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Editor: James E. May  
Penn State University / DuBois  
College Place  
DuBois, PA 15801  
JEM4@psu.edu; FAX: (814) 375-4784

Executive Secretary: Linda E. Merians  
70-31 108th Street Apt., #14G  
Forest Hills, NY 11375-4431  
LEmeria@aol.com; FAX: (718) 459-7926

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## Resources for Locating Eighteenth-Century Periodicals: Strengths and Weaknesses

by James E. Tierney

### Introduction

While the study of the eighteenth-century British periodical has always been the concern of a limited cohort of die-hard scholars, the last twenty-five years have witnessed a resurgence of interest in this genre.\* The increasing interdisciplinary and non-canonical currents in modern studies of the period have encouraged scholars to turn to the age's little used periodicals as a source of information on the broad spectrum of the century's culture. For instance, women's studies scholars have been mining this treasury of periodical literature to discover women's voices in the eighteenth-century political and social milieu. Similarly, the recent burgeoning study of publishing history and reading—an escalating phenomenon responsible for the founding of new societies, university programs, and journals—has helped to focus attention on the age's periodicals, for, along with newspapers, they were the daily staple of eighteenth-century booksellers, printers, and readers.

Access to these periodicals, then, has become critical, given the needs of these new pursuits in modern scholarship. However, both historical and modern practices have made this access difficult. During their own time, eighteenth-century periodicals were discarded as ephemeral materials not worth saving, much as modern magazines are today. Consequently, few copies of most titles survive (in some cases, none), a situation exacerbated a little over a half century ago when many copies (even entire titles) perished during the Battle of Britain. Moreover, given the desperate financial condition of post-war Britain, London booksellers and auction houses dispersed many of these rare copies of British serials to the far corners of the English-speaking world, most notably to the United States. In recent years this ongoing diaspora has been recorded in James May's articles entitled "Scribleriana Transferred" that have appeared in *The Scriblerian*.

As a result of all of these factors, modern scholars face a daunting challenge when attempting to locate copies of these periodicals to support the demands of their research, particularly when full runs are required. To address this problem, during the last three quarters of a century, various bibliographies, catalogues, and finding lists of the age's periodicals have been created, some of them grand projects entailing years of effort and elaborate collaborations at extraordinary expense. Yet, despite all of these efforts, currently there does not exist a single, comprehensive, and totally reliable census of eighteenth-century British periodicals, nor is there anything on the horizon to supply the needs of modern scholars. In terms of providing accurate bibliographical identification

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\* In this paper, the term "periodical" excludes newspapers; that is, it refers to a type of serial whose principal intent is not the reporting of news. Although sometimes called "literary periodicals," this genre includes many titles whose content has little or no literary concern.

of individual copies of periodicals, complete with their respective locations and call numbers, all existing bibliographies, catalogues, and finding lists suffer one or another deficiency: outdated or incomplete data, inconsistent coverage or presentation, or simply erroneous data. In short, none of them can be thoroughly relied upon to tell us what's out there and where to find it.

(In passing, it might be useful to dispel the popular notion that scholars presently have access to the bulk of eighteenth-century periodical texts either by reason of the three major microfilm series offered by Primary Source Microfilm, Proquest, and Adam Matthew Publications or through the on-line digitized texts available by subscription from the last two companies and the (upcoming) British Library's digitization of the Burney Collection. However, in reality, all of these series taken together account for the texts of only approximately 335 periodicals, or less than one-third, of the age's estimated 1,100 extant titles. Moreover, many titles in these microfilm and digitized series are represented by only partial runs.)

### **Review of Existing Resources**

This review will consider existing bibliographies, catalogues, and finding lists of extant eighteenth-century British periodicals that provide both library locations and such data as volumes and issue numbers and dates of run relevant to the copies held by those libraries. The result should provide the reader with a realization of the shortcomings of such tools for supplying modern scholars with accurate and thorough information regarding the existence, bibliographical character, and location of extant eighteenth-century periodicals.

These reference works have appeared in different media and have been intended to capture varying ranges of institutional periodical holdings. The largest enterprises are collaborative works, each of which have enlisted the cooperation of hundreds of libraries in reporting their respective holdings. Others are of more limited scope and compiled over many years by individual scholars. The earliest are printed publications, the more recent include modern on-line resources, and still others exist in varying forms, from typed manuscripts to printed catalogues that accompany commercial microfilm series. In coverage, only four of these reference works attempts to reflect institutional holdings on both sides of the Atlantic, some few record national resources, several address the holdings of individual libraries, and others are of a mixed breed. In terms of publications dates, these works have appeared over the better part of a century: from 1927 to 2006. This review will begin with a consideration of printed reference works.

### **Printed Works**

The two largest and most comprehensive printed lists of periodicals, complete with locations and bibliographical detail, are the *British Union Catalogue of Periodicals; a Record of the Periodicals of the World, from the Seventeenth Century to the Present Day, in British Libraries* (BUCOP), ed.

James D. Stewart et al., 4 vols., (London, 1955-1958) and the *Union List of Serials in Libraries of the United States and Canada (ULS)*, ed. Edna Brown Titus, 5 vols, (New York: H. W. Wilson, 1965). Both of these multi-volume, national union lists attempted to record locations and bibliographical detail for all periodicals held by institutions within their respective national embrace and published up to a date approximately six years prior to their publication. From their titles, it should be obvious that eighteenth-century British periodicals represent a small portion of the contents of each.

Although at their publication *BUCOP* and *ULS* were rightfully hailed as wonders of collaborative scholarship, works of such grand scale that deal with enormous amounts of data cannot escape a degree of slippage. Besides, a significant compromising factor was built in from the outset: each work depended upon bibliographical data submitted by libraries participating in the project. In the prefaces to both works, project directors, while hailing the collaboration of the libraries, readily admit that the published volumes remained incomplete because of the omission of certain periodicals by the reporting libraries, the submission of inconsistent or incomplete bibliographical records, errors in transcription, and the failure of still other libraries to participate in the project. One can reasonably assume that the unequal size, training, and commitment of cataloguing staffs at contributing libraries also played a role. Fifty years later, age has colluded with original deficiency to render both as less than perfect tools.

Yet, no other catalogue or finding list—printed or otherwise—can supplant *BUCOP* and the *ULS* for the service they supply in locating copies of British periodicals in their respective national venues. Despite their age, they regularly outdo the *ESTC*, for instance, in the numbers of locations they provide for individual periodicals. In fact, the *ESTC*, with a penchant for British Library and Bodleian Library citations, regularly overlooks other U.K and U.S. repositories. However, the reverse is occasionally true. For instance, *BUCOP* has no entries for *The Balm of Gilead* (1714), *The Comick Magazine* (1796), and *The Controller* (1714-15), all of which are found in the *ESTC*, complete with British locations. The *ULS* has no entries for *The Britain* (1713), *The Dutch Prophet* (1700), and *The Ladies' Journal* (1727), all of which are found in the *ESTC*, complete with U.S. locations. Inconsistency also sometimes marks the *ULS*: it reports Harvard as holding No.1 of *Miscellanies over Claret* (1697), but not the Folger Library as holding No. 4. In some cases, the *ULS* designates libraries as holding only a microfilm or a facsimile copy of a periodical, but, in other cases where the same is also true, there is no such indication. That a copy is a collected or reprinted bound edition is likewise not regularly revealed.

In sum, both *BUCOP* and *ULS* continue to serve as worthwhile reference tools. The best of their records would seem to enjoy special authority, for the data derives directly from the individual libraries that actually hold the periodicals; they have not been compiled from secondary sources.

The oldest among these printed reference works and the only one dedicated solely to surveying pre-1800 British periodicals found in American

libraries is R. S. Crane and F. B. Kaye's *A Census of British Newspapers and Periodicals, 1620-1800* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1927). Like the teams that compiled *BUCOP* and *ULS*, Crane and Kaye primarily depended upon the reports of thirty-seven cooperating libraries, while other entries derived from their own research or from other sources. Their *Census*, then, is subject to the same pitfalls alluded to above for *BUCOP* and *ULS*, something which the compilers readily admit in their introduction to the work. However, if one judges from the detailed entries supplied by Crane and Kaye, the compilers were able to extract from their collaborating librarians much more bibliographical evidence than did their much later successors. Specific volume/issue numbers and dates of periodical runs for the holdings of each library accompany most entries. It's not surprising, then, that such a recent production as the *ESTC* occasionally refers to Crane and Kaye when it otherwise lacked the necessary bibliographical data. In the end, however, Crane and Kaye is seriously out of date: it does not account for the numerous acquisitions by American libraries during the last eighty years.

The most thorough, up-to-date, and reliable printed catalogue of early British periodicals in print is undoubtedly *British Newspapers and Periodicals 1641-1700. A Short-Title Catalogue of Serials Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, and British America*, compiled by Carolyn Nelson and Matthew Seccombe (New York: Modern Language Assn., 1987). Nelson and Seccombe present an issue-by-issue, bibliographical description of each periodical, noting volume and issue number, date, day of publication, publisher, printer (where available) and all changes in these details in the course of a periodical's run. For each issue, this information is followed by a listing of the libraries that hold that issue, both in the U.K. and the U.S. Unfortunately, Nelson and Seccombe's work is of very limited use for scholars of the eighteenth century because it lists periodicals published only through 1700.

William S. Ward's *Index and Finding List of Serials Published in the British Isles, 1789-1832* (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 1953), reflecting the author's scholarly interest, concerns British periodicals published during the Romantic period and found in libraries on both sides of the Atlantic. Pre-dating *BUCOP* and the third edition of the *ULS*, Ward's work (the research for which was begun in 1938) is something of a pioneer in the field. Yet, it outdoes some of its more modern successors in thoroughness. For instance, it carries a listing and a location for a copy of the *Lady's New and Elegant Pocket Magazine* (1795), a title that doesn't appear in the most recent catalogue, the *ESTC*. On the other hand, this *Index and Finding List*, dependent upon the reports of 475 cooperating libraries both in the U.K. and U.S., is open to the same flaws that threaten the integrity of the works mentioned earlier. Bibliographically, Ward also takes a few shortcuts when listing both the locations of copies of periodicals and the completeness of runs found at these locations. In the first case, he doesn't repeat locations found in the *ULS* (2nd edition, 1943) and in the *UCP* (predecessor of *BUCOP*). When reporting the runs of individual titles found in the libraries, instead of providing exact volume



and issue numbers, he resorts to an elaborate system of symbols that distinguish complete runs from runs of better than 2/3, less than 2/3 but more than 1/3, 1/3, and less than 1/3. Indeed this is a pioneering work.

At the other end of the century stands W.R. and V.B. McLeod's *A Graphical Directory of English Newspapers and Periodicals, 1702-1714* (Morgantown: West Virginia University School of Journalism, 1982). Each page of the graphical directory displays a calendar month, with each day accorded a block of space for data. In these blocks are charted the runs of 187 London and provincial newspapers and periodicals published during the reign of Queen Anne. Besides the graphical directory, the McLeods provide other tools to address users' most likely needs: an index of printers, publishers, and booksellers, together with their addresses and the titles of their serial publications during the period; a chronological list of the periodicals and newspapers appearing in the directory; brief descriptions of each periodical and newspaper, noting (when known or relevant) its authors, editor, and partisan concerns; and even individual monthly calendars for the period of the *Directory's* coverage. Nonetheless, the *Graphical Directory* has limitations. Besides the short thirteen-year coverage, the McLeods do not include Scottish and Irish periodicals, provide only one location for each number of a periodical, and employ Old Style dating for those publications that observed the Julian Calendar. Although the thirty-four U.S. and U.K. library locations the *Graphical Directory* cites are mostly obvious repositories easily discovered elsewhere, it does helpfully locate periodicals and newspapers in a few less noted locations, like the Bristol Central Library and the Lincoln Central Library.

Perhaps because they have been compiled primarily by historians or literary scholars, most of the reference works considered in this review have not given complete attention to eighteenth-century serials that specialized in science, medicine, and technology. This gap is filled by David A. Kronick's *Scientific and Technical Periodicals of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: A Guide* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1991). Clearly, Kronick employs the term "periodical" in the broad British sense, for his more than 1,800 entries include organizations' annual reports, transactions of societies, almanacs, volumes of extracts of learned papers, translations of continental works, serialized books, and even broadsides. Nonetheless, his entries include a number of scientific, medical, and technological periodicals (in the strict sense) not found in other resources considered here. For instance, *The Botanical Review* (1790) and *The Botanist's Repository for New and Rare Plants* (1797-) do not appear in *NCBEL*; and *The British Diary* (1787-) and *The Annals of Medicine* (1796-) are not found in the *ESTC* nor in *NCBEL*.

Other printed bibliographies/finding lists, compiled by individuals, take a more focused approach by recording the holdings of a single library. *A Catalogue of English Newspapers and Periodicals in the Bodleian Library 1622-1800* was begun by R. T. Milford, of the Bodleian staff, and, at his death, supplemented and revised by D. M. Sutherland before it was published in the

*Oxford Bibliographical Society Proceedings and Papers*, Vol. IV (1934-1935) and by Oxford University Press (1936). For such an early work, Milford and Sutherland's catalogue offers very detailed entries, (where possible) supplying dates for undated issues, noting missing issues in the library's holdings, recording other copies held by the Bodleian, and providing shelfmarks for all titles. A check of fifty or so periodical titles against the *Catalogue's* entries suggests that modern catalogues have added little to the original compilers' work.

The earliest and simplest of single-library finding lists is Anthony Gabler's "Checklist of English Newspapers and Periodicals before 1801 in the Huntington Library," *Huntington Library Bulletin*, No 2 (November, 1931), 1-66. Gabler records an impressive list of pre-1800 periodicals held by the Huntington, complete with volume and issue numbers, as well as dates of their runs. As some other works in this review, however, Gabler's doesn't supply the number of volumes, issues, nor the dates of a periodical's original run, meaning that the user must check some other reference work to discover which portion of the original run the Huntington actually holds. More important for present purposes, the Huntington Library, as a major purchaser of eighteenth-century periodicals over the seventy-five years since Gabler's work appeared, now holds many more titles than this checklist reveals.

Running a hundred pages longer than Gabler's work, Powell Stewart's cataloguing of pre-1800 periodicals found at the University of Texas-Austin in his *British Newspapers and Periodicals 1632-1800* (Austin: University of Texas, 1950) carries a much fuller presentation of bibliographical detail. One is informed of such minutiae as changes in quotations on title-pages, minor changes in imprints, irregularity in a periodical's dating and pagination, etc. It's truly an exercise in analytic bibliography. The only obvious shortcoming of this work (besides the fact that it treats the holdings of but a single library) is that it's outdated: the Texas collection of periodicals has been significantly enhanced since 1950.

From their titles, it should be evident that almost all of the foregoing printed works list newspapers as well as periodicals. For those whose chief interest is newspapers, it would be useful here to complete the circuit by calling attention to other resources that are mainly concerned with providing titles, bibliographical data, and locations of newspapers. Some of these lesser known resources are especially valuable for scholars attempting to locate local newspapers whose runs are more plentiful in the provincial repositories of towns where they were originally published than in major research collections like the British Library. Among these resources is the relatively recent series of six, slim volumes published by the British Library (initial volume issued by the Library Association, London) and with the series title *Bibliography of British Newspapers*. Under the general editorship of Charles Toase, each of these volumes identifies and provides the dates and locations of provincial newspapers published in a particular county or two. Each county volume, compiled by its own field editors, is organized alphabetically by city and town.

To date, volumes have been appeared for Wiltshire (1975), Kent (1982), Durham and Northumberland (1982), Derbyshire (1987), Nottinghamshire (1987), and Cornwall and Devon (1991). The listings of titles carry through to the late twentieth century, and, as might be expected, most are concerned with the nineteenth century when the provincial newspaper came into its own. Another more recent work, J. Gibson, B. Langston, and B. Smith, comps., *Local Newspapers 1750-1920. England and Wales, Channel Islands; Isle of Man. A Select Location List*, 2nd ed. (Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Publishing Co., 2003) expands the geographical coverage, but its value for scholars is compromised by certain shortcuts employed by the compilers. This 72-page pamphlet, admittedly intended for genealogists, makes no distinctions between microfilms and original paper copies, provides only beginning and ending dates of runs with no attempt to account for missing issues, and disappointingly omits titles that had less than a four-year run.

Many articles and notes on provincial newspapers are listed in John Feather's *The English Provincial Book Trade Before 1850* (Oxford Bibliographical Society, Bodleian Library, Oxford, 1981). Feather's listing has been more recently supplemented with additional entries by Paul Morgan on the *British Book Trade Index* website ([www.bbti.bham.ac.uk](http://www.bbti.bham.ac.uk)). For Scotland and Ireland, the newspaper scene is rounded out by Joan P. S. Ferguson, comp., *Directory of Scottish Newspapers* (Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland, 1984), and Robert Munter, *A Handlist of Irish Newspapers, 1685-1750* (Cambridge Bibliographical Society Monographs, No. 4, 1960). Although the title of the latter suggests that it is concerned only with newspapers, Munter's handlist includes a number of periodicals; e.g., Dublin's *The Tickler* (1748-1749) and Cork's *The Serio-Jocular Medley* (1738).

Before completing this review of printed resources, it is necessary to mention Volume 2 of *The New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature (NCBEL)*, edited by George Watson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971). The periodical/newspaper section of this volume of the *NCBEL* (Columns 1255-1390) is not truly a bibliography at all, but merely a chronological listing of the titles of newspapers and periodicals, 1660-1800. Each entry is accompanied by volume and issue numbers and by dates of run, sometimes by the names of editors and publishers, and, when available, by a selection of studies of individual periodicals. Regrettably, however, no library locations are provided. Nevertheless, it stands as probably the handiest and fullest listing of the century's extant periodicals. Unlike the other works reviewed here whose entries appear in alphabetical order, *NCBEL's* chronological ordering of titles requires the user to know a periodical's approximate date of publication (and sometimes its city of publication) if extensive searching is to be avoided.

Overall, these printed bibliographies, catalogues, and finding lists, despite the age and shortcomings of some, are still holding their own in providing valuable assistance to scholars attempting to locate periodicals.



**On-Line Resources**

On-line resources for discovering the locations and relevant bibliographical data for extant eighteenth-century periodicals primarily consist of library on-line catalogues and the reference work of central importance to all studies of the age, the *English Short-Title Catalogue (ESTC)*. Despite their recent vintage, many library on-line catalogues are less than what we might expect from a joint effort of modern scholarship and technology. Even those mounted at some of this country's major research libraries are less reliable than their older, printed predecessors, including their old card catalogues. Searching for early periodicals in the on-line catalogues of such institutions is often a frustrating exercise because many of their holdings are not reflected in their on-line catalogues. Consequently, although such libraries might hold a veritable treasure of periodicals, it is impossible to discover the extent of the treasure without visiting the libraries and consulting their old card catalogues.

To a large extent, this regrettable condition exists because some of these libraries have entrusted the creation of their on-line catalogues to commercial vendors and have not exercised—perhaps for staffing, budgetary, or other administrative reasons—proper supervisory control over the creation of records. For instance, the vendors who produced the Folger Shakespeare Library's on-line catalogue, when dealing with a particular group of short-run, eighteenth-century periodicals that had been bound together under a single cover, catalogued the entire volume of different titles under the title of the first periodical in the collection, thereby leaving the rest of the eighteen titles in the volume to go uncatalogued and hence unknowable to the trusting user of the on-line catalogue. This regrettable disparity between old card catalogues and their modern electronic counterparts also maintains at the Newberry Library. To see all records for the Library's collection of early periodicals, users are advised not to rely on the on-line catalogue but to consult the special section of the card catalogue dedicated solely to newspapers and periodicals (a marvelous resource, by the way, that one wishes other libraries had imitated).

Other major research libraries whose on-line catalogues have fallen short of representing their holdings of eighteenth-century periodicals include the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library in Los Angeles. Fortunately, a large grant from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation is allowing Illinois to rectify its situation. One hopes the same will be done for the Clark Library, as the following will illustrate. In 1990, this writer had some of the Clark's card catalogue records of periodicals photocopied for future reference. This turned out to be a case of unwitting foresight because those same periodical titles cannot now be found in the Clark's on-line catalogue. This disappointing fall-off from card catalogue to on-line catalogue that characterizes some of our best research libraries prompts one to wonder how many scholars are dissuaded from visiting such libraries because their on-line searches fail to discover items the libraries actually hold. In time, these problems will probably be resolved, but at present they still maintain.

Although a different kind of deficiency, one is surprised to find the occasional amateurish bibliographical descriptions that appear in the Library of Congress's on-line catalogue. A search on the three-issue periodical *The Whisperer* (1709), for instance, brings up a bibliographically barren record, showing no issue numbers or dates of the periodical's run, or of the Library's holdings. In a note, the searcher is merely advised that *The Whisperer* is an "inactive newspaper"!!! Actually *The Whisperer* is not a newspaper at all but an essay sheet concerned with such topics as bribing servants and fortune-telling. Searches on some other titles produce similarly unsatisfying results. For instance, instead of presenting volume and issue numbers or even dates, some entries merely supply the total number of pages in the run of the periodical the LC holds. Such instances are likely bound copies of collected or reprinted editions rather than copies of the periodicals' original publication, but we are not told that this is indeed the case. We are left to guess.

Fortunately there are some on-line catalogues that seem to reliably reflect their libraries' holdings of eighteenth-century titles, as well as provide adequate bibliographical data to identify the extent of their holdings. For instance, the on-line catalogues of the British Library, the Bodleian Library (Oxford), and Yale fall into this category. The bibliographer's hand is evident in the Yale on-line catalogue. At a minimum, this catalogue presents the volume numbers, issue numbers, and dates of the original run of a periodical, together with a specification of Yale's particular holdings of the periodical. The on-line record also usually designates whether the copy is a collected or reprint edition and supplies relevant clarifying notes.

Because it is the most comprehensive and most up-to-date on-line catalogue listing eighteenth-century periodicals, special consideration must be given to the *English Short-Title Catalogue (ESTC)*. When the *ESTC* was begun in the mid-1970s (when the acronym stood for *Eighteenth-Century Short-Title Catalogue*), newspapers and periodicals were purposely excluded from the cataloguing effort because it was thought an attempt to deal with their complex and therefore troublesome bibliography would considerably delay the project. Nonetheless, despite their formal exclusion, some periodicals did slip into the *ESTC* database. These were primarily titles that, because they had enjoyed successful runs in their day, had been re-issued in bound volumes by their contemporary publishers or had been bound by collectors. In this bound state, apparently *ESTC* cataloguers at the BL simply treated them as monographs.

When, in the late 1980s, the *ESTC* began to see light at the end of the tunnel, the project's directors finally decided upon a formal program to catalogue serials, and, for that purpose, a new adjunct office, with its own director, was set up at the North American office of the *ESTC* at the University of California-Riverside. Starting from scratch, the new serials project began by importing into its database existing records found in printed bibliographies, catalogues and finding lists (such as mentioned above). The idea was to verify and supplement this second-hand bibliographical record by subsequent on-site

visits to libraries, by soliciting contributions from specialists in the field, by consulting existing microfilm copies of periodicals, and then, later, by consulting libraries' on-line catalogues. Until last year, the serials project was an active and productive enterprise, funded by many agencies, notably by the NEH and (I think), directly or indirectly, by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation. This past autumn, the active collecting of data by the ESTC's serials wing wound down, existing records were integrated into the main ESTC database, and the total file was made available to users *gratis* on a British Library server.

Given the nature of its origins and of its conduct, it is understandable that the results of cataloguing by the serial wing of the ESTC fell a bit short of what had originally been envisioned. The current records show some "seams," probably attributable to two factors: the limited staff's ability to conduct widespread on-site visits to examine original copies of the periodicals in order to verify all records imported at the outset from existing reference works; and the subsequent failure of on-line catalogues to reveal their libraries' complete holdings. Often these older records initially subsumed into the database—including Crane and Kaye's *Census* of 1927—are disappointingly invoked as evidence of one or another bibliographical detail.

Sometimes the ESTC shows lapses in its coverage of periodicals, and at other times incomplete, inconsistent, or simply erroneous bibliographical data. For instance, at least nine eighteenth-century periodical titles are known not to be represented in the ESTC, even though some of them turn up in other sources. For *The Balm of Gilead* (1714), the ESTC reports that the Bodleian holds only No. 1. However, a search of the Bodleian on-line catalogue shows that the Bodleian holds a second copy in its Nichols Collection that preserves Numbers 2 to 5 and 8 to 10. At times, records are inconsistent, and occasionally inconsistent within the same record. Within its record of *The Controller* (1714), the ESTC notes that the Bodleian holds only two numbers of this periodical, and then the location registry lists Numbers 1-3 as found at the Bodleian. Often records do not supply the number of volumes, issues, or the dates for the copies of periodicals that libraries hold. Sometimes the ESTC is simply in error, as when it confuses *The Magazine of Magazines* (1751) with the later *Grand Magazine of Magazines* (1758).

Probably the weakest suit of the ESTC is its location registry, which always appears as the last item of every record. Although, in some cases, the list of periodical locations is quite long, more often than not it includes only a few locations. More than occasionally, these locations could have been supplemented with the names of other libraries holding full runs of a periodical. For instance, full-run copies of *The Compleat Library* (1692-94) are also found at Yale and in the Library of Congress, and a full run of *The Prompter* (1734-36) is also found in the Library of Congress. Sometimes the location registry is simultaneously guilty of both omission and inconsistency. For instance, although its location register always places the British Library and/or the

Bodleian Library at the head of its list of locations, in the case of *The Dutch Prophet* (1700), the *ESTC* overlooks the issue found in the Bodleian and lists the University of Kansas library as the sole repository. Likewise, the British Library is not mentioned along with Yale and Harvard as a holder of a copy of *The Flagellant* (1792). The University of Minnesota is listed as a holder of a complete run of *The Gentleman's Journal* (1692-94) but not an obvious place like Yale.

Despite these flaws, the *ESTC* stands as the fullest, most up-to-date, and the most authoritative catalogue of eighteenth-century periodicals in existence. It has pretty much absorbed the data supplied by its predecessors, and has improved upon that base by contributing the results of its own original research. Moreover, it regularly provides periodical locations on both sides of the Atlantic. As such, The *ESTC* should be the principal guide for scholars attempting to discover locations and bibliographical detail on eighteenth-century periodicals.

Finally, as a popular on-line resource for discovering bibliographical data on early publications, *WorldCat* ought at least be mentioned. Perhaps the difficulty of creating a thorough and reliable on-line resource for discovering the locations of the multifaceted eighteenth-century periodical (in this case, without the oversight of an exacting gatekeeper) is no better illustrated than in the periodical records found in *WorldCat*. Searching this resource on particular titles usually produces prolific results, but, when followed up, they often prove to be ghosts, inadequately identified titles, duplicates, misleading citations (failure to distinguish original copies from microfilms), entries missing volume and issue numbers, etc. Undoubtedly *WorldCat* has much to offer, but the search time consumed with chaff reduces its stature to the last port-of-call when all other resources fail.

### Conclusion

The foregoing review should make clear that there is no single census of eighteenth-century British periodicals that records all extant copies, is thorough and reliable in its bibliographical detail, and provides users with a broad range of locations of copies, complete with the volumes and issue numbers of the copies those libraries hold. In a gesture toward the resolution of this deficiency, the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation has recently awarded funds for undertaking the planning stage for just such a resource.<sup>\*</sup> If this planning stage proves successful, major funding will be sought to create a much needed census of eighteenth-century British periodicals.

University of Missouri-St. Louis

*\*Editor's note:* James Tierney modestly refers to his "Proposal for the Creation of a Census of Eighteenth-Century British Periodicals," a project in which he has enlisted Dr. Thomas McGear's assistance. The project, which begins officially in June, has a year to provide a "plan" for a bibliography of

eighteenth-century periodicals. The project report will include a preliminary master list of British periodicals 1700-1799, with their beginning and ending dates and such additional checklists as of those periodicals already filmed.

### **Sterne and Young's *Conjectures on Original Composition***

by Tim Parnell

Put on sale within months of each other at the Dodsleys' Tully's Head shop, and sharing some intriguing common ground in their assumptions about literary originality and aesthetics, the *Conjectures* and *Tristram Shandy* have, nonetheless, never been meaningfully linked. Drawing on and adding to 200 years of critical commentary, the nearly 1500 pages of notes to the first six volumes of the Florida *Works* only mention the *Conjectures* once, and that in the context of Sterne's debts to a sermon by Edward Young senior. Sterne's "extensive borrowing" in "Temporal Advantages of Religion" and "St. Peter's Character" from "the father of the author of *Conjectures on Original Composition* . . . embodies," as Melvyn New puts it, "several ironies well worth contemplation."<sup>1</sup> Indeed it does, yet hitherto unnoticed allusions to Young's essay in the first volume of *Tristram Shandy* indicate that there is a little more to the relationship between the two writers than these distant and coincidentally generated ironies.

Two weeks after the publication of the *Conjectures* was announced on 10 May 1759, Sterne sent Robert Dodsley an early version of what would become the first instalment of his masterpiece. How much of this version survives in the final draft remains a matter of speculation, but the distance between the published volumes and *A Political Romance* and the "Fragment in the Manner of Rabelais" would suggest that Sterne substantially reconceived and rewrote his original.<sup>2</sup> So much is implied too by the letter accompanying the second submission to Dodsley in the autumn of 1759: "All locality is taken out of the book—the satire general; notes are added where wanted, and the whole made more saleable." Adding "about a hundred and fifty pages"<sup>3</sup> to the earlier draft, Sterne, it would seem, set about modernizing his work in order to make it more marketable. Where the *Romance* and the "Fragment" belong to a literary milieu with roots in the late seventeenth- and early-eighteenth centuries, *Tristram Shandy's* immediate success hinged to a significant extent on its engagement with its ambient culture and Sterne's ability to speak to mid-century canons of taste. Just how much of the Shandean aesthetic of originality and spontaneity was in place before Dodsley's chastening rejection is unclear, but one suspects that much of Sterne's effort between spring and autumn was dedicated to transforming a somewhat parochial and backward-looking text into a contemporary one.

To this end, he seems to have thoroughly mined the burgeoning



periodical press.<sup>4</sup> Writing from York and wanting to impress a successful and shrewd London bookseller, Sterne was able to gain ready access to metropolitan culture and debate through the pages of the likes of the *Gentleman's* and *London* magazines, the *London Chronicle* and the *Monthly* and *Critical* reviews. While his literary and cultural reference points may already have been up-to-the-minute, it is more likely that such allusions as those to the recently published translation of *Candide* in the ninth chapter of the first volume, or to Adam Smith's conception of sympathy in Trim's response to Yorick's sermon, derive from, and are informed by, a conscious effort to update the otherwise rather hackneyed targets and textual referents of his "ludicrous Satyr."<sup>5</sup> Trying to establish what would "take"<sup>6</sup> with Dodsley and his readers and to give his book a contemporary edge, Sterne also appears to have paid attention to recent works emerging from Tully's Head. Thus, the second letter to the bookseller proposes "to print a lean edition . . . of the size of *Rasselas*."<sup>7</sup> More tellingly, echoes of Burke's *Philosophical Enquiry* in later volumes of *Tristram Shandy* suggest an acquaintance with the augmented second edition of 1759, and there are hints too that Sterne was familiar with Goldsmith's *Enquiry into the Present State of Polite Learning in Europe*, which appeared anonymously in April.<sup>8</sup>

Newly alert to the Dodsley imprint and scanning reviews in the periodicals, Sterne could have picked up the thrust of the *Conjectures* without ever seeing a copy of Young's text. Typically, *The Gentleman's Magazine* and the *Critical* and *Monthly* reviews spend as much time précising Young's argument as they do in evaluating it. Given what appears to be a fairly wide acquaintance with periodicals of the 1750s, Sterne would have been able to place Young's argument in the context of the broader discussion about authorship, originality and imitation that is a feature of critical debate in the 1750s.

An often sophisticated interest in ideas of origins and originality is manifest in much of Sterne's writing, but the concern has a particular inflection in the twenty-first chapter of the first volume, where both Young's language and thesis are covertly alluded to. Freezing Toby in a sentence he will not complete until the next volume, Tristram begins a digression with the ostensible aim of allowing the reader to "enter first a little into his [uncle's] character." Wanting to place the old soldier in the tradition of amiable humorists, Tristram's apparently casual mock scholarship glances at Young's call for British literature to reflect the originality of the British character, and becomes the means by which Sterne implies an almost endless regress in the search for the origin of the idea of the British original:

—Pray what was that man's name,—for I write in such a hurry, I have no time to recollect or look for it,—who first made the observation, "That there was a great inconstancy in our air and climate?" Whoever he was, 'twas a just and good observation in him.—But the corollary drawn from it, namely, "That it is this which has furnished us with

such a variety of odd and whimsical characters";—that was not his;—it was found out by another man, at least a century and a half after him:—Then again,—that this copious store-house of original materials, is the true and natural cause that our Comedies are so much better than those of *France*, or any others that either have, or can be wrote upon the Continent;—that discovery was not fully made till about the middle of king *William's* reign,—when the great *Dryden*, in writing one of his long prefaces, (if I mistake not) most fortunately hit upon it. Indeed towards the latter end of queen *Anne*, the great *Addison* began to patronize the notion, and more fully explained it to the world in one or two of his *Spectators* but the discovery was not his.<sup>9</sup>

Because connections between Britain's climate, its national character and its comedy had, as James A. Work observes, "long been accepted as commonplaces by English writers and natural philosophers,"<sup>10</sup> Sterne's joke about the ownership of such ideas stands in need of no further elaboration. As so often, however, the extent and complexity of Sterne's irony only becomes fully clear when we chase up Tristram's allusions to, and quotations from, key authorities. His first quotation might have been uttered by any number of writers, although it comes close in its articulation to one of Addison's observations in *Guardian* no. 102. The exact source for Tristram's second quotation has never been identified, but significant verbal echoes suggest that Sterne was drawing on either the original passage from Sir Richard Blackmore's *Lay-Monastery* no. 26, or, just as likely, an entry in his commonplace book derived from it:

perhaps no Nation on earth furnishes him [the comic poet] with a greater variety of Originals, or more surprising, ridiculous and whimsical Characters to be expos'd upon the Stage than our own Island; which is, I believe, the Reason that the *British* Theatre affords more Entertainment of this Kind than any of our Neighbours, who in Comparison of us, are indigent of such Distinctions and Particularities.<sup>11</sup>

Tellingly, in terms of Sterne's game with the idea of original composition, Addison's *Spectator* no. 371, which appeared eight months before Blackmore's piece, makes near-identical claims in different language.<sup>12</sup> While we cannot be certain that readers were expected to identify the source of the quotation, Blackmore's argument about the effects of climate on identity in *The Nature of Man* (1711), together with his status as a Scriblerian dunce make him doubly suited to Sterne's purposes.<sup>13</sup> That the "great *Dryden*" did not link climate and character in his discussion of the superiority of English comedy, but did, elsewhere, accuse Blackmore of plagiarizing his idea for an Arthurian epic, perhaps adds a further layer to Tristram's seemingly throwaway remarks, and

cleverly prepares the ground for the more direct allusions to Young which follow in the next paragraph.

Similarly, what might appear to be a chance juxtaposition of the names of Dryden and Addison takes on new significance in the light of Sterne's covert play with Young. As "the brightest of the moderns," Young celebrates Addison for possessing "what *Dryden* . . . wanted, a warm, and feeling heart" and accordingly gives him pride of place in the *Conjectures*. More strikingly, Tristram's epithet for Addison has a special resonance in the context of the terms in which Young compares him to two of Sterne's favourites: "*Swift* is a singular wit, *Pope* a correct poet, *Addison* a great author."<sup>14</sup>

Having comically demonstrated both the impossibility of establishing priority of invention and the tangled skein that is the inherited tradition, Sterne turns more directly to Young's text. Picking up on the poet's regular use of botanical metaphors and more particularly his discussion of the possibility that the "writer's harvest is over," Sterne clearly delights in comically elaborating on the poet's claim that "knowledge [*sic*] physical, mathematical, moral, and divine increases; all arts and sciences are making considerable advance; with them, all the accommodations, ornaments, delights, and glories of human life":<sup>15</sup>

Thus,—thus my fellow labourers and associates in this great harvest of our learning, now ripening before our eyes; thus it is, by slow steps of casual increase, that our knowledge physical, metaphysical, physiological, polemical, nautical, mathematical, ænigmatical, technical, biographical, romantical, chemical, and obstetrical, with fifty other branches of it, (most of 'em ending, as these do, in *ical*) have, for these two last centuries and more, gradually been creeping upwards towards that *Àêîç* of their perfections, from which, if we may form a *conjecture* from the advances of these last seven years, we cannot possibly be far off.<sup>16</sup>

Elevated by the Youngian fantasy of progress, about which his creator is clearly sceptical, Tristram is brought down to earth by the realization that the modern attainment of perfection leaves little or nothing left for the modern author to do.

Finding a number of possible allusions to the *Enquiry into the Present State of Polite Learning* in the passage, and parallels between Tristram's stance and that of Swift's hack, Jonathan Laidlow argues that Sterne treats Goldsmith's optimism about the march of progress in much the same way that Swift treated Wotton's.<sup>17</sup> Undoubtedly, Swift is somewhere in Sterne's mind and he may well have been aware too of Goldsmith's poorly-received attempt to free works of genius from critical shackles. As the verbal echoes make clear, however, it is Young's "conjecture" about the modern writer's relation to the literary past that Sterne is responding to directly.

How much if any of the digression on originality derives from Sterne's first draft we can only guess, but if we take Tristram's dating of his observation on climate and whimsical character at face value (26 March 1759), we might

hypothesize that the allusions to Young were added to existing material after Dodsley's rejection of the initial submission. In any case, Young's late intervention in the ancients versus moderns debate enabled Sterne to make an astute point about the nature of originality and to update what might otherwise have seemed a rather tired joke of his own.

Significantly, Sterne's play with Young is strictly local, and there is no hint in the first instalment or elsewhere in *Tristram Shandy* of a coherent critique of the poet's broad thesis. Given that Sterne clearly prized originality as much as Young, this is unsurprising. More practically, Sterne may have wanted no more from Young than a contemporary flavor and would thus have found what he needed in the reviews. The treatment of Young is, however, consistent with the oddly neutral quality of much of Sterne's satire. If the idea of "neutral" satire seems a contradiction in terms, it nonetheless describes the way in which Sterne handles potentially contentious contemporary targets. When laughing at what John Ferriar called "forsaken fooleries,"<sup>18</sup> Sterne's satire pulls few punches, but when it comes to current politics or culture the ironies are typically more ambiguous.

Goldsmiths' College  
University of London

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Melvyn New, *The Notes to the Sermons*, The Florida Edition of the Works of Laurence Sterne, Vol. 5 (Gainesville, Tallahassee, Tampa, Boca Raton, Pensacola, Orlando, Miami, Jacksonville, Ft. Myers: University Press of Florida, 1996), p. 331.

<sup>2</sup> For the argument that the "Fragment" belongs to the first draft of the novel, see Melvyn New, "Sterne's Rabelaisian Fragment: A Text from the Holograph Manuscript," *PMLA*, 87 (1972), 1085-86.

<sup>3</sup> *Letters of Laurence Sterne*, ed. Lewis Perry Curtis (Oxford: Clarendon, 1935), p. 81. Curtis conjecturally dates the letter in October.

<sup>4</sup> See Morris Golden, "Periodical Context in the Imagined World of *Tristram Shandy*," *Age of Johnson*, 1 (1987), 237-60.

<sup>5</sup> Letter to the Marquis of Rockingham, 14 December 1759, in Arthur H. Cash, *Laurence Sterne: The Later Years* (London: Methuen, 1986), p. 360. For the play with Smith, see Melvyn New, with Richard A. Davies and W. G. Day, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman: The Notes*, The Florida Edition of the Works of Laurence Sterne, Vol. 3 (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1984), pp. 184-85. Hereafter cited as "*TS: Notes*."

<sup>6</sup> According to an anonymous acquaintance, Sterne "was haunted with doubts and fears of [*Tristram Shandy*] not taking," Alan B. Howes, ed., *Laurence Sterne: The Critical Heritage* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974), p. 58.

<sup>7</sup> Letters, p. 80.

<sup>8</sup> For Sterne's familiarity with Burke, see *TS: Notes*, pp. 513-14; for possible echoes of the *Enquiry*, see *TS: Notes*, pp. 108-9, and Jonathan Laidlow, "A Compendium of Shandys: Methods of Organizing Knowledge in Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*," *Eighteenth-Century Novel*, 1 (2001), 193.

<sup>9</sup> Laurence Sterne, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman: The Text*, The Florida Edition of the Works of Laurence Sterne, Vols. 1-2, ed. by Melvyn New and Joan New (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1978), pp. 70, 71. For Young's call that Britons make "their compositions of a piece with their lives," see Edward Young, *Conjectures on Original Composition* (1759 [first edition]; rpt., Leeds: Scolar Press, 1966), pp. 75-76.

<sup>10</sup> Sterne, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*, ed. by James A. Work (New York: Odyssey Press, 1940), p. 64, n. 1.

<sup>11</sup> Sir Richard Blackmore, *The Lay-monastery. Consisting of essays, discourses &c. Publish'd singly under the title of The Lay-monk* (London, 1714), p. 158.

<sup>12</sup> *Spectator* 371, identified by Work as the only paper in which Addison "connected English humours with the drama" (*Tristram Shandy*, ed. by J. Work, p. 64, n. 1).

<sup>13</sup> Given Blackmore's *Satyr against Wit* (1700) and the responses of the likes of Tom Brown to it, one suspects that the physician is also somewhere in the background of Sterne's satirical treatment of climate theory in the Author's Preface.

<sup>14</sup> Young, *Conjectures*, pp. 86, 87, 96.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 17, 74-75. The reviewers in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, the *Critical Review*, and the *Monthly Review* all quote Young's comment on the "writer's harvest," and Sterne could have found the passage about the advance of knowledge in the *Monthly Review*, 20 (1759), 505-06.

<sup>16</sup> *Tristram Shandy*, 1.21.71-72; emphasis added to "conjecture."

<sup>17</sup> Laidlow, "A Compendium of Shandys," 181-200.

<sup>18</sup> John Ferriar, *Illustrations of Sterne with other Essays and Verses* (London, 1798), p. 182.

### **Eoin Magennis and Jason Kelly Share This Year's Irish-American Research Travel Fellowship**

For the first time in recent memory, the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies's Irish-American Research Travel Fellowship has been awarded this year not to one scholar but two, both of them historians. Eoin Magennis will travel from Northern Ireland to Philadelphia to consult the papers of several emigré Irish Catholic businessmen, especially John Byrne and the publisher Mathew Carey, for his study of the politics of 18th-century Irish economic thinking. Meanwhile Jason M. Kelly will travel from Indiana to



Dublin to study unpublished manuscripts of the patriot Earl of Charlemont (builder of the Casino at Marino) at the Royal Irish Academy, for his book on the Society of Dilettanti, its members' interest in archaeology, and its influence on the British Enlightenment. As one outside reader remarked, both projects "are original in their methods and topics, and both deserve to be pursued." Kelly's research will "put Charlemont into a context which will bring considerable fresh insights," remarked another, while Dr. Magennis's "has the potential to make a significant contribution" to our understanding of Irish history.

An independent scholar, Dr. Magennis holds an M.Phil. from the University of Stirling, in Scotland, and a Ph.D. from Queen's University, Belfast, which he also attended as an undergraduate. He is general editor of *Eighteenth-Century Ireland*, the journal of the 18th-Century Ireland Society, ASECS's sister group in Ireland, and author of *The Irish Political System 1750-1765* (Dublin, 2000) as well as articles present or forthcoming in *Irish Economic and Social History*, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, and several other journals or collections of essays. With Peter Jupp he co-edited *Crowds in Ireland 1720-1920* (Houndsmills, 2000) and, with A.F. Blackstock, the forthcoming festschrift for Dr. Jupp, *Elections, Crowds and Government*. Currently he works in Newry, Co. Down, as Policy Research Manager for InterTradeIreland, one of the six North/South bodies established after the Good Friday Agreement.

Prof. Kelly's book in progress grows out of his Ph.D. thesis, "Polite Sociability and Levantine Archaeology in the British Enlightenment," at the Univ. of California, Santa Barbara (2004). Besides articles for *The Journal of British Studies*, *The British Art Journal*, and the *Oxford DNB* (on the Society of Dilettanti), he has contributed entries to the Thoemmes Press *Dictionary of British Classicists* and *The World History Encyclopedia*, and co-edited (with Marcel Danesi and Leonard Sbrocchi) *Looking Up: Observation and Science in the Early Modern Period* (Ottawa, 2002). He presently works as Assistant Professor of History at Indiana University-Purdue University at Indianapolis.

Established through donations from individual working scholars and librarians on both sides of the Atlantic, ASECS's Irish research travel fund is open both to North American scholars pursuing documentary research in Ireland (whether in the Republic or the North) and to Irish-based scholars travelling to North America for similar purposes. Original research on any aspect of 18th-century Ireland qualifies for consideration--political and cultural history, literature and languages, economics, science and medicine, law, publishing, music and the arts. Prize recipients must be members of ASECS or its sister organization in Ireland, the Eighteenth-Century Ireland Society. Day-to-day administration is handled by two trustees, and prize winners are chosen by an independent jury of three distinguished scholars from different disciplines (this year from history, art history and English), supported by a network of research specialists both in Ireland and America. Each application goes through the hands of at least two readers in each pertinent field and at least two

from outside disciplines.

ASECS's next Irish-American Research Travel Fellowship will be awarded early in 2008, with applications due on 1 Nov. 2007. Further information is available at <http://asecs.press.jhu.edu>, or from the Executive Secretary at P.O. Box 7867, Wake Forest University, Winston-Salem, NC 27109; tel. (336) 727-4694; fax (336) 727-4697; e-mail [asecs@wfu.edu](mailto:asecs@wfu.edu).

A. C. Elias, Jr.

### **BSA's First Justin Schiller Prize Won by Lawrence Darton**

The Bibliographical Society of America is pleased to announce that the winner of the first Justin G. Schiller Prize for Bibliographical Work in Pre-20th Century Children's Books is Lawrence Darton's *The Dartons: An Annotated Check-list of Children's Books Issued by Two Publishing Houses 1787-1876* (British Library and Oak Knoll Press, 2004). It was selected from a very competitive group of candidates, which included monographs, articles, dissertations, exhibition catalogues, and web sites.

The award committee judged Mr. Darton's bibliography a major scholarly milestone that surpassed previous standards in the field, which were set by Sydney Roscoe, Marjorie Moon, and Christina Duff Stewart. Over twenty-five years in the making, the illustrated 729-page monograph describes and indexes in scrupulous detail the output of two of the most influential children's book publishing firms during a key period in the genre's development. *The Dartons* thus builds upon and extends our knowledge about the origins of modern children's book publishing in England during the long eighteenth century and well into the Victorian period. Children's book historians, collectors, and historians of the book and of nineteenth-century print culture will find *The Dartons* an invaluable guide.

Mr. Darton, an independent scholar, is the great-great-great-grandson of the first William Darton, founder of the house of Darton. His bibliography was also the recipient of the Children's Books History Society's 2004 F. J. Harvey Darton Prize.

Andrea Immel  
Cotsen Children's Library, Princeton

### **In Memory of Jim Springer Borck (1942-2007)**

From the online *Advocate* of 15-18 February, we learned that Jim Springer Borck "passed away peacefully in his sleep . . . on Wednesday, Feb. 14, 2007." He was "survived by his wife of 30 years, Mary Helen Borck; two

sons, Jacob Borck and Nathan Borck; mother, Sissy Borck; [and] sisters and brothers." Memorial donations were to be sent to the Juvenile Diabetes Research Foundation at 9457 Brookline Ave., Baton Rouge, LA 70809.

Jim took his B.A. from the University of Florida, where, Skip Brack informs me, he "was introduced to the eighteenth century by Tom Preston." He took his Ph.D. from U. of California at Riverside, where he wrote his dissertation under Robert F. Gleckner. Jim rose to full professor at LSU--Baton Rouge, serving in the English Dept. for 38 years. He was the general editor of the *ECCB* for over a dozen years and co-editor of editions of Tobias Smollett, Daniel Defoe, and Samuel Richardson. Yet his professional life combined the production of many thick compilations and editions with exemplary teaching, both arising from an uncommon enjoyment of people. He took great pleasure in 18th-century literature as well as the Romantic poets. He was proud of a series of good engagements with students, reaching back to days when faculty and students jointed protested university and government policies. His *ECCB* offices were a haven for graduate students. Jim was extraordinarily likeable, with a great smile, fine sense of humor, and gift for story-telling. Despite juvenile diabetes, from his youth in central Florida, he led a robust and active life, enjoying into his fifties such avocations as boating in the bayous. Jim had the legendary relish for enjoying the good life that's associated with Louisiana. When I visited the *ECCB* offices around 1997, besides putting me up, he hitched up the trailer, stocked the boat with provisions, and took me out boating and swimming. Laura Kennelly once told me of being out to dinner with a group of colleagues all dampened with the effort to eat cheaply until Jim ordered a bottle of wine for the group with the expression "let the good times roll." Jim's cordiality and conviviality greased the wheels for projects like the *ECCB* (it helped him not only to coordinate the work of fine assistant editors like Stephen Price but to recruit and hold on to field editors, to tap the computer gurus at LSU, and to work with publishers).

It was a blow to many 18th-century projects when Jim fell from scaffolding while at work on his house, seriously injuring himself, crippling one foot. In March 1996 he apologized for not making a Smollett editorial meeting in Austen: "I broke my jaw last week and now exist in a wired together world of mumbles and soft soups"--he had to rely on a blender and water pic that spring. These ailments sat atop proliferative retinopathy, greatly reducing his vision in the mid 90s till he couldn't read well. In 1996 had four operations on his scarred retinas but bounced back, producing in fall 1996 a newsletter with status reports on the many projects he was then involved in: *ECCB* (1989 and 1990 vols. were in the press and 1991 was pasted up); *Clarissa* Project (only the final page corrections and indexing was needed for Vol. 16, *New Essays on Clarissa*); the Georgia Smollett Edition; *Shorter Prose Writings of Samuel Johnson* (second set of proofs for Vol. 1 sent to Skip Brack and Vol. 2 "entered into the production apparatus here"); Stoke Newington Defoe Edition (final proofs for *Essay on Projects* [1999] returned from the editors). In the entry on *ECCB*, Jim remarked, "after 18 years as General Editor--I am actively seeking

my own replacement." That was in part to dedicate more time to the Stoke Newington Defoe Edition. A January 1994 status report listing Jim as co-editor for the edition (with Irving Rothman, Max Novak, and Manny Schonhorn) listed over a dozen volumes in preparation. In February Rothman wrote, "After several publishers withdrew from the project, Jim accepted the challenge and saw its inception at the LSU bibliographic center in association with the AMS Press. He is responsible for giving life to the project." Jim's working relation with Gabriel Hornstein at AMS Press underlay many projects. For work on the *ECCB*, AMS subsidized two graduate assistantships. Eventually, when the *ECCB* fell too far behind, Kevin Cope and Bob Leitz took over the project for AMS Press; Jim's last volume, in two parts co-edited with Elena V. Haltrin Khalturina and Steve Price, covered 1993 (2001, 2003). For nearly two decades, Jim was indispensable to many collaborative projects that would fill a book shelf.

Here follow recollections and appreciations by one of Jim's former colleagues and two of his former students, Jerry Beasley, Kit Kincade, and Robert Dryden.

I was fortunate to know Jim Borck for many years and to work closely with him on a number of projects important to us both. He was a great friend and a splendid colleague; his generosity and good sense were equaled only by his unflinching good humor—even when he was in pain, which was much of the time. I got to know Jim in the mid 1980s, about the time I took over as General Editor of the Georgia Edition of *The Works of Tobias Smollett*. The Press wanted all volumes submitted on compute disks. At the time I was a total innocent in such technical matters and hadn't a clue how to proceed. But there was Jim, and he enthusiastically agreed to help me out. I don't know how I could have gotten on without him. He steered me through the (then primitive) mechanics of satisfying the Press's demands, and, afterward, as the technical procedures became relentlessly more complex, I asked him to serve as Technical Editor for the Edition. Again he enthusiastically agreed. As the other editors and I became more savvy about procedures, Jim's role with the Edition diminished, but he was crucial at the beginning, and he continued to consult—always wisely and with good cheer—whenever his expertise was needed. Meanwhile, I got to know Jim's wizardry with other projects—the early stages of the *Clarissa* edition among them, and most particularly his shrewd management of *ECCB*, which he brought back from a doldrums stage after taking it over. In the late 1980s I said yes to his request to serve for a time as English Books Editor, and, while I found my task as daunting as it was rewarding, my chief memory of those years is of how much fun it was to work with Jim. He was always fun, always smart, humane, and kind, and any friend who was lucky enough, as I was, to see him among his graduate students or in the midst of his family understood at once why he was universally admired and loved. Everyone who knew him will miss him.—Jerry Beasley (U. of Delaware)

It is hard to summarize what a person's life can mean to others in just a

few words. Jim Borck was not merely my mentor and former dissertation director, but he was my friend. Jim loved both the teaching and mentoring of his students. His gentle good humor always helped soften the blow of well-meaning and accurate critical commentary on my work. His classroom was a space that was always open to free debate, and he was quick to acknowledge a convincing argument, even if it was opposed to his own interpretation. He was generous with his time; he had so many grad students that he often had to have weekly group meetings just to accommodate everyone who wanted to work with him. He believed that anyone who asked deserved his teaching, help, and guidance—not merely those who had the good fortune to be working on topics in his field. He was a scrupulous general editor, able to manage multiple personalities with seemingly endless issues. I will miss his wry sense of humor, his stories, and his dedication to his students and his profession. At least I know that he is no longer, "nibbled to death by ducks!"—Kit Kincade (Indiana State U.)

Jim Borck was my deciding factor to specialize in eighteenth-century British literature at Louisiana State University. Jim took me under his wing, and within a month he was on my dissertation committee (eventually to co-chair), and I was his Assistant Editor on *The Eighteenth Century: A Current Bibliography*. I worked with Jim on two volumes of the *ECCB*, those for 1991 and 1992, acting respectively as Assistant Editor and then Associate Editor.

My recollection of the day-to-day labor at the *ECCB* is of an office in transition, caught between the manual processes of the old world and the computer efficiency of today. Just as I arrived on the scene in 1997, Jim had purchased an Apple computer that was to be our central storehouse. We fed it information entry by entry, review by review. The Apple overlapped with a few other generations of *ECCB* data collection and entry methods that were all seemingly in use at the same time. In hardcopy form, there was an enormous box of index cards, each with publication information for current year books. Then there was a brodingnagian computer that ran off the UNIX system. I'm not sure who originally entered data onto those first generation diskettes, but data there was, and I recall extracting information from that machine and entering it back onto the Apple. Finally, there were reviews and citations that would filter into the office from our section editors, and we office staff members would enter them manually onto the Apple. There was no scanning, cutting, or pasting involved. Drudgery was the order of the day. We entered data, backed it up on second generation floppies, edited the sections on hardcopy, and then reentered editorial changes back onto the Apple. We had busy little factory, but I'm afraid that by today's standards, the efficiency rating was quite low.

I learned the ropes of the *ECCB* from Jim's editorial staff: Steve Price (whom I succeeded), Mimi Bhattacharyya, and Tina Vallery. Jim liked to delegate responsibility. He let his staff do most of the teaching. He understood well that in order for us shine, the boss needed to step out of the way. His



method was trial by fire and it usually worked. At the same time, though, Jim's office door was always open, and he was ready to deal with any query or emergency. In this regard especially, Jim seemed to operate on a different time scheme than the rest of us, as if he had thirty hours in each day. When a problem came up, even minutes before teaching, Jim would instantly drop what he was doing, solve the problem, and then casually (and a little bit impressed with himself) he would reach for his teaching materials, rise from his chair, and utter something like "time to scatter seeds of knowledge."

The best part about Jim's bibliography was the social environment. Social enjoyment was very much a part of Jim's method. Every month or two he had Friday afternoon happy hours for his *ECCB* staff. Jim would show up with a picnic cooler filled with chilled champagne, sodas, cheeses, crackers, and dips. He knew we were making no money, so I'm sure he wanted us to know how much we were appreciated. Jim was a festive man. This was part of his grand plan to enjoy life. Jim Borck was unusual in his ability to transcend the traditional role of boss and professor. Most of his staff and students felt the same way, that here at once was a professor, a boss, a mentor, a father figure, a friend. I'll never underestimate the impact Jim has on my life.--Robert G. Dryden

**James J. Kirschke.** *Gouverneur Morris: Author, Statesman, and Man of the World*. New York: Thomas Dunne Books [a division of St. Martin's Press], 2005. Pp. xxvi + 370; chronology; index. Hardcover: \$40; ISBN: 031224195X.

Thirty-five-year-old Gouverneur Morris of Morrisania, The Bronx, a major author of the first New York State Constitution of 1777 (and a future U.S. Senator from New York, 1800-1803), did not represent New York in the Federal Convention which was convened in Philadelphia by its president, George Washington, on May 25, 1787. If he had he would have found himself sidelined with Alexander Hamilton, because New York had deliberately designed its delegation to outvote nationalists like them. Instead Morris represented Pennsylvania, whose host delegation was naturally the most numerous. Its eight members included eighty-one-year-old Benjamin Franklin, first President of Pennsylvania, James Wilson, the inventor of the U.S. presidency, Thomas Mifflin, a former President of the United States in Congress Assembled (1782-83), and that other Morris, Robert, the first United States Superintendent of Finance.

Venerable though these Founders were, however, it was Gouverneur Morris, the youngest Pennsylvania delegate, who made the largest contribution among them to the Constitution of the United States, which emerged from that Convention three and a half months later. It was not because he was ever president of anything, nor was it because he spoke well, or spoke often, though it's clear from Madison's *Notes* that he did both. It is because at the crux of

several important debates he made one of the key speeches that assembled the needed majority, both in the Pennsylvania caucus (each state had only one vote) and in the Convention at large. He made the key argument for James Wilson's single executive, nationally elected. Then, toward the end, he was chosen president (chairman) of the Committee of Style, whose job was to deliver the final version of the charter to a final vote by the Convention. Morris used the opportunity to amplify the powers of the federal government by tweaking Article 1, Section 8, then tipped in a short Preamble which added the promotion of the general welfare to the duties of the government, and crucially assigned responsibility for the entire work to the People rather than to the States.

Because over two centuries of our history, our government has become more presidential than parliamentary, the key (and rather ironic) role of Morris and Wilson in inventing the presidency has been misunderstood. Indeed, as our administrations lean ever closer to war dictatorship, most Americans no longer have the necessary background for appreciating the nation's 18th-century founders, who were much too republican to allow one man to have—or even to claim—a monopoly in politics. A brilliant creative parliamentarian like Morris, or for that matter James Madison, Roger Sherman or William Patterson, is now relegated to the background of the tumultuous founding period. Gouverneur Morris's immensely varied career is today remembered, if at all, for three things: his four-year stint assisting Robert Morris in juggling the precarious finances of the revolutionary government, his ambassadorial sojourn as Jefferson's successor in Paris, where he gave nearly as much help to the French right as Jefferson had given to the left, and his life as a discreet but ardent skirt-chasing bachelor on two continents.

Perhaps because he teaches Colonial and Revolutionary American Literature at Villanova, James Kirschke is fortunately not seduced by present-mindedness into underestimating Gouverneur Morris's 18th-century skills and achievements. He knows, for example, that the best way to deal with the fact that Morris was no democrat is to make it clear that except for Thomas Paine, a few Vermonters and (in certain moods) Benjamin Franklin, there were no democrats to speak of in the political elite of the United States before the French Revolution. Kirschke also understands how nationalism or "federalism" built among veterans of the Revolution like Morris and Hamilton, and the reasons why it came so close to defeat in the ratification fight of 1787-1788. Kirschke also gives Morris the credit he deserves for his opposition to religious tests in politics, and his stand on slavery. At a time when the "peculiar institution" was taken for granted everywhere, was legal in every Western state but England, France, Massachusetts and Vermont, and was supported by a stupefyingly large majority of the propertied (the propertied being the only ones who could vote), Morris not only repudiated slavery for himself and his heirs, but publicly attempted to insert an option in both the New York and United States Constitutions for a future legislature to ban it. The label of "conservative" may continue to fit Gouverneur Morris; but it's doubtful that "neocon" ever will.

Kirschke, in fact, has produced a wonderful, thoroughly engaging biography of this major Founding Father (if we may use that suspect term for a man who did not get around to marriage until the age of 57 and had his first child at 58). Kirschke's book is one of the very best available remedies for the habitual American neglect of the less executive members of the founding generation. The first biography of Morris, by Jared Sparks, came in 1832; the second, by future president Theodore Roosevelt, nearly sixty years later in 1889. After that, there was no biography until the election of Eisenhower (by Howard Swiggett, 1952), followed by two in the Bicentennial years (Max M. Mintz, 1970, and Mary-Jo Kline, 1978). Finally in 2003, biographies appeared by Richard Brookhiser and William Howard Adams, seasoned historians riding the wave of new popular demand for history of the Founding, heralded by the success of McCullough's *John Adams*. Nevertheless, of all these biographies, it is Kirschke's that best understands the many different accomplishments of Gouverneur Morris, not only in legislative practice but also in finance and economics, administration, diplomacy, rhetoric and love. Kirschke's biography is also the most reflective, the most inviting, and the most familiar with the depths of character and learning behind Morris's legendary surface charm.

Kirschke is a fine writer who knows how to use the details, even when the ground rules of historical biography reduce their availability. He knows how to remind the reader discreetly that everything Morris did after 1780 he did with only one leg. He knows how to tell the stories of Morris's brief encounters in the parlors of noble- and gentlewomen (mostly married, like Adélaïde de Flahaut) without making any partner seem either wronged or ridiculous. This is, I think, the way it really was for men and women of that class in the late eighteenth century, when not many *liaisons* were *dangereuses*, and not all women were without choices. In short, this biography is the kind of book that will bring American readers easily into the world of the eighteenth century, a world which, for most Americans, is populated more with the Washingtons and the Adamases than with Dr. Johnsons or Clarissa Harlowes.

William Everdell  
St. Anne's School, The Bronx

**Laurence Sterne. *A Sentimental Journey and Continuation of the Bramine's Journal with Related Texts*. Edited by Melvyn New and W. G. Day. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 2006. Pp. xxiv + 252. ISBN 0-87220-800-1; paperback, \$7.95.**

Specialists will already be aware of Melvyn New and W.G. Day's fine edition of *A Sentimental Journey* and related texts, published in 2002 as Volume 6 of the Florida Edition of Sterne's *Works*. The current volume is an extremely useful student edition which derives directly from that work and

shares many of its merits; it is a piece of composite scholarship in a double sense—first, because it reflects the collaboration of its editors, and second, because those editors were able to draw judiciously upon the work of earlier interpreters of Sterne's life and works ranging from L. P. Curtis and Gardner D. Stout, Jr., to Arthur H. Cash and Tom Keymer.

The editors use their Introduction to sketch in the biographical circumstances surrounding the composition of *A Sentimental Journey*. Sterne traveled in France and Italy in hopes of improving health, first in 1762-1764, then in 1765-1766. However, Sterne's own travels were only tangentially related to Yorick's in the *Journey*; in fact, the travelogue that Sterne wished to write was a tracing of the bounds of Yorick's sensibility. It is a matter of debate whether his insistent focus upon feelings reflects the sentimental turn in the later volumes of *Tristram Shandy* or perhaps the changing literary marketplace.

Whatever the case, the present editors note that Sterne had actually anticipated some of these sentimental attitudes in sermons written years earlier; they also point to the figure of Don Quixote, whom they see as the guiding spirit of Sterne's later writings.

The composition of *A Sentimental Journey* was complexly intertwined with a private journal of sentiments addressed to Eliza Draper, a young woman soon bound for India to join her husband, with whom Sterne became infatuated between February and early April of 1767. This relationship was surely doomed from the outset—differences of age and health, marital circumstances, and simple geography were all against it,—but Sterne spent months recording the evolution of his sentiments and trying to will matters otherwise. Perhaps her husband would die, and who knew what love might then make possible? As he wrote at the time, "—dear Enthusiasm!—thou bringst things forward in a moment, w[hich] Time keeps for Ages back--." *The Continuation of the Bramine's Journal* can be read either as an interesting and emotionally charged sidelight on *A Sentimental Journey*, which Sterne was also writing at the time—"Tis sweet to feel by what fine-spun threads our affections are drawn together"—or as a sad record of a sick and vulnerable older man pursuing a one-sided and finally impossible love. Desperate need, not to be reasoned with, made Eliza an imagined "wife" to Sterne, and foolish hope seemed happiness enough, at least for a while. Too soon such illusions were dashed, as Eliza was unable to share his "dear Enthusiasm."

For obvious reasons, this student edition cannot be as copiously annotated as the Florida research edition, but it is generously annotated all the same. Many notes are simply explanatory: what is a "Desobligeant," and why is it called that? More interesting, however, are notes in which the editors use their considerable expertise to place some particular word or reference or sentiment expressed in Sterne's text into the broader contexts of his thought. So, for example, they point out numerous instances in which Sterne was recalling phrases from the Bible and earlier literature or in which his late notions echo or revise ideas first expressed years earlier in his own sermons, his correspondence, or *Tristram Shandy*. They bravely attempt to untangle some

of Sterne's expressions which hover uneasily between English and imperfect French; they point out many instances of Sterne's naughty *doubles entendres* not previously noticed (by this reader). More generally, they place Yorick's remarks and Sterne's thinking in the midst of the culture and customs of their times—the costs of travel, the experiences of other travelers, political considerations, what people were reading, and so on. In the same vein, they provide an appendix which reprints eight longer segments from Sterne's other writings to illustrate some of his characteristic attitudes.

All in all, then, this is a very "teacherly" edition, with able guides providing useful and reliable guidance. (A tip of the hat is due to the publisher as well, for bringing out this edition at a price a student might actually afford to pay.) There is only one area where I question their editorial judgment. In the Introduction they explain that their notes are "designed to elucidate rather than interpret" (xvii). In practice this aim means that the editors shun general perspectives on critical issues that come up in their text, particularly issues connected with "sentiment," "sensibility," "feeling," and the like. Instead, they say, "we have addressed the notion of 'sentimental' and its many associated ideas as localized and text-derived issues, with no attempt to offer a unified perception of Sterne's contribution to the ongoing debates" over sentimentalism (xviii). Their caution is understandable, given the slipperiness of the language of sentiment, and to their credit they recommend a full list of "further readings" for the reader more generally interested in sentimentalism. Still, this is a student edition, and I think that a moment of teacherly opportunity was here passed by—either to explain the place of *A Sentimental Journey* in a larger current of contemporary ideas, or, failing that, to explain the difficulties of making general remarks about sentimentalism and its contexts. Where there are doubt and debate, there is room for growth, and a good student would want to know where the particular challenges lie.

Peter M. Briggs  
Bryn Mawr College

**Samuel Johnson, *The Lives of the Poets*. With an Introduction and Notes by Roger Lonsdale.** 4 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006. Pp. xvii + 440; xv + 425; xv + 467; xv + 649. ISBN: 0-19-927897-0. Hardcover, \$500; £320.

This scholarly edition of Samuel Johnson's *The Lives of the Poets* makes a welcome appearance 101 years after the publication of G. B. Hill's posthumously published edition of 1905, until now the standard edition. After reading through Roger Lonsdale's edition, a scholar might be forgiven for thinking that he must have begun work on it in 1906. It is an edition performed on a massive scale, and it is a tribute to Lonsdale as one of the most distinguished scholars of the British 18th century, that the Clarendon Press has given him free rein and allowed him to edit the *Lives* to his own high standard.



Sir John Hawkins, who had met Johnson at least by the fall of 1738, gives this description of his friend as he approached his late 60s: "Being at ease in his circumstances, and free from that solicitude which had embittered the former part of his life, he sunk into indolence, till his faculties seemed to be impaired: deafness grew upon him; long intervals of mental absence interrupted his conversation, and it was difficult to engage his attention to any subject. His friends, from these symptoms, concluded, that his lamp was emitting its last rays, but the lapse of a short period gave them ample proofs to the contrary." The "ample proofs" came from *The Lives of the Poets*. On March 29, 1777 Johnson was visited by Thomas Cadell, Thomas Davies, and William Strahan as representatives of a consortium of forty-two London booksellers and six printers, asking him to provide biographical and critical prefaces to *The Works of the English Poets*, an elaborate edition then in the planning stages. Johnson agreed. The edition was to include fifty-two poets, all selected by the booksellers; Johnson recommended only the inclusion of Pomfret, Watts, Yalden, and Blackmore's *The Creation*. Even though the health problems mentioned by Hawkins intensified, the confidence placed in him by the booksellers confirmed to Johnson that the fine edge of his critical and writing skills had not been dulled by time, and he labored to prove to himself, as well as to them, that he was capable of completing another major project, and completing it well. Of course he worked on the *Lives* in the same fashion that he had worked on the *Dictionary* and *Shakespeare*, as he described it himself on his annual Easter review on April 13, 1781: "I wrote in my usual way, dilatorily and hastily, unwilling to work, and working with vigour and haste." His dilatoriness meant that *Prefaces, Biographical and Critical, to the Works of the English Poets* had to be published in ten volumes (1779-81) separately from the *Works of the English Poets*. Then in 1781 *The Lives of the Most Eminent English Poets, with Critical Observations on Their Works* were published in four volumes, followed in 1783 by the last edition to be published in Johnson's lifetime. As Lonsdale demonstrates, for all of these editions Johnson provided revisions and corrections, and read proofs.

Among the more persistent myths about Johnson, to which he was an abettor, is his ability to write quickly without the necessity of revision. Stories of Johnson's prowess with the pen began in his lifetime, were perpetuated by the early biographers, as well as by Sir John Hawkins and James Boswell, and by later scholars, largely without critical examination. In writing the *Debates*, Sir John Hawkins tells us, Johnson "was wont to furnish for the Gentleman's Magazine three columns of the Debates in an hour, written, as myself can attest, in a character that almost any one might read," and that "his practice was to shut himself up in a room assigned him at St. John's gate, to which he would not suffer any one to approach, except the compositor or Cave's boy for matter, which, as fast as he composed it, he tumbled out at the door." Yet, as the forthcoming edition of the *Debates* in the Yale Johnson will demonstrate, if Johnson did not revise the debates in manuscript (no manuscripts for the debates have survived), he certainly revised several of them after they had

appeared in print, at least once, occasionally twice. Contrary to the accepted view, Johnson was a compulsive reviser when given the opportunity, revising the debates, for example, even though they were written anonymously and could do little to enhance his reputation. Almost certainly he revised the debates without being paid to do so, in the process calling into question another myth that Johnson helped perpetuate, "No one but a blockhead ever wrote, except for money," unless, of course a work needed a little revision here and there, a friend needed help with revising a work, or needed a dedication, or a preface, and so on.

Students of Johnson know other stories of the speed with which he wrote works requiring no revision: Crousaz, the *Life of Savage*, the preface to *The Preceptor*, the *Rambler*, and *Rasselas* come to mind. Charles Burney reported that Johnson told him "he never wrote any of his works that were printed twice over," and he witnessed several pages of the manuscript of the *Lives of the Poets* "with scarce a blot or erasure." His daughter Frances heard Johnson say, "that he sent his copy to the press unread; reserving all his corrections for the proof sheets," adding, "not even Dr. Johnson could read twice without ameliorating some passages, his proof sheets were at times liberally marked with changes." The extent to which these tales are not true can now be determined with the evidence supplied by Lonsdale.

Johnson's habits of revision and correction are made clear by Lonsdale's superb editorial skills in presenting the text of the "Life of Pope," and it is this life that provides the fullest record of how Johnson wrote *The Lives of the Poets*. For this life the editor had to take into consideration surviving notes Johnson made before beginning the life (British Library; and National Library of Art at the Victoria and Albert Museum), the manuscript (Pierpont Morgan Library), the proof sheets given to Frances Burney, now in the Hyde Collection (Houghton Library, Harvard University), and the revisions made in the 1781 and 1783 editions of the *Lives*. For his copy-text Lonsdale chose the 1783 edition, normalizing only the long "s" and eliminating the quotation marks lacing the margin in favor of modern practice. Since the Greg-Bowers textual theory has emphasized reconstructing the lost manuscript, a surviving manuscript might seem the best choice for copy-text. But, as Lonsdale points out, "However revealing about his habits and idiosyncracies, Johnson's MSS hardly represent an ideal state of the text, which an editor must strive to reconstruct in the face of subsequent deterioration in the printing house, since he himself considered the MS only as a first stage in the evolution of the text" (1:177). In the manuscripts for the *Lives* Johnson's capitalization of nouns is inconsistent but heavier than in the printed texts, his punctuation lighter, his spelling, also inconsistent, often differs from his own recommendations in the *Dictionary*. "Johnson evidently took for granted that such aspects of his text would be normalized in the printing house . . . that some attempt would be made to regularize punctuation, spelling, and capitalization, and other typographical matters" (*Ibid.*). The attempt to make these typographical features consistent, Lonsdale points out, was, in fact,

inconsistent, defeated by the size of the work and the numerous compositors, with their own idiosyncratic habits, required to set the text. (See Appendix C: Spelling and Capitalization in the Prefaces and Lives, 4:539-47.)

As Johnson remarks of Pope's translation of the *Iliad*, "to estimate the excellence and difficulty of this great work, it must be very desirable to know how it was performed, and by what gradations it advanced to correctness" (4:17). The evidence of how Johnson composed the *Lives*, the context in which he did so, and how it became "this great work," is provided by Lonsdale—who records substantive variants for the MSS, proofs, and editions through 1783. To demonstrate how the text of the "Life of Pope" reached its "final" form in the 1783 edition of *Lives*, it is necessary to begin with the memoranda which indicate that Johnson had an original plan for what he wanted to include in his "Life of Pope." After one examines the memoranda, it is necessary to turn to the manuscript in which Johnson "changed his mind in mid-sentence, revised whole paragraphs, made later insertions, and may have even retranscribed some heavily revised passages" (1:176). Throughout all the revisions for all versions of the *Lives*, it should be emphasized, Johnson's primary concern is with style, as can be seen in some of the following examples, although he is always interested in supplying correct information. A favorite revision by Johnson for works already in print, in the *Lives* as well as earlier works, is to change one word when he has used the same word in close proximity. He changes "modern" (par. 17), "high" (par. 24), "publish" (par. 147), "threaten" (par. 159), for example, to avoid repetition. Two memorable passages in his discussion of the "Elegy to the Memory of an Unfortunate Lady" receive curious revisions: in "she liked self-murder better than suspence," "self-murder" was substituted for "suicide," and in "the amorous fury of a raving girl," "amorous fury" was substituted for "suicide" and "raving" for "mad" (pars. 51, 52; see also "Commentary," 4:252). A short paragraph (123) discussing the South Sea Bubble has three revisions in the manuscript: after "year" he adds "(1720)," "when more riches were expected" becomes "when more riches than Peru can boast were expected," and in "even poets hoped after wealth," "hoped" becomes "panted." In the proofs he returned again to the paragraph to change "save himself" to "get clear." Johnson substitutes one anecdote for another in the paragraph (159) in which he discusses Pope's threat to "write no more," and observes that "The man who threatens the world is always ridiculous." The manuscript had "I have heard of an idiot, who used to enforce his demands by threatening to beat his head against the wall"; this was changed to read in the final version: "I have heard of an idiot who used to revenge his vexations by lying all night upon the bridge." That Johnson did not always write in haste, and was willing to spend time getting details right, can be seen, for example, in his concern about Pope's portrait of Thomas Betterton (par. 69; "Commentary," 4:256). The final form of this paragraph was reached only after several additional changes in proof. In some paragraphs Johnson was forced to return several times before he was pleased with the results (pars. 304, 308, for example). As Lonsdale clearly shows, there are hundreds of corrections and

revisions by Johnson in the manuscript.

As previously indicated, revisions and corrections continued in the proofs, "often aimed at achieving greater conciseness by tightening syntax and eliminating repetition of the same or similar words," and often revising the "final sentence of a paragraph, as if to ensure a satisfying conclusion to a textual unit" (1:178). John Nichols, chief printer for the edition, provided information to Johnson, as did Isaac Reed, and George Steevens, who also took an active part in assisting with the *Lives*. Occasionally other friends such as Thomas Tyers or Sir John Hawkins assisted him. Thus, in the second paragraph, speaking of Pope's father: "It is allowed that he grew rich by trade; but whether in a shop or on the Exchange was never discovered, till Mr. Tyers told, on the authority of Mrs. Racket, that he was a linen-draper in the Strand," in the first and second editions (1781) this sentence ended with "has never been discovered." This edition was to receive further revisions and corrections for the 1783 edition.

For the 1783 edition of *Lives*, Johnson made revisions in a copy of the 1781 for what was to be the last edition published in his lifetime. That the booksellers thought these revisions were important is indicated by their willingness to pay Johnson £100 to complete them. As in previous editions Johnson continued to be concerned primarily with matters of style. Johnson and Nichols also continued to try to eliminate errors, and inconsistencies in the formal presentation of the text. But this edition was to be no different from earlier ones: errors crept in that had not appeared in earlier ones, or errors corrected in previous editions again appeared, in spite of careful proof reading by the author and chief printer. All of this should not come as a surprise to anyone familiar with printing-house practices in the period. Nevertheless, the 1783 *Lives* represents Johnson's final thoughts on the text he wished posterity to read.

Lonsdale estimates that for the 1783 edition Johnson made "some 130 significant revisions, additions, and omissions" (1:183). Lonsdale's first job was to positively separate these authorial readings from non-authorial ones. Substantive changes are not fated to be authorial, and it takes an editor like Lonsdale who is familiar with Johnson's habits of composition, revision, style, and vocabulary to separate Johnson's revisions from those of a compositor. When the editor identified incorrect readings, correct readings from earlier editions had to be restored or the editor had to emend the text. In order to keep the textual apparatus within reasonable compass it was necessary to record, in most instances, only substantive variants. Since the "Textual Notes" are only a table, sometimes justification for emending or not emending a word or passage, and a discursive history of the textual problem, appears in the "Commentary," keyed, like the textual notes, to the paragraph number of the life. Particularly troublesome for the editor were the quotations from Pope's poetry. Passages were copied for Johnson by Hester Thrale, and by George Steevens, and others were printed directly from some unidentified edition of Pope's poetry, thereby adding additional layers of capitalization, punctuation and spelling to an



already confused mix. Instead of correcting the quotations against an original text by Pope, which Johnson may have never seen, Lonsdale has allowed the passages to stand as they appear, unless clearly in error, or correctly quoted in a previous edition of *Lives*, in which case he returns to the earlier reading.

In addition to producing an accurate text, the first priority for a scholarly edition, Lonsdale includes many other fine features. The 185-page introduction provides a thorough history of the composition of the lives, and then places them in the context of the theory and practice of life writing, both by Johnson and others. Lonsdale then discusses the place of the lives in literary history, and in the politics of the period. Finally, there is a section on the texts. The lives are printed in the order in which they appeared in the 1783 edition with the paragraphs numbered to correspond to those in G. B. Hill's edition for easy reference. The lives in each volume are followed by "Textual Notes" and a "Commentary." Each volume has two ribbons tipped in to enable the reader to mark the place in the text of a life and the appropriate place in the back matter. It is a bit cumbersome at first, but with practice, manageable.

The "Commentary" is a major feature. Like a labyrinthian castle, every turn presents something new or unfamiliar to delight. Never mind that I had not recognized that I need to know some slightly out-of-the-way information, I now wonder how I had lived all of these years without it. No one loves a note more than Lonsdale, or better realizes notes should be fun, as well as informative, part of the fun being the arrival at the end of the note at an unexpected destination. It is just possible that some readers may disappear into the commentary and never be seen again. What is particularly impressive about the notes is the problems Lonsdale creates for himself and then happily resolves. Most annotators would choose, or be forced to choose by economic considerations of their publisher, to give their reader only the barest minimum information by which Johnson and his work can be understood. The note on James Worsdale (par. 169; "Commentary," 4:280) may be taken as an example. In J. P. Hardy's fine student edition of *Lives* (1971), Worsdale's dates are given and he is described as "portrait-painter and possible playwright," and the reader is sent for an account to W. R. Chetwood, *A General History of the Stage* (1749), pp. 249-50 (252). Lonsdale points out that Johnson was the first to identify Worsdale as the alleged intermediary between Pope and Curll, cites Johnson's memorandum that suggests that Henry Lintot may be the source of his information, and fleshes out his character by drawing on *Thraliana*, Birch, George Faulkner, Swift, and Warton. Although a Pope scholar might think that Johnson's "Life of Pope" would have little to offer after more than two centuries, Lonsdale's notes certainly do. Not content with trying to resolve all the problems raised about Johnson in the life, he tries to resolve the problems about Pope raised by Johnson, discussing, for example, not only Johnson's relationship with Warburton, but Pope's as well.

When the surviving evidence for the composition of the "Life of Pope," and other lives, assembled by Lonsdale, is examined carefully, and the reader pulls back to see the larger picture, gone is the superhero of "Columbus



at the oar" and "Hercules in the cradle" of Thomas Tyers and James Boswell, replaced by a more fully human Johnson, the writer. Although few writers can compare with Johnson in the quality of his art, like other writers he commits himself to more than he can readily do, he struggles to meet his own exacting standard for his writing and personal integrity, he writes to maintain his reputation, and preferably to enhance it, at the same time he struggles against the distraction of mind and body.

The true value of any book, as Johnson is fond of reminding us, is how well it stands the test of time, and that cannot now be known. What we do know is that scholars of the early twenty-first century are the fortunate recipients of "the precious life blood" of two master spirits.

O M Brack, Jr.  
Arizona State University

**Sylvia Bowerbank.** *Speaking for Nature: Women and Ecologies of Early Modern England.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press (Published in cooperation with the Center for American Places, Santa Fe, NM, and Staunton, VA), 2004. Pp. xii + 288 + [12] of plates; index. ISBN: 0-8018-7872-1; Hardcover, \$49.95.

If *Speaking for Nature* had been released as a trade paperback, as probably it should have been, some reviewer not knowing better, might have thought this "Sylvia Bowerbank" a pen name. Certainly Sylvia, whose death in August 2005 was reported here in February 2006 (XX.i.56-57), was aptly named, and not just for writing the best book to emerge from our community on 18th-century ecofeminism or ecology more generally. Sylvia published a flock of studies on engagements with nature by authors from the Restoration to the early 19th century. But she was also an activist, co-chairing McMaster University's President Committee on Indigenous Issues, its coordinator of Indigenous Studies and its liaison with people of the Six Nations. She lived a principled and loving life. The lengthy acknowledgement section of *Speaking for Nature* rings with such phrases as "I have been blessed" and "I am deeply grateful." When I last saw her, just after she'd driven down from Ontario to the EC/ASECS meeting in Greensburg, PA, she gushed appreciatively about countryside and towns that she'd passed through. That engagement with the environment is amplified in her final chapter's loving tribute to the Cootes Paradise marsh behind McMaster University--Sylvia here speaks for her marsh. For a historical study of the long 18th century, *Speaking for Nature* has, throughout, an extraordinary personal warmth.

Also striking is how suitable to subject and purpose is Sylvia's non-linear and poetical or associational method within her book's organization, even as surveyed in the introduction. The reader is respectfully asked to judge, to generalize, and to inter-relate. Perhaps some indirection was required to

introduce what might in some lights seem out of unity, such as the material on the Philadelphians. We scholars and scientists, creatures with knives, belong to an analytical culture; we have disengaging mental habits that create inside/outside and us/them dichotomies, habits that allow forest clear-cutting and other depredations. Sylvia's ecological vision works toward inclusion: she reaches from Bacon to the present, and from the local to the global. Her critical and historical ecofeminism seeks to ease the approaching environmental catastrophe: "what languages, what theories, what politics, and what daily practices of nature are both just and appropriate to local and planetary well being?" (4). *Speaking for Nature* puts those questions into a historical context by studying the diversity of choices women made in negotiating their places within the shifting sands of early modern discourse of nature, whether it was to reproduce, resist, or reinvent 'Nature.'" (4). The word "nature" is often used by Bowerbank to mean that "culturally mediated structure" that the Bible and Bacon put their stamp on, that includes "beliefs, rites, language, attitudes, and practices--by which particular cultures frame their interactive relations with each other and with nonhuman reality" (6). Thus, her study can include Margaret Cavendish's ridiculing of the New Science and the ascetic Philadelphians' struggle to become "Beautiful Bodies" able to escape from their physical bodies and transcend to the spiritual reality. The reader may be surprised by many of the voices and topics here, even knowing in advance that Bowerbank intends to "reclaim the contributions made by early modern English women to ecological thought and practice" (4).

The book has several lines of progression. Bowerbank begins with the patriarchal Judeo-Christian scheme wherein "women remained the subordinated mediatrix between man and nature": as nature, "in chains," conformed to the "Word of God," so too were women restricted in the "hierarchical harmony" (5). In this track, we start with Mary Wroth's very modest engagement with forests, in a chapter on "Romancing the Forest," a strategy later undertaken deliberately by John Evelyn. Chapter one examines Wroth's life and relation to Penshurst and the wild zones of her *The Countess of Montgomerie's Urania* (1621). I was pleased here to learn about forest law and the popular resentment against the King's forests, a topic that carried into the second chapter, on Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle (she and Duke William's forests, as Welbeck Park, in the Sherwood Forest region suffered enormous losses during the Commonwealth). Much of this chapter, "Nature as Trickster," concerns Cavendish's campaign through many publications to show "the empire of man over nature is a laughable project" (73). The final pages concern country life and housewifery--a very recurrent focus, appropriately so given the origin of "ecology" from the Greek and Latin for "house". Chapters 3-4, forming a Part 2 on "Piety and Ecology," are entitled "Cultivation of Good Nature" and "Millennial Bodies: Giving Birth to New Nature in the Late Seventeenth Century." The former examines how Mary Rich, countess of Warwick (1624-1678) and Catherine Talbot (1721-1770), used "self-technologies--diaries, devotions, letter writing, and other daily practices--to

codify and to cultivate a correspondence . . . of good nature in the self, society, and cosmos." With reference to these and other women, as Elizabeth Burnet (1661-1709), Bowerbank looks closely at the emotional labor needed to harmonize the active and contemplative roles represented for this period in the roles of Martha and Mary at Luke 10:38-41 (pp. 84-89). Although Bowerbank covers such conservation topics as Rich's failed effort to stop her "Lord" from cutting down a beloved "wilderness," most of the self-fashioning examined is not ecological in the usual sense of the word, though the practices such as Talbot's obsessive time management are always interesting. The fourth chapter concerns the eschatological effort to bring a flood of spirits into mundane reality conducted by the mystics Jane Lead and Ann Bathurst, and their fellow Philadelphians (c. 1670-1705, the movement peaking in the late 1690s), some of whom were well educated men who were these prophets' disciples. The Philadelphians (the name from the community in Asia Minor to be spared the trials of the apocalypse [Revelations 3:7-13]) employed a feminist language ("travail" and "breasts of consolation"), envisioned a "Virgin Wisdom" with a function akin to the Holy Ghost's, and "lived lightly on the earth," controlling their appetites and dwelling in communes. Bowerbank examines in detail a wealth of manuscript and printed materials in this fascinating chapter.

The next chapters are more focused on the kind of sympathetic environmental awareness that we associate with ecofeminism. Chapter 5, "If Animals Could Talk: Ecological Dialogues for Children," concerns women's authorship of sentimentalizing representations of nature, beginning with Anna Laetitia Barbauld's "The Mouse's Petition," literature articulating "an ecological principle of natural compassion uniting all life and requiring humanity [especially boys] to treat animals ethically" (137). Bowerbank further develops the gender paradigm reconstructed in the Introduction wherein women softened, as Algarotti put it, a hard or masculine perspective on technology and the world—women turned to the more ethical and ecological "study of nature" and men to "natural philosophy" (143). The examples here include Sarah Trimmer's *An Easy Introduction to the Knowledge of Nature* (1780), Eleanor Fenn's *Rational Sports in Dialogues* (c. 1785), Wollstonecraft's *Original Stories from Real Life* (1788), Dorothy Kilner's *Rational Brutes; or, Talking Animals* (1799), Charlotte Smith's *Rural Walks* (1804), and Priscilla Wakefield's *Domestic Recreations: or Dialogues Illustrative of Natural and Scientific Subjects* (1805)—and French texts as well. Bowerbank examines the "pathetic stylistics" engaging "the sympathetic feelings of the reader by means of an authentic representation of the animal's existence" (150). To complicate matters with inherent contradictions and attend to the naturalization of class distinctions, Bowerbank concludes with a discussion of "Eating Animals and Saying Grace" (156-60)—at times here, as in covering Catherine Macaulay's *Letters on Education*, there is perhaps too much paraphrase or at least not enough quotation. Chapter 6, "Defending Local Places: Anna Seward as Environmental Writer," focuses on Seward as a "poet of place," appreciative of others' "land stewardship" (163), including Seward's relations with and writings

about Dr. Erasmus Darwin and Francis Mundy, author of the topographical poem *Needwood Forest*. The chapter is organized around Seward's relations with her childhood home of Eyam in the Peak District of Derbyshire (a wilderness suiting childhood), Lichfield, where she lived in the Cathedral Close for fifty years (a convenient, beautiful, and storied site she would enhance and protect), and Llangollen Vale in Wales (as well as two other healthy retreats, all conceived by the elderly Seward as abodes of Hygeia, goddess of health).

Part 4, "Thinking Globally," offers a critical reading of Mary Wollstonecraft's *Letters Written during a Short Residence in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark* (1796) and then, in an afterword celebrating Cootes Paradise as noted above, a short account of Elizabeth Simcoe's responses to Upper Canada (her husband was its lieutenant governor). Chapter 7, "The Bones of the World: Mary Wollstonecraft as Ecofeminist Critic," strikes me as the most difficult and searching chapter. For starters, Wollstonecraft is herself a perceptive intellectual and honest travel writer, who searches (in Bowerbank's words) to grasp "the ongoing reciprocal relationships between human settlements and nonhuman life" and to critique "what was being done in the name of modern civilization" (211-12). Bowerbank sharply analyses Wollstonecraft's resistance to traditional notions of female roles and culture, the home, nature, and capitalist progress. For examination, she selects fascinating passages in *Letters*, such as reflections at Risör, bastilled with rocks: Wollstonecraft envisions a time "when the earth would perhaps be so perfectly cultivated, and so completely peopled, as to render it necessary to inhabit every spot; yes; these bleak shores; Imagination went still father, and pictured the state of man when the earth could no longer support him. Where was he to fly from universal famine?" (quoted on 206). Bowerbank follows this with interesting comparisons to Thomas Malthus's responses to Scandinavia only four years later in 1799: "Malthus's construction of "Nature," as necessarily hierarchical, fixed, and punitive, is the Bastille that haunts Wollstonecraft's imagination. Wollstonecraft writes as a very different sort of prophet of ecology, one willing to take the risk of changing nature" (208-09—"very" seems an overstatement). The movement to Malthus is typical. The text draws on a wide range of sources, such as, to gloss Wollstonecraft's response to odors, Zygmunt Bauman's "The Sweet Scent of Decomposition," in *Forget Baudrillard?* (1993); but the notes offer a more remarkable erudition.

Readers will find *Speaking with Nature* easy going, free of muddles and pretentious terms, with rewards on every page. I've seen six reviews by scholars knowledgeable about ecofeminism, all very favorable ("ground-breaking," etc.). Sylvia's colleague and friend Sara Mendelson gets it exactly right: "This beautifully written, skillfully argued book is cultural history at its best." The book is well indexed and proofread (but closed quotes are missing at 55.8; wrong dates occur at 120.8 and 176.22, and "was" should be "would" at 127.4). With one foot in Cootes Paradise and another in the Mills Memorial Library, Sylvia Bowerbank spent her last years writing a thoughtful and stirring book—it's a fine legacy, and, for us, an important one.—JMay



**Ann R. Hawkins, editor.** *Teaching Bibliography, Textual Criticism and Book History*. London: Pickering & Chatto, 2006. Pp. [xii] + 199; index. ISBN: 1-85196-834-2. Hardcover, \$99; £60.

In his "Afterword" to *Teaching Bibliography, Textual Criticism, and Book History*, Daniel Traister essentially does the book reviewer's job for him. He summarizes the twenty-five other essays in this remarkable volume, noting their breadth of topics and wide applicability. Plus he addresses the question of identity for the evolving and amalgamating discipline that the writers of this work are and have been valiantly attempting to define. Is book history, Traister inquires, a handmaiden to studies of social and intellectual history? Or is it a discipline on its own, with its own handmaidens?

In her introduction, "Towards a Pedagogy of Bibliography," the editor, Ann R. Hawkins, makes it clear that book history is a viable and dynamic course of study, that the fog that sometimes characterizes the development of a discipline is clearing and that this collection is going to help rid the air of the remaining haze. For a start, Hawkins expresses a preference for "bibliography" as an all encompassing label for this discipline, not to be confused with the more limited version traditionally taught in English departments that focuses on search strategies and documentation. However, throughout the volume Hawkins' label seems interchangeable with two of its sub-components, book history and textual criticism. Whatever it ultimately is called, Hawkins makes a case for the need for a pedagogy to be developed that supports and unifies the discipline. To that end, she is supplying a book that gives practical advice on how to develop not only programs, but individual courses as well, that focus on bibliography. Further, the aim of this book is to provide new instructors of book history and textual criticism with methods for successfully conducting their classes.

Hawkins conveniently divides the volume into three major parts, each with sub-parts. In reviewing the essay constituents of each of these parts, it is difficult not to proceed seriatim. In doing so, it is unfortunate in a relatively short review that I cannot spend more space exploring each one, for they all have a great deal to add to the discourse. However, along the way I will attempt to briefly acknowledge them all while choosing a handful of essays from across the sections for a bit more discussion.

The first part of the collection Hawkins labels as "Rationales." Martin Antonetti surveys the theoretical foundations of the evolving discipline, urging book history scholars to merge the French and Anglo-American schools to form a new amalgam. Meanwhile, Miriam M. Foot proposes a uniting as well, but in this case a combining of programs at two London universities, along with much more emphasis on "hands on" experiences for students. The hands-on approach to educating bibliographers, including their actually learning the mechanics of printing, is, in turn, favored by Steven Escar Smith and Sydney Shep. Shep argues that students' learning the printing process helps them to understand the relationship of text to form and book to culture.



The second part, "Creating and Using Resources," provides helpful advice on how to set up a course in book history, how to establish outcomes and assignments, but, most importantly, how to assemble materials when the resources of a major collection or rare book room are unavailable. Lisa Berglund describes a course that she created by tapping the community resources outside her college in Buffalo, and John Buchtel explains how he accumulated, for his course, a collection of various editions of works and how spin-off inquiries occurred that made use of online gold mines such as eBay. Another valuable online aid for the book history instructor is employed by Ian Gadd at Bath Spa University: Blackboard, which serves as a "repository of information" for his students (69). Broadening the scope somewhat from courses aimed solely at students of bibliography, Jean Lee Cole writes about the ways in which she integrates book history into her American literature survey course by integrating old magazines that provide cultural context for the works students are reading and that are more easily amassed on a tight budget than other material forms.

The first section of Part 3, "Methodologies," focuses on techniques for teaching and incorporating book history in syllabi for a range of students in a variety of courses and programs. Deirdre C. Stam and Erik Delfino provide valuable and widely adaptable strategies and exercises for teaching book history to future librarians. Meanwhile, Sean C. Grass, Jennifer Phegley, and Susanna Ashton describe how they integrate book history into their undergraduate literature courses. Grass employs explorations of the publication background of Victorian novels to explain their length and structure to his students. Similarly, Phegley uses Dickens's reformist publication, *Household Words*, to enable her students to understand what the writer is doing in *Hard Times*. Similar grounding in the times and publication of their works enables American literature students of Susanna Ashton to better comprehend the texts of writers such as Dickinson, Poe, and Dunbar.

Part 3's second section, "Teaching Bibliography and Research Methods," unfolds strategies for inspiring background investigations into the history of the book. John T. Shawcross, in his essay, makes a valuable distinction between a course devoted to documentation and one that focuses on bibliography and research and that is relevant to students' current and future needs. Maura Ives adds that there is indeed a need for scholars trained in just such investigative skills and that English curricula should be broadened. To put into operation the points made in the previous two essays, D.W. Krummel provides some intriguing searching assignments that would be appropriate for students of all kinds, but in particular students in library or rare book school.

For novices in the field of book history and bibliography, three of the most fascinating articles of the volume follow. Thomas E. Kinsella and Willman Spawn describe how they teach students in an undergraduate literary research course the "investigative nature of research" (132) by, first of all, introducing them to an extensive and helpful set of research tools and then having them probe, in a detective-like fashion, questions or mysteries (if you

will) embedded in a series of fascinating case studies. Timothy Barrett follows with an encapsulated history of the making of paper, after which he establishes distinctions between good and poor quality paper and then describes an exercise in paper making that one can use in class. The third essay in this sequence, by R. Carter Hailey, surveys the literature on watermark detection. He then overviews the historic process of creating the frame and mould and attaching the watermark and shows how filigramologists have used their understanding of this process and the variables involved to distinguish among antique laid papers and, in some cases, solve mysteries surrounding the dating of certain documents.

The final section of Part 3, "Teaching Textual Criticism," includes essays that describe individual courses and how textual criticism plays a role in each course. Matthew G. Kirschenbaum discusses how, in his class, he foregrounds "transmission," or "how texts . . . are transformed as they are transmitted" (157). Erick Kelemen and Ann R. Hawkins, in turn, show how they teach textual criticism by having students construct their own edited texts. Finally, Tatjana Chorney exploits, in her classes, the synergy between book history and reader-response theory. Chorney employs this pragmatic approach to underscore "that the interpretive agency of the reader/viewer/editor constructs meaning" (171). Chorney has students examine, for instance, the differences between two versions of the same text to reinforce the notion of the variety of interpretations that can exist, that literature's meaning relies on the interaction between reader and text

Added to the volume is a selective list of resources for the instructor that includes organizations in the field, training programs for faculty, online resources, audio visuals and other types of useful equipment. This list underscores the practical and useful nature of this essay collection. As a compilation of thoughtful, inventive, and highly readable entries, *Teaching Bibliography, Textual Criticism and Book History* makes a valuable contribution to the discipline. In his foreword to the work, Terry Belanger, the founder of the Rare Book School, first at Columbia and then at the University of Virginia, surveys the history of book history programs and his work in the field since the early 1970s. Looking back on his experiences, he states, "What I desperately needed along the way was a book like the one in your hands. . . . My own teaching would have been greatly improved if I had had access to a resources like this available to me in 1971, when I first began offering courses in the field" (3).

A. Franklin Parks  
Frostburg State University