

## EC/ASECS Meeting 8-11 October 2009 in Bethlehem

DATELINE BETHLEHEM, 13 SEPTEMBER

After a warm August and early September, fall has arrived in Bethlehem: it was only 50 degrees early this morning! And preparations, of course, continue for the 2009 meeting of EC/ASECS in Bethlehem, PA, hosted by Lehigh University. Professor Monica Najar (Lehigh University) has labored heroically to craft an exciting program with 35 panels and some 120 papers or presentations. The conference's theme is "The Sacred and the Secular in the Transatlantic Eighteenth Century," and many of the panels and papers address this topic. Others, of course, explore a range of matters in the long transatlantic eighteenth century, from English music sellers' profits to the sublime Niagara Falls. (Please visit our website and check out the updated schedule: <http://www.lehigh.edu/~inhgi/annualmeeting/index.html> ). All sessions will take place in conference rooms at the Hotel Bethlehem.

Most participants will also be staying in the Hotel Bethlehem (at this writing, a few rooms at conference rates remain available) in Bethlehem's historic district. We hope that you all will take some time to wander around our amazing, eighteenth-century streets. Many buildings (indeed, entire blocks) from Bethlehem's eighteenth-century Moravian settlement survive in nearly pristine form: the Moravian community uses most of them today. A stone's throw from the Hotel Bethlehem is the enormous Single Brothers House (1748), appropriated by George Washington as a hospital for nearly 700 injured and ill continental soldiers during 1777-1778. A few buildings away stands the Moravians' original *gemeinhaus* (1741). Just down a sloping hill behind the hotel are the remains of the industrial district, which includes a tannery (1761), a smithy (1751) and a waterworks (1762), which pumped the first public water in the American colonies. A block north of the Hotel Bethlehem is the Sun Inn (1758), from which, in March 1799, John Fries and an armed band of several hundred men "liberated" about 20 Pennsylvania Germans confined for refusing to pay Federal taxes. Many of these buildings are open to the public, and tours of historic Bethlehem will be available. A wide range of restaurants and watering holes (including the Bethlehem Brew Works, which brews on its premises, at any given time, eight or nine different beers) are within easy walking distance of the hotel.

Sessions begin on Friday, October 9th at 8:30am and continue until Sunday morning, October 11th. Professor John Sensbach (University of Florida) will deliver his plenary talk, "Spiritual Middle Passages: Women and Religion in the African Atlantic Diaspora," on Friday afternoon at 4:30 p.m. Everybody who registers for the conference is invited to the business lunch on Saturday, where Professor Geoffrey Sill (Rutgers University) will offer the presidential address on "Odds and Evens: Sacred and Secular Gambling in the Transatlantic Eighteenth Century." The book exhibit for EC/ASECS will be open Friday and Saturday, featuring book from the University of Delaware Press, Bucknell University Press, Lehigh University Press, Johns Hopkins University Press, and others.

We hope, too, that participants will arrive early to attend the Burney Society meeting on October 8th. Professor Devoney Looser (University of Missouri) will

present a talk on "An Elderly Lady with No Remains of Personal Beauty: Frances Burney and Old Age," which will begin at 3:30pm and be followed by a cash bar reception at 4:30pm and a buffet dinner at 5:30pm. At 7:30pm Professor Peter Staffel (West Liberty State College) has organized "Oral-Aural Experience: Burney's *The Wiltings*," which is sure to be a crowd pleaser.

We are excited to welcome you all to Bethlehem—and look forward to the stimulating conversations, and the reconnecting with old friends, that will begin in less than a month.--Scott Paul Gordon

## **Papers on Teaching with ECCO and EEBO**

### **Introduction**

The development of full-text databases has changed the way many of us do our research. The problem used to be "How do we find material?" Now the problem has shifted to "How do we filter all the material at our disposal?" More to the point, how do we help those who are not trained professionals—undergraduates or beginning master's students—find their way through the primary sources suddenly available to them?

The following four essays, developed from a panel presented at the 2008 EC/ASECS hosted by Georgetown University, provide some guidance. They each describe assignments developed for undergraduate English classes and offer both success stories and cautionary tales. Nancy Mace and Eleanor Shevlin write about the use of databases in general-education courses, surveys, and seminars; Sayre Greenfield and Brian Glover recount experiences in standard English-department offerings, with each showcasing a research paper by one of their undergraduates.

For those of us with access to databases, these four essays offer ideas and provide warnings. For those whose institutions do not subscribe to *EEBO* or own *ECCO*, they can provide examples to take to administrators and librarians of how the acquisition of such electronic resources can benefit colleges and universities—even those without graduate programs—interested in cultivating original research in the humanities.—Linda V. Troost

### **Using *ECCO* in Undergraduate Survey Courses**

by Nancy Mace

Digital archives like *Eighteenth-Century Collections Online* and *Early English Books Online* have revolutionized research in the Restoration and eighteenth century by making available to scholars countless texts from the period and enabling them to find new material through keyword searches. However, some colleges and universities whose primary emphasis is teaching

have been reluctant to purchase these resources because they consider them only as research tools for scholars and have underestimated their utility in the classroom. This collection of essays shows instructors' and students' experiences with these digital archives, sharing assignments used successfully in undergraduate classes, demonstrating that these resources are as valuable for learning as they are for research.

First, a little background to my own experience using *ECCO* in one of our introductory courses for English majors at the U. S. Naval Academy. HE 218 is a one-semester survey of British and American literature from the Renaissance through the twenty-first century. Because it is one of two required introductory courses for our new majors, I usually use the class to familiarize them with some of the methods and resources used in our discipline. For example, I teach them about the differences between primary and secondary texts and, largely because of my own interest in publishing history, the crucial importance of early editions in the construction and interpretation of works. I was determined the last time I taught this course to give my students an assignment that would expose them to primary sources in our period and would introduce them to the potential of digital archives like *ECCO*. Fortunately, Gale agreed to give my students access to *ECCO* for a semester so that I could try out the database with them and see how well they reacted to it. My goals for the students were threefold: first, to encounter an original eighteenth-century text with all its idiosyncrasies of typography, spelling, and format; second, to learn a bit about how the meanings of words changed throughout the period; and, third, to explore the search potential of archives like *ECCO*. Naturally, my own purpose was to give me additional data about the pedagogical potential of digitized archives to use in making my case to the library about acquiring more of these resources.

On the assignment sheet, I divided the eighteenth century roughly into thirds and gave the students a list of terms, such as *Dissenter*, *Puritan*, *Catholic*, *sensibility*, *originality*, *Augustan*, *epic poetry*, *patriot*, *Restoration*, *libertine*, and *Jacobite*, and the names of a few important writers: Jonathan Swift, John Dryden, William Wycherley, Homer, Virgil, and Horace. I asked the students to choose a term or name from the list and do a full-text search of the term or individual to identify works in *ECCO* in which they appeared. From these works they were to select from each third of the century one detailed passage which offered them a sense of the word's denotations and connotations as used by the author or of the reputation of the author whom they had chosen. Finally, I asked them to analyze the usage of the word or the reputation of the author as indicated by these works and write a short paper detailing their insights. Given the limited number of texts I asked students to consult, I did not expect a full exploration of the changes in usage over time; rather I thought this assignment would merely introduce them to the possibilities of doing more extensive research in primary sources.

Equally important to what the students learned were the discoveries I made about them as they did the searches. They were all enthusiastic about the

number of texts available to them and their ability to search full texts; they readily appreciated the potential of such resources. However, when they actually started looking at the passages themselves, they began to encounter difficulties. For example, not surprisingly, they sometimes found the format of the texts off-putting as they sometimes do with old-spelling modern editions and complained about how challenging they thought reading these works was. I was most amused by the problems they had with the long *s*. One day one of my most diligent students approached me after class with a long list of words that he could not find in the *OED*—largely because he had converted all the long *s*'s to *f*'s. He was in fact a bit embarrassed when I pointed out his problem with the typography. All in all, though they sometimes struggled to understand what they read, they came away with a fuller understanding of the differences between the modern editions they use in their classes and the original texts from which these editions are derived. It also sensitized them more fully to the effect of format and typography on their own reading experience, showing them that the way in which a text is presented can often guide the reader's response to it—something they usually underestimate or ignore.

Although most of the students fulfilled only the minimal requirements for this assignment, a few became so deeply involved in their research that they consulted many more texts than I required. One of the most ambitious papers included references to twenty-four texts that the student consulted, indicating the enthusiasm this assignment and access to *ECCO* generated in some of my midshipmen. Clearly, the students demonstrated the usefulness of this resource, and by extension, other digital archives for pedagogy. First, it gives them greater access to primary resources than most colleges can afford to purchase or store. Second, because of its search capabilities, students can easily find materials relevant to whatever subject they want to explore. Finally, it catches the imagination of our better students, sparking enthusiasm for research that may one day lead to original discoveries.

U.S. Naval Academy

**Exploring Context and Canonicity:  
Lessons from the *ECCO* and *EEBO* Databases**

by Eleanor F. Shevlin

In August 2007, the Francis Harvey Green library at West Chester University, my home institution, secured funding for a subscription to the literature component of *ECCO*; earlier that year it had obtained a license for *EEBO*. My early classroom trials in two undergraduate courses have suggested the value these tools hold for conveying the scope of eighteenth-century textual production, underscoring the aesthetic differences among texts, deepening an understanding of the sociohistorical and cultural contexts in which these texts

circulated, and illustrating the types of intertextual dialogues in which eighteenth-century texts were engaged. In addition, these databases extend special opportunities for fostering information literacy and critical thinking.

“Literature of the Enlightenment” is an upper-level course focusing on poetry and prose of the long eighteenth century. Because the course also fulfills a university-wide writing-emphasis requirement, it attracts a fair number of non-majors and often results in a class composed of advanced literary students and those who have had little experience with the discipline. What typically unites these two groups is a wholesale unfamiliarity with British eighteenth-century texts, history, and culture. Anticipating general student unfamiliarity with the period and, for a smaller segment of the class, a lack of experience with textual analysis, I was cautious about the extent to which I incorporated these databases and assigned only one paper that required the use of *ECCO*. Well before the *ECCO* paper was due, students had the opportunity to explore both *EEBO* and *ECCO* in a few ways.

One opportunity occurred during our study of Lady Montagu’s *Turkish Embassy Letters*. Both the close of Montagu’s letter of April 1, 1717, describing the Turkish baths<sup>1</sup> and Mary Astell’s 1724 comments serving as the preface to Montagu’s travels (1763)<sup>2</sup> draw attention to the unreliability of male-authored accounts of the Levant that predate Montagu’s *Letters*. Access to *EEBO* enabled students to read these earlier relations and compare them to Montagu’s. Working in small groups, students searched *EEBO* for seventeenth-century accounts by Sir Paul Rycaut,<sup>3</sup> Jean-Baptiste Tavernier,<sup>4</sup> Jean de Thévenot,<sup>5</sup> and Jean Dumont<sup>6</sup> and identified sections within these texts relevant to Montagu’s descriptions of the Levant. Undertaken as an activity spanning two classes, students first collaborated within their groups to explore and compare the earlier male-authored texts with Montagu’s account. We then discussed as a class not only the representations of Turkey and the Middle East in these seventeenth-century descriptions and the ways in which Montagu’s account challenged established views of the East but also the differences in styles, points of views, rhetorical strategies, diction, and the like among the various texts. What emerged from this activity was a deeper contextual understanding of Montagu’s text and its place within a broader history of British travel-writing about the East.

Another preparatory lead-up to the *ECCO* paper was also an in-class activity, and it, too, served to extend contextual knowledge as well as hone information literacy skills. As part of our study of Addison and Steele’s *The Tatler* and *The Spectator*, I asked students to do a title search for the phrase *coffee house* in *ECCO* and analyze the individual results, using the titles to draw inferences about coffee houses, their functions as public places, and their cultural associations (See Appendix 1 for selected results). Besides linking coffee houses to topical debates ranging from religion to politics, the titles revealed that coffee houses served as inspiration for the plots and settings of plays, provided well-known geographic markers for locating other business, operated as sites for book auctions, and doubled as museums to display

curiosities such as the “strange & wonderful child”<sup>7</sup> or a “Piece of a Saint’s Bone, in Nun’s Work”<sup>8</sup>—a list of functions that augments the coffee house’s more standard associations with the Habermasian public sphere. More than a few students connected certain titles with essays found in *The Tatler* or *The Spectator*, while the array of varied titles suggested the breadth of functions and meanings that coffee houses embraced at the time. The categories that *ECCO* used to classify these texts also drew responses from students and generated discussion about the classification and ordering of information. Not only did this assignment prove useful in situating coffee houses within a broader cultural landscape, but the activity of searching unfamiliar territory and finding ways to approach and address a strange body of information helped students develop and practice their information literacy skills.

These early database forays with students had proven fruitful and gave me high expectations for the *ECCO* paper. For this assignment, I instructed students to select a text in *ECCO* related to one of the primary works we had read—Alexander Pope’s *The Rape of the Lock*, *The Tatler*, *The Spectator*, Jonathan Swift’s “The Lady’s Dressing Room”—and then analyze the piece they found in *ECCO*. While the assignment yielded a number of fine papers—one on “The Gentleman’s Study in Answer to the Lady’s Dressing-Room,”<sup>9</sup> a poem I had not encountered before, and another on *The Female Tatler*, to name just two—it also produced a number of far less successful pieces. The five papers that examined Giles Jacob’s *The Rape of the Smock*, for instance, all treated his poem as if it were essentially equivalent in skill and sentiment to Pope’s work. Besides illustrating various degrees of deficiencies in comprehension and close reading as well as a general lack of understanding poetic forms, these papers suggested misconceptions about the contents of *ECCO* itself. In other words, it appeared that many students assumed that a text, simply by virtue of its appearance in *ECCO*, had achieved some level of canonical status and possessed not just historical or sociocultural value as an artifact but also aesthetic merit as a literary work.

In some cases, students seemed to be straining to justify their chosen text’s status as high art and, in the process, exhibited a version of Stanley Fish’s illustrations of “acts of recognition” and interpretative communities.<sup>10</sup> Thus, one student claimed that Giles Jacob’s “clever” and “skilled” use of Nancy, who is the maid to Celia, the poem’s protagonist, served as an improved version of Pope’s sylphs and then stretched textual evidence to amazing lengths to demonstrate this perceived parallel. Another student accorded such complexity of character development and narrative suspense to one of Hannah More’s cheap repository tracts that I was totally befuddled as to how to comment on and grade the work: Was the paper written tongue-in-cheek or did it instead serve as an echo of how an eighteenth-century reader testing his or her newly acquired literacy skills might have interacted with Jack Brown’s tale of woe and moral reclamation?<sup>11</sup>

More than simply revealing the additional preparatory work needed for students to handle more successfully unfamiliar texts in *ECCO*, these papers

disclosed broader difficulties involving close reading, textual comprehension, notions of canonicity, and aesthetic value. Not only did this assignment foster immediate discussion of these issues with the class, but it also offered important insights about student needs and the level of their understanding of texts such as those by Pope. That a student could intelligently discuss Pope's use of heroic couplets, epic conventions, and zeugma but then not recognize the differences between his crafting and the poetic technique of a Giles Jacob (let alone the other differences in the two *Rape* poems) was eye-opening. In the end, it was perhaps I, above all others, who received a lesson in context.

The second course in which I incorporated *ECCO* was one I taught in the fall of 2008, and its population was quite different from that of the Enlightenment course. Near the end of their academic careers as West Chester English majors, students must take three seminars, each devoted to a special topic of an instructor's choosing. My seminar, "Material Culture, Publishing History, and the Making of the British Novel," would have arguably not been possible without student access to *ECCO*. By the time of the seminar, moreover, my library had purchased the full *ECCO I* database, thus expanding the range of texts far beyond literature, the only component accessible when I taught my initial course using *ECCO*. Commencing with a brief overview of theories addressing the "rise" of the novel in Britain, the seminar examined the novel as an aesthetic and commercial commodity. In foregrounding this perspective, the seminar drew upon a growing interest among literary and book historians to: examine the material aspects of genre identity; uncover the economic history and workings of many untested claims about readership, authorship, and publishing; study print artifacts as they relate to other forms of cultural production; and develop more fully interdisciplinary methodologies. In addition to a range of secondary readings, students read two lengthy novels (Samuel Richardson's *Pamela* and Eliza Haywood's *History of Miss Betsy Thoughtless*), three short works (Henry Fielding's *Shamela*, Haywood's *Fantomina*, and John Hawkesworth's "oriental tale" *Almorán and Hamet*), and, finally, a novel selected from a list I provided. These individually selected novels formed the basis of their final seminar papers.

The course's extended attention to the physical attributes of books, the role of the physical in conveying meaning, and the relationship between verbal and visual texts may seem antithetical to the seminar's embrace of *ECCO*. However, this database enhanced student knowledge of eighteenth-century textual production in ways that otherwise would have been difficult to impart without extended access to rare book holdings. At the same time, my use of supplementary materials—including physical copies of actual rare books from my own collection—demonstrated to students in crucial ways the limitations of *ECCO* and the pitfalls of relying exclusively on electronic resources. *ECCO*, moreover, coupled with searches using ESTC and the *17th and 18th Century Burney Collection Newspapers* (the latter made available through a Cengage-Gale trial subscription during the second half of the seminar), afforded important opportunities to learn more about the print marketplace, pricing,

booksellers-publishers, textual classification systems, marketing strategies, critical commentary, the replication of popular texts (especially what David Brewer has termed the “afterlife of characters”<sup>12</sup>), paratextual features, design, layout, and much more, including specific textual investigations.

Of course, students need assistance with such work, and, to that end, in-class activities using *ECCO*, *ESTC*, and *Burney* enabled students to become familiar with searching and interpreting results early on. I also assigned a brief *ECCO* paper (see Appendix 2) as a trial-run in working with primary source material, and student responses were generally enthusiastic and successful. One student, for instance, struck by the mention of “abortion” in *Betsy Thoughtless* conducted a keyword search and discovered that, while medical books and works on midwifery were by far the most common genre in which the term occurred, Haywood was the rare exception among her literary counterparts to use the word in fiction. Another student examined the print corpus of Charles Rivington, publisher of *Pamela*: upon discovering Rivington’s ties to educational and religious texts, she posited that his title list gave *Pamela* product placement in the marketplace that would have reinforced Richardson’s moral aims.

Yet this paper assignment also revealed a need for more instruction about the physical features of eighteenth-century texts and the nomenclature used to reference these features. Even though we had examined copies of books from my collection, reviewed title-page facsimiles, and discussed the anatomy and elements of texts in *ECCO* in advance of this written assignment, one paper nevertheless treated a bookplate found in *ECCO* as a frontispiece, and others displayed confusion about imprints, dedications, and the like. To help alleviate this confusion, I created a four-page, illustrated glossary of appropriate terminology for selected physical aspects of books that students would encounter in using *ECCO* and actual physical copies (see sample entries in Appendix 3). This glossary and its use also prompted students to make connections with the appearance of printed books currently being published as well as the ways electronic texts are adapting and representing elements of printed works.

As we entered the second half of the semester, I felt students had the necessary background to benefit from viewing the *Literature Compass* 2007 MLA panel chaired by Cynthia Wall, “Got *ECCO*? The Contents and Discontents of Electronic Media for Early Modern Studies,” available on *YouTube*. Both the experience of witnessing an MLA panel and an extended discussion about tools that were changing teaching and scholarship made my students feel more closely connected to a larger scholarly endeavor and gave them a broader lens through which to view their own final seminar projects. In the final paper, each student explored a novel not read collectively, crafting an argument about it that incorporated course issues, themes, and shared readings and that drew upon primary research in *ECCO* and *Burney* (if appropriate) as well as additional secondary sources. To help students make the most use of *ECCO*, I provided a handout that offered suggestions of why and how they

might wish to turn to this database for material (see Appendix 4).

Although I could offer more on how full-text databases have revolutionized what I can do in the classroom, space limitations prevent me. I will note that the papers of two students from the “Making of the Novel” seminar were among the eleven undergraduate and graduate projects chosen to receive annual, university-wide Student Creative and Research Awards this past spring. A third student received honorable mention. One student winner investigated Charlotte Lennox as a professional author and presented his critical paper in ways that mimicked eighteenth-century books, from its title, title page, and imprint, to its organization into books and chapters with epigraphs and finally its use of eighteenth-century illustrations. Far from employing a gimmick, his creative incorporation of these features dovetailed substantively with his arguments and demonstrated an admirable understanding of the relationship between form and meaning. The second winner situated Eliza Haywood’s descriptions of characters’ dress in terms of fashion commentary and other aspects of material culture to illustrate Haywood’s firm command of cultural associations and the consumer marketplace and her harnessing of cultural knowledge to fulfill thematic goals. Without the access to texts afforded by *ECCO*, this student would not have been able to write the paper she did without traveling to various rare book collections—something out of the reach of most undergraduates. The runner-up investigated relationships among religious publications, Henry Fielding’s *Joseph Andrews*, and the print marketplace—few scholars have addressed these three components simultaneously, and her results were impressive.

It is highly unusual for humanities students to win such awards because of the difficulty in competing with students in the hard and social sciences, but the opportunities *ECCO* afforded these students to conduct innovative, substantive research was no doubt a prime factor in the strong showing among English majors in the 2009 competition. As I have hoped to demonstrate, though, these databases have value for more than just our strongest students. Beyond providing access to otherwise unavailable eighteenth-century works, they also offer lessons about our own teaching approaches, insights about the relationships between print and electronic worlds, and ways to enhance the informational literacy skills of our twenty-first century students.

### Notes

1. *Longman Anthology of British Literature: The Restoration and the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Stuart Sherman, 3rd ed. (New York: Longman, 1999), 2560.
2. In *Letters of the Right Honourable Lady M—y W—y M—e: written, during her travels in Europe, Asia and Africa, to persons of distinction ... Which contain ... accounts of the policy and manners of the Turks*, 2nd ed. (London, 1763), 1: viii. *ECCO*.
3. *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire containing the Maxims of the*

*Turkish Politie, the Most Material Points of the Mahometan Religion, Their Sects and Heresies, Their Convents and Religious Votaries, Their Military Discipline ...* (London, 1668). EEBO.

4. *The Six Voyages of John Baptista Tavernier, Baron of Aubonne, through Turkey, into Persia and the East-Indies, for the Space of Forty Years Giving an Account of the Present State of Those Countries* (London, 1677). EEBO.

5. *The Travels of Monsieur de Thevenot into the Levant. In Three Parts. Viz. into I. Turkey. II. Persia. III. The East-Indies. Newly Done out of French* (London, 1687). EEBO.

6. *A New Voyage to the Levant containing an Account of the Most Remarkable Curiosities in Germany, France, Italy, Malta, and Turkey; with Historical Observations Relating to the Present and Ancient State of Those Countries* (London, 1696). EEBO.

7. *The Wonderfull Child. At the Sun Coffee-House ... All Gentlemen and Others ... May There Satisfie Their Curiosity, in the Sight of a Strange & Wonderful Living Child ... Having 3 Perfect Cocks.* [London?, 1720?]. ECCO.

8. *Don Saltero's Coffee-house (London, England). A Catalogue of the Rarities to be Seen at Don Saltero's Coffee-house in Chelsea. To which is added, a compleat list of the donors thereof* (London, 1731), [5]. ECCO. James Salter, proprietor of Don Saltero's Coffee House at No. 18 Cheyne Walk, had been a servant to Sir Hans Sloane: see Walter H. Godfrey, "Cheyne Walk No. 17 and Don Saltero's Coffee House (No. 18)," in *Survey of London*, vol. 2, *Chelsea*, pt 1 (1909), 61–64. *British History Online*.

9. Miss W—, *The Gentleman's Study in Answer to the Lady's Dressing-Room* ([Dublin], 1732). ECCO.

10. "How to Recognize a Poem When You See One," in *Is There a Text in This Class? The Authority of Interpretive Communities* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982), 322–37.

11. More, Hannah. *Jack Brown in Prison ... Being the Fourth Part of the History of the Two Shoemakers* [London, 1796]. ECCO.

12. *The Afterlife of Character, 1726–1825* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005).

#### **Appendix 1: Selected results of the search for "coffee house" in ECCO**

*The coffee-house preachers: or, high-church divinity corrected. Being, a sermon preached before the mayor and aldermen of Colchester.* London, 1706. 23 pp. Religion and Philosophy

*A full reply to the substantial impeachment of Dr. Sacheverell, in a dialogue between an high-church captain, a stanch'd Whigg, and a coffee-man.* London, 1710. 8 pp. General Reference

St. Leger, Sir John. *The managers pro and con: or, an account of what is said at Child's and Tom's Coffee-houses for and against Dr. Sacheverell.* The third edition corrected. London, 1710. 48 pp. Religion and Philosophy

- Johnson, Charles. *The generous husband: or, the coffee house politician. A comedy. As it is acted at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane. By Her Majesty's servants.* London, [1711]. 71 pp. Literature and Language
- Levi, James. *Bibliotheca Mothæana; or, a catalogue of books, of the late eminent divine Mr. Claude Grotteste de la Mothe ... Will be sold by auction at Tom's coffee-house.* [London, 1714?]. 38 pp.
- A catalogue of a small collection of books: which will begin to be sold, by mark'd prices, on Tuesday the 17th instant ... at Tom's Coffee-House.* [London, 1717?]. 41 pp. Literature and Language
- A catalogue of very valuable and curious books in Greek, Latin, Italian, French and, English, in most faculties ... which will begin to be sold very cheap ... at Montague's Coffee-House in Shear-Lane, . . . on Thursday the 5th of December 1717.* London, 1717]. 24 pp. General Reference
- Philips, John. *The inquisition. A farce. As it was acted at Child's Coffee-House, and the King's-Arms tavern.* The second edition. London, 1717. 36 pp. Literature and Language
- Curll, Edmund. *A catalogue of poems, plays, and novels, printed for, and sold by E. Curll next the Temple Coffee-House in Fleet-street.* [London, 1720?]. 8 pp. Literature and Language
- The wonderful child. At the Sun Coffee-House ... all gentlemen and others ... may there satisfie their curiosity.* [1720?]. 1 pp. Literature and Language
- Woodman, James. *Bibliotheca antiquaria & politica: being a catalogue of the library of a very great statesman deceased ... to be sold very cheap ... at Dick's coffee-house.* [London, 1723]. 59 pp. Literature and Language
- A letter from the Quidnunc's at St. James's Coffee-House and the Mall, London, to their brethren at Lucas's Coffee-House, in Dublin.* [Dublin?, 1724?]. 2 pp. Literature and Language
- A catalogue of the rarities to be seen at Don Saltero's coffee-house in Chelsea. To which is added, a compleat list of the donors thereof.* London, 1731. 15 pp. General Reference

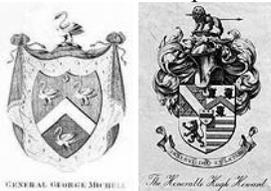
#### **Appendix 2: ECCO paper topic**

Length: 3 to 4 pages (750–1000 words). For this paper, you will engage in primary research through use of the *ECCO* database. You have many, many options. For instance, you might wish to examine the various editions or issues of a novel we have read (or you are planning to read for your project) and consider what the work's print history tells you about the work. You may wish to investigate a particular work in terms of how it exhibits the influences of other works and genres available at the time. Or you may wish to examine one or more book catalogues to trace the availability of a work, to examine the genres available, and/or how these genres were classified. Or you may wish to focus on an author on the syllabus or one from the list of final-project novels and examine that author's body of work as represented in this collection. You may decide to trace the print production of a particular publisher or printer.

You may wish to look at a few prefaces of novels and examine their assumptions and arguments in terms of readers, authors, or the print marketplace. You may consider the illustrations or the physical appearance of a particular edition or editions of a novel, or you may choose to look at the frontispieces or title pages of novels and analyze them for how these paratexts generate expectations for readers and how they seem to function in situating the text and assigning it value. Be sure to do more than simply describe your subject: you must analyze your findings and support your claims.

### Appendix 3: Selected entries from the glossary handout

**Bookplate:** provides important clues about ownership of the book, which in turn allows us to speculate about the work’s market, readership, and so forth.



**Catchword:** a word at the bottom of the page (underneath the last line of the text proper) that would also be the first word on the next page; a practice used to aid compositors and binders.

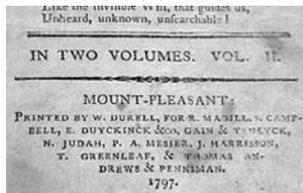
You must break a goose contrary to the former way  
Take

take a goose being roasted, and take off both his legs first  
like a shoulder of Lamb, take him quite from the body

**Preliminary pages** (called “front matter” in *ECCO*): pages before the text proper such as the half title, frontispiece, title page, dedication, table of contents, and so forth.

**Prospectus:** outlines the plans for a work to be published.

**Rules:** strips of type that when printed will appear as lines; on title pages, rules divide blocks of text. Rules can vary in width and length.



**Running title:** title (typically short) that appears across the top of the left-hand page (i.e., the verso).

### Appendix 4: Handout on “Why Use *ECCO*?”

A few reasons to use *ECCO* in conducting research for your final project.

- To find bookseller and circulating library catalogues (will provide an idea of prices, the range of books and genres offered, the format, the price).
- To find other works by a particular author (see that author's range of writing—the types of genres he or she produced).
- To find information about what a publisher/bookseller produced and sold (will allow you to situate your novel in terms of the larger context of what the original publisher of that work produced).
- To find imitations and spin-offs. For example:
  - A Supplement to The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, gent. Serving to elucidate that work. By the author of Yorick's Meditations.*
  - The Clockmakers Outcry against the Author of The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy. Dedicated to the Most Humble of Christian Prelates.*
  - Folly, a Satire on the Times. Written by a Fool, and Younger Brother to Tristram Shandy.*(There are many more, including a number of songs, poems, and a piece that offers a “funeral oration” on the death of the author of *Tristram Shandy* by a “society of Jemmies, Jessamies.”)
- To compare the physical appearance of different editions of your novel.
- To discover editions (often pirated/unauthorized) published elsewhere (e.g., Dublin, Cork, Paris, Philadelphia, Boston).
- To discover the ways that works were announced or reviewed (see, for example, *The Annual Register* and *The British Magazine and Review*; or *Universal Miscellany of Arts, Sciences ... and Intelligence Foreign and Domestic*).

West Chester University

### **Undergraduate Use of Search Engines in *EEBO* and *ECCO***

by Sayre N. Greenfield

Undergraduate students using the search engines of *EEBO* and *ECCO* need careful instruction to operate these tools and handle the results, and they need a narrow focus upon a precisely defined segment of cultural information to achieve coherence in the papers derived from their self-designed searches of database material. So often in writing for us, students merely approximate ideas and study texts that we, their instructors, possess already, but with such a huge wilderness of texts in the databases, we can let students lead us into explorations of this territory. To have them guide us, however, we must first show them how, exactly, it can be done.

Every time I teach “History of the English Language” at the University of Pittsburgh at Greensburg, I have the students write a history of a single word

chosen by them and approved by me. Recent papers have examined *party*, *novel*, *race*, *note*, *star*, *jet*, and *smoke*. The students goggle at the idea that they can get five to seven pages on one word. What they discover—or at least the good students do—is that compression of the material into only a few pages is the real difficulty. I require them to sample uses of their word from *EEBO* and *ECCO*, but I introduce the databases to them carefully, both to let them understand how the search engines in these databases work and to help them formulate ways in which they might survey meanings of words at different periods. Such an assignment, with a more select choice of words, could be useful in a variety of courses on cultural and literary history, as well as in this course, with its focus on historical linguistics.

To introduce the two databases, as well as the online *OED*, I created an exercise based on one word for all the students to investigate: *generous*, a word picked partly to show the limitations of the *Oxford English Dictionary*. Directions detailing every click of the mouse lead the students to the university library web site to find the online *OED*. After typing *generous* in the “Find Word” box, the students can then view and record the six basic definitions. Here, many of the students learn for the first time that the word could mean “high-born” or with actions appropriate to that class, as opposed to the modern meaning of “free in giving.” They also sorted through such meanings as “copious” and “strong” (of wine or medicines). I then ask students to note the earliest record of the word and decode the *OED*’s “SHAKES. *L.L.L.*” as Shakespeare and *Love’s Labor’s Lost*, given here as 1588. When the students turned in their assignments and we discuss this, I point out that scholars now would date the play as most likely from 1594.

Next, I have the students find the *Early English Books Online* database and type in *generous*. In November 2008, if they did this correctly, they got 14,313 hits in 3,333 records (this number, as of May 2009 in this growing database, is 16,950 hits in 4,006 records). Then the students change the “sort” command from “Alphabetically by author” to “Earliest publication first” and wait for the sorting to occur (patience is one of the things we need to teach students when they deal with databases). I ask them to record the author, short title, and date of the first occurrence. Of course, as I have planned, they find an earlier use of *generous* than that in the *OED*. In November 2008, this was in a 1581 work by William Allen about Catholic English colleges on the continent, but seven months of new texts entered into *EEBO*, as of this writing, have pushed the earliest record back to 1575, with two other texts before Allen’s usage. The online *OED* is currently supplementing its earliest records with material from the databases, so the opportunity to beat the dictionary with this word will probably soon vanish.

The larger project of this exercise is to illustrate how meanings of words have shifted within British culture over time. I have the students record the sentence in which *generous* occurs in the earliest text and determine its meaning contextually, matched to the definitions in the *OED*. Again, step-by-step instructions teach the students how to click on the title in blue to call up

the full text and follow the “first hit” button to the instance of the word. I also provide information about reading “u” as “v” when appropriate in the text, etc. Now that the students understand the different meanings of *generous*, I next want them to use *EEBO* and *ECCO* to sample uses of the term in different years and, of course, to introduce them to the databases’ different methods of searching for and displaying text. A professional historical linguist would use many more samples of usage to find shifts in meaning, but this exercise can at least illustrate the principles behind such research.

Given the trouble students have in determining meaning from contexts, one screen-full from each database—ten samples from 1690 in *EEBO* and ten from 1790 in *ECCO*—provides quite enough work for them. This procedure also models for the students how they might proceed with such sampling of meanings for their own words in their research papers at the end of the course. For each database, I give them careful instructions on access and on setting the date for the search, and I tell them how many total hits they should have on *generous* in each case, though they need consult only the first use in each search. The two databases do not operate the same way, so one must give precise details on how to find the relevant pages within the texts for each database. Most significantly, the students operating within *Eighteenth-Century Collections Online* have to consult the electronic photo-reproductions of the original texts instead of using texts rendered in modern typeface, as is available in *EEBO*, and that difference makes *ECCO* the harder database for them.

The exercise concludes when the students collect their ten instances of *generous* from 1690 and ten from 1790: a table that gives the date, author, short title, an image number, and *generous* in its context works well for this, with a final column identifying the meaning by number from the choices presented in the six definitions of the *OED*. Two final questions asks the students to quantify how many of the ten passages from 1690 and how many from 1790 use the word in the sense of “free in giving” and how many in other senses, and then to describe how the use of the word *generous* seems to have shifted in the hundred years between the two samples. Naturally, with their various levels of skill in following directions or reading eighteenth-century texts, and given the ambiguity of some texts, they do not all arrive at the same results. Last fall, my eighteen students found anywhere from three to seven uses of *generous* in the common modern sense in 1690, and anywhere from five to ten uses in this sense in 1790. Three-quarters of the students could answer the question, “how has the meaning shifted?” by stating that the “giving freely” meaning had become more common while the “noble” meaning had become less common.

For this exercise, which took most students about two hours to complete, *EEBO* has proven the more undergraduate-friendly database. It has searchable texts rendered into a familiar font, and it allows students to capture the relevant line and paste it into their papers without retyping. Their results, with such small samplings, were hardly conclusive, yet they were suggestive of trends in the use of the word.

The true payoff of the exercise came when the students wrote their final papers on a word of their own choosing. In earlier years, before I devised this exercise, I had great difficulties persuading students to use the databases. However, by requiring such sampling from both *EEBO* and *ECCO* and by providing a model of how it should proceed and how the results might be displayed and interpreted, I received, on the whole, better papers than I had seen in previous classes, with truly enlightening information for me. There were still confusions in their papers: the texts students examined from these databases merely indicated when they were printed, not when written or even *first* printed. Information about authorship in the databases was sometimes erroneous, sometimes wildly misinterpreted. So student pronouncements that “the word was first used by so-and-so in such-and-such a year” were often mistaken. Nonetheless, students were learning to conduct primary research, interpret the results, and produce relatively sophisticated work by coordinating many historical texts. As a demonstration of that claim, let me provide a paper that one of my students, Michelle Sarver, did for this assignment, though she expanded her use of databases to Gale’s *19th-Century British Library Newspapers*. Note: she and I have cleaned up her samples and understanding of material from the databases in subsequent revision.

University of Pittsburgh at Greensburg

### **Star: A Survey and Analysis of Linguistic Changes**

by Michelle Sarver

One of the more interesting evolutions of the word *star* over the course of English linguistic history is its movement from being used in a purely astronomical sense, defining celestial bodies, to also defining metaphorically those who are famous for their acting or singing capabilities or those who are seen as a leader in their field of study. This paper’s main attempt is to show this transformation across history through the use of many examples and resources taken from a broad scope of time. While it is impossible to list or categorize every nuance of the word *star* as it evolves linguistically, this paper will attempt to document the more specific steps in the evolutionary process, including specific metaphors that were used and how they have led to our current use of *star* for a celebrity.

The *Oxford English Dictionary* gives a number of different definitions for *star*. Many of these definitions have aided *star* in evolving from its original definition into today’s common usage as a “star of the show” or “movie star.” The first definition, and the one most commonly seen in writing, is “any one of the many celestial bodies appearing as luminous points in the night sky.” The fifth definition is that which figuratively describes “a person of brilliant reputation or talents” and “one who ‘shines’ in society, or is distinguished in

some branch of art, industry, science, etc.” A few of the other definitions given by the *OED* include reference to the pagan belief that “the souls of illustrious persons after death appear as new stars in the heavens,” and “a person’s fortune, rank, or destiny, disposition or temperament, viewed as determined by the stars.” Both of these themes are still used today, though they are not as common as the first and fifth definitions. The middle two definitions presented have helped aid *star* in its evolutionary process. Each of these definitions has the possibility of having evolved into our “movie star” image. For instance, could our “movie star” be called such originally because their illustrious soul will become a new star after their death? Or perhaps, it is possible that *stars* came about because of their good fortune as determined by their stars? More likely, *stars* originally became so named because they shone brightly like stars in the night sky.

The *OED* lists the astronomical use of the word *star* as dating back to around 825 and first appearing in the *Vespasian Psalter*. This stands as the first available usage of the word in written English. Due to the lack of databases that contain Old and Middle English manuscripts, it is impossible to find an example that predates the *OED*’s example without access to the physical manuscripts. With access to the *Early English Books Online (EEBO)* electronic database, one can begin to analyze the usage of *star* in English printed books beginning in 1473. By searching *EEBO* for all works between 1473 and 1500 that contain the word *star*, the user arrives at a catalogue of thirty-three works. Many of these works are reprints of works that predate 1473 or are translations from French or Latin. Each of these thirty-three works uses *star* to describe some type of celestial object. From comets and asteroids to planets, *star* was generally used to define anything seen in the night sky. It is, in fact, not until about 1650 that the word begins to be used the way we now see it, as describing someone who is famous or well known for their qualities.

Between 1500 and 1650, there are other uses of the word that appear in *EEBO*. The definition most popular outside of astronomy sees the stars as controlling the fate of humans. Writers use the word *star* to curse their fate: “Lord God, vnder howe vnfortunate starre was I borne, that am endowed neither with wyt, pollecy, valeaunce, strength, wysdome, rytches, or ony other thyng, wherwythe I maye do good to my countrey, as other men do” (Becon 11).<sup>\*</sup> In this case, in 1542, Becon is questioning why he was born under such an unfortunate star. It was viewed that the stars had an impact not only in your future acquiring of wealth and power but also on your basic personality traits like wit, valor, or wisdom. Even though this occurs throughout the time period, it is vastly overwhelmed by the use of *star* as an astronomical term.

The term *star* used to describe a person’s beauty or qualities, specifically for women, is what eventually evolved into the modern form of the word *star* used to describe a person.

And when that I came, before her presence  
Unto the ground, I did knele adowne

Saiyng O Ladye, most fayre of excellence  
 O starre so clere, of vertuous renowne  
 Whose beauty fayre, in euery realme and towne  
 Indued with grace, and also goodnes  
 Dame Fame the her selfe, dothe euermore expresse. (Hawes 41)

In this example, from a 1554 edition (but written 1505–6), Hawes uses the *star* to show the excellence, virtue, and beauty of the lady. One can see how this example and others from the same time that use *star* as a metaphor or to describe somebody as being *star*-like is simply a step in the evolution from astronomical term to human characterization. By being used first as a metaphor, then carrying the metaphoric connotations along with it, *star* eventually became used in our modern times without these connotations.

When initially appearing as a way to describe a person, *star* held onto its astronomical associations. In fact, the first record found in *EEBO* approaching the modern meaning of *star* to describe a person, printed in 1650 (written 1647), blurs the boundaries between calling somebody a *star* and using *star* in an extended and complex metaphor. James Howell titles the beginning of one of his sections of *Epistolae Ho-elianae* “To His Highnes *IAMES* Duke of *YORK*; A Star of the greatest Magnitude in the Constellation of *CHARLES-WAYN*” (182). In this example, Howell refers to James as the brightest star in the constellation Charles’ Wain (the Big Dipper). While this example can be construed as a reference to Charles I’s family or court during the civil wars, it stands as a very complex metaphor but also the first found example of a person being referred to specifically as a star. This type of usage for the word remains rare until late in the seventeenth century and does not become common until the mid-eighteenth century.

Often in the late seventeenth and even until the nineteenth century, writers would not define somebody as purely being a star; rather, a person was defined as a “star of the first magnitude.” At its first conception, the term appears often with words like *firmament* and *constellation*, showing that despite its new usage, *star* had originally held onto its connotation as being a celestial body. The following examples show the first found usages of *star* as applied to people’s accomplishments rather than their beauty or virtue, as found in earlier poetry.

While the first table shows only a very short and incomplete selection of examples from a period of forty years in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, the use of the term to describe people surely blossomed. The examples from the end of the seventeenth century are few and far between, occurring only once every few years. In the years of the early eighteenth century, though, the use of this “star of the first magnitude” idiom becomes much more common and widespread.

*Star* can be seen standing alone from the magnitude metaphor as early as 1681; however, even in this case, the finding is the exception rather than the rule. In the 1681 instance (found through a 1722 document from *ECCO*), *star*

carries some hint of its metaphoric usage simply comparing a person to a star. Here the man is called a "Rising-Star." It bears a hint of the term as it will come to be used within the theatrical realm while still carrying the astronomical comparison. In other early examples, *star* is rarely found to describe somebody outside of the theatrical realm. While earlier uses of the magnitude metaphor allowed *star* to be used in the realm of religion or the court, it is in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that the term begins to be used in conjunction specifically with theatrical terms. In fact, it is David Garrick, best known for his portrayal of Shakespeare's Richard III, who is used in one of the first instances of *star* defining a lead role in a theatrical production.

Despite the finding of a usage that dates back to 1681, one can see by the second table that usage of the word did not really blossom until the 1760s. Even then, the usages of *star* to describe somebody within the theater or political realm are few and far between. While there are instances of *star* standing without its magnitude metaphor in the early 1700s, the majority of uses still involve some remnants of the astronomical metaphor. Despite earlier usage, it is not until the newspaper articles of the late 1800s and early 1900s that *star* seems to lose its astronomical connotation and begins to be used regularly describing theater. Its use to describe lead actors in the theater certainly stayed and is still present today. In our current society, the term *star* is used without this cosmological connotation. Newspapers and magazines constantly refer to people as being stars without conjuring up any sort of imagery of the heavens or astronomy.

*Star* has had many other interesting definitions that have not been addressed in this paper. Throughout the history of the English language, the term has evolved dramatically, defining everything from celestial bodies and theatrical leads to the white spot on a horse's forehead and a specific type of match used to light cigars. While it has had a variety of definitions and connotations, I focused only on the two most common usages in modern times. This evolution from the purely celestial to the theatrical star is an interesting shift. While the second definition examined is just as narrowly defined, if not more so, than the original term, it remains a broadening of the original definition. *Star*, as used in the theatrical realm, may seem like an entirely different definition and, therefore, a different word simply spelled the same, but it can be seen as having evolved from the original use for a celestial body. Although *star* has lost the metaphoric properties it carried in the past, it gained a newer definition and lost a deeper figurative meaning. Perhaps next time you hear the word *star* used for a celebrity or for one who excels in a field of study, you can see that person as our ancestors did, as "a star of the first magnitude."

\*Any citation from *EEBO* containing a number within the parenthetical citation refers to the number of the image that the word appears on within the given document.

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University of Pittsburgh at Greensburg

### ***EEBO*, *ECCO*, and the Eighteenth-Century Novel Course**

by Brian Glover

In the past few years, as Gale’s *Eighteenth-Century Collections Online* database has become indispensable to the study of eighteenth-century literature, many scholars have found themselves pressed to justify its extraordinary expense to their institutions by demonstrating its utility in the classroom. At liberal-arts colleges where teaching comes first, administrations can be especially skeptical; within days of my arrival on Union College’s campus, I was pulled aside by a librarian who implored me to help her explain how undergraduates could benefit from the apparently arcane scholarly tool she had asked the college to buy. I said, “Sure.” Since I was scheduled to teach an eighteenth-century novel course in an upcoming term, I decided to structure it around the kinds of research that *ECCO* and *EEBO* make possible. Considering that it was not only my first time teaching with the newfangled technology, but also my first novel course of any kind, I think I can say the results were a qualified but significant success.

I was dealing not just with a regular junior-level novel course in which students would have to read a range of canonical texts for the first time, but with a trimester system that left very little time to do it all. How could I help my students discover eighteenth-century novels, both as cultural patterns and as individual works of art, in ten weeks? My solution was to space both the central readings and the database research over the course of the term. We read three novels—*Roxana*, *Pamela*, and *Tom Jones*—along with shorter fiction by Barker, Behn, and Haywood. I do, of course, recognize all the problems with such a strict adherence to Ian Watt’s trinity, but, in my defense, I note that the course was still listed in the catalog as “The Rise of the Novel.” I arranged the readings to present the beginnings of all three novels, before moving on to all three middles, and then all three ends. The students’ first essay assignment

would be a formalist, narratological task, focusing on the claims to truth with which all three works begin. Meanwhile, each student would choose for archival research three out of six topics (inspired by J. Paul Hunter's *Before Novels*) to be presented on six days spaced over the term. For each topic, students were to search *EEBO* (for 1660–1700) and *ECCO* (for 1700–1760), using title keywords I had chosen as likely to lead them toward representative artifacts (abridged version of table presented).

I asked the students to look at—but not necessarily read in depth—ten works they found in each search and talk about three of them in a short presentation, outlining “(1) the defining characteristics (or lack thereof) of the works you found, and (2) their similarities to the novels we are reading in class that week.” Finally, the second essay assignment asked the students to use their archival research toward an informed reading of one of the major novels. I asked students to define a genre for themselves, based on the characteristics they discovered in their research. My hope was that students would hone their skills at sorting and classifying information; at the same time, I hoped that the serendipitous returns of free and random research would yield gratifying historical knowledge in one way or another. I am a big believer in the educational power of mucking around. With this ambitious agenda, we set out into the term.

How well did it work? In some ways, better than I expected, and in others, far worse. The first difficulty I noticed: during the first day of presentations, several of the students referred to the individual documents they had found as “archives.” Others referred to them as “articles.” It became clear that some did not know what an archive was, and others saw a greater analogy to familiar databases like *Lexis-Nexis* than the facts would really support. In either case, they had little sense of what they were looking at. If I were to do it again, I would begin with a general introduction to what *EEBO* and *ECCO* are, how they obtain their entries, and what the original documents actually looked like. For this task, a visit to Special Collections would seem to be in order—but, ironically, my old and relatively wealthy Northeastern college, blessed with expensive and significant eighteenth-century books from the bequests of major collectors, could show us very few of the cheap books and pamphlets that make up the bulk of the electronic archives. This in itself is a lesson for students: our sense of what people were reading in the past depends entirely on the parameters of the collections we have.

Of course, the *EEBO* and *ECCO* collections are large indeed; it soon became apparent that students were not simply collecting the first ten items that appeared in their searches but selecting those they found most interesting and easy to handle. They were often confused and put off by copious prefatory material—intrigued by a book's title page, they then got bogged down in the historically opaque business of dedications and subscriptions, and never actually made it to the volume's main contents. This is, of course, a teachable moment: students can learn much when they consider the social functions of these alien prefatory conventions. However, it also points out one of the chief

limitations of the online databases for undergraduates. With a physical book, students can easily flip past the prefaces and find the main work; with a database, it is not so simple. Even the table-of-contents function of *ECCO* and the thumbnail function of *EEBO* make it relatively difficult to browse a book non-sequentially. Again, these moments provided a great opportunity for students to reflect on the ways their own reading practices are shaped by the technologies of reading.

It also became clear that the students inevitably chose texts whose titles and premises seemed to them most bizarre and lurid. This certainly was no disadvantage—seventeenth- and eighteenth-century readers undoubtedly did the same—but it did cause their notions of the novel's concerns to skew toward the sensational, ignoring the more sober and earnest parts of the culture. If students arrive in an eighteenth-century course thinking that people "back then" were "prim and proper," they might now leave it with an equally incomplete view of Britain as an island of unredeemed vice and madness. An additional consequence of this tendency is that, while I required the students to use both *EEBO* and *ECCO* to search the years between 1660 and 1750, inevitably much more attention fell to the more alien texts of the Restoration. Therefore, *EEBO* got much more use.

That inclination toward the lurid corners of print culture produced another striking and unintended outcome: given the choice of three novels for the final project, very few students chose *Tom Jones*. Undoubtedly, sheer length had much to do with it. My course was also cross-listed in Women's Studies, further encouraging a concern with the female heroines of *Roxana* and *Pamela*. I think the neglect of Fielding can also be attributed to the course's central logic: by focusing on the novel's popular and vernacular sources, the course avoided the classically informed literary culture that suffuses Fielding's "prosaic-comic-epic writing." My students were much more likely to leave the class thinking of the novel as an outgrowth of low culture than as the complex engagement of high with low that Fielding offers. Similarly, since both archives are limited to English-language material, a pan-European approach (such as Franco Moretti's *Atlas of the European Novel* might suggest), while arguably important to a real historical understanding of the novel, becomes more or less impossible. The same tendencies may be found in Hunter's work as well as Watt's, and I am by no means distraught at the outcome. But it must be said that my method of using *EEBO* and *ECCO* implies several interpretative biases about the genre.

What patterns, then, *did* the students find in the archives? Among the "genres" they identified in their research were "Warning Literature," "Cautionary Tales," "Social Morality Tales," "Conduct Tales," "Pious Conduct," "Self-Help," "Memoirs of Women," "Life Stories," and "Travel Books." Obviously, these do not fall too far from the Hunter-inspired categories I gave them at the outset, but each student proved gratifyingly able to find her own individual emphasis. The preponderance of conduct literature may owe, too, to my decision to assign Samuel Johnson's *Rambler* #4 as one

of two critical texts on the syllabus (the other, Diderot's "Éloge de Richardson," produced little apparent interest); other critical works may have aroused different ideas of what novels are good for. Even when the students' conclusions about the archival sources varied wildly from what an informed specialist would think (for instance, allegorical fictions were often taken for factual reports, and vice-versa), I believe that the students gained much from the *process* of searching and interpretation. On the presentation days themselves, student affect ranged from scholarly enthusiasm to wide-eyed bewilderment to veiled but noticeable resentment. Some students clearly loved the opportunity to dig around in the effectively bottomless archives, discovering all sorts of oddities and greatly expanding their understanding of how people thought and wrote in the past. Others seemed lost, and still others, unfairly called beyond their usual workload. The final essays came out in similar fashion, producing remarkably sophisticated analyses from some students and utter bombs from others (I have included one of the more successful examples, by Rachael Federico, below). These patterns did not necessarily correlate to class year or major; sophomores were as likely to do well as seniors. But I will say that this course demands an unusual level of curiosity and dedication, and I certainly would not try it with a student population that lacked either quality. The same is true, of course, for the instructor.

As a final note, I should say that this course makes little use of those aspects of *EEBO* and *ECCO* that most invigorate professional scholars: full-text search functions. I found that title keywords alone provided more than enough data for my students to handle. A different approach might ask students to follow individual words through history or to trace the generic transformations of a single story (from ballad, to broadside, to pamphlet, to novel). That said, I think my course allowed students to explore the past in ways unimaginable just a few years ago, and I hope they have left it with a superior understanding of the novel in history. Together, my students and I learned that an investment in *EEBO* and *ECCO* can yield outstanding results in the undergraduate classroom.

East Carolina University

### **Self-Help for Better Conduct**

by Rachael Federico

During the mid-seventeenth century and early eighteenth century, many writers published morality conduct manuals for a large range of audience. The sources offer instructions to readers on how to avoid falling into traps of sin, vice, and temptation. The cohesion of these conduct manuals indicates an early self-help genre for moral conduct. In other words, the primary purpose of these texts

appears to be early guidebooks to help individuals form a life filled with goodness and virtue. In fact, the titles of these self-help manuals are indeed marketed as didactic “instructions,” “advice,” “rules,” or “directions” for the reader’s moral benefit. The authors tend to delineate the poor judgments that potentially pose serious threats to one’s honor, propriety, and, ultimately, one’s sanctified relationship with God. Samuel Richardson’s novel *Pamela* participates in and responds to this type of writing. Richardson includes his own lists of proper conduct for a successful marriage, a characteristic of the genre. Ultimately, his characters theatrically perform the themes of virtue versus vice and serve as examples of how to follow a path of Christian values. His novel, read in this context, suggests that the novel is an educational soap opera, a text that offers readers both entertainment and moral instruction.

From the beginning of *Pamela*, readers are informed that the novel’s purpose is a self-help guide for moral conduct. Richardson claims in his preface that the novel’s ends are to “divert and entertain, and at the same time to instruct and improve the minds of the YOUTH of both sexes” (31). In other words, Richardson openly offers readers a conduct manual that is both educational and theatrical. Readers can learn to “improve” their current state of morality while enjoying a written production—an undertaking that is both “delightful and profitable” (31). A reader’s use of Richardson’s written endeavor is endorsed and encouraged by other manuals within the genre. In fact, one such self-help guide urges, “Gentlemen have so much time on their Hands, that they know not how to spend it; it’s a Burthen and a Charge, for so, like Prodigals, that rather fling it away, than take Pains to improve it. I counsel you therefore to set aside some Hours for Reading” (*A Supplement to the First Part* 13). Thus, *Pamela* is practical because it serves a two-fold purpose. Readers can learn valuable lessons without “flinging” away their time, ultimately rendering the entertainment justifiable.

Unquestionably, Richardson’s aims for readers’ moral improvement take cues from other conduct manuals in the genre. Many of the texts in this early self-help genre stress the utmost importance of religious virtue; in fact, one such manual claims, “Religion is exalted Reason . . . It is both the Foundation and the Crown of all Vertues: It is morality improv’d and rais’d to its height” (Halifax 16). Similarly, other guides often open with notes or prefaces to the reader, explaining that their role is to “instruct [readers of] their Duty; and to chalk out the surest and Shortest Way to Content in this World, and to Glory in the next” (*A Supplement to the First Part*). Richardson uses easily memorized rhyming couplets to express the same ideas—“God’s holy will be sure obey;/ And for our bounteous master pray” and “On GOD all future good depends:/ Serve him. And so my sonnet ends” (122, 123). These verses communicate the necessity of religion for moral conduct in a format that is easily understood and repeated, perhaps like advertising jingles. Therefore, Richardson does indeed “divert” the reader’s attention while offering the same serious messages as other moral self-help manuals.

Comic scenes are often used to illustrate serious statements concerning

morality. Richardson builds upon other authors' points by making the lessons entertaining. For example, the conduct manuals often tell readers that "Lust oft proves calamitous, and the cause of many misfortunes ... Love, when 'tis grounded upon Reason, works far different Effects" (*A Supplement to the First Part* 6). In one scene, Mr. B's lust drives him to attempt a rape by hiding in a closet until Pamela and Mrs. Jervis have gone to bed. Upon his discovery due to his "rustling," Mr. B jumps out wearing his "rich silk morning gown" and the women in the room begin to shriek (95). The image of a grown man popping out of a closet in his robe indicates that Mr. B's behavior is both disturbing and comic. His purposes are evidently malevolent, yet his appearance and manner suggest the hilarity of his desperation. Neither of the women in the room is harmed, and as Mr. B storms around the room, the reader cannot help but imagining, "Curses! Foiled again!" Richardson's moral indicates that "Lust oft prove calamitous," yet he cleverly stages this message in a dramatic moment of rising action. Pamela is shocked and appalled by Mr. B's actions and quite clearly unreceptive to his advances. However, as Mr. B slowly transforms into a more sensible partner, Pamela falls in love with his charm and kindness. By this point, the reader subconsciously receives the other half of this moral—love "grounded upon Reason, works far different Effects."

Moreover, Pamela's character illustrates the way in which these more abstract religious values can be applied behaviorally. Richardson's novel engages with many of the Christian values proposed by the other morality self-help writers, though he employs "*practical* examples ... in so probable, so natural, so *lively* a manner, as shall engage the passions of every sensible reader, and attach their regard to the story" (31). Throughout the novel, Richardson weaves examples of humility, modesty, goodness, and virtue, while exploring the dangers of vanity and lust. Some readers have argued that Pamela also embodies contrary traits such as ambition, hypocrisy, and vanity; a later insertion suggest that Richardson intended to create a purely virtuously motivated personage. Editor Peter Sabor's note highlights a series of authorial changes strongly suggesting that Richardson did not want to conflict with the conduct manuals' depictions of virtue. For example, when Pamela accepts her deceased mistress's clothes, Richardson inserted a short detail "that confirms Pamela's analysis of the situation, vindicating her judgment and countering charges by her critics that she was at fault in her dealings with Mr. B" (Sabor 518 n15). Later, Sabor points to an elaborated conversation between Mrs. Jervis and Pamela that makes "Pamela's moral purity more explicit," in response to critics who argued that Pamela "seemed less afraid of being Mr. B's mistress than of becoming a cast-off mistress" (519 n29). A final example of Richardson's position concerning Pamela's moral conduct is when she is instructed to stay to finish a waistcoat rather than fleeing the household. According to Sabor, "in previous editions, it was Pamela, not Mrs. Jervis, who wanted the embroidery to be completed" (519 n32). Richardson's alteration indicates that Pamela's character is obedient rather than enticingly coy.

In other words, Pamela embodies the principles that the early self-help

authors claim is the road to “Glory.” Richardson’s responses to criticism of Pamela’s character and conduct not only indicate that he was sensitive to readers’ concerns (whose sensibilities have been formed by conduct manuals), but that he wanted Pamela’s behavior to serve as a proper “lively” behavioral model. Readers are taught “how amiable a thing is doing good” (Richardson 50). In fact, Pamela is so “good” that her “piety, edified the whole church” (507). Ultimately, *Pamela*, like other self-help conduct manuals, demonstrates that readers should appeal to “a righteous Judge, who knows the secrets of all hearts” (Richardson 224).

For women, the notion of virtue is clearly linked to the preservation of chastity, and Richardson reinforces a similar model based throughout *Pamela*. For example, Pamela’s honest and good-natured parents consistently express the supreme importance of these values; they warn from the beginning of the novel, “[R]esolve to lose your life rather than your virtue ... It is virtue and goodness only, that make the true beauty” (52). They didactically suggest the serious black or white paradigm present in several of the conduct manuals—be virtuous or be socially dead. Comparably, a conduct manual author writes, “Young Ladies ought with the utmost Care and Concern, engage themselves strictly by all the Ties of Religion, their Obedience to their Parents, the Honour of their Families, and their own Peace and Happiness, to secure their Virtue against all foreign Assaults whatsoever” (Essex 6). This advice strongly echoes Pamela’s parent’s instructions to “[a]rm yourself ... for the worst” (52). Both texts use a vocabulary register invoking images of battle—armament, assaults, security, and active engagement. For a soldier, death is preferable to defeat and loss of territory, or, in this case, “virtue.” Richardson portrays Pamela’s struggle as heroic; she serves as an exemplary illustration of the “Heroick Vertue” described in one of the other conduct manuals (*The Art of Making Love* 75). In fact, Sabor points out that some of Richardson’s later additions are consistent with a “bolder depiction of his heroine,” including more violent or aggressive reactions to the threats against her virtue (523 n99). Readers are consistently reminded “that Vertue is the greatest Ornament, and good Sense the best Equipage” (Halifax 95).

Pamela’s steadfast decision to protect her honor proposes another tie to other conduct manuals: obedience to one’s parents and, for women, one’s husband. Indeed, throughout the novel, Pamela takes her parents’ advice to heart. She endures isolation, verbal assault, and psychological trauma rather than suffer a loss of her virtue. She explains that she owes her resolve to her parents: “My father and mother took care to instill into my mind lessons of virtue from my *very cradle*” (269). These moral lessons are consistent with conduct manuals that instruct parents to begin instilling Christian values in their children early; as stated previously, “Obedience to their Parents” should be an imperative concern. And, as Pamela’s parents are highly esteemed and loved, readers are unlikely to miss this message. Pamela signs most of her letters to her parents, “Your dutiful daughter.” Her consistently repeated closing actively demonstrates the notion of duty and respect for one’s guardian.

Once again, Pamela exemplifies proper conduct.

Pamela is not only the epitome of “turning the other cheek,” but of a woman who always exhibits happiness for doing the “right” thing. Readers need not look far to find extreme examples of Pamela’s goodness. She is consistently “an honour to [her] husband, and a credit to religion” (507). For example, she forgives Mrs. Jewkes for her abuse, the household staff for their treachery, Mrs. Davers for her ill treatment, and more importantly, Mr. B for his cruelty and lust. The most pronounced example of Pamela’s embodiment of these values is perhaps when she openly and willingly accepts Mr. B’s illegitimate child. She exclaims, “How much will it add to my felicity, if I can contribute to it! O that you would permit me to have her home” (500). Since accepting another woman’s child is presumably a complicated and delicate issue, her sincere outburst of joy suggests a combination of compassion, mercy, and good will. She represents an ideal moral response to a real-world problem and makes the solution appear easy—she will prove “the sincerity of [her] grateful affection for [Mr. B] in the love [she] will always bear to this dear child” (497).

However, these responses seem too good to be true; Richardson’s artistic portrayal of Pamela’s character does not express the realistic human tendency to fail. Like a flat soap-opera character, Pamela serves as a symbol for certain set of values and traits, a distilled personality to convey a particular sentiment. She is more “angel come down” to Earth than realistic woman (Richardson 430). Again, Pamela’s angelically perfect nature may make her characterization rather suspect. Yet, toward the end of the novel, Richardson’s insertion of Pamela’s rhyming verse emphasizes her steadfast dedication to moral virtue (Sabor 538). Pamela writes:

Some boast their riches; some their birth;  
 Their beauty some; some their degree;  
 Yet all must turn to common earth:  
 Should not this teach HUMILITY [...]   
 Make all *my* pride HUMILITY. (514)

Consistent with the authors of self-help conduct manuals, Pamela argues that wealth, beauty, and nobility are not reasons for vanity or pride. She, unlike others, exemplifies respect for propriety and modesty—she upholds a possessive pride of humility. Therefore, Richardson is quite clearly interested in sustaining the perfect behavioral model described in the genre.

However, Richardson also offers hope to those who have previously studied “guilty lessons, instead of improving ones” (499). Pamela explains that she honors Sally Godfrey for her “resolution ... [as] a true penitent in the class of those who are most virtuous; and [she] doubt[s] not God Almighty’s mercies to her” (501). Phrased another way, since not all readers can be as good as Pamela, they can still earn “gracious Providence” through acts of penitence (501). Readers can earn respect from the perfect Pamela, and more

importantly, God's forgiveness. Mr. B functions as the male equivalent of this moral transformation—he strives to “bring [his] manners to a conformity with hers” (430). Therefore, Richardson understands that his novel is targeted at an imperfect audience and astutely offers readers a way to connect with the heroine's perfect example. Certainly, if Richardson believed his audience to be perfect vessels of sanctity, they would not need moral self-help manuals. The important idea for readers is not that they are necessarily infallible, but that they can strive to fulfill their “great Duty” to God (Baxter 5). In this way, Pamela herself can continue to set an idealized dramatization of moral advice for readers to follow in spite of their previous behavior.

As Richardson's title of the novel indicates, Pamela's virtue is ultimately “rewarded,” appealing to readers' religious sense of moral justice. Throughout the narrative, Pamela explains that she must “admire and bless the goodness and Providence, which has, through so many intricate mazes, made [her] tread the paths of innocence, and so amply rewarded [her], for what it has itself enabled [her] to do” (308). Readers understand that their lives may be difficult and an ultimate purpose is nebulous. Nevertheless, they can depend upon an inherent “goodness” guiding individuals and rewarding those who follow the “intricate mazes” in God's plan. Furthermore, Richardson implies, much like other self-help conduct writers, that “a love of Goodness, will more easily bring others over to an Imitation of it” (Essex xxix). By recognizing goodness and the truth of moral rewards, these writers assume that readers will be more likely to imitate the behavior and be met with “due reward” (Richardson 430). Richardson, however, unlike the other writers, offers these lessons in an engaging narrative form.

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**Georg Dionysius Ehret at the New York Botanical Gardens**

by Brijraj Singh

We live, and we learn. In my profound ignorance I had never even heard of Georg Dionysius Ehret (1708-1770), perhaps the greatest botanical artist of the eighteenth century, till a chance visit to the New York Botanical Gardens in the Bronx took me to an exhibition of his work being held there in the LuEsther T. Mertz Library Gallery. A small but choice display, it had art from all periods of Ehret's life, mostly drawn from the Library's own collection but also with several pieces on loan from institutions like the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, the Oak Spring Garden Library in Uppersville, VA., and the Carnegie Mellon University Library in Pittsburgh, not to mention a few private collections as well. Some of the paintings had never been exhibited before. There was also a beautifully produced brochure for free distribution to all viewers, and the exhibition was accompanied by an informative but not overwhelming commentary from which most of my notes were taken.

Born in Heidelberg, Ehret started life as a gardener in Germany and was entirely self-taught as an artist. Naturally gifted, he started sketching flowers and plants early, learned from viewing other botanical artists' work, and soon established a reputation for what the exhibition notes called his "clarity and truth." He traveled widely through Europe, and in 1737 so impressed George Clifford, a wealthy Anglo-Dutch director of the Dutch East India Company and amateur botanist that he was hired to collaborate with Carolus Linnaeus, who was then in Clifford's employ and working on *Hortus Cliffortianus* which would describe Clifford's collection of plants on the basis of his (Linnaeus') new taxonomical system. Ehret produced 20 of the 36 illustrations for this work, some of which were on exhibit. Though Linnaeus did not always give him credit, he thought highly enough of his talents to hang a number of his colored copperplate engravings, including one of the first banana tree in Europe ever to bear fruit, on the walls of his bedroom in Uppsala, Sweden. (This picture was on exhibit). For his part, Ehret remained underwhelmed by Linnaeus, writing in later life that he learned nothing from the Swede in the "dissection of plants," and that all that Linnaeus knew of the anatomy of plants, he had figured out for himself already.

Much more satisfactory was the relationship Ehret enjoyed with his patron Christophe Jacob Trew (1695-1769), a physician, botanist and collector of plants in Nuremberg. Trew encouraged Ehret to approach plants and flowers not only from an aesthetic but also a scientific point of view, to study not only their shape, coloration and delicate details but also to dissect them and examine their anatomy. Ehret developed an expertise in what the exhibition's commentary called "botanical dissection and precise rendering." One of the finest paintings in the exhibition, that of a fig and leaves on a stem, illustrated this feature well. Artistically, in terms of coloration, texture and composition, the painting was very sensuous and satisfying, but it also provided detailed views of the cross-section of the fruit, and of seeds, flowers and buds. Under Trew's influence Ehret also

began to paint not only native plants but also the exotic ones recently introduced to Europe from the tropics, occasionally inserting birds and insects as well, and his illustrations of papaya and banana trees were as successful as those of peaches and irises. Were it not for Trew, Ehret might have remained a fine artist of flora but perhaps never gained the stature of a botanist or been elected to a Fellowship of the Royal Society in 1757. (See the illustration on the cover.)

Ehret settled in England in 1736, and was soon befriended by one of the richest women of that country who was also a great plant collector, Mary Cavendish Bentinck, the Duchess of Portland, who employed him for a while as a drawing instructor and also ended up owning more than 300 of his works. Mary Delaney, herself no mean botanical artist, often stayed at the Duchess's estate at Bulstrode Park, and her letters from there contain several vignettes of Ehret setting out every day to paint fungi, on which he was then concentrating. The exhibition had one of Mrs. Delany's flower pictures and also displayed a collection of her correspondence.

In England Ehret also met Isaac Rand who was responsible for the Chelsea Physic Garden, and often painted there in the company of other botanical artists, some of whose work were on display at the exhibition: Elizabeth Blackwell, who was working on a book on medicinal plants in order to raise money to free her physician husband from debtors' prison (she succeeded, but two years later he was executed in Sweden); and Jacob van Huysum, the younger brother of the better known landscape and still-life artist Jan. It was in Chelsea that Ehret first came across and illustrated plants that collectors had brought from America. On exhibition was a striking full-page folio-sized illustration of a magnolia flower which he painted for Mark Catesby's *Natural History of Carolina, Florida, and the Bahama Islands* (1771). This would seem to have been one of Ehret's last paintings, probably made shortly before his death.

The exhibition brought out well the different media that Ehret employed in his painting. He made drawings, and for book collections he produced copperplate engravings that he then hand colored, but he also liked to employ vellum on which he painted in water colors and gouache. While the engravings were made for botanical books, the works on vellum were meant for collectors, as gifts, or for the market, and indeed his paintings were much in demand. It is not hard to see why. He was able to delineate with great exactitude not only the shapes, details and colors of flowers or plants but also the feel and texture of the leaves and petals. His paintings of the mourning iris and of *bignonia urucu* catch exactly and with great delicacy the complex curling of leaves, the folds and overlaps of petals, the speckles, the veins, and the succulence of the stems, and an overall sense of rich fullness which, however, never cloy. And the delicate and complex shading and gradation of colors, as also the draftsmanship and sense of design, are superb.

Most of us seldom look at a flower or leaf or twig in isolation. The context is always present to the eye, whether it be the whole plant, or other leaves or flowers of the same plant, or other plants and trees, or the landscape, or even the cloud or bit of sky against which the individual leaf or flower is silhouetted. It is

this context that makes for the artistic appeal of paintings of natural objects, though the artist's attention to detail never waivers. But botanical artists must always particularize. For this purpose they must abstract the flower or leaf they wishes to depict from its context, they must number the streaks of the tulip, present the thing by and in itself. This is why most of us feel a sense of slight estrangement, perhaps even of being startled, when we see paintings by botanical artists: the bulb, the leaf, the flower, devoid of context, appears magnified if not exaggerated, and therefore at the same time intensely realistic and also somewhat unreal. Not the least remarkable feature of Ehret's botanical paintings was that this sense is kept to a minimum. There is magnification, of course: a single flower may fill a whole folio page, or color contrasts may strike the eye with a vehemence that is somewhat diminished in Nature from the fact that the eye has other distractions and cannot therefore focus so exclusively on one object. But, in Ehret, what was missing by way of context was compensated for to a large extent by the great variety of details and coloration within the one single object that he was presenting. And in a sense the context was not really missing. If the objects themselves were depicted in water color, he made quite skillful use of gouache for the background, so that its delicate hues and tints became, as it were, like bits of cloud and sky against which his leaves and flowers were to be viewed. It is in these subtle touches that his artistry was revealed, just as his trained scientific eye was revealed in the total exactness with which he saw the truth of Nature.

The exhibition, which opened on April 18, 2009, closed on July 19. However, those interested can view many examples of Ehret's art, including some not included in the exhibition, online where prints are also available for sale.

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**H. George Hahn.** *The Ocean Bards: British Poetry and the War at Sea, 1793-1815.* (Britannia: Texts in English, Volume 15.) New York and Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2008. Pp. xiv + 189; bibliography; index. Hardcover, \$57.95. ISBN: 978-3-631-33569-7.

This smallish monograph covers a *very* large body of admittedly pedestrian poetry published primarily in the popular press, anonymously, for the most part, during the twenty-three year period of on-again/off-again war between Britain and France. Thus, it falls within that elastic gap we *dixhuitièmistes* can claim as the end of our own "long eighteenth century," although the history, art, and culture are clearly already part of Romanticism and quite committed to turning their collective backs on the Augustanism of the "true" eighteenth century.

That said, Professor Hahn makes a strong case for our examining this often and easily dismissed poetry as an important indicator of its contemporary cultural *mise en scène*:

So whatever the attitudes of literary critics now, to neglect these poems is to

miss an appreciation of the full literary landscape then. Certainly the tall oaks of Blake, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Byron, Shelley, and Keats dominate the picture, but to erase from it the thick underbrush of popular war poetry and the skies dark with war clouds above and the sea beyond is finally to present a false picture of literary history. (xii)

In his brief but direct and useful Preface, Hahn declares his intention to "ask and suggest how the poems mediate between the worlds of the sailor and the civilian to present the navy as an extension of the nation, strong and free, and thus to strengthen the myth of the Royal Navy by *topoi* that still are current" (xiii). Hahn accomplishes this task very well indeed.

The first of five chapters—"The Navy, the Nation and the Ocean Bards"—presents a coherent and concise picture of the state of the nation during a time of extraordinary stress brought on by the double blows of the American and French Revolutions that led to serious challenges both within and without its borders to the very nature of traditional Britain. Much of this material will not exactly be a revelation to readers of our period but is not generally in the front rank of our interest and so is welcome. Hahn establishes how viscerally the nation felt the threat from France and other European nations, many of whom until recently had been allies against a revolutionary and soon-to-be Napoleonic France bent upon invading Britain. Thus, the thin red line of the nation's "hearts of oak," far more than its army, became the symbolic and actual primary defense against a seemingly overwhelming enemy. Of course, our period's readers are well aware of the "commercial value" of the fleet in building and ensuring the extraordinary transformation and growth of the British economy and culture from such poems as Pope's *Windsor Forest* as well as periodical essays by Addison. Hahn demonstrates how these facets of Britishness—commerce and military—were intertwined in these poems, with stress primarily on the latter, of course.

The four succeeding chapters divide this expansive body of poetry into sub-genres: "Invasion Poems," "Ballads of the Lower Deck," "Battle Odes," and "Seascapes and Elegies." All of these chapters follow a similar pattern of definition and subdivision (where necessary). Hahn includes a remarkable number of excerpts, intricately and neatly interwoven with his text. These selections are more than sufficient for the reader to get a genuine feel for the poetry, whose, for the most part, barely "literary" nature Hahn never apologizes for nor overwhelms us with. The brief quotations all make or demonstrate a point but are not tedious. And if one wishes, a reader can easily skim, skip, or read judiciously the examples and not miss the various points Hahn does make authoritatively.

At the heart of this study is Hahn's desire to reclaim the legitimacy of patriotism. As he reminds us, Sam Johnson's infamous definition of patriotism points to its misuse already by politicians and the vitriolic struggle between radicals and conservatives over the increasingly disputed use of "freedom" and "liberty," best epitomized by the writings of Paine and Burke. However, Hahn does not bog this very readable work down in re-parsing the debates of political

philosophers. Rather he wants to give modern readers a feel for what the general population was reading and feeling during this seemingly perpetual state of war. Crucial to this understanding is the fear of invasion, discussed in Chapter two, which, "[t]o every well-schooled Englishman, . . . echoed from far distant ancestral voices." The Ocean Bards helped with schooling the lower classes, including the 1801 publication of the "encyclopedic" *The Complete History of the Invasions of England* that "recorded the two dozen invasions and invasion attempts since primeval times." This was not merely fear-mongering; the French had launched three failed invasion attempts between 1796 and 1798, and between 1803 and 1805 Napoleon planned at least nine more.

And I think this is precisely why Hahn's book is worth our reading. Our own popular media and politicians have been wrangling fiercely over the issue of patriotism for almost fifty years. As the World War II generation dies off, the last demographic that fought a similar fight, lived in a similarly frightening time, AND experienced a popular culture of patriotism that is disappearing. The not-inconsiderable popular resistance to war, pre-WW2 and in the late 17th century, finally gave way and became part of a united front against a recognizable and easily demonized (i.e., "Adolph" and "Boney") enemy. In the first half of the twentieth century, popular songs stood-in for the popular poetry of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Britain. You need only go to a Fourth of July song fest like my church celebrates annually to marvel at the sheer number of patriotic songs, some obvious, like the songs of the various services, and some now less so, like "The White Cliffs of Dover." Even at 60, I am a veritable youngster at these occasions.

In our major wars since then, both Vietnam and Iraq, conservative "patriots," even with the active support of conservative evangelical clergy, have not been able to convince modern "radicals" of the justness of war. Hahn points out how the British clergy were a powerful muse for the Ocean Bards:

There was no propaganda in the belief that a just war was a war in which God punished the wicked, and in their conduct the French were clearly wicked [and godless]. . . . The religious content [of the poetry] also implies that most Britons believed their war against France to meet the standard of Christian *jus ad bellum*. . . . In both the reasons for the war and the conduct of the war, the British saw this conflict as virtuous, for it was an existential test of the whole of the seven cardinal virtues for the nation and the warrior. (43)

Likewise, our popular media has not created a voice sufficiently powerful or engaging to unify the nation, despite the best efforts of Barry Sadler and Toby Keith. On the contrary, the Ocean Bards were enormously successful, if largely unremembered. Though Hahn names many, most remain anonymous and their poetry unread, as they "sang of a corporate sailor [in] verse as flatly uniform as the personality of the sailors in their poems" (25-26). Hahn divides them into three groups: the poets of broadside sheets (seldom named), the sometimes

named poets of *The Naval Chronicle* ("a remarkable, non-governmental journal that appeared monthly from 1799 to 1818 [in its own words] 'to enable the public to form a more correct and enlarged idea of the [naval] profession, by whose exertions Great Britain stands pre-eminent in the scale of political importance'"), and the Dibdin family, especially Charles Dibdin the Elder, whom *The Dictionary of National Biography* claims "brought more men into the navy in war-time than all the press-gangs could." The rallying around the American flag resulting from the attacks of 9/11 were similarly encouraged (some now might say "orchestrated" or "abetted") by a contemporary chorus of more political "Ocean Bards," but such popular support began dissipating within months of President Bush's declaring the end of major hostilities. However, with media support (far less evident during the Vietnam War), the American population has maintained a strong support for Iraq War GIs, not unlike the British public's love affair with "Jack Tar," which Hahn excellently chronicles in Chapter three.

While Hahn does not directly allude to these similarities between our contemporary world and that of the British in that dangerous period, he does attempt to dispel some modern notions about the period, citing period information as well as contemporary scholarship that diminish the importance and prevalence of "impressions, floggings, and hangings." Countering "fashionable current contentions like Gillian Russell's that literature 'constructed' the sailor by omitting harsh facts of life," Hahn contends that "the Ocean Bards, like the nation, if not 'constructing' Jack Tar, did admire him, for his . . . was a fair bid for glory during the years when he was the only offense against France and the main defense of home shores." Although Hahn doesn't address it directly, what is clear is the balancing act the Ocean Bards had to sustain: on the one hand, driving home the enormity of the French/European threat, while, on the other hand, diminishing that very threat by harkening to British nationality in a purposeful masculine voice versus a longstanding stereotype of a "feminized" France. This stereotype is, in effect, a jingoistic rendering of a very real difference in the two nations' militaries—professionalism. Hahn chronicles the tremendous training of the fleet sailors and the highly professional nature of the officer corps (as opposed to the much more class-based British army) which the French (and Spanish and Dutch and Danish) couldn't begin to match.

In addition to these and other issues presented by Hahn, I was especially enamored of fascinating details that came out in the course of various discussions. For instance:

\*The navy had no swimming requirement because the service hoped to discourage attempts at desertion.

\*Hernia was the most common non-combat injury (all that hauling and lifting!).

\*103,660 sailors died during the twenty-two years of war—6,540 killed in action, 84,440 died from illness.

\*Thirty miles of cordage (unknown tons) were needed aboard a ship.

\*Every sailor was issued a gallon of beer per day. (Bud or Miller Lite would've caused mutiny fleet-wide.)

My favorite is that the largest ships of the line, with hulls exclusively of oak, required 3,000-5,000 trees, including the more tensile pine, fir, and spruce for masts, which, according to Ocean Bard Thomas Campbell, required over seven hundred acres of forest land. Although the oak was Britain's national tree, it was plentiful in only four midland counties (89). Therefore, as the wars drug on, more and more lumber was imported to sustain both the war effort and the economic lifelines—foreign oil, anyone?

While Professor Hahn goes out of his way to remind readers that this is NOT great poetry, he none-the-less points out genuinely fine passages and catalogues repeated themes and metaphorical devices widely employed by the Ocean Bards, for better or worse. Hahn demonstrates his contention that these poets belong in literary histories of the period. They likewise belong in the political and cultural histories of the period, and they remind a modern reader, as Marxists have long claimed, that literature can bring about change (or prevent it!). This book belongs in university libraries and would be a worthwhile addition to personal libraries of scholars of the late eighteenth century, right along side Patrick O'Brian, who might be easier to understand after reading George Hahn's book.

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**Duncan Wu.** *William Hazlitt: The First Modern Man.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Pp. xxvii, 557. Hardcover, \$45.00. ISBN: 9780199549580.

Virginia Woolf wrote of William Hazlitt that "of all men he had the most intense consciousness of his own existence," and "never a day passed without inflicting on him some pang of hate or jealousy, some thrill of anger or pleasure" (p. 440). Duncan Wu's new biography is a monumental achievement in portraying this man, who was, in Woolf's words, "a very singular character." For those who might ask whether a new biography of Hazlitt was needed, Wu breaks new ground in paying scrupulous attention to manuscript sources and to all extant documentary evidence, and the result is an unusually indelible portrait. Wu's Hazlitt is an underappreciated giant and "the most acute analyst of the cultural ferment we now call Romanticism" (p. 414), and his biography repeatedly asks that the achievements of this "British Montaigne" (p. 284) be reassessed—particularly in terms of his contributions to the development of the English essay, to art, literary, and theater criticism, to sports reporting, biography, and the political sketch, and, most importantly, to cultural and social criticism.

Despite its foundation in heavily documented source material, this biography brings Hazlitt and the members of his circle to life. What comes across most vividly is the range of personal attributes that characterized Hazlitt, a man whom his friend Benjamin Robert Haydon rightly called, "a sincere good

fellow at bottom, with fierce passions and appetites" (p. 195). If nothing else, Hazlitt was unshakably passionate in his devotion to reformist causes and driven to expose hypocrisy in others. That drive found perhaps its most controversial outlet in his brutal attacks in the press on Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Southey—men whom he saw as having betrayed in their middle age a devotion to republican ideals that had inspired them all in the 1790s. For this, Hazlitt could never forgive them. From his perspective, we see Wordsworth as a pompous egomaniac who cannot stomach criticism; Hazlitt's Coleridge is a pathetic addict who squandered his talents and sold himself to a Tory patron.

Wu's accounts of the pains Hazlitt suffered at being true to the abstract ideas he cherished are at times tough to read. Time and again, he was dropped by former friends—the Lakers, Captain James Burney, Henry Crabb Robinson, his editor James Perry—and nearly always as a result of a volatile publication. It is to Charles and Mary Lamb's credit that they repeatedly opened their doors to their old friend in spite of the explosions he regularly sparked in their circle. Wu argues that Hazlitt was consistently right in his attacks, despite the fact that he often allowed personal antipathy to warm them. Wu also deftly depicts the visceral disappointments Hazlitt suffered in response to political events of his day, once telling John Lamb after being punched in the eye, "I do not mind a blow, sir; nothing affects me but an abstract idea!" (p. 199). Moreover, Wu makes fair claims for the quality of Hazlitt's literary contributions, from *Table-Talk* and *The Plain Speaker* to his monumental biography of Napoleon, which Hazlitt intended as a crowning tribute to his political idol and an alternative to Sir Walter Scott's Tory version of the emperor's career.

The Hazlitt that resonates most memorably in this biography, however, is the man who was consumed by his physical appetites—particularly his sex drive. Of course, this was an attribute that made him particularly vulnerable to his enemies. Wu shows how Wordsworth and Coleridge were merciless in keeping alive the story of a mob-ducking the young Hazlitt narrowly escaped when an overture towards a Keswick tavern girl went wrong. A prologue recounting Hazlitt's first meetings with Coleridge and Wordsworth as an excited and idealistic youth has the hook of a good historical novel and makes it clear exactly what the losses of those friendships cost Hazlitt personally in later years.

As Wu points out, "Hazlitt was remarkable less for his sexual appetite than for the honesty with which he wrote about it" (p. 99). Certainly the most eye-opening aspect of his life and career, even today, was the obsession he formed in the early 1820s with his landlord's daughter Sarah Walker, and his shockingly candid relation of the psychological torments he suffered in this affair in *Liber Amoris* (1823). Significantly, Wu blames the affair for Hazlitt's near-exclusion from the English canon throughout the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth.

Hazlitt's biographers have always struggled to come to terms with *Liber Amoris* and the Sarah Walker affair, and a look at the treatment of the episode in earlier biographies makes it clear how badly this new account has been needed. In his 1926 life of Hazlitt, Augustine Birrell condemns *Liber Amoris* by stating

that the "facts upon which the book is supposed to rest are now offensively familiar," and dismisses it as having sunk "beneath the stage" to "the realm of things unspeakable—'vile kitchen stuff,' fit only for the midden" (Macmillan, pp. 165, 167). Sidestepping the details, P. P. Howe's 1920s treatment of Hazlitt's life simply refers the reader to *Liber Amoris* for a full account of the affair (Penguin, 1949 edn., pp. 340, 348). More modern accounts are more measured, but hardly unbiased. For Ralph Wardle, "undoubtedly [Hazlitt] was, to some extent, indulging in histrionics" (U. of Nebraska Press, 1971, p. 313), and Stanley Jones writes that the affair "was a drama, complete in all respects, of the kind adumbrated in the pages on Desdemona and on the 'literary character' . . . and which no doubt he had acted out and re-enacted time and again in the earlier years" (Oxford, 1989, p. 314). In Wu's account of the episode, however, he carefully avoids judging Hazlitt's actions and presents him as a human being overwhelmed by passion—a man "acutely aware of his own flaws," and one who hoped to exorcise a crushingly painful experience in a work of psychological self-exposure and self-exploration that is truly astonishing for its day (p. 441).

For most readers Wu's biography will be most valuable for its richly delineated portraits of many familiar figures that round out the reader's impressions of them in often startlingly candid ways, including William Godwin, John and Leigh Hunt, John Keats, Charles Brown, Walter Savage Landor, Stendhal, Francis Jeffrey, and James Northcote, among many others; not to mention the many publishers with whom Hazlitt worked rather tempestuously, and the critics—William Blackwood, J. G. Lockhart, John Wilson—who relentlessly eviscerated him in the press.

There are instances of repetitiveness, and occasionally Wu uses modern vernacular that for this reader jars with the context of the work, but all in all *William Hazlitt: The First Modern Man* is unexpectedly captivating. Although Wu's subtitle may strike some readers as an overstatement, his claims for the significance of Hazlitt's achievements are undeniable.

Ultimately, Wu's biography leaves the reader with sadness for a man whose dogged devotion to his ideals and principles and whose consistent work throughout his life in the turbulent world of the print media brought him ridicule at every stage of his career, and unremittingly humiliating financial straits. Yet despite this, Hazlitt clearly valued the liberty he practiced to speak his mind, and he should indeed be remembered as "the first (unanswered) Metaphysician of the age" and "A lover of the People, Poor and Oppressed," as the epigraph on his tomb proudly calls him (p. 435). Certainly what Hazlitt wrote of Godwin in *Lectures on the English Comic Writers* (1819) was equally true of himself: "he who thinks beyond his age, cannot expect the feelings of his contemporaries to go along with him; he whose mind is of no age or country, is seldom properly recognised during his life-time, and must wait, in order to have justice done him, for the late but lasting award of posterity."

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**David Allan.** *A Nation of Readers: The Lending Library in Georgian England*. London: British Library, 2008. Distributed in the USA by the University of Chicago Press. Pp. 288; bibliography; index; 18 b/w illustrations, 8 figures. Hardcover: \$85.00. ISBN: 978-0-7123-4967-3.

Considering how many references there are in eighteenth-century literature to various libraries, it is astounding that no history of that institution has been written yet. Fortunately, David Allan fills that gap with *A Nation of Readers: The Lending Library in Georgian England*. Well-produced by the British Library and lavishly illustrated in black and white, this volume argues that libraries made a major contribution to social change in the period between about 1700 and 1820. On the face of it, this assertion may seem obvious, but like many commonplaces it has never been subjected to serious scrutiny, which Allan offers here.

In the first chapter, Allan situates his argument in three important historical and cultural contexts, "the expansion of printing, the extension of literacy and the coming-of-age of criticism" (9), and thus firmly places it within the theoretical approach of book history. In addition to mentioning the more familiar reasons of reading for pleasure and for pragmatic reasons, Allan emphasizes that reading must be understood within the Georgian discourse of politeness.

In the following chapters, *A Nation of Readers* examines in detail the history, membership, institutional structure, and collections of the three most important forms of the library: the book club, the subscription library, and the circulation library. Though estimates must be treated with caution, Allan suggests that there were approximately 2,000 book clubs in Georgian England with an average of 25 members. These were institutions with no enduring collections, no premises or librarians, and limited financial resources—but with members who congregated in many settings to make greater numbers of books available to each other. Because of their clubbable nature—they usually met for dinners at inns and encouraged discussions—book clubs even attracted members who had substantial libraries of their own.

In contrast to book clubs, subscription libraries (with paying subscribers and regular fees) were larger and had permanent collections. Their membership frequently reflected the demographics of the towns in which they were housed and included the new and old corporate and economic elites. In addition, many subscription libraries were dedicated to specific social or occupational groups or dominated by particular professions or denominations. Most developed from meeting in inns to renting premises to building their own libraries and had institutional structures including regular formal meetings and subcommittees. The size of the holdings of the subscription libraries is not easy to construct, but in many cases it was certainly in the thousands. The collections were serious and centered around histories (e.g., Gibbons, Hume) and political analysis (Burke, Mackintosh) as well as geography, travel, topography, and natural history. There were also some *belles lettres*, perhaps promoted by the 10-20% female members and hotly debated in the subcommittees in charge of purchases. The subscription libraries claimed great social benefits for their members and were widely and

wildly successful until the advent of the public libraries of the Victorian era.

Unfortunately, the least source material survives on circulating libraries, the great bugbear in English literature at least in the second half of the eighteenth century—Allan offers all the well-known quotations (like from Sheridan's *Rivals*) as well as many new ones. Also, he points out that there is no empirical evidence that the circulating libraries posed any threat to the social order or that their clients were mainly female or working-class. Allan nicely side-steps the irrelevant discussion over what was the *first* circulating library and calculates, more importantly, that there were at least 200 libraries in London and 1000 in England over the course of the Georgian period. He correctly emphasizes how widespread these institutions were even in smaller cities and how large their collections were—some even on the grand scale of tens of thousands of books.

Circulating libraries were purely commercial institutions founded by commercial proprietors presumably interested mostly in making money, so their collections would have been geared to the public's demand most carefully. From the surviving catalogs, it seems that the regular accusation that circulating libraries focused on novels was incorrect—apparently, they usually held less than 20% prose fiction. Still, since there were many circulating libraries devoted to niche markets such as medicine, music, foreign language, and children's literature, there might well have been some that focused on the novel. Unfortunately, the clientele of these institutions remains entirely unclear, and the only inference Allan feels comfortable making is that the rates tended to exclude readers at the lowest end of the economic hierarchy. Nevertheless, the smaller and cheaper circulating libraries "had truly brought book borrowing within the realistic reach of many readers" (154), and "*this* may truly have been the site where the English Enlightenment was being forged . . . and where the reading nation was simultaneously being re-imagined and re-defined" (156).

Next, *A Nation of Readers* presents brief histories of other forms of libraries in the Georgian period—the parochial and the cathedral library, Dissenters' libraries, civic collections, the libraries of literary and philosophical societies, and the libraries of the mechanics' institutes. The discussion of the last is particularly interesting since it raises the question of who was controlling what books readers of the lower classes had access to. Though usually founded by paternalistic employers, some of the libraries of the mechanics' institutes helped their readers develop into radicals or at least liberals and non-conformists. In any case, all of these forms of libraries, while smaller and not as wide-spread as the first three types, were an important part of the jigsaw of the Georgian reading landscape.

Finally—and too briefly, in my opinion—Allan discusses the significance of his findings. Having earlier acknowledged his predecessor Paul Kaufman and his contemporaries James Raven and William St. Clair (who's criticized for mischaracterizing the holdings of subscription libraries), Allan now tests prominent theories about the eighteenth century against his empirical evidence. Against Jürgen Habermas and his followers, Allan argues that the public sphere, at least as it was constituted in various lending libraries, was not just bourgeois and far from coherent; against Rolf Engelsing, he claims that the jury is still out

on whether a reading revolution (from intensive to extensive) actually occurred and asserts that all we can say with confidence is that the eighteenth century saw more *varied* forms of reading.

Overall, *A Nation of Readers* is an invaluable contribution to book history of the eighteenth century. Certainly, there are some flaws and omissions. Allan's sentences are often overly complicated and can be misleading, as when he writes, "At the same time, the theorists' characteristic penchant for complex abstractions, often remarked upon by sceptical historians of reading, has invariably led to detailed empirical studies, especially ones located in concrete historical contexts, failing to emerge" (5)—the all-important last clause being tucked away at the end. He misses at least one format of library, the coffee house library recently investigated excellently by Markman Ellis, and he takes the notion of canonical literature too much for granted. For all the attention he pays to the minute differences between forms of libraries, he never defines his chronological scope. Sometimes, Allan inadvertently slips into judgmental language (like when he writes that libraries existed "on a finely graded hierarchy" [210] rather than simply in an amazing variety), and more could be said about each form of library Allan describes. For instance, in circulating libraries (my own area of expertise among these institutions), he hardly discusses the organization of material, and he appears unaware of the collaboration between proprietors in 1766/7.

However, these are minor quibbles with an excellent book. Since Allan uses an astounding range of primary sources—his acknowledgements just to libraries run 57 lines—his conclusions are convincing. *A Nation of Readers* lays to rest such old canards as that circulating libraries only stocked novels or that women made up disproportionate numbers of readers, and he demonstrates that reading in (or at least through) libraries was a phenomenon that stretched from the lowest laborer to the royal family. Various forms of lending libraries could be used to reinforce group identities and to create connections across social boundaries. In an increasingly commercialized culture, libraries promoted reading especially in the lower classes and for women, and thus they were "a site that granted an unusual degree of freedom and power to those who lacked, or who for various reasons found it hard to gain admission to, alternative social arenas" (224).

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**Andrew McMichael.** *Atlantic Loyalties: Americans in Spanish West Florida, 1785-1810*. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2008. Pp. xiii + 226; bibliography; illustrations; index; 2 maps; 13 tables. Paperback: \$22.95 (ISBN: 082033023X); cloth: \$59.95 (0820330043).

For more than three centuries, Spanish leaders managed to hold together a vast empire in the Americas. They did so despite wars in Europe, revolts in the colonies, and an incredible diversity in the peoples they governed, which

included Native Americans, European settlers, and African slaves. The blunt tool of force controlled the servant and slave populations; nationalism and common culture were probably important for *peninsulares* and *criollos*. But how did the Spanish manage settlers who did not come from those backgrounds?

Some answers surface in Andrew McMichael's new book, *Atlantic Loyalties: Americans in Spanish West Florida*. His purpose is to address other questions—why Americans in West Florida remained loyal to Spain in the early years of the nineteenth century, even when they had opportunities to revolt, and why they finally set up their own government in 1810. In the process of answering his questions, however, McMichael gives insights into the management of all the imperial possessions.

Using archival materials, McMichael demonstrates that Americans were loyal to Spanish rule. Why? His answer is frontier pragmatism: "As long as the Spanish Crown could guarantee easy access to cheap land and a relatively stable regime, local residents willingly lived under Spanish rule and swore allegiance to the king. When those guarantees faded, so did local loyalty."

The first section of the book provides the context of West Florida. This included the complicated histories of French, British and Spanish rule that overlay the pragmatic task of survival on the frontier, the differences in the various legal systems on the practice of slavery, and the effect of the Louisiana Purchase. Loyalty was based not on nationality but on governmental ability and willingness to recognize, protect, and distribute titles to land and continue slavery as a generator of wealth. McMichael describes the operations of this land- and slave-based system with real-life examples.

Of particular interest is McMichael's discussion of Spanish law as it related to slavery, with examples that illustrate its application in West Florida. The concepts of *coartación* (slaves' purchase of their freedom) and *derecho vulgar* (local interpretations of law) are used to demonstrate the different views of slavery deriving from Spanish and Anglo-American law. Regarding race, McMichael says, "Race in the Spanish Empire, then, was a social label that could be changed with some degree of fluidity"; this was in contrast to the system in the United States, where property rights and racial control were the basis for the social order. All of these factors made West Florida a unique setting as American settlers from the north immigrated into Spanish-controlled areas and participated in the economy. One of the main reasons for the settlers' loyalty to the Spanish government was their fear that the United States might outlaw slavery.

The second section deals with case studies drawn from the history of West Florida: the Kemper raids and other filibustering activities, and a court case involving slaves adjudicated under Spanish law. The latter case is striking because a slave master lost the verdict against his own slaves, who had been charged with attempting to murder him. These cases demonstrate both the loyalties and the tensions between American settlers and Spanish rule.

The final section addresses the changes that led to the loss of Spanish control of West Florida. Crime increased in great part due to immigration, Spanish policies on land distribution became more restrictive, and land prices

fluctuated. These changes tested the loyalties of the settlers and caused instability in the region. Political struggles in Europe, especially between France and Spain, removed the Spanish monarchy as a uniting symbol in West Florida, and local movements gave residents the occasion to assert their own power and to open the way to independence or assimilation by the United States.

McMichael does a good job of describing the operations and end of twenty-five years of Spanish rule in West Florida. He uses a rich variety of archival sources to illustrate and establish his key points. This is bottom-up history that takes into account theoretical themes but is ever on the search for concrete evidence on which to base the more abstract claims. Others would do well to imitate his work.

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**Ruth Perry and Susan Carlile, editors. *Henrietta* by Charlotte Lennox.** (Eighteenth-Century Novels by Women.) Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2008. Pp. xxxvii + 290; appendices; bibliography; endnotes. ISBN: 978-0-8131-9190-4; paper: \$24.95.

**Norbert Schürer, editor. *Sophia* by Charlotte Lennox.** (Broadview Editions.) Toronto: Broadview Press, 2008. Pp. 266; appendices; bibliography; illustrations; footnotes. ISBN: 13:978-1-55111-641-9; paper: \$19.95.

In 2008, new editions of two novels by Charlotte Lennox were published: *Henrietta*, first published in 1758, and *Sophia*, originally published as "The History of Harriot and Sophia" in eleven installments within *The Lady's Museum* (1760-1761). In both cases, editors used as copy-text later versions revised by author. Ruth Perry and Susan Carlile found the 1761 version of *Henrietta* "more polished"; likewise, Norbert Schürer preferred the 1762 version of *Sophia* because it tones down the "burlesque" quality of the earlier version. Given ongoing debates about whether original inspirations or second thoughts should guide editorial choices when selecting copy-text for reprinting, and given that some readers will always prefer the author's first effusions while others relish the refinements of revision (when such occurs), I was pleased that in both *Henrietta* and *Sophia*, editors gave careful and judicious reasons for their decisions and provided lists of variants. All readers benefit from meticulous acknowledgement of the differences between earlier and later texts and from speculation about causes and consequences of emendations.

These two editions are cause for celebration and will prove valuable both as literary objects in their own right and as tools for scholarly excavations. Now professors of 18th-century literature have more than *The Female Quixote* to choose from when including Lennox in courses on the 18th-century novel or

women writers, and scholars of 18th-century literature and culture now have reliable, readily available, and inexpensive editions to consult.

Both editions alert readers to biographical, literary, and historical contexts. And all three editors give Lennox an important place in the history of the novel. Coming between Richardson and Fielding and Burney and Austen, Lennox drew on her predecessors and deeply influenced those who followed her. Schürer describes *Sophia* as a sentimental anti-didactic novel, while Perry and Carlile categorize *Henrietta* as a bildungsroman. While Schürer emphasizes Lennox's innovativeness in being one of the first to publish a novel in parts and with illustrations, Perry and Carlile emphasize the difficulties Lennox faced as a woman writer in her time period. All three see Lennox heroines as reflecting their author. Like *Henrietta*, Lennox's wit, according to Perry and Carlile gets her in trouble. Nevertheless, the novel is written in such a way that "The structure of the narrative is to parade one powerful woman after another before the reader" (xxiii). Schürer emphasizes *Sophia's* representation of the anxieties and powers of the reading and writing woman and sees *Sophia* as "the genuine production of a female author in the same limited position as her heroine" (31).

Both novels are presented as woman-centered but conservative in the end. Carlile and Perry conclude that Lennox used satirical cameos of learned ladies as a regular feature in all her works to deflect criticism of herself; they see her as deeply ambivalent about women readers and writers: "Thus Lennox warns that however much reading may enhance a woman's worth in the eyes of men, it separates a woman from her sisters and her mother" (xxiii). After analyzing the many ways in which *Sophia* subverts the tendency to approve of one woman at the cost of another and emphasizes the lack of women's opportunities for economic success or intellectual respect, Schürer weakly concludes that "Charlotte Lennox was thus able to use her skills in writing and marketing literature at least to hint at possible alternatives" (42). It seems to me that Lennox more than hinted; she was aggressively feminist. In both *Henrietta* and *Sophia* she makes it clear that the intellectual woman gains. When speaking of her mother, *Henrietta* comments, "I have given you the history of my parents in the words, as near as I can remember, of my mother; for she loved scribbling, and committed the principal incidents of her life to paper, which for my instruction, she permitted me to read: I say instruction, for she was a woman of fine understanding and deep thinking; and she had interspersed through her little narrative many beautiful and just reflections, and many observations and useful maxims, such as her reading, which was very comprehensive, and her experience furnished her with" (39). In *Sophia*, not only is the reading sister consistently praised while her fashionable sibling is condemned, but even the woman's power of coquetry, or what in fact might best be described as prudence, is at times supported rather than denigrated not only in the novel but in *The Lady's Museum* as well. There is a strong link between the power of the coquette (however dangerous) and writing women--both use the "tease." For example, Lennox uses the tease to draw readers into the portions of *Sully* excerpted and abridged in the first two issues of *The Lady's Museum* (and also perhaps into purchasing her new

monthly magazine): "Here [my fair readers] will see grandeur purchased by crimes, and possessed with anxiety; schemes of ambition carried far into futurity, suddenly defeated by an immature and horrible death; and hence they may learn to rejoice in that innocence which is at once their merit and their reward" (Lennox 49n; quoted by Schürer 36).

Working with the two editions made me acutely aware of contradictions in editorial commentaries. Norbert Schürer sees translation as onerous work: "In the absence of significant commercial success with her literary work, she was forced to earn money from the thankless labor of translating memoirs from French" (18); whereas Ruth Perry and Susan Carlile write of Lennox's "gift for languages" and the importance of her facility with languages when working on *Shakespeare Illustrated* as well as on *Sully* and *Madame de Maintenon*: "Lennox's reading in French honed her literary sensibility" (xvii). They also draw on Susan Staves to argue that learning about French women empowered Lennox as a literary figure: "Staves conjectures that Charlotte Lennox's four-volume *Memoirs for the History of Mme de Maintenon* (1757) demonstrated to her and to others how influential women could be a force for good and points out that the story of the founding of St. Cyr offered descriptions of a royal mistress's power as well as an exemplary model of virtue and intelligence" (xvii). Putting the two sets of comments together gives us a more complex, nuanced picture of the 18th-century woman writer/translator, who might both love and hate and learn much from work which sometimes grew tedious.

While both texts present vital information about Lennox, her work, and her time, confusion lingers. For example, Schürer gives three different dates for the death of Lennox's father (1745 on p. 16, 1743 on p. 43, and 10 March 1742 in a footnote on p. 206). According to the "Coldstream Regiment of Foot Guards" record in the *Army List of 1745*, James Ramsay was dead on "13 Febry 1741/2", confirming that he did indeed die in 1742 though earlier than March 10. This is a minor quibble. A more interesting conundrum is presented by the story that *The Sister* was booed off the stage because Lennox had dared to challenge the Bard in *Shakespeare Illustrated*. Both editions assume the truth of this story and perceive the incident as crucial. What has always troubled me about this incident is the fact that the play was produced in 1769, fifteen years after *Shakespeare Illustrated* was published (1753-54). Why wait so long to take revenge? From contemporary newspaper accounts, it would seem that there were other reasons the play did poorly: some reviewers cite lack of comic interludes; others suggest poor judgment on the part of the manager Colman who should have known better than to produce such a defective play; still others suggest that Lennox should not have withdrawn the play without mounting it again; and, in later discussions of this event, it is noted again and again that the play in book form sold well and that the play, although deficient in some ways, had much merit. In addition, it would seem that in the late 1760s, noisy audiences were a common annoyance, provoking several newspaper articles about the boorishness of audiences: "The noise, clamour, and uproar arising from the great overflow of company, is an evil that should, if possible, be redress'd. The confusion and disorder of the pit doors,

and the top of the galleries, are of late risen to such a height, and so little regard paid to decency and good-manners, that the playhouses, which used formerly to be considered as the great school for improving our minds and polishing our manners, seem perverted from their first origin; and we have much more reason to suppose ourselves in a cock-pit and bear-garden, than at a civilized place of entertainment" (*The Whitehall Evening Post, or, London Intelligencer*, 9-11 February 1769; p. 4). The author of this protest, "Candidus," went on to write several more articles offering suggestions for improvement: everyone should have a seat; the pit should have fixed seats; and doors should be placed as far as possible from the stage. He protested against the practice of saving seats and suggested people not be let in after the third act for half price when the house is already full. He also noted that openings designed to provide air let in too much noise from the street and lobby. So perhaps the noise that marred the only performance of *The Sister* was at least partly, if not completely, due to the chaotic playhouse conditions, which had reached disastrous proportions by 1769.

While it is clear that there were disturbances the night of the play's first performance, the reasons for the disturbance might be more complex than the story of revenge suggests. Surely it is time for a new biography of Lennox which can bring together in one place all the new research conducted in the fifty years since Philippe S  journ  s *The Mystery of Charlotte Lennox: First Novelist of Colonial America (1727?-1804)*.

Broadview Editions differ from reprints in The University Press of Kentucky's series Eighteenth-Century Novels by Women. Broadview editors present more background, use footnotes rather than endnotes, and tend to belabor the obvious. The University Press of Kentucky editions are more lightly edited. Then again, while I might find the plenitude of information in a Broadview Edition a form of overkill (for example, many of us do not need to be told that the phrase "the labours of the toilet" means "to get dressed and put on make-up"?), there are readers for whom this sort of information is new and helpful. And I certainly appreciated the many texts that were gathered together for this edition, especially the many excerpts from *The Lady's Museum*. Both editions will find their audience both in the classroom and in the closet ("a small room for private study").

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**Diane E. Boyd and Marta Kvande (editors). *Everyday Revolutions: Eighteenth-Century Women Transforming Public and Private*.** Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008. Pp. 287; bibliography; index. Hardcover: \$58.50. ISBN: 978-0-87413-007-2.

*Everyday Revolutions* is a book with a mission. Specifically, it aims to "redress the misreadings of women's everyday lives that the paradigm of private

and public has helped create" (18). The separation of the spheres has been envisioned as too absolute, remark the book's editors, and feminist literary history is largely to blame. The problem, they argue, is that women's power has inadvertently been relegated to an almost phantom status: "women's agency and efficacy . . . bubbles up momentarily in these readings, only to be reassimilated into the dark, private depths of the inexpressible domestic sphere" (24). In practice, they assert, "there was no hard and fast separation that prevented intermingling of concerns, activities, or persons" (19). Moreover, they add, as other critics have shown, the bourgeois public as defined by Habermas was not the only game in town; other options existed for social engagement (22). Ultimately, Diane E. Boyd and Marta Kvande assert that "we must reframe our understanding of the notion of the public/private paradigm in order to come closer to reclaiming the historical reality of women's lives" (22).

Who would argue with such an endeavor? Certainly not Paula Backscheider, Barbara Benedict, Mitzi Myers, or Betty Rizzo, whose essays in *Revising Women: Eighteenth-Century "Women's Fiction" and Social Engagement* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000) "deliberately . . . [set] out to extend understanding of how the novel participates in social processes and of the ways women perceived the public sphere and stubbornly attempted to participate in it" (Backscheider, ix). Nor would Amanda Vickery, who notes that the "broadcasting of the language of separate spheres was almost certainly a shrill response to an expansion of opportunities, ambitions and experiences of Georgian and Victorian women — a cry from an embattled status quo, rather than a leading edge of change" (*The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* [Yale University Press, 1998], 7). *Everyday Revolutions* thus participates in an ongoing endeavor; as such, it is worthwhile and well done.

The book consists of nine essays and the introduction. The first and last essays "consider how claiming public authority is at once everyday and transgressive" (25). In the opening piece, "Hanging On and Hanging In: Women's Struggle to Participate in the Public Sphere Debate," Paula Backscheider gently contests generalizations about feminist literary scholarship. Specifically, she takes issue with Martine Watson Brownley's assertion that women writers who moved beyond private-sphere writing belonged to an "'adjunct public sphere,' producing work that attempted to influence public opinion and public policy about education, health care, and other 'social' as opposed to 'state' issues" (31). Eighteenth-century women writers saw themselves as directly participating in political debates that occurred in Habermas's authentic public sphere, she contends. Aligning herself with "feminist critics Kathryn King and Deborah Kennedy," Backscheider argues against the "conception of women's political texts as isolated compositions" (32).

To illustrate her point—and to contribute to an accurate assessment of women's participation in the public sphere debate—she focuses the first part of her essay on women's writing on a single topic: war; in the second, she examines women's participation in "groups with shared concerns and political agendas that were often of a piece with cultural aspirations" (32).

Coming as it does at the end of the collection, Cheryl Nixon's "Order in the Family Court: Maternal Disruption in Chancery, *Roxana* and *Maria*," resembles Backscheider's essay in its commitment to questioning received theories about women writers and writing. In this case, Nixon contributes to current critical discussions about actual and fictional representations of eighteenth-century mothers. Much of that work, she points out, complicates the information in Blackstone's *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, which "summarize[s] and dismiss[es] the mother's legal position" (223). To illuminate this disjunction, Nixon turned to the records of the Chancery Court, examining 3,800 manuscript records of "individual, non-precedent-setting cases involving the mother" (227). She concludes that both "fictional and factual mothers have more legal power than Blackstone's formulation allows, but these women have fewer ways of exercising that power than expected"; women might "claim the position of legal actor, but find themselves in a space that offers both mother and family less clarity, coherence, and stability than imagined" (225). Rather than working to "rectify the disjunctions between Blackstone's, Defoe's, and Wollstonecraft's images of the mother" and the "conflicting images of emerging from the manuscript Chancery record itself," Nixon dwells on these disjunctions, "using them to explore the eighteenth century's inability to construct a unified image of the mother" (227).

The other seven essays fall into two categories. The first four "show how women's particular resistant acts play out in poetry, the novel, and religion" (25). Aruna Krishnamurthy's piece, "The Constant Action of our Lab'ring Hands': Mary Collier's Demystification of Work and Womanhood in the Early Eighteenth Century" does an excellent job linking the use of a specific literary form, the georgic, to the representation of gendered, working-class identities in early 18th-century England. Krishnamurthy compares Stephen Duck's poem, *The Thresher's Labour* (1730) to Collier's *The Woman's Labour* (1739) and concludes that Duck's poem ultimately privileges a "divisive patriarchal authority over the shared experience of class identity" (75). Conversely, she argues, *The Woman's Labour* underscores the fact that the work of a female laborer—unlike that of her male counterpart's—is never done. Collier's poem, Krishnamurthy concludes, not only highlights the "limitations of a form that cannot adequately contain the female working-class experience" but also makes an "implicit demand for a new form of writing that could voice the experiences of working-class women as well as men" (78). Emily Smith makes similar observations her essay, "Frances Brooke's Environmental Vandalism," by noting that Brooke "interrogates the structure of the moralistic, domestic epistolary novel with what is repeatedly termed the first Canadian novel" (97). Smith concludes that to read *Emily Montague* as a text in which women "articulate themselves through the natural world rather than through stylized signs of conventional behavior" is to recognize "in little commonwealths and little worlds modes of resistance otherwise unexplored" (113).

Coming as it does after the essays by Krishnamurthy and Smith, Alistaire Tallent's essay, "A Space Between: Prostitutes Negotiating the Public and Private

in *Memoir Novels of Eighteenth-Century France*," raises some interesting questions. Unlike Krishnamurthy and Smith, Tallent is concerned with non-canonical texts. Between 1745 and 1797, he explains, "there appeared . . . numerous memoir novels" written by men "from the perspective of the prostitute" (118). Each element of these pseudo-memoirs, Tallent observes, "blends public and private characteristics" (119). Consequently, they seriously compromise Joan Landes's assertion in *Women in the Public Sphere in the French Revolution* that Habermas's public sphere was "essentially, not just contingently, masculinist" (116). In proving his thesis, Tallent clearly illustrates the dangers of relying too heavily on canonical texts. In addition, the essay generates some potentially fruitful questions. For example, Tallent argues that the male writers of the pseudo-memoirs engage in acts of "literary transvestism," acts that blur "the lines between man and woman, author and narrator, and public and private" (199). However, he reminds us, these texts were written for erotic consumption. To what extent do they objectify the women they portray? Did their readers believe that the memoirs were genuine? If so, what would this mean for the blending of private and public? Tallent also points out that the prostitutes in the novel reject a "sequestered private life within the domestic sphere" (125); however, he notes that most of these memoirs end with the prostitute's reformation and retirement (though not accompanied by a traditional marriage). This apparent paradox raises the question of whether women could simultaneously participate in public display and be considered virtuous in a traditional sense. Hopefully a book or other essays are forthcoming that will speak to these matters in some detail.

In the meantime, and albeit tangentially, Brett C. McNelly addresses the last question in his essay, "I had rather be obscure. But I dare not: Women and Methodism in the Eighteenth Century." Methodism not only offered, but also sanctioned women's participation in public life, McNelly explains. Since "true conversion necessitated public displays of faith," early Methodist women "assumed leadership roles within Methodist societies, organized charitable enterprises, founded and ran Methodist schools, administered to the sick and condemned felons, lobbied for the abolition of slavery, and even preached and exhorted in public" (135). Such displays necessarily exposed women to criticism; "by going public, Methodist women . . . faced the very real possibility that their femininity as well as their piety would be brought into question" (147). That they did so, McNelly points out, has led scholars to imply that "women's interest in Methodism derived as much from a desire to free themselves from oppressive relationships and restrictive social codes as it did from a desire to obey the commands of God" (153). However, he cautions, "conceiving of [women's] participation in Methodism as primarily about women's liberation misconstrues the fundamental nature of spiritual experience" (154). These women, he explains, "subjugate[ed] their own desires to God's" (154). To ignore this feature of women's religious experience, McNelly warns readers, is to misunderstand the public behavior of Methodist women; acknowledging it, in contrast, enables a more "comprehensive sense of the degree to which religion functions as a liberating force" (154). McNelly's essay thus serves as a

convincing reminder that other equally important elements get lost when critics automatically privilege sociopolitical readings of women's activities.

The remaining three essays, however, warn us not to throw out the sociopolitical baby with the bath water. Instead, note the editors, when considered together, they "suggest that public private distinctions are too prescriptive and ultimately less useful in the social contexts of small groups" (25). In "Frances Burney and Frances Sheridan: Epistolary Fiction and the Public Sphere," Marta Kvande seizes Habermas by the horns; her careful analysis demonstrates how *The Memoirs of Miss Sidney Biddulph* (1761) and *Evelina* (1777) "manipulate the discourse of separate spheres even as they resist it" (159). Both novels, Kvande argues, "simultaneously affirm and deny the power of the public/private paradigm and therefore remake the distinction in ways that allow for women to construct themselves as public subjects" (160). Each, she demonstrates, offers its readers an "alternative public sphere, one which still draws on the ideal of disinterestedness but does not require the removal of social markers like gender, to ensure it" (183). In addition, both novels draw attention to the labor involved in creating and maintaining the boundary between public and private and, in doing so, "highlight its constructed nature and resist its naturalization in discourse" (183). Diane Boyd makes a related point in "Half-Spoken Contracts: The Coach, Social Identity, and Women's Work in Maria Edgeworth's *Belinda*." Specifically, she argues that the coach "sustains a special tie between Belinda's public persona and her private endeavors, collapsing the separation between spheres through their collapse of Belinda's socially structured identities" (190). In "'A Walking Ought': Displacement and the Public Sphere in Jane Austen's *Mansfield Park*," Shea Stuart argues that Austen demonstrates the "undesirable consequences of the removal of the village, the public sphere, from the sight/site of the private estate (205). Simply put, Stuart argues that the village performs the Foucauldian function of a disciplining agent. Separated from its presence by a five-mile park, Mansfield Park, he contends, is a moral morass—at least until Fanny becomes, by the end of the novel, "the surveyor" or "disciplinary agent within the public sphere" (220). As "a clergyman's wife and the daughter-in-law/niece of the landowner, she is the mediator of and for village life," Stuart avers. By the end of the novel, he concludes, Fanny has come into herself as "a walking reminder of all that is outside the private confines of the major house, an outside public that must be recognized and negotiated for the estate to truly function" (220).

*Everyday Revolutions* offers a number of ways to think about how women wended their ways through both the private and public spheres in their everyday lives as well as in fiction. In doing so it clearly demonstrates that the absolute separation between the spheres was a fiction as well. Mission accomplished.

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**Lorna J. Clark (editor).** *A Celebration of Frances Burney*. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007. Pp. 241. Hardcover £39.99. ISBN: 1-84718-320-4.

This collection of celebratory essays on Frances Burney is a veritable smorgasbord of Burney studies: it is the result of a two-day conference in honour of the writer, her life as well as her works, on the occasion of her finally receiving a well-deserved commemorating plaque in Westminster Abbey on 13 June 2002, her 250th birthday. It is moreover not only a celebration of a remarkable writer but also of the beginnings of Burney scholarship, commemorating a remarkable Burney scholar: the volume is dedicated to Joyce Hemlow, who did not live to witness the great event. In the first essay, Lars Troide shows how Hemlow managed to locate Burney's journals in the 1950s and began the ongoing work on Burney's many diaries and letters at McGill University. In general, the fairly short essays—most of them do not exceed ten pages—have been sorted into six parts, consisting of three papers each: diaries and letters, family, novels, comedy and tragedy, life, and context. The categories are thus ordered chronologically, following the main paths or rather turning points of Burney's life, beginning with her decision to write a diary.

In the first part, Leslie Robertson and Linda Katritzky discuss the preparation for and development of both Burney's authorial and personal voice in her youthful works and their possible contribution to the achievement that is *Evelina*. As Robertson points out, however, one should not read the early diaries merely as a preparation for the later masterpieces, as they were not necessarily intended to be followed up by a novel. Instead, she links the emergence of Burney as a writer to Austen and Anna Maria Porter in order to compare their approaches to the tricky business of gaining an "authority of authorship." Katritzky's attempt to present a Burney before *Evelina* is unfortunately somewhat flawed by her unquestioning acceptance of Burney's statements concerning her family's social status and reading habits, e.g. the claim that Dr Burney's library contained only one novel, Fielding's *Amelia*. To me it seems quite conceivable that the young Burney read books she did not think it prudent to mention, and I would love to hear more about those.

Lorna Clark next compares Frances's entrance into the world of publishing with that of her younger sister Sarah Harriet, proving how differently siblings may experience life in the same family. They were obviously aware of each other's writings, but whereas Sarah's mostly positive opinion of her elder sister's novels can be gleaned from her letters, Frances's reaction to those of her younger sibling is mostly confined to reporting the praise of others back to her. However, as Clark points out, the "endpoint of their journeys was not so different" (p. 41), nor are the topics they were most concerned with: Clark demonstrates that there are similar recurring patterns in the works of both. An influential figure in the story of Frances as well as Sarah and the rest of the Burney children was Frances's stepmother, Elizabeth Allen Burney. Marilyn Francus begins her essay by outlining the value of the wicked-stepmother myth to the elder Burney

siblings. Separating "material circumstances" (p. 58) from psychological conflicts is a difficult task, given that Burney remains the most important source concerning her stepmother's character, but Francus convincingly argues that by opposing her, the Burney children were able to endure (and perpetuate) family rifts. Burney scholarship, she declares, should be more aware of the distorting nature of such family myths rather than follow Burney's version of events. In the last essay concerned with the Burney family circle, Kevin Jordan discusses the parallels and contrasts between Alexandre d'Arblay and the hero of Burney's *Wanderer*, Albert Harleigh. His claim that Burney "may have imparted qualities she found attractive in d'Arblay to her heroes" (p. 75) is outlined against a background summary of the prevailing educational methods on the one hand and changing assumptions about the nature of marriage on the other. To Jordan as well as to Burney, d'Arblay was "a prime choice for a companion" (p. 81), though "not a traditional *hero*" (p. 82), and his analysis of what are considered d'Arblay's strengths reveals that Harleigh, possessed of quite similar qualities, is still unfairly judged against a romance tradition of heroism.

In the next section, novels, Justine Crump discusses various responses of Burney's contemporary readers, showing who read Burney in her own day, how she was read, and how her readers reflected their own role in the process. Whereas contemporary readers enjoyed the violence portrayed as burlesque comedy, for instance, modern readers tend to problematise such aspects in the context of social repression or misogyny. Crump warns against underestimating eighteenth-century readers' assumptions concerning mimetic realism, pointing out that today's professional readers tend instead to overlook the link between reading and performing that early readers enjoyed. Barbara Seeber foregrounds the animals depicted in Burney's novels, linking Burney's attention to the sufferings inflicted on animals on the one hand to the contemporary rise of vegetarianism (here a brief look at Burney's eating habits would have been interesting) and on the other to modern ecofeminism, stressing the connections between, in Karen Warren's words, "the domination of women and the domination of nature" (p. 101). Postcolonial critics may take issue with the fact that Seeber stipulates a connection between the subjection of animals, women, and slaves (p. 104). However, as Seeber rightly points out, Burney's animals should not just be reduced "to the objectified status of metaphor" (p. 103) but seen in a larger context of moral questions. Helen Cooper next takes issue with Burney's mentor figures, claiming that, although they are central to her plots, Burney came to be cynical towards mentors in general, stressing a parallel between mentoring and tormenting.

The section on comedy and tragedy begins with an essay by Audrey Bilger exploring the difference between "laughing *at*" and "laughing *with*" in Burney's novels, concluding that whereas Burney hoped her readers would sympathize with those unfortunates subjected to ridicule in her novels, she reserved some "hostile humour" for those characters "who lack fellow feeling" (p. 132). Alexander Pitofsky then examines *Love and Fashion* with regard to its depiction of mercenary characters and the requirements they considered necessary to show

off their social status, arguing that Burney shows how downward social mobility could be softened by a voluntary retrenchment that highlights the importance of relationships instead of the rewards of materialism. (This suggests that a performance of *Love and Fashion* would be timely indeed.) Francesca Saggini argues the case for a theatrical reading of *The Wanderer* as a "pitiless satire of the mediocrity and pettiness of English society" (p. 141), tracing the impact of the dramatic structure of various passages that focus on Elinor Joddrel. Saggini claims that by the time *The Wanderer* appeared in 1814, female assumption of male roles was no longer seen as a harmless (erotic) travesty, and that Burney expected her readers to be intertextually competent critics (p. 147).

Hester Davenport opens the section on Burney's life with a refreshing exploration of sea-bathing in Burney's days and novels. Even though Burney herself was an enthusiastic follower of the new fashion, and the respectability of bathing was assured at the very latest when the King and Princesses were prescribed "dipping" for their health in the 1790s, Burney's heroines seem to be too insecure of their status to venture out into the unknown with only an unbecoming shirt on. Nevertheless, traces of this fashionable pastime can be uncovered in Burney's novels, even though Edgar's catching sight of Camilla "at the window of the bathhouse" in Southampton turns out to be an impossibility. Betty Rizzo next discusses the relationship between Burney and Mrs Thrale as a romance, "cynically define[d]" as a path leading from the illusion of "the fulfillment of one's unfulfilled needs" to ultimate disenchantment (p. 171). The discrepancy between Mrs Thrale's letters to Burney and the comments she makes (or, to begin with, does not make) about her in her diary, her jealousy and ultimate unforgivingness are seen as steps along this road, leading to the breakdown of their friendship but also to the certainty for both of them that they should "settle for nothing less" than emotional security and loving care in their husbands (p. 182). In the concluding essay of this section, Freya Johnston presents the relations between Burney and Dr. Johnson as an important gain in her experience of the art of embarrassment. She sees especially *Evelina* as a novel dominated by "entrances and thresholds of acceptability" (p. 187) and *Evelina's* as well as her author's writings as attempts to cope with embarrassment—particularly, in Burney's case, that of public recognition.

Last but not least, the part dealing with context starts with an essay by Brian McCrea investigating possible answers to the question why Burney, who could draw such eminent physicians as Dr. Lyster and Mr Naird, refused to envisage a medical future for her son, even though Alex at one point held a Tancred scholarship to study medicine. He comes to the conclusion that, while some snobbishness on Burney's part cannot be ruled out, she was also aware of the costs of the profession: having to humour rich patients. This answer is convincing as far as it goes but does not take into account Alex's character. Personally I am inclined to think that Burney, despite her insecurity as a parent, was a good enough judge of character to be right in assuming that Alex lacked the steadfastness, reliability, and diplomacy required of a physician. Viktoria Kortess-Papp also deals with the question of medicine but from quite a different angle:

she examines the importance of illness to Burney's plots and her awareness of its potential as a means of determining characters' choices both constructively and destructively. The collection ends with an essay by John Wiltshire that focuses on the intertextual links between Austen's fictional world and Burney's seemingly rather different one. Austen, he concludes, did manage to imitate "the inimitable Miss Larolles" by transposing and amplifying Burney's effects such as, for instance, the "anxious proprietorship" (p. 224) of Burney's heroes.

The only drawback of such a celebratory collection is noticeable in the early part: the inevitable redundancy of information concerning the bare facts of Burney's achievement. Whereas the structure of this volume should help beginners to understand the extent and nature of that achievement, the "facts" given may well puzzle them, as they sometimes differ considerably. Thus, the first four papers give three different versions of Burney's age at the time of *Evelina's* publication in 1778. Leslie Robertson offers twenty-six, Linda Katrizky eighteen, and Lorna Clark twenty-five. One's sleuthing skills are called upon to find out who is right, besides being effectively exercised in tracing all the other connections between the essays. The variety of topics covered is clearly an advantage, as most papers turn out to be interconnected by their common interest in the various puzzling aspects of Burney's works. These are approached by so many different angles as to present interesting alternative readings of similar concerns. Thus, the question how Burney's violent comedy is to be read is central to at least three essays – those by Crump, Bilger, and Seeber – while the analysis of Burney's male characters, meekly heroic as well as professionally wise, deservedly advances to the foreground in the essays of both Jordan and McCrea as well as, to some extent, that of Wiltshire. To my personal delight, *The Wanderer* is much more prominent than it used to be. Burney's life as an important source to her works is explored anew in several essays placing her biography into specific but related contexts such as bathing, illness and medicine. All in all, this collection is thus a tasty smörgåsbord indeed and should be enjoyed as such: one would love to have some more of the most savoury bits, but the idea of course is to sample as much as one can of the various specialties a particular region – or field of studies – has to offer.

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**William McCarthy. *Anna Letitia Barbauld: Voice of the Enlightenment*.** Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008. Pp. Xxiv + 725; appendices (pp. 539-50); notes (pp. 551-663); sources and bibliography (pp. 675-98); index (pp. 699-725). Hardcover. \$60.00. ISBN 978-0-8018-9016-1.

This long, comprehensive, and temperately-written literary biography has had a paradoxical effect on its reviewers and commentators (Claire Harman, Norma Clarke, Kathryn Hughes, Isobel Grundy): they too fall in love with

McCarthy's beloved heroine. They long to reread it (!), and to see published a standard edition of all Barbauld's works, including her radical political tracts, innovative and original literary criticism and biographies, her light but intellectually suggestive ironic journalism (in something of the *Rambler* vein), and her lively personal letters. McCarthy places before us the moving story of important presence whose later reputation has been a tragic travesty of what she was as a woman and poet. He builds a new and "original" (Grundy's word) perceptive portrait of Anna Barbauld as complex as any novel, believable because it escapes stereotypes, one which compels respect, admiration, compassion, and affection. The full-meaning and exact meaning of her difficult tracts is rendered by judicious close reading and painstaking contextualization. When we finish the book, we have come into contact with the numerous English and French milieus Barbauld experienced as well as her intimate life with a depressive and sensitive husband whom she loved, but who was not able to cope with living by the side of strong loving woman capable of, and respected for, social, economic, and literary successes completely out of his reach.

McCarthy persuades us that Barbauld was a recognized major figure of her era by presenting of the phases of Barbauld's life against a context of seriously-considered doctrines, issues, events and publications. He compensates for the lack of documentation for her personally as a girl and as a respectable young, socially awkward and single woman in the dissenting community by making his first five chapters a prose prelude on the growth and development of her intellectual mind. He explicates the doctrines that influenced and describes the individuals who made up the learned dissenting community she grew up in, including (importantly) her depressive sympathetic schoolmaster father and sternly controlling mother, with whom she had a "troubled" relationship (7, 22). When she was 15 and her father went to teach at Warrington, a fine dissenting academy in Lancashire, she found herself companioned with extraordinary minds (at the time Mary Priestley meant more to her than Joseph), and began to write passionate intelligent poetry. He recreates from her later writing her earliest memories, her profound reactions to reading from the time she was an adolescent girl, and which books she read (particularly Richardson's *Clarissa*), and her congenial relationship with John Aiken, her loving brother who was responsible for the publication and astute marketing of her *Poems* (1786); this supportive relationship lasted all their lives. McCarthy explains the genesis and circumstances of, and interprets masterpieces of meditative, friendship, elegiac, and political poetry written by Barbauld when she was in her 20s. The book's one flaw emerges at the time of Barbauld's marriage. McCarthy cannot resist treating Barbauld at age 31 retrospectively from a modern point of view as someone centrally concerned with building a career the way men did then and men and women do today. Her decision to marry a shy and unknown, and in England unconnected man is presented as an almost inexplicable act since it makes no sense if her goal were to achieve a distinguished place for herself in an imaginary republic of letters; McCarthy sees the marriage as a disaster for her (Chapters Six and Seven). This view of her life's first crucial choice comes partly

out of his continual special pleading against much evidence that she was not a feminist in either the sense of most feminist women today or a later eighteenth-century sense (as seen in not just Wollstonecraft, but also Mary Hays, Helena Maria Williams, the bluestocking circle around Elizabeth Montague and French feminism, e.g., Marie Jeanne Riccoboni, Germaine de Stael). The issue first comes up and in the book continues to turn on his analysis of Barbauld's refusal to consider opening a secondary school or college for young women after she married. The young couple needed a source of income and respectable occupation and Rochemont Barbauld came up with the reasonable idea that a woman like his wife would be an effective teacher and headmistress for a young woman's secondary school or college; he had possibly secured the patronage of Margaret Georgiana, Countess Spencer (1737-1814). McCarthy suggest the letter which Lucy Aiken, Barbauld's niece and first biographer, thought was addressed to Elizabeth Montagu was probably addressed to Barbauld's husband. It was then (perhaps) given by him to the Countess (among whose papers it was found) to explain why the project would not go forward. But who her letter was directed to does not change the core of what she says in it. After declaring that "young Ladies" should only be given "a general tincture of knowledge as to make them agreeable companions to a Man of Sense . . . subject to a regulation, like that of the Ancient Spartans," and that the kind of knowledge she means here is "best" gotten from "a father, brother, or a Neighbouring Minister," she explains: in girls from the age of 13 to 14 "the empire of passions is coming on [thus] the care of a Mother and that alone can give suitable attention to this important period [because] their behaviour to the other half of the Species [should be] a happy mixture of easy politeness and graceful reserve," one which should "wear off by degrees something of the girlish bashfulness without injuring virgin delicacy." This can only be achieved "at home: by someone who has "the most intimate knowledge of a young Lady's temper." She could not more clearly state that the central aim of education of young woman resides in placing strong continual controls on her sexual behavior and thoughts by a vigilant watchful woman (her "mother" Barbauld suggests) who (presumably) will repress them so that they fit the norms of middle class men seeking a chaste wife who will in turn devote much of her energies to turning out children who will also live according to these norms. That she spent her own life reading, studying and (when she could get herself to or had the time) writing (sometimes for publication at moments of public crisis) is explained only by the sentence "My situation has been peculiar and wou'd be no rule for others" (see William McCarthy, "Why Anna Barbauld Refused to Head a Woman's College: New Facts, New Story," *Nineteenth-Century Contexts*, 23 [2001]:351, 375-77).

McCarthy argues that Barbauld didn't want to run a secondary school for wealthier girls because she herself was from a dissenting background, was awkward in social situations with such people, and didn't want to give up the time it would take to educate them from her own studies. All true. But this does not alter her conception of a girl's education one iota. His argument only helps explain why she shied away from such a function: inordinate amounts of time,

high status in front of the girl (and knowledge of the finer points of social manipulations), and aggressive one-on-one pressure would be necessary. Young boys would individually take up much less time and the effort be much less stressful and vexing. That she remained true to this norm even in her poetry has been noticed by males and angered some of her women readers from her own era to today: at the time male reviewers complained about (were made uncomfortable by) the masculine nature of Barbauld's poetic style: this derives from her keeping specifically or recognizably sexualized feminine eroticism out of her poetry. Wollstonecraft was accurate when she inveighed against the sexual character Barbauld was determined to enact in her published poetry: Barbauld was aggressively complicit in presenting women's public sexuality as coy; the phrases Barbauld uses for sensual love are equally appropriate for male enacting chaste courtship. Barbauld criticized Madame de Genlis's hypocritical methods and determination to keep her female charges away from general society; but she concurs with the norm of that self-inscribed veil embedded in the deep recesses of women's minds Woolf argued prevents women from real self-knowledge and effective action in public and George Eliot before Woolf suggested kept them from original forcible thought (Virginia Woolf, *A Room of One's Own* [London: Hogarth, 1929] e.g., 88, George Eliot, "Woman in France: Madame de Sablé," *Selected Critical Writings*, ed. Rosemary Ashton [London: Oxford, 1992], 42-55).

Late in life in her letters she wrote that the "one" connection and usefulness "all" women can have to society is to be "a wife, mother, and mistress of a family" (*Anna Letitia Barbauld: Selected Poetry and Prose*, ed. William McCarthy [Ontario: Broadview, 2002]: 476). She married herself, persisted in pressuring her brother to allow her to adopt one of his sons (187-88), published the political prose that would attract attention to herself and her journalism anonymously. Her original decision to marry Rochemont Barbauld came out of her perceived need to become a wife and mother; in this way she would have a respected useful connection to her society. Her choices were limited: she was a young woman whose nature and upbringing kept her from having any recorded erotic relationship with any man until she was 31, and the daughter of parents whose income was dependent on earned pay as well as interdependent niches in the dissenting community, and whose oldest son was apprenticed out as a surgeon. Rochemont Barbauld was (as she experienced from the outset) not an abrasive aggressive man, he was younger, someone whose tenderness would not threaten her and whose non-English and non-dissenting background would not be so controlling as what she had experienced. He represented an escape, a barrier against others, and a *raison d'être* all at once. There is nothing anomalous, no puzzling mystery here.

Throughout the rest of the book, McCarthy does full justice to Barbauld's apparent deep love and need for this man as witnessed by her poetry and behavior. Chapters Eight, Nine and Ten present her decade as teacher and (in effect) headmistress of Palgrave, an enlightened young boys' school as something of a deviation and retreat, one however fully compensated for by her influential, brilliantly innovative, and humane educational writing and publications. The

primers and hymns which continued to circulate in England throughout the nineteenth-century are analyzed as successful educational primers informed by a revolutionary Enlightenment outlook: like social learning, academic and linguistic learning occurs in and through situations; these texts are also informed by a poet's sensibility and include delightful pictures of a child's everyday life. Summers she and Rochemont socialized with their peers, and McCarthy depicts her time in the public salons of London sympathetically. She was one of those who has to make a face to meet the faces that she meets, and we see the genuinely progressive nature of her class politics put her at odds with powerful women (Hannah More); at the same time she formed sustaining friendships with women that became important later on in her life. Her friendship with the Martineau family is noteworthy; one of her Palgrave boys may have been Harriet Martineau's father (230-31): Harriet Martineau was one of the rare bold voices in the nineteenth century to rank Barbauld as "one of the great minds which belong to all time," and Martineau shows Barbauld's lasting influence in her own eloquent progressive writing (ix).

In just about all other areas beyond women's sexuality that Barbauld's life shows her taking risks. After ten successful but exhausting years she and Rochemont closed Palgrave, and traveled in France for a year (Chapter Eleven). There she came close to having a love affair with a French aristocrat, Alexandre-Cesar-Annibal Fremin, baron de Stone (251-59). They returned home and attempted to build a new and freer *modus vivendi* based on their unearned or inherited income, clerical appointments for Rochemont, and tutoring for Anna of young gentlewomen secured by word-of-mouth, with whom or whose mothers she then corresponded and/or met regularly. The pattern of setting up house near her brother, John, and his wife and children began. The couple again travelled (to Scotland), but they moved from smaller to smaller house as their income diminished, and may have been homeless at one point (290).

These years (1786-1809, Chapters Twelve through Eighteen) included her publishing anonymously eloquent radical essays and poetry openly questioning powerful authorities on fundamental bases in the areas of slavery, political rights, religious communities, "patriotic" war, prayer itself. She was hired to write fascinating literary criticism, biographies and editions where she attempted to provide, and argue on behalf of innovative sources of pleasure and self-fulfillment. Her history of the novel anticipates and combines the approaches of Margaret Anne Doody (*The True History of the Novel*) and Robert Scholes and Robert Kellogg (*The Nature of Narrative*). Her choice of novelists includes eight women to fourteen men and a number of heterodox novels; she sees the later part of the eighteenth century as important as the first half; her individual essays on women novelists forgotten until recently are as valuable (if shorter) as her criticism of Richardson and Fielding. Two hundred years ahead of time she recognizes the masculinist bias of Fielding's texts; the fundamentals of her portrait of Richardson are those his biographers, T. C. Duncan Eaves and Ben Kimpel, kept to. She seems to be the first critic to be alive to the peculiar powerful art of the novel (like the uses of point of view), and shows how novels

can be positive moral influences: "It is by reading . . . that we imbibe those sentiments and gain that knowledge which by degrees is wrought into the very texture of our minds."

During this time of achievement as a writer and editor for adult causes, she, her brother and their friends were in continual danger from government-enforced and locally-sponsored suppression of any progressives thought or writing; some were persecuted and their lives ruined. Priestley's house and belongings were burnt, other associates were transported or imprisoned; her brother's career as a surgeon failed because of his political activities and writing, and her husband's mental health deteriorated to the point he became abusive. They separated, and to her intense grief, in 1808, perhaps guilt-ridden over matters we cannot know of, he killed himself. Understandably emotionally depressed, but philosophically undefeated, she brought her lifelong polemics against war as mass cruel murdering into a final magnificent anti-imperialist poem, *Eighteen Hundred and Eleven*, for which she was castigated; people she considered friends distanced themselves from her (e.g. Maria Edgeworth). There followed the well-known cruel and spiteful, jealous and resentful, wholly unjust sexist attacks by the new male Romantic poets and critics (Chapters 19-20).

But, as told by McCarthy and evidenced by letters, this was not a unmitigated final season of unhappiness. Her tutoring and friendships with young women continued; she and Lucy founded a women's book club (reminding me of Azar Nafisi's reading group); her adopted son, Charles, and his family were loyal and visited, and there were leading men who admired her (William Ellery Channing, the abolitionist). Alas, her brother predeceased her by three years. Still, she wrote great poetry once again (not all of which even now is published), moving informal great Romantic lyrics in which she coped calmly with life in the hear and now ("The First Fire"), more Burns-like philosophic poems centered on small animals ("The Caterpillar") and she contemplated death stoically.

The faults of William McCarthy's biography are too evident an anxiety to persuade the reader of Barbauld's greatness, occasionally overdone solemnity, and special pleading. He seems to want us really to believe that Walter Scott's improbable flattery that hearing Barbauld recite poetry inspired Scott to write his poems (365). Biographies are texts wherein we see the interaction of two minds, and I suggest McCarthy's blind spots come from his loving Barbauld as a man. He does not see that her retreat from abrasive women and the way sexuality was experienced by women then (and often still is) derives from psychological maiming, and is a developmental issue which puts her in a continuum dealt with in masterpieces of educational literature about girls today (e.g., Mary Piper's *Reviving Ophelia* [NY: Random House, 1995]). Although Piper's records of conversations about sexual relationships between young men and women were not possible in Barbauld's era, she would have understood the conclusion of Piper's group of coed girls that "Anything's better than dating" (203-05). Barbauld's understanding of Richardson's *Clarissa* and its importance to her do not derive from universal ethical insight (as McCarthy thinks, 59), but her recognition of the astonishing courage it takes for Richardson's heroine to see that

sexual violation need not enslave her nor its concomitant social abuse define her identity, and that such behavior can model for other women how to cope with violence and subjugation in crippling male and capitalist hegemonies.

The strengths of the book are those of powerful literary biographies. In the light of Barbauld's controlled social tone, McCarthy's tone is most often one of kind generosity; the deep kindness of Barbauld's nature, and the decency of her candid understanding of human flaws and traits led to the insights her unwavering genius was capable of when she writes in private. McCarthy shows how her insights shed light on the calamities of our own era. He has given us a writer whose words if we will only hear them could teach us to recognize and deal more effectively with abuses of power and ignorance today.

Ellen Moody  
George Mason University

**Sandro Jung.** *David Mallet, Anglo-Scot: Poetry, Patronage, and Politics in the Age of Union*. Newark: University of Delaware Press; Cranbury, NJ, and London: Associated University Presses, 2008. Pp. 211; bibliography; index. Hardcover, \$48.50; ISBN: 978-0-87413-005-8.

Over the past decade Sandro Jung has published many editions and critical studies of minor British poets of the early and middle decades, such as *"Forming Thought and Feasting Sense": The Great Compositions of John Dyer* (WVT, 2000), *William Collins and the "Poetical Character"* . . . (C. Winter, 2000), *Poetic Meaning in the Eighteenth Century: Poems of Mark Akenside and William Shenstone* (E. Mellen, 2002), *The Works of David Mallet* (Olms, 2002), *Selected Poems by William Shenstone* (Cyder Press, 2005), and, forthcoming this October, *Fragmentary Poetic: Eighteenth-Century Uses of an Experimental Mode* (Lehigh UP). Less voluminous but equally significant are Jung's dozen or more scholarly notes revealing new documentary evidence for John Dyer, Aaron Hill, Edward Jerningham, Lord Lyttelton, David Mallet, and James Thomson. The first-born of these writers, along with others like Martha Fowke Sansom and Edward Young, formed a "poetry scene" or community of poets networked by or around Aaron Hill, an influential writer and the subject of a 2003 book by Christine Gerrard. Hill provided encouragement and connections to young poets like Mallet and Thomson coming down from Scotland. The new poetry emphasizing sentimental and sublime effects, which Hill and his circle espoused and practiced, is reflected in *Miscellaneous Poems and Translations. By several Hands*, a sort of benefit to its publisher, "Richard Savage, Son of the late Earl Rivers." Mallet had already connected himself in Edinburgh with Allan Ramsay and various poets ranging the political spectrum. When David Malloch came down from the University of Edinburgh to tutor the children of the Duke of Montrose, this became his literary community as it did James Thomson's (with Mallet's assistance). Soon, Mallet, hitherto "Malloch" as on the title of *A Poem*

in *Imitation of [John Ker's] Donaiides*, by David Malloch (1725), anglicized his name, for which he would long afterwards be condemned.

Sandro Jung provides a good account of this and other transformations in Mallet's varied career, all the while making connections and shedding light on the many people and literary/political events of the third through seventh decades of the century. Many Scots followed Mallet south, but few if any altered their tongue so successfully--Dr. Johnson said that one would never have suspected Mallet a Scot on hearing him talk. Clearly, he was a likeable man, able to make friends across political divides and to escape anti-Scot bigotry and to ingratiate himself with proud overseers like the Duchess of Marlborough.

Jung builds upon Frederick Dinsdale's "memoir" (in *Ballads and Songs by David Mallet*, 1857), apparently his main source as it is for James Sambrook's *Oxford DNB* entry. He also has command of Elizabeth Nelson's 1974 dissertation on Mallet, several articles by Irma Lustig on Mallet's relation to John Ker, and the recent publications on Thomson, Hill, and other contemporaries by Sambrook, Mary Jane Scott, et al. What's missing most is Roger Lonsdale's commentary on Johnson's "Life of Mallet" in the Clarendon *Lives of the Poets* (2006), which also suggests some secondary sources not noted in Jung's bibliography. Jung digs deeper than others into Mallet's family and forces us to accept or at least ponder the shifts necessary in consequences of his coming from a Catholic, Jacobite family. Jung's account of Mallet's poetry is never as bibliographically detailed as that in David Foxon's *English Verse 1701-1750* (the ESTC still fails to put Foxon to sufficient use in its account of *William and Margaret* and perhaps other poems), but Jung covers some publications largely unrecorded, as Mallet's 1741 proposal for a history of the Restoration (107-09). And he corrects and qualifies points in Sambrook's *ODNB* essay, as that *William and Mary* "appeared over Mallet's name in Savage's *Miscellany* (1726)." Jung examines both poems by Mallet in that 1726 collection, in fact entitled *Miscellaneous Poems and Translations*, neither of which is *William and Mary*. (Sambrook must have in mind the *Miscellaneous Poems, by Several Hands* published in 1726 by David Lewis, which contains Mitchell's ballad on pages facing Vincent Bourne's Latin version of it, "Thyrsis & Chloe.") Jung, surprisingly, gives less than a page to Mallet's most famous poem, composed before his departure from Edinburgh and functioning as his calling card in London. (It is the only one of his works named in the death notice of the *London Chronicle*, 20-23 April 1765). But he treats at length Mallet's long poem *The Excursion* (1728 [on ECCO])--to which *William and Margaret* was appended,--and his account corrects Sambrook's claim that it was written after a 1727 trip to the continent with the Duke of Montrose's sons. The best critical discussion in the book is a chapter on Mallet's romantic *Amyntor and Theodora* (1747). Also covered are poems written in pursuit of or to further patronage: *A Poem to the Memory of Mr. Congreve. Inscribed to . . . Duchess of Marlborough* (1729) and *Of Verbal Criticism: An Epistle to Mr. Pope. Occasion'd by Theobald's Shakespear and Bentley's Milton* (1733), criticism written with Pope's assistance.

Mallet's nonpoetic writings take up an equal or greater share of Jung's study.

Of his tragedies, *Eurydice* and *Mustapha* gained or maintained patronage and held the boards, and the masque *Alfred* in original and revised versions was also successful. In the *Continuation of the Complete History of England*, reflecting on accomplishments during George II's reign, Smollett wrote, "The public acknowledged a considerable share of dramatic merit in the tragedies of Young, Mallet, Home and some other less distinguished authors" (4 [1761], 126). Then there are biographical and historical efforts, particularly his much praised biography of Sir Francis Bacon and an unpublished biography of the Duke of Marlborough. Jung's account of the latter breaks new ground so far as I can judge, with Jung giving us an account of the manuscript and research papers deposited after Mallet's death by his wife Lucy with the Drummonds Bank (which went into the archives of the Bank of Scotland--though this is not listed in the bibliography with other MSS consulted [pp. 197-98]). Contemporaries like David Hume thought Mallet had milked this project and written little, but Jung reveals that Mallet got little from it beyond than meals at Woodstock and that at his death he "was still actively involved in the writing of the work which he had agreed to undertake almost twenty years earlier" (p. 164).

As the titles of Chapters 3 and 5 suggest ("Self-Fashioning as a Poet, 1732-43" and "Patriot Poet or Party Hack? 1744-65"), the bulk of Jung's book is an interpretative analysis of Mallet's literary career. As he runs through Mallet's publications, Jung gives a plausible and detailed account of how and why Mallet ingratiated himself with people who could advance his career--Pope, Chesterfield, Lyttelton, Orrery, Sarah Duchess of Marlborough, Lord Bolingbroke, the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Bute, etc. (the last named obtained for Mallet the pension long sought). Jung relates to the historical and political contexts how and why Mallet wrote drama, prose, and verse in the Opposition alongside Lyttelton and others patronized by Prince Frederick during the 1730s and 1740s; and then how he moved to become a pro-government writer in the 1750s and 1760s, even while publishing a vilified edition of Bolingbroke's works in five volumes (1754). The sales of the *Works* were initial stunted (141) by public outcry against Bolingbroke's *Letters on the Study and Use of History*, which attacks the historicity of the biblical accounts and shames "Jewish Rabbies, Christian fathers, and Mahometan doctors" for their use of "imperfect and dark accounts" (quoted on p. 140). Bless Mallet for not caving into pre-publication pressures to exclude material, as Pope had done in *The Patriot King* c. 1738-1740 in his surreptitious printing, and for giving a faithful account and accurate text (pp. 137-38). Johnson said that Mallet gained the editor's role as a result of betraying Pope in the 1749 preface to Bolingbroke's *Letters, on the Spirit of Patriotism*--Lonsdale's notes show that the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1749 and Ruffhead's *Life of Pope* both similarly charged that Mallet's servility to Pope was somehow incompatible with his now serving Bolingbroke; whereas, it seems that Mallet was setting forth the textual record--Mallet's wife Lucy later deposited the Bolingbroke MS at the British Museum to let history judge. Jung might have spent another dozen pages on the controversies arising from *Letters on the Study and Use of History*, especially noting how Mallet is treated in some of the major

consequent attacks on Bolingbroke (many were often reprinted and some were written by former colleagues, as Young's *Centaur Not Fabulous*, published four times in 1755). What all did Mallet contribute to the edition of Bolingbroke's works--the *Letter to Sir William Windham*, including "A Letter to Mr. Pope" by Bolingbroke ("printed for the editor," i.e. Mallet [Millar, 1753]), cited in passing? But Jung does attend to profits and to the copyright suit brought against Millar by Richard Franklin (143-44), who held copyrights to a quarter of the material reprinted. Jung successfully weaves into the narrative a wealth of recorded facts, such as Hume's relying on Mallet to revise his phrasing, Mallet's hack work for the government, and his travels and activities (apparently in the government's employment) in France, the last being an area where more research might be done. Most disappointing to me is Mallet's pamphlet ("By a Plain Man") on the administration's behalf to get Admiral Byng convicted. Jung says little to soften the severity of Johnson's remarks on that employment (145-47). Smollett, too, condemns at great length the "infamous arts . . . practised to keep up the cry against" Byng, resulting in the "disgrace [of] the national character in the opinion of mankind" (*Continuation*, 1 [1760], 470-80), which leaves me to wonder if Smollett knew of Mallet's efforts--given the friendship Jung claims he shared with Mallet later in 1761 (154). But, as Jung shows, Mallet didn't spend his whole life laboring to advance himself: after Aaron Hill's death, Mallet assisted in the publication of Hill's *Works* (1754) and aided Hill's family in other ways (158), and Mallet and his wife Lucy took the youthful Edward Gibbon under their wings prior to his going to live on the Continent.

Jung is usually convincing in defending Mallet against charges, as that he betrayed Pope or, by changing his name, Scotland, brought by James Boswell and others, including Johnson in the "Life of David Mallet." Anyone knowing Samuel Johnson should expect that a Scot who changed his name and edited the works of Bolingbroke would be treated unfairly by Johnson. Nonetheless, remarks in the *Lives of the Poets* cannot be too often rebutted. Of course, Jung's account marginalizes all simplifications in so far as he's successful at his larger purpose, revealing "the complexity of Mallet's character, both as a man and writer" (167).

James E. May  
Penn State University—DuBois

#### **Additions to the EC/ASECS Directory in the May 2009 Issue**

We welcome the following new members to our Society:

Becker, Marshall Joseph. (Native peoples, esp. Lenape of Delaware Valley)  
MBECKER@WCUPA.EDU; 19 W. Barnard St. / West Chester, PA 19382  
Broder, Janice. (the novel, the memoir, pornography) jbroader@bloomn.edu;  
English / Bloomsburg U. / 400 E. 2nd St. / Boomsburg, PA 17815

Cepek, Rebecca. (drama) fjc.rac@comcast.net  
3525 Diploma St. / Pittsburgh, PA 15212  
Choudhury, Madhuchhanda. (the novel and concept of monstrosity therein)  
ray\_madhu19@yahoo.co.uk; 4037 Ludwick St. / Pittsburgh, PA 15217  
Fine, David J. (the gothic, mysticism, queer theory)  
djf207@lehigh.edu; 428 North New St., Apt. #5 / Bethlehem, PA 18018  
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Also, some **corrections** are required for last issue's directory listings:

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The printer left out the following page of the directory, that from "Lee" to  
"Malone," duplicating another page in its place. We here reprint that page:

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### News of Members and through Them the World of 18C Studies

**Barbara M. Benedict**, in addition to essays noted in our last news of members, presented numerous papers during the previous year, including: "Seeing and Superstition: Empirical Practices in the Early-Modern Museum" (ASECS, March 2009), "Collecting Ambivalence: Books and Things in 18C British Culture" (NEASECS, Nov. 2008), "Reading Identity: The Representation of the Library in 18C Culture" (SC/SECS, New Orleans, 2008), and "Trivial Things; The Underworlds of Gay's Object-Epic" (ASECS, March 2008). Best wishes to Barbara for her "sabbatical Calloo Callay" from Trinity College this year. This past year **Temma Berg** was writing essays entitled "Anne Lister, Emily Brontë, and the Making of *Shirley*" and "Into the Archives: An Incident of Piracy." Her essay "Un/Becoming a Coquette; or 'One Victim of Fancy Loves Another'" appears in *Refiguring the Coquette*, ed. by Shelley King and J. Schlick (Bucknell UP, 2008); her "'What do you know?': or, the Question of Reading in Groups and Academic Authority," in *LIT: Literature Interpretation Theory*, 19 (2008), 123-54. In July 2008 she presented "Reading in Circles: The Reading Habits of an 18C Epistolary Community" at the English Institute's conference "Evidence of Reading: Reading the Evidence" (U. of London), and, then in September, at a conference on 18C letters held in Oxford, she presented "Truly Yours: Arranging a Letter Collection." In April **Martha Bowden** presented "Writing a Chapter in Literary History: Scott's Continuing Influence on Historical Fiction" at the Johnson Society of the Central Region meeting in Chicago. **Theodore E. D. Braun** published "A New Genre: l'Opéra moral / Moral Opera in Eighteenth-Century France" in *An American Voltaire: Studies in Memory of J. Patrick Lee*, ed. by **E. Joe Johnson** and Byron Wells (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009)—we've a reviewer working on the festschrift. In March, Ted presented at the ASECS, "The 18C: The Long and Short of It" and "Notes on the Origins of SECS," and, at the SEASECS, "How not to Write a Tragedy, by Voltaire"—Ted was "channeling" Voltaire. This summer Ted was working again on a "long section of a letter that is incomplete in the correspondence of Voltaire. The letter deals in extenso with one of Voltaire's tragedies and has a good deal to say about Voltaire's dependence on and independence from his closest advisors."

Early this month the University of Georgia Press sent us a copy of *The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* by John Hawkins (1787), a critical edition by **O M Brack, Jr.** (a big octavo of 554 pp., ISBN: 0-8203-2995-9), with all the apparatus: notes and commentary on the text and lists of emendations, word divisions at line endings, variants in other editions, and cancellations in the 1787 first edition--a lengthy index, too. The press turned the book out very quickly, beating the tricentennial of Johnson's birth with days to spare. Skip will give the lecture "Reassessing Sir John Hawkins's Life of Samuel Johnson: Why?" at a conference (well) organized by Martine Brownley for 3 October in Emory's MS, Archives, and Rare Books Library. Other talks include **Christopher Johnson's** "Hawkins's Use of Personal Recollection," **Greg Clingham's** "Hawkins and the Law," **Tim Erwin's** "Richard Savage, Samuel Johnson, and the Profession of an Author," Thomas Kaminski's "Hawkins, the Parliamentary Debates, and other Problems with Johnson's Politics," Myron Yeager's "Hawkins's *Life* and Modern Biographers," and Martine Brownley's "English Biography before Hawkins." Skip must also be pleased with the Huntington Library's publications and fanfare on the exhibition he curated, "Samuel Johnson: Literary Giant of the Eighteenth Century." Near the start of the exhibition, **Loren Rothschild** (from whose collection the Huntington borrowed for it) lectured on "Samuel Johnson and His Famous Dictionary"; this month near the closing, **Paul Ruxin** spoke on Boswell and Johnson's relationship: "Sam and Jamie: 'No Theory Please, We're British.'"

Reading through the Spring 2009 issue of the *Burney Letter*, edited for the Burney Society by **Lorna Clark**, I was struck at how fitting it is that their AGM in 2009 occur in conjunction with the EC/ASECS meeting. There's an account of the 2008 meeting in Chicago by **Catherine Parisian**, in which we hear of papers by **Laura Engel** ("A Wild Half-Crazy Woman: Frances Burney," on Burney's engagement with theater), **Lori Zerne** (on "Gender, Class, and Pleasure Gardens in *Evelina*"), **Geoffrey Sill** (on Burney's visit to Plymouth with the royal entourage and her failed romance with Col. Digby), and Lorna Clark--someone didn't show but Lorna "had a paper [on Sarah Harriet Burney's novel *The Hermitage* as precursor to George Eliot's *Adam Bede*] in her brief case that she had brought to revise" and, so, she presented it! At the conference the group performed Burney's *The Women-Hater* with **Peter Sabor** and others acting parts. Geof, Cathy, and **Mascha Gemmeke** each give short accounts of their fellowships at the McGill's Burney Centre, headed by Peter Sabor, and Geof gives an account of **Devoney Looser's** lecture at the AGM in Bethlehem. Later Lorna's article "Burney Figures Large at ASECS" mentions papers in Richmond by herself (one on the Warren Hasting's trial and another the editing of the Burney court journals), Geof ("Disease by Dialogue: Letters of Frances Burney and Susanna Burney Phillips"), Cathy ("Old-Fashioned Archives in a High-Tech Age"), **Karen Cajka** ("Country Pleasures: The Paradox of Loss in Burney's *Cecilia*"), **Marilyn Francus** ("(S)mother: Hester Thrale, the Maternal Body, and the Persistence of Maternal Agency"--plus participation in a panel on the female canon), **Marta Kvande** ("The Author's Bildungsroman"), and **Jocelyn Harris** (chairing a roundtable on "Historicizing Jane Austen," Peter Sabor (in the just

mentioned roundtable), and the Johnson session presided over by Burney scholar **Alvaro Ribeiro**. Note too that Alvaro, Lorna, and others speak on Frances and other Burneys during the EC/ASECS sessions at Bethlehem.

This summer AMS Press published Volume 30: For 2004 of *ECCB: The Eighteenth-Century Current Bibliography* (over 600 pp., ISBN: 0-404-62232-1) with **Kevin Cope** and Bob Leitz as general editors. Field editors (and compilers) included **Bärbel Czennia**, for British Literature--a big challenge and Bärbel contributed the bibliography for Pacific Cultures and Literatures, too; **Gloria Eive**, Fine Arts; **Jim May**, Printing and Bibliographical Studies; and **David Venturo**, Philosophy, Science, and Religion (aided by **Henry Fulton**, a contributing editor for religious studies). As I type, Kevin and Bob have all the copy for a (double) volume 31-32 on 2005-06 scholarship, well all but my own, though that soon. Beginning with 2007, **Kit Kincade** of Indiana State University (kkincade1@isugw.indstate.edu) has assumed responsibilities for Printing & Bibliographical Studies and deserves everyone's help--please send her offers to review books and notices of relevant publications.

**John Dussinger** published "Debt without Redemption in a World of 'Impossible Exchange': Samuel Richardson and Philanthropy" in *The Culture of the Gift in 18C England*, ed. by Linda Zionkowski and Cynthia Klekar (Palgrave Macmillan, 2009, pp. 55-75). John discusses Richardson's experience with philanthropies, including the Charitable Corporation, which, collapsing in 1731, robbed many of their investments, and the effect of such on his "moral and socioeconomic discourse" (predictably a wide-ranging examination by a very knowledgeable Richardsonian). The collection also includes **Marilyn Francus's** "'Tis Better to Give: The Conduct Manual as Gift" (79-106) and **Charles H. Hinnant's** "The Erotics of the Gift: Gender and Exchange in the 18C Novel." The Fall 2008 issue of *The Scriblerian* contains a memorial tribute to **A. C. Elias, Jr.**, by **John Irwin Fischer** and **James Woolley**, seasoned by decades of collaborative activity on Swift and Anglo-Irish writing (41.1: 97-98). John and James size up Arch's major accomplishments. That of *Swift at Moor Park* was to "subvert the then dominant view in Swift studies that Swift revered and emulated Sir William Temple and to substitute a portrait of a clear-eyed, pragmatic, mischievous Swift, discharging responsibilities and maintaining relationships . . . congruent with his own interests." They also stress his discoveries about Swift's Dublin contemporaries, especially his "circle." Their account of the final bequest of his great collection is worth repeating: "Pre-1850 Swift and Swiftiana, manuscripts as well as printings, are with a few exceptions to be transferred to Trinity College Dublin, . . . . Nearly all the rest of his scholarly and antiquarian books and manuscripts are . . . a gift to the University of Pennsylvania, including one of the outstanding collections of late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Dublin imprints outside Ireland." A smaller tribute to Arch Elias would be to apply for the ASECS Irish-American Research Travel Prize that he established--see the May newsletter (pp. 48) for details.

**Bob Erickson** pointed out that he reviewed Slight's (not "Slight's") *The Heart in the Age of Shakespeare*, adding "he is anything but slight." Bob added

that he was glad to hear of **Angus Ross's** working on his biography of Arbuthnot, which reminded him how in 1965 he went to Cambridge "to read his dissertation on Arbuthnot's letters"--later Bob and his wife Liisa visited Angus and his wife Diana--winning some performances from Liisa, a concert pianist. This past month Bob, Liisa, and the families of their two sons and daughter traveled to Finland (Liisa's home was the central lake region) for a family reunion and adventure. **Polly Fields** is working on Hrothwisse as part of her general study of the social drama, plus *N&Q* articles on "Miss Cheer" and Kitty Charke Harman--she has found old stuff by writers who "did not believe in attributions," forcing her to backtrack to such sites as 1766 Charleston newspapers. Since our last issue, **Alex Fotheringham** (with his wife Emily) brought out two antiquarian catalogues--particularly rich in provincial and northern British imprints (Alex indexes the listings by imprint location),--Cat. #75 arriving in mid September. **Jack Fruchtman, Jr.**, published this August his third book on Paine: *The Political Philosophy of Thomas Paine* (Johns Hopkins U. Press, 224 pp., ISBN: 978080892844). This is the fifth in a JHUP series on the political thought of the founders, with others out on Jefferson, Madison, Franklin, and Washington and others to come on Adams, Hamilton, and Marshall. The PR indicates that Jack "analyzes Paine's radical thought both in the context of his time and as a blueprint for the future development of republican government," identifying "themes of signal importance to Paine's political thought," like Paine's remarks on religion. (Let me know if you wish to review it, for we've received a review copy.) This month Jack, joining Peter Onuf, Francis Cogliano and others, spoke on 18C economic themes at a conference at the Reform Club in London, "Transatlantic Revolutionaries: Jefferson and Paine in America, Britain, and France," sponsored by the Monticello Foundation.

**Gordon D. Fulton** published an interesting article on the Irish clergyman Philip Skelton's "ecclesiastical satire," *Ophiomaches: or, Deism Revealed* (L, 1749). It appears in Volume 27 of *Lumen* (pp. 41-57), published in July with a selection of essays from the 2006 Halifax meeting of the Canadian SECS, ed. by Ugo Dionne and Claire Grogan--with ten essays (seven in English, three in French), it's subtitled "America at the Crossroads of European Cultures" (we have a review copy for anyone who'd like to review the volume). Gordon begins by placing Skelton in what B. W. Young calls the "intellectually conservative and uniquely clerical 'Arminian Enlightenment,' that is increasingly being seen as the central British and Irish intellectual movement of the period." Surely some of us blessed with a chance to teach Fielding's *Joseph Andrews* and a few other major novels, use this Arminian tradition to interpret them, making Gordon's article more valuable to many. It's nice to see someone looking closely at the work's rhetorical strategy--it's more dramatic and the persona less transparent than Skelton's early works. The article recounts an anecdote from Samuel Burdy's 1792 *Life of Philip Skelton*, which involves publisher Andrew Millar's having David Hume referee Skelton's MS (which attacked the infidel's recent essay on miracles): Hume is reported to have sat with it for an hour and told Millar, "print." **Mascha Gemmeke**, whom we thank for a fine review above, spoke on

"scientific wives"--women and science, at the conference "Discovery the Human" at Humboldt U. in Berlin this month (the meeting was on diverse 18C and 19C scientific discoveries, with which George Rousseau giving a keynote on nerves).

I thank **Sayre Greenfield** and **Linda Troost** for gathering the pedagogical essays from our Georgetown meeting and editing them for this issue, presenting them nearly camera-ready for our printer--they had these ready to go for the last issue but we had to defer them for lack of space. (I no longer begrudge them last year's sabbatical in London nor the trip to Australia nor the trip this past July to speak at the Jane Austen conference and drive about Sussex. Bygones!) **Madelyn Gutwirth** journeyed to St. Louis in May to offer the Opening Remarks to the International Symposium on "Germaine de Staël Today: Currents and Cross-Currents" at Washington U. This was a ground-breaking meeting in which participants from many nations analyzed Staël's works and activities as historian, novelist, pamphleteer, thinker, intellectual gadfly, and revolutionary actor. **Charles Haskell Hinnant's** "Ironic Inversion in Eliza Haywood's Fiction: *Fantomina* and *The History of the Invisible Mistress*" has been accepted for publication in *Women's Writing*. As I hope I mentioned before, Haskell's edition of *The London Jilt* (1683) was published by Broadview last year. **Christopher Johnson** has an excellent, long critical essay entitled "History, Fiction, and the Emergence of an Artistic Vision: Sarah Fielding's Ann Boleyn Narrative" in the sixth annual volume of the SEASECS's journal, *XVIII: New Perspectives on Eighteenth Century Studies*. Chris studies the nature of Sarah Fielding's borrowings from histories within the narrative offered by Boleyn at the end of *A Journey from this World to the Next* (in Henry Fielding's *Miscellanies*, ed. by Bertram Goldgar and Hugh Amory). Chris, who had edited Sarah Fielding's *The Lives of Cleopatra and Octavia* (Bucknell UP, 1994), finds that Fielding created Boleyn and her story in part through appropriated phrasing and information from histories like Nicholas Tindal's *History of England*, a translation of Paul de Rapin-Thoryras's *Histoire d'Angleterre*, and Laurence Echard's *History of England*. Chris is attentive to her general method,--what she "borrows freely" as well as includes,--as she strips historical and political considerations to focus on character, on emotion and motivation. After broad study of source material, he shows it's often impossible to tell which of several sources she drew on for a sentence resembling these and concludes that she probably didn't copy directly but threw off remembered phrasing. This issue of *XVIII: NPECS* also has reviews by Chris, **Walter Gershuny**, **Charles H. Hinnant**, **E. Joe Johnson**, and **Heather McPherson**. I want to especially welcome **Sandro Jung** to the Society, who'll be giving two papers at Lehigh. As I mentioned in the last issue, he has proposed a new journal, *Eighteenth-Century Poetry*, and, as the author of so much related to insufficiently studied 18C poetry (including *David Mallet* reviewed above), he is well qualified to edit such.

**Thomas McGeary** published a finely researched and illustrated article in *The Book Collector* this year, "John Brindley's Bookbindings for Frederick, Prince of Wales." Tom, who publishes in diverse fields like satire and music history, begins by putting to thorough use financial papers archived at the Royal

Library in Windsor Castle. And his identification of bookbinding tools reflects a close study of bookbinding publications treating other bindings by Brindley. **Carla Mulford's** "Benjamin Franklin's Savage Eloquence: Hoaxes from the Press at Passy, 1782," an expansion of a paper read at the AAS, appears in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* ([December] 2008), 490-530. Carla's essay examines "the printing quality and history of Franklin's hoax newsheet, a supposed 'supplement' to the Boston *Independent Chronicle* ; 2) the background and quality of the supplement's two satiric 'news' stories created by Franklin as part of his propaganda campaign against Britain; and 3) the many re-printings of the supplement, never before documented, whether by the esteemed editors of The Papers of Benjamin Franklin volumes or by J. A. Leo Lemay, Franklin's best student." This *Supplement to the Boston Independent Chronicle*, numbered and dated "Boston, March 12," (but printed later), appears to be an "extra" but has bogus advertisements and articles, on the recto about Indian atrocities "fomented by the British" and on the verso about the "wartime imprisonment of colonial Americans." Carla notes how printing the hoax "on the eve of the delivery to the British administration of Franklin's most complete set of negotiating points . . . suggests the extent to which the printer's craft challenged his mind and rewarded his emotional life in ways that positively affected his sense of confidence" (492). Because the "Supplement's contents might have left him chargeable for libel, if not for treason," Franklin cobbled "the printed text together from several fonts he owned." Carla has forthcoming or now published "Benjamin Franklin, Traditions of Liberalism, and Women's Learning in 18C Philadelphia" in *Educating the Youth of Pennsylvania: Worlds of Learning in the Age of Franklin*, ed. John Pollack (U. of Penn. Libraries and Oak Knoll). **Maureen E. Mulvihill** reviewed **Robert D. Hume** and Harold Love's edition *Plays, Poems, and Miscellaneous Writings associated with George Villiers, Second Duke of Buckingham*, 2 vols (OUP, 2007), along with Cheryl Sawyer's *The Winter Prince* (2007), in *Seventeenth-Century Notes*, 66.3-4 (2008), 123ff.[-132?]. In her otherwise positive review of the Buckingham, Maureen argues that more attribution decisions should be made prior to an edition of an author's works, from which she'd remove "associative' writings." Maureen contributed an edition of Mary Shackleton Leadbeater's *Poems* (Dublin & London: 1808) to *Irish Women Poets of the Romantic Period*, "a first-ever digital textbase of selected published writings, circa 1768-1842 (some 80 volumes of verse)," series ed., Stephen C. Behrendt, published by Alexander Street Press, Alexandria, VA, 2008 (subscription access only). The textbase contains digital scans of the original pages with modern transcription and related indexing. Maureen was pleased to include two images, one "an heretofore unpublished portrait-silhouette of Leadbeater, in Quaker cap." (On the edition, see [http:// alexanderstreet.com/brochure.pdgs/iwrp.wf.pdf](http://alexanderstreet.com/brochure.pdgs/iwrp.wf.pdf)).

*The Letters of Laurence Sterne, Parts One: 1739-1764 and Two: 1765-1768*, edited by **Melvyn New** and Peter de Voogd, were published by the University Press of Florida, Vols. 7-8 of the "Florida Edition" of Sterne (\$75 per volume, 464 and 416 pp. with illustrations; ISBN 978-0-8130-3236-8 and 978-0-

8130-3237-5). This is the first edition of Sterne's letters in 75 years, containing thirty new letters, glossed with reference to the previous Florida volumes. **John Price** in September issued the antiquarian list *Samuel Johnson and his Circle*. **Hermann Real** has sent the 24th volume of *Swift Studies* to press for publication later this fall. It contains Richard Haworth (of Laracor) on "Swift and the Geography of Laracor," Gregory Lynall on Swift's alchemical satire in the *Tale of a Tub*, Nathalie Zimpfer on "Swift and Religion," **Brean Hammond's** "Jonathan Swift's Historical Novel: *The Memoirs of Capt. John Creighton (1731)*," **Linde Katritzky's** "Scatology in Swift's Poetry and Burton's *Anatomy*," Hermann Real's own note "Swift and Flavius Vopiscus" and a article co-authored with Ulrick Elkman and Sandra Simon on "The Holdings of the Ehrenpreis Centre: Swift's Lives in Poetry, Drama, and Fiction," **Jim May's** "Swiftiana in the Antiquarian Book Trade, 2007-2009, with Extended Notes on Editions of John Partridge, *The Tatler*, and Early Biographies of Swift," as well as several other pieces--should be a thick issue heavy on scholarship. Early in February 2010, Hermann is hosting in Münster the annual "Colloque in Memoriam Paul-Gabriel Boucé," with at least 19 speakers on the very international program, including Paul's wife Elizabeth Durot-Boucé. EC/ASECS members presenting include **James Basker** ("Beyond the Misogyny Myth: Johnson's Defence of Women from Sexual Predators"), **Mascha Gemmeke** ("Defying Desire: Good Men, Good Women, and the Pangs of Passion"), **Brean Hammond** ("Burns and Byron in Love"), and **Hermann Real** with Dirk Passmann ("The Most Prevalent Form of Degradation in Erotic Life': The Fruitful Duplicity of Frances Harris." These are hard times for those seeking funding for conferences--so, let the presenters be an appreciative bunch--besides, many of us working on Swift want Hermann to emerge from the colloque willing to host another Münster Symposium on Swift in 2011. Hermann lectured at the Trim Swift Festival in Ireland this past summer, where he was delighted to have **Andrew Carpenter** tell the Irish Minister of Education that "Swift had three homes: Trim, Dublin, and Münster." Even greater pleasure came from meeting Richard Haworth, who after training as an archeologist and working as a librarian in Dublin, retired to become an antiquarian bookseller and local historian for Laracor: "Not only did he buy Swift's church from the Church of Ireland and had it converted into an inhabitable house complete with bookshop, he has also investigated things like Swift's glebe and Stella's cottage." (Hence Hermann secured Haworth's article noted above for *Swift Studies*.)

**Cedric D. Reverend, II**, is another member wearing an editorial cap: He's been producing timely and well-packed issues of *Eighteenth-Century Life* since taking the journal over from **Rob Maccubbin** several years ago. Volume 33, with nos. 1-3 running from January through about September, contained a number of essays by fellow members, including review essays by **Kevin Cope**, "Pious Times and Priestcraft begin again: The Uptight Sexuality of the Enlightenment," **Beatrice Fink**, "Seamier Side of 18C France," and **Brean Hammond**, "Ye Jacobites by Name." Volume 32, no. 2, offered a collection of studies guest-edited by **Jocelyn Harris** and **Shef Rogers**, one of the essays being

**Ruth Perry's** "Women's Oral Traditions in 18C Scotland." Cedric continues Rob's tradition of periodically devoting a number to a special issue. The fall 2008 issue was an edition by Adrian C. Lashmore-Davies of "The Correspondence of Henry St. John and Sir William Trumbull, 1698-1710."

**Shef Rogers**, in North America this summer, besides visiting family in Atlanta and working in Chicago, spoke at SHARP on "Valuing Publications in 18C England," surveying 500 records for copyright payments in the century that he's gathered from published sources (like Hume & Milhous and Sher) into a database and hopefully will mount on the web after a colleague in economics brings his sophistication to the data. Shef is now the editor of *Script and Print: The Bulletin of the Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand*, long an important journal in analytical bibliography and book history, with many articles by B. J. McMullin, Keith Maslen, and other good bookmen, though too rarely subscribed to by American universities. Shef extends an invitation for submissions, remarking truly that "S&P is a well-produced journal with a fairly quick turn-around by Humanities standards" (once it was a more humble affair, but now, I think, it borders on elegant). Check the website out for subscription information, too. In his October 2008 newsletter for the Johnson Society of the Central Region, **George Justice** praises **Paul Ruxin** as "an exemplary host" to the annual meeting of The Johnsonians in Chicago during September 2008: "Not only was the dinner in the Chicago Club, with our own Howard Weinbrot as speaker, a lot of fun--but the next day we had a bonus session at the Newberry Library, followed by an extra-special-double-bonus tour of Paul's own extraordinary library." Paul presented "Not in Fleeman" at the April 2009 meeting of the SJCR in Chicago, at which **Alvaro Ribeiro** spoke on "Johnson and Music." **Manual Schonhorn**, who spoke on "Austen's Sites of Value in *Mansfield Park*" at last year's meeting, has published "The Writer as Hero from Jonson to Fielding" in *Defoe's Footprints*, ed. Robert Maniquis and Carl Fisher (Toronto, 2009). He has completed a rich list of his 18C hard- and soft-cover library that he would sell cheaply to younger scholars (mannys1@ptd.net). **Brijrah Singh** has published expanded versions of three papers he presented at our EC/ASECS meetings: that from Gettysburg on John Horne Tooke in *The Age of Johnson*, 19; that from Galloway, NJ, on Malcolm and the women of Malwa in the summer issue of *India International Centre Quarterly*; and that from Georgetown on Malcolm's verse (forthcoming) in *1650-1850*. One of Brij's retirement tasks is teaching elderly Chinese immigrants conversational English for their citizenship tests, another is coaching disadvantaged local high school kids for their English SATs, and still another is mentoring new faculty at CUNY. Early this past summer, Brij and **Frances** went hiking in Hungary, along the northern Shore of Lake Balaton (we're happy to see that Frances is on the program for Bethlehem). **Robert Walker's** essay "Malapart and Literary Strangeness: A Critical Preface to Kaputt" will appear in the *Sewanee Review* in Spring 2010. Be especially nice to **Cheryl Wanko** at Lehigh because she's taken on preparations for the Middle States accreditation review at West Chester University--the sort of service one's raise will never adequately reflect (it's 2009--

what raise?). Cheryl's essay "Patron or Patronized?: 'Fans' and the 18C English Stage" in the recently published *Romanticism and Celebrity Culture*, ed. by Tom Mole of McGill U. (see it at [www.cambridge.org/us/catalogue/catalogue.asp?isbn=0521884772](http://www.cambridge.org/us/catalogue/catalogue.asp?isbn=0521884772)). The volume's other 12 essays include **Peter Briggs's** "Daniel Mendoza and Sporting Celebrity: A Case Study" and **Heather McPherson's** "Siddons Rediviva: Death, Memory, and Theatrical Afterlife." The PR indicates that the book traces "connections between celebrity and the period's discourses of heroism, genius, nationalism, patronage and gender," in 1720s-1890s. **Roy Wolper** and his editorial team brought out *The Scriblerian*, Vol. 41, no. 1, with reviews by many of our members (e.g., **Paula Backscheider**, **J. A. Downie**, **John Irwin Fischer**, **Sylvia Kasey Marks**, **Manuel Schonhorn**, **Thomas McGeary**, **Robert Walker**, and, for at least four books, **Mel New**) and reviews on members' articles or books (e.g., **Louise Bernet**, **Martha Bowden**, **O M Brack**, **Scott P. Gordon**, **Hermann Real**, etc.).

### **Forthcoming Meetings, Exhibitions, New Publications, etc.**

The **Midwestern ASECS** meets in Fargo, ND, on 8-11 October. The **NEASECS** and **Canadian SECS** hold a joint meeting 5-9 November in Ottawa, "1759: Making and Unmaking Empires," chaired by Frans de Bruyn ([confe18c@uottawa.ca](mailto:confe18c@uottawa.ca)). Also that weekend the **Aphra Behn Society** meets at Cumberland U., Lebanon, TN (contact Michael Rex: [mrex@cumberland.edu](mailto:mrex@cumberland.edu)).

The **ASECS** is held 18-21 March in Albuquerque. Grad students are encouraged to apply for travel funding from ASECS's "travelling jam-pot" (\$300), applying to ASECS's Exec. Director, Byron Wells, at its Wake Forest U. office (PO Box 7867 / Winston-Salem, NC 27109). By 1 November send a budget, statement of need and of other possible sources of funding, list other 18C conferences attended, and include a faculty endorsement). Another ASECS-related opportunity suited to new PhDs is the ISECS International Seminar for Junior Scholars, held every summer, this coming summer on 16-20 August at Queen's U., Belfast. This year's focus is "Cultural Intermediaries." See the ISECS website for an account of application procedures (due 30 Sept.).

The **Western Society for 18C Studies** will meet 12-14 February 2010 at the U. of Nevada at Las Vegas, with the theme "The Arts of Enlightenment and the Digital Archive." Send proposals to Prof. Janet White ([janet.white@unlv.edu](mailto:janet.white@unlv.edu)). Registration will be handled by UNLV's Educational Outreach.

The **SEASECS** meets 18-20 Feb. at the Carnegie Hotel in Johnson City, TN, hosted by East Tennessee State U., organized by Judith Slagle et al., with program ("Echoes of Heritage and Place") chaired by Phyllis Ann Thompson ([thompsop@mail.etsu.edu](mailto:thompsop@mail.etsu.edu)). Send 250-300 word proposals by 8 October to Dr. Slagle@etsu.edu. The 2011 SEASECS will be held at Wake Forest U. (Winston-Salem, NC), organized by Byron Wells and Claudia Kairoff. The SEASECS's website is at <http://www.seasecs.net>.

The **South-Central SECS** meetings in Salt Lake City on 25-27 Feb., chaired by Brett McNelly, with the theme "Solitude and Sociability" and

plenaries by Kevin Cope and Felicity Nussbaum. Proposals are due by 1 Nov. to [brett\\_mcinelly@byu.edu](mailto:brett_mcinelly@byu.edu).

The 18th annual **18C and 19C British Women Writers Conference** occurs on 8-11 April 2010 at Texas A&M U., entitled "Journeys," with a focus on travel, migration, exile, tourism, etc. ("the spatial, personal, fantastic, artistic and social movements"). The co-chairs are Megan Parker and Elizabeth Talafuse backed by faculty such as Margaret Ezell. Send cover sheet with personal info, title, etc., and a 500-word blind abstract to [BWWC18@tamu.edu](mailto:BWWC18@tamu.edu) by 15 October. The website is well done: <http://www-english.tamu.edu/bwwc18>.

The ninth **Bloomington 18C Workshop** (sponsored by Indiana's Center for 18C Studies) will be held 12-14 May 2010 with 12-15 scholars presenting papers on the topic "**The Forms of Life**." (These would involve 18C debates about the nature of life, the turn to "vitalist" conceptions of an animating force, competing notions of life, irritative physiology, etc., with relations of these ideas to fields outside physiology and natural sciences.) Most expenses of speakers are paid for. Applications should be submitted by 8 January (send a 2-p description of proposed paper and a CV no longer than 3 pp.) to Dr. Barbara Truesdell, Weatherly Hall N., Rm. 122 / Bloomington, IN 47405; [voltaire@indiana.edu](mailto:voltaire@indiana.edu). Direct inquiries to the Center's director, Dwahr Wahrman in the History Dept. ([dwahrman@indiana.edu](mailto:dwahrman@indiana.edu)).

The conference "**Irish and Scots Encounters with Indigenous Peoples**" will be held in Toronto and Guelph, Ontario, 10-12 June 2010--sponsored by the Celtic Studies Program at St. Michael's College, U. of Toronto; the Scottish Studies Program at Guelph U., and the U. of Aberdeen's AHRC Centre for Irish & Scottish Studies. Proposals should address such questions as how these peoples interacted or how the attitude of the Scots-Irish toward Britain affected their attitudes to the Indians. Proposals of no more than 300-words should be sent to [david.wilson@utoronto.ca](mailto:david.wilson@utoronto.ca) by 28 February.

A conference on "**The Author-Translator in the European Literary Tradition**" will be held at Swansea U. on 28 June-1 July 2010, with keynote lectures by Susan Bassnett, David Constantine, and Lawrence Venuti. The focus is on "acts of translation by creative writers" and the impact of translation on the author's own writing and the development of native traditions. Send abstracts by 30 September to organizers Hilary Brown and Duncan Large at [author-translator@swan.ac.uk](mailto:author-translator@swan.ac.uk) (see <http://www.author-translator.net/>)

The **Burney Society** holds its Annual General Meeting in Portland, OR, 28-29 October 2010--see the WWW for a call for papers or contact President Paula Stepankowsky at [pstepankowsky@comcast.net](mailto:pstepankowsky@comcast.net).

Proposals are invited for a conference on "**German Women's Writing in its European Context, 1700-1900**," to be held 25-26 Nov. 2010 at the U. of London's Institute of Germanic & Romance Studies (and organized by it and the German departments of Swansea U. and the U. of Sheffield). The organizers solicit papers on such questions as "how European was German women's writing?" and "how did German women authors react to developments outside Germany?" Send 250 to 300 word abstracts to both Dr. Hilary Brown

(h.j.brown@swansea.ac.uk) and Caroline Bland (c.bland@sheffield.ac.uk) before Oct 1. (surely it's worth a try in early October!)

Note that *The [UCLA] Center & Clark [Library] Newsletter* is now easily accessible on the WWW (issues Spring 2008-09, and much else, are at <http://www.humnet.ucla.edu/humnet/c1718cs/Newsltr.html>). Beginning this year, the newsletter won't be distributed on paper but only found on the web. The Clark began producing an online redaction of its printed newsletter back in 2000, which can be read at its website, too. The spring 2009 issue has articles by Catherine Parisian ("German Audiences for Frances Burney's *Evelina*"), Jenna Gibbs ("Susanna Rowson, Antislavery, and the Transatlantic Theater"), and Sarah Crabtree ("Beyond Geopolitical Borders: The Holy Nation of the Society of Friends, 1750-1820," plus a letter from the Center's director, Peter Reill, and, of special importance, manuscript librarian Rebecca Fenning's "New Access to Old Materials: Re-Cataloging the MS Collection at the Clark Library." The Clark's seminar focus this year is "Cultures of Communication: Theologies of Media in Early Modern Europe and Beyond."

The **Folger Shakespeare Library** has on exhibition, through January, "Imagining China: The View from Europe, 1550-1700," with a related lecture on 10 November, "Exploring China: 400 Years of Western Perspectives." The Folger Consort plays early 17C music of Italy and China on 2-4 October. (The Folger appears to have tapped the excitement over the National Geographic's exhibition--opening in November--of some life-sized terra-cotta warriors buried at Xi'an nearly 2000 years ago.) The first play of the season is Jonson's *The Alchemist*, followed by Shakespeare's *Much Ado about Nothing*. The summer's *Folger Magazine* was the most beautiful yet--these are always so beautiful that one tries to hold on to them, unable to toss them out, what with the colored photographs, facsimiles, and dazzling layouts, and stories about the 16C and early 17C that tempt an 18C scholar to switch fields--each issue clearly cost a lot of money. The magazine is full of beautiful people who work at the Folger—I found myself gawking at a floret of Georgianna Ziegler, head of reference. The lead article is a deserved celebration for Barbara Mowat on her retirement as Director of Research, Chair of the Institute, and Executive Editor of *The Shakespeare Quarterly*--she will continue to co-edit the Folger Shakespeare Library editions of the plays, apparently she and co-editor Paul Werstine have but *The Two Noble Kinsmen* left to edit--their 40 editions are hailed as "the most popular Shakespeare texts on the market." Anyone working at the Library of Congress should take a break at the Folger's adjacent Elizabethan Garden, with a knot garden (half the 16 photos in the article offer a florilegium of Elizabethan favorites grown there at 201 East Capitol St. For more, see [www.folger.edu](http://www.folger.edu)).

The Fall 2009 issue of the **Goethe Society of North America's** *Goethe News and Notes* (29.2), edited by Burkhard Henke of Davidson College, celebrates a number of the Society's successes: the international meeting last year in Pittsburgh, the many fine essays submitted to the *Goethe Yearbook*, and the new book series. The latter, called "New Studies in the Age of Goethe," is in conjunction with Bucknell U. Press; it includes Peter J. Schwartz's *After Jena:*

*Goethe's Elective Affinities and the End of the Old Regime*, the first book in English to place the novel "within the turbulent time in which it was written" (see [www.bucknell.edu/universitypress](http://www.bucknell.edu/universitypress)). Vol. 17 of the *Yearbook*, with many papers from the 2008 meeting, ed. by Clark Muenzer and Karin Schutjer, will appear in March; submissions for 18 should be sent to the editor, Daniel Purdy of Penn State U. ([dlp14@psu.edu](mailto:dlp14@psu.edu)). You can join the society by paying dues at its website ([www.goethesociety.org/](http://www.goethesociety.org/)) or by contacting its Sec'y-Treasurer, John Lyon, in Dept. of Germanic Languages & Literatures at U. of Pittsburgh (1409 Cathedral of Learning / Pittsburgh, PA 15260; [jblyon@pitt.edu](mailto:jblyon@pitt.edu)). The dues are remarkably cheap: \$10 for students and \$25 or \$32 for two grades of faculty. Compare that to ASECS and consider how much more a Germanist would read of the *Yearbook* than *ECS*! The Society is discounting its first ten yearbooks to members at just \$5 (vols. 11-15 at \$10). No stone unturned, the *Yearbook's* reviews (ed. by Catriona MacLeod: [cmacleod@sas.upenn.edu](mailto:cmacleod@sas.upenn.edu)) include internet material and films, and the GSNA has even opened a facebook page! President Simon Richter and his fellow executive board deserve high marks--and members!

On 24 September, posted by Kevin Whelan on his distribution list for Irish arts, culture, history, and literature ([Kevin.M.Whelan@nd.edu](mailto:Kevin.M.Whelan@nd.edu)), was this announcement by Juliana Adelman, Lisa-Marie Griffith, and Kevin O'Sullivan, editors: "**Pue's Occurrences: The Irish History Blog**. *Pue's Occurrences* was an 18C newspaper containing the most authentick and freshest translations from all parts, carefully collected and impartially translated. Our Irish history blog aims to provide a bit of freshness and debate, as well as viewing Irish history (and history in Ireland) as impartially as possible. Regular features include interviews, PhD diaries, polls and . . . monthly recommendations for how and where to consume history. Our writers review books and events of historical interest, share the joys and frustrations of historical research, and tackle the big and not-so-big issues." They request contributions at [puesoccurrences@gmail.com](mailto:puesoccurrences@gmail.com). The website is at <http://puesoccurrences.wordpress.com>.

From the *Children's Books History Society Newsletter*, issue no. 94 (August 2009), we learned of a conference on 26 February 2010 at the U. of Newcastle on Aesop's Fables and an exhibition at Chatham's Library from July through October curated by David Blamires on "Books of Jonah," 17-20C. The issue contains a review of *Educating the Child in Enlightenment Britain: Beliefs, Cultures, Practices*, ed. by Mary Hilton and Jill Shefrin (Ashgate, 2009). It's typical that this prompt and efficient newsletter from Pat Garrett and Brian Alderson, 48pp. and illustrated, with an occasional publication inserted on "Naomi Lewis, 1911-2009," should review a 2009 book by August. They are always on their toes. Co-editor & Chair, Pat Garrett triples as membership sec'y: [cbhs@abgarrett.demon.co.uk](mailto:cbhs@abgarrett.demon.co.uk); 26 St. Bernards Close, Buckfast, S. Devon TQ11 0EP, UK.

*Cover illustration*: "Pavia," gouache by Georg Dionys Ehret, plate 15 in Trew and Ehret's *Plantas Selectae* (Nuremberg, 1750-1773). On Ehret, see Brijraj Singh's article on the Ehret show last year in New York.

