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Reflections on the Composition of *Descendants of Waverley*¹

By Martha F. Bowden

When I was about ten years old, I won a contest at our local library. My prize was a beautiful book called *The Door in the Wall*, written and illustrated by Marguerite de Angeli. It takes place in the fourteenth century in England, during the time of the Black Plague. A young boy, Robin De Bureford, is being treated in a monastery hospital for what we would recognize as polio, while all around him patients are dying of plague. Through the good offices of the monks, especially Brother Luke, he not only survives but learns to walk with crutches, and is eventually engaged in an important mission for King Edward III. I was entranced by it; it took me to another time and place, but with recognizable people and relationships. About the same time, a friend recommended *The Witch of Blackbird Pond* by Elizabeth George Speare, set in colonial New England, and again I had that same feeling of enchantment. A year or so later, I found a novel by Rosemary Sutcliff on the shelf of books at the back of the classroom. I don't remember the title but I know it was not the last Sutcliff I read. I also developed a fascination with Tudor history, inspired by reading *Elizabeth the Great*, Elizabeth Jenkins' biography of Elizabeth I. Until I was twelve, I could not take out books from the adult section of the public library; the first Saturday after my twelfth birthday, I announced my new status to the librarians and marched straight in. After that, I read history, biography, and novels about the Tudors, and later the Brontës, indiscriminately and obsessively. Thus, long before I heard the terms "novel" or "historical fiction" or "genre," I was hooked on the form; the seeds of what became *Descendants of Waverley* (2016) were planted in my childhood.

Equally influential was a conversation I had with my father when I was in my twenties. He asked me if I had read *Waverley*, and when I said "no," he told me the story of his introduction to Sir Walter Scott. He was about sixteen, and in that awkward stage of illness that all parents dread, too well to remain languishing quietly in bed and not well enough to go back to school. My grandmother, who had three younger children, got tired of his whining about boredom and, striding to the bookshelf, took out a book, saying, "Don't bother me again until you have finished this." It was *Waverley*, and not only did my father finish it without further complaints, he read every Scott novel in the shelf. With a recommendation like that, reading *Waverley* was irresistible. While I did not go on to read the entire series, and in fact still have not, I have since consumed many of them and responded to the charm I recognize from my childhood reading.

When I began to research historical fiction, having learned about genres, I did so slowly, reading novels, criticism, and an edition of *Waverley* that included the General Preface to the Magnum Edition. I started with a number of misconceptions that took some time to correct. In the first place, I had accepted the conventional idea that Sir Walter Scott had invented the historical novel, although I had some uncertainty about that premise given my familiarity with *A Journal of the Plague Year*, written about 90 years before *Waverley*. Indeed, not only did Scott not invent the historical novel, he never claimed to do so; in the Preface to *Waverley*, he acknowledges his debt to Maria Edgeworth and Jane Porter, whose regional novels and historical

romances influenced his own writing. In his Preface to Defoe's novels, he describes the work as existing in the grey area that historical fiction inhabits, "one of that particular character of compositions which hovers between romance and history," and laments the absence of a Defoe novel about the Great Fire of London.² I emphasize that rather than inventing the form, which Scott calls the "historical romance," he theorizes it for the first time, in his prefaces to the *Waverley* novels and other writings, including the Introductions to the *British Novel* series and his "Essay on Romance."

I also began with the assumption that there was a clear-cut definition of the historical novel that indicated it was a text about an event that had happened a specific minimum number of years before, twenty for example, and that featured a protagonist who was either a fictional, minor participant in a major historical event, where the historical figures make cameo appearances, or one where the historical figure is the protagonist and the novel fills in their thoughts, conversations, and private lives, all those matters that history has quite carelessly omitted to record. Yet the very suggestion that a novel might chiefly concern itself with a historical figure is a recent notion. In 1971, Avrom Fleischman dismissed the idea of a novel whose central character is a historical figure because his definition argues that the genre is concerned only with the common person; historical figures are too well known for the imagination to develop a creative portrait of them.³

Again, my early reading should have pointed away from that direction: one of my favorite Sutcliff novels, *Dawn Wind*, has almost no historical figures, apart from St. Augustine of Canterbury's brief appearance towards the end. For the most part, the novel engages with life in England when the British people were increasingly at the mercy of the Germanic tribes, who were settling in the country and becoming at home there. For Sutcliff, evocation of place and time is vital; in her novels and in many others I have since read, history itself is a character. In *Dawn Wind*, for example, the ruins of Aquae Sulis, now known as Bath, are inhabited by homeless orphans, a striking representation of destroyed Roman culture in a new reality. In *Knight's Fee*, set in the early Norman period, the protagonist's awareness of time is linked to the wind, which blows over him and all the country alike, the dead and the living, the recorded lives and those who have evaded history: "he was suddenly aware of the new life in the lambing pens, the constant watchful coming and going of the shepherd and dogs and lantern, as something not just happening now, but reaching back and back, and forward and forward, into the very roots of things that were beyond time."⁴ Nor is there any agreement about just how long in the past the text should be located. As I realized, chronology and character do not constitute a satisfactory definition but an insufficient description of the "what." I was more interested in the "how" and "why." Why is historical fiction so potent a genre? How does it work its magic?

I had initially planned an examination of a group of historical novels set in the eighteenth century that would consider their accuracy in depicting the period, based on my own knowledge of it, and link these texts to what Scott does in the "Scottish" romances, the first eight of the *Waverley* Novels. I quickly realized that such an approach would be mechanical, boring, pedantic, and of little utility except as something to turn to when the sleeping pills don't work. Traces of this original approach remain in the book's many references to novels set in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As I read more and

more historical novels, I also realized that historical fiction in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries is a varied and innovative genre, and that the best way to demonstrate that variety was to expand past the boundaries of the eighteenth century. I should not have been surprised by any of these realizations, since my experience of the genre from my childhood suggested precisely that broad expanse. I needed a more structured and theoretically-based approach.

After considerable reading of twentieth- and twenty-first century critical literature and the early theorizing of the novel in the eighteenth century, for example, Clara Reeves's *The Progress of Romance*, I determined on a critical framework that allowed me to get to the heart of the problem. Anne H. Stevens's book, *British Historical Fiction Before Scott*, makes clear that historical fiction's roots are located in romance and the Gothic novel; both Gothic fiction and Scudery's romances make historical claims, although there is little attempt at specificity or any kind of authenticity. When the historical novel begins to pull away from Gothic fiction, it often retains common characteristics, including medieval settings and the supernatural; *Ivanhoe* is a classic example of this mixture, with its Knights Templar, jousts, and Saxon princess singing her people's war songs from the ramparts of the castle she has set on fire, alongside its explicit location in the short reign of Richard I and multiple footnotes elucidating the historical accuracy of its references. Richard Maxwell's *The Historical Novel in Europe 1650-1950* was invaluable in distinguishing between public or documented and secret history: in *Ivanhoe* the Norman Conquest is played out in the domestic and personal lives of the Saxon and Norman characters. The prefaces, afterwards, and reflective essays by contemporary writers of historical fiction are as illuminating as Scott's. If an author calls a book "historical fiction," we should accept the designation and then figure out why it is so designated; in doing so I learned a lot.

Despite the common evolutionary approach to the history of the novel, best articulated by Michael McKeon, in which romance splits into historiography and the realistic novel and in the process ceases to exist, historical fiction provides an example of a subgenre in which the binary is fused. Susan Sontag's novel, *The Volcano Lover*, is subtitled *A Romance*, not because it is a story "chiefly of love," to quote Samuel Johnson in *Rambler* 5, but because it mingles public and secret history. The model, therefore, is not evolution but genealogy: romance continues to be a presence in modern historical fiction whether or not its creators have read any of Scott's novels or prefaces. The influence of the earlier novels and Scott's theorizing and establishment of generic norms is there in the DNA of their texts, whether they produce formulaic reproductions of the "traditional" historical novel or strike out on their own to create new approaches that upend our expectations. We may not know whether our great-great-grandparents were tall or short or what color their eyes were but our genes do. Margaret Anne Doody's proclamation that "Romance and the Novel are one" parallels my contention that the development of historical fiction defied the conventional binary model of the "rise" of the novel, although I decided that in the long run it is more accurate to say that "Romance and the Novel are confused."⁵ There are, needless to say, many other critical voices, but I will refrain from rehearsing my entire bibliography.

The first section of *Descendants of Waverley* establishes the methodology and the argument. In Chapter I, which explicates the critical framework, I argue that historical fiction requires, first and foremost, a claim to *historicity*, an indication at the outset that the text occurs in a particular place at a particular time. The date can come as a statement in the first paragraph or in a newspaper article, a letter or a journal entry, but it is explicit, rather than, vaguely, England at the time of the crusades or medieval France, as in much Gothic fiction. Defoe's *Journal of the Plague Year* begins, "It was about the Beginning of *September* 1664, that I, among the Rest of my Neighbours, heard in ordinary Discourse, that the Plague was returned again in *Holland*..."⁶ About 270 years later, Iain Pears begins *An Instance of the Fingerpost* in a similar fashion: "Marco da Cola, gentleman of Venice, respectfully presents his greetings. I wish to recount the journey which I made to England in the year 1663, the events which I witnessed and the people I met, these being, I hope, of some interest to those concerned with curiosity."⁷

The particular effect of the genre, however, lies in its negotiating two sets of competing, necessary forces: the *authenticity* of the historical material pulling at the *accessibility* to modern readers and the presence of a sense of the *strange*, the awareness that we are in another place and time with very different cultural assumptions from our own, at the same time that it is *familiar* in some way.⁸ Sarah Dunant's *The Birth of Venus* places us in Savonarola's Florence, with its limited expectations for women, while focusing on Alessandra, an artistically gifted young woman who is given a much more restricted range of life choices than a girl in the twentieth century would have. Marco da Cola's disdainful description of a play by a local playwright for whom he has little respect is all the more startling because we recognize it as Shakespeare's *King Lear*. The play, da Cola complains, violates all the Aristotelian unities, apparently taking place over a broad expanse of time and locations and incorporating more than one dramatic plot into the text, "rather as though the author had taken pages from half a dozen plays, tossed them into the air, then stitched them together in whatever order they fell to earth." The language is "of breathtaking foulness," and the action beyond credibility: "a son of some nobleman pretends to be mad and frolics on an open heath in the rain, then meets a king who has also gone mad and has put flowers in his hair (believe me, I am not joking)," and frequently disgusting, especially the scene where a nobleman is blinded on stage "in a fashion which leaves nothing to the imagination." What benefit or purpose is there in such a production, he wonders, except to explain why the English are so violent?⁹ The inherent tensions between these two sets of traits results in the *romance of history*.

John Frow's drop-down menu model of generic characteristics, offered in "'Reproducibles, Rubrics, and Every You Need': Genre Theory Today" (*PMLA*, Oct. 2007), supports my argument that texts need not be confined to a single genre. Should we choose to argue that *Ivanhoe* is a historical novel, we can point to its claim to authenticity and historicity and its assistance in making the strange more familiar by the recognizable characteristics of its central people. Should we argue that it is a Gothic fiction, we emphasize its castles, jousts, and battles between good and evil. In claiming that it is a novel of the Romantic period, we foreground the extent to which it draws on the subjects of medieval balladry in its depiction of Richard the Lion-Hearted and Robin Hood and his merry band.

Scott identifies most of the tensions that are characteristic of modern historical fiction in the description of his unsuccessful attempt in 1807-1808 to render Joseph Strutt's unrevised draft of a historical romance called "Queen-Hoo-Hall" into a readable and successful novel. He points out that in compiling several historical works Strutt had become "familiar with all the antiquarian lore necessary for the purpose of composing the projected romance," which "was laid in the reign of Henry VI," and "was written to illustrate the manners, customs, and language of the people of England during that period."¹⁰ It showed "considerable powers of imagination" (xv), but lacked a conclusion, which Scott felt compelled to provide. He considers this editorial work "a step in my advance towards romantic composition," one that is especially valuable in the shortcomings of the original manuscript. Its greatest weaknesses lay in its attempt to recreate a form of authentic language and its emphasis on the author's knowledge of the medieval period:

by rendering his language too ancient, and displaying his knowledge too liberally, the ingenious author had raised up an obstacle to his own success. Every work designed for mere amusement must be expressed in language easily comprehended; and when...the author addresses himself exclusively to the Antiquary, he must be content to be dismissed by the general reader. (xvi).

Strutt tilted the tension between authenticity and accessibility too far towards the authentic, rendering the text far too strange and not sufficiently familiar.

The second chapter concentrates on the concept of the "romance of history" and its particular brew of history and imagination, in which the novelist moves into the grey spaces of history, filling in and expanding what is documented and known in order to bring the period to life in a manner that is both historically accurate and recognizably distant from ourselves while still, through the familiarity of characters and the psychological realism of their interactions with each other, remaining accessible to us; Hilary Mantel's Thomas Cromwell trilogy takes us into the life of a historical character often described as a monster and uses her reconstruction of that life to investigate the background that shapes Cromwell into the man who steps into the historical record and to suggest how powerful a presence that other complex monster, Henry VIII, is among his contemporaries: "You know there will not be many more days like these...let us stand, the king's hand on his shoulder, Henry's face earnest as he talks his way back through the landscape of the day, the green copses and rushing streams, the alders by the water's edge, the early haze that lifted by nine; the brief shower, the small wind that died and settled; the stillness, the afternoon heat."¹¹ The unspecific reference of "you" pulls us all into the moment.

The rest of the book is divided into two sections. In most chapters, I begin with a text by Scott that illustrates some aspect of his use of the romance of history and then proceed to contemporary examples. In the second section, comprising Chapters 3 and 4, I examine the ways in which historical fiction produces an authenticity that is, unlike Strutt's failed romance, still accessible. I look at the method of creating authenticity through "the art of the significant reference," in which the intertextuality of words and images functions as a talisman to connect the accessibility of the work with the period in which it is

set. Chapter 3 begins with Scott's use of Virgil in *Waverley* and Chapter 4 with the portrait of Waverley and Fergus MacIvor in the parlor at Tully-Veolan after Waverley has restored it. Elizabeth of Bohemia, daughter of James I of England and the protagonist of *The Winter Queen*, the first volume of Jane Stevenson's *Astraea Trilogy*, invokes three Shakespeare plays: *The Tempest*, because she, like the daughter of the Duke of Milan, leaves her home at her marriage and travels far away, forever separated from her family; *Othello*, because, like Desdemona, she falls in love with Pelagius, a black man who tells her stories of foreign lands; and *A Winter's Tale*, which she and her family perform and which has resonances for her because the child she has with Pelagius has to be removed from her home and hidden. The choice of these plays is neither haphazard nor opportunistic; they were all performed by the King's Men as part of her marriage celebrations. In *Sacred Hunger* by Barry Unsworth, *The Tempest* is a foundational text, appearing first in an amateur production at the beginning of the book and then influencing names and language and imbuing the novel with a haunting sense of magic. Unsworth makes it clear, however, that the version of the play that the young people are using is *The Enchanted Island*, the Dryden and Davenant reworking that was still being performed in the middle of the eighteenth century, the period in which the novel is set. The difference between Shakespeare's and the Restoration versions and the ways in which Unsworth both follows and changes it are important in revealing the meaning of the action. Ian McEwan's rewriting of Matthew Arnold's "Dover Beach" in his short novel *On Chesil Beach* has a similarly deepening effect. A reader could easily enjoy these books without knowing anything about the authenticity of these references, but for those of us who know the period, they enrich our experience.

Images work in historical fiction to create an authentic sense of place and time; even though we may not know the background of Thomas Lawrence's wonderful portrait of Eliza Farren, its presence in Emma Donoghue's *Life Mask* is a talismanic connection between an actual image and the fiction we are reading. That Donoghue's imaginative reconstruction of its creation and reception closely follows the historical record is a further benefit, rewarding the curious reader who chooses to pursue it. Susan Sontag's reflections on history painting in *The Volcano Lover* are illuminating: she claims that so often history painting shows its figures before the fatal blow is struck: "the significant moment for the depiction of an intolerable situation was before the full horror had reached its apex, when we can still find something edifying in the spectacle." This convention is what gives those about to be executed a measure of bravery: "When they were about to die, they made themselves brave by thinking (and they were right) that they were becoming an image."¹² She is writing about the participants in the short-lived revolution in Naples, but it applies equally to the portrait of Waverley and Fergus with the clans scaling the hill behind them, before the disastrous battle, the trial and execution, the mangled body. Her meditation is at home in a novel concerned with the noted collector, Sir William Hamilton, his wife, Emma, George Romney's muse, and Lord Nelson, whose death is the subject of a history painting by Benjamin West.

Because I had slowly realized that part of historical fiction's power lies in the variety of ways in which authors approach it, the third section of the book, consisting of three chapters, examines subgenres. Contemporary fiction

achieves the romance of fiction not just by fusing the original binary of the realist novel and historiography, but by reaching outward to multiple genres. Scott's novels, and historical fiction generally, were quickly adopted as acceptable forms of fiction for young people and those interested in expanding their educations, providing the ideal pedagogical combination of information and enjoyment; current historical fiction for young adults continues that tradition. *Ivanhoe*'s publication history reflects this attitude. I own a copy that Edith Sitwell's brother Osbert gave her for her fourteenth birthday, on September 7, 1901, and Wilbur L. Cross, better known to eighteenth-century aficionados as the biographer of Laurence Sterne and Henry Fielding, produced an edition for the "Program of Study for the Indiana Institutes." The Standard Juvenile Fiction series published by the American News Company includes, among its eleven titles, three historical novels: *Ivanhoe*, *Thaddeus of Warsaw*, and *The Scottish Chiefs*.

In addition to juvenile fiction, other subgenres include historical detective fiction, the biographical novel, and what I call the "embedded narrative." The best known example of the latter is A. S. Byatt's *Possession*, but there are many others. They commonly take the form of an academic novel in which two parallel stories, one in the present and one in the past, are linked by some object or objects, often a document. The Astraea Trilogy becomes an embedded narrative when, in the final installment, *The Empress of the Last Days*, scholars investigate a cache of documents found in Middelburg in the Netherlands chiefly because one of the manuscripts is a formerly unknown play by Aphra Behn. From there, they uncover most of the events recounted in the previous volumes, *The Winter Queen* and *The Shadow King* and the central figures: Elizabeth of Bohemia, her husband, Pelagius, and their son Balthasar, and Balthasar's acquaintance with Behn. This subgenre reminds us of the past's essential unknowability; the industrious scholars generally fail to learn the whole story because their research is directed by the priorities of their cultural moment. There is always something in the past that is unknown, hidden, unrecorded, and lost. In *The Empress of the Last Days*, the researchers uncover much about the characters in the previous two novels, but they miss a quarter of the genealogy of the Elizabeth of Bohemia's 21st-century descendant; Behn is a secondary character in *The Shadow King*, but in the 21st century she is the central impetus. As an example of a complex fusion of genres, I examine Iain Pears's *Stone's Fall*, which has elements of most of the subgenres and can be described in a generic chain: history/romance/embeddednarrative/detective/bildungsroman/Gothic/fantasy. The narrative moves backwards in time through a series of documents set in Paris, 1953, London, 1909, Paris in 1890, and Venice in 1867; the frame is in the twentieth century. A ghostly Casanova makes a returning appearance in the Venetian segment.

The final chapter, on the incorporation of fantasy into historical fiction, may seem the farthest from Scott's oeuvre, but in fact Scott includes the occult in many of his novels, including Guy Mannering's gift of prophecy, the many second-sighted women, and the mysterious Black Dwarf. Scott finds the supernatural elements in *The Castle of Otranto* appropriate because they are "that which, though held impossible by more enlightened ages, was yet consonant with the faith of earlier times."¹³ The consonance of the reference, without the condescension of "more enlightened ages," leads to the hungry ghost in Lisa See's *Peony in Love*, set in seventeenth-century China. The

Dionysian growth of grape vines in Annabel Lyons's *The Sweet Girl*, about the daughter of Aristotle, the presence of wizards at the Battle of Waterloo in Susanna Clarke's *Jonathan Strange and Mr. Norrell*, and the revenants inhabiting the early nineteenth century in David Liss's *The Twelfth Enchantment* are carefully tied to the cultural moment of their settings. I conclude with Julian Barnes' *The History of the World in Ten and a Half Chapters*, one of the richest fictions about history I have read, incorporating many of the themes and elements that I discuss in the text.

My work on historical fiction led to an unexpected opportunity: Jessica Richard asked me to curate a page on historical fiction on *The Eighteenth-Century Common*, www.eighteenthcenturycommon.org. Scholars of the eighteenth century and writers of historical fiction have contributed posts of about 1000 words on novels, their own and other people's, and their scholarship on the subject. Have a look! If you have a novel you would like to write about, or have written one, drop me a line: mbowden@kennesaw.edu. I am always eager for more material.

Descendants of Waverley has been out for almost exactly six years at this at this writing, and I am at work on a very different project, but I am grateful for the opportunity to revisit it, even though I have found a number of typos, especially in the notes, in a text that I went over with a fine tooth comb. Alas, the imperfectability of human endeavors. Meanwhile, my reading of historical fiction continues unabated; in retirement, I have been able to revert to the kind of reading I associate with my youth. I was given Rachel Kadish's *The Weight of Ink* this year, a fine example of an embedded narrative. If you are interested in the experience of the Jewish diaspora in England in the years before and after the Restoration, you too will be interested in it.

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Notes

1. *My Descendants of Waverley: The Romance of History in Contemporary Historical Fiction* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell U. Press, 2016).
2. "Scott on Defoe's Life and Work," in *Defoe: The Critical Heritage*, ed. by Pat Rogers (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), 66.
3. Avrom Fleishman, *The English Historical Novel: Walter Scott to Virginia Woolf* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins U. Press, 1971), 10-11.
4. Rosemary Sutcliff, *Knight's Fee* (Asheville, NC: Front Street Press, 2008), 154-155. Original publication date, 1960, by Oxford U. Press.
5. Margaret Anne Doody, *The True History of the Novel* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers U. Press, 1996), 52-53.
6. Daniel Defoe, *A Journal of the Plague Year*, ed. Louis Landa, introduction by David Roberts, Oxford World's Classics (Oxford: Oxford U. Press, 1969, 1990), 1.
7. Iain Pears, *An Instance of the Fingerpost* (New York: Berkley Books, 1997), 3.
8. These terms derive from Andrew Behars, "Making History: Establishing Authority in Period Fiction," *Writer's Chronical* 38, no. 1 (September, 2005): 34-40.
9. Pears, *An Instance of the Fingerpost*, 144.

10. Walter Scott, "General Preface," in *Waverley; or 'Tis Sixty Years Since*, Waverley Novels, Magnum Edition (48 vols), vol. I (Edinburgh: Robert Caddell; London: Whitaker, 1830), xv. Subsequent quotations will be from this edition and will be incorporated parenthetically in the body of the essay.

11. Hilary Mantel, *Bring up the Bodies*, a John Macrae Book (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 2012), 4.

12. Susan Sontag, *The Volcano Lover: A Romance* (New York: Picador Books, for Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1992), 296, 295.

13. Walter Scott, "Introductions to the Novels of Sterne, et al." *Ballentyne's Novelists Library* (1823), V.lxxii.

A Select Bibliography of Contemporary Historical Fiction

The following novels are set in the Early Modern to the early Romantic period. In some cases, the novels appeared outside the United States under different titles; if so, the original, non-US title appears in square brackets. The list reflects my own reading preferences and makes no claim to be complete or impartial.--Martha F. Bowden

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---. *Plague*. Toronto: Doubleday Canada, 2014.

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---. *The Coffee Trader*. New York: Ballentine Books, 2004.

---. *The Whiskey Rebels*. New York: Ballentine Books, 2009.

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The Guerin Family as Subscribers to Sterne's Works

By Robert G. Walker

Attempting to identify subscribers to the works of Laurence Sterne by only a surname may seem like a fool's errand, even if one grants the desirability of successfully doing so for future biographers of Sterne as well as for social historians of the mid-eighteenth century. A case in point. How can anyone hope to advance the remarks of the editors of the Florida Sterne regarding these two subscribers to the *Sermons of Mr. Yorick* in 1760:

Guarin, Mrs. (1760)

Unidentified; see *Guerin*.

Guerin, Mr. (1760)

Unidentified; Mr. Guerin and Mrs. Guarin are entered separately and apart, but one suspects they are related, although who they were and how

they spelled their name remain unknown. Mrs. Guerin subscribed to Epictetus, Tunstall, and to Olaudah Equiano's *Interesting Narrative* in 1789. Both subscribed to Richard Newton's *Sermons* in 1784.¹

Certainly Guarin / Guerin was not among the most common English surnames at the time. (Sterne's subscribers include examples of the four most common surnames, "Mr. Smith," "Mrs. Jones," "Mr. Taylor," and "Mrs. Brown," all unidentified, as is, not surprisingly, "Mr. P.") But the name is hardly so unusual as to provide an easy identification, at least not after 260 years and especially because the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685) had precipitated an influx of French Huguenots to England and Ireland, including some with this surname. A confluence of circumstantial evidence, however, allows us to put forward an excellent candidate for the subscriber Mr. Guerin and, by extension, Mrs. Guarin.

Mr. Guerin is most likely Maynard Peter Guerin (1726-May 1760), a regiment agent who had succeeded his father, also named Maynard, in that role in 1748 upon the father's death.² His siblings included Elizabeth Martha (b. 1721) and Mary (b. 1728), who married Arthur Baynes in 1774. Guerin would function as officers' business manager and for those overseas this meant collecting salaries and dispersing funds upon their request. Among his more mundane tasks was advertising and paying rewards for army deserters.³ It is Guerin's business and personal relationship with his maternal cousin Captain Michael Henry Pascal that has resulted in much of the recent research about Guerin. More about that below.

Summaries of documents mentioning Guerin in the National Archives, more than a dozen, refer to him both as "Mr. Guerin" and as "Maynard Guerin," including one advising of his recommended replacement after his death: "London. Charles, Lord Cadogan [to Sir John Cope], Mr Guerin, agent to your regiment dead, recommends Mr John Winter."⁴ Guerin's death led to a bankruptcy of sorts, but the co-mingling of an agent's personal and business assets was apparently a problem not unique to him. In the event, it has been speculated that it caused his two sisters—the three had previously shared a household—to move into less expensive quarters.

Students of Olaudah Equiano (Gustavus Vassa) and attentive readers of note 2 may have guessed already why the Guerins have attracted scholarly attention recently. Captain Pascal, their cousin, was the owner for quite a while of Equiano during his slave life, and he certainly fostered what turned out to be a meaningful relationship between Equiano and the Guerins. It has been established that the Guerins were largely responsible for Equiano's Christian baptism in 1758, Maynard and Elizabeth serving as godfather and godmother.⁵ Interest in slave narrative, then, has resulted in discoveries about a family that might otherwise have been forgotten by historians and critic.

With this background, Mrs. Guerin's subscription in 1789 to *The Interesting Narrative* seems less casual. Equiano's autobiography was dependent entirely on subscriptions, so she was again his sponsor in a manner of speaking, although now one of many. The variation in the spelling of the surname in Sterne's list, like the use of Mrs. in 1789, is simply a vagary of the times. We know that Elizabeth is meant in 1789, for her sister's marriage in 1774 rendered her Mrs. Baynes. So more than likely Sterne's "Mrs. Gueran" is Elizabeth Martha Guerin, elder sister of Maynard.

To the extent that subscriptions may be motivated by personal taste as well as social connections, the Guerin family seems to have been more high-brow than Maynard's profession in the world of filthy lucre might suggest. As is pointed out in the Florida Sterne entry, Mrs. Guerin, whom we have just identified as Elizabeth, subscribed to Epictetus (the Elizabeth Carter translation of 1758). And, as "Maynard Guerin, Esq.," her brother subscribed to *Orations of Demosthenes, Translated by the Rev. Mr. Francis* (1757) and to Bezozzi's *Six Solos for the German Flute, Hautboy, or Violin* (1759).

As a man of business in London in 1760, Maynard Guerin may have had other connections with Sterne subscribers at the time, although whether they influenced him to subscribe or vice-versa is unknown. Lord Barrington, who subscribed in the same year as Mr. Guerin, is the recipient of eight letters from Maynard Guerin, as recorded in the National Archives. He was secretary of war from 1755-1761, so these were obviously business communications from the regiment agent. If we limit ourselves only to those who subscribed in 1760, lists of leading officers among the four regiments for whom Guerin was agent in 1757 include two more subscribers.⁶ Giving the names as they appear in the Florida list, these are Major Gen. [Robert] Rich and Col. [George Lawson] Hall, the latter the brother of Sterne's close friend John Hall-Stevenson. Finally, another 1760 subscriber, Colonel Pierson, is tentatively identified by the Florida editors as Sir Richard Pierson (*d.*1781). This can now be confirmed, for one of the two executors named by Maynard Guerin in his last will and testament (written 8 June 1758, proved 9 May 1760) is his "dear and worthy friend . . . Col. Richard Pierson."⁷

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Notes

1. Laurence Sterne, *The Miscellaneous Writings and Sterne's Subscribers, An Identification List*, ed. Melvyn New and W. B. Gerard (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2014), 398; vol. 9 of the Florida Sterne. My thanks to Professor New for helpful comments about this note.

2. Information about Maynard Guerin has been culled from various sources, including, esp., Paul Lovejoy et al. "Guerin Family," *Equiano's World*, <https://equianosworld.org/associates-slavery.php?id=2#content>; and Vincent Carretta, *Equiano the African: Biography of a Self-Made Man* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2005).

3. For examples, see the *Whitehall Evening-Post* (17-19 Feb. 1756).

4. National Archives searches for "Mr. Guerin" and "Maynard Guerin": https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/results/r?_q=%22mr.+guerin%22

5. See *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African* (London, 1789), 1:133-134, (Chap. 4). Confusion about which of the two Guerin sisters was the godmother is removed by the autobiography, as Equiano clearly states the "eldest [sic] Miss Guerin" was his sponsor. The passage mentions also the younger sister and the brother Maynard, who intervened with Equiano's owner Pascal to gain permission for the baptism.

6. See *The Court and City Register for the Year 1757*, 3rd ed. (London, 1757), 157-172. These lists include also a name or two of officers who

subsequently subscribed to Sterne, but any connection via Guerin is much less likely than with 1760 subscribers.

7. National Archives, PROB 11/856/114. Vols. 1 and 2 of the sermons were published on 22 May 1760, first advertised on 4 March. Sterne was obviously energetically collecting subscriptions in March and April, perhaps even visiting Guerin's sick chamber to procure a subscription to volumes Guerin did not live to collect. The proving of Guerin's will on 9 May 1760 suggests that the date of death given in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 4 May, is correct; the *London Magazine* gives 7 May. Alas, poor Maynard!

The Lady Menaced by Error: A Call for a Digital Dragon-Slayer

I have been in lockdown as precaution against covid-19 for two years now and have been delighted to realize how much research can be conducted well from online resources. But I am also dismayed at how readily misinformation now can infect painstaking research. Our eighteenth-century community—and the wider academic community—must confront the problem and establish a conspicuous platform for the extirpation of errors with the rationale for each correction to be known and the platform then being expected automatically to be consulted by scholars in the course of their work.

My recent investigations have been in trying to establish the author of the poem "On the Much Lamented Death of that incomparable Lady the honourable Lady Oxenden." I knew of it through ESTC, which names two copies, one at the British Library, one at Yale. The item is a single folio sheet, with the poem on three sides and a page 4 blank except for a sideways docket title. The ECCO (British Library) copy does not reproduce p. 4, but the entire four pages can be seen on the Beinecke's digital website. The heading of the poem in these printed copies continues, "By Mrs Randolph." Mrs. Randolph is important to scholarship on Anne Finch, Countess of Winchelsea, because the major manuscript of Finch's poems, at the Folger, contains in its front matter a commendatory poem by Mrs. Randolph, and evidence about her proves critical in dating the Folger manuscript and the dating of many of Finch's poems.

ESTC dates the two printed copies, following the libraries possessing them, as "[1735]" for the British Library copy and "[1697?]" for the Yale. It is clear, however, that these items are from the same edition. The British Library date derives from the date of the death of Arabella Watson Oxenden, wife [then widow] of Sir James Oxenden, Bart. The Yale date derives from the death date of Sir James's first wife, Elizabeth Chute Oxenden. (It is clear that the subject of the poem is the first wife, for Elizabeth died on November 1st, 1696, and the poem stresses the significance of her joining the community of saints on All Saint's Day.)

David Foxon used "[1735]" in his listing of both copies, at BL and Yale. He mentions also another version of the poem, applied to a different deceased person, "A Pindarique ode, on the much lamented death of that incomparable good lady, Madam Howland, who died at Streatham, April 19th, 1718," by Timothy Harris, published in 1719, and he implies that Mrs. Randolph adapted Harris's piece, rather than the appropriation happening the other way round. Wing—compiled, we will remember, by a librarian at Yale—does not mention

the item in his first edition, although clearly Foxon saw it at Yale in the course of his research. In 1985 it was received by the Beinecke Library (who have no record of its earlier whereabouts), when it was catalogued, under advice from the late Joanna Lipking, as by Mary Castillion Randolph and given the date [?1696?], corresponding to the year of Elizabeth Chute Oxenden's death. Editions of Wing's catalogue after 1985 include the item with this name and date or [1697?]. The ESTC at present gives the location of the Yale item not as at the Beinecke but the Sterling Memorial Library, where Foxon presumably saw it; his interest in it, and Wing's initially overlooking it, suggest a cataloguing of it as eighteenth-century in the earlier Yale (Sterling) catalogue.

A manuscript copy of the poem at the Folger occurs in an MS volume that originally belonged to a Grace Blome, who dated the book 1697 and used it for recipes. Later 18th-century scribes used its later pages for other matters, including a listing of Blome family details (including Grace's death date in 1750), the last item in the volume being a copy of Mrs Randolph's Lady Oxenden poem. This volume is visible on the Folger website. Grace Blome became Mrs. Randolph in 1700 when she married the Recorder of Canterbury, Herbert Randolph. I have established that this was Herbert's second marriage and that his first marriage had been to Mary Castillion, Joanna Lipking's candidate as author of the Lady Oxenden elegy. Through extensive researches now possible online I have established that Lipking was correct and that Mary Castillion Randolph, who died in 1697/8, is the true author of the poem. (I lay my evidence out at length elsewhere.)

Belatedly it occurred to me to check for the poem and other possible Randolph or Blome pieces in online poetry databases like the Digital Miscellanies Index, the *Gentleman's Magazine* pseudonymous authors of poetry database (gmpoetrydatabase.org), and the Union First-Line Index housed on the Folger website. On the last, one can be confounded by finding the Lady Oxenden poem's first line generating five separate entries with four different authors—Grace Blome Randolph (bis), Mary Castillion Randolph, Timothy Harris, and Mrs Randall. These are respectively at the Folger and Harvard, Wing, ESTC, British Library. The Yale copy, as such, is not listed. I believe that the prestige of the Folger and Harvard assignments of the poem to Grace Blome Randolph influenced the editors of the recent major *Cambridge Edition* of Finch to rely on her being author of the commendatory poem, which then would have had to have been written after her marriage in 1700, for their intricate work in dating the Folger manuscript and many of Finch's poems. The perversion of honest scholarly labor by the first-line index's promulgating such errors is discouraging. One realizes that it and other databases can be compiled from separate institutional catalogues and can simply record whatever each one offered. But leaving the compilation online without a process for correcting it is to side with those today who think that errors (or lies) don't matter.

We need mechanisms to ensure that errors of this kind are cleared up when they are noticed and that the action of having done so is recorded somewhere that scholars will be expected automatically to consult as a normal part of their work. The first-line index and the Digital Miscellanies Index give attributions to Anne Finch made by Ellen Moody (and still on her website) of poems that long ago were found by James Winn and another to be by other poets (Richard Blackmore, Ambrose Phillips), as attested by the poems'

presence in such poets' collected works. In working on Finch matters, I continually encounter wrong order numbers for the earls of Winchilsea—for the original peer was a woman, who according to the National Archive counts as earl number one, her son then becoming the second earl. Even more common are the misidentifications of Heneage Finchs---the poet's husband was one, her father-in-law another, the early 17th-century speaker of the House of Commons a third, his son Lord Chancellor and first earl of Nottingham a fourth, and his son the eloquent defender of the seven bishops and later first earl of Aylesford a fifth (also named Heneage was the son of another Anne Finch, the Lord Chancellor's posthumous daughter, who became the well-known philosopher Anne Conway). I'm sure scholars of other figures will have found other such confusions common. Newcomers to eighteenth-century studies may be unaware how important it was then to preserve family given names and therefore to create minefields for us. When we publish in print, our pieces have publication dates that will clearly be recognized. Digital databases generally do not and can continue to seem authoritative long after they are compiled.

Similar confusion has been well described by Joseph Hone in his 2021 ODSECS (Open Digital Eighteenth-Century Studies Seminar) talk "Secrets, Lies and Title Pages" (available on YouTube). He shows that politically-sensitive publications in the later seventeenth century and early eighteenth would often be given incorrect printers or booksellers and false dates in the imprints that can be identified through careful examination of, for example, broken type and printers' ornaments. In some of his cases scholars can miss the publications entirely if the items fall on the wrong side of the cataloguing chasm between 1700 and 1701 (between Wing and Foxon in my case). His work shows the necessity, appalling as it may seem, of fresh recataloguing of ESTC, with, in the meantime, a much wider consciousness of its possible unreliability. Ignorance of analytic bibliography often causes scholars to see popularity in numerous issues of a work under different title-pages when the fact may have been poor sales with the first bookseller, and repeated selling-on of unwanted leaves. Many in our period fail to recognize that "A. Moore" is not a person but a statement of booksellers' anonymity.

"Whoever thinks a faultless Piece to see, / Thinks what ne'er was, nor is, nor e'er shall be." Forgive me for my own errors, if such there be.

Yvonne Noble
Canterbury

Further Thoughts on Lingering Errors and the ESTC

Yvonne Noble's has pushed the possible by imagining a database listing errors, the author & title and published location, the correction, and supporting evidence or references. She observes that her son, Charles Davies, has told her of ebird.org, where birders enter sightings and then specialists contact them with questions if the record is out of the ordinary. The managers of a database for challenges in literary criticism and history would presumably be confronted by authors who insisted they were in the right, if only in part. And many experts who recognize scholarly mistakes will shy away from

embarrassing colleagues. There are more attainable if partial solutions to errors rolling forward. Scholars often wish to correct their work after it has been published. Perhaps large organizations like ASECS, SHARP, or the Bibliographical Society of America might maintain such a database. On a smaller scale, journals and academic presses might have an errata file where authors can correct their own mistakes in those journals or presses' books, perhaps with final revisions that were not taken up by editors or with new discoveries a decade or more later. Some do: there are four corrections to previously published reviews in the "Corrigendum" section of *Review of English Studies*' November 2021 issue, plus an "Erratum" noting an omission since added to the on-line text. *Notes and Queries*, another OUP journal, also regularly runs errata. Major newspapers posting stories on the WWW regularly add corrections--they have staff and a procedure for such,--thus an article in *The Guardian* on a study of suicide in the 18th century (revealing that "Insanity the common verdict on suicides" at inquests) concludes with the note "This article was amended on 11 August 2021 to correct" If there was a good database with corrections to scholarly blunders, many would not check it, just as many do not look to see what others have published previously on their topics. We critics are less eager to read others than be read ourselves. Laziness and the avoidance of hostile facts leads Joseph Hone to suggest that the only way to stop the repetition of scholarly errors is "to educate graduate students in the importance of getting things right: one error of fact corrected trumps a dozen close readings or critiques."

When we consider the present resources at hand, at least for Anglophone studies, the English Short-Title Catalogue is the most important factual record available to all--and directly pertinent to errors noted by Yvonne. It is the main distributor of Wing catalogue information. To correct ESTC is tantamount to correcting the BL's catalogue. And a high proportion of OCLC cataloguing records derive from the ESTC. The *Intelligencer* has tried to promote the ESTC, so we are glad to quote Joseph Hone's comments on it in responding the Yvonne's note--he has worked with many primary texts and the ESTC in producing studies such as his book *The Paper Chase: The Printer, the Spymaster, and the Hunt for the Rebel Pamphleteers* (2020):

It seems to me that the ESTC is the single most important scholarly resource we have: its influence on other resources, not to mention on trade descriptions and library cataloguing, is an order of magnitude greater than anything else. More often than not, it is the fons et origo of error. Any mistake or speculation in ESTC is bound to be repeated and repeated until it hardens into fact. This makes correcting errors (or pointing out deliberate deception in imprints and the like) crucially important but also tricky: can we be sure--truly sure--that our corrections are correct? I give the example of the anonymous ante-dated 'ornaments' edition of *Leviathan*. In my ODSECS paper I followed Noel Malcolm in assigning it to the press of John Darby; Christopher Warren and his team have now conclusively reassigned it to John Richardson. Until very recently the ESTC gave no details on this whatsoever. On the one hand, some level of institutional gatekeeping is obviously very important; we cannot afford to let a standard resources like the ESTC become an anything-goes free-for-all like Wikipedia. But equally the lack of institutional funding is a major obstacle

to more systematic in-house revisions. If I were to be given a big grant, I would spend it on incorporating the last thirty years of bibliographical discoveries into the ESTC.

I love the ESTC for being a record of most of what was published and consumed in letterpress on at least half a sheet. It testifies to 18C realities that we often ignore, especially recently when journals are flooded with studies on the corners or margins of 18C culture, abnormalities, minor authors, and the like. In view of what all is in the ESTC, it is hard to conclude that literary historians and critics have long been erasing the LGBTQ 18C--in the face of the printed record, one can as easily claim that our journals are ignoring the Protestant 18C, witness all the religious polemics, the charity-school efforts, the Societies for Reformation of Manners, or for propagating the Gospel, the hymns, etc.--it's religious texts such as Lewis Bayly's *The Practice of Pietie* or Richard Allestree's *The Whole Duty of Man* that, like some educational texts (e.g. *Cocker's Arithmetick*), rack up over fifty or even a hundred editions. I recommend reading through what was printed in any given year, every record for say 1715, discovering thereby what the political and religious issues were--though a realistic challenge would be to survey a year's records in ECCO.

Besides the basic entry on author, title, publisher, format and pagination, there are many notes regarding the agents, differences and similarities between issues and editions, and peculiarities of individual copies. Regarding the last, there is the holdings file where libraries sometimes report provenance and differences from the ideal copy information. Some of what Yvonne speaks of being needed could go into the notes field, and there are many notes already. I am grateful to whoever took the initiative to indicate for Defoe attributions the positions of Moore, Novak, Furbank & Owens, and often their predecessors. There are 361 records in ESTC between 1680 and 1731 that have reference to Defoe and to both Moore and Furbank [& Owens]. David Woolley's attributions and de-attributions in "The Canon of Swift's Pamphleteering, 1710-1714" (*Swift Studies*, 3 [1983]) appear in the notes of eight records. There are 579 records with attributions in Halkett & Laing, 2nd ed.--many apparently worth little, as *Vox Populi, Vox Dei, being true maxims of government* to John Dunton (N49140). The catalogues of antiquarian bookdealers, like Christopher Edwards's and Stuart Bennett's, have offered hundreds of corrections to the ESTC that have never been recorded. I have often repeated these in "Scribleriana Transferred" within *The Scriblerian*. But one cannot expect those at the BL in ESTC cataloguing to be readers of *The Scriblerian*. One need take the initiative as Maureen E. Mulvihill, myself, and probably Pat Rogers have done, asking that a correction or addition be made with reference to a publication offering evidence. Thus, scholars might use ESTC to slay some of Yvonne's dragons. Surely the editors of critical editions in recently decades or those going forward for Behn and Pope will be able to make corrections involving attribution, printing, and publication for records in the ESTC, something that might be seen as an editorial duty.

Every ESTC BL record has atop the page (over the blue "Full Record") the tab for "Error Report Form." Corrections submitted are faithfully answered by one of three or four cataloguers at the BL. A great many of my own corrections--arising from working on ECCO or digital copies elsewhere via the ESTC's links--identify transcription errors, often found in black-letter

within imprints (some records were produced with sometimes-faulty machine transcription); many of mine involve duplicate records for the same item, some of which were due to records having varying degrees of imprint transcriptions. One may find the same edition listed for "Printed for James Roberts" and for the same but with Roberts's address. It is unfortunate that full addresses were not always transcribed, for they can be indicative: Roberts was a major printer besides a major trade publisher, and an imprint with "Roberts, at the Oxford-Arms" was never printed by his press, which always used the preposition "near." (Parenthetically, I'd note a search deficiency in ESTC is that one can't perform a truly exact search for "Printed by J. Roberts at" even with quotation marks--such a search returns inexact results like "Printed by W. Wilkins; and sold by J. Roberts," etc.) But to return, one can use the error tab to challenge the conjectured place or date of items without full imprints or to indicate that a false "London" imprint was printed in Edinburgh. Sometimes the BL team's reply informs one that he has overlooked something and the correction isn't justified, which usually returns to one's own benefit. Finally, private collectors with unrecorded editions are especially encouraged to report their holdings.

Unfortunately ECCO seems to have no mechanism for correcting its citation pages, now often at variance from the ESTC data reproduced on ECCO. I have encouraged ESTC to insert notations on shortcomings in ECCO's digitized texts themselves. I wonder if OCLC is receptive to corrections. Presumably one's library can correct the entry for its own OCLC holding. In passing, I would note that a good many *Oxford DLB* records have been corrected by those who wrote them a couple decades ago.--J.E. May

The Life of Mary Delany

By Yvonne Noble

Clarissa Campbell Orr. *Mrs Delany: A Life*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2019. Pp. 448; 50 color illus.; family tree; bibliography; index. ISBN 978-0-300-16113-7: hardcover: \$38.

Mary Delany's long life spanned most of the century, from 1700 to 1788. At seventeen, she was persuaded to marry a 59-year-old alcoholic crony from Cornwall of her uncle George Granville, Lord Lansdowne. In the years after he died, she rebuffed recurrent suggestions that she remarry, as the suitors seemed uncongenial or would require her to live remote from London or to raise their children by earlier wives. Her suitors did include Lord Baltimore, from whom she seems to have thought she had accepted a proposal, but who then abruptly dumped her, because he decided her finances were inadequate or because, as Clarissa Campbell Orr concludes, his intention had been to seduce her. To recover her composure, and to live more cheaply, she then shifted to Ireland for several years. Back in London and much later, when she was 47, she surprisingly agreed to marry the Irish clergyman Patrick Delany, who then was 59. Their married life, mainly in Ireland, lasted 25 years. Both marriages had promised substantial security for the widow, and both promises were defeated by male carelessness. When Patrick died, Mary was resolved to live

quietly as a clerical widow in Bath, but her extremely rich friend the Duchess of Portland persuaded her to stay near her as a companion, in summers at her mansion, Bulstrode, and in winters in a house near hers in St. James's, for which the duchess loaned her the purchase money (Mary refused it as a gift). When the duchess, who was fourteen years younger, died first, Mary's situation was addressed by George III and Queen Charlotte, who provided her a house in Windsor and who took her into the family as a sort of grandmother, who could provide their children memories of the courts of their ancestors George I and George II.

In our time Mary Delany would be internationally famous as a couturier, or a colorist like Kaffe Fasset, or an interior decorator, or a manufacturer of high-style, carefully-crafted luxury goods. She had acute visual perception of form, lustre, and shade, fine manual skills, and a strong work ethic. Her embroidery designs and execution are incomparably superior to samplers or the patterns in the late-century *Ladies Magazine*. She drew, and painted in pastels and oil; she spun thread for fine damask; she made rugs and chair covers and bed hangings and coverlets; she made paper toys for children; she made shell grottos and shell chandeliers. She never ventured out without bringing a project. On one occasion, having finished all the projects she had brought for the trip when the Delany's ship to Ireland was delayed by storms, she noticed that a workman had come to a nearby pub to repaint its sign, and she paid the man to allow her to paint it instead.

It is only at the very end of her life that her ability gained public recognition. By chance when she was 72, she stumbled on a way of making images of flowering plants from cut paper. [See our cover illustration.] Her years of living at Bulstrode among the duchess's resident botanists and flower-painters enabled her to know the important Linnaean features to include to make them botanically correct, as well as very beautiful and accurate in shade, form, and habit of growth. Her lifelong love of reproducing flowers in embroidery for her happily coincided with the period when botanical study was dominated by Linnaeus's system of sexual classification, which made the bloom—that is, the number of stamens and pistils there—its major, if not only, feature worth scientific attention. Sea-farers and others supplied her with plants and colored paper. Before her eyesight failed, she was able to complete nearly a thousand of these images, which then began to attract visitors, including the royal family, curious to see them. They are now at the British Museum, and the book by her collateral descendent Ruth Hayden on Delany's life and art is the perpetual best-seller in its shop.

Delany's other major accomplishment came to light only in 1861-62, when an earlier collateral descendent, Lady Llanover, published six 600-page volumes of Delany's correspondence in order to correct the portrayal she found offensive of Delany by Frances Burney in her memoir of Charles Burney (1832) and her diary (published posthumously by her niece, 1846). The strategies of all these editions have lately been considered at length by Catherine Delafield in the badly mistitled *Women's Letters as Life Writing 1840-1885* (most of the contents would be principally of interest to eighteenth-century scholars). Delany's preferred custom was to rise at seven and spend at least an hour every morning bringing her journal up to date and writing letters. She wrote weekly to her sister, recounting everything in the diary—where she had gone, who was there, who had visited, what was said, what clothes had

been worn, the food, the layout and decoration of buildings, the details of landscape, as well as family news. These letters customarily ended with current gossip about the wider society—who was courting whom (and with what amounts attached), who had been born, married, ennobled, or died, with strong, detailed attention to the bequests, the choice of recipients, and the sums. Nearly each one of Lady Llanover's thirty-six-hundred pages has a footnote identifying these persons. Delany's clear writing and acute eye, her wide personal acquaintance, her long life, and her position inside fashionable society, along with Lady Llanover's good index, have made these volumes an important resource for eighteenth-century scholars in many fields.

In addition, Delany strenuously networked, principally by letter-writing, throughout her life, both by keeping in touch with friends made from her girlhood onwards and with her numerous relations in several generations by birth and marriage, as well as significant public figures she came to know in various ways. The latter include Swift, Handel, Wesley, Richardson, George III. *ECI* readers will see that extensive discussion would be required if one were to try to unite these figures coherently, apart from Delany's happening to know them all. This challenge to finding a unity in the overall narrative is a problem that perhaps no biographer of Mary Delany could overcome.

Ruth Hayden's book, the *ODNB*, *Orlando*, and the important volume edited by Mark Laird and Alicia Weisburg-Roberts to accompany a Delany exhibition in 2009 all offer clear, accurate accounts of Delany's life, but there has not before been full-volume biography. Clarissa Campbell Orr is a court historian. For the exhibition volume, she contributed an admirable article on Delany's maneuverings for court positions for various friends, and recognition of the lack of a full biography must have prompted her to undertake the project. She has worked tirelessly, examining the originals of the letters that had been subjected to Lady Llanover's Victorian editing, scrutinising the immense Elizabeth Montagu correspondence at the Huntington Library, travelling to sites where Delany lived or that she described. She strove to offer background information about everyone mentioned. Because (I believe) of Mary Delany's personality, however, one must regret that Orr's efforts were thwarted: eminent scholars—Mark Laird, James Raven, Norma Clarke, Jane Rendall—declare in the blurbs printed on the outside back cover how splendid is Orr's accomplishment, but this reviewer, despite having prepared by reading through the Lady Llanover volumes twice, often found the book unreadable, with too great a cascade of unconnected persons and matters. If she were to get through eighty-eight years in a few hundred pages, Orr generally found that she could not linger with any single individual or occasion. She does provide a thirteen-page "Cast of [some of the] Characters," but this is unfortunately printed at the end of the book, where most readers will encounter it too late. When Orr is able to shake off the wider circle and concentrate on Mary, as in her discussion of Patrick Delany's proposal, Orr writes clearly and perceptively. It would be difficult for a reader unfamiliar with Delany's circle to follow Orr's whole account, yet the editing (the "*sic*"s) imply an imagined reader who would be unsettled by eighteenth-century spelling; similarly, the brief (volume, page) citations to Llanover fill many pages of the endnotes, instead of being included in the text, where scholars could abide them.

Nevertheless, the volume is under-documented, though if everything Orr has researched were fully footnoted, the volume would likely run to another

seven hundred pages. This particular reviewer was disappointed, for example, in not finding references for Delany's brother's obsession that he should have inherited the dukedom of Albemarle and for Elizabeth Elstob's wish to give her papers to the countess of Coventry.

A further challenge to the biographer is Delany's strong commitment to propriety. With this in view, not only did she maintain self-discipline in verbal expression throughout her life, but she also edited what would remain by at least twice burning letters and other papers that might be unfavorably construed with regard to herself or her associates, a movement to blandness then furthered by Lady Llanover's mid-Victorian editing. Delany was quick and intelligent and must have been quite witty, but record of this is lost. She could also be strong-willed and bossy, I infer, but Orr leaves her subject serene. It is striking to me that during her quarter-century in Ireland, when at last she could be hostess and not (as she puts it) "visitor," no one from her family except, at the end, two young nephews, and none of her London fashionable circle come to return her visits, while Patrick Delany's relatives, with whom she must some time socialize, included such tradesmen as sugar-bakers. Orr underplays Delany's strenuous efforts and firm desire to have Patrick made a bishop—which could have made her a "lady"—not quoting her shocking claim that *she* too merited the post.¹ When her efforts have failed, she then explains to friends that the deanship of Down is preferable to the bishoprics in question. The life in Ireland must have been very different from her hopes, but she so well makes the most of it that her drawings and letters form such rich resources for Irish Georgian history that she looms as a major figure in that field.

As a scholar working on Anne Finch, this reviewer was disconcerted even before seeing page one with an error in the preceding Granville genealogical tree. George Granville, Lord Lansdowne, Delany's uncle, is presented there as husband of the widow of Thomas Thynne, "1st viscount Weymouth." Finch scholars know that the wife of the 1st viscount Weymouth was Frances Finch, Anne's sister-in-law, and that she died before her husband. Their sons also died before their father, so his title and estate (Longleat) would have passed to his nephew, also Thomas Thynne. But this one also died before Weymouth, leaving the title and estate to be inherited by a toddler, yet another Thomas Thynne, the nephew's son. Landowne married *this* widow and was enabled to enjoy the riches of Longleat for almost two decades as the boy's guardian. (These relationships are explained clearly in Llanonver 1.20n2). Frances and Thomas Thynne's daughter Frances married Robert Worsley, and *their* daughter Frances married Delany's cousin John Carteret. Delany was a close companion to Frances Carteret for many years in outings to the opera and theatre and continued friend to her and John's children, so it is disconcerting to find Worsley spelled "Horsley" (pp. 348, 354)—and missing entirely from the index. Again, a great friend of Delany's in her later years was the Dowager Countess Gower. Orr does not point out that she started life as Lady Mary Tufton, daughter of the Countess of Thanet, Anne Finch's patron, friend, and neighbor, whose daughters Finch knew well and about whom she often wrote. Such omissions and errors fly in contrast to the assertion, repeated in this book more times I think than it was made by Delany herself, that Finch was Delany's favorite poet. One hesitates to challenge an expert on court matters, but I think it is not correct to write of

“Lady Ann Finch” and (inexplicably) “2nd Countess of Winchilsea” where her husband is correctly identified as 5th earl.

Orr does cite but could have more amply considered what might be one of the most important influences on Delany’s character—her mother’s history. Delany’s father was a younger son of a second son, very short of money. A recent dissertation on Delany by Francesca Suzanne Wilde proposes that he agreed to marry the woman who became Mary’s mother in exchange for a house and an annual payment from the (married) Duke of Ormond, who had been the woman’s lover in Jersey and/or Spain, and with whom she had already borne several children. At least one of these illegitimate children seems to have continued living nearby her, closely associating with her up to the time of her death in Gloucester. (Ormond’s property was forfeited in 1715, and the payments necessarily ceased, creating the family’s financial stress that pressured Mary into her first marriage.) Wilde’s case seems to be supported by Mary’s statement to her sister after their mother’s death that “I shall *pity poor Mrs Viney extremely* when you leave Gloucester, and that house desolated that has been so great comfort to her, *it will be sad*; and I own I feel my tenderness towards her greatly increased since the mutual loss we have had” (13 October 1747, Llanover 2.476-47). In training her for court service, Mary’s aunt warned her to be specially careful to act properly, to be “*very careful who I went with*” (Llanover 1.83, italics Delany’s). I suggest that it was perpetual concern about drawing attention to her mother’s irregularity, and not merely conduct-book guidance that kept Mary uncompromised and unassertive.

Queen Anne, who died too soon, had promised Mary a place as one of her maids-of-honour. She was therefore sent at age eight to begin training with her aunt Anne (Granville) Stanley, who had similarly served Queen Mary, and who retained a court position as housekeeper (manager) of Somerset House. Proper behavior for a court attendant requires being graceful, well-groomed and well-dressed, constantly attentive and well-informed, while never drawing attention away from one’s superior to oneself. One should always seem occupied yet never self-absorbed, so, for example, one should not silently read, but needlework would be appropriate. This training fixed her character, I believe, while supplying the beautiful manners so admired at the end of the century when they had otherwise become obsolete. Her constant concern was to turn attention away from herself. Therefore, although she was very intelligent and had strong views about injustice, particularly to women, she would not assert herself by public expression like her friends Kitty Queensberry, Sarah Chapone, and Elizabeth Montagu. Patricia Spacks (not cited by Orr) admirably understands the effort of self-discipline that led to Delany’s busi-ness in craftwork as a bulwark against boredom, a life-use of her gifts that Germaine Greer despises. Orr tries to present Delany as an equal to her friends, while instead, I believe, Delany is always conscious that she is a companion to Lady Carteret, for example, in her early years and the Duchess of Portland in her later, always cognizant of the difference in rank, relationships endowed with genuine friendship and reciprocal concern with the subordination kept unacknowledgable by the absence of wage payment. So the Duchess can unselfconsciously lie in till eleven and assume that Delany will preside over breakfast with the Duchess’s guests (thereby missing the precious morning hour for writing). So can King George and Queen Caroline happily

enjoy escape from the formality of court by just dropping in on Delany whenever they wish, being incapable of imagining her longing for privacy.

As eighteenth-century scholars, most of us cannot easily grasp the intrinsic, all-pervasive worth of rank in the period. Of an occasion unmentioned by Orr, Delany wrote to Mrs. Dewes on 2 December 1753:

I had great entertainment too from Dr. Young's letters to the Duchess, which she has been settling, and read me above three score: they are I think the best collection of *men's* letters I ever read: strong sense, fine sentiments, exalted piety; they are written with as much ease and freedom as politeness can admit of to a great lady, and the compliments are delicate, without the least flattery; so far from it, that it is plain that he takes every opportunity of shewing that he is above it, and by that how well he knows the person he addresses, and for wit, and lively and uncommon imagination he is most excellent. (Llanover 3.247)

Yet, in 1974, Claude Rawson found Young's letters, "a stupefying record of sycophancy and malice in pursuit of careers, money, and the favour of his 'betters'. The cringing insistence of his applications for preferment, . . . the whining sense of grievance accompanying all the flattery, the mock-humility of the self-advertisements, seem to me to go beyond the conventions of brazen flattery to patrons which would have been thought normal in the period."

Delany obtained no significant wealth or titled rank. To maintain her place among a circle of that sort, she, like the Obamas, had to be careful never to make a mistake, never to stumble like Burney, who when conversing "with the new Lord Sheffield; and, . . . never [having] seen him since he was Colonel Holroyd, . . . was ridiculously enough embarrassed with his new title, blundering from my lord to sir, and from sir to my lord" (*Diary*, 2.12). The social borders of course had to be policed from above: "On her [the Duchess of Portland's mother's] marriage, Queen Anne had advised that Henrietta should take care to be called 'Lady Henrietta Harley' rather than merely 'Lady Harley', so as not to lose her precedence as a duke's daughter."² One notices that it is only with her mother and royals that the duchess ever feels anxiety about propriety. For Delany the danger would have been constant. This may explain the constant attention in weekly letters to her sister to the latest birth, marriages, deaths, and inheritances, all of which produce changes in rank and the nomenclature that affirms it. When their mother wrote inside the front cover of the cookbook she gave the sister as a wedding present, "Mrs Ann Granville's Book which I hope she will make a better use of then her mother / Mary Granville," the recipient firmly added "Now Anne Dewes" (Folger V.a.430). Delany's letters exhibit a fastidiousness about naming that I think surpasses her contemporaries'—there is rarely a Christian (given) name except for her great-niece, and of course for princesses and the daughters of dukes and earls, not even for addressing "my dear sister, the sister of my heart."

This so-beloved sister turned down the place at court Delany had taken so much trouble to obtain and, intending to marry, made sure that Delany knew nothing of the plans until the engagement was fixed. Honorably wishing to avoid presenting matter that cannot be documented, Clarissa Campbell Orr tries not to speculate on the unknown, as here the real nature of the sisters' relationship. But her insights are cogent when, rarely, she does allow herself

to speculate, for example, as to whether or not the Delany's marriage was sexual, for she knows her material well. Readers also will appreciate her occasional, well-informed, examination of Delany against feminist writers of the period, from Mary Astell onwards, even though Orr might not convince them that Delany herself was a feminist—for however readily she noticed and resented slights to women in the aristocratic system, she did not challenge the system and disapproved of those who did so. Orr's subject would be pleased to see herself honored with her simple, exact, title—*Mrs Delany*.

Canterbury

Notes

1. Mrs. Delany to Mrs. Dewes, 17 April 1744: "The Duke of Devonshire [who decides ecclesiastical appointments] came to town last Tuesday, and in a few days our fate must be determined. I have wrote a letter to Sir Clement Cottrel to shew Lord Carteret, wherein I name the Bishopric of Meath, and I have laid it to his conscience whether *D.D. and myself* have not merited that favour in his hands." (Llanover 2.294; with Delany's italics).

2. Richard William Goulding, "Henrietta, Countess of Oxford," *Transactions of the Thornton Society of Nottinghamshire*, as cited by Worsley, p. 150.

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Editing the Writings of Anne Finch, Countess of Winchilsea

By Ellen Moody

The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Anne Finch, Countess of Winchilsea. Edited by Jennifer Keith and Claudia Thomas Kairoff, with Jean Marsden, et aliae. Volume 1: *Early Manuscript Books*. Pp. clxv + 819, with chronology, 5 illus., bibliographies; indices to first lines and titles. Volume 2: *Later Collections, Print and Manuscript*. Pp. cxxix + 663, with chronology, 7 illus., bibliographies; indices to first lines and titles. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. ISBN 978-1-107-06860-5 and 978-1-107-06865-5. \$232.65 for the pair in hard cover.

At long last – how many centuries has this taken? – we have an edition of the three major manuscripts containing Anne Finch’s poetry and the one book totally by her printed during her lifetime. Beyond what is cited above, the two volumes also contain a description of previous attempts at completeness and major selections of Anne Finch’s poetry in print, including what appears on the internet (Anne Finch Digital Archive edited by Jennifer Keith with Claudia Thomas Kairoff and others including my own website¹). Introductory essays treat the conditions of production and offer accounts of the three major manuscripts and one printed book. Other manuscripts are dealt with by another essay, charts, and annotations attached to specific poem.

There is some repetition of the introductory (e.g., the chronology) and bibliographical material in both volumes, but basically this is one book printed as two volumes. So the first volume has far more material on the issues involved (as conceived by Jennifer Keith who appears to be the presiding force, perhaps textual editor for the annotations and final decider), and an essay justifying the exclusions of poems probably by Finch (one or two), and poems possibly by or improbably attributed to her during her lifetime, e.g., one whose prosody to this reader of Finch’s work seems to exclude her: “The Free-Thinkers,” and poems recently or also attributed to other authors. The editors tell a story of her early life as they conceive it and as told most reliably by Barbara McGovern in her literary biography. The first volume appropriately covers Anne Finch’s childhood, early time at the Stuart Court, its break-up and the Finchs’ personal catastrophe afterwards; in other words, events swirling around the time of the first and second major manuscripts (Northamptonshire and Folger). The second volume includes Anne and her husband Heneage Finch’s lives prior to the 1713 *Miscellany*, and their years in London; in other

words, the years of an active social life reflected in the 1713 *Miscellany* and other books and manuscripts that Anne's poems appeared in, and the poems in three major manuscripts up to Anne's death, e.g. the 1717 *Poems on Several Occasions*, since Norman Ault's edition known as *Pope's Own Miscellany*. It contains what is left of Anne Finch's letters, and a long valuable essay by Rachel Bowman and Claudia Thomas Kairoff on the history of the reception and transmission of Finch's poems in anthologies and literary discussions of poetry with specific agendas.

Henceforth, no scholar of Anne Finch's poetry can write about her *oeuvre* without studying these two volumes. To descend to specifics, although Finch published only one book in her lifetime, the history of the publication of Anne Finch's poems in print is long in time and complicated in every way you might imagine--whether it be a few or some or many poems by her, a chosen selection, or supposedly all complete (with none omitted), in a single book wholly by our author, or anthology (or periodical), or nowadays on the Internet. There was one book in her lifetime, wholly made up of poems by her, published by her with her name on the second reprinting of the title page, now called by Finch scholars the 1713 *Miscellany*.

The history of her poems in manuscripts is not as long but is in many ways as complicated as the history of those in printed texts--again whether together with poetry and prose by others, or just hers alone, just a few poems or several; or a large compilation by her alone (in the Folger manuscript framed by poems in praise of her by friends), and clearly authorized by her and her husband, of which the consensus is there have been three. The three, all fairly substantial compilations, are today known as the Northamptonshire manuscript (N, formerly MS F-H 283); the Folger manuscript (F) and the Wellesley manuscript (W). Documentation about the circumstances of manuscript production and the motives of copiers are often less verifiable (research into provenance is only one route an editor must take), but much in the paratexts and everything about handwriting, content, title page and where these three were found make them a secure attribution.

There are numerous variously-sized manuscript and printed books, which here have been added to exponentially (with corresponding studies of manuscript and printed variants of these), all of which contained poetry by Anne Finch, sometimes one, sometimes several, sometimes together, sometimes apart. Some of these poems are explicitly attributed to her, sometimes they are not, sometimes they are attributed to someone else or left anonymous. Some are in thematic miscellany forms, with poems by others, and then there are just a few poems in a brief gathering of leaves. Stray "new" poems by Anne Finch and gatherings of her poems in print and manuscripts were still surfacing in the 20th century, and recently another poem has been located and placed in this edition.¹

It is important to remember that Heneage was a member of a well-connected aristocratic family, and became fourth (or fifth, depending on how you count this) Earl of Winchilsea by 1712, and that Anne, as his wife, became Countess of Winchilsea. Also, that they were known to be non-jurors and Jacobites in sympathy (and at crucial moments in the early 1690s, he was publicly pro-active). Such aristocrats and upper-level gentry preferred anonymity. Vocally aggressive enforced pressures were placed on all respectable women not to appear in print; this lasted until just before 1837

when the changes in economics (circulating libraries, instalment publication) made writing for money profitable for many writers. The years of Anne Finch's writing career, and her gender and status and temperament (or, more frankly, her troubled psychological history and emotional problems) make her one of those many 18th-century writers where attribution of unsigned or unattributed poems create vexing problems.

Nonetheless, the task confronted by Keith and her associates was not quite as herculean as I have made it sound. They decided to make these two volumes an edition of the manuscripts and Finch's early printed book. Every effort has been made to make a text appear as it would in the chosen copy-text and placed in the order (or disorder) it appears in its source. Her team attempted to give the scholarly reader as close an experience of the four primary sources (and the individual smaller sources deemed acceptable) as is possible in a book format. This way the vexed problematic chronology of when individual items were written is irrelevant to structuring the edition. The editors printed the four major sources in their chronological order. Multiple variant readings from any other manuscript and printed sources provided are set up in the notes.

While one may disagree with the span of years Keith believes each of the three manuscripts were written out (I do somewhat in the cases of all three manuscripts), there is enough documentary evidence to feel confident that the manuscript she has now renamed the Northamptonshire came first, the Folger manuscript second, the 1713 *Miscellany* third, and the Wellesley manuscript last. Volume 1 consists of the poems found in the Northamptonshire and Folger manuscripts, writings from Anne's near-mid to later 17th-century phase into very earliest 18th century years of her life. Volume 2 consists of the poems in the 1713 volume, the Wellesley, and 21 poems scattered in manuscripts and books where the editors felt the attribution evidence convincing even if the attribution was anonymous. These last uncertain poems are called "Additional Poems." After this mix of poems, they place the surviving six letters by Anne, annotating them. This is a pathetically small amount, which Helen Sard Hughes accounted for partly by linking the small number to the reality that it was Heneage who had the stamina and calmness of mind to write out his wife's fair copies (see "Lady Winchilsea and Her Friends," *London Mercury*, 19 [1928-29]:624-35). Thus, the second volume contains the later part of the first decade and the second decade of the 18th-century phase of Anne's existence; we move to her death and Heneage's last homage obituary.

Keith says that the aim was to make this edition of Finch's poems an addition to book history. Indeed, it can function as a gold mine to anyone interested in comparative manuscript and book publication (or circulation) of the same poems in the era before the 19th century, when attitudes towards publications and manuscripts were transformed (see Donald H. Reiman, *The Study of Modern Manuscripts* [1993]).

But there is a difficulty: understandably they can print each poem just once, and they chose the Folger manuscript as their primary text (it is the biggest compilation) so that what is found there supersedes any other printing of that poem or play by Anne or Heneage elsewhere. Since all but four poems in the Northamptonshire MS recur in the Folger (sometimes in a slightly or more largely different form), in effect the Northamptonshire MS is

misrepresented (except through the notes of course, which are not always easy to decipher) and the order all these poems are put in is that of Folger not the Northamptonshire. The order of the poems in the Northamptonshire MS is different than that in the Folger and, thus, of great interest; but here it is represented by just four poems.

The 1713 *Miscellany* is involved here too. It contains 83 (or 85 or 86, depending on how you are counting) poems but 44 (or 43 or 46) had appeared in the Folger MS (and sometimes in the Northamptonshire also); so, the 1713 *Miscellany* as here edited has just 39 poems (35 fables, 9 either imitations, translations or paraphrases of other works, both across languages and intralingual) and one play.

The contexts of the texts of this play contain interesting autobiographical material that has led to much controversy, of which the latest accounts are strongly defensive of Anne Finch and insist on a very positive relationship between her and younger respected male poets. For a start, it was the first time the remarkable Restoration tragedy *Aristomenes* appeared, and presumably with Anne's full permission. This despite an emotionally fraught advertisement before it and another play in which Anne declared in passionate terms "that a more terrible Injury cannot be offered to me, than to occasion, or permit them ever to be represented" (Cambridge Finch 1:113, 195-96, 285). Before 1713, *Aristomenes* had been copied out with another play into the Folger manuscript in a middle section, with this preface (they occur between two sets of poems in miscellany format). *Aristomenes* reveals a wealth of erudition and is a mature development out of the Beaumont and Fletcher style of play, with the hero-king a semi-portrait of James II. Anne had understood that her play was important and did what she could to call attention to it.

I am convinced this was the play read aloud (or parts of it) to Charles Finch and Alexander Pope (on separate occasions). Most recent critics will not that Finch had an ambivalent relationship with both these men (those taking this view include Nicolle Jordan, Chantel Lavoie, John Irwin Fischer, and Claudia Kairoff Thomas). The play was of the sort best studied in the quiet of a closet. Of course, it failed when the unfortunate person assigned the task or reading much of it aloud droned on. This failure caused Anne a lot of pain and strained her relationship with both men. Her somewhat abject apology to her nephew and deprecation of this play ("this poor Poem") in the form of a "Prologue" did not appear in the 1713 book nor did a similarly toned-down Epilogue. Anne also altered the play as it appears in the Folger MS so that in the 1713 text two of the characters' deaths become much more conventionally acceptable (one was a suicide in the Folger MS), a procedure not uncommon with her. It is excellent to have the Folger *Aristomenes* occurring in just the way it does in that MS (with notes on the variants, especially as seen or taken from the 1713 text). It is the important text. But because Keith is determined to deny Charles' boredom and Pope's headache, and not deal with the personal political and psychological content of the play, all lying behind the intense trauma Anne records in the Folger MS at the idea that her drama will reach print, the meanings of these different variants are neglected in the essays and lost to the reader.

An analogous protocol is used in the case of the Wellesley MS, which has 53 poems (counting the one which exists in two versions as one). None of these appeared in the three earlier major texts. One is arguably a new

expanded version of an epigram but greatly changed in text, emotional resonance and framing. It is addressed to Anne's beloved friend and sister-in-law, Frances Finch Thynne, Lady Weymouth, addressed in other places in the manuscripts as "Ephelia." It is in effect a new poem (Cambridge Finch 2:145). When these Wellesley texts appear in the smaller manuscripts and books where the attribution is sometimes certain, sometimes not or less certain, the Wellesley MS provides the copy-text. As with the *Aristomenes* text in 1713, the poem called in the Wellesley "After drawing a twelf cake at the Hon ble Mrs Thynne's," when compared with the poem in MS Additional 4457 (British Library designation) shows the Wellesley has been censored, and an effective sardonic subversive critique erased. The Wellesley MS appears to be a compilation made in the last years of Anne's life (well after the 1713 *Miscellany*), and the manuscripts and printed books that its poems reappear in (the scattered ones) evidently come from the last 10 years of Finch's life). Yet several Wellesley poems can be dated as much earlier than the 1713 book and belong to the Folger MS era. They were apparently put into the Wellesley because they were left out of the Folger. The Wellesley MS was then to function as either a kind of repository of all that Anne wrote that Heneage and Anne had not yet gathered themselves in the Northamptonshire and/or the Folger MSS (McGovern and Hinnant's thesis in their edition of the Wellesley MS) and/or a gathering that would eventually end in another book publication (the position Keith's inclines to).

Like McGovern and Hinnant in their 1998 edition of the Wellesley MS, I doubt the latter aim but not for the emphatic point of view they state: they believe Finches did not want collection to be known widely because of its possibly offensively Jacobite matter. I suggest instead that the Finches would not have wanted to publish most of the poems in the Wellesley collection for the same reasons they did not publish most of the poems in the Northamptonshire and Folger collections, and Anne produced 39 poems exclusively (as it were) for the 1713 printed book. Anne was willing to publish only impersonal, closely genre-controlled (or -protected) poems. For example, Finch divided into three a long personal poem (one of her more beautiful and moving lyrics) found in the Folger MS, "Some occasional Reflections Digested (Tho not with great regularity) into a Poem," whose first line is "By neere resemblance see that Bird betray'd" (CUP Finch 1:385-87). Two are printed apart in 1713 (see www.jimandellen.org/finch/poem154.html).

What the reader not that familiar with Anne Finch's *oeuvre* needs to know is a large proportion of poems in the Northampton, Folger and Wellesley MSS are autobiographical and lyrical, that is, songs that are seen without super-scrutiny to be linked to Anne's own experiences. These include poems once called proto-romantic descriptive poetry, also angry (at various levels), depressive (not to mince words) anguished poetry, and also proto-feminist poetry. There are brilliant and crude epigrammatic and satirical poems of the kind Finch sometimes claimed she never indulged in, and there is much devotional poetry. Some verse escapes genre definition or could be categorized differently depending on which revision of the text you choose to print (or to read). Two of the Northampton poems (not found in the Folger MS) are so personal that they have been partly obliterated (Cameron, myself, and now Keith and her associates have offered transcriptions for "The Grove" and "Daphnis no more your wish repeate ... "). It is not known who did the

crossing out, presumably either Anne or Heneage. Another of the four, “On My selfe,” exists otherwise only in a manuscript located in Longleate (MS Portland Vol 19, p 212), with two darker lines censured out of the Northampton MS (for the MS Portland text, see www.jimandellen.org/finch/poem59.html). This Longleate version startlingly reveals Anne's deep sense of alienation from her society (Keith refers to this alienation in one of her essays as “internal exile”). In the Folger MS there is at least one pasted over and unrecoverable poem. Yet, tellingly, they were not burnt or torn out.

The Folger MS has a prose preface where Finch outlines her attitudes towards poetry, her practice, why she translated (a large proportion of her poetry derives from some form of translation). Here she also insists explicitly (as she does elsewhere in these unprinted books) that she will “ever resist” this material's reaching print (Cambridge Finch 1:26). She seems uncomfortable with having allowed this obviously attention-getting book to be created. So why does she write all this -- we might ask, why with Heneage as amanuensis correct it, and copy the poems out in different orders more than once? Beyond her sheer love of verse (formal characteristics are clearly part of her deep pleasure), there's the allurement of the idyllic pastoral landscape (a “Parnassus”) around Eastwell, though, as her poems show, she well knew the place was also inhabited by the abysmally poor, people with whom in comical burlesques and fanciful whimsy she would identify herself. It is not irrelevant to mention that to her husband the land beckoned as a timeless archaeological place to be explored with experts and friends (with Druidical names). And she testifies to erotic passion (hesitantly but clearly)--the last as a way of keeping in control her “dejection of mind” and enduring solitude (often her lot apparently at Wye College). Here is one part of this:

an absolute Solitude, (which was often my lott) under such dejection of mind, cou'd not have been supported, had I indulg'd my self, (as was too natural to me) only in the contemplation of present and real afflictions; which I hope will plead my excuse, for turning them for relief, upon such as were imaginary, & relating to Persons no more in being (I:32)

Nothing faintly resembling this is allowed to appear in the 1713 *Miscellany*.

I am saying something rather different from what Anne Messenger wrote in “Publishing Without Perishing: Lady Winchelsea's *Miscellany* Poems of 1713” (*Restoration* 46 [1980-82], 27-37). The wealth of poetry Finch deliberately kept from publication is often deeply personal (I define personal as also political) and at the core of some of her real and apparently subversive attitudes. A connective overt and sub-text of her whole collection is her continuing struggle against and yielding to depression, anxiety attacks (about which she could write comically, e.g. “An Apology for my fearfull temper in a letter in burlesque upon the firing of my chimney at Wye College, March 25, 1702,” in the Wellesley MS), and an urge to retreat. I am re-elevating the importance of Wordsworth, who saw value not only in the natural imagery and therapeutic lyricism of Anne Finch's poems but in a close parallel between her poems and the poetry of Mary Wortley Montagu, who is a fierce uncompromising feminocentric voice.² I am paying full respect and crediting insights in the first generation of 20th-century readers and scholars who were the first to read two more thirds of the full and real Anne Finch after Myra

Reynolds landmark, and first scholarly, edition of Anne Finch's poetic oeuvre, *The Poems of Anne Countess of Winchelsea* published by Chicago UP in 1903. Reynolds's edition is based on the 1713 book, the two large manuscripts which make up the bulk of Keith's first volume (*Early Manuscript Books*), and those of the scattered un- and mis-attributed and anonymous printed poems and poems in manuscripts Reynolds had found (no trivial task in 1903).

In Rachel Bowman and Claudia Kairoff Thomas's long, well-researched essay on the history of the reception and transmission of Anne Finch's texts, their choices of what to emphasize and include are not shaped by the complex and contradictory disparities we find in changing values and tastes since the early eighteenth century. They feature authors or editors they have decided were important or influential in a given era. This helps to counter the persistent idea they record that Anne Finch's texts have been somehow lost and she was forgotten. They do take on board the notion that our understanding of Finch has been distorted until the later 1900s. If it is true that she was forgotten and misrepresented, she shares the fate of countless women writers, and in her case added to this was the active role we have seen she played in this distortion. It was her choice to keep from any unselect or wide public her dominating sensibility, typical poems, and her personal and political and even interesting poetic theorizing (about translation).

I here offer a different story or alternative history, one more traditional and at least equally justifiable, one where values as much as tastes are centrally operative. The true revival, and a genuine interest (curiosity) in Anne Finch (not necessarily coterminous with the purview of influential editors) begins not with Wordsworth (who wrote only briefly of Finch) but in 1903. Edmund Gosse is the best known (and most ridiculed) of the earliest proselytizers, but just as important were Helen Sard Hughes (ignored), John Middleton Murray (dismissed), Hugh I'A Fausset (who reprinted Reynolds selection of Finch along with a selection of poetry by Thomas Parnell, John Dyer and William Collins under the title *Minor Poets of the Eighteenth Century* as an Everyman classic), Elsie Drew, Mabel Robinson. I must not omit Virginia Woolf's 1929 *A Room of One's Own*. Woolf wrote all women writers should lay flowers on the grave of Aphra Behn, but the first poem she quotes at length and discusses passionately (however also crossly for not being "incandescent" enough) is Finch's "Introduction:" "How are we fallen! Fallen by mistaken rules/And Education's more than Nature's Fools." Reuben Brower's important essay (this time allusion is the criteria looked for) was published in 1945. William Cameron's extraordinary original biography in 1951 (a Ph.D dissertation), never published, lies quietly behind a lot of modern scholarship – he's still quoted, i.e., poured over.

Further important successors begin again in '60s and '70s (the second phase of feminism, lasting past the '80s) and include attractive and readable anthologies where proto- or early Romantic era poetry and landscape meditations are central values, e.g. Charles Peake, *Poetry of the Landscape and the Night*; and Denys Thompson, a Carcanet selected poems. There has been and continues to be a gender as well as taste fault-line in attitudes towards Anne Finch's poetry. Early devoted scholars were mostly women and feminist, e.g., Anne Messenger, Ann Longknife, Jean Mallinson, and more recently Katherine Roger (who chose a very different set of poems from Peake) and Hilda Smith. This gender fault-line is not as obvious or has been

obscured, partly because major writers on Finch have been men. Partly it is also the recent use of modern respectable deconstruction and psychoanalytic rhetoric and gender fluidity rhetoric, e.g., Ruth Salvaggio, Jayne Elizabeth Lewis ["The Transparent Labyrinth"] in a volume on modern poets under the sign of Emily Dickinson; and Nicolle Jordan on the reality of Finch's ambiguous relationships with Heneage's family and the personal politics caught up in her landscape poems. But book history, the study of manuscript culture and the social contexts of Finch's poems (Michael Gavin, Gillian Wright, Chantel Lavoie) is returning us to the same nexus of women writers whom Finch would recognize as precursors (Aphra Behn, Katherine Philips). Paula Backscheider in her important study of eighteenth-century women's poetry features Anne Finch as one of the three most important women writers of the long 18th century, the other two being Mary Wortley Montagu and Charlotte Smith, to which I must add Anna Barbauld.

I am pursuing or inquiring into this matter because in some of the most recent scholarship on Finch there has been an aggressive and overtly insistent attempt (repeated in many places in this new edition and in Keith's book, *Poetry and the Feminine*) to de-personalize Finch's writing. To take just one example, Keith's refusal to mention the obvious explanation for what was done to "The Grove" which is self-evidently autobiographical and replace this with allusions to Roscommon's "The Grove," a poem which has in common with Finch's only the title (see Cambridge Finch 1: 410-11). One wants to award accolades to the Cambridge editors for the encyclopedic nature of their book, but I find at even crucial points they have omitted important historical details in the notes to Finch's poems which brings out autobiographical and less than exemplary (or idealizing) and much less upbeat takes on a poem or one or more of Finch's several uncomfortable relationships with various friends, family members, and poetic peers. Examples include "Upon my Lord Winchilsea's Converting the Mount into a Terrace" (see Jordan, "Where Power is Absolute," *The Eighteenth Century*, 46:3 [2005]:255-75); and "A Poem, Occasion'd by the Sight of the 4th Epistle," where astonishingly we are not told what Reynolds tells immediately in her notes: that soon after a major personage, Richard Thornhill, murdered Sir Cholmonley Deering in a duel, after which Thornhill was assassinated (compare Reynolds 427; CUP Finch 1:700). The essays in the front and annotations in too many places slide over or protest mightily anything that smacks of the ambivalent relationship Finch had with Pope, Swift, Rowe, her nephew Charles Finch, other members of the Finch and Thynne clans, and woman rivals too (on that with Pope see Thomas, *Alexander Pope and his Eighteenth Century Women Readers* [1994], pp 140-46). Keith is not alone: as a conclusion to her biography of Finch, McGovern cannot resist an insistent two words: "she triumphed."

Throughout the book Keith claims for herself an objectivity towards Finch that is not possible. Pragmatically damaging to a book that claims completeness, this assumed objectivity leads to her excluding some of Finch's poetry whose attribution is not secure but strongly probable. Particularly unfortunate is her exclusion of the "First Edilium of Bion English'd by the Right Honorable the Earl of Winchilsea" because in the 1701 *Gilden* (or Rowe) *Miscellany* in which it appeared it is attributed to Charles Finch. Two essays have argued for this attribution³ beyond my own work demonstrating that everything about the poem reveals Anne Finch's usual techniques

(including a French intermediary), where and among which other poems by her it appears, and the total lack of any evidence Charles Finch ever wrote any serious learned poetry. Keith argues against James Winn's case for the highly erotic libretto for John Blow's *Venus and Adonis* on the grounds that the evidence is "circumstantial"; the verse patterns, uncharacteristic; and "assumptions about Finch's supposed motives and feelings." This kind of thinking--attributing to Finch motives and feelings--is found everywhere in these two volumes.

In Volume 1's section on excluded poems, Keith follows a self-imposed adamant demand for irrefutable evidence often not possible in literary studies, and that does not exist for some of the "Additional Poems" Keith does accept, as, for example, a song found by Norman Ault, "A Song on the South Sea," beginning "Ombre and Basset laid aside." She includes "On a Short Vissit Inscript to My Lady Worsley," found in the Longleat MS, because not to have printed such an obviously profoundly revealing poem would be reprehensible. Since we have waited literally centuries for this edition and it is unlikely to be superseded any time soon, a section and listing of probable poems could have added to our knowledge of Finch's religious and early life--especially the six following the six poems attributed to Anne in the 1696 *Miscellanea Sacra* and another in the 1701 Gilden (or Rowe) *A New Miscellany of Original Poems*, an autobiographical meditation "The Retirement" ("All flie th'unhappy, and I all would flie"). Both the poem to Frances Lady Worsley and "The Retirement" contain autobiographical material that helps to explain the continuing nexus and source of Anne's lifelong depression and anxiety disorder (as we would now call it)--the latter contains lines on her early orphaning, which partly developed her character. Through the exclusions, Keith's edition is perhaps safer from certain kind of criticism and later information that could invalidate what she has done, but that sort of thing can come from any direction.

Keith's point of view obscures probable human realities and excludes persuasive explanatory lines of interpretation, all of which would lead to richer understanding of Finch's writing, character, and life. Anne Finch's forms of originality could be recognized if attention was paid to the full autobiographical source of her continuous writing of verse. She used translation to give herself surrogate identities through which she could give utterance to her most passionate concerns. Translation for her was a form of disguised self-expression. To Finch genres are changing masks through which we (her readers) reach what is (for her) an irresistibly self-generating, highly varied poetry. She was as daring as Pope, and challenged herself as much, and he learned from and imitated her.⁴

The reader of these volumes will benefit enormously from the biographical introductions to the two volumes, especially in the second volume. When McGovern comes to the era after 1712, her biography gives out as a narrative and turns into mostly literary criticism. Finch's earliest poems can and do provide a lot about the inner woman (including, as Hinnant in his 1994 thorough close-reading of her poetry has shown, the songs); in the years after 1709 she uses irony and, in order to be published, writes more impersonal verse. The Cambridge editors have attended to Anne's later years. In her last five years Anne contracted what appears to have been a frightening medical condition, one that agonized and then killed her. In the Wellesley MS we see

her turning back to devotional kinds.

The notes in the Cambridge edition add much to our knowledge of Finch's women friends. Women's friendships, with relatives, friends (who need not be poets), and especially her poetic niece, Francis Thynne Seymour, Lady Hertford, meant a great deal to Anne Finch. The lifeblood of biography is letters, and either Anne (after 1704, when her spirits improved, after she and Heneage may have moved permanently into Eastwell) was still never up to writing these or private letters were destroyed. So, for example, we know very little of her close early friendship, almost sisterhood with a cousin she grew up with in Northamptonshire, Elizabeth Haslewood Lady Hatton. I suggest for future scholars that more is to be found out about Wye College and Anne Finch's earlier melancholy years there. As seen in her later poetry too, she never forgot them. We learn something in this volume about Heneage's court litigation (and where to research it further). The later part of Finch's life needs more documentation as does Heneage's later friendship with William Stukeley, an important early English archaeologist.

I have reservations about the method used in these volumes, a method seen elsewhere when editors deal with undated writing in manuscripts (e.g. Katherine Philips and Jane Austen). I have explained my discomfort with some of the choices of texts. Keith and her team avoided any attempt at a comprehensive and integrated chronology for Anne Finch's poetry. Simply put, we cannot know the chronology of Anne Finch's poems; we do not even know enough (there having been not enough records kept) to make a precise continuous chronology of the places she lived in, much less visited. The most unobjectionable thing you can do is produce editions of manuscripts where the poems remain in the disarray they were copied out in; one can maybe discern small orderings or groups of poems that are meant to be read together or were written in close temporal proximity, but these judgments are probably open to accusations of too much subjectivity. But we are then left with a book that does not make sense of the data as a whole. We are lucky that at least the general chronology of three large manuscripts seems clear, and of course the printed book is dated.

The highest compliment I can pay Jennifer Keith, Claudia Kairoff Thomas, Rachel Bowman, and Jean Marsden and all the many people involved is that Myra Reynolds would have been so pleased to see all this material brought together at last and so too would Heneage Finch, to whose respect and love for his wife and her poetic achievement, we owe the material's surviving to the extant it has.

Notes

1. See my recent blogs on Anne Finch:

"The Four Major Sources": <https://reveriesunderthesignofausten.wordpress.com/2020/06/30/anne-finch-countess-of-winchilsea-1661-1720-the-other-sources-for-her-poetry/>;

"The Other Sources": <https://reveriesunderthesignofausten.wordpress.com/2020/09/11/anne-finch-countess-of-winchilsea-1661-1720-the-other-sources-for-her-poetry-2/>;

"A Newly Discovered Poem": <https://reveriesunderthesignofausten.wordpress.com/2021/11/27/anne-finch-what-lengths-of-time/>;

See also: [http:// www. jimandellen.org/finch/AnneFinchShow.html](http://www.jimandellen.org/finch/AnneFinchShow.html)

2. For the suggested comparison between Finch and Mary Wortley Montagu, see a paper I delivered at an EC/ASECS conference ([http:// www. jimandellen.org/finch/Epilogues.html](http://www.jimandellen.org/finch/Epilogues.html)) and my essay developing the comparison at length: [http:// www. jimandellen.org/finch/annmary.html](http://www.jimandellen.org/finch/annmary.html)

3. John Irwin Fischer, "In Pity to the empty'ng Town": Who's who, where's what, and Who's the Poet," *Reading Swift: Papers from the Fifth Muenster Symposium on Jonathan Swift*, ed. Hermann J. Real et al. (2008), 287-305; and James A. Winn, "A Versifying Maid of Honor: Anne Finch and the Libretto for *Venus and Adonis*, *Review of English Studies*, 59:238 (2008):67-85.

4. See my essay on Anne Finch as a translator: [http:// www. jimandellen.org/finch/astranslator.html](http://www.jimandellen.org/finch/astranslator.html)

Eve Tavor Bannet. *The Letters in the Story: Narrative-Epistolary Fiction from Aphra Behn to the Victorians*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022. Pp. xviii + 276; index. ISBN-10: 131651885X. Hardcover: c. \$100. (Amazon). Also available on Kindle, \$80. Also available online to subscribing libraries in the Press's academic library *Cambridge Core*.

This is a book that should be read and its insights pondered by everyone who teaches English fiction between Aphra Behn and Anthony Trollope. *The Letters in the Story* is Bannet's eighth book-of-her-own-words since 1987 and her fourth to appear from Cambridge University Press since 2005. As we have come to expect of her, the viewpoint she brings to her subjects is refreshingly original. Her concerns are trans-Atlantic and not limited by artificial ex-post-facto periodization. She has always been interested in ways of reading and ideological viewpoint. Her first book was *Scepticism, Society, and the Eighteenth-Century Novel* (Macmillan 1987), and her second *Structuralism and the Logic of Dissent: Barthes, Derrida, Foucault, Lacan* (U. of Illinois Press, 1989). Her third was again heavily modern-theoretical: *Postcultural Theory: Critical Theory after the Marxist Paradigm* (Paragon House, 1993). Her fourth was feminist-ideological: *The Domestic Revolution: Enlightenment Feminisms and the Novel* (Johns Hopkins UP, 2000).

With her fifth, sixth, and seventh books we start to see further development of Bannet's interest in letters and ways of reading: *Empire of Letters: Letter Manuals and Transatlantic Correspondence, 1688-1820* (Cambridge U. Press, 2005), *Transatlantic Stories and the History of Reading 1720-1810* (CUP, 2011), and *Eighteenth-Century Manners of Reading: Print Culture and Popular Instruction in the Anglophone Atlantic World* (CUP, 2017). [As a footnote to *Transatlantic Stories*, RDH adds *Transatlantic Literary Studies 1660-1830*, edited by Bannet and Susan Manning (CUP, 2012).] In short, we have in Bannet a widely-read senior scholar with a heavy-duty grounding in twentieth-century literary theory, an abiding interest in ideology (particularly of the feminist school), and a long history of concern with "letters" and "ways of reading" them.

The potential reader of *The Letters in the Story* may well think, "Ho Hum, I long ago read Robert Adams Day's *Told in Letters* (Michigan, 1966)

and Janet Altman's *Epistolarity* (Ohio State, 1982) [both good and useful books in my opinion] so what's new or interesting about epistolary fiction at this late date?" But this would be a completely wrong-headed response. What Bannet is concerned with is *not* "the epistolary novel" but rather fiction in which letters are extensively embedded in first- or third-person narration—a subject almost totally ignored by previous scholars. The "epistolary novel," as she points out, withered and pretty much died at the end of the eighteenth century, but the utilization of letters in narrative fiction went right on through the nineteenth century. Bannet argues—very convincingly—that to lump "narrative-epistolary writing with epistolary novels" (x) is unsatisfactory.

What Bannet is trying to do, in the most basic terms, is to explore the ways in which letters embedded in first- or third-person narration can impact and change the reader's understanding of characters and story. An omniscient narrator can presumably tell the reader exactly what happens, why, and what we should think of it. But a letter written "by" a participant can be dishonest, or biased, or mis-informed, and mingling variously authored letters with the views of a narrator not blessed with omniscience can yield a far more gripping, sometimes challengingly puzzling experience for the reader. For an omniscient narrator to withhold vital information or explanations is artificial (and irritating when the reader eventually discovers the facts). Far closer to the experience of real life is a mingling of contradictory information and responses; so, inserting letters from various characters is a very good way of presenting the reader with doubts, puzzles, and frustrations. The embedded letter, Bannet demonstrates, helps an author create a more subtle, complex, and challenging experience for the reader—more akin to real life than tidily narrated omniscience.

As this book is primarily an analysis of a device (embedding letters in first- or third-person narrative fiction) rather than a "history" of the utilization of that device, its organization is primarily analytic rather than historical/sequential. The book begins with a helpful ten-page "Preface: 'To the Reader'" which commences: "In addition to the epistolary novel and the first- or third-person narrative 'history,' there was from the first a vibrant tradition of narrative-epistolary fiction that mixed the two forms" (vii). Aphra Behn and Jane Austen were prominent utilizers of this device, early users of which were mocked by Fielding in *Joseph Andrews* (though he later recognized its worth and used it in *Amelia*). It remained frequently employed throughout the eighteenth century, particularly by such women writers as Jane Barker, Mary Davys, and Eliza Heywood. Prominent exempla include Haywood's *Betsy Thoughtless* (1751), Fanny Burney's *Cecilia* (1782) and *Camilla* (1796), and Maria Edgeworth's *Belinda* (1801). It was "redeployed" by Anne and Charlotte Bronte, Wilkie Collins, Thackeray, Dickens, and Trollope during the nineteenth century in the service of "new epistemologies and new ideas of the self." As Bannet rightly says, "Historically ... narrative-epistolary fictions had a far longer life than the epistolary novel" (vii). And as she crisply demonstrates, treating the two as one phenomenon is grossly reductive and misleading: "Both classifications render invisible the wide variety of conjunctive and disjunctive relations between narrative and embedded letters, together with the many different uses to which these were put.... Like traditional periodization (Restoration, Eighteenth-Century, Romantic, and Victorian) this 'purist' binary taxonomy of narrative *or*

epistolary fiction has a limiting effect on our awareness of the practices that shaped literary history” (x-xi).

Bannet’s extensive “Preface” offers a helpful explanation of her enterprise. “Each subsequent chapter addresses a formal feature of narrative-epistolary fiction together with a topic connected with it through close readings” of several texts. “Texts within each chapter are discussed in chronological order, but new chapters begin with the earliest well-developed version of a formal feature rather than at the point in time where the previous chapter ended” (xi-xii). Bannet forthrightly declares at the outset that her two “principal goals” are to demonstrate that the blend of “narrative-epistolary writing” was “a thing” (i.e., that the mixture was consciously and extensively employed for deliberate and complex ends) and that writers in this virtually unrecognized tradition deliberately “combined narrative and letters in an amazing variety of interesting ways for significant, historically shifting, literary, and cultural purposes” (xvi). Very wisely, in my view, she refuses to construct a tidy, oversimplified account of a wide range of fictions, preferring instead to describe exemplars aplenty but “without attempting to fix boundaries for the genre” (xvi).

The 36-page “Introduction” (“The Letters in the Story”) starts with a helpful overview of “Some Characteristics of Narrative-Epistolary Fictions,” whose scaffolding, she observes, derives “from two basic, and unexpectedly versatile, conventions: narrative framing of embedded letters and juxtaposition of narrative and epistolary accounts of the same characters and events” (1). The narration can highlight “the folly of taking letters at face value as true,” but the juxtaposition of “narrative and epistolary representations of the same characters or events” invites the reader to measure “the truth of one against the other.” The results can be much more interesting and challenging than Narrator-knows-best and will tell Reader what to think (5). Characters can of course be misinformed or judge ill, and narrators can “withhold key information” (15), which creates the possibility of what Terence Cave calls a “recursive structure” where “the manifest story reads differently upon a second reading or retrospective view, after the hidden story has been revealed.” Bannet’s account of “Mystery Plots and Romance Conventions” strikes me as decidedly useful: this is a very particularist book, but Bannet is not afraid to offer an overview perspective from her immense breadth of reading.

The five widely ranging chapters are packed with detail but supply the reader with a clear and logical structure. Chapter 1 explains the framing conventions of “narrative-epistolary fiction”; chapter 2 deals with empirical verification (how do we know what to believe?); chapter 3 surveys “expectations” and chapter 4 “reversals of expectation”; chapter 5 addresses the often unresolved complexities that arise from a multiplicity of perspectives.

Chapter 1 (“Framing Narratives and the Hermeneutics of Suspicion”) tackles the problem of what we are to believe, either from narrators or letters from or to characters, especially when such evidence as is supplied is inadequate or contradictory. Aphra Behn, for example, is very fond of reminding the reader how open to contrary interpretations letters can appear, and offering multiple contrary interpretations (48). An author can use narrative to supply novel readers with the secret historian’s knowledge—or not (49). Readers are taught to approach letters with suspicion and mistrust (52). Some

authors provide interpretive guidance for the reader via an omniscient narrative voice—but others do not. Eliza Haywood generally offers clearly articulated narrative guidance; prior to *Amelia*, Fielding usually just delivers “hints” (64). But both authors were committed to teaching the public to approach words, texts, and characters “with skepticism and hermeneutics of suspicion” (62). Jane Austen comments on what is said and what is “withheld” from the reader (76-77)—but as Jenny Davidson has observed of *Emma*, *Pride and Prejudice* too “reads completely differently the second time around.... Clues ... are so subtly placed that they are genuinely invisible the first time through and will remain indeterminate thereafter” (70).

Chapter 2 (“Letters and Empirical Evidence”) examines “juxtaposition of epistolary and narrative accounts of the same characters and events” (80) and offers competing views of a letter’s meaning and truth. Mary Davys’s *The Reform’d Coquet* (1724), for example, has often been “read as a linear, causal narrative” in which a coquettish heroine is reformed by a love-mentor (83), but Davies has in fact “constructed a double-voiced text, capable of diametrically opposite interpretations,” warning readers that “letters and verbal professions must be tested empirically against documents, actions, and facts,” but leaving the reader to determine “what is verified by narrative realities and what is not.”

Chapter 3 (“Cultural Expectations and Encapsulating Letters”) addresses issues of expectation and judgment. Characters must deal with the contingent, the unexpected, and the unforeseen. Protagonists have to decipher who is to be befriended and trusted, and who is (often unpredictably) not. Thus Frances Burney’s *Cecilia* gives the heroine three guardians, two older female mentors, and a married lover masquerading as her protector, “all of whom are self-interested or blinkered in different ways” (142). Trollope delights in exhibiting false expectations and unforeseen twists and turns created by the characters interlocking and often incompatible expectations and choices. Variations on expectation and hindsight are skillfully deployed in such works as Maria Edgeworth’s *Belinda* (1801) and Wilkie Collins’s *The Dead Secret* (1857). Surveying works by Charlotte Lennox, Burney, Edgeworth and others, Bannet argues that the use of encapsulating letters at the beginning of a narrative creates expectations that frequently turn out to be false as the characters have to deal with “the fluid, complex, unexpected, interminable, and always fascinating contingency of life” (175).

Chapter 4 (“*Epistolary Peripeteiae*”) treats the use of letters to convey the consciousness of the writer and the mapping of “covert epistolary pivots” (206ff). Trollope and others liked to display the unstable nature of the past as we understand it, and letters can convey viewpoint and understanding as of a particular point in time (218). For nineteenth-century writers, as Bannet demonstrates, there is no single vantage point from which an iron chain of cause and effect can be constructed: “In reality, there are only multiple, shifting, incomplete and discontinuous narrative perspectives, each of which contains some truth” (219).

Chapter 5 (“Hermeneutics of Perspective”) tackles an unsettling problem: the past as we can perceive it is unstable. Books like *Confessions of a Justified Sinner* (1824) and *The Moonstone* (1868) and many others eliminated any permanent omniscient narrative, giving different perspectives on a character, or the same character at different times—with letters as one of the devices to particularize and establish angles of vision. Characters’ diverse perspectives

can be pieced together, but our knowledge of what “really” happened remains permanently incomplete, inexplicable and unexplained at the end (223). Sir Walter Scott returned to the omniscient authorly narratives he preferred, but many other novelists leave readers to instruct themselves, or use embedded letters to demonstrate that full, reliable, and permanent comprehension of a situation or story was unattainable (237). Letters are a great help in multiplying perspectives, complicating the understanding of texts, genres, characters, and events while demonstrating “that no perspective or combination of perspectives necessarily supplies the whole story” (244).

The Letters in the Story packs a huge amount of erudition and analytic acuity into a relatively small number of pages. It is a genial exploration of the uses that can be made of embedded letters in narrative fiction across more than two centuries. Bannet cites predecessors generously and refrains from bashing those who seem to her to have gone astray. I have learned a lot about the various ways in which novelists employed embedded letters (a subject which I confess I had never paid any attention to). I came away from this investigation of the use of embedded letters realizing that a lot of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century novels are more subtle, complex, and evocative of serious thought and reflection than I had ever given them credit for. Embedded letters invite—indeed, essentially demand—that a thoughtful reader find in many novels complexities, contradictions, and puzzles that mirror the differences in viewpoints and values that are to be encountered in real life. Without doubt, *The Letters in the Story* is a major contribution to our understanding of viewpoint and meaning in the pre-twentieth-century novel in English.

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David Alston. *Slaves and Highlanders: Silenced Histories of Scotland and the Caribbean*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 2021. Pp. vii + 7 + 366; 15 figures; 13 tables; 8 maps; notes; index. ISBN: 9781474427302: hardcover: \$120/£90; ISBN: 9781474427319: paperback: \$19.95/£15.99.

Of what stories is a society made? By the turn of the twenty-first century, Scottish studies was a robust academic field, with substantial accounts on the factors that transformed Scotland following 1707. These included studies on agricultural improvement, the role of women, internal migration and emigration, but as David Alston notes at the outset of *Slaves and Highlanders*, even as a composite of stories, the story of modern Scotland that these books put forth was missing a key element. That lacuna began to be addressed about 2011 when Thomas Devine posed the question, “Did slavery make Scotia great?” but Alston, a moral historian haunted by the slavery-inflected history of Cromarty, the town he calls home, had been systematically researching this topic since about 2000 and making his findings freely accessible on his website, *Spanglefish*. His newly-published *Slaves and Highlanders: Silenced Histories of Scotland and the Caribbean* is a major contribution to the field of Scottish studies, and in the era of the Black Lives Movement, so very relevant. I have no doubt that just as Alston generously acknowledges the scholars to whose research his own book is indebted, future scholars of the Scotland-

Caribbean nexus will concede their indebtedness with gratitude. I would also hope that his unaffected prose style will be emulated by those who explore the area he has opened up.

Alston finds a metaphor for the pre-Devine situation in the portrait of John Glassford's family. Considered by his contemporaries as the greatest tobacco lord of his epoch, Glassford's name is synonymous with Glasgow's link to the slave trade. The portrait in question was painted between 1764 and 1766. When cleaned of more than two centuries worth of accumulated dirt in 2007, the figure of a black servant off to the side was revealed. That servant would at one time have been an enslaved person transported to Glasgow from one of Glassford's plantations in Virginia and Maryland.

"Dirt" and off to the side indeed. The truth is that many Scots had no qualms about slavery, and it was central to the Scottish economy. James Fraser, a Highland slaver, testified to a House of Commons Select Committee in 1707 in support of the slave trade. When questioned about the cramped conditions aboard the ships, he replied, "It is the custom with the Africans to lay close together." For others, slavery abroad meant a decent life at home. Key to keeping slaves working efficiently was just the right amount of protein in their diets. Protein came in the form of salt herring caught in Scottish waters and processed locally before being exported to the West Indies. Local seaman, merchants and fish curers were never without work. The end of the African slave trade in 1807 actually grew the fisheries industry as the slaves *in situ* had to be kept productive and strong enough for breeding, but it was recognized that emancipation would cause the booming herring market to collapse. As early as 1824, Tain and Cromarty submitted petitions to Parliament opposing the abolition of slavery.

In the roughly 125 years between the Union of the Parliaments (1707) and the abolition of slavery (1834), Scots came in droves to the Caribbean seeking material prosperity. Achieving the Caribbean dream involved the setting up of plantations on which cotton and then, when it was realized that sugar was the more profitable crop, sugarcane, was cultivated. The back-breaking work of transforming these plants into commodities was done by people kidnapped from many parts of the African continent and transported to the Caribbean by slavers like John Fraser. The profits generated by these commodities enabled the Jamaica returned Highlander John MacLeod II, to give but one example, to lead a fashionable life in Cheltenham and move in elite circles. As Alston points out, slavery was not abolished because it was recognized as morally reprehensible, a crime against humanity. If some plantation owners were, to use Alston's painfully ironic phrase, "relatively benign," it was because they realized that brutal treatment would lead to retaliation and revolt that would cut into their profits and save them from being fed alive into sugar rollers. Slave owners were compensated handsomely for the loss of their workforce, and in any case, the workforce was soon replenished with indentured labor kidnapped from the hinterlands of India, a practice which ended in 1918.

The Scots in the Caribbean were always a tiny minority and Alston asks how the few whites could subjugate so many Blacks. Alston posits two complementary systems. Not surprisingly, the first was an apparatus of terror, the application of methods of disciplining and punishing that offered no redress to the enslaved person. In its "relatively benign" manifestation, a

‘caring’ plantation owner like James Fraser, a man who was attentive to the old and sick slaves on his plantation in Berbice (now Guyana), could strike an enslaved person knowing full well that he would, at worst, receive a slap on the wrist, and, if the enslaved man struck back, he would have his arm cut off.

In its malign version, ‘discipline and punish’ became a legally-sanctioned apparatus of terror not limited to branding, whipping, nose-slitting and rape. William Munro was a medical doctor from Edinburgh who didn’t lift a finger to help the child of an enslaved African woman who was dying from tetanus. He owned two plantations in Guyana where the enslaved laborers had to work shifts up to twenty hours long and were fed just a small bunch of plantains a week. After a group of slaves complained to the white authorities, Munro had two of the complainants whipped publicly, for insolence and disobedience. Alston speculates, not wildly, that the men who carried out these punishments were more like John Campbell of Jamaica, calloused ex-soldiers who had experienced brutality on the battlefield and internalized it as a *modus operandi* before settling in the Caribbean, than like the sadistic Thomas Thistlewood of Jamaica, who, in his diary, described his torture and rape of enslaved women.

Alston provides evidence that Thistlewood was not, unfortunately, an anomaly. In 1824 Alexander Innes of Banff spent six weeks as a guest at *Colbeck*, a Jamaica plantation. In his diary, he noted that the overseer Mr. Spenser had had a heavily pregnant slave punished cruelly. Spenser was dismissed only to be replaced by a Mr. Simpson, who used ferocious bloodhounds to hunt runaway slaves. Records held at the National Archives of Guyana indicate that the Court of Criminal Justice sanctioned cruel and inhumane punishment. Alston references the case of Caesar, an enslaved man on plantation *Hampshire* in Guyana. He was convicted of killing an enslaved woman—his wife Johanna, who had been “given to another negro on the estate.” Caesar was hung and beheaded, and his head was stuck on a pole on the plantation. This is as close as Alston gets to painting the insidious evil and the damage of state-sanctioned slavery as “the horror, the horror.”

The second was a system of surveillance achieved through accounting practice. Bookkeeping enabled managers to keep track of the enslaved labor force. The records told them who was on a plantation, what was happening and where people were at any given time, useful knowledge for maximizing profit and minimizing risk. One of the few heroes in *Slaves and Highlanders* is Zachary Macaulay. Zachary learned bookkeeping skills at a merchant house in Glasgow. In 1784, at the age of 16, he went to Jamaica, where he was employed as a bookkeeper at *Colbeck*, a sugar plantation owned by John MacLeod II, whose paternal grandparents and great-grandparents were of intermediate social status. However, MacLeod’s father had done well in Jamaica, and the mansion which MacLeod II inherited was a palace of pleasure. Built by slave labor, it had wood-panelled rooms, plastered ceilings, a sunken bathroom and an indoor toilet. The storerooms were well-stocked with wine and fine fabrics. But aesthetics and morality rarely go together, and MacLeod’s concern for the bodily needs of family and guests, as evinced by the bathroom and toilet, was not matched by any concern for the 200+ slaves who were involved in the grueling processes by which a tall perennial grass became a sweetener or an alcoholic beverage. The facts and figures which the teenage Zachary collected and organized at *Colbeck* gave him a glimpse into the human rights abuses perpetrated on his fellow human beings, all in the

name of profit. Against his father's wishes, who perhaps thought that his son would make enough money to become a plantation owner himself, Zachary returned to Scotland four years later and from the age of twenty onwards, put his accounting skills to the service of the abolition movement.

Caribbean slavery benefited many Scots. The case of MacLeod II has already been alluded to. He and his family were presented to Princess Charlotte, who was dressed in MacLeod tartan for the occasion. In his 1808 *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Inverness*, James Robertson identified seven leading exponents of agricultural improvement there. Alston points out that three of these improvers had Army backgrounds. They had made their money in the military contracting as Army commissaries and invested it in properties in Dominica, Tobago, St. Vincent and Guyana. The remittances from these Caribbean plantations enabled the ex-commissaries to introduce cutting-edge methods of cultivation that made their Highland farms yield higher profits. They were not the only ones to engage in a transfer of funds that, to this reader, recalled the Iran-contra scandal of the 1980s.

Alston's revulsion breaks through in his discussion of Francis Humberstone Mackenzie, later Lord Seaforth. In his capacity as Governor of Barbados, Seaforth arranged for money made through the exploitation of enslaved Africans working on Berbice (now Guyana) plantations to save his Highland estates, resist the clearance of tenants from those estates, and stave off the growing commercialism of the Highlands, and, of course, maintain a lavish lifestyle. "The equation was financially straightforward and morally reprehensible," Alston writes, even though the tainted money probably saved the tenants from the fate of the dispossessed Gaelic-speaking Highlanders who toiled in proto-factories or manufactories in Cromarty and Inverness. Victims of the Highland Clearances, they produced bagging for cotton and coarse linen yarn. This yarn was subsequently woven into cloth which would, on the other side of the Atlantic become the slaves' working wear. The cloth itself arrived in the Caribbean packed within the bags produced by the Highlanders 'slaving' away at the manufactories. These men became entangled in the web of slavery through no fault of their own, and Alston, in fact, sees a parallel between them and the enslaved laborers in the Caribbean. As he remarks, in the "tick-tock of the Inverness manufactory's clock which set the rhythm of the working day, we can hear a faint echo of the conch shell which called enslaved labourers to the cane fields."

Returning to the Glassford portrait as metaphor, we can clearly see that Alston has laid out the complex and myriad ways in which Scots and Scotland were culpable/complicit or just became unfortunately entangled in the net of institutionalized chattel slavery. Evoked by the figure of the once obscured male servant are the histories of numerous individuals of African descent. Some, like the pregnant woman whose severe beating Alexander Innes watched, are written into the history books but remain anonymous--they are a metaphor for the criminality of slavery. Others, like the mixed-race children of the MacCleods, not only have first names but surnames. Since we have no further information about Joseph and John MacLeod, Bessie and Anne MacKenzie, Jane Morrison and Margret Roy, their names are the only trace of their existence. Alston references George Floyd and the Black Lives Matter movement and especially within that context, saying their names acknowledges their humanity and honors their lives. A man given the name

Inverness upon being auctioned off resisted enslavement. He arrived in Demarara in July 1803 and was set to work draining coastal lands for the production of cotton. By January 1804 he had run away and set up an encampment that grew to include at least 100 ‘runaways.’ He was probably killed in 1809/10 in an expedition led by a Scots planter who received a bounty on production of a severed right hand. James Fraser, the relatively benign plantation owner, took a slave named Black John with him to Scotland, to India and then overland back to Britain. Black John became Fraser’s lifelong devoted companion. He was the only one who could console him when his brother Aleck died and he saved Fraser’s life on at least one occasion, but he was more the devoted servant than the faithful friend. James’s mother remembered that three hours before he died, when he was incoherent but conscious, he “knew his Master” (note ‘M’ is capitalized).

Alston dedicates one chapter to the biracial children of Scots fathers and women of African descent who were sent to Britain for education and another chapter to the free women of color. The histories of the mixed-race children are less obscured than many of the others in *Slaves and Highlanders* as they are the subject of Daniel Livesay’s 2018 *Children of Uncertain Fortune: Mixed-Race Jamaicans in Britain and the Atlantic Family, 1733-1833*, and Alton acknowledges his indebtedness. For those who want to learn more about these children and their fates, Livesay’s monograph is highly recommended. However, Alston’s presentation is much more than a soupçon, particularly because it raises the intertwined issues of race and gender. Peg Williamson was the acknowledged daughter of a Jamaica planter. Her complexion, the color of fermented oats, was the subject of a racist joke cracked by a schoolmaster who was reading Scott. In his will, the father divided his substantial estate between her and his sister, her aunt. The two women were tricked out of their legacy. The aunt appealed and the case went as far as the House of Lords where the Law Lords decided in the women’s favor. However, neither woman saw a penny of the legacy as it all went to paying their lawyers’ legal fees. Peg was socially accepted enough to get married to a blacksmith, run a small shop, and serve as the village midwife in her Scottish parish but might she have made a more advantageous marriage and lived more comfortably had she been an heiress? On the other hand, Peter Grant (later Peter Grant Peterkin), whose skin tone is not mentioned, went on to a military career in India, where he apparently made a fortune. It appears that in this case, money trumped ancestry and/or his future father-in-law was less racist than many of his contemporaries, for he married the daughter of a wealthy Jamaica-returned planter who had settled in Forres. Peter became a fully accepted and integrated member of the Scottish landed gentry.

The free women of color whom Alston singles out shared a can-do attitude. Two opened a seminary for young women so that, unlike their mothers and grandmothers, they would not be illiterate. Alston gives no further details about these women, Sarah Waterton and Louisa Chapman, but women’s education in Guyana would be an avenue worth exploring. Other women established themselves in business enterprises. Recognizing their shrewdness, merchants gave them lines of credit. The women set up huckster’s stores all over Georgetown and also employed a team of women to sell goods all over town. Many became wealthy and owned slaves; the elite of this population owned twenty or more enslaved women. The behavior of

the huckster Nora Leeds toward the enslaved people she used to sell her goods was modeled on that of plantation owners. Every Sunday her enslaved labor force came to the shop where she sat in state. The sad and painful irony of the situation is captured by Alston, who recounts the history of Nora Leeds. Nora Leeds, ever a self-conscious and forceful woman of business, praised the ones who sold well, warned those who did not and ordered flogged those who had lost goods. Then, dressed in her Sunday best, she went to church. Black women walked behind her, carrying her prayer-book and umbrella. Already a rich woman, Nora became richer when slavery was abolished in 1834. She received compensation worth about £100,000 in today's purchasing power.

More morally complex is the account of independent-minded, clear-sighted Dorothy "Doll" Thomas. In the 1820s, she advised her daughter Dorothea not to marry the white Army officer with whom she was living and who had promised a church wedding when able to afford it. Dorothy saw that he was a gold digger who only wanted to marry Dorothea to get his hands on the riches that she would inherit when her mother died, and that, in the meantime, Dorothea's own property would pass into his hands upon marriage.

Alston is delighted with this aspect of Dorothy, and his delight may mitigate his presentation of Dorothy as a slave owner. There is no gainsaying the fact that she was a harsh mistress. Alston quotes from her grandson's account of her years in London. It was customary for her to bellow and swear at her "sable handmaiden," who cried to be sent back to their own country, presumably, by this point, Guyana. However, back in her household in Guyana, she maintained 25 adult female slaves, twelve sickly or invalid, three reportedly in their nineties. Alston speculates that as the cost of manumission was prohibitive, and these women would have little to gain from it, in maintaining them in servitude within her household, Dorothy was protecting and caring for them, providing a safe space for a vulnerable cohort. Alston asks rhetorically if this maintenance was a carryover from an African heritage which might include "traditions of female leadership and of family structure." One would like to think so; certainly, it opens up an avenue of research.

At this point in a review, it is customary to pick a bone or two with the author, and I do have one bone. It concerns his presentation of the shocking race-based incident which opens *Slaves and Highlanders*—the 1818 knifing of a West Indian Black or mulatto student by Hugh Miller, who was a student at the same Cromarty school. I find the story compromised because while Alston does mention that Miller came from a troubled background and even as an adult stereotyped the West Indian mulatto disposition as "wild" and "savage," he does not mention that Miller suffered from mental illness. Current thinking is that he suffered from psychotic depression, a condition characterized by persecutory delusions, and that individuals with serious mental conditions such as this one, who do not receive proper treatment, into which category Miller, who committed suicide, would fall, are at risk for behaving violently. What I found shocking in the story, therefore, was not the knifing but the fact that the school overlooked the incident and only expelled Miller after he assaulted a member of the school staff. That difference of emphasis aside, I can only say Read. The. Book.

Corey E. Andrews. *Inventing Scotland's Bard: The British Reception of Robert Burns, 1786-1836.* (South Carolina Scottish Literacy Series, 6.)

Columbia, SC: Studies in Scottish Literature, 2022. Pp. xvi + 140; index [133-140]. ISBN: 9798835611560. \$18.00 at Amazon et al.

The aim and background to Corey Andrews's annotated bibliography *Inventing Scotland's Bard* are explained in the Foreword by Series editor Patrick Scott: to organize and make available the research data behind Andrews's *The Genius of Scotland: The Cultural Production of Robert Burns, 1785-1834* (2015) and many additional references to Burns' in Britain during the fifty years after the publication of the Kilmarnock edition of Burns's *Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect* in 1786. (Publications in America are outside the scope but others in Belfast are included.) Scott thinks this the first bibliography on the topic since "James Gibson's Burns bibliography in 1881": "Professor Andrews provides the first modern annotated year-by-year record, and the fullest record ever, for this important first phase in the long story of Burns's critical reception" (p. [v]). Scott has been more involved than most series editors, supporting the project from its inception with his expertise on Burns and Scottish literature (Andrews was aided by a fellowship from the Roy Center in Scott's backyard, South Carolina's Irvin Department of Rare Books). The book has only a short Preface introducing the bibliography, for *The Genius of Scotland* serves as a very lengthy introduction to what might be thought of as a supplement to that book. The Preface's offers a general survey of responses to Burns, both critical and creative--and creative, that is poetical, responses dominate in the material surveyed over the first decade or two, The Preface also provides a survey of the scholarship on Burns's reception and literary fortunes, some in biographies and bibliographies, and others in editions and reception studies. This latter survey is in part an acknowledgement of the groundwork for Andrews's work, but it also is very relevant to the bibliography. The annotations to the listed publications 1786-1836 typically conclude with an abbreviated reference to eleven scholarly works besides Andrews's book, which treat the selected early sources (keyed to abbreviations on pp. xv-xvi, e.g., J. W. Egerer's *A Bibliography of Robert Burns* (1964), Gibson's *The Bibliography of Robert Burns* (1881), James Kinsley's *Poems and Songs of Robert Burns* in 3 vols. (1968), Craig R. Lamont's *A Bibliography of Robert Burns for the 21st Century* (2018), Donald Low's *Robert Burns: The Critical Heritage* (1974), and Walter Moffatt's unpublished 1941 dissertation "Burns's Literary Reputation . . . -1834."

The bibliography is divided into six sections: on 1786-1789, on the four following decades, and on 1830-1836, with sources therein arranged alphabetically by author or by title where anonymous. Some of the authors are offered as conjectural, such as, "H.G. [Hamilton Gavin?]" as are some dates and places of publication, and we are glad to have Andrews's informed conjectures. The main entry contains author, title, and publication information, with the latter including publications reprinting the original text--some important early discussions of Burns were reprinted in several or even more periodicals, as Henry McKenzie's review of the first volume of *Poems*, reprinted from *The Lounger* (December 1786) in the *Edinburgh Magazine*, *Scots Magazine*, *Gentleman's Magazine*, and *Universal Magazine* (and those that are shorter redacted reprintings are noted, as of the *London Chronicle's*

obituary [24]). Information on the reprinting of poetry is particularly useful. Reprints of important treatments of Burns in later years are sometimes noted with back reference to the original publication. Andrews offers a generous annotation on the author, contents, and influence, and then the citation of pages where discussed in scholarship. (One of my only criticisms of the book is that these sources are nearly all abbreviations, as "Gib" for "Gibson" or "Moff" for "Moffat.") Early publications on Burns often have as many as six cited discussions of the source; some have only one, usually Andrews, Gibson, or Low; and a few have none, evidently not digested by scholars and deserving attention. This guide to scholarship is in itself a considerable resource.

The summary and analysis of contents for both prose and poetry are surprisingly extensive and very informative--the accounts sometimes occupy more than a full page, as of Wordsworth's "Ejaculation at the Grave of Robert Burns" (p. 41). Quotations are often included (those in Scottish dialect will sometimes leave those ignorant of the dialect scratching their heads--space is not spent in transliterating those verses). Andrews does an excellent job identifying the key themes in responses to Burns as a person and as a poet, thus allowing one to track both positive and negative points. We can measure to what extent his merit was thought owing to genius ("heaven-taught ploughman"), to nature (nonhuman and human surroundings), and to study; and to what extent his character was celebrated as having independent integrity and spirit or (progressively increasing during his life) he was denigrated as an irreligious and/or intemperate man swayed by fame and/or drink. (In 1787 he is already attacked for ridicule of "the Scriptures and gospel ministers" [8] and is called a "champion for Satan" in 1788). Scotland is frequently urged to patronize him, allowing his creativity to flourish; and sometimes those of means in Scotland are censured for neglecting him, forcing him to live in poverty where he was vulnerable to illness and death. Andrews is as attentive to criticism as to praise and separates the two when the discussion is mixed. A major recurrent theme from 1786 involves the use of Scottish dialect: we read praise for it especially among Scottish poets but also some in England, and criticism of it, especially in reviews. Language is most frequently an issue while Burns is alive.

The summaries allow one to search for patterns in discrete points: poems defending Burns as a satirist and waving off criticism of him as irreligious often also praise his use of Scottish dialect. One can see through the 1790s an increased celebration of his poetry for affecting feelings. The prose memorials and poetical elegies for Burns in 1796-97, summarized at great length with quotations, are often complex assessments, as Robert Heron's in the *Monthly Magazine* of March 1797, slamming him for intemperance yet finding he "exercised a greater power over the minds of men . . . than has been exercised by any half dozen of the most eminent statesmen of the present age" (26). Heron in 1793, within *Observations Made in a Journey through the Western Counties of Scotland* had praised Burns's character (for "prudence and propriety) and emphasized that Burns's poetry was "read by all, from the parson to the ploughman--from the gentleman and lady . . . to the cinder-wench." The bibliography allows one to track responses among individuals as well as classes of readers, such as clergy, or urban reviewers, or fellow Scottish poets. For such, the index of names and titles is helpful. Finally, there

is additional value in the coverage of books like biographies and editions (such as James Currie's in 1800) and then the responses to them.--J. May

Zachary Dorner. *Merchants of Medicines: The Commerce and Coercion of Health in Britain's Long Eighteenth Century*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2020. Pp. viii + 261; 24 halftones, 5 tables; notes; bibliography; index. ISBN 9780226706801: hardcover, \$50.00. ISBN 9780226706948: e-pdf, \$49.99. ISBN 9780226706948, e-pub \$49.99.

Merchants of Medicines examines in an original way the heightened relationships among medicine production and circulation, plantation agriculture, and imperial and military establishments during the long eighteenth century. Dorner contends that the “British empire, particularly its commercial form, fundamentally reshaped medicine in the eighteenth century” (5). Manufactured medicines (as opposed to nostrums developed from animals and vegetables for local and individualized use) functioned as imperial commodities that brought about a deep interest in healthcare for large groups of people, including those who were enslaved, soldiers, and trading company workers. The change – from individualized care to medicinal care of masses of people – brought about, Dorner argues, noticeable changes in how people viewed their bodies, how they received care, and how they were conceived as similar and different across categories of racial difference.

By tracing the circulation of medicines, Dorner shows how from the early part of the eighteenth century through to the early 1770s, medicine exports from London to the Atlantic colonies “rose exponentially.” Then, partly as a result of the American Revolution, they shifted more fully to embrace overseas circulation into Asia. Dorner bases the analysis on British economic factors, including Britain’s overseas trade activities; its plantation systems in the Americas; its relatively relaxed laws (compared to other European systems) regarding the importation of key ingredients and exportation of manufactured medicines; and the varied overseas laboring groups (people enslaved, those serving the military, or those serving trading companies) whose work supported the empire. Dorner argues that “by 1770, the medicine trade stretched across the Atlantic and Indian Oceans and was the fastest growing of any of the trades in British manufactures” (9). Dorner’s key contention is that the British imperial system created its colonial legacy by way of medicine, a reminder that power, health, and violence have, across time, operated in a mutually constitutive way.

Using close assessments of material records, including correspondence, petitions, ledgers and account books, tax records, recipes, insurance policies, and contracts, Dorner inventively studies the different aspects of the medicine trade in the early modern era. Indeed, Dorner offers a useful history of the trade in medicine, beginning with the “livery” companies, the College of Physicians (from the early sixteenth century) and the Society of Apothecaries (from the early seventeenth century). Significant antagonisms occurred among the different groups seeking to control the making and marketing of medicines. As the trade and the different sets of practitioners widened, regulatory controls established by the College of Physicians began to falter under pressure from a growing and changing market. Dorner uses fire

insurance records as evidence for the claim that the eighteenth century witnessed both an “influx of new entrants to the medicine trade” and an “accumulation of property by British apothecaries, chemists, and druggists” (16). Additionally, trade reports, medical licenses, subscriptions, and apprenticeships reveal that opportunities in medical trades were increasing, bringing about a general rise in wealth. Dorner concludes that “entrants into the medicine trade had sufficient access to cash or credit” so as to create businesses much larger than those formerly available (19). By building a business, individuals (working sometimes together and often in competition with one another) created a new kind of industry – more diversified and built on both trust and credit – that would serve the empire.

The study of two successful producers and merchants of medicine, Thomas Corbyn and Joseph Gurney Bevan, reveals how the production, trade, and marketing of medicine changed across time. The Plough Court pharmacy involved a number of family members and personal and business relationships of both Corbyn and Bevan; by examining such, Dorner illustrates how, “by joining production and distribution, merchants of medicines could reap significant returns from long-distance trade” (41). Thomas Corbyn (who came from a Quaker family of modest means) leveraged credit to build the business, developed a network of trusted agents, and learned how to rely on commodity exchange (rather than currency) in order to make sure debts were paid. Dorner shows how the “plantation complex” brought into commerce new strategies that would influence the long-distance trade in medicines. “Over time,” Dorner says, “sugar factors, commission agents, mortgages, and slaving voyages appeared in the account books of London’s pharmacies as they acquired more capital and credit” (42). By tracking the correspondence networks of several individuals, Dorner maps the significant increase in trade across the decades of the study while speaking to the complexities of debt that occurred as a result of medicines’ circulation. In managing their own debt by dealing partly in commodities, merchants of medicines were “brought . . . closer to the slave trade and plantation complex” (70). Medicines ended up being circulated alongside and were exchanged for “sugar, furs, tar, and peoples” (70). A sidelight of Dorner’s study is the revelation of the extent to which Quakers (many of whom have been admired for outspoken antislavery rhetoric and practices) were sometimes integrally associated with Britain’s trade in human cargo, a system that made Britain’s imperial power and capital accrue.

Dorner convincingly contends that medical practices and ideas--such as regarding healing practices--changed as Britain engaged in overseas colonization and plantation-building, militarization, and imperial competition for trade, including trade in humans. He argues that in earlier years, illness was understood as deriving “from a person’s constitution” and “could vary, for instance, with geography or temperament.” Such “variables” (in the humoral approach) needed to be “put aside” in order to allow for an expansion of Britain’s overseas empire (71). Emerging to replace the one body / one method conception, a new “ontological” approach took hold, as ideas about “specifics” took shape. Medical practitioners, military personnel, and sea traders sought a greater number of medicines “that could have the same effect on anybody in any location suffering from the same affliction.” By approaching medicine in this way, suppliers “offered the prospect of simple, widespread treatment”

(72). In this way, medicines were conceived as treating the disease rather than a particular body. Dorner asserts, “Both physiological and ontological approaches to health coexisted across the breadth of European medical practice, but the ontological view’s convenience encouraged its wider adoption in the early eighteenth century” (77). Thomas Sydenham, Robert Boyle, Herman Boerhaave – all began to think of disease as following mechanical laws. This led to a substitution in medical writing of “more material terms that followed mechanical laws” for the “kinds of allegory used to describe disease and the body in the Renaissance” (77).

Increased acceptance of the ontological view of disease made it possible to enlarge systems and their laborers that supported the empire, whether those laborers were soldiers, sailors, servants (indentured or not), or enslaved humans. Dorner pursues the systematization of medical practices through analyses of the British East India Company, the military establishment, and the Caribbean plantocracy. Noteworthy in Dorner’s discussion in this part (chapter 3) is the case made regarding British military treatment. Amid imperial seaborne and land wars that took place across the century, Dorner asserts, “the British state’s credibility . . . hung on its ability to provide what appeared to be adequate medical care to its armed forces” (79). The government was spending an average of £18.04 per year on each member of its military during the Seven Years’ War, for instance, and military personnel rose to nearly 170,000. This alone suggests the extent to which merchants of medicine lined their own pockets while fostering a commercial enterprise that sustained state power.

In the Caribbean, Dorner’s analysis exposes how Quakers were deeply involved in the trafficking, owning, and treating of enslaved humans. Dorner makes less of this point than he might. For instance, in examining the case of Joseph Gamble, a Quaker physician, and his nephew (both of whom were associated with Corbyn’s network of medical customers), Dorner shows how wealth was gained from a “thriving plantation medical practice” wherein plantation owners and their doctors could “purchase imported medicines in bulk based on what they knew of contemporary medical theory and local experience” (94). Speaking to the troubling part of the analysis, Dorner points out that plantation medical physicians tended to dismiss, *when they could*, the use of African healing practices while “overordering and overdosing” enslaved people. Such overordering and overdosing meant “they could charge more for the sale of imported medicines than other services or goods they typically provided” (100). Whether one were a person enslaved, an impressed sailor, or a member of a military unit, when one became ill, one became in effect a captive recipient of a commodified medicine over which one had little control. Differences *between* bodies developed as a category of inquiry: “European observers began to see medicines affecting diasporic Africans and South Asians differently than themselves,” which would eventually undermine the ontological basis of the use of specifics (106).

Following the sea and land trades and intersecting medical trade networks, Dorner presents a complicated picture of New England medical trade and commerce. Silvester Gardiner, for instance, created a lucrative trade—with an income sevenfold times that of “an ordinary practitioner”—and kept apprentices busy with “orders for rural medical practitioners, military regiments, merchant seamen, and settlers across Connecticut, Maine,

Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, and Nova Scotia” (114). Gardiner’s large network of business connections brought him an interest in land speculation in Maine. By engaging in speculation with the Kennebeck Company, Gardiner improved his chances of increasing his “real assets (land and hard money)” because of the fish, fur, and timber commodities the riverine culture made possible. Hard assets helped offset the risks of the long-distance trade in medicines and the uncertain and changing trade laws North Americans faced. The significant interconnections of traders and their increased wealth from medical, product-oriented (e.g., potash), and land speculation brought Gardiner and associates under suspicion for toryism as the American revolution drew near. As Dorner frames it, “medical practitioners in New England found themselves caught between imperial prospects and local politics” (135). The situation became unstable during wartime but nonetheless provides a model of the mixed markets of commodities and the wealth made possible by the medicine trade.

The study concludes by examining the complexities and expense of imported medicines on the margins of empire. Dorner employs a comparative method to study the difficulties faced by East India Company traders and those who ran the Pennsylvania Hospital as they considered whether the expense of medical imports was necessary or whether medicines could be produced locally, whether in Madras or in Pennsylvania. The method itself is insightful, yet by comparing two different kinds of establishments, one a military state and one developed by settler colonial practices, the differences between the two kinds of polities outweigh the similarities. In both cases, the reliance on European medicines was balanced by an equal use of local products. The fascinating details about the Hospital offer a perspective not frequently offered, one that shows the extent to which Plough Court (under the control now of Silvanus and Timothy Bevan) infiltrated all areas of colonial medicine. But Dorner also highlights the increasing local medicine trade by shining a light on Philadelphia’s expanding regional trade, which also included some women taking part in the medicine marketplace. The wars of the Atlantic world along with the challenges faced by imperial governments brought about an untenable situation by the close of the eighteenth century, and a new era of modernity brought about new adaptations to the existing system.

Dorner concludes the acknowledgments of *Merchants of Medicines* by remarking, “Sickness and commerce are ubiquitous presences in our lives, intimately tied to our perceptions of ourselves and the world around us, yet they remain subject to material power outside our control. It feels urgent now, as it always has been, to identify the extent to which such abstraction has shaped the ways some profit from the bodies of others” (181). Dorner aptly captures the palpable reality this study brilliantly illuminates in British imperial, economic, and medical culture of the long eighteenth century. In its examination of how the health, especially of those in the (free and unfree) laboring sectors, depended on an increasingly industrialized system, *Merchants of Medicines* offers a compelling analysis of the preoccupations that drove the production of medicines as the British empire, octopus-like, extended its tentacles from London to the Americas and Asia.

Jo Willett. *The Pioneering Life of Mary Wortley Montagu: Scientist and Feminist*. Barnsley, U.K.: Pen & Sword Books, 2021. Pp. xxvii + 256; 22 b/w illustrations; index. ISBN 978-1526779380: hardcover: £25.00, \$49.95. (Also available in paperback: £14.99, \$29.95; and Kindle: \$22.49.)

The year 2021 was the 300th anniversary of a transatlantic smallpox pandemic that shut down all but essential services in Britain and its most densely populated American colonies. Public gatherings were forbidden, supply chains were disrupted, and the toll of funeral bells was a constant reminder that people were dying in droves. As the contagion raged in London, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu recalled her family physician Charles Maitland from retirement to inoculate her four-year-old daughter by the Turkish method of “variolation” (from the Latin name for the smallpox virus, *variola*), a highly effective precursor to modern vaccination that she and Maitland had witnessed during her family’s residence in Constantinople in 1717-18, when her husband, Edward Wortley Montagu, was Britain’s Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire. This would be the first inoculation performed on British soil, most likely the first in all of western Europe.

With the assistance of the Princess of Wales and members of the College of Physicians and the Royal Society, the well-connected Montagu used her social network to draw public attention to the variolation procedure as a possible remedy for the recurring waves of smallpox that over the previous century had overtaken bubonic plague as the most dangerous infectious disease in European cities. Her coalition invited doctors and society influencers to witness the progress of her daughter’s recovery, then carried out clinical trials on volunteer subjects drawn from the ranks of Newgate prisoners awaiting execution, who received a royal pardon in return for serving as test subjects.

Like their 21st-century descendants who harnessed the power of social media to combat vaccine hesitancy and misinformation, Montagu and her collaborators worked tirelessly to promote the practice of inoculation. The task was not an easy one, and attacks came from multiple fronts. The clergy had long argued that the disease was a scourge delivered upon individuals and the populace in general as either a punishment or a test of faith; to interfere with its course risked an attempt to subvert God’s will. Despite variolation’s demonstrated success on thousands of Turks, established medical professionals with a vested financial interest in treating smallpox and maintaining the status quo attacked the treatment as “untried.” Patronage from the royal palace was a less convincing factor than one might expect, since George I was viewed by many citizens as a foreign monarch who failed to have Britain’s best interests at heart. Even proponents of the New Science were suspicious of a treatment that had emerged from a Muslim country they looked upon as a seat of superstition and ignorance, imported to their shores by a woman with no formal medical training.

Eventually, however, persistence prevailed and the inoculators slowly won over the British public, paving the way for Edward Jenner’s development of the first true vaccine in 1796. With all this in mind, Montagu’s status in popular culture over the past two years has risen to that of an important trailblazer in the field of modern medicine. The confluence of the 1721 pandemic’s tricentennial year and the global COVID-19 pandemic has resulted

in a steep rise in her popular profile, boosted by a wave of interviews, podcasts, and news articles. Jo Willett's tercentenary biography, published by a press specializing in crossover books about British military history, was part of the push. Even the venerable medical journal *The Lancet* included a review by Patricia Fara in its "Perspectives" under the title "Mary Wortley Montagu's struggle for health and equality" (*The Lancet*, 397, issue 10286 [8 May 2021], 1699-1700). Like most media coverage of Willett's *Pioneering Life of Mary Wortley Montagu*, the *Lancet* review concentrated its attention almost entirely on a single chapter that describes the inoculation campaign and its relevance to our current moment.

When I read the early press releases I was happy to see that this new biography had come out at such a felicitous moment—not just for my own benefit and that of the community of eighteenth-century scholars, but for any non-specialist who wanted to understand the covid pandemic in historical context. As the advertisements promised, the topic couldn't be better timed. The author is an award-winning British television and film producer, and the book's marketing demonstrates the successful strategies she has employed over the course of her career to appeal to a broad audience. She has worked hard to make the book accessible, keeping the chapters to ten or twelve pages with clear descriptive titles. The back cover blurbs were provided by well-known figures from the entertainment industry rather than professional historians, and footnotes are kept to a minimum. I was predisposed to like the book for its crossover potential and the undergraduate-friendly brevity of its clearly labeled chapters.

But as I read through, I was more puzzled than illuminated by the text itself, which appeals to emotion more than intellect. Willett's vagueness about dates for many of the episodes she describes made it difficult for me to place significant events in the timeframe of her subject's life, which seemed odd as much of the material was drawn from Montagu's meticulously dated letters. More than once I lost track of the timeline and had to put *The Pioneering Life* down so I could go look something up and establish a particular incident's place in the larger picture. I was even more surprised at Willett's apparent determination to treat each of the periods of Montagu's life as equally important, or at least of equal interest to the reader, who might expect to hear more about Montagu's contributions to society through her literary output or her efforts to introduce inoculation to a hesitant public—the latter, as Willett admits, being the only reason for the dubious claim of "scientist" in the book's subtitle. A great deal of space is dedicated to discussion of various degrees of warmth or animosity in Montagu's interpersonal relationships, with a considerable amount of speculation: we are often told how Montagu "must have felt" about an individual or an event.

The tone can only be described as gossipy, lingering on the subject's inner life at the expense of her very real achievements in the public sphere. Many of the details that are included to add color or authenticity to the narrative, usually consisting of tidbits plucked directly from Montagu's published correspondence, come off as indiscriminate digressions, random bits of gossip or factoids with no thematic hook—then suddenly, usually at the end of a chapter, the author circles back to mention the larger topic of feminism or smallpox in an attempt to herd it all back into the fold.

The apportionment of the chapters seemed counterintuitive, a product of the book's lack of focus: despite the heavy emphasis in the marketing materials on Montagu's successful crusade to popularize variolation, equal or greater weight is given to far less impactful episodes in her life. Three full chapters (33 pages) are dedicated to Montagu's disastrous liaison with the Italian Francesco Algarotti and its aftermath, while only two chapters total (11 pages each) deal with her years in Turkey, her celebrated *Turkish Embassy Letters*, and the 1721 pandemic—less information than one can find in many articles available in library databases and on the internet for free. This no doubt reflects the relative importance of the Algarotti affair to Montagu personally, as the experience was clearly devastating for her, but it does not reflect the book's ostensible argument. In a substantial portion of the volume she comes off as a pathetic victim of her own poor judgment rather than the feminist icon promised by the title and the back cover copy.

More problematically, the book is touted on the American (but not U.K.) Amazon and Barnes & Noble websites, in a blurb replicated by other booksellers and readers' groups, as "the first biography to look at the early feminist and radical Mary Wortley Montagu, who successfully introduced Britain to the inoculation against the smallpox virus." Setting aside the fact that such a brief space is dedicated to the subject of Montagu's pro-inoculation campaign—about the same amount of space Willett devotes to the description of Montagu's childhood reading, or to her embarrassing financial entanglements in the South Sea Bubble—this statement ignores Robert Halsband's groundbreaking *Life of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu* (1956) and Isobel Grundy's 714-page magnum opus *Lady Mary Wortley Montagu: Comet of the Enlightenment* (1999). Where this particular piece of misinformation came from is unclear—it does not appear on the publisher's website, or anywhere in or on the book itself—but it's disturbing to see it repeated in so many influential places on the web. Since even a cursory glance at the footnotes or the summation that concludes the final chapter will show that Willett is deeply indebted to Grundy's *Comet of the Enlightenment* and Halsband's three-volume edition of Montagu's letters, the claim that *The Pioneering Life of Mary Wortley Montagu* is some kind of pioneer itself seems careless at best, and quite possibly ingenuously deceptive. That said, I do think the book could have a place on a university's library shelves, particularly for students enrolled in a survey class who might be competing for access to texts for their research papers or who might feel intimidated by the sheer size (or the expensive price tag) of Grundy's book. Though I would not assign it as a required text, I might put it on reserve as supplemental reading.

The shortest chapter, a seven-page analysis of Montagu's "Feminist Writing," is the one most likely to be effective for instructional purposes, and would almost certainly provoke classroom discussion. It provides a concise overview of many of her popular poems and essays on the subject of the 18th-century marriage debate—including some of disputed authorship that she may or may not have actually written, though the disputed works are clearly identified as such. The chapter demonstrates how Montagu leveraged her fame and her experience abroad to establish her authority and make her opinions heard. It also situates her position with reference to other woman writers, especially her close friend and occasional collaborator Mary Astell. As a brief introduction to Montagu's body of work beyond the *Turkish Embassy Letters*,

this chapter has potential for classroom use, especially if it were assigned as contextual reading on a crowded syllabus, perhaps for a British literature survey course or an overview of eighteenth-century woman writers.

It does not, however, establish Montagu as the “pioneer” promised in the book’s title. Although the examples provided in the “Feminist Writing” chapter were often based on specific recent events that Montagu wanted to bring to public attention for the purpose of exposing inequities, the *ideas* represented there were, for the most part, pretty standard for any intellectual championing women’s rights at the time. Mary Wortley Montagu was no Mary Wollstonecraft, nor even a Mary Astell. She was not even a consistent feminist. A page and a half out of the seven are dedicated to two poems, one definitely by Montagu and the other of disputed authorship, on the subject of a family friend who was sexually assaulted by her father’s footman. Both poems defended the footman, who had been condemned to death (his sentence was later commuted to transportation). “Her instinct,” Willett writes, “was always to write in defence of the underdog, and usually, in the true-life stories she wrote about, it was the woman who was in that position. Here it happened to be the man” (103). Willett’s explanation, and her tendency toward speculation, gets even more disturbing: “Consent was not a concept Mary really grasped and so she missed the far more serious implications of rape” (103). The justification for including a discussion of these two poems in a chapter on “Feminist Writing” is that “In everything she wrote she was exploring how women were treated in the world in which she was living” (103). Here, the book’s “Scientist and Feminist” subtitle definitely sounds like a misnomer.

In short, I wanted to like this book. I really did. It seemed like a more affordable alternative to Grundy since Halsband’s *Life* has gone out of print, with the potential for an update based on the wealth of insightful discoveries and analyses of Montagu’s life and accomplishments that have emerged in the past two decades. But the overall sense that I had upon reading *The Pioneering Life of Mary Wortley Montagu* was that despite—or perhaps because of—the aggressive publicity campaign to place it on the cutting edge of relevance, it was a sadly missed opportunity. It does not break new ground. Willett could have seized this propitious moment to create a narrative that would argue for a new interpretation of Montagu, who is so often sidelined in anthologies and the classroom as well as the public eye. The book could have used the lens of current events to focus on one or two important points and develop an argument about their resonance in the eighteenth century and beyond, rather than trying to cover Montagu’s entire life, a task Grundy already accomplished much more thoroughly. In the final chapter, for example, Willett throws out in passing the intriguing suggestion that the story of the ongoing sexual harassment Montagu suffered, especially—but not exclusively—from Alexander Pope, “bears telling for a #MeToo generation” (214), a parallel that did not yet exist when Grundy was writing her book in the nineties and that would be well worth exploring now.

The author could also have done a more effective job of covering scholarship published within the past two decades that resituate Montagu in the context of her own time and ours. But her bibliography presents several helpful articles and books that were not yet published when Grundy’s *Comet of the Enlightenment* came out.* Yet the individual chapters’ end notes reveal an inordinate reliance on Grundy and on Halsband’s excellent edition of

Montagu's *Complete Letters*, along with the collection of Montagu's *Essays and Poems* that was edited by Halsband and Grundy (1977). Despite the presence of the bibliography, the citations for each chapter tend to come almost exclusively from the same handful of sources. Although a broad selection of titles is listed in the back, very few of them are directly referenced in the body of the book itself.

The Pioneering Life of Mary Wortley Montagu might have been more satisfying as the base for a screenplay or perhaps a miniseries, a format that would have emphasized Willett's strengths and drawn considerably more public attention to Montagu's life and work. A better choice for a reader who wants to dive into timely controversial issues or an instructor looking for an appropriate required text would be Broadview Press's paperback edition of *The Turkish Embassy Letters*, edited by Teresa Heffernan and Daniel O'Quinn in 2013. The appendices offer a wide variety of primary eighteenth-century texts by various hands that engage directly with Islamophobia, Orientalism, and the smallpox debates, accompanied by excellent editorial apparatus and a comprehensive introductory essay. It's half the price, and it provides much of the same information Willett has extracted—but without the speculative commentary.

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* The list is not exhaustive, though, and should not be taken as a complete survey of the field. For instance, one of the best articles I have ever encountered on Montagu's role in the inoculation campaign was Diana Barnes's "The Public Life of a Woman of Wit and Quality: Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and the Vogue for Smallpox Inoculation," in *Feminist Studies*, 38, issue 2 (Summer 2012), 330-362. It is not mentioned in Willett's bibliography, though she does list a different article by Barnes.

***Adapting the Eighteenth Century: A Handbook of Pedagogies.* Edited by Sharon R. Harrow and Kirsten T. Saxton. Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2020. Pp. 305; illus. ISBN: 978-1-58046-983-8; hardcover: \$39.95. (Available as e-text.)**

This stimulating collection grew out of ASECS conference panels in the few years preceding the pandemic; the continuing currency of the topic was in evidence again at the 2022 ASECS in Baltimore, where several of the liveliest and best-attended sessions were devoted to questions of adaptation and pedagogy. For the many members of ASECS and ECASECS whose primary responsibility is to students, the essays in this volume not only offer practical and imaginative models for teaching the eighteenth century "in both period-specific and generalist courses across the curriculum" (back cover blurb); they also provide many rich insights into the authors' own research endeavors, reminding us of the symbiotic relationship between teaching and scholarship.

The essays range across the spectrum of undergraduate teaching levels. An effective practical guide to teaching Austen in a general education class is provided by Nora Nachumi and Heather King ("Learning to Adapt: Teaching

Pride and Prejudice and Its Adaptations General Education Courses”), who offer a detailed account of syllabi, assignments, and lecture topics. Robin Runia’s essay on “Race and Romance: Adapting Free Women of Color in the Long Eighteenth Century” describes an upper-level English course focused on the movie *Belle* and *The Woman of Colour* as a less depressing way of teaching race than the tendency to focus on slavery and victimhood. One of the finest essays in the collection, Catherine Ingrassia’s “‘A Private Had Been Flogged’; Adaptation and the ‘Invisible World’ of Jane Austen,” builds upon a senior seminar experience. Ingrassia explores the “invisible world” of soldiers, soldiers and servants in *Pride and Prejudice* and its reimaginings and shows how a diverse range of later books and movies can illuminate otherwise obscure cultural codes in Austen’s (and other eighteenth-century) works. As the essay unfolds, we move from the classroom into a scholarly and original close reading of the materials.

The editors’ introduction defines our own age as one of “adaptation, of remix culture and transmedial forms of narrative” (1), and the volume as a whole challenges us to run with this brave new world in which our students feel quite at home. Meeting them halfway by bringing adaptation studies into the classroom is a cunning way of bringing our students into the eighteenth century. Furthermore, as Harrow & Saxton observe, the century itself was a “golden age of adaptation” (1) and generic transformations (though arguably this could just as well be said of Shakespeare’s age or the Victorian era), making many of its tropes and methods feel familiar to today’s students. The editors also observe (and all the essays illustrate) that teaching adaptation effectively is an excellent way to teach some of the core skills of today’s liberal arts curriculum: close reading, attentiveness to context, understanding of genre, and the ability to evaluate works in relation to each other.

The volume is organized with a lightness of touch: the essays appear simply in authorial alphabetic order. The “Introduction” does supply some alternative pedagogical category groupings, under headings such as “Adaptation Theory,” “Digital Humanities and Digital Literacy,” and “Theater,” but in practice most of the essays evade effective categorization since they each tend to blend a variety of approaches. I simply read the book from start to finish, and I enjoyed the experience of moving between content areas as diverse as French fairy tales, queer theatre, and *The Pilgrim’s Progress* (video game) – to take just one random example of three juxtaposed essays. Every contribution is valuable (there are fifteen–too many to summarize or list here, so you can do that yourself via an online Table of Contents), and the volume as a whole radiates scholarly and pedagogical energy. There are good black and white images (some of the essays are very visual in their approach), and the book is immaculately edited – a bargain at \$39.95 for the hardback.

As someone who teaches widely in eighteenth-century literature but also Shakespeare and the Victorian novel, I find that being able to connect with students through their familiarity with remixed versions of literary texts is invaluable. This book not only offers various case studies in how to pursue such connections, but it also provides useful reminders and suggestions for further reading within adaptation theory and practice. Linda Hutcheon’s 2006 seminal *A Theory of Adaptation* stimulated a wave of Companions and Handbooks in recent years, as well as studies focused more specifically on the eighteenth century, such as *The Cinematic Eighteenth Century* (ed.

Swaminathan & Thomas, 2017) and *The Afterlives of Eighteenth-Century Fiction* (ed. Cook & Seager, 2015). *Adapting the Eighteenth Century* is attentive to the theoretical issues, showing how a knowledge of relevant critical work in the field empowers students to give structure to their observations and instincts.

Since my own field is English literature, I expected to be most interested in the essays on Haywood, Austen, *Pamela* and *Robinson Crusoe*, but I was pleasantly surprised to find myself almost more fascinated by some of the more (to me) esoteric ones. Servanne Woodward's essay on *Paul et Virginie* describes how she encouraged her students to explore the material and cultural history of the labyrinth, a central trope in that novel. This trope-based approach opens up many interdisciplinary and creative possibilities and could be applied to any number of texts. Anne Betty Weinschenker's chapter on adaptations of a series of early eighteenth-century paintings, the *Tombeaux des Princes*, into different artistic modes and using different technologies, was especially gripping and suggested ways that I might continue to finesse my own use of the visual arts within the "literary" classes I teach. Similarly, Rivka Swenson on "Crusoeiana," many of which are available digitally, and Kathleen Urda on Terrence Malik's film *To the Wonder* as a narrative and formal analogue of *Pamela*, both illuminate new pedagogical approaches.

Several of the essays explore texts and themes of particular relevance in today's political world, encouraging students to attend to nuances of representation and misrepresentation. Maria Park Bobroff's essay on Voltaire describes how she gets students to trace relationships between his world and their own journalistic landscape, to defamiliarize the notion of "free speech." Jodi L. Wyett outlines a first-year seminar focused on the *Hamilton* phenomenon; she empowers students to read "challenging texts" and "old stuff" (286) and uses adaptation theory to illuminate the musical's focus on previously silenced characters and events. An essay by Jeremy Brett and Cait Coker outlines strategies for drawing students into library archives (both traditional and virtual) on the strength of *Hamilton*'s revolutionary staging of history. Wyett's essay (the last in the volume) fittingly concludes with a reminder that "the purpose of higher education is to foster critical thinking and encourage more empathetic citizens" (292), and the volume as a whole shows how teaching with adaptation theory can help us achieve that goal.

One limitation of the adaptation approach is that we cannot control which cultural products inspire adaptation or appropriation – such decisions are made by larger market forces (Austen in Hollywood) as much as individual inspiration (Lin-Manuel Miranda). And the new "canon" which this approach is creating is markedly different from the canon of even a decade ago. It is overwhelmingly female, and its reliance on Austen, *Frankenstein* and *The Woman of Colour* means that it is also only "eighteenth-century" by virtue of the adjective "long." Perhaps we might hope for more adaptations of a broader range of writers and artists in the future. Meanwhile, there is a great deal to enjoy and learn from here. In particular, Shannon Harrow's essay on adaptations of Eliza Haywood (in a 1930s film as well as very recent British plays and a graphic novel – who knew?!) confirms Haywood's appeal to Generation Z students. And Ula Klein's essay on *Pamela* and *Fifty Shades of Grey*, which makes good use of terms such as "analogue" and "aftershocks" (Rob Conkie's term, coined in an important 2009 essay on Shylock), likewise

exploits students' familiarity with approachable texts in order to push them out of their critical comfort zone.

Since this book was put together, the *Hamilton* phenomenon has been overtaken by *Bridgerton*, which featured in several panels at ASECS 2022. It will be interesting to see how that series fares in similar contexts – at this stage, opinion seems divided as to whether it is a ground-breaking moment in the representation of race within heritage drama or merely another instance of what Catherine Ingrassia describes as the “Downton-Abbey-ization of history” (152), with some adventurous but ultimately tokenistic casting.

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Aaron R. Hanlon. *A World of Disorderly Notions: Quixote and the Logic of Exceptionalism*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2019. Pp. 222; 2 black-and-white illustrations; notes; bibliography; index. ISBN: 978-0-8139-4216-2: hardcover, \$29.50. (Available as e-book for \$29.50.)

Ambitious in scope and cogent in argumentation, Aaron R. Hanlon's *A World of Disorderly Notions: Quixote and the Logic of Exceptionalism* presents a timely new perspective on Miguel de Cervantes's much-studied knight errant and his particular quality of mind, namely, the irrational rationality which we recognize as *quixotism*. Across the book's eleven chapters, Hanlon provides an impressive reassessment of Quixote and the quixotic mindset, suiting effective literary criticism to important questions of the present historical moment.

With *A World of Disorderly Notions*, Hanlon crafts a superb case for why “the politics of quixotism . . . matter in the world of brick-and-mortar windmills” (7), noting that “the Quixote's ability to step outside of the rules and customs that govern his surrounding society render the Quixote an exceptionalist figure, one whose sense of moral superiority makes him an attractive character model for writers looking to critique or support social, moral, and political exceptions” (7). Hanlon elaborates on this point by asserting that “what matters for quixotes is not the power to pronounce the exception, but the belief in one's own exceptionality even in the face of powerful resistance to that idea” (8). These claims help to frame an intriguing picture of the Quixote as a potentially dangerous thinker whose singular outlook, seemingly innocent or even likeable, may in fact have underwritten the skewed logic that sanctioned the brutalities of British and American imperialism of the 18th and 19th centuries. Given the troubled legacy of the imperialist age, along with the persistence of an egregious quixotism in contemporary governance and policymaking, Hanlon's examination of the Quixote phenomenon as it emerges in both English-language literature and Western political history proves not merely appropriate but crucial.

The book's first major section, entitled “The Character of Quixotism,” comprises four chapters in which Hanlon sketches out the development of Don Quixote's multivalent influence as the figure became more familiar to English readers through translations from Thomas Shelton (1612/1620), John Phillips (1687), Peter Motteaux (1700), Edward Ward (1711-12), Charles Jarvis

(1742), and Tobias Smollett (1755). These early translations popularized the character and his adventures while promulgating his fallacious yet attractive style of thought: “Don Quixote frequently appears reasonable because he *is* reasonable,” Hanlon writes. “When he appears unreasonable, it is because he reasons accurately and at times profoundly from the exception rather than the example” (17). The unorthodoxy of the quixotic perspective served exceptionalism on both sides of the Atlantic. Carried forward by the surety of “socioeconomic advantage” (25), quixotism fostered the idea that “following the world’s rules is the shortest path to damnation” (28), a tenet with decisive consequences for the ascendance of imperialism and the myriad aggressions companionate with it: “quixotic exceptionalism is founded on a sense of urgency not only to realize an ideal but also to understand oneself as the key to realizing that ideal” (28). For Hanlon, the fact that “Don Quixote became something of an eighteenth-century literary meme who generated increasing cultural capital” (47) casts a telling light on a violent expansionist vision and the disasters that it engendered.

Part II of *A World of Disorderly Notions*, entitled “The Character of Exceptionalism,” offers seven finely crafted chapters, each of which addresses a different facet of quixotism as an ideological disposition shaped in part by fictional precedents. Hanlon begins this section of the book with a discussion of Jonathan Swift (who in the 1730s aspired to render a new translation of Cervantes’s masterpiece) (55) and *Gulliver’s Travels*, a work featuring a protagonist who, “until his conversion in the land of the Houyhnhnms [...] argues for the exceptionality of the English way of life even as the Lilliputians had already demonstrated the pitfalls of so much of it, and even as the Brobdingnagian king put forth counterarguments that Gulliver could not refute” (67). Gulliver’s eventual withdrawal from human company, for Hanlon, indicates the character’s “catastrophically malleable” self-understanding, informed by the discourse of British exceptionalism current in the early eighteenth century (67). The next chapter shifts the focus to American exceptionalism, taking Updike Underhill, the protagonist of Royall Tyler’s 1797 *The Algerine Captive*, as an exemplar of the “penitent patriot” (75) whose sufferings abroad fail to reform: “In *Gulliver’s Travels* and *The Algerine Captive*, quixotic exceptionalism takes the form of romantically seeking out difference only to define one’s identity position as superior in opposition to another” (84). Hanlon’s superb command of both the British and American literary traditions proves especially valuable in “Adams, Farrago, and Civic Exceptionalism,” a chapter concerning the quixotic bibliophiles portrayed in Henry Fielding’s *Joseph Andrews* (1742) and Hugh Henry Brackenridge’s *Modern Chivalry* (1792-1815), and in “Arabella, Dorcasina, and Domestic Exceptionalism,” an excellent look at gender and class in Charlotte Lennox’s *The Female Quixote* (1752) and Tabitha Gilman Tenney’s *Female Quixotism* (1801). In another fascinating chapter, Hanlon considers the subject of juridical exceptionalism as this plays out in Tobias Smollett’s *Launcelot Greaves* (1760-62), a work providing “a rare quixote who seems to get almost everything right, and who thereby challenges the framework of quixotism” (128) with the express approval, as Hanlon contends, of Smollett himself (128). Part II closes with “Knickerbocker and Reactionary Exceptionalism,” which has as its subject Washington Irving’s *A History of New York* (1809), and “Marauder and Radical Exceptionalism,” in effect a

companion chapter that uses the analysis of Irving's *History* as a springboard into an interpretation of Charles Lucas's *The Infernal Quixote* (1801), a work that, in its critique of "[William] Godwin's rational anarchism" (179), serves to mark out "the logical limits of the politics of exceptionalism" (179).

For its meticulousness, sophistication, and contemporary relevance, *A World of Disorderly Notions* stands out as one of the best contributions to transatlantic eighteenth-century studies to appear within the last few years. Beyond the work's clear appeal for professional scholars writing on the literature of this period, Hanlon's book should prove inestimably valuable to graduate-level students interested in the fiction of early Hanoverian Britain and Revolutionary-era America. In sum, Hanlon's *World* is an accomplished piece that deserves close attention from serious readers in the field as well as from those fascinated by the history of certain ideological and rhetorical hallmarks of today's political milieu.

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Allan Ingram. *Swift, Pope and the Doctors: Medicine and Writing in the Early Eighteenth Century*. Paderborn: Brill Fink, 2022. Pp. 238. ISBN 978-3-7705-6689-1: hardback: €99.00/c. \$105; 978-3-8467-6689-7: e-book.

There are three dozen references to two medical categories in the Index volume to Herbert Davis's edition of Swift's *Works*. The first is 'Medical analogies' and includes various subheadings—'the human body and its ills as metaphor for the state,' 'cure for Irish disease,' 'political parties and half-people,' 'religion and the human body,' 'gout and Irish trade' and the astonishing entry 'roaring may be therapeutic.' Equally surprising, and for the same analogical way of thinking, the subject 'Medicine' opens with an allusion to the Academy of Lagado and proceeds via 'madman (coprophiliac) as doctor,' to 'political frauds compared with,' 'swearing prescriptions (by Irish physicians),' by way of 'the unskilfulness of a surgeon,' 'women's illnesses' and ending with 'the universal medicine.' If doctors and their medicines are everywhere, one would have to be a Struldbrugg to escape them: such creatures, legally dead at 80, live on forever growing older and have no need of physicians, surgeons and pharmacists.

Not so in the real world, however, and not more so than in the first half of the eighteenth century. The Davis Index admits no reference to Swift's Menière's Syndrome, whose symptoms included dizziness, deafness, and tinnitus. Pope's asthma and spinal tuberculosis (Pott's disease) meant that he could neither dress himself nor ride a horse, but he could rattle off the names of the many and strange drugs prescribed to him with ready familiarity. The shared histories of their respective lifelong chronic illnesses are found in their letters and throughout their works, yet they occupied very different categories in the medical state. Swift's restlessness made him the great walker of the eighteenth century, but Pope's 'crazy carcass' needed degrees of physical support even to lie down in bed. Unable to meet frequently, the two men wrote about themselves in sometimes brutally frank terms (as in the case of Pope's urinary problems). Each regarded the other as an ally and himself as a

consumer / patient / guinea pig / victim in the strange and sometimes stomach-churning circus that was contemporary medicine, its concoctors and their concoctions (see John Ross's chapter on Swift in *Orwell's Cough*, 2012). Pope in particular sought out the medical élite—Simon Burton, Richard Mead, William Cheselden, George Cheyne, Thomas Thompson. He needed to be.

This is Allan Ingram's field, and what he reveals is absorbing and troubling almost by turns. The connections and contrasts, relationships and differences are centered on the concept and actuality of "movement." Of the two writers, Swift was the greater traveller, having decided that vigorous movement on foot, on horseback, or by coach provided a modicum of control over a physical disease that would not be diagnosed or named until the second half of the *next* century, in 1861. In physical movement and geographical travelling Pope could obviously not match Swift's Anglo-Irish travelling life. Their letters compensated for their separation and the tyranny of distance. We can only speculate about what otherwise might have been, but in the summer of 1726 Swift stayed with Pope at Twickenham, spent time with Bolingbroke and Congreve, and then accompanied Pope and Gay on a tour of the Cotswolds. He remembered this summer as a *unique* event, and deeply pleasurable. None of his English friends ever visited him in Dublin.

In terms of cultural vision, Pope could and did reach powerful visionary depths, as in the 'moving' final lines of the fourth book of *The Dunciad*. The "medical" writing of Pope and Swift is both confessional and diagnostic. Not only was it a means of explaining and transcending their own lives but also a means of preventing bodily their ill health from dominating their entire social being by feeding self-obsession. It is a point made by Pope, perhaps ruefully, perhaps ironically, in a letter to Swift and meant to be read as a palliative: "I have past six weeks in quest of health, and found it not; but I found the folly of solicitude about it in a hundred instances; the contrariety of opinions and practices, the inability of physicians, the blind obedience of some patients, and as blind rebellion of others. I believe at a certain time of life, men are either fools or physicians, and zealots or divines, for themselves" (p. 60).

Allan Ingram has looked long and hard at medicine, doctors, and doctoring in the eighteenth century and has already reported at length. From the three-year 'Writing Doctors' research project run by members of the English group at the University of Northumbria and funded by the Leverhulme Trust (see p. 84, n. 140) came his work on madness and melancholy in Boswell, Swift and others in *The Madhouse of Language: Writing and Reading Madness in the Eighteenth Century* (1991). This new trawl through the shoals and shallows of eighteenth-century *materia medica* has enmeshed not only *Gulliver's Travels* and Pope's *Dunciad*, in *Four Books*—both described here as "contributions to our understanding of medical culture and the medical mindset [*sic*] of the time" (p. 111)—but also *Peri Bathous*, the collective *Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus*, and the gobbledygook of Arbuthnot and Gay's *Three Hours After Marriage*. Among the doctors who figure here there is Sir Richard Blackmore, John Woodward, and of course Dr John Arbuthnot.

This new book is not made up of crumbs from a previous feast but an offering of two more substantial main courses. Ingram's approach is historically based, highly focused, its results delivered with a brisk assertiveness, and we are never left in doubt that our role as readers is to share

the author's enthusiasm and seriousness. It is made easy for us to concur, and there are some exhilarating passages for the reader to discover. I won't spoil the reader's pleasure by listing them here, but simply say that if pharmacology is the study of the interaction of drugs and the living body, the juncture or inter-relationship of medical history, biography and literary studies not only defines what is and is not sickness and health but also expands the cultural presence of medical practice itself. For some of the time we find ourselves in something that might be called (though not by Ingram) literary pharmacology.

The heavy lifting, critically speaking, is performed both at the level of a single detail and by some sweeping, hard-working general theories. As an example of the former, in the first chapter Ingram provides no fewer than six simultaneous meanings for the second *word* in the title of *A New Journey to Paris* (p. 13). The book opens unexpectedly with an examination of this rarely discussed and little-read fiction about something that did not happen. Swift's *A New Journey to Paris* is about a journey to France not taken by Swift and not taken again by him in 1711, 1719 and 1727. Ingram's point is that it was written to satisfy 'movement, whether real or imaginary, physical or mental . . . essential to Swift's well-being'— which in turn was the source of his 'perpetual state of excitement' (p. 13). A detail quickly morphs into a general proposition, and however arresting and workable it may be, it leaves questions in its wake. How and when was Swift ever measurably and observedly to be in this state of 'well-being' and 'excitement,' (the summer of 1726, perhaps?). Was this state the cause, condition or product of his ceaseless writing? Did writing fictionally carry the same value for him as reporting the actual, as in, say, *The Journal to Stella*, not discussed here? Was he 'satisfied' or frustrated on horseback in Ireland, while traversing comfortless Wales, walking the streets of London, being buffeted across the Irish Sea, sailing the globe with Gulliver, or writing back from the Academy of Lagado?

Separating biographical writing from "external" writing (about the non-self), and using knowledge of Swift and Pope's physical and mental battles as a means of "explaining" their negative, "unhealthy" or objectionably satirical writing is not what Ingram is writing about. His reading of both writers traces forwards and backwards the origins, motives, symptoms both physical, medical, psychological and social that make his argument at times seem circular, apothegmatic, even overdetermined. The first two chapters, largely descriptive, are like this, but so is some of the later discussion. *Verses on the Death* is thus the poem as 'medication. . . palliative medicine, in effect . . . It can simply [*sic*] act as pain-killer' (pp. 181-2). Who is the patient here, and to whom is the medication directed? These claims are intriguing, but it is not all that can be said about Swift's longest, best and most read poem, which of course lives independently of its author: "His was a life lived under the almost continuous threat of the seeming movement over which he had no control, it being entirely [*sic*] internal, an unwelcome sense of movement with its accompanying symptoms of deafness and internally produced noise" (p. 38). Of that there is no doubt. Swift *did* suffer from Menière's disease and Swift *did* self-diagnose as a sufferer of what Juvenal called "insanabile Scribendi cacoethes"—the "scribbling itch." Writing the *Verses* transformed such deficiencies not into a pain-killer but into a poem of extraordinarily subtle self-awareness and disarming social honesty that has both tormented and delighted readers for almost three centuries.

There is much in Ingram's narrative that repays the reader's closest attention. The central and most productive argument emerges from his distinction between Swift's need for real bodily movement (travelling) and the 'internal' movement of his fictional writing, as in the circumstantial realism of *A New Journey to Paris* and, of course, *Gulliver's Travels*. When the internal and external are combined we have what looks like a General Theory of "movement," an all-embracing theorem, a key to all mythologies: "The sense of movement was an essential dimension of the existence of Jonathan Swift, for better, or, quite clearly when that sense of movement was internal and disorientating, for worse." In practice, does this mean that *writing* an "internal" (fictional) account (a formal grave lie) about another man's (Matthew Prior's or Lemuel Gulliver's) "real" ("external") experience of movement inside his own head was a conscious therapeutic act, or an *effect* or an alleviation of Swift's psychological and physical disordering? We are told that "The art of sinking is clear" (p.167), and, as we ponder the synthesis of writing, biography, "ailments and ills, bodily matter and mental," there is an electrifying real-life conclusion at the very end of chapter five. At the end of *The Dunciad*, from whose final "universal Darkness" there is "no escape into the world of visions" (p.168), there is a real-life catastrophe where all movement ceases.

Neither Swift nor Pope, nor their writing, is coterminous with their bodily ailments, of course, so there is much more to rivet our attention as we also, as readers, travel along the border of satire and medicine. Above all else there is that terrible irony of two of the greatest creative writers of the age soaring ever upwards but always falling, whose imaginations seem boundless — even superhuman in what Ingram has found,—but whose bodies bring them down cruelly and inevitably to an ordinary universal level. Pope famously writes to his close friends about "This long disease my life." Swift, a proud man, reflects on the acute social embarrassment of his hurried and secretive departure from London in 1726, on his clinically induced life of restlessness and of other unpredictable bouts of Menière's disease: "I have led so restless, and visiting, and travelling, and vexatious a life" (Swift to Thomas Tickell, 7 July 1726). Both transcend their individual condition, face outwards, directing their writing towards social diagnosis and using their own medical history as a tool for cultural dissection.

Satire is traditionally "medicinal": it won't cure us but it might distract us for a time into serious reflection or collusive amusement. How lucky Gulliver is that his only physical weakness is that he wears spectacles: his understanding of perspective is therefore not to be trusted. In Pope's case, it must have been blindingly obvious that he was almost completely immobilized by an unimaginably cruel, chronic and confining affliction. We might recall the earlier comment in *A Tale of a Tub* (1704) that "in *Writing*, it is as in *Travelling*," but, if actual travelling is denied and if the imaginary becomes the real and present, does the former extend and complement the latter, or simply add another level of the same? Was Swift's deep and abiding restlessness a reflection of or a response to his Menière's or Anglo-Irish identity? Whatever *our* response is to such questions, the questions themselves do not go away. Ingram's book encourages new thinking on these two Scriblerians and encourages us to recognize that "medical satire [acts] as an entry point to a much wider satire of the nature of English society and of those at the top of it"

(105-6). Herein lies the value and strength of Ingram's study: everything is subject to "movement" and explicable in all-too-human terms, hence "medicine as satire . . . satire as medicine" (105-6). In Swift and Pope satire is the master discourse, but it is not a cure. Doctors and writers, patients and readers are led through a darkened room, or through what Pope (referring to Poetry) called "the Toils & Troubles of this tiresome journey, our Life." Ingram's book argues that, if we separate Swift and Pope's writing from its all-too-human origin, we miss its energy, its "movement," and forget that its origin is also its subject, life as lived, however messy. We know now where to look for the evidence.

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***Johnson in Japan.* Edited by Kimiyo Ogawa and Mika Suzuki.** With a Foreword by Greg Clingham. Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2021. Pp. 214; 2 illus. ISBN 9781684482412: paperback: \$34.95. (Also available in cloth, c. \$105; Kindle, c. \$33; and as an e-book, \$150.)

This book examines Samuel Johnson's influence upon the Japan of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries—after the nation had begun opening up to external influences and when Johnson's influence upon Japanese culture was most profound. Some of the chapters explore the impact of Johnson upon Japan, while others focus upon Johnson without reference to Japan, but all are written by Japanese scholars interested in Samuel Johnson. Given the book is composed by primarily non-native speakers of English, the text is remarkably clean, marked by few grammatical errors or idiomatic blemishes. The essays are prefaced by Greg Clingham, who contextualizes the enduring and important presence of Johnson within Japanese literary culture. He offers us a comprehensive yet concise understanding of the global Johnson. He and the essayists reveal aspects of Johnson that may be unfamiliar to Western readers.

The first chapter, by Hideichi Eto, surveys the "history of Johnsonian studies in Japan." In the process, he informs the reader of the different dynastic periods accompanying Johnson studies: the Meiji (1868-1912), Taisho (1912-1926), Showa (1926-1989), and Heisei eras (1989-2019). Each of these eras possess a different cultural stamp, particularly in their relation to Johnson studies. For example, in the Meiji era, when Johnson was initially introduced, *Rasselas* was the most popular text—indeed, Eto notes, it was more popular (in English) than the more standard Nine Chinese Classics, which form the canonical Confucian foundation. At the chapter's end, a graph enables the reader to grasp easily the differing the phases of Johnson's influence: its peak level fell between 1980 and 2010, after which (paralleling a similar situation in American education), a precipitous drop occurs. In the second chapter, Noriyuki Harada examines the biographical genre and dates its importance in Japan long before any Anglophonic literary influences: he dates its origin in the Heian period (794-1185), when *The Tales of the Genji* emerge; indeed, the dates roughly align with the composition of *Beowulf*! The Edo period (1603-1867) is flushed with biographical writings—*The Life of an Amorous Man*, *A Journey of Tokaido on Foot*, etc. Given this long-term

interest, it is not surprising to find Japanese readers devouring such works as the *Life of Savage* and biographies of Johnson himself.

A handful of key themes thread many of this volume's chapters and contribute to a unifying cultural texture: Japanese modernization dating from the mid-nineteenth century; the importance of duty; the inculcation of enduring moral principles, and the deployment of biographical writings in order to introduce and reinforce these key cultural points. As we shall see, Johnson served as an influential cultural hero who usefully instantiated and exhibited just such defining Nipponese public values.

Perhaps the most interesting chapter in the book will serve as a point of departure for our exploration of Japan's slow emergence from more than two-and-a-half centuries of the Sakoku Shogunate and the concomitant rise of Johnson's status: Mika Suzuki's "Johnson the Tea Poet." Tomotsu Morowoka (1879-1946) was a polymath eccentric (something akin to the infamous George Psalmanazar and in some ways, Johnson himself). A student of medicine, psychiatry, languages, and botany, he eventually settled on tea as his "field" of expertise. He found tea to be the summation of all his interests and devoted himself to the study and promotion of tea as a universal panacea. Morowoka wrote a popular book focusing upon three of its extollers: Lu Yu in China, Myoe in Japan, and Johnson in Britain (he attended school in London for two years). His career adapted readily from Johnson's *cursum honorum*: that of a nonacademic aiming at a general audience (cf. Johnson's "common reader," invoked most visibly toward the end of his "Life of Gray"), an advocate for tea, subject to financial insecurity, and devoted to biographical writing as perhaps the most convenient way to cultivate morality, among other points of thematic propinquity. After a time, Morowoka's tea obsession became fantastic; later in life he held the conviction that Addison and Johnson were able to spearhead literary growth in Britain because their exemplary consumption of tea inspired the development of a fertile, receptive—and clear-headed!—readership. Thus, Morokowa serves as a representative type of the "Japanese Johnson": some elements are taken and emphasized, while others are avoided or distorted. Nevertheless, Johnson must be considered, on the evidence of this book, a part of Japanese life from the country's opening to the West in the nineteenth century.

After Perry's initial journeys, a debate emerged—leading to the abandonment of the "Edo" shogunate regime in return for the Meiji Restoration. This nineteenth-century opening did not entail the total acceptance of Western influences in Japan; rather, it was limited in its aim toward retaining traditional Japanese folkways and native traditions while quickly modernizing and militarizing in order to attain the status of a military world power—as it would demonstrate in the first-half of the twentieth century. Morokowa admirably exemplifies such discriminations in his cherry-picking reconstruction of a Johnson who met his own particular interests, needs, and desires. But truly, in this respect, how different is he from many Western readers of the Great Cham?

Early proponents focused primarily upon the teaching of Johnson in public schools and universities. It wasn't until the Showa period (1926-1989) that Johnson scholarship began to flourish. Several important monographs were published, but none was more popular (as least in the West) than was Daisuke Nagashima's *Johnson the Philologist*. James L. Clifford's 1964 visit

to Japan stimulated scholars to create the Johnson Society of Japan and the talks and publications it sponsors. Other chapters in *Johnson in Japan* demonstrate the fruits of this stimulus. The third chapter, by Kimiyo Harada, interrogates the scientific and philosophical connections between Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* and *Rasselas*. (Harada wisely uses the 1818 text of *Frankenstein*, the version increasingly favored by scholars.) Kiki Iwata's piece, "Johnson and Garrick on *Hamlet*," rehearses the Johnson-Garrick turbulent friendship from the framing debate on whether silently reading or watching Bard's plays is preferable. Clearly, Johnson advocates the former approach while Garrick—as might be expected from the greatest actor of his day—sides with performative aspects. Iwata seeks to remedy this impasse through a reading of mediation. The ultimate thesis emerging sees Garrick accommodating his revisions of *Hamlet* (especially in the final act) in order to conform more readily to Johnson's "neoclassic reading." This conclusion is provocative but speculative, supported only by readings from the texts; no statements by Johnson or Garrick to clinch the argument have survived.

Yuri Yoshino examines the Japanese reception of Austen and Johnson through the prism of Sōseki Natsume's 1907 *Theory of Literature*, finding that, while the author didn't care for Johnson's writings, he nevertheless incorporates Johnsonian critical perspectives upon realistic fictions in his laudatory examination of Austen's novels. Noriyuki Hattori's "Abyssian Johnson" briefly mentions Wendy Belcher's ground-breaking book, *Abyssinia's Samuel Johnson: Ethiopian Thought in the Making of an English Author* (2012), but fails to more fully grapple with it: how much more potent and important would this chapter be had it significantly engaged with Belcher? The volume concludes with three chapters. Tadayuki Fukumoto analyzes Johnson as periodical author by situation him among less famous hack writers—as well as his predecessors Addison, Steele, and Pope. Fukumoto concludes that Johnson's use of "hard words" and elevated style corresponds to "the larger historical framework and cultural mores" of his time. Be this as it may, the *Idler* (more topical and reader-friendly) fits awkwardly, if at all, into Fukumoto's scheme. Masaaki Ogura closes the book with a fascinating computer-generated "corpus-stylistic approach." Focusing upon the *Rambler*, he consults various databases, using the keyword "knowledge," finding that it is used quite frequently but with varying contexts and definitions. And Hitoshi Suwabe sifts through the differing accounts of Johnson's final word. There exists a major polarity: "God bless you/God bless you, my dear" (Hoole, Boswell) and "Jam Moriturus," a Latin echo of the gladiator's valedictory address to the emperor (Hawkins, Murphy, and Franceso Sastres). Suwabe, while providing details about the least known of these, Sastres, contends for the latter of the two versions.

While reading the book, I pondered this thought: given the highly devout nature of Johnson's Christianity, how was it possible for him to penetrate the Japanese cultural safeguards protecting their religious beliefs and practices? Japan already had Confucianism, Shinto, Taoism, and Buddhism among its hallowed sacred pillars. One answer may be found in the proliferation of Christian schools and communities dating from the missionary activities of the nineteenth century. But this would not account for the widespread popularity of Johnson during the Showa period. He was of course a fervent Anglican, and this impacted, if indirectly, his writings. However, direct references are rare: in

the 208 papers in the *Rambler*, Johnson refers to the Bible only seven times, and ever-popular *Rasselas* is set in a non-Christian, non-European world and largely refrains from any overt solicitations of Christian doctrines and ethics. Thus, Japanese readers might assimilate Johnson's moral lessons without the larger Christian framework that enveloped his faith and philosophical outlook.

Johnson in Japan contains a number of quite readable and persuasive essays. However, to my mind, its greatest significance consists in creating a bridge between Japanese and Anglo-American scholars. One hopes that this initial foray expands into a larger conversation that would add an additional layer of complexity to our apprehension of "the global Samuel Johnson."

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Join EC/ASECS Colleagues This October for the 2022 Meeting

The 2022 EC/ASECS annual meeting, "Material Matters in the Long Eighteenth Century," is just around the corner, and we hope that you will decide to join us if you do not already have it on your calendar. We will convene at Winterthur Museum, Garden, & Library, in Winterthur, Delaware, from October 13 through the 15. If you will attend, we ask that you register as soon as possible. Below are highlights and reminders, but see the conference website for full details: [https:// ecasecs2022.wordpress.com/](https://ecasecs2022.wordpress.com/).

The 2022 meeting will open Thursday evening, October 13, with the Aural/Oral experience at a private room in The Greene Turtle—a stone's throw from the conference hotel. EC/ASECS Executive Secretary Peter Staffel, the organizer and host of the Aural/Oral Experience, is looking for volunteers to participate in this annual event, so please email him (plstaffel@gmail.com) if you are interested in being one of the readers.

Events Friday October 14, and Saturday October 15 will take place at Winterthur and will be filled with panels, many catch-up conversations, new faces, the Molin Prize competition, a memorial panel for Professor Donald Mell, a special book session with Professor Theodore E. D. Braun, and more. Graduate students: Please contact Dr. Jane Wessel (wessel@usna.edu), to have your paper considered for the Molin Prize. University of Pennsylvania's A. M. Rosenthal Professor of English, Suvir Kaul, will deliver the keynote on Friday. That evening join us at The DuPont Country Club, Presidents Room, first for dessert, coffee, and a cash bar and then a recital by the Serafin Ensemble. On Saturday besides panels, we will have our annual business meeting and lunch, followed by Professor Anna Foy's presidential address.

While the conference ends Saturday early evening, the Brandywine Valley and Wilmington area have much to recommend them, and attendees may well want to take advantage of the sites before heading home on Sunday.

We have reserved a block of rooms at the newly renovated Holiday Inn Express Brandywine, 300 Rocky Run Pkwy, Wilmington, Delaware, that is a ten-minute drive from the Winterthur conference site. There are two other hotels including a Marriott Courtyard as part of the same hotel complex if the Holiday Inn is full. If you have any questions about the conference, contact co-chairs Eleanor Shevlin and Sylvia Marks at ecasecs2022@gmail.com or

directly at eshevlin @wcupa or sm3390 @gmail.com. For details and regular updates, please see the conference website, [https:// ecasecs2022.wordpress.com](https://ecasecs2022.wordpress.com). We do hope to see as many EC/ASECS members as possible and look forward to welcoming you all. Please use this conference as an opportunity to introduce new colleagues and students to our highly collegial organization.

News of Members

We are very fortunate to have many new members, many from outside the U.S., participating in their first EC/ASECS meeting--they should assume they will be liked--longstanding members will befriend them. We thank Sylvia Marks and Eleanor Shevlin for chairing their third straight meeting. (EC/ASECS needs others to chair future meetings.) At Winterthur we'll hear how many of us have had covid--**Alan Downie** writes that everyone he knows in Britain seems to have caught the virus. (Should those unscathed be embarrassed?) We'll also learn of all the post-pandemic travel members have undertaken, some braving congested airports, like **Ellen Moody** to visit Toronto and **Mike Norton** to hike in the Alps. Before I survey the news, I'd note that members can ask to receive the *Intelligencer* as a PDF in stead of a paper copy. Readers are warned that there are images of racism, sexuality, and violence ahead. And I remind all that contributions are regularly edited to reduce their length as needed to fit formatting and space demands.

Jennifer Airey edited the Spring issue of *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature*, which includes an article by Kathleen Lubey, ECS's new book-review editor, on "Hester Piozzi's *Spectator* Annotations": it finds Piozzi "enacted a feminist approach to history in her copious annotations" to popular periodical. The preceding Fall issue of *TSWL* was edited by **Laura Engel**, the second of two on the subtitled topics in her introduction's title, "All about my Mother: Archives, Art and Memory." Among the essays are **Greg Clingham's** "The Archive of Lady Anne Barnard, 1750-1825," and **Emily C. Friedman's** "Must Anonymous Be a Woman? Gender and Discoverability in the Archives." **Victoria Barnett-Woods** reviewed *Britain's Black Past*, edited by Gretchen Gerzina, in the September 2021 *Johnsonian News Letter*. And she contributed "'Bequeathed unto my Daughter . . . Slaves': Women, Slavery, and Property in the 18C Atlantic" to the December *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*. That issue (44.4), edited by Rita Dashwood and Karen Lipsedge, has the focus "Women and Property in the Long 18C." It includes such essays as "Women's Strategies for Managing Land in Rural England, c. 1700-1800" by J. Rhodes, and "Coverture and Debtor's Prison in the Long 18C" by A. Wakelam. *JECs* is given to thematic focuses: this year's February and June issues involve "Enlightenment Identities" (as in "Personal and Private"), edited by Brycchan Carey and Caroline Wayman. We are very pleased to welcome **Javiera Barrientos** to EC/ASECS, whose speaks on an 18C bark-paper book in **Rodney Mader's** Winterthur session. Javiera, entered a doctoral program at Rutgers in 2020 with an M.A. from the Univ. of Chile. She is a book binder who has taught courses on book history and Latin American colonial literature at several universities in Chile. She is the co-founder of the Center for the Studies of Pretty and Useless Things (CECLI), a "Chlean-Mexican collective dedicated to interdisciplinary research about objects and material culture." **Barbara M. Benedict** reviewed Gillian Russell's *The Ephemeral 18C: Print*,

Sociability and the Cultures of Collecting in the September 2021 *Review of English Studies*. **Lisa Berglund** reviewed *Johnson in Japan* for this summer's *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* and published "Two Cape Cod Poems" in *New World Writing* last November. This past June Lisa directed the chamber musical *Man with a Load of Mischief*, a production by Opera-Lytes, her community theater group performing Gilbert & Sullivan and the like since 2013. Her involvement in Buffalo theater dates back at least to 2002, when she played Polly in *The Beggar's Opera*. Lisa serves on the board of the Opera Foundation in Buffalo, and she continues to chair English at Buffalo State College. She's working on reader annotations in Federalist era dictionaries.

Andrew Black reviewed the CUP edition of *The Works of Anne Finch* in the Fall 2021 *Digital Defoe* (for which **Rivka Swenson** was book-review editor). All but one of nine essays in this issue, co-edited by Stephanie Hershinow, et al., fittingly concern *The Journal of the Plague Year*, including Stephanie's lead essay "Reflections on Recovery," Katarzyna Bartoszyńska's "The Daily Ledger," Caitlin Kelly's "Privacy in the Plague Year," and Carly Yingst's "The Fire the Next Year." We're grateful to **Martha Bowden** for our issue's lead essay and supplemental bibliography, certain to guide many to historical fiction during the darker months ahead--as **Mel New** advised me the past year, "Read on and Stay Calm." Martha, still centrally involved in the SEASECS and its conferences despite her relocation to Ontario (near Lake Huron), will facilitate an NPEC-Sponsored Workshop on developing an essay on pedagogy for journal publication at the SEASECS meeting in Atlanta (16-18 February). Friday afternoon at Winterthur, **Ted Braun** is offering a "show-and-tell talk" on French books, inducing **David Eick** to join us from Michigan to offer Ted thanks for decades of service to and support of colleagues.

Samara Anne Cahill reviewed six recent books in an essay entitled "Women's Networks in the Long 18C" within the Winter 2022 issue (34.2) of *Eighteenth-Century Fiction*--of the six, two are by members: *Eliza Fenwick: Early Modern Feminist* by **Lissa Paul** and *Religion around Mary Shelly* by **Jennifer Airey**. Sam Cahill chairs the SCSECS annual this coming February (see below). She continues to edit her on-line journal *Studies in Religion and Enlightenment*. After a delay caused by covid, Sam brought out a special issue on "Global Borders," with four articles reaching from Brazil through the Middle East to Asia. In the Spring *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* we find **Jeremy Chow's** "Reflections Queer Rage against the (18C) Machine," which "endeavours to rage against the 'eighteenth-century machine' and its long and enduring histories of queer erasure and gaslighting," demanding "a mechanization of conduct, affect, and performance that has been safeguarded and mobilized by a totalizing white supremacy upon which the vast majority of learned societies are built." In May **Stephen Clark's** *Lefty Lewis and the Waldegraves: Collecting, Obsession, Friendship* (2022, 96pp; 15 illus.) was published by *The Book Collector*: "It's the story of how over many years of friendship Lefty Lewis charmed the heart of the inherited Walpole Collection out of the Waldegrave family." The book was launched at Dr. Johnson's House in Gough Square, celebrating at the same time the 70th anniversary of *The Book Collector*. Steve speaks on "Johnson's London Lodging" at Winterthur.

Greg Clingham, who in 1997 edited *The Cambridge Companion to Samuel Johnson*, this month publishes *The New Cambridge Companion to SJ* (c. 285 pp., illus., index; bib; priced \$35 in paperback), which begins with his

"Introduction: Contemporary Johnson" (1-13). Other EC/ASECSers among the seventeen contributors are **Philip Smallwood** ("Johnson and the Essay"), **Anthony W. Lee** ("Johnson and Renaissance Humanism"), **Samara Anne Cahill** ("Johnson and Gender"), and **John Richetti** ("Johnson's Poetry"). Other topics covered by experts include "Johnson and Language" by Lynda Mugglestone, "Johnson and British Historiography" by Martine W. Brownley, and "Johnson among the Scholars" by Robert DeMaria Jr. We hope to see it reviewed here within the year. Greg has been honored with a festschrift edited by **Anthony W. Lee** and published by Bucknell U. Press (which Greg long directed): *A Clubbable Man: Essays on Eighteenth-Century Literature and Culture in Honor of Greg Clingham*. The volume includes Tony's own "'The Caliban of Literature': Spenser, Shakespeare, and Johnson's Intertextual Scholarship"; **Philip Smallwood's** "Mirrored Minds: Johnson & Shakespeare"; **Robert G. Walker's** "The Social Life of Thomas Cumming, or 'Clubbing' with Johnson's Friend, the Fighting Quaker"; **Cedric D. Reverand II's** "What Else Did Pope Borrow from Dryden?"; **John Richetti's** "Poetic Performances: Pope's *An Essay on Man* and Swift's *Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift*"; **Bærbel Czennia's** "Western Gardens, Eastern Views: Asian Travelers on Greenscapes of the British Isles"; and **Kevin L. Cope's** "Publishers Can Cause Earthquakes: Explanations and Enigmas of the Seismic Enlightenment." The volume also has testimonials by former students, an account of Greg's role at Bucknell UP, "Commemoratory Poems," and a Coda by **Kate Parker**, who edits Bucknell's Transits series and for years assisted Greg at the press. Wow--you'd think he'd died! Be sure to smack him on the back at Winterthur to make sure he hasn't--after all, he's clubbable. Presently Greg is enjoying a Visiting Research Professorship at Penn State U.'s Center for the Humanities, while working on the book "Enlightenment and Enterprise: The Life, Writing, and Art of Lady Anne Lindsay Barnard, 1750-1825." (He published two notes on Barnard and Dr. Johnson in the *JNL* for September 2021.) Greg continues to seek MSS for his series "18C Moments" at Clemson UP.

Kevin Cope, with book review editor **Samara Anne Cahill**, brought out the 27th volume of *1650-1850* (Bucknell UP). A substantial part of the volume is the special feature "Worldmaking and Other Worlds: Restoration to Romantic," edited by Elizabeth Sauer and Betty Joseph. The volume's many reviews include **Andrew Black's** of a recent issue of *Bunyan Studies*, ed. by W. R. Owens, et al.; Sam Cahill's own of Eileen Hunt Botting's *Mary Shelly and the Rights of the Child*; **Anthony W. Lee's** of *Annotation in 18C Poetry*, ed. by **Michael Edson**, and Tony's of the 4th volume (1780-84) of *James Boswell's Life of Johnson: An Edition of the Original Manuscript*, ed. by **Thomas F. Bonnell**; and **Linda L. Reesman's** of Edina Adam and Julian Brooks' *William Blake: Visionary Reviewed*. As for the EC/ASECS authors there reviewed, besides Tom Bonnell, we find **Bærbel Czennia** and **Greg Clingham**, eds., *Oriental Networks: Culture, Commerce, Communication in the Long 18C*, and **Frances Singh**, *Scandal and Survival in 19C Scotland: The Life of Jane Cumming*. **Marissa Daly** of Hofstra is joining us in Winterthur to examine Austen's Emma and Mr. Knightley. **John Dussinger** is finishing a book involving Samuel Richardson, his printing and editing, and Sarah Chapone. "It focuses on the various letters supposedly written by women to the *True Briton* and *The Weekly Miscellany*. For the latter journal, which SR

not only printed but funded for William Webster," John attributes "a number of essays to Sarah Chapone, a much neglected feminist pioneer."

We are pleased to welcome to EC/ASECS **Irene Fizer**, who speaks at Winterthur on the 1818 *Frankenstein*. At Hofstra U., Irene teaches courses on Gothic fiction, Austen, Children and YA lit, global Anglophone lit, and--the course I'd take--"Caffeine Culture: Lit. and Food." This year's volume (36) of *Eighteenth-Century Scotland*, edited by **Richard Sher**, contains a tribute to **Henry L. Fulton** by Sandra McCallum of the Univ. of Glasgow, praising Henry for "a mind always open to new ideas and a generosity in sharing his knowledge and his enthusiasms." She notes Henry participated in ECSSS's inaugural seminar at ASECS [1987]; his last paper to the Society was at its 2018 conference in Glasgow. Our late colleague **W. B. Gerard's** last book, co-edited by M-C. Newbold, was published in 2021 by Bucknell: *Laurence Sterne's A Sentimental Journey: A Legacy to the World*. The ten essays include **Melvyn New's** "Boswell and Sterne in 1768." **Sayre Greenfield** and **Linda Troost's** "Filming/Filling in the Gaps: *Sanditon* on the Screen," appears in the Winter 2020 *Persuasions On-Line* (41.1). They provide an account of the BBC Masterpiece production of *Sanditon* (season 1) with helpful comparisons to Jane Austen's unfinished novel and observations on how it's updated for the present audience (google it up for full access). **Ian Higgins** reviewed **Ashley Marshall's** *Political Journalism in London, 1695-1720* in the November *Review of English Studies*, praising it as a "comprehensive account of its subject and interrogative re-reading of its headlined authors, the well-known journals with which they were associated, and of the received modern scholarship," with "welcome attention to neglected and under-noticed writers and journals." This issue's many reviews include one of the final volume (10) of the Edinburgh edition of Thomas Reid, edited by Paul Wood, published by Penn State UP, 2021. **Melanie Holm** and her fellow editors are preparing a double issue of *The Scriblerian* for publication by Penn State UP this fall.

The excellent September 2022 issue of *Eighteenth-Century Life* (46.3) contains **Susan Kubica Howard's** "Capturing the Queen: Establishing Agency through Narrative Strategies and Royal Materiality in Charlotte Papendiek's *Memoirs*." Susan analyzes the rhetorical strategies employed by Papendiek in her memoir written from 1833 until the year of her death, 1840, and edited and published in 1887 by her granddaughter. These are strategies for the chronicling of both her own family's and her monarch's family's lives, while enhancing her authority as a person and a chronicler. Papendiek treats Charlotte as both her monarch and her supporter; interactions between her and the Queen's families are stressed, as are objects given to her by the Queen, functioning as "bridges," and such occasions as her sitting in for the Queen when Thomas Lawrence "captures" her portrait. The same issue includes **Robert D. Hume's** "The Morphology of Handel's Operas," a very ambitious analysis of Handel's 36 London opera seria, written in 2003 for a Handel conference in Siena, whose proceedings were never published. Rob has revised it after checking what has been written since and consulting Handel scholar Ellen T. Harris. He reviews and discards what is known about Handel's contributions to these librettos and focuses on how their structures might be classified and any evolutionary movement defined. He defines four types reflecting "the force that drives the action" and then turns to motifs and situations. He finds that initially the librettos are driven by villains, but, after

Handel probably tired of the formula, from 1723 to 1727 his librettists employed "three forms that departed significantly from" that norm; in these three the heroes or heroines "find themselves entangled in intrigue" or "are caught in the toils of fate or circumstance" or, with less melodrama, simply have their characters displayed. Rob is publishing with Cambridge "Paratext in Printed English Drama 1660-1700," which at 85 pp. falls between book and monograph. It will be available in print and e-text, and, by Rob's paying a healthy sum to CUP, the electronic text will be freely available.

Catherine Ingrassia has published *Domestic Captivity and the British Subject, 1660-1750* (Virginia, 2022; 314 pp.) Is there a reviewer in the house? **Alessa Johns**, a new member but a familiar name to 18C scholars, reads a paper treating the Ritterakademie Wolfenbüttel on John Heins's session "Continental Matters" at Winterthur. She has published recently on German-English relations, including essays on "German Women Writers in British Magazines, 1760-1820" and "'The Tranquil March of the Revolution': German and German-American Reverberations of Mary Wollstonecraft's Writings." Alessa edited with Katrin Berndt the *Handbook of the British Novel in the Long Eighteenth Century*, treating history, forms, and themes (DeGruyter, 2021). **Suvir Kaul** will give his plenary lecture at our Winterthur conference on William Falconer's *The Shipwreck*, a poem he addresses in a special issue of *Eighteenth-Century Life* on Falconer co-edited by **Michael Edson**. At Winterthur, Suvir will be introduced by **Brijraj Singh**, his professor back in India, and our Presidential address will be given by **Anna Foy**, who was Suvir's student at Penn. There's a photo op! Incidentally, Anna is now teaching at the University of South in Sewanee. **Jess Keiser** speaks at Winterthur on "The Matter of the Mind" in Sean Silver's session "Material Encounters." Jess, who works on the history of science and aesthetics in addition to literature, is the author of *Nervous Fictions: Literary Form and the Enlightenment Origins of Neuroscience* (Virginia, 2020). We are pleased to welcome to the Society **Alyssa Kowalick**, a teacher in graduate studies at West Chester U., speaking at Winterthur on Phillis Wheatley's "Goliath of Gath."

Three cheers for **Elizabeth Lambert** and **Linda Merians**, for they are preparing for the press **Mary Margaret Stewart's** unrevised and unsubmitted biography of the William Collins. Besides the essays in the volumes on Johnson noted under editors Clingham and Lynch, **Anthony W. Lee** contributed to the March *Johnsonian News Letter* a review of Donald J. Newman's *Boswell and the Press: Essays on the Ephemeral Writing of James Boswell*, along with "Mark Alan Pedreira (1964-2021): A Remembrance," into which he tucks "Memories of Mark Pedreira" written by **Philip Smallwood** and by **Kevin L. Cope**. This fall's *JNL* will contain Tony's "Johnson and Cleveland: A Relationship Recuperated: Part One." We welcome **Arlene Leis**, who joins us from London. Her interests include cultures of collecting, travel and cross-cultural encounters, the overlaps between art and science, women's histories, ephemera, and exhibition culture. This November Oxford will publish *The Oxford Handbook of Samuel Johnson*, edited--with remarkably pithy titles--by **Jack Lynch** (704 pp; \$155). The volume divides contributions by 36 scholars into three divisions. Essays under "Career" include **Kevin Berland's** "Youth," **Peter Sabor's** "Age," and **Lisa Berglund's** "Lives." "Genres" includes Jack's own "Criticism," **Anthony Lee's** "Travel," Paul Tankard's "Journalism," **Steven Scherwatzky's** "Fiction," and Howard

Weinbrot's "Sermons." The 21 essays in "Topics" include **Greg Clingham's** "Law," Thomas Kaminski's "Politics," Isobel Grundy's "Women," **J. T. Scanlan's** "Humor," **Carrie Shanafelt's** "Doubt," **Adam Potkay's** "Hope," **Philip Smallwood's** "Emotion," **Brian Michael Norton's** "Happiness."

Sylvia K. Marks, co-chair of our 2020-22 conferences, gave a number of zoom presentations in 2021: in November at the NEASEC: "*Sanditon* the Movie: Andrew Davies' Gloss on Jane Austen's Novels"; in August at a Flannery O'Connor conference: "The Place of the Outsider in Flannery O'Connor's 'Good Country People' and 'The Lame Shall Enter First'"; in June to the Dickens Fellowship of New York: "Little People and Little Things Matter in *David Copperfield* and *Barnaby Rudge*"; and in Feb. to the SEASECS: "Sir Walter Scott and Frances Burney: Their Heroines in *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* and *The Wanderer*." Sylvia published "What Did Playwright Arthur Miller Do to Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*" in *The Arthur Miller Journal*, 16.2 (Fall 2021), 160-79, and "Tabula Gratulatoria" in the preceding issue of that journal, a festschrift honoring Christopher Bigsby. The May issue of *Eighteenth-Century Life* offers "William Hogarth and Richard Steele" by **Ashley Marshall** and Ronald Paulson (46.2: 60-87, 5 illus.), arguing that aspects of Steele's ethos and writing are illuminated when he is paired not with Addison but with Hogarth (e.g., Hogarth "transform[s] Steele's populism into something more radical, emphasizing religion" and linking him with Bishop Benjamin Hoadly). **Jim May** published "The Suppression of the Opposition Press in 1715-1720 (Jacobite, Tory, Nonjuror)" in the 2022 *Swift Studies* (37: 13-38), examining the censoring of such printers as Isaac Dalton and Edmund Powell and the support they and Powell's widow received from their own communities. **Ellen Moody** enjoyed teaching her Osher classes in person at American U. this year and will teach two courses this fall. The highlight of **Maureen Mulvihill's** "summer was organizing *Bloomsday 2022*, June 16th, honoring the centenary of Joyce's *Ulysses*. The celebratory event was hosted by Florida 'snowbirds' John Hyde & Jim Keegan of the Boston Thirsty Scholars in the lovely clubroom of the Alcari condos," in Sarasota. The gathering included members of the local Joyce Society, the Florida Bibliophile Society, local librarians, teachers, book specialists, et al. "The event included Maureen's opening remarks and book display of Joyce items from her home library; participants' readings" from Joyce; "a large-format drawing of Joyce . . . by Sarasota architect Tony Souza, tapes of Irish music; and a rare recording of Joyce reading from *Finnegans Wake*." Her "recent publications include an illustrated tribute to Salman Rushdie, Florida Bibliophile Society, *Newsletter*, online, Sept. 2022." Penn State U. Press in late November will publish *Notes on Footnotes: Annotating Eighteenth-Century Literature* edited by **Melvyn New** and **Tony Lee**. Mel collaborated with **Robert Walker** on a piece about theatre involving Addison, Boswell, and Voltaire, and now the two are looking into a comic entertainer--but I'll say no more lest someone try to steal their good humor. *Notes and Queries* will publish Mel's short note "Henry Fielding and Tom D'Urfey: A Missed Allusion." Mel will speak at the SEASECS in Atlanta on Elizabeth Kraft's panel "Last Words," offering some comparisons between Fielding's *Amelia* and Richardson's *Sir Charles Grandison*. Mel with Kraft and E. Derek Taylor edited in four volumes *SCG* for The Cambridge Edition of Richardson, finally available this month. Priced at \$462, the press won't be eager to pass out review copies, so, if some Richardsonian out there

peruses a library's copy, we would welcome a review. Mel has been helping the local Friends of the Library and traveled to Santa Fe for four days of opera, and reading fiction. **Yvonne Noble** has discovered a woman who lived her life in the Canterbury Cathedral precinct and wrote poetry in the 1690s with a group of other women. In October Yvonne will speak via zoom on the poet to the London-area Women's Studies Group. Yvonne's essay on Mary Delany above teaches more about 18C society than anything in this year's *ECIntel*.

The 2022 volume of *Swift Studies* (37) is dedicated to our late member **Hugh Ormsby-Lennon**, and, after **Hermann J. Real's** initial editorial (which remembers Bliss Carnochan) comes Hermann's spirited and candid tribute to Hugh (with a bibliography of publications and colored portrait). Hermann recollects anecdotes highlighting Hugh's challenging erudition and curiosity, his capacity as a raconteur and an agent provocateur, and his friendly support for the early *Swift Studies* with a brilliant contribution. Eight additional essays are heaped on Hugh's pyre in a fine celebration. Hermann contributed "The Dean's Doctors: Swift and his Medical Friends" (88-109), surveying and measuring the nature of Swift's relations--usually as a friend and rarely as a patient--with John Radcliffe, William Cockburn, John Arbuthnot, and Richard Mead in London and Richard Helsham and John Nichols in Ireland (where Nichols was Surgeon General). Cockburn, who shares career details with Gulliver, prescribed pills taken by Swift. None of them could relieve him of his Ménière's disease. Another contribution to the volume is Clive Probyn's "Hearsay: Swift among the Archbishops" (110-17), which like a sermon takes its text from Swift's *Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture* (1720, 1735): "I heard the late Archbishop of Tuam mention a pleasant Observation of some Body's: that Ireland would never be happy 'till a Law were made for burning every Thing that came from England, except their People and their Coals." The anecdote is followed by a Latin tag to the effect that a mitre or a judge's purple is "not worth so much," presumably as to justify unconscionable servility to the government. Besides commenting on the observation, Probyn examines Swift's relations with the late Archbishop, the Irish-born John Vesey (and also his sons), and Vesey's successor, Edward Syngé, whom Swift was at odds with despite sharing opposition for the Toleration Bill of 1719 and support for Irish-born appointments in the Church of Ireland. Other essays include "Pondering Passive Resistance: Jonathan Swift and Wood's Halfpence" by Salim Rashid, who has written on economic development in 18C Ireland and who here acknowledges the assistance of other scholars, including **Ian Higgins**, and **Maureen E. Mulvihill**. Atop scholarship by Oliver Ferguson and others, Rashid builds an eye-opening examination of how Swift's *Doing Good: A Sermon on the Occasion of Wood's Project* (1724) provides a fuller and more complex justification of passive resistance than is found in the Drapier's Letters, with more attention to the obstacles in raising up the people to resist. It offered "a masterful array of arguments for dedicated individual action, even when one is unsure of the support of others" (133), leading to Rashid's naming Swift "the first advocate of the modern tactic of passive resistance as an instrument of political change" (134). Mary Stratton Ryan contributed "The 'Family of Swift': A Fragment of Autobiography Illustrated," with nine plates, mostly full page color photographs of portraits. Also here is Dan Sperrin's remarkably agile rhetorical analysis of Swift's posthumously published fragment "Maxims Controlled in

Ireland" (c. 1729),--that is, political axioms confuted by the paradoxical conditions of Ireland. It is a superb introduction pondering such what-ifs as if Swift's personae were of this or that sort. I saved the best for last: clearly the product of many years of research: **Dirk F. Passmann's** "Hunting Hoffman: The Live and Chequered Career of an Engraver, Pamphleteer, and Adventurer of Sorts (I)," (52-77 and plates of engravings and cuts to 87). Most who have worked with early 18C English books have admired cut ornaments signed "FH" for Francis Hoffman (he dominates the field), and some know he rendered *Pilgrim's Progress* into verse (1706), but almost none would guess what an extraordinary life he led or what a rather Blakean enthusiast he was. Passmann traces his life (1676 to at least 1746) from a wide range of sources including untapped letters. Much attention goes to Hoffman's support for Robert Harley through anti-Whig pamphlets and prints. Incidentally, Dr. Passmann, co-author of the 4-vol. *The Library and Reading of Jonathan Swift*, and also of essays with Hermann Real, is the Verlagsleiter, or publishing director, of Aschendorff Verlag, which has been handsomely producing *Swift Studies* for several years. (Kudos too to Kirsten Juhas, the journal's co-editor.)

Leah Orr's "Publishing *The Museum* (1746-1747)" appears in the November 2021 *Review of English Studies* (72:933-54). Her abstract indicates she examines "new evidence relating to the planning, publication, and advertising" of the fortnightly periodical, showing it "was not the work of Robert Dodsley alone," but "a collaboration between Dodsley and fellow booksellers Charles Hitch, Thomas Longman, and John Rivington," with Rivington "arranging advertisements, paying printers and newspapers, and registering" it in the SR. Though *The Museum* is best known for poetry, Leah "suggests that prose essays, reviews, and history were more important features." We applaud **David Palumbo** for taking over the late **Don Mell's** Swift session at this year conference and for organizing a roundtable to sing Don's praises, all done well despite a research trip to England. Moving into our region from NYU's special collections and hopefully joining EC/ASECS in the future is **Julie Park**, who in July came to Penn State with joint appointments in English and in the library. She is the author of *The Self and It* (Stanford 2010) and editor of *Organic Supplements* (UVA 2020) and a recent issue of *Word and Image*. Presently she's writing a book on the materiality of 18C life writing. We are delighted that **Lissa Paul**, a specialist in children's literature, will be speaking at Winterthur on Eliza Fenwick's life and literary remains at the panel she's chairing, with three other speakers from Brock Univ. Readers may remember that her book *Eliza Fenwick: Early Modern Feminist* (2019) was reviewed in the March 2020 *Intelligencer* by **Ellen Ledoux**.

Chelsea Phillips contributed "Pregnancy and the Late Stuart Stage, 1661-1702" to *English Theatrical Anecdotes, 1660-1800* (Delaware, 2022). **Hanna Roman** reviewed Jessica Stacey's *Narrative, Catastrophe and Historicity in 18C French Literature* for this fall's *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*. **Laura J. Rosenthal** continues to edit *Restoration*, contributing reviews of *Robinson Crusoe after 300 Years* to the Fall 2021 issue and of Kirsten Sandrock's *Scottish Colonial Literature: Writing the Atlantic, 1603-1707* to Spring 2022 (46.1). The fall 2021 was a special issue ed. by David Mazella and Elaine McGirr entitled "Pandemic / Post-Pandemic," including essays by **Alessa Johns** ("Dreadful Visitations: Witnessing Disasters"), Mattie Burkert ("Plague Literature and Pandemic Pedagogy"),

Elizabeth Kraft ("Foes in Isolation"), Alison Conway on religious toleration. *Restoration* continues to offer its annotated "Some Current Publications," this spring's issue's by Garth Libhart (Libhart covers 10 items on Milton, 8 on Behn, 4 on Cavendish, 1 on Dryden, etc.; he wrote the Fall 2021 survey as well). Libhart's summaries include one of **Maureen E. Mulvihill's** "Writing Irish History," *Rare Book Hub* of May 2021, assessing the 4-vol. *Cambridge History of Ireland* (2018), with a focus on Vol. 2, *Politics 1590-1730*, ed. by Jane Ohlmeyer. He notes the inclusion of sources on Irish historiography and quotes Maureen's remarks on how the volumes "stand as an intellectual riposte to those who doubt the vital importance of the study of history in our universities and in our society." We discovered that **Tim Ruppert**, one of the *Intelligencer's* dependable reviewers (as again above), is a playwright engaged for years in Pittsburgh theater. His plays include *The Consorts* (2016), *Vivienne* (2018), *Vicious Lands* (2020), and *Serenade*, the last to be performed in April by the Red Masquers, an undergraduate troupe at Duquesne U., and then, hopefully, in the summer with the semi-professional Summer Company. *Serenade* alters Tim's meeting his wife. *Vicious Lands* is "loosely based on Charlotte Lennox's 1790 novel *Euphemia*"--it's on two long-suffering sisters in Schenectady, 1741. This year saw the publication of *Avian Aesthetics in Literature and Culture: Birds and Humans in the Popular Imagination* (in Lexington Books' Ecocritical series), edited by Tim and Danette Dimarco, a colleague at Slippery Rock Univ. Amazon's listing quotes **Sayre Greenfield** (who also recently co-edited a book on birds): the book's fifteen essays "constitute an intense and fascinating study of the strangeness of birds and the variety of ways writers and other cultural creators try to comprehend and represent them," exploring "what birds do for us culturally--from powering flights of imagination to providing the most accessible entrance to the natural world--and what we do to birds as we mistakenly humanize . . . [and] destroy them." Tim's essay is "The Fate of Birds in Anatole France's *Penguin Island*."

Peter Sabor with John Avery Jones published "'Frances Burney's Legacy Duty Account' (1840)" with a "Transcript" of that account in the September 2022 *Eighteenth-Century Life* (46.3: 1-9, 10-29, with 9 pp. of photographs). The article also provides information about the duties paid for unpublished MSS and correspondence of Frances's father Charles (Peter is the general editor of the ongoing OUP edition of Dr. Burney's letters). As the article explains clearly, the tax of legacy duties was added to probate duties in 1780 and subsequently raised, the rates varying by the legatee's relations to the deceased; with probate duties, these brought substantial revenue to the government. Low estimates for the value of her father's and Frances's own MSS and publications were entered so that her nephew Dr. Charles Parr Burney and her niece Charlotte Barrett incurred "the least tax possible." Sabor and Jones have also forthcoming "Frances Burney's Original Will (1839)," which contains corrections to Joyce Henlow's transcription. Also in September's *ECL* is **Diana Solomon's** very interesting survey of the English theatrical remediations of Cervantes' *Don Quixote*: "Sancho Panza in 18C English Theater: Disrupting the Path of the English Knight-Errant." Listing 20 plays featuring Quixote or another of its characters, she finds Sancho Panzo often emphasized and the characters treated in a cruder, more farcical fashion than in fictional adaptations (the stage "amplified [more] the physical violence and cruelty to female and lower-class characters").

Amazon has listed **Richard Sher's** edition of *The Correspondence of James Boswell and Sir William Forbes of Pitsligo*, the tenth and final volume of correspondence in the Yale Boswell Editions Research Series (Edinburgh UP, 2022; 660pp; \$103). The lives of both men are illuminated in 79 letters between Boswell and Forbes (1772-1794) and 32 involving other correspondents--the vast majority have never been published. **Eleanor Shevlin** found time to return to her research on publisher James Harrison between co-chairing our conference and shouldering duties at West Chester U., which include overseeing its Center for Book History and its related Graduate Certificate in Publishing. She presented a paper on Harrison earlier this month via zoom at the Booksellers Research Network conference sponsored by Bangor University in Hay-on-Wye: "The Matter of a Late 18C Bookshop, Its Proprietor, and the Trade." Among the documentary revelations is the 21-year lease for Harrison's premises, limiting him to bookselling and printing. She describes the shop also with an engraving of its exterior. After our conference Eleanor will turn more of her attention to a lecture series at West Chester, which will in part reflect her involvement in celebrations of the 400th anniversary of the First Folio of Shakespeare in the Philadelphia area. Eleanor again this year co-coordinates the Washington Area Group for Print Culture Studies, meeting in the Jefferson Building of the Library of Congress. On 7 October David Clayton of the Univ. of East Anglia offers "A Trail of Broken Type: The Illicit Pamphleteering Network of Thomas Scott without the Archive, c. 1619-1626." Clayton endeavors through "a trail of broken type" to discover the networks behind Rev. Scott's pamphlets opposing King James's foreign policy, many published after Scott fled to the Netherlands. In the spring **Sean Moore** will deliver "The British Secret Service and the Scottish and Irish Book Trades, 1660-1829." See [https:// wagpcs.wordpress.com](https://wagpcs.wordpress.com).

Jacob Sider Jost's *Interest and Connection in the Eighteenth Century* is reviewed in the February issue of *RES* (73:181-83). Also in that issue is Adam Rounce's review of a book some may be pleased to discover: Adam Budd's *Circulating Enlightenment: The Career and Correspondence of Andrew Millar, 1725-1768*. **Sean Silver** speaks at Winterthur on a panel he chairs. Sean, with a Ph.D. from UCLA, teaches Restoration & 18C British at Rutgers, with particular interest in theory, complex systems, the history of science, and the history of museums and ideas. He is the author of *The Mind is a Collection*, which "traces the history of our most prevalent mental models" and is connected to a virtual museum, www.mindisacollection.org. He is currently working on a cultural history of complexity. Sean teaches a "seminar on museums and literature, in which students become curators of literary objects." In the last issue I mistaken assigned to **Brijrah Singh's** essay the title of that before his in the table of contents of *Hemispheres and Stratospheres*; Brij's essay is entitled "Distant Lands, Distant Races, Distant Cultures: Two 18C South Indian Priests Go to Europe." I greatly enjoyed Brij's memoir *In Arden*, for its travelogue and account of living in the 1970s with the Khasi people in Shillong. In October, Boydell & Brewer will release a paperback of **Frances Singh's** *Scandal and Survival in 19C Scotland: The Life of Jane Cumming* (\$34.95; £25). We thank Frances for her review above of David Alston's *Slaves and Highlanders: Silenced Histories of Scotland and the Caribbean*. Frances speaks on 18C botanist Jane Colden and her learned family on the session she chairs at Winterthur, for which she has recruited **Matthew Skic** to

our society. Matthew is curator of exhibitions at the Museum of the American Revolution, to which he brought experience gained at the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History. Among the Brock U. team speaking at Winterthur is **Jennifer Slagus**, a graduate research assistant in the Match of Minds Program working on children's literature. We are pleased that **Philip Smallwood** is coming to Winterthur. Though emeritus at Birmingham City U., he teaches under "Honorary" titles at Bristol U. (currently Pope and Johnson). Philip has forthcoming from CUP *Criteria of the Heart: Artistry and Thought in Johnson's Literary Criticism*. His other books include *Critical Occasions: Dryden, Pope, Johnson and the History of Criticism* (2011); *Samuel Johnson after 300 Years* edited with Greg Clingham, (2009); and *Ridiculous Critics: Augustan Mockery of Critical Judgment* edited with Min Wild (2014).

This spring **Leah M. Thomas** published "Mapping the Geographic Imagination in *Harriot Stuart* and *Euphemia* at an HBCU [Historically Black Colleges and Universities]" in *ABO: Interactive Journal for Women in the Arts, 1640-1830*, 12.1 (Summer 2022). This issue also has **Jeremy Chow's** "Succubus Matters" on female sexuality in Lewis's *The Monk*, and **Susan Carlile** and Karenza Sutton-Bennett's "Teaching the *Lady's Magazine* and *Sophia*: Imperialism, Early Feminism, and Beyond." **Helen Thompson** will speak at Winterthur. Helen's most recent book was *Fictional Matter: Empiricism, Corpuscles, and the Novel* (Penn, 2017), which explores the relationship between 18C British novels and the history of chemistry, discussing such pioneers as Boyle, Newton, Hales and Lavoisier (she took a B.A. in chemistry and English from Amherst before taking her PhD at Duke). **Kwinten Van De Walle** has taken a position in the School of Foreign Studies at Shanghai Univ. of Finance and Economics. He had the misfortune of arriving right when the summer lockdown began! We are happy to see on the program **Elizabeth Veisz**, who chairs the English Dept. at Bridgewater State U. **Rosemary Wake** returns to EC/ASECS this October from her home in Edinburgh--we met her at a meeting a decade ago. **Robert Walker** contributed to the Spring *Johnsonian News Letter* "Samuel Johnson, William Moore, and the Gordon Riots, or 'There Goes the Neighborhood.'" The note concerns Johnson's neighbor William Moore, a political journalist and publisher in the 1770s, as of the weekly *The Whisperer* (printed for Moore, 1770-72), who attacked Britain's policy toward the American colonies, as in *Addresses for Blood and Devastation* (1776), whose subtitle references Dr. Johnson and John Wesley (Wesley receives much more venom, for writing with "effrontry [sic] and impudence like his mentor in politics, Dr. Johnson"). After the Gordon riots and destruction of Newgate Prison (2-9 June 1780), John Wilkes arrested Moore a minute's walk from SJ's house on Bolt Court; Moore was imprisoned and convicted on 5 December of a seditious libel inflaming the rioters. Bob is awaiting the publication of two essays: "History and Literary Genres in Mid-18C Britain; Or, the Strange and Fascinating Case of Joshua Dudley" in *Studies in Philology*, and "Milking Sterne's Subscription Lists, and Extrapolations Therefrom" in *The Library*. In May Bob traveled in South Africa and Namibia and in the summer enjoyed a diving excursion in the Caymans. And he's welcome to take those trips as long as he continues to write good notes and reviews for the *Intelligencer*. His note above is related to another also on the role of "social connections--some regional or professional, some personal, or familial" in subscriptions to Laurence Sterne's works:

"Pursuing the Identities of Sterne's Subscribers down Genealogy's Garden Path," forthcoming in *Notes and Queries*. It focuses on Lady Susan Powlet, whom Sterne's daughter Lydia solicited as a subscriber to Sterne's sermons. We welcome **Murray Wilcox**, an independent scholar with interests in Classics, who speaks at Winterthur on an 18C library in Niagara-on-the-Lake.

James Woolley's "Misreading Swift's 'Pleasing Strain': 'A Love Song' and 'The Nurse's Song'" in the 2022 *Swift Studies* is one of those rare pieces that the fascinated reader finishes wishing it were twice as long. James illustrates the propensity for misreading Swift's burlesques of song types with just the two poems in the subtitle, but we know he could have provided further examples. The titular phrase is from a poem "Spoken to a Lady by her Husband" (1762): "Swift's pleasing strain your hand and voice improve / And fill my soul with extacy and love!" The wife may have sung one of the many songs attributed to Swift, such as the ironic "A Love Song. In the Modern Taste." James notes that in 1736 "the poem began to be published with alternative titles that betray no burlesque intention," such as "The Unhappy Lover" (illustrated). Woolley speculates that the "song's nonsensical banality" may even have contributed to its popularity. The star of this essay is "The Nurses Song," "a mock nursery-song in baby talk, a pastiche of nursery rhymes," which was often reproduced with variant readings, as in *Tommy Thumb's Pretty Song-Book* (c. 1744). I found it delightful, suited for bouncing a baby. Since it refers to feeding a baby, Woolley suggests that Swift composed it in response to a sermon by his friend Patrick Delany advocating breast-feeding. It was not accepted by Harold Williams as Swift's, but Woolley makes a convincing case for Swift's authorship, and it will be included in his and **Steve Karian's** forthcoming Cambridge edition of Swift's poetry.

Announcements, News, Exhibitions, Websites, etc.

The **SEASECS** will meet 16-18 February 2023 in Decatur, GA, with Joe Johnson as Program Chair (its newsletter came to me from Jonathan Merchant, jmerchant@kean.edu). The **South-Central SECS** will meet 23-25 Feb'y in College Station and Bryan, Texas, with the Stella Hotel in the adjacent countryside as conference hotel. The theme is "The Quixotic 18C," and Prof. Eduardo Urbina will provide a plenary on "*Don Quixote* in the 18C: Illustrated Editions at the Cushing Memorial Library" (held at that Texas A&M library). Proposals are due to organizer Samara Cahill by 15 November (samcahill@tamu.edu). **ASECS** meets 9-11 March at the St. Louis Hyatt Regency at the Arch. The meeting occurs under the guidance of the new Executive Director, Benita Blessing. Oct 3rd is the deadline for proposals to speak. **ECSSS**, the 18C Scottish Studies Society, besides its annual conference in Liverpool this July, will participate in the Canadian SECS's meeting in Ottawa, 13-15 October 2022. On 18-21 July 2023 ECSSS meets at St. Andrews U. hosted by its Institute of Intellectual History, in a joint meeting with the Adam Smith Society and the Institute for the Study of Scottish Philosophy. Note that Richard Sher has placed his newsletter for ECSSS, *Eighteenth-Century Scotland*, on line with open access (available at www.ecsss.org).

Scholars should consider publishing with **Open Book**, a leading open-access publisher of peer-reviewed monographs worldwide. It is a "not-for-profit and scholar led initiative whose goal is to make high-quality research

available to everybody without charge. . . . titles are free to read and download everywhere in the world, and are also available in inexpensive ebook and printed editions." Authors are not charged and retain full copyright. Open Book has published over 240 titles since it was founded by Cambridge academics in 2008. I became impressed with Open Book after contacts with Dr. Alessandra Tosi, its Managing Director, who asked me to review a fine essay collection by first-rate scholars. See www.openbookpublishers.com

I'm often reminded by email from Adam Rummens, its Commissioning Editor, that **Cambridge Scholars Publishing** invites proposals for academic books and edited collections in the Humanities and Social Sciences. It offers no charge, royalties, worldwide distribution in hard cover, and fast review. Its website offers good guidance for proposals: www.cambridgescholars.com.

The Voltaire Foundation in July announced that the *Œuvres complètes de Voltaire / Complete Works of Voltaire* was finished this year in 205 volumes. It is the first complete critical edition with notes and variant readings from MS and printed sources, and the first of any attempt at a "complete edition" since the 1870s. The VF offers the video "Editing Voltaire" on the 55-year project, called by Robert Darnton "the greatest" scholarly edition ever.

On 14 Sept. Gale announced on PRNewswire that, in partnership with ASECS, it awards **Gale "Non-Residential Fellowships"** to five researchers who receive \$2500 and access to ECCO and "Gale Digital Scholar Lab," which "provides fellows with invaluable text and data mining tools to explore ECCO" (winners range from doctoral candidates to Associate Professors).

On 20 October 2020 **Winchester College** posted on its webpages "A Gift from Wordsworth" announcing that while "cataloguing Winchester's sculpture collection for the ArtUK website, we discovered that an early 19th-century wax profile of William of Wykeham," was given by Wordsworth to his nephews John and Christopher, pupils at Winchester, with the frame inscribed in the poet's hand "To the Wintonians / J + Christopher Wordsworth / from / their affectionate Uncle / Wm Wordsworth / Rydal Mount / September 1822."

On 16 Oct 2019 the **Morgan Library** announced at its website "the acquisition of an unparalleled collection of **18C French MSS and bindings bequeathed this year by Mrs. Jayne Wrightsman** in honor of her dear friend and long-time Morgan board member Mrs. Annette de la Renta." The Morgan already boasted fine collections of French illustrated books bequeathed by Gordon N. Ray and of French literary classics donated by the Heineman Foundation. Wrightsman (1919-2019), one of the 40 members of the Roxburghe Club, began in the 1960s to collect 18C French bindings that are "perhaps second only to the Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor."

On 15 May 2020 McGill University Library News posted on its "Library Matters" site a fascinating, well-illustrated account by Margaret Carlyle (U. of Chicago) of obstetrics and midwifery practices, "Helping Hands: **Uncovering an 18C Midwifery Manual.**" The title refers to the in-depth examination of *Abbrégé de l'art des accouchemens* (2nd ed., 1785) by Angélique Marguerite du Coudray (c. 1712-1794). Carlyle notes that with 26 hand-coloured engravings it was "meant to be a teaching tool and a practitioner's handbook." In 1759 Coudray was granted by Louis XV "a royal brevet, which allowed her to education students across the provinces." The illustrations repay the search.

The Bibliographical Society of America has relaunched its **BibSite** online archive, offering 104 resources in PDFs by 121 contributors.

The *Comprehensive Index* to the *Catalogue of the Cotsen Children's Library*, comp. by Steven Ferguson, Mark Argetsinger et al, 2 vols., appeared in 2021, completing the 8-vol. project begun with 20C imprints in 2 vols., 2000, and including *The Pre-1801 Imprints*, another 2 vols., 2020. The eight-volume catalogue of American and European imprints--never intended to describe the 100,000+ books in the collection--receives a penetrating examination of its contents, illustrations, and cataloguing procedures by **Brian Alderson** in the April issue of *Children's Book History Society Newsletter* (no.132), which he coedited with Susan Bailes--it's an illustrated, modified version of his review in *The Library*. Alderson introduces the collection and the cataloguing project. He is appreciative but frank about both inconsistencies and problems resulting from an overly consistent reliance on alphabetization (at times place and publisher might have been better for classification). He notes the first volume published, with Lloyd Cotsen's dedication to his wife and Andrea Immel's introduction--standing 5th in the final set--has the only statement of the catalogue's aims. The August 2022 *CBHS Newsletter* (#133) came with its Occasional Paper XVI: Alderson's *The Purposive Collecting of Children's Books: Their Cataloguing and Bibliography* (22 pp.; illus.)

As reported by Alison Flood in *The Guardian*, 16 Dec. 2021, the **Hornesfield Library**, built up in the late 19C by William Law and holding 500 MSS and rare books, was to be auctioned by Sotheby's in 2021, but the Friends of the National Libraries negotiated a delay and potential purchase. Then the collection was "**saved for the nation**" after £15m was raised "in just five months"--half came in a match from Sir Leonard Blavatnik, a further £4m from the National Heritage Memorial Fund, and the rest from foundations, libraries and individuals. The collection, now the "Blavatnik Hornesfield Library" in view of the largest donation ever given by an individual for a British literary treasure, will be distributed by the FNL to supporting institutions in the UK. Flood notes the collection included "a humorous letter from Austen to her sister Cassandra" ("I am to flirt my last with Tom Lefroy"), "an early volume of poems by Robert Burns in his own hand, and the complete working manuscript of Sir Walter Scott's *Rob Roy*, . . . [plus] Emily Brontë's notebook of 31 poems," thought lost, with annotations in Charlotte's hand.

The late scholar **Roger Lonsdale** had a rare books collection of hundreds of volumes. It is now being described by antiquarian **Christopher Edwards** (Oxfordshire) and before long the first of multiple parts will be offered.

Major research libraries in general make little effort to regularly announce their major acquisitions, which is a hardship for this newsletter editor. One library that breaks that trend and offers announcements of "Recent Antiquarian Acquisitions" (mostly colored prints in August) is Yale's **Lewis Walpole Library**. These announcements go hand in hand with building up a searchable digital collection offered to the public. Princeton is another library system that announces rare acquisitions. In 1 July 2021 posting, it disclosed that in May 2021 its Numismatics Collection "acquired a rare copper 18th-Century British **token advocating the abolition**" of slavery. According to Alan Stahl, the collection's curator, "the token was manufactured by William Lutwyche" of the Soho Mint in Birmingham circa 1797. The illustration of the well preserved coin shows an enslaved man in chains raising his head to the right on one side and handshaking hands on the other, with the respective legends (in full caps), "Am I not a Man and a Brother" and "May Slavery &

Oppression cease throughout the World." Stahl explains that the token, though privately minted, served as a half-penny (he adds that such tokens were "used as a substitute for official coinage in periods when the Royal Mint issued only high-denominational coins"). The article notes that designer Roger Dixon took the "imagery and motif" from a porcelain medallion produced by Josiah Wedgwood "for the Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade."

Those working with primary materials should look at the website of the **Manuscript Society** (founded 1948 to promote the collection and preservation of MSS): <https://manuscript.org>. Its webpages have news of scholarly activities, resources (such as a link to *Rare Book Hub*), annual meetings, and--of particular value--the Manuscript Society Digest, launched in 2012, and posted every two months, with news of acquisitions and sales of MSS, lost and found MSS, and some attention to rare books, too. The Society will post it to subscribers as it's published or one can consult it as an archive. I found it very helpful for tracking a flood of Isaac Newton's MSS at auction. Even more freely available information for historians is at the website of **Fine Books & Collections** magazine, with good coverage of auction sales (collections and individual titles) and a searchable archive of blogs and news articles (it offers an e-newsletter). Here I read the *FBC*'s article on John Hancock's 1776 letter to Georgia proclaiming American independence, one of five surviving of the thirteen to the colonies (\$1.9 million at Freeman's Books and MSS auction in early May). Here also can be read "MoAR Acquires Archive Related to Revolutionary Soldiers of Color" (*FBC*, 11 Feb. 2022), on a private collection of nearly 200 documents (muster rolls, pay vouchers, enlistment and discharge papers) recording "service of men of African and Native American descent . . . in the ranks of the Continental Army," acquired by the Museum of the American Revolution. A linked article in *Digital Journal*, 25 Nov. 2021 notes that an influx of new buyers has led to auction sales "shattering norms."

The **Huntington Library** announced on 17 July 2022 its acquisition of the **Leigh Family Archive**, "a trove of nearly 400 unpublished letters" from 17C and 18C England. Jane Austen's mother was of this family, and, though there are no JA letters in the archive, it will "provide context for her life, family, and work." Many letters have annotations on topics and occasions by Molly Leigh, who "took on the role of family archivist . . . before her death, in 1797, at the age of 66." It joins the Huntington's Leigh Family Papers and the hundreds of Leigh MSS also in its Stowe Collection. (Digitization to follow.)

On 25-26 May 2022 Christie's New York auctioned the private collection of **William Reese**, a leading antiquarian bookdealer and patron of libraries and 18C scholarship, who died in 2018. His collection--focused on the New World in 16C-18Cs, particularly explorations, early printed views, and the natural history of the Americas and the history of the U.S.--sold for roughly \$17 million. There was a good account of the sale and his collection in *Antiques and the Arts Weekly*, 7 June 2022. Fewer than a dozen of the 374 items went unsold and 38 sold for over \$100,000. Christie's produced two thick, well illustrated catalogues for the sale. Reese's company continues the tradition of listing rare, early printed materials and manuscripts with good historical notes.

As recently as 1 August 2022 the State Library of Virginia has updated its webpages offering an alphabetical finding guide by location to "**18C Virginia newspapers available from the Library of Virginia**" (in 3 pdfs by

city and town locations, A-N, O-R, and S-Z). It gives holdings for print & microfilm, coverage areas, and access to digitized content when available.

A campaign ("**A is for Aphra**") is going forward to build a statue honoring Aphra Behn: four artists were shortlisted to build bronze maquette of their designs to be displayed on tour about England in June and July for public comment (donations are taken at the website). We wish that we could have illustrated Susan Spencer's review above of a biography of **Lady Mary Wortley Montagu** with an image found on Wikipedia Commons of the memorial to Lady Mary (with relief statue) erected on the wall of Lichfield Cathedral. Under a relief statue is carved "Sacred to the Memory of . . . Lady Mary Wortley Montague who happily introduc'd from Turkey into this Country The Salutary Art of inoculating the Small-Pox. Convinc'd of its Efficacy, she first tried it with Success on her own Children. . . . erected by Henrietta Inge [in gratitude "for the benefit she . . . received"] . . . [in] 1789."

I receive the monthly newsletters of the British "**Centre for Printing History and Culture**" from Caroline Archer (caroline.archer@bcu.ac.uk), distributed more broadly by scholar and antiquarian dealer Barry Mckay (mailto:barrymckay@gmail.com). These inform me of zoom lecture programs, such as one early on a Monday evening with David Atkinson concerning "Chapbooks in Early 19C Northumberland," Helen Williams on "Ann Fisher and Newcastle Printing," etc. Another program on digitizing Aris's *Birmingham Gazette* occurred in the afternoon on Saturday 10 Sept.

The Folger recently announced that it has "passed the \$42.5 million mark on our \$50 million goal." The British Library has mounted big exhibitions on Beethoven and now gold ornament in books. The Victorian & Albert offers "Beatrix Potter: Drawn to Nature" through 23 January. I fail to google up any exhibitions related to 18C Ukraine, which I expect will be forthcoming. But in June 2021 the Ukrainian Catholic U. hosted in virtual format the first conference of the Ukrainian Society for 18C Studies. It was organized by Ukrainian and European studies centers at the Univ. of Alberta (its website describes it), and attended by 157 scholars, over a hundred from Ukraine.

November 15th is the next application deadline for ASECS's **A. C. Elias, Jr., Irish-American Research Travel Fellowship** (for the 2023 award). The Elias Fellowship awards up to \$2500 to support "documentary scholarship on Ireland in the period between the Treaty of Limerick (1691) and the Act of Union (1800), by enabling North American-based scholars to travel to Ireland and Irish-based scholars to travel to North America" for research. Projects conducting original research on any aspect of 18C Ireland qualify, but recipients must be ASECS members with permanent residence in the United States or Canada or be members of its Irish sister organization. Submit applications to the two trustees: James May (jem4@psu.edu; 1423 Hillcrest Rd / Lancaster, PA 17603), and Jason McElligott, Keeper, Marsh's Library, (St. Patrick's Close, Dublin 8, Ireland; jason.mcelligott@marshlibrary.ie). Applications should be accompanied by a cover letter requesting the project's consideration and indicating contact addresses and the Society to which the applicant belongs. They need contain a short curriculum vitae (no more than 3 pp.), a project description (3 pp. or less, on contribution to the field and work done and to be done during the proposed research), a one-page bibliography of related books & articles, a short budget, and two signed letters of recommendation. Please submit all the materials but the letters as one Word

file or PDF. The two letters should be sent confidentially from their authors to May and/or McElligott. If signed letters cannot be supplied as PDFs, an original copy should be mailed to one of the trustees. Information on the Elias Fellowship is posted at the ASECS website and that of the Marsh's Library.

The **wave of iconoclasm and renaming** discussed in the October 2020 *Intelligencer* (16-22) slowed considerably after the fury in 2020, when protests led to the removal of many Enlightenment figures, including a vandalized bust of Voltaire before the Académie Française in Paris. Some continuing developments can be noted. It was reported in mid 2021 that Franklin and Marshall College was considering dropping "Marshall" from its name, for the Chief Justice profited from slavery and died owning 150 people (as discussed in Paul Finkelman's *Supreme Injustice: Slavery in the Nation's Highest Court*, 2018). But that proposal gained no traction; there is still a statue of Marshall on campus (at least once sprayed red). The College, like others, has had a committee studying the representations of slavery on campus. Wake Forest U. dropped the name of Wingate from a hall named for Washington Manly Wingate, who was president when it sold 16 slaves to fund the school. Wingate U. in NC, hearing such, started an investigation of its namesake. In May and then August of 2021 "Thomas Jefferson" was dropped as a school name in Peoria, IL, and Maplewood, NJ (which left 24 schools in NJ named for Jefferson). The most notorious name-change controversy in 2021 came 27 January when the San Francisco Board's voted to remove 44 names from schools, including Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, Fr. Serra, Paul Revere, John Muir, and even Dianne Feinstein, but, after legal challenges a pause was announced, and in early April the Board reversed its decision. In November 2020 Rhode Island and Providence Plantations removed the last three words from its official name after 52.9% of voters approved the change. Though the phrasing meant something akin to "settlement" and was unrelated to slavery, Governor Gina Raimondo remarked, "We can't ignore the image conjured by the word 'plantation.'" That was one of many 2020 changes, along with the removal of "Aunt Jemima" from Quaker's pancake brand. The penchant for renaming continues into this summer with Clare College Cambridge renaming "The Colony," a lodging hall, as "Castle Court" to avoid connotations that do not "reflect the values of the College" (*Express and Star*, 28 June). Another sort of renaming involves calls by birders for the renaming of species with names felt offensive because related to specific historical figures or containing other offensive connotations as the "Jameson's Firefinch" and the "oldsquaw duck." Some Audubon members want to ditch "Audubon."

The **destruction or authorized removal of statues** of historical figures declined after 2020 but still occurred. NPR on 19 Oct. 2021 reported, "A **Thomas Jefferson** statue is on its way out of New York's City Council Chambers, after members of the Public Design Commission agreed to take the nation's first president and well-known slaveowner off of his pedestal." It was commissioned "by Navy officer Uriah Phillips Levy, a New Yorker who was one of the first Jewish officers, "because of Jefferson's support for religious freedom in the U.S. military." Placed in City Hall in 1834, it is a plaster version of the standing bronze figure Levy gave the U.S. and now stands in the Capitol Rotunda. Where the statue would rest was not then known. In a campaign begun in 2020, the Black Student Union at the Univ. of Washington held a rally in May 2022 calling for the removal of the statue of President

Washington from the campus (*The Campus Fix*, 26 May). The city of Charlottesville removed a bronze statue by Charles Keck erected in 1919 depicting Lewis and Clark with Sacajawea crouched down tracking--critics said she is "cowering" (*CNN*, 13 July 2021). I add two removals from 2020 that I then overlooked. In August 2020 the bust of Sir Hans Sloane at British Museum was hidden in a cabinet because the collection (on which the BM was established) was partly funded by African labor on "his wife's sugar plantations" (*Art Newspaper*, 25 Aug. 2020). Also, the statue of George Washington outside the German-American Society in Portland was pulled down, the plinth spray-painted "Genocidal Colonist" (*The Hill*, 19 June 2020).

Much of the 2021 vandalism has involved religious statuary: as the destruction in February to fourteen statues at Our Lady of Mount Carmel Basilica in Youngstown by a man now in a mental facility; and the smashing of statues of the Virgin and St. Therese in Queens during July (with a woman caught on camera hammering them). The most discussed statue was that of Robert E. Lee in Richmond, removed in September. A fortnight later a superb monument, *Emancipation end Freedom*, went up nearby, with 12-foot statues of a man and woman executed by Oregon sculptor Thomas Jay Warren. Some of 2021's iconoclastic vandalism reflected reactionary pushback against progressive ideologies: in June a statue of George Floyd was painted with a white supremacist group's logo; and in July a Long Beach statue of Martin Luther King, Jr., received a swastika. All this helped foster the national debate about how to teach race and racism in history, reflected in the *Time* cover-story "The History Wars" by Olivia B. Waxman (5 & 12 July 2021). Revisionist iconoclasm laid the groundwork for a conservative reaction that exploited "Critical Race Theory" and led to Glenn Youngkin's victory in Virginia and Florida's passage in April of Gov. DeSantis's "Stop WOKE Act" ("Individual Freedom Act," HB 7). On 8 Sept. a federal judge ruled that Prof. Robert Cassanello (History, U. of Central Florida) and other plaintiffs did have legal standing to contest the law as violating their First Amendment rights.

The pandemic only increased the decline in college attendance that has been continuing since 2012, from 21 million down to 16 million. The National Student Clearinghouse Research Center in May reported that 662,000 fewer undergraduates were enrolled than in the previous spring (-4.7%). Community college enrollment dropped over 7%. Another ill consequence arose from closing museums: bugs like moths flourished during those dark months. Museums had to debug later. According to Deborah Vankin in the *L.A. Times*, the Getty Museum in Brentwood, froze tapestries and rugs, etc. to kill eggs and larvae, and disassembled furniture to disinfect and set traps.

One of the TV serials about the 18C (on Netflix) is *The Cook of Castamar* (*La Concinera de Castamar*, 2021), a romantic tale in 12 episodes set in Castile c. 1724, with class structure and some villainy obstructing the happy ending. It is a striking example of how religiosity has been swept from modern depictions of the 18C. The most delightful 18C storyline recently is Tony McNamara's *The Great* (Hulu, 2020-2021), on the young Catherine the Great's rise, which plays freely with history but with wit and good humor in the dialogue and performances of Elle Fanning and Nicholas Hoult, et al.

Cover illustration: An example of the paper mosaics for which Mary Delany is justly celebrated, reproduced from Wikipedia Commons. (See p. 19.)

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