*, these stories could help tease out complexities, nuances, and ironies that will escape an audience invested in the central synecdochic relationship between Franklin and the nation that has gained renewed currency in the recent wave of "founder's chic," especially during the tercentenary of his birth. In many ways, Whitehead and Büttner's accounts are late eighteenth-century versions of Barbara Ehrenreich's *Nickled and Dimed*: both tell stories of stunted dreams, unfulfilled promises, poverty despite hard work, absent opportunities, and uncertain or constantly shifting identities. Both narratives reflect the authors' lack of agency in shaping their own lives or influencing the life of the rising nation. And while Whitehead continually stays *down*, in spite of his best efforts to find a "way to wealth," Büttner just wants *out* of "the American free states, in which," he says, "so much happened to me and in which I for my part did not find happiness" (248). Ultimately, both accounts show their authors' failures to become *American*: not because they are German, but because they tell elegiac stories foregrounding the loss of homeland, family, community, and safety instead of championing individualism,

independence, liberty, and opportunity.

The rough outline of each immigrant's story is told relatively quickly. Whitehead provides a long account of his childhood and youth, in which the early loss of his biological father and the alcoholism and violence of his stepfather cast him into an uncertain future. Drawing from much of the same set of experiences and cultural milieu as the Grimm Brothers' fairy tales, Whitehead tells of a peripatetic life which ultimately delivers him into the hands of recruiters for the Dutch East India Company (VOC), or the infamous "soul sellers." Feeding the young lad's hunger for an enchanted life and fabulous wealth in the East Indies, the "soul sellers" take him to Amsterdam, where he eventually has to settle for embarking on a ship to America as a redemptioner—a passenger who contractually agrees with the ship's captain in Europe on settling the debt for the passage in America, usually by negotiating a contract of servitude with a master who "redeems" the servant by paying the debt with the captain. In Pennsylvania, Whitehead serves six and a half years as servant to a Quaker family in Maidenhead Creek, Berks County. At the end of his servitude, Whitehead attempts to acquire several different trades, eventually becoming a weaver. For the rest of the period narrated in his autobiography (and, as the editors tell us, for the rest of his life), Whitehead tries to make ends meet in a profession heavily dependent on market fluctuations. Although he finds relative contentment in America, he draws his happiness less from the identification with the new nation than from his enjoyment of the pastoral peace of the Pennsylvania countryside, which somewhat consoles him for the loss of his beloved Pomerania (a coastal area on the Baltic Sea, in today's German state of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern).

Although Büttner coincidentally came to America on the same ship as Whitehead, his family background and temperament *on the surface* make for a very different story. Raised in relative security in a parson's home, Büttner's *Wanderlust* early on takes him away from his native Saxony, including a long trip to the outposts of the Ottoman Empire in today's Serbia. Constantly hoping that his profession as barber-surgeon would make him a hot commodity on some kind of trading mission to an exotic country (where he would acquire fabulous wealth), Büttner eventually also falls for "soul sellers" and ends up sailing to America as a redemptioner. As opposed to Whitehead, Büttner has no patience for the life of an indentured servant; after a failed attempt to run away with six other German servants, he eventually enlists with permission of his second master in the Continental (American) Army, in an all German regiment. "[L]ess concerned about the freedom of North America than about [his] own" (231), Büttner soon deserts and joins a Hessian regiment on the British side. After switching allegiances between the Americans and the British several times, he ultimately manages to accomplish his long-cherished goal of returning to Germany. He arrives in his hometown to find his mother dead and his father on his deathbed.

While the editors stress the difference in tone and outlook between Whitehead and Büttner's accounts due to their differing temperament, most discrepancies more likely stem from the different circumstances of their accounts'

composition. Some time in 1795, Whitehead dictated his account—in his recently acquired English—to an English-speaking neighbor virtually while working at the loom. His account remained in manuscript form and obscurity until published for the first time in this volume. Whitehead finished his account in the middle of his life, while still struggling to gain financial security; Büttner, on the other hand, published his account at the end of his life in Germany (in 1828), donning "Der Amerikaner" (the American) as his by-name, even though he never embraced this identity during his sojourn in the New World. Büttner, by his own admission, tailors his narrative to his readers' expectations of a fast-paced adventure story of someone who, on the title-page, styled himself as a "Krieger" (warrior) involved in the North American struggle for independence. In contrast to Büttner's picaresque tale of adventure, Whitehead's narration helped him to come to terms with the events of his life. Without publication in mind, he delivers a very introspective and confessional account that provides more emotional texture and psychological conflict than Büttner's text.

Nevertheless, for readers interested in the immigrant experience and life in Revolutionary and early national America, the similarities between both narratives are more instructive. Although the "soul-vendors" or VOC agents overtly receive much blame for deceiving potential emigrants, they ultimately are not quite such monsters as they appear to be. Both writers admit that the "soul sellers" only catered to or exploited their existing dreams for wealth and adventure in far-away lands. Büttner in particular mentioned that one of his favorite teachers "drew his attention to the features of other parts of the world. Especially he talked about the beauties of the East Indies, and of the silver and gold of America, and not infrequently gave me descriptions of travel written by men who had seen these parts of the world and in many cases had grown rich there" (204). The scholarly introduction unfortunately fails to provide the context of promotional literature and its role in stimulating and directing immigration. Although the introduction positions both texts within the emerging genre of autobiography, the editors could have done more to highlight how literature of the new world structured immigrant expectations and—in this case—forms the horizon against which a whole discourse of disappointment takes shape. While both writers blame the "soul sellers" for luring them to take the decisive step to emigrate, both Whitehead and Büttner write to caution their readers more against unrealistic dreams than ruthless recruiters. The editors' adaptation of the term "soul sellers" in the title of the book is a bit misleading, especially since the introduction admits that "these agents were involved in the redemptioner trade only incidentally," and they were far from being "kidnappers, soul vendors, and white slavers" (195). More importantly, the title seems to imply a religious or spiritual focus, which, the editors emphasize, is missing from these largely secular accounts.

Both writers' descriptions of the shipboard conditions and the negotiation of indentures in Philadelphia make it clear that not souls but *bodies* were for sale in the Atlantic labor market. Although conditions on such immigrant vessels carrying cheap labor to America were benign in comparison to the Middle

Passage, Whitehead's account in particular paints a grueling picture of tight quarters, loose morals, rampant disease, and a daily ritual of tossing the dead overboard. While the editors provide statistics that show the conditions on the *Sally* to have been disproportionately bad, Whitehead's account in particular succeeds in telling almost universal tales of human suffering and loss. By recounting brief life-stories of individuals who died and then simply vanished in the ocean, Whitehead gives deep emotional texture to the faceless crowd of immigrants whose hopes and dreams were literally swallowed up by the space we theorize with scholarly detachment as "the Atlantic world."

According to the editors, both accounts dispel some myths about the conditions of indentured servitude, such as the idea that it "was a joyless life of harsh treatment" (197). Whitehead and Büttner were physically punished only in exceptional cases, and the latter was able to secure a reprimand for his master from a local magistrate, which shows the degree of legal protection servants enjoyed. They also had the liberty to attend German religious services in Philadelphia, socialize with other servants, and enjoy relative physical comforts and a moderate degree of work. Whitehead in particular came to cherish his master's family as adoptive parents, describing them as "endowed with reason [and] humanity" (150). In fact, the extended kinship network of his master's English Quaker family served as Whitehead's primary communal attachment, trumping any longing for socialization with other German immigrants. Whitehead's eventual move to Ohio (taking place after the composition of the narrative) apparently proceeded alongside members of his former master's family.

While indentured servitude was clearly not slavery, it also did in no way stack up to the hopes both writers had of opportunity in the New World—hopes and expectations that have lived on as the central myths of the American "experience," ranging from the "rags-to-riches" ideal to the much cherished "American dream" (which is again gaining political purchase during the current presidential campaign). For Whitehead, surviving as an indentured servant required above all "patience and hope for Better Times" (147). Like Franklin, Büttner lacked the patience to endure the terms of his indenture; in running away and joining the Continental Army, he even briefly "forgot Germany and the plans for [his] own freedom" (231). Yet his involvement in the war subverts the notion of a heroic struggle for liberty; paradigmatically, Büttner participates in a small battle between a German *American* battalion and the Hessians—an ironic reflection of the larger battle of *English* Americans vs. Englishmen—and realizes that he has no stake in this struggle for freedom. So, he manipulates his marginal status in Revolutionary America to meet his own agenda and return home.

In contrast, Whitehead symbolically describes a deep scrubbing to get rid of various ship-borne diseases as stripping off his "old tattered European Skin" and exchanging it "for a good American Buckskin" (142). Yet his account immediately deconstructs this image of New World vigor with a long litany of diseases and accidents that befell him throughout his servitude. Even in hindsight, Whitehead feels little in common with the citizens of the new nation, commenting

sarcastically that, upon landing with other immigrants in Philadelphia, "our compassionate Country People defrauded us in the things they bought or exchanged" (135). Both Whitehead and Büttner further subvert myths of the Revolution by emphasizing the suffering of loyalists and pacifists. Coincidentally, Whitehead completes his term of servitude just at the moment of Cornwallis's defeat and thus the end of the Revolution, which seems to set up a Franklinesque joining of individual and national liberty. Arriving in Philadelphia during the victory celebrations, however, Whitehead is greatly repulsed by "a deal of Ostentatious rejoicings as also a great deal of mischief which was performed by a foolish inconsiderate mob whereby many that were worthy and peaceable Citizens greatly suffered" (152). In his conclusion, Whitehead's lacking identification with the Republican ideal and rising American nationalism is cemented by the "Pastral," an eclogue-type poem that mourns the loss of his homeland, in spite of the advantages of Pennsylvania: "A Provance Charming and aland [*sic.*] So fair / Can Neaver Neaver thus my loss Repair / Whilst Crimes and frauds of Anarky Doth Rain / And human Blood lies Clodded on the Plain" (161). Writing in the wake of the French Revolution, the heritage of American Independence was only the victimization of poor, working people like himself.

Surprisingly, neither Whitehead nor Büttner find much sense of belonging among the numerous Pennsylvania-German communities of colonial and early national America. The introduction explains this phenomenon primarily by pointing out that the authors both lacked any kinship or religious connections that would have integrated them in an ethnically German social sphere. In describing Whitehead's and Büttner's lack of such attachments as incentives for emigration, the editors coin the term "accidental emigrants" or "people for whom migration to the American colonies was the unintended result of plans gone awry" (xiv). I think such an emphasis on intentionality is less productive in analyzing immigrant experiences than understanding the triggers and results of migrations. After all, refugees from war and religious persecution also did not intend to settle in America as much as they sought, as Hermann Wellenreuther put it, a place granting them "peace and prosperity." Whitehead and Büttner's lacking integration into the Pennsylvania German community also calls into question scholarly tendencies to essentialize ethnic categories and investigate the social and cultural effects of immigration through static concepts of language, religion, and nationality. German (or other non-English immigrants) did not always flock together, as Franklin notoriously presumed in the 1750s. For Whitehead, recognition of his master and mistress's *individual* qualities trumped any religious or ethnic identification; for Büttner, being German in Revolutionary America only meant becoming a pawn on either side of a war whose reasons he did not understand.

With this volume, the editors have presented an excellent opportunity for breaking down static "New World vs. Old World" contrasts and for taking into consideration "the role of chance, circumstance, individual choice and initiative, and family connections in Europe" in understanding the often chaotic nature of

Atlantic history and fluctuating notions of American identity. In the current avoidance of a substantive and rational discussion on immigration, the stories of two early American immigrants who ultimately failed to integrate or succeed could help us face some of our most tenacious prejudices, especially in confronting poverty and ethnic or racial difference. Shocked by the strange language and appearance of their domestic servant, the family of John Frederick Whitehead's master at first simply called him the "ugly Fellow," but eventually he was "looked upon as one of the Family as much as a Servant" (147).

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Clement Hawes. *The British Eighteenth Century and Global Critique*.

New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005. Pp. [xix] + 257; index. ISBN: 1-4039-6816-0. Hardcover, \$69.95; £44.50.

Clement Hawes opens his book by defining two standard views of the eighteenth century. In the first, the Enlightenment is generally understood as the beginning of modernity; in this positive view, progress has been steadily forward. In the second, more negative, view the Enlightenment is generally held responsible for everything wrong with modernism. In Hawes's view, these "misleading and simplistic narratives" of history (204), under which we have labored for far too long, are both wrong. Regardless of the interpretation one prefers, both are based on false history. In *The British Eighteenth Century and Global Critique*, Hawes aims for a better understanding of the relationship between our current global world and the eighteenth century (hence the title) and asks us to reread the century. Hawes starts us on the path with a reexamination of the way the history of the eighteenth century was formed. Along the way, he engages debates about literary periodization and the canon; questions the uses of modernity and postmodernity; draws intriguing connections between eighteenth-century writers, current postcolonial writers, and postcolonial theory; argues that global imperialism was the driving force that generated British nationalism, rather than the other way around; and takes strong issue with the idea of the Western tradition, examining both its formation and its consequences. Key to his arguments are the concepts of metalepsis, liminality, and immanent critique. The book is well-organized, and the main points of Hawes's argument are clearly illuminated by the structure of the book.

The Preface stipulates an extended definition of metalepsis, crucial to the argument. Metalepsis is, first, a "rhetorical figure of temporal reversal" (xv). As a tool in Hawes's hands, it reveals the making, corruption, and consequences of history, particularly with regard to the historical materials of "the collective origins: the fabrication of roots." In the first phase of the metaleptic process, some item or relic is discovered and promoted as the essence of the past, and "a

massaging or *outright liquidation of extant historical sources* typically ensues." In the second step, "*the present is reconfigured*" according to the new genealogy, and the narrative is filled in. Finally, the metalepsis vanishes, leaving behind a self-explanatory narrative that legitimates the past, present, and future (xvii-xviii).

In Part I (aptly titled for the argument as "Cannibalizing History: The Problem of Metalepsis"), Hawes traces the metaleptic process first in the way the nineteenth century wrote the history of the eighteenth century, and, second, the working of metalepsis within the eighteenth century with an analysis of Macpherson's Ossian forgeries. He argues that both the nineteenth-century Whig version of eighteenth-century history (which tends to glorify) and the postmodern version (which tends toward serious criticism) are both wrong, and that the century was instead so complicated with undercurrents and contradictions that it would be better described as *liminal*, an era so filled with possible alternative histories and its own self-critique that it cannot be defined by any one dominating characterizing tag. For instance, Hawes shows how the rampant variety and changes in the meaning of race resist all efforts to standardize any one meaning within the eighteenth century, despite the metalepsis that, in later histories, constructed whiteness and blackness as timeless, constant categories in an invented past. The same liminality and metalepsis marked the construction of Britishness. In nation building as in race, metalepsis constructed "an imposed identity and experience into a site around which solidarity could be organized" (25), and in so doing hid the energizing complications of eighteenth-century liminality. Hawes extends the metaleptic analysis further to include the differentiation between western and oriental, and in so doing introduces a recurring point: the concepts of race, Britishness, and the West offered by traditional histories were all constructed retrospectively and similarly—but not simply in the interests of nationalism. Rather, what metalepsis erased was the influence of global forces in stimulating the "authentic" roots of these constructions. Having raised questions about history, Hawes focuses his readings throughout the remainder of the book on the liminality of the 18th century; in that uncommitted territory, he finds an *immanent critique*—a coherent and solid supply of 18th-century self-critique that challenges the metaleptic process worked upon the century by later progressivist histories—and plenty of suggestions about how the eighteenth century can be, and in some cases is already is being, reread.

The chapter on the Ossian phenomena provides a solid material example for how all this works. The forgery certainly failed to meet the nationalist need for an ancient high-class epic. However, as Hawes points out, on a number of other fronts it succeeded: for instance, it contributed to the unification of the Scots and the English as British (with the lowland Scots, who originally commissioned Macpherson's recovery efforts, as members in good standing) and, significantly, excluded the Irish from Britishness—both operations with long-term consequences. The jagged reception history (in Scotland as well as England) of the Ossian works notwithstanding, the unification worked well enough to meet the demands of overseas empire, and further provided some methodological hints for

future efforts: add, for instance, a bit of sensibility to old ballads collected as part of the eighteenth-century search for roots, and then present them as chronological evidence of national character in the fifteenth century. (Hawes observes that the most recent Norton anthology has taken a step in the right direction by resituating these "ancient" materials in the eighteenth-century section—a novel move in literary history.)

In Part II, "Global Palimpsests: Productive Affiliations," Hawes moves to the next phase of his argument, where he juxtaposes *Tristram Shandy* against Rushdie's *Midnight's Children*, which challenges all notions of origins; *The Beggar's Opera* against Soyinka's *Opera Wonyosi*, which he reads as "a parable about the inadequacy of nation-centered cultural institutions" (101); and Equiano's *Interesting Narrative* against Charles Johnson's *Middle Passage*, where he examines the question of who owns history. Hawes's careful readings of Rushdie, Soyinka, and Johnson show them all to be considerably more than oppositional postcolonial writers. All three have immersed themselves in eighteenth-century texts and exploited the liminality they found. All three have resisted the metaleptic process of history in their own work as well as in the works they have affiliated themselves with. In short, for Hawes, all three offer critiques of colonialism that are global, rather than oppositional to any one historicized colonial nation, space, or event.

In Part III Hawes turns to the immanent critique of the eighteenth century in the works of Swift and Johnson. In Chapter 6, Hawes argues that in *Gulliver's Travels* Swift's consistent "immanent critique of the colonial project disrupts *both* the canonical narratives of literary history *and* their postmodern inversions" and uses language "for a world operating on a scale beyond nations" (140). Swift criticizes British colonialism enforced upon the Irish, but Hawes makes it clear that Swift recognizes a systemic force in colonialism that isn't ordered by the boundaries of nationalism. In Chapter 7 Hawes looks at Johnson's consistent and constant immanent critique of imperial nationalism. Despite his fervent patriotism, and despite the neglect this dimension of his work has suffered at the hands of literary history, Johnson's opposition to imperialism wherever he found it is so strong as to demand a recontextualization of his work within a "global framework for political analyses" (171). Hawes does not claim that Johnson is anti-modern or anti-Enlightenment; rather, he reads him as anti-fakery, a universalist whose first duty was always to humanity. No amount of patriotic nationalism could make him accept, for instance, slavery in Jamaica, or a law that returned runaway slaves to their masters, or a fake epic from Macpherson.

Hawes's theoretical grounding and thoughtful selection of texts have led him to detailed, nuanced analyses that fit well together and make a stimulating read. The "twin concepts of metalepsis and immanent critique" (202), with the fruitful ground of liminality throughout, provide more than enough support for rereadings that will further his purpose of generating new dialogues in eighteenth-century studies. Moreover, and perhaps more significantly in view of Hawes overall argument, this book will stimulate further study of metalepsis on a more

global scale—for instance, a reexamination not just of British nationalism or Eurocentrism, but the idea of the West. As a concept of identity and a legitimator of culture, the Western tradition locates its roots in the Greeks. But, as Hawes points out, the metaleptic process has operated here, too, in several layers: "A considerable massaging of the archives was necessary to convert the Greeks from brilliant conduits of Egyptian wisdom—the standard the eighteenth-century view—to miraculous originators" (202). Hawes has laid the groundwork and supplied a methodology for asking new questions.

Kate Ferguson Marsters
Savannah

Additions and Changes to the Directory and News of Members

We've many additions and corrections to the directory published in the September 2007 issue:

Australian National University Library / #11962987 / Chifley /
TBLG 15 / Canberra, ACT 0200 / Australia
Boyle, Frank (Chair, English Dept., Fordham U. [Swift])
ftboyle@fordham.edu; 70 LaSalle St., Apt. 17G / New York, NY 10027
Denlinger, Elizabeth C. edenlinger@nypl.org (Curator, Carl H. Pforzheimer
Collection of Shelley and his Circle) New York Public Library
Fifth Ave. and 42nd St., Room 319 / New York, NY 10018-0096.
Downie, J. A. (English) a.downie@gold.ac.uk; Dept. of English &
Comparative Lit. / U. of London / London SE14 6NW / UK
Hack, Timothy. hacktx@hotmail.com (History Dept.) 236 John Munroe Hall
/ Univ. of Delaware / Newark, DE 19716-2547
Herber, Charles: new email: cherber@gwu.edu
Kennedy, Deborah. Deborah.Kennedy@smu.ca; English Dept.,
St. Mary's U. / Halifax, Nova Scotia B3H 3C3 / Canada
McCarthy, William B. (English, emeritus, Penn State U.)
62 Old Dennett Rd. / Kittery, ME 03904
McKenzie, Alan T. (English, Purdue U.) 225 N. New Jersey St., Unit #36
Indianapolis, IN 46204
McLoughlin, Maryann. Holocaust Resource Center / Richard Stockton
College / Box 195 / Jimmie Leeds Road / Pomona, NJ 08240
Napson-Williams, Theresa. 1250 Providence Rd., #130A / Secane, PA 19018
Parisian, Cathy. cmparisian@verizon.net; 45 Stoney Glen / Nellysford, VA
22958 [In fall 2008, English Dept., U. of North Carolina at Pembroke]
Phillip, Chris. phillipc@lafayette.edu; English / Lafayette College /
316 Pardee / Easton, PA 18042
Philipps, Amy Criniti. Moved: 5413 Sutton Place Ext., Wexford, PA 15090.

Tedeschi, Anthony. (English, esp. Johnson; history of the book)
atedesch@dcc.govt.nz; 300 Princes St., #2B / Dunedin 9016 / New Zealand
Whitehill, Jessica. jwhitehi@alum.trinity.edu
2914 Olmos Creek Dr., #12302 / San Antonio, TX 78230
Wright, Emmerson. (U. of Maryland) EmWright@umd.edu
7919 24th Ave. / Hyattsville, MD 20783
Yoo, Laura (English, Howard Community College; U. of Maryland)
laurachoi1724@yahoo.com; 3005 Button Bush Lane / Laurel, MD 20724

The Executive Board of EC/ASECS thanks the following who've put down \$250 for a lifetime membership to the Society: Patty Barnett (the first, I think), Barbara Benedict, Ted Braun, Bill Everdell, Robert Frail, Jack Fruchtman, Sayre Greenfield, George Justice, Walter Keithley, Ann Kelly, Paul Kerry, April London, Devoney Looser, Linda Merians, Yvonne Noble, Jane Perry-Camp, R.G. Peterson, Doreen Saar, Peter Sabor, Harold Schiffman, Nobert Schürer, Linda Troost, and James Woolley. We especially thank those who paid way into the future even while George Bush had years to serve and those who paid before the dollar plunged in value.

This is the "**Corey Andrews**" issue, and we thank him for the article on ECCO and the review above, but he has been doing much beside: his "Drinking and Thinking: Club Life and Convivial Sociability in Mid-Eighteenth-Century Edinburgh" (based on his paper at Gettysburg) appears in *The Social History of Alcohol and Drugs*, 22.1 (Autumn 2007), 65-82; his "Traces of Scotland in the West Indies: Diaspora Poetry from the Eighteenth Century" was published 28 Jan. 2008 in *Books from Scotland.com* ([http:// www. booksfromscotland. com/Features/Articles-and-Essays/Traces-of-Scotland-in-the-West-Indies](http://www.booksfromscotland.com/Features/Articles-and-Essays/Traces-of-Scotland-in-the-West-Indies)). **Paula Backscheider** was a plenary speaker at "Writing Women 1700-1800: Literary History at the Crossroads," a symposium 10-11 April at NYU co-organized by **Paula McDowell**. G. Thomas Tanselle in the newsletter to the Bibliographical Society of the U. of Virginia, besides thanking **David Vander Meulen** for his painstaking editing of *Studies in Bibliography*, involving this past year a switch from letterpress to electronic production, applauds **Ruthe Battestin's** willingness to stand for re-election on the Council to 2015 ("her continued presence on the Council is crucial"). Tanselle particularly applauds her direction of the Society's book-collecting contest. **Temma Berg** is working on a biography of Charlotte Lennox. This July in London she presents "Reading Circles: The Reading Habits of an 18C Epistolary Community" at the conference "Evidences of Reading, Reading the Evidence." Her essay "'What do you know?'; or, the Question of Reading in Groups and Academic Authority" is forthcoming in *LIT*; also forthcoming is "Un/Becoming a Coquette; or, 'One Victim of Fancy Loves Another'" in *Refiguring the Coquette*, ed. by Shelley King and Gail Schlick (Bucknell). **Lisa Berglund** will be working at the Huntington in July (thanks to a Connell Foundation fellowship) on her edition of Piozzi's *Observations and Reflections* and also surveying annotations in early American dictionaries. **Kevin**

Berland posted the 97th issue of his *Selected Readings*, a bibliography of recently published 18C studies (see below). **Martha F. Bowden** reviews **Paula Backscheider** and **Catherine Ingrassia's** *A Companion to the 18C English Novel and Culture in XVIII: New Perspectives on the Eighteenth Century*, 4 (2007), 49-51. **O M Brack, Jr.**, has retired from Arizona State University--he's had a busy spring, what with submitting to Georgia his edition of Sir John Hawkins' life of Johnson, completing with Leslie Chilton an edition of Smollett's translation of *Gil Blas*, and packing up the files from 35 years at ASU--yet he managed to produce for us a fine review of Rich Sher's challenging *The Enlightenment and the Book*. **Brycchan Carey** is the program chair for the British SECS meeting in Oxford this January (see the CFP below), at which **Jack Lynch** will give a plenary. **Kevin Cope** is again President of the South-Central SECS with the responsibility of chairing its annual meeting, and he's organizing it for Galveston (see below). Kevin is also organizing with **Bob Leitz**, the Noel Collection curator and Kevin's co-editor of *ECCB*, the conference "Precision as Profusion: Textual Studies and the Enlarged Eighteenth Century." Held 13-15 November at LSU-Shreveport, it will examine the old and new methods and resources for scholarship, interactions between them, looking into such questions as what's being lost despite the gains from e-texts and other digital resources. Congratulations to **Amy Criniti Phillips** on her marriage! **Liz Denlinger's** new address is given above: she's left the Morgan to become Curator of the Pforzheimer Collection of Shelley and his Circle at the NYPL! Around 2004, in between her doctorate in English and her M.L.S., Liz wrote the catalogue for a 2005 exhibition at the NYPL entitled *Before Victoria: Extraordinary Women of the British Romantic Era* (published for NYPL by Columbia UP, 2005; pp. xii + 188; index). This is a delightful, sometimes titillating book on Mary Robinson, Hanna More, Mary Wollstonecraft, and other authors, on improper 19C ladies, on "rational dames and ladies on horseback," etc. In showcasing MSS and lavishly reproducing prints and other materials from the Pforzheimer Collection, it must also have been a convincing masterpiece. **Blanche T. Ebeling-Koning** is working on a mid-17C text, translating from Latin into English a lengthy history of the Dutch West India Company's governor's eight-year rule in Brazil: "It was published in Amsterdam in 1647 and has 55 maps and illustrations, beautifully done." Blanche hopes her translation will be published next year.

Arch Elias was in Dublin last October for the special tercentenary program at Archbishop Marsh's Library (the 300th anniversary of the Act of Parliament recognizing the Library). Arch writes that "it was very ably put together by Muriel McCarthy and her associates. I had the honor of sharing the podium with Nial Osborough, Toby Barnard, Raymond Gillespie, Marie-Louise Legg, David Hayton and other luminaries of 18C Irish studies." Arch spoke on the library of John Putland and its ties to Richard Helsham and Jonathan Swift, a project he's been working on for sometime and shared with us at the Annapolis EC/ASECS. We're indebted to **Luanne Frank** for the lucid review above of a difficult collection on Kant. You may have noticed that Luanne is our go-to-girl

for difficult texts involving philosophy, particularly German. Well, she's actually an English professor who's a glutton for punishment. Evidently her Dean also noticed that and talked her into taking on a departmental newsletter the past year. Luanne tells me that "Faculty news was simple enough, but I sent to 800 alums and, fortunately or unfortunately, got a lot of response, and every response, it seemed, burned into a mini-correspondence." **Gordon Fulton** published "Evidences of Christian Religion: Using Pascal to Revise Addison in 18C Scotland" in *Lumen*, 26 (2007 [early 2008]), 227-42. **Mascha Gemmeke** (who above reviews Peter Sabor's *Companion* to Burney) spent ten days researching and lecturing in England during March and then returned to Greifswald to teach two interesting seminars (though she has a lecture-hall full of students): "Women and Madness in the 19C" and "Experiencing the Exotic" (Behn, Defoe, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's *Embassy Letters*, etc.). Mascha worked at the Royal Archives in Windsor on Queen Charlotte's diaries--last winter she completed an article in German on Charlotte. **Walter Gershuny**'s review of *Florian: Mémoires et correspondance*, ed. by Jean-Luc Gourdin appears in *XVIII: New Perspectives on the Eighteenth Century*, 4 (2007), 53-54. In March **Sandy Gourlay** finished "revising an article to appear in *JECS* (the former *BJECS* [see below]) about Blake's view of the real-world social/political dangers of neoclassicism, focusing on Thomas Stothard's painting of *The Sable Venus* as a locus neoclassicus of erroneous art, and proposing that Blake's *Visions of the Daughters of Albion* was his answer or antidote to it." **Madelyn Gutwirth**'s "Stigmatizing the Woman as Actor: French Revolutionary Confrontations Onstage and On the Rostrum" appears in this year's *Eighteenth-Century Women* (Vol. 5). **Gene Hammond** has taken a job as Director of the Writing Center at SUNY Stony Brook (back in the late 1970s through the 1980s, Gene had been the head of composition at Maryland, guiding many of our members as they began teaching--it's good to hear that he's again coaching young writers and teachers.) **John Heins** is contemplating a translation of a little-known play by Goethe and working on Italian at night, to assist his work at the National Gallery of Art's library (see his account of it above). We had a nice note from **Tom Hothem**, who with **Anne Zanzucchi** is teaching at the new U. of California campus in Merced (and birding in the Merced National Wildlife Refuge--he sent along a couple fine close-ups from the feathered wetlands). **Christopher D. Johnson**'s "Indeterminacy and Meaning: A Pedagogical Approach to *Oroonoko*." *XVIII: New Perspectives on the Eighteenth Century*, 4 (2007), 21-27. The issue from last spring contains Chris's review essay "New Approaches to Early Novels (pp. 43-46), which includes a discussion of **Peter Sabor** and Tom Keymer's *Pamela in the Marketplace*. Back in the spring 2006 *XVIII*, in a review essay on "Redefining the Foundaries of Prose and Fiction," Chris examined books by Paul Goring, G. Gabrielle Starr, and Karen O'Brien (3: 54-57). **E. Joe Johnson** provides a fine overview of Caroline Warman's *Sade: From Materialism to Pornography* in his review for *XVIII*, 3 (2006), 80-82. We welcome to the Society **Deborah Kennedy**, in English at St. Mary's U., Halifax. The author of *Helen Maria Williams and the Age of*

Revolution [Bucknell UP, 2002]), Deborah writes on political themes in poetry and prose as well as art; hence our Georgetown meeting caught her interest. Her essay "Englishwomen and Napoleon" appears in *Women against Napoleon*, ed. by Waltraud Maierhofer et al. (2007). Ashgate has published **Jack Lynch's** *Deception and Detection in 18C Britain*, which moves beyond forgery and fraud to examine their "unspoken grounds" and British "values as they relate to evidence, perception, and memory" (232 pp; 978-0-7546-6528-1; \$89.95).

A toast to our colleague **Arnold A. Markley** at Penn State--Brandywine (formerly the "Delaware Campus") for having his book *Conversion and Reform in the British Novel of the 1790s: A Revolution of Opinions* accepted for publication next year by Palgrave Macmillan. **Ashley Marshall's** "Daniel Defoe as Satirist," an early version of which she presented at EC/ASECS, appears in *HLQ*, 70 (2007), 553-76, and her "The Myth of Scriblerus" appears in *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 31 (2008), 77-99. In the last, Ashley tackles the modern critical use of "Scriblerian" and investigates the so-called Scriblerus Club and the use of "Scriblerus"--"who was 'Scriblerus' in the eighteenth century?" she asks, listing 32 works signed by "Scriblerus" from 1731 to 1800. **Jim May** needs speakers for the Bibliographical Society of America's session at the Richmond ASECS in the spring, the session being on the uses of analytical bibliography in editing or for any textual conclusions (one need be a member of both ASECS and the BSA to speak--remember, though, what a fine journal *PBSA* is!)--he got this job from **Cathy Parisian**, the liaison between the two societies, who last year set up the first BSA session at ASECS and got **Steve Karian** to chair it. In February **William McCarthy** was reviewing the copy-edited MS of his biography of Anna Letitia Barbauld, for publication later this year by JHUP. Bill's co-editing a volume of the Cambridge edition of Samuel Richardson's correspondence, and this month he's reading the paper "How Dissent Made Anna Letitia Barbauld, and What She Made of Dissent" at Dr. Williams's Library in London. We're proud to include among our new members **Alan T. McKenzie**, who has directed many dissertations at Purdue, including **Chris Mayo's** (Chris tells us that Alan scrutinized all his pages). Alan's books include *Thomas Gray: A Reference Guide*; *Sent as a Gift: Eight Correspondences from the 18C*; and *Lively Episodes: The Articulation of Passion in 18C Prose*--and Alan's collegiality is evident in the many book reviews he's contributed to journals. **Ellen Moody** current projects include a book entitled "The Austen Movies" she hopes will interest a press like *Continuum*, an article "The Palliser Films" that she'll send a Victorian periodical, and an etext edition of George Anne Bellamy's autobiography. Ellen's translation of Veronica Gambarà's ballata "Or è passata la speranza" (now hope has died) appears in *Letters to the World: Poems from the Women's Poetry Listserv*, ed. by Moira Richards, et al. (Red Hen Press, 2008).

Maureen E. Mulvihill recently concluded her four-year engagement as Advisory Editor of *Ireland & The Americas*, 3 vols. (ABC-Clio, Feb. 2008), to which she contributed essays, with portrait photos, on Mary Robinson, Sir Michael Smurfit KBE, and Donald Keough, all of whom she interviewed. She taught

Shakespeare and also Global Literature at St John's U. (Spring 2007) and a course at NYU (Fall 2007) on the role of the Irish, Jewish, and African diasporas in the formation of early NYC, with guest speaker and class visitations to historical sites. In April 2008, she spoke at the first *James Johnson Sweeney Conference* (Jackson Pollock-Lee Krasner Foundation / SUNY-Stony Brook) on the diasporic contexts of Sweeney's long, successful career from Brooklyn Boys Prep to Cambridge U. to Director of The Guggenheim Museum. Her review, with Picture Gallery, of the Mark Samuels Lasner Collection exhibition (Grolier Club) appears in *The Victorian Society in America* e-newsletter (March-April 2008); see <www.victoriansociety.org/Mar-Apr_2008_E-mail_Newsletter.htm>. Her review of Anthony Adolph's revisionist biography of Henry (Jermyn), Earl of St Albans, of the Stuart-Villiers circle, ran in *Seventeenth-Century News* (Fall-Winter 2007), with full-page garter portrait of Jermyn by Lely (*SCN's* first illustrated review). Her review of Beverly Schneller's *Anna Parnell's Political Journalism* (Academica 2005) and Mary O'Dowd's *History of Women in Ireland* (Pearson/Longman 2005) is published in *Women's History Review* (17.2; April 2008). Maureen's illustrated introduction to Mary Shackleton Leadbeater's *Poems* (Dublin, 1808) will be included in the new *Irish Women Poets* online textbase (Alexandria, VA: Alexander St. Press, Summer 2008); see <http://alexanderstreet.com/brochure.pdf/iwrp.wf.pdf>. This project is part of Maureen's present research on Irishwomen's political writings & response (pre-1801).

Karen E. Mura, who works on Welsh poetry and music collections, presented "Edward Jones: Re-Imagining Ancient Wales in 18C London" at the NEASECS at Dartmouth last fall. We are delighted to count among our new members **Melvyn New**, the distinguished editor of the Florida Sterne, author of *Laurence Sterne as Satirist* and *Telling New Lies*, editor of at least three books with essays on Sterne, the co-editor with E. Derek Taylor of *Mary Astell and John Norris: Letters concerning the Love of God* (Ashgate, 2005), and long the stalwart book-review editor of *Scriblerian* and American editor of *The Shandean*. (Mel IS Laurence Sterne.) Among us are many who wrote their dissertations under Mel at Florida. Mel is now co-editing with Elizabeth Kraft and Derek Taylor *Sir Charles Grandison* for the Cambridge Richardson, on which he spoke at ASECS. **Yvonne Noble**, who has written a sui generis gem of a review above, and her husband Hugh enjoyed the wedding of a lovely daughter over the winter. Yvonne's essay "John Gay and the Frame Play" appears in *The Play within the Play: The Performance of Meta-Theatre and Self-Reflection*, ed. by Gerhard Fischer and Bernhard Greiner (Rodopi, 2007). **Maximillian Novak** published "'Looking with Wonder upon the Sea': Defoe's Maritime Fictions, *Robinson Crusoe*, and 'The Curious Age we live in,'" pp. 171-94 in *Sustaining Literature: Essays on Literature, History, and Culture*, ed. by **Greg Clingham** (Bucknell UP, 2007) and also "Edenic Desires: *Robinson Crusoe*, the Robinsonade, and Utopias," pp. 19-36 in *Historical Boundaries, Narrative Forms: Essays in British Literature in the Long 18C in Honor of Everett Zimmerman*, ed. by Lorna Clymer and Robert Mayer (U. of Delaware Press, 2007).

Cathy Parisian has been chosen, from a very competitive field, to be ASECS's Affiliate Societies Coordinator, assuming the important job once held by **Ted Braun** and **Laura Kennelly** and most recently by Heather McPherson, who wrote about our Atlantic City meeting in the Winter ASECS *News Circular*. We also congratulate Cathy on her appointment as a tenure-track faculty member at the U. of North Carolina in Pembroke. During the past couple years, Cathy wrote an account of the White House Library for the Bibliographical Society of America and other funding sponsors; that book should be published within the next year. To **Chris Phillips**, a new member working in early American literature, working on transatlantic literary and intellectual history and the history of the book, we give a big welcome--and also our sympathies for having to work alongside a dauntingly impeccable senior colleague. There's an article about the children's books collection donated by the late **Mary (Paul) Pollard** to Trinity College written by Paddy O'Doherty ("A Peep into the Pollard Collection") in *INIS: The Irish Children's Books Ireland Magazine*, no. 16 (Summer 2006), 20-21. **Adam Potkay** is working on studies of ethics in Wordsworth's poetry and classical reception in 18C philosophic and discursive prose (the latter for the "Oxford History of Classical Reception in English Literature"). In December 2007, Cambridge published Adam's book *The Story of Joy from the Bible to Late Romanticism*--a study ambitious and fundamental enough to have brought sorrows as surely as joys. Adam has three articles coming out this year: "Wordsworth and the Ethics of Things," *PMLA* (March, 2008), "Captivation and Liberty in Wordsworth's Poems on Music" in *Romantic Circles* (Praxis), easily seen on line; "Recent Studies in Restoration and 18C Studies" in this summer's *SEL* (that's an honor and surely the dream of many scholars). He's also been working on an article about Fielding's *Amelia* for *Eighteenth-Century Novel*. **William L. Pressly** has published *The Artist as Original Genius: Shakespeare's "Fine Frenzy" in Late 18C British Art* (University of Delaware Press, 2007).

John B. Radner's "Boswell and Johnson in the Hebrides" appears in *Literary Couplings: Writing Couples, Collaborators, and the Construction of Authorship*, edited by Marjorie Stone and Judith Thompson (Wisconsin, 2006). **Claude Rawson**, one of the gen. eds. of the **Cambridge Swift**, writes that "Proofs of the Goldgar/Gadd [edited first] volume are due back on 9 April" and the "edition will be formally launched at the Deanery of St. Patrick's on October 18th, with that first volume on display, and some distinguished speakers, plus an (annual) sermon in the Cathedral commemorating the anniversary of Swift's death the next day. We are hoping to bring out two further volumes within a year of that date." The University of Delaware Press this year published a collection edited by Claude: *Henry Fielding (1707-1754): Novelist, Playwright, Journalist, Magistrate: A Double Anniversary Tribute*, with essays by Rawson, Bree, Goldgar, Keymer, Lockwood, Paulson, Rogers, and others (978-0-87413-931-0; \$67.50). **Hermann Real** this May drove to Wilhelm Fink's office in Paderborn the final revised proofs for *Reading Swift V*, the collected papers arising from his fifth Münster symposium on Swift--quite a few of our members have essays in the

volume and will be glad to hear that it should be published in early July--nobody moves a volume from MS to printed sheets as quickly as the industrious Professor Real. This summer Hermann will be polishing his 23rd *Swift Studies* for the press and continuing, with Dirk Paßmann, to index David Woolley's edition of Swift's *Correspondence*. **William Rivers** is chairing at ASECS the SHARP-sponsored session "Periodical Literature in the Long 18C"—and no doubt hoping for proposals (riversw@gwm.sc.edu; English, U of S. Carolina). I milked some news out of **Joe Rudman**, who's often in demand for his expertise in computer-assisted attribution--when he wrote, he'd just finished an encyclopedia entry on "Stylometrics": he's finishing up an article on authorship controls and a monograph on attribution arguments related to the *Federalist* papers (we heard some of that at our Pitt-Greensburg meeting); he's responding to two articles claiming *The History of Ophelia* is actually a Henry Fielding MS finished and edited by Sarah (he spoke on the topic at the SESECS this winter); and he's writing a presentation for this summer on "the assumptions that are made by various statistical tests used in authorship attribution." (Joe's a lesson for graduate students: master a difficult form of analysis or skill and they'll come to you.) **Paul Ruxin** is hosting a meeting of The Johnsonians in Chicago 19-20 September 2008, with a program Saturday the 20th at the Newberry Library. Members of the Johnson Society of the Central Region have been invited, so, news of the program might be had from JSCR secretary **George Justice** (JusticeG@missouri.edu). Congratulations to **Beverly Schneller** on her recent re-election to chair English at Millersville. Beverly is researching children's books and the Jacobites of the '45; and also anti-Catholic rhetoric and fictional discourse. She published "Anna Parnell: The Avondale Homeruleress" in *The Recorder* (Summer 2007), 149-163 and "Broken Vows in Behn and Inchbald" in *St. Austin Review*, 4 (2008). **Norbert Schürer** has edited Charlotte Lennox's *Sophia* (first published in serial 1760-1761 as *The History of Harriot and Sophia*) for Broadview (2008; pp. 266; illus.). **Eleanor Shevlin** has been trying to decide which articles she ought to reprint in a fat anthology she's preparing for Ashgate's History of the Book in the West, having drafted the introduction—she need give thought to accessibility of the original, etc. **Laura Stevens** is editing a special issue of *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature* focused on 18C British literature (27.1: Spring 2009).

Edward Sunshine has published *A Just Defense of the Natural Freedom of Slaves: All Slaves should be free (1682): A Critical Edition and Translation of Servi liberi seu naturalis mancipiorum libertatis iusta defensio*, by Epifano de Morians, edited and translated by Edward R. Sunshine (Mellen, 2008; available to individuals for \$39.94 [sales@mellenpress.com but ask the author for a special form, esunshine@mail.barry.edu]). Professor Sunshine has produced a critical Latin edition, with fluent English translation on facing pages, of the sole surviving MS of the work (in Seville's Archivo General de Indias). The French de Morians produced a condemnation of slavery, reflecting specifically on events in Cuba 1681-82 involving himself and fellow Capuchin Francisco José de Jaca. Edwin Mellen's flier offers a detailed table of contents, where we find chapters such as

"Black African Slavery Contradicts the Order of Nature," "Scrutiny of the Arguments of Adversaries," and "Obligation to Make Restitution." How wonderful to save from oblivion a rich meditation on conscience treating rationalizations (still with us) about cultural superiority and economic prosperity!

Anthony Tedeschi, taking a tip from Keith Maslen, has joined our Society. Anthony, raised in New Jersey, worked with German-American broadsides while an interne in Penn State's Special Collections in 2004 ("**Bill Joyce** and **Sandy Stelts** were fantastic"--Anthony was then a library science student at Indiana U.). Since April 2007 he's been working as the Rare Books Librarian at the Dunedin Public Library, where he manages 20,000 volumes in numerous collections. He expects to be in Dunedin for another three years, for he'd supplement his M.L.S. in library science with a graduate degree in English, working at the U. of Otago on Johnson with the likes of **Shel Rogers** and Paul Tankard. We're hoping that Anthony keeps us informed of events involving 18C and print history in Australasia, for many of our members are looking for excuses to fly there before jet fuel prices force us to sail. **Ruth P. Thomas** reviewed Aurora Wolfgang's *Gender and Voice in the French Novel, 1730-1782* and Carol Sherman's *The Family Crucible in 18C Literature* (2005) in *XVIII*, the first at 3.1 (Spring 2006), 58-59; the second at 4.1 (2007), 48-49. **Jennifer Thorn**'s "'All beautiful in Woe': Gender, Nation, and Phillis Wheatley's 'Niobe'" appears in *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture*, 37 (2008). **Jim Tierney** and **Tom McGeary** worked the past year on their Mellon-funded plan for a census of British periodicals—Jim has typed into his master list over 100 London periodicals not in the *NCBEL* and *ESTC*. **Marie Wellington**'s review of Suellen Diaconoff's *Through the Looking Glass: Women, Books and Sex in the French Enlightenment* appears in *XVIII: New Perspectives on the Eighteenth Century*, 4 (2007), 55-57. **John Wickersham**, the witty classicist who gave us a wonderful bibliographical and textual overview of Phillis Wheatley last year, suffered a stroke in late April while he and **Erlis** were celebrating a granddaughter's second birthday, and fortunately a doctor at the party diagnosed what was happening. We were glad to have good news from Erlis that John's "doing quite well" and they expect to join us in Georgetown. (Friends can drop John a card at 770 Holly Rd. / Strafford, PA 19087-2749.) **Cal Winton** chaired a panel at the SESECS in February, a SHARP-like panel akin to those he participates in at our meetings--no danger we'll lose Cal, for he's been participating annually at the SESECS as at SAMLA for four decades. **Deborah Wright** has received research fellowships from the American Philosophical Society and the Bibliographical Society of America to support her electronic edition of the Correspondence of Matthew Prior. She'll be examining Prior MSS in Britain this year and perhaps next.

Forthcoming Meetings, Exhibitions, New Publications, etc.

Among the meetings earlier this year that we never announced were: "Transatlantic Ideas of the American Founding," 27 March, at the Institute

for Advanced Studies in the Humanities, at the U. of Edinburgh co-organized by EC/ASECS member Paul Kerry with Matthew Holland; "The Power of Beauty: Aesthetics, Politics, Morality," a graduate student symposium on 5 April at the Yale Center for British Art; "Writing Women 1700-1800: Literary History at the Crossroads," 10-11 April, at NYU; "Writing Early American History," 22-23 May, a workshop sponsored by *WMQ* and the USC-Huntington Early Modern Studies Institute

As previously noted, **SHARP** meets in Oxford 24-28 June 2008, with the theme "Teaching and Text"; the **Canadian Society for 18C Studies** meets 15-18 October in Montreal (contact fiona.ritchie@mcgill.ca); **NEASECS** meets Oct. 30-Nov. 2, 2008, at Hobart and William Smith colleges in Geneva, NY (see www.neasecs.org); and the **Omohundro Institute** of Early American History and Culture, and Niagara and Brock universities host a conference in late October 2009 that examines "**The Seven Years' War in Global Perspective**" (send proposals by 30 June 2008 to idea1@wm.edu, and questions to Thomas Chambers at chambers@niagara.edu).

Susan Spencer invites us to participate in the **Midwest ASECS** meeting 9-11 Oct. in Oklahoma City, with the theme "The Innovative 18C" (deadline was 27 May for proposals). Contact Susan at SSpencer@ucok.edu (English, U. of Central Oklahoma, Edmund, OK 73034-5209); or see the website www.miscellanies.org/mwasecs/index08.html.

We in the **East-Central / ASECS** next meet on 6-9 November at Georgetown University and the Georgetown Marriott, with the theme "The Eighteenth-Century Political World." (2008 has been "the" year for politics!) The meeting is chaired by Kathryn Temple, who chaired our previous meeting in Georgetown (English, GU, Washington, DC 20057; templek@georgetown.edu). While papers exploring the political in the arts and literature, etc., are welcome, members are invited to address any aspect of the 18th century. Panel topics are listed at the conference website (<http://english.georgetown.edu/programs/ecasecs08/schedule/> proposal were due the end of May), along with information on registration, accommodation, the society, the university, etc. Note that proposals can also be faxed to Professor Temple (202/687-5445). The program can also be reached through our Society's website maintained by T[ed]. E. D. Braun: <http://www.udel.edu/fllt/faculty/braun/ec.html>.

The Noel Collection at Louisiana State U. in Shreveport will hold the invitational symposium "Precision as Profusion: **Textual Studies and the Enlarged Eighteenth Century**" on 13-15 November, chaired by Kevin Cope and Robert Leitz (curator of the Collection). Papers will address "the interactions between the increasing access . . . and the selectivity required when maintaining editorial standards, publishing for targeted audiences, preparing texts for the classroom," etc. For an account of the conference, see the Noel Collection's website, www.jamessmithnoelcollection.org. Contact

Cope at jovialintelligence@cox.net and Prof. Leitz at Robert.Leitz@lsus.edu.

June 1st was the deadline for proposals for the **Group for Early Modern Cultural Studies** conference to be held 20-23 November in Philadelphia, with the theme "Appetite, Desire, and Gargantuan Pleasures." This is the 15th meeting of the interdisciplinary group, which focuses on the period 1450-1850. See <www.english.fsu.edu/gemcs/> for more info on the meeting; proposals were to be sent to Deborah Montuori at DJMont@ship.edu

The 25th **annual dinner of The Samuel Johnson Society of Southern California** will be held Sunday, 23 November 2008 at the Huntington Library in San Marino, California. The President of the Society, Robert DeMaria, Jr., Henry Noble MacCracken Professor of English, Vassar College, announces that the Daniel Blum Memorial Lecture will be delivered by Michael Bundock, editor of the *New Rambler*, the annual journal of the Johnson Society of London. He is also a Governor of Dr. Johnson's House, London, a member of the Samuel Johnson Tercentenary Committee, and a member of the organizing committee for "Johnson at 300," the tercentenary conference to be held at Pembroke College, Oxford, 14-17 Sept. 2009. He has written and lectured on various aspects of 18C literature and history. He will speak on "Johnson's London: London's Johnson." All dues-paying members attending will receive a keepsake.

The **British Society for 18C Studies** meets 6-8 January 2009 at St. Hugh's College, Oxford. Send proposals for papers, panels, and roundtables (with 200-word abstracts) via the website <www.bsecs.org.uk> by 26 Sept. 2008. The Program Coordinator is Dr. Brycchan Carey (academicorganiser@bsecs.org.uk); the venue organizer is Dr. Chris Mounsey (cmouns@aol.com).

The **South-Central SECS** meets 5-7 Feb. 2009 in Galveston, the "overlooked jewel in the tiara" of the Gulf, with the theme "An Effervescent Era." "The conference venue will be the Tremont House Hotel in peppy downtown Galveston, only a short trolley-ride from the dazzling sands of Galveston's shoreline," notes Kevin Cope (jovialintelligence@cox.net).

Other spring meetings include ASECS's 40th annual in Richmond, 26-29 March. And the **Johnson Society of the Central Region** meets in April 2009 in Chicago, hosted by Tom Kaminski of Loyola U. (tkamins@luc.edu).

The **Folger Shakespeare Library** is exhibiting "'Now Thrive the Armors': Arms and Armor in Shakespeare," with 40 pieces from the Higgins Armory Museum along with Folger books, MSS, and art works (to 6 Sept.). The Folger's theatre is showing Sheridan's *The School for Scandal* until 15 June. Among the Institute seminars are "Researching the Archives," a year-long dissertation seminar run by Jean Howard and Linda Levy Peck; the fall seminar "Anonymity" by Robert Griffin and Marcy North; and the spring 2009 seminars: Heather Wolfe's on paleography, Russell Jackson's "Researching Theatre History," Zachary Lesser's Master's-level "Mastering Research at the Folger," and Alastair Bellany's "A Libelous History of England, c. 1570-1688." For more on these and other activities, see

<www.folger.edu/institute>.

September first is the deadline for submitting books, articles, electronic resources, and theses to the **William L. Mitchell Prize for Research on British Serials**. The prize is awarded by the Bibliographical Society of America every three years to encourage scholarship on 18C periodicals published within the British Isles or its colonies. The scholarship by anyone (regardless of membership or nationality) must have been published (or approved if for degree work) since 31 December 2004. Apart from electronic resources on the WWW, the work entered need be submitted in triplicate, along with a cover letter and short CV—address the submission to the BSA at PO Box 1537 / Lennox Hill Station / New York, NY 10021. Fuller info, including accounts of former prize winning works, can be found at <www.bibsocamer.org/Mitchell-Prize.htm>. The winner will be awarded a year membership in BSA and a check for \$1000 at the January 2009 meeting..

Sandy Gourlay passed along a notice to C18-L from Chris Mounsey that "*The British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* is now known as ***The Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies***, and is published by Wiley Blackwell, who are putting our backlist online." The name change prevents the misunderstanding that the journal is devoted to British 18C studies, when it has been focused on "all forms, places and types . . . between 1650 and 1820." You can submit essays (preferably "evidence based" and under 10,000 words) at the journal's website, <mc.manuscriptcentral.com/JECS>-- Mounsey, the gen. ed., can be reached for questions at JECStudies@aol.com.

The **Defoe Society** has a website at which bibliographies of 2005, 2006, and 2007 publications on Defoe are posted (revised Sept 2007). There are also pages on Defoe, collections, membership, members' books, conferences, pedagogy, listserv, and newsletter. See it at <<http://defoesociety.org/>>. It is edited by Sharon Alker and Holly Faith Nelson.

Kevin Berland has edited and posted on the WWW his 97th bibliography of recent 18C studies, co-compiled with colleagues in diverse fields (it's all here--articles, books, online resources--divided by topical headings). Kevin announced it 15 April with the note that it's strong in bibliography and history of the book, computer resources and applications, economics, English and French history & lit, histories of medicine, science, and sexuality, Native American, philosophy, and politics. See ***Selected Readings, No. 97*** (and all the archived earlier bibliographies, amounting to the largest on-line bibliography of 18C studies), at www.personal.psu.edu/special/C18/sr/sr97.html. Kevin will soon be posting at C18-L an expanded version of Jim May's bibliography of women readers & writers, doubling its length from that posted in 2000. This spring May revised the BibSite postings (www.bibsocamer.org) of his bibliographies of authorship, children's literature, book culture & reading, engraving, journalism, the book as a physical object, and 18C materials in 20C and 21C libraries (listing studies

from 1988-2007).

Kevin Cope, on behalf of co-editor Bob Leitz and AMS President Gabriel Hornstein, after discussion with field editors, have decided to combine the surveys of 2005 and 2006 scholarship in a double volume of the *ECCB: Eighteenth-Century Current Bibliography*, thus catching up to a three-year lag with the same conflation employed half a dozen years ago. Also, the press is moving "toward the creation of a digitized or online version of the *ECCB* converting its eighty years of information into a convenient digital or online form is a heavy task, but planning is already underway at AMS Press. Going digital should greatly increase the visibility of the project. We shall, of course, also continue with the print version."

Those who use the ESTC should read **Stephen Tabor "ESTC and the Bibliographical Community"** in the Dec. 2007 issue of *The Library* (7th ser., 8:367-86)—those who don't but rely on ECCO's often misleading reduction of ESTC information should also read its opening caveats about that reliance.

In sentences clear to us without his expertise, Steve, who for many years helped to build the ESTC, offers good explanations about how ESTC entries can become broken, accumulating copy locations for a description that doesn't fit the ideal copy. He describes an Uncontrolled Notes field accessible to the public in a cluttered-looking MARC-display option and another in a STAR file maintained at the Riverside, CA, office. These notes include accounts of errors and variant copies. Steve thinks both fields should be publicly accessible, letting users know of perhaps other copies differing in title, pagination, or the like from the "ideal copy" description and acknowledging the ESTC is a "work in progress" (376). Steve also thinks that the ESTC needs to involve members of the "bibliographical community" (scholars, collectors, librarians, dealers) who can edit sections of the file, correcting descriptions and removing ghosts.

George Justice in his *News Letter of the Johnson Society of the Central Region* notes the web log compiled by John Overhold, cataloger of the printed book portion of the **Hyde Collection**: <http://blogs.law.harvard.edu/hydeblog/>.

Those working on the history of reading and the book should note "The **Reading Experience Database**, 1540-1945: Now Live!" *SHARP News*, 16, no. 3 (Summer 2007), 14-15. [The site is at www.open.ac.uk/Arts/reading/.]

C. M. Armstrong is the new editor of *Quadrat*, the "periodical bulletin of research in progress on the history of the British book trade." Catherine, a lecturer in American History at Manchester Metropolitan U (C.M.Armstrong@mmu.ac.uk), took over *Quadrat* from John Hinks late in 2007.

Kevin Whelan (kwhelan1@nd.edu) produces a stream of news about humanities and historical studies in Ireland that amounts to a newsletter that anyone working on 18C Ireland might wish to receive. It's remarkable how many lectures and workshops occur that are relevant to 18C studies. And

Kevin, on rare occasions, posts notice of employment & housing opportunities. Also, on 19 April Kevin sent out for Dr. Susan Schreibman of the Digital Humanities Observatory (Royal Irish Academy project) the announcement for a listserv for the **digital humanities community in Ireland--DHO Announce**": <https://listserv.heanet.ie/cgi-bin/wa?A0=RIADHOANNOUNCE>.

The website ECLRNI, The **Eighteenth-Century Literature Research Network in Ireland** (convenor, Ian Campbell Ross at icross@tcd.ie), est. 2006, aims to network scholars working in the field. The website has a membership list, noting degrees and affiliations, as well as links for communicating with members (most from Irish universities); the website also has bibliographies of publications by two-year period back to 1995-96.

On 24 April, Dr. Patrick Müller wrote that the **Shaftesbury Project at Erlangen** (Bavaria) has launched a new web site to introduce visitors to Anthony Ashley Cooper, third Earl of Shaftesbury, and "to our work on the edition of his writings and correspondence." The site offers biography, bibliography, the Earl's library catalogue, and "a page describing his little-known 'Chartae Socraticae'": www.dozenten.anglistik.phil.uni-erlangen.de/shaftesbury; Professor Müller (English Dept., Friedrich-Alexander U., Erlangen) can be reached at Patrick.Mueller@ngl.phil.uni-erlangen.de.

From Hermann Real we've learned of the formation in France of the **Société d'Études des Pratiques et Theories en Traduction**, under the leadership of Florence Lautel-Ribstein, who has edited its first fruit: *Des mots aux actes* (2008), containing essays on problems in the translation of poetry (by Yves Bonnefoy), on "Recent Trends in English-language Translation Projects" (by Adriana Serban), on Goethe's "Prometheus" (Laurence Wong), and on Rochester's translation of Seneca's *Troades* (Lautel-Ribstein).

Cover illustration: One of two cuts for the frontispiece to Volume 1 of Tobias Smollett's *Continuation of a Complete History of England* (1760; the plate was issued with one of the three-sheet numbers for the first four volumes, 1760-1762). Penn State's copy of the engraving is reproduced on the jacket of *Scotland's First Novelist*, edited by O M Brack, Jr., reviewed in this issue.



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