

## **Princes and Painters in Mughal Delhi, 1707-1857**

by Brijraj Singh

The long north Indian Mughal eighteenth century (for there are other Indian eighteenth centuries), which extends from the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 to the dissolution of the Mughal Empire in 1857 and India coming under direct rule of the British crown, is beginning to make its presence felt, however subtly and discreetly, in the highbrow cultural centers of the East Coast. In 2011 the Yale Center of British Art mounted a major Zoffany exhibition which displayed for the first time a large number of important canvases which the artist painted in India between 1783 and 1789. As an important complement to this exhibition was another, equally large, on the floor directly beneath that which displayed the Zoffanys, entitled "Adapting the Eye: An Archive of the British in India, 1770-1830," which drew attention to the works of James Forbes, James Wales, Thomas and William Daniell, and, above all, Gangaram Chintaman Tambat in depicting Indian landscapes and archeological and architectural sites.

Tambat's work notwithstanding, these exhibitions portrayed India as seen by European artists. For a view of north Indian court life and culture, including Indo-British culture, as interpreted by Indian artists, we are indebted to an exhibition entitled "Princes and Painters in Mughal Delhi, 1707-1857," co-curated by Yuthika Sharma, an art historian at Columbia, and William Dalrymple, whose well researched books dealing with India have received wide acclaim and who serves as the artistic director of the Jaipur Literary Festival. Held at the Asia Society of New York from February 7 to May 6, 2012, it was, in its own way, as major an exhibition as the Yale ones, and brought together over a hundred remarkable works from public and private collections in three countries.

Not its least significant feature was its attributions. As is well known, Indian art before the nineteenth century was seldom signed and till recently much Mughal art was regarded as being anonymous. Many *aficionados* would have been hard put to name even three or four painters. Of course there were artistic theories behind this practice of leaving works unsigned. But viewers have long been curious about who these painters were; and thanks to the work of recent scholars, some artists have emerged out of anonymity. The Asia Society exhibition gave ample recognition to them, and thanks to it we can be more certain now in identifying the styles, structural organization, compositional details, and subject matter of Nidha Mal, Chitarman, Nainsukh, Faquirullah Khan, Govardhan, Bhupal Singh, Kalyan Das, Mehr Chand, Ghulam Ali, and Mazhar Ali Khan. As the names show, there were as many Hindu as Muslim artists in the Mughal court. Their individual styles may have differed, but they all painted the same themes and subjects, and Hindu artists were as ready to paint Muslim life and rituals as Muslim artists were to depict Hindu.

The chief characteristics of Mughal paintings, most of which are miniature in size, are quite well known. Pictures are not realistic but stylized, and they portray men and women in profile in order to highlight their aquiline features and almond-shaped eyes. Perspective is eschewed, and the result is largely two-dimensional. Very fine and skilled brushwork is employed in depicting small details like decorations on a carpet, the embroidery on a dress, or the individual petals of a flower, and the viewer can best appreciate these details by viewing them through a magnifying glass (as many people were doing at the exhibition). No matter how crowded the scene is with people, attention is paid to delineating each of them individually. Some pictures show men and women taking their ease on terraces, smoking *hookas*, drinking, watching dances, listening to music, or making love. Others show hunting scenes, or scenes of animals being paraded in front of the emperor, or of elephants fighting. Yet others depict the emperor holding court or engaging in festive rituals. Coloration is vivid and rich, a sense of hierarchy is always preserved, and many pictures give the impression that no matter what scene is being depicted, whether public or private, everyone is engaged in enacting a ritual according to elaborate rules. There is little that is spontaneous, and life seems ruled by convention and decorum.

These features continue to characterize paintings as we move from the middle of the seventeenth century, which under Shah Jahan saw the Mughal Empire at its zenith, to the eighteenth, when the empire was in decline. No two paintings better illustrate this continuity than those of Shah Jahan watching an elephant fight from a balcony (c. 1639), found in an illustrated MS called *Padshahnama*, and of his descendant Mohammad Shah watching a similar fight, also from a balcony, the latter painted by Nainsukh a century later. Nainsukh's elephants are more entangled with each other and the one on the right seems to be losing, while in *Padshahnama* they are more equally matched. But otherwise the similarities between the two, not only in theme but also in treatment, are striking.

And yet the Mughal Empire in the 1730s was very different from what it was in Shah Jahan's time. Shah Jahan ruled over 100 million people and his kingdom extended from Afghanistan, through what is now Pakistan, over all of north and central India, and into modern Bangladesh: he was the greatest emperor of his time in the world. Mohammad Shah, called "Rangeele" or colorful, found his power confined largely to the city of Shahjahanabad or Old Delhi which Shah Jahan had founded. He never went to war and seldom went hunting or even outside the Red Fort, which served as the seat of his government, residential quarters for himself and his enormous family, and the setting of his various entertainments. The *Padshahnama* painting is a water color, but extensive use is made of gold. Nainsukh uses far less gold and his colors are more muted. Shah Jahan is portrayed sitting with his eldest son Darah Shikoh. Mohammad Shah sits alone, though there are two women in the balcony on one side and one in that on the other, and he is wearing elaborate jewelry and smoking a *hookah*.

But though there has been a diminution of the emperor's power, which Nainsukh skillfully conveys through his loneliness, Delhi still remains a power center and people are drawn there from all over India. This is suggested by the fact that unlike the *mahouts* or elephant riders and controllers in Shah Jahan's time, who are all wearing conventional Muslim garb, the headdresses of Nainsukh indicate that some of them come from the hills—an interesting fact, given that the artist was himself from the hill State of Gular.

How to portray the changed political reality of the Mughal court while remaining true to the traditions of Mughal painting became, in fact, an important concern of the painters of the eighteenth century. They found different means. In an anonymous picture Bahadur Shah I (1707-12) is shown handing a *sarpech* or turban ornament to his grandson while four of his sons sit beside him, two on either side. The setting is a garden by a riverbank. The ornament, which is being held out with a gesture as elaborate and cultivated as that with which it is respectfully being received, is carefully detailed, with a translucent pearl quite visible at the tip. What is remarkable, however, is the informal setting: what would, in a more powerful court, have been a quasi-state affair (for the handing over of the ornament is tantamount to anointing the successor) and therefore associated with greater ritual and a formal ceremony with many spectators present, is converted into a purely family affair. The rich coloration and intricate floral decorations of the carpet and parasol, together with the delicate brushwork, are all characteristic of the Mughal style of painting, but by turning a formal into an informal ceremony the artist has subtly conveyed the lessened power of the Mughal court.

Indeed, as the century progresses, artists lavish more and more attention on the rich jewelry which bedecks the emperor and his associates as a way of making up for their lack of political power. In a painting made around 1720-25, Faquirullah Khan depicts the young emperor Mohammad Shah being carried in a palanquin. The eight attendants are but lightly sketched, though each is clearly identifiable because of his features and the cut of his beard. The emperor, who is more fully delineated, is shown as young and slim, with a fuzz rather than a full beard, and dressed in light clothing but wearing a lot of jewelry. Next to him is a gold box on which the artist has ingeniously put his signature. Here may be seen the height of fashion as well as fabled wealth which, the artist suggests, the emperor displayed daily as a matter of course. Clearly, a diminution of political power has resulted in a greater emphasis being placed on items of wealth and luxury.

The same emperor, when slightly older, was painted by Nidha Mal. Mohammad Shah is seen sitting in profile in a *gharoka* or balcony, holding a jewel in one hand and a *hookah* snake in the other. He is getting fleshy and corpulent, but he is dressed just as elaborately, displays just as much jewelry, and also sports a halo. The exhibition notes point out that the portrait signifies both imperial demeanor and casual self-indulgence, and his gestures and eyebrows are meant to suggest the height of refinement. We may read in them rather marks of full-blown decadence.

Mughal paintings from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries show emperors going hunting or engaged in battle. Instead, Bhupal Singh portrayed Mohammad Shah around 1737 as playing *Holi* with women. *Holi* is a bacchanalian Hindu festival when people throw color on one another and make merry. What is significant is not merely that a Muslim emperor was happy to celebrate a Hindu holiday, showing the harmonious relationship that existed between the two religions at least till the nineteenth century, but that true warfare has now been replaced by a ritualized and symbolic war between the sexes. The coloration is striking, in keeping with the fact that this is a *Holi* picture: red and yellow predominate and contrast with the white pillars and balcony of the building outside which the scene is set. The emperor is again given a halo. But the artist's comment on the sorry state to which the Mughal empire has come is clear.

Nidha Mal shows the same emperor on horseback—not in war or at a hunt, however, but inspecting the gardens of the Red Fort. In another painting by the same artist the emperor and his officers are out on a terrace at night. The background is stark, and the tightly composed scene is probably meant to indicate the tension that must have prevailed at the meeting, for one of the men facing the emperor, Khan Durran, is pointing accusingly at the well-known intriguer Roshan-ud-daula who stands behind him. The depiction of tension, intrigue and accusation is rare in Mughal painting up to this time. But they were becoming more and more common in a weakened court. The exhibition notes suggest that this might be one reason why so many paintings are now set out of doors, in terraces, gardens and other private spaces. Presumably statecraft and governance, which were carried out in court settings, have been replaced by private deals and treachery which require secrecy and hence the absence of attendants and auditors.

Hitherto, the focus in Mughal court paintings had been on the emperor. But by the 1780s Mughal emperors were completely controlled by the Scindhias who represented Maratha power in the north. Court painters could not remain oblivious of this fact. But they knew, too, that if the Scindhias controlled the Mughal throne in Delhi, their own power was being contested by the British. The exhibition has a picture of Mahadji Rao Scindhia, fat and dark and ugly and lacking in Mughal grace and refinement, but looking solid and unbudgeable, entertaining a British naval officer.

In 1803 Lord Lake defeated the Scindhias, and two years later the Marathas were crushed by Wellesley at Assaye. The British became the dominant power in north India, but they did not displace the Mughal emperor immediately. The empire still remained, though much shrunken, and the British came to be represented in Delhi by a Resident or ambassador. The ambiguous relationship between the Mughal court and the British is depicted in the outstanding though anonymous "Akbar II receiving a European Officer." Akbar II (1806-37) is shown seated in a palanquin in a procession, holding a piece of paper in his hand. The others taking part in the procession are arranged in an ordered disorderly way. Some are on foot, some mounted. While a few are shown in profile, the faces of most are fully visible to us, which reveals that the

artist has been exposed to European influences. To this same fact is owing the much greater animation that characterizes the picture than is usually the case in Mughal art. The emperor's son Mirza Jahangir sits on a prancing and spirited horse behind his father's palanquin. Everybody in the crowd seems to be engaged in talking or gesticulating or pointing to an Englishman in black civilian dress who is standing by the palanquin with his hands folded in respect, his spectacles slipping down from his nose, and looking vaguely comical. The painter is at pains to show that the Englishman is the supplicant, but exhibition notes say that he was probably Archibald Seton, the second Resident, and the paper he had just handed the emperor was the East India Company's refusal to accept Mirza Jahangir as the heir. (Jahangir did not ascend the throne, dying in 1821).

David Ochterlony (1758-1825), born in Boston, was appointed Resident in 1803. He was a colorful figure, and with him began a remarkable period in Delhi's history when it became perhaps the most multicultural city in the world, for though he, his immediate successors, and other Europeans who thronged there introduced elements of Western culture into Indian life, they also adopted many Indian ways, thus ensuring a continuation of Mughal life and traditions. During the day Ochterlony dressed in his British army uniform and conducted State business: he is shown in "The Darbar of Akbar II" (c. 1820) standing leaning on a staff in the approved Indian way at a court gathering. While the emperor is seated on a raised platform, and his closest courtiers and noblemen stand on either side of him on the top step, Ochterlony himself is standing on a lower step in the company of lesser officials. But, once the business of the day was over, Ochterlony would go home, change into Indian dress and lead the life of a typical Mughal nobleman, cultivating all the traditional arts and refinements. He had thirteen Indian wives or *bibis* of different religions, and he gifted each of them an elephant on which they would accompany him of an evening as he rode between his house and the Red Fort. And he constructed for himself and his chief wife perhaps the last grand Mughal style tomb in Delhi. A painting made around 1820 shows him in Mughal dress, smoking a *hookah* and watching an Indian dance while his New England forebears' portraits look down on him disapprovingly.

As a result of the patronage that men like Ochterlony and his successors William Fraser and Charles Metcalfe, and other Europeans like the Swiss Col. Henri de Polier or biracial men like Col. James Skinner now began to exercise, Mughal court painters, while not entirely abandoning their traditional style, started experimenting with new forms. Their palette was enriched by having added to it new colors like the brass on British uniforms, the pink or red and white hues of European flesh, and the black of the frock coat. More life and movement entered their canvases, and with that, more realism and a greater sense of perspective. The practice of depicting people only in profile was jettisoned, and a greater use of shading, learned from European artists, lent more body to their work. In response to rising demands, they also began to make realistic pictures of monuments, street and village scenes, and street maps delineating buildings and other landmarks. On exhibit were pictures of the Taj

Mahal and a street map of Chandni Chowk, the grand thoroughfare that ran, fountain-bedecked, through the main market of Shah Jahan's Delhi. Both pictures were probably made around 1774 by Mehr Chand who followed his patron Polier when the latter moved to Delhi from Lucknow after the death of Shuja-ud-Daula.

No contribution to Indian art by a European of the time can match that of William Fraser (1784-1835), one of Ochterlony's assistants who later became Resident. Born near Inverness, he was painted by Raeburn when he passed through Edinburgh on his way to India as a sweet-faced, rather girlish lad of sixteen; by 1806 he had become sufficiently "native" to appear in Indian dress in a painting by Robert Home, though he still sported a tam o'shanter. Later years made him even more Indian. He became fluent in Persian and Urdu, and gave up beef and pork so that he could entertain Hindu and Muslim friends; among the latter he counted Mirza Ghalib, the greatest Urdu poet ever, who was also patronized by Bahadur Shah "Zafar," the last Mughal emperor and himself a fine poet. Fraser married a number of Indian wives and had several children by them, and became closely allied to several families in Haryana, the area adjoining Delhi, on that account. Above all, he commissioned the *Fraser Album*, a collection of remarkable paintings depicting Indian life. We don't know who the artist was, but there is no doubt that he had learned from European masters, including Zoffany and the Daniells, without abandoning Mughal traditions. His works are realistic and capture the flavor of Indian village life in the 1830s. The bearing, costumes and occupations of people of different castes are depicted. In some we see one of Fraser's wives, distinguished only by the polka dot collar which is attached to her dress, and some of her children who look just like other Indian village children except that they are somewhat fairer and lighter haired. The architecture of the higgledy-piggledy mud houses is realistically conveyed, but the landscape around is of the stylized Mughal variety. It would not be wrong to see the *Fraser Album* as being a visual census report on the lives and occupations of an Indian village.

Charles Metcalfe (1785-1846) "went native" as a young man, acquiring an Indian wife and gaining fluency in Indian languages. After being appointed Resident he gave up his Indian ways, separated from his wife, and, together with his younger brother Thomas (1795-1853), worked assiduously to further Company interests at the expense of Mughal power; indeed, Thomas worked out a plan to oust the Royal Family from the Red Fort on the death of Akbar II. For all that, both brothers patronized Mughal artists and commissioned several works. Charles himself is shown in a richly painted court scene by Ghulam Murtaza Khan around 1811-15. He stands on a lower step much below where Akbar II is seated, but draws attention to himself because of the "starkly monochromatic" effect his black outfit creates in the midst of a riot of Indian color. He published *The Delhie Book* for which he provided the text, the illustrations, depicting monuments, palaces, ruins, and street scenes, being all supplied by local artists. Thomas commissioned Mazhar Ali Khan to paint views of the Jama Masjid and Qudsia Bagh and to produce, in 1846, a remarkable panorama of Delhi viewed from the Lahore Gate of the Red Fort, the most

complete picture of the city to date. An enormously long scroll is used for that purpose, and the buildings are clearly labeled in both English and Urdu.

Col. James Skinner (1778-1841) was another multicultural Briton and a great patron of Mughal painters. Born in India to a Scottish father and a Rajput princess, Skinner entered service with the Marathas, but left because he felt discriminated against because of his British blood. He then joined the British, but never felt comfortable with them either, preferring above all the company of the much more cosmopolitan Hindus and Muslims of Delhi. He spoke English but haltingly, being much more fluent in Indian languages. He remained a Christian though his Indian wives were both Hindu and Muslim, and he built St. James's Church in Kashmiri Gate next to which he built a mosque for his chief wife. He also raised Skinner's Horse, a cavalry regiment which had a colorful yellow uniform and was regarded as one of the most audacious and best disciplined forces in British service. Ghulam Ali painted him presiding over a gathering of his troops in a Mughal-style *darbar* or court. Like a Mughal emperor he sits on an elevated dais while his cavalrymen are ranged on either side in strict order. Other realistic landscapes and scenes that he commissioned show him and his good friend William Fraser leading his troops back to Hansi, a village in Haryana that was gifted to him by the emperor, and surveying his cattle and horses on his farm while seated in a very British-looking brougham. He also commissioned an album of pictures detailing ordinary life in Delhi. It depicts all kinds of interesting occupations: bird catchers, opium sellers, sword sharpeners, water carriers. The page at which the album was open in the exhibition showed a painter sitting against a bolster on the floor, knees up, and resting against his legs a piece of paper on which he is painting. His glasses are slipping off his nose, he is surrounded by paint and brushes and ink and bottles and jars, and is quite oblivious of his surroundings which consist of a vast and empty hall in a Mughal building. Some think that this is the self portrait of Ghulam Ali himself, Skinner's chief painter and the greatest artist of his age.

In 1857 Indian troops mutinied. One consequence was that the Mughal emperor Bahadur Shah "Zafar" was deposed and exiled to Burma for life. His empire came to an end, and so did north India's long eighteenth century.

Though the exhibition closed in May, those interested may view the pictures and read the commentary "virtually" at [http:// sites. asiasociety. org/princesandpainters/](http://sites.asiasociety.org/princesandpainters/). A catalogue is available from the Asia Society bookstore.

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*Editor's note:* The British Library offers the exhibition "Mughal India: Art, Culture and Empire" through 2 April 2013, with admission priced £9 (£5 for students). The exhibition offers 200 objects from the 16th to 19th centuries. An accompanying book, so titled, with 150 colored illustrations, was edited by J. P. Losty and Malini Roy.

### **Jane Austen's Bookshop**

by Norbert Schürer

From 18 June to 6 July this year, Chawton House Library hosted “Jane Austen’s Bookshop.” This exhibition, which occupied the Great Gallery, the Oak Room, and the Map Room at Chawton House, was curated by myself (Prof. Norbert Schürer, California State University, Long Beach), Dr. Debbie Welham, and Prof. Chris Mounsey (both University of Winchester). It was the final product of “Eighteenth-Century Winchester Print Culture: A Survey and Analysis,” a project funded by the Leverhulme Trust for the academic year 2011/12 and hosted by the University of Winchester. This was the first show at Chawton House curated by external specialists, and it was the first to bring artifacts from external institutions: the universities at Winchester and Southampton, Winchester City Council Museums, Winchester College, and Winchester Bindery. The Hampshire Record Office supplied facsimiles that were presented on display boards.

“Jane Austen’s Bookshop” explored print culture in Winchester in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, i.e., the writing, printing, publishing, advertising, selling, and reading of any printed material *in Winchester*. According to common perception, the book industry in the eighteenth century was concentrated in London, but actually the exhibition demonstrated that there was a vibrant and thriving literary marketplace in provincial towns such as Winchester as well.

One section of the exhibition, in the Oak Room, centered around a table we set up to look as if the Austen family had just got up and left the room—Jane leaving her quill, Cassandra her charcoal sketch of a cathedral scene, both their cups of tea. One display cabinet here presented travel guides to Winchester the Austens may have used to explore the largest city close to their new home in Chawton. The earliest was the 1760 *Description of the City* by Thomas Warton, the latest Charles Ball’s *An Historical Account of Winchester* (1818), the first guide to describe specific walks around the city. Another case displayed tools of the print trade used in the production of books (like Jane Austen’s) such as gigantic iron scissors used to cut boards for book covers and type and finishing tools to ornament bookbindings. These implements, all from the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, were on loan from Tom Wiltshire at the Winchester Bindery. Another exhibit in the Oak Room was the printing press used by the *Hampshire Chronicle* in the 1830s, only two decades after that newspaper had announced Jane Austen’s death.

In the Oak Room and the Map Room we set up a table each with books from the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries for visitors to examine and read. For instance, there was a copy of Cowper’s poems similar to the one the Austen’s bought in Winchester; the periodical *The Adventurer*, to which Thomas Warton’s sister and occasional Winchester resident Jane Warton contributed; and the memoirs of the bookseller James Lackington. Laminated sheets gave information on the books and guidance for what to look at to discover how these



early books are different from what we read today. Feedback forms suggest that this was among the most appealing aspects of the exhibition.

The other main section of “Jane Austen’s Bookshop,” in the Map Room, presented more information and displays illustrating how books were written, printed, published, advertised, sold, and read in Winchester. The Austens purchased printed material from the bookshop of John Burdon in Winchester—which gave our exhibition its name—and one case exhibited books published by Burdon, mostly school books for Winchester College. When Burdon’s bookshop was sold in 1807, the auctioneers produced a catalogue of all 5,196 items in the shop, so we know exactly what books the Austens could have perused on site. The catalogue was available in our exhibition in electronic format and bound as it would have originally looked (by Tim Wiltshire). Winchester College still holds about 70 invoices from Burdon, two of which (along with portraits of former wardens of the College) were kindly lent for the exhibition by archivist Suzanne Foster. These invoices show that Burdon sold not just books, but also stationery, quills, and ink, and that he bound books for the College.

Similarly, as another display case and framed images on the walls demonstrated, books were not the only material published in Winchester: There were also maps, engravings, and even music. Godson’s 1751 map and Milne’s 1791 map gave Wintonians the opportunity to see how much (or little) their city has changed in the last centuries. Engravings of the Cathedral oddly have it sitting in an empty landscape, as if there were no buildings surrounding it—though apparently there were plenty of dogs. Charles II’s palace was celebrated in verse and image, and the Hospital of St. Cross was described in a short travel guide and illustrated in an engraving.

Still, books and pamphlets were the publishing mainstay of Burdon and other members of the eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century print trade in Winchester such as William Greenville, John Sadler, John Wilkes, and James Robbins (who took over Burdon’s bookshop and was later buried in front of the Cathedral). Much of the Map Room was devoted to exhibiting the wide range of material printed and published in Winchester. One case offered a copy of a *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*—the other local newspaper next to the *Hampshire Chronicle*—paired with two political pamphlets to show how news was circulated. Another illustrated literary controversies arising from John Milner’s *An Historical and Critical Account of Winchester*, supposedly a history of the city but actually a theological polemic. Milner’s book was reviewed in the local periodical *Hampshire Repository* and elicited angry responses from Winchester theologians John Sturges and Robert Hoadly Ashe, which Milner in turn answered in his *Letter to a Prebendary*.

A third case juxtaposed ‘good’ acts in the theatre with ‘bad’ acts that led to prosecution in Winchester—which was documented, in the case of ‘John the Painter,’ the first terrorist, in broadsheets and pamphlets of various sizes for different customers with purses of varying sizes. An engraving of John the Painter used as a frontispiece in one of these publications was designed by Winchester artist James Cave. Cave also designed the title page of Milner’s *History*, which we in turn adapted for the cover of our exhibition catalogue. In

the Great Gallery, facsimiles of annual reports and other notices from the County Hospital were placed next to a sedan chair—the hospital’s ‘ambulance’ in the eighteenth century. This sedan chair and many of the books and engravings displayed in “Jane Austen’s Bookshop” were on loan from Winchester City Council Museums through the assistance of Ross Turle, Curator of Recent History. Other books came from the Hartley Library at the University of Southampton, where we selected them in collaboration with Senior Conservator Anne-Marrie Steel and Special Collections Librarian Jenny Ruthven.

The last case in the Map Room explored authorship and readership in Winchester. John Sturges, who was buried in Winchester Cathedral when he died, negotiated a second edition of one of his sermons with his London bookseller Thomas Cadell in 1792 and released it in Winchester with James Robbins. Jane Cave, a young woman newly moved to Winchester, published her poems in 1783 with financial support from about 140 Winchester citizens—who presumably at least skimmed the book once they had purchased it. The borrower’s book from Winchester College showed exactly which books George Isaac Huntingford had checked out and when he returned them. Huntingford, warden of the College 1780-1832, also subscribed to Cave’s poems and was the author of a textbook on the Greek language published by Burdon.

Finally, a display in the Great Gallery drew the visitors’ attention to Jane Austen’s presence in Winchester during her final illness. In her very last days in July 1817, she must have read about the Winchester races in the *Hampshire Chronicle*. In response, she wrote a joking poem in which local saint St. Swithun complains that Winchester residents ignore his name day, also in July, for the races—and promises to send them rain if they do not honor him. Austen’s poem was not published until much later, but her death was announced in the *Hampshire Chronicle* of 21 July 1817, and she was buried in Winchester Cathedral.

For various reasons, we could only keep “Jane Austen’s Bookshop” open for about three weeks, but during that time about 300 visitors came to see the exhibition. Some 50 attended the grand opening, and the “Meet the Curators” day on 1 July was well attended, too. The show received rave reviews from the British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies and from the blog AustenOnly. Hopefully, it will be the first of many larger exhibitions in these rooms. For now, the *Hampshire Chronicle*’s printing press will remain at Chawton House as a reminder of “Jane Austen’s Bookshop.”

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*Editor’s Note:* We thank Dr. Schurer, Gillian Dow, the editors of *The Female Spectator*, and the Chawton House Library for permission to reprint this account of the exhibition from the summer issue of Chawton House’s quarterly, *The Female Spectator* (Vol. 16.3:10-11). Googling up the exhibition title and “Chawton House Library” brings you to the website *Austenonly* [<http://Austenonly.com>], which contains “My Review of ‘Jane Austen’s

Bookshop . . .” in which J[ulie]. F. Wakefield offers many good photographs of the exhibition rooms and display tables. *The Female Spectator* often carries bibliographical news and scholarship (issue 16.1 contains Margaret Yoon’s “Some Treasures in the Chawton House Library Collection”). Below under announcements appears a CFP for “Pride and Prejudices: Women’s Writing of the Long Eighteenth Century,” a conference at the Chawton House in Hampshire, 4th-6th July 2013.

***Charlotte Lennox: Correspondence and Miscellaneous Documents. Edited and introduced by Norbert Schürer.*** Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2012. Pp. lvi + 423; 3 appendices [list of correspondents; biographical sketches; Lennox’s addresses]; 6 illustrations, including map; index; 2 tables [“Chronological List of Miscellaneous Publications Attributed to Charlotte Lennox and George Louis Lennox” {most of the 15 items edited, pp. 307-76}; and “Charlotte Lennox’s Royal Literary Fund Case File” {33 documents reprinted, pp. 247-306}]. Hardcover: \$100; ISBN: 1611483905.

Norbert Schürer has produced a thoughtful and well-researched annotated edition of the correspondence of Charlotte Lennox (1729-1804) supplemented with documents that assist in placing her life in context. Both her letters and the documents from the Royal Literary Fund, correspondence and ledger information, are collected here for the first time, making it possible to approach Lennox as one had already been able to approach Wollstonecraft, Burney, and Inchbald: as a businesswoman and author. In addition, Schürer provides brief biographies of Lennox’s correspondents, adding to the depth and usefulness of his edition as a research and teaching tool. I strongly recommend this book for advanced courses in eighteenth-century British literature, courses in women’s studies, and in those that deal with eighteenth-century genres.

Schürer based his edition on a combination of previously published letters, research into correspondence by Lennox’s correspondents, and discovery of manuscript materials, for instance at the Folger Shakespeare Library and the Beinecke Library at Yale University. His notes to the text are thorough and provide sufficient, though not excessive, commentary and context, such that the reader always remains focused on Lennox as subject. I don’t think there is anything new about Lennox’s life here per se. He refutes the long-held notion that she was born in America, and he does not dwell on the malicious ways society women treated Lennox in her final years. Rather humorously, the note to a cruel letter on Lennox’s appearance points out this was probably not the work of a friendly person! In fact, Schürer is appropriately sympathetic to Lennox on two counts: her inability to manage her own money while she remained married (it appears she separated from Alexander), and the destitution she faced at the end of her life. Certainly, the RLS documents capture the details of her impoverishment, and, when the silent end comes, the last entry indicates Lennox no longer needs their support, being deceased. Indeed, her place of burial is unknown.

The portrait that the letters paint is of a woman writer working hard to achieve sustained relationships with the leading authors, publishers, and printers of the period. Lennox sought out literary patrons for her writing, in fact, mining the same group as her competitors when she cultivated Samuel Johnson, Samuel Richardson, Andrew Millar, James Boswell, David Garrick, Sir Joshua Reynolds, and James Dodsley, who inherited his brother, Robert's considerable copies and contracts. Lennox, for instance, wrote to James Boswell on February 5, 1793 that "My situation makes its necessary for me to appear again in print" (she detailed her efforts to bring a new edition of her *Shakespeare Illustrated* onto the market). The purpose of the letter was to ask Boswell to write the proposal for printing, which a subsequent letter at the Houghton Library, Harvard, shows he did. Another interesting series of letters, mainly to Samuel Johnson, in 1778, decries James Dodsley's reprinting her edition of *Sully's Memoirs* without consulting her or paying her. She writes of seeing Dodsley on the street (in itself, an interesting detail about her daily life), and being told of the reprinting upon which she comments, "and now they (his group of trade publishers) have reprinted it without consulting me although by the late decision concerning literary property the copy is mine--I am advised to publish it for myself in numbers . . ." Schürer notes that publishing in numbers created more revenue for the authors, particularly after *Donaldson v. Beckett* (1774) returned copyright to authors of works published before 1760, as was the case here. Indeed, Dodsley had no right to reprint without her permission, but more importantly to her, to reprint without compensation. Lennox's need for money was always acute as these letters show. Another area of interest regarding Lennox and publishing history is the evidence her correspondence with Andrew Millar and Samuel Richardson reveals about the "critics" used to evaluate new manuscripts and their influence on the publishers, and publisher-printers. In a letter dated November 22, 1751, Lennox writes to Richardson, "I have seen Mr. Gray this morning; and understand he went to Mr. Millar last with Mr. Seymour, he told me, in regard to my interest he would not declare his true opinion of my Book [*The Female Quixote*] but said in general, that it might be printed, that perhaps it might sell, but that he did not chuse [sic] to read any more of it, made and added that there must be great alterations . . ." "that resulted in, she said, "prejudicing" Andrew Millar against accepting the novel. The letter continues with an appeal to Richardson to override Millar's readers' opinions and bring the book manuscript in its entirety to press. The issue was the readers did not approve of Miss Groves' story and wanted it removed apparently on moral grounds, but, when the novel appeared, the story was included in it. Schürer has some fresh evidence in this letter and several others on the emergence of the press reader, about which he makes no argument or takes no specific note. Also, one can see how Lennox composed her translations and histories, as in a 1759 letter to William Robertson, the Scottish historian, she is asking about his sources on Mary Queen of Scots and for general direction in researching an apparently commissioned, though not published, work on the Tudor period, entitled *Age of Queen Elizabeth*. Letters from the spring of 1759 show her relationship with John Boyle, the Earl of Cork and Orrery, who was writing

prefaces and essays for her, with Alexander Lennox as her broker in such transactions.

The letters give some sense of Lennox as a wife, but more as a mother as her son, George Louis Lennox (b 1771), and daughter, Harriet Holles Lennox (b. 1765-1793). An assortment of letters show her seeking recommendations for schools from her titled friends and for patronage in the form of subscriptions for publishing to support their education. Schürer entire Appendix B, totally fifteen separate documents, sheds a good deal of light on Lennox and her children, beginning with a lyric from about 1782 celebrating Harriet as a young beauty of 17 to a 1793 encomium on her death. Groundbreaking is Schürer's evidence that Lennox wrote under her son's name when he was barely 12 to get her work into print, and Schürer reprints in full a work of short fiction called, "The Duke of Milan" (1786), printed under George's name. In 1793, Lennox successfully lobbied the RLF to pay George's passage to America, where he traveled first to Norfolk, and then to Baltimore, in search of a profitable life.

Schürer succeeds in several important ways in his edition of Lennox's letters, but mainly he allows scholars to research her career and life comparatively. His work easily stands alongside the editions of Todd, the multiple contributors to the Burney canon, and to the late Betty Rizzo's on Elizabeth Griffith in its thoroughness, usefulness, and quality.

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**James Noggle.** *The Temporality of Taste in Eighteenth-Century British Writing*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. Pp. ix + 234; bibliography, index. Hardcover, \$110. ISBN: 0199642435.

The premise of this wide-ranging study at first seems simple: the word "taste" meant two distinctly different things in eighteenth-century British discourse. On one hand, taste implied immediate responsiveness, the individual sensation of being pleased or put off by some new stimulus. On the other, taste meant something more cumulative and historical, a general standard of appreciation formulated out of a series of past experiences. Mr. Noggle builds his argument upon the temporal disparity of these two perspectives on taste: while it is theoretically possible that they could simply harmonize with one another, in practice they seldom do, and their distance from one another provides a continually interesting window into what different observers valued in their culture and what ideological concerns were driving those values. The six chapters of this book take this model of the temporal disparities of taste and examine how they play out in quite disparate areas ranging from satirical poetry to women's religious writing, from landscape architecture to *haute couture* to art-collecting.

Mr. Noggle's first two chapters grow out of the disappointments of British history. He begins by examining Pope's evident double-attitude toward taste in the *Epistle to Burlington*, arguing that the poet's shifting attitudes reflect "taste's way of enfolding contrary energies into discourse about it, as if the idea includes an inner resistance to itself." More particularly, Pope had faith in the purity of immediate taste even as he mistrusted the more general tastes (the plural is important) that prevailed under Robert Walpole. In corrupt and self-satisfied times, proper, historically informed taste evidently ceased to perform its regulatory function, and the poet himself denounced "the present rage of *Taste*, amidst the excess and overflow of general Luxury." Cumulative taste had struck a corrupt bargain by allowing itself to be allied with modern tastes for commerce, fashion, and politics. How was historical taste to be reclaimed, which to Pope meant being called back to civic-humanist values? Mr. Noggle argues that Pope envisioned two solutions: first, a rapprochement with the other temporal basis of taste, immediate good sense, which could curtail current excesses; and second, a looking past the present into a future temporality which would be capable of recalling and redeeming the taste of the past. The *Epistle to Burlington* ends with a vision of an enlightened Britain in an indefinite future when unnamed "Kings" (a tactful evasion on Pope's part) will empower future architects like Burlington to design and build tasteful and constructive public works.

The second chapter is consonant with the first. It focuses on three mid-century commentaries on the British taste in landscaping and, in particular, on Lord Cobham's estate at Stowe: William Gilpin's *A Dialogue Upon the Gardens of . . . Stow in Buckinghamshire* (1748); Joseph Warton's poem *The Enthusiast* (1744, 1748), and Horace Walpole's *History of the Modern Taste in Gardening* (1771, written earlier). In the 1730s, Stowe had been politicized as an imagined center of opposition to Robert Walpole, but now all three sought to rehabilitate the estate as a seat of spontaneous natural pleasure and a reflection of British liberties. They shared a personal taste for garden pleasures, but Mr. Noggle finds that all had trouble combining that personal pleasure, the happy now, with a broader sense of British modernity. Just as Pope had, they strained to bridge the gap. While Gilpin easily supposed that garden pleasures could be linked to private virtue, he labored to express the hope that the achievement of personal virtue could eventuate in broader public virtue. Warton found his sense of modernity weighed down by anti-modern themes of luxury and corruption; personal virtue and pleasures aside, in the end he pictured the personification of Virtue leaving Britain to seek historical validation elsewhere. Walpole was able to celebrate the "modern" taste in gardening only by classicizing it and reducing it to a static ideal, safely removed from the welter of recent history.

David Hume had to face the vagaries of history more directly: the third chapter considers his handling of the double temporality of taste in his *Essays* (1741-58) and *The History of England* (1754-62). The immediacy of personal taste and the more general determinants of cultural progress are – in Hume's careful phrasing – "almost inseparable." Mr. Noggle argues that it is the 'almostness' of their relationship that opens the way to Hume's searching

examination of the ironies qualifying both the personal authority of the historian and general notions of historical causality. Personal taste is not truly immediate because it incorporates a history of past judgments and exposure to the thinking of a broader community. Similarly, any firm idea of historical causality, let alone historical progress, is conditioned not only by limited information and inevitable contingencies but also by the perspective of the observer. Neither of these qualifications makes a standard of taste nor historical judgments impossible, but they do suggest that the truest discernment is restless and skeptical, an endless shuttling back and forth between different perspectives on temporality. To see truly is to recognize the limitations of one's vision.

Mr. Noggle next takes up three writers of the 1770s – Hannah More, Anna Letitia Barbauld, and Frances Burney – to examine the paradoxical place of women in relation to taste. This case is immediately complicated by the widely shared supposition of that time that women were more sensitive and spontaneous than men and therefore possessed special access to personal taste. It is also rendered more complex by the social facts of life: women were not just subjects, but also objects of male attention and judgment, both for immediate attraction and as long term marriage prospects. In her *Essays . . . Principally Designed for Young Ladies* (1777) Hannah More initially seemed to acquiesce to this unequal set of social suppositions: Women are particularly responsive in matters of taste, while men possess good judgment to support and guide them. It followed that women should be amiable and virtuous inhabitants of the domestic sphere. More revised her argument even as she wrote, however. Female sensibility was valuable in itself, even without the ratification of masculine judgment; women could and should trust the loveliness of their own virtue as a confirmation of tasteful judgment. Burney seemed to express a similarly divided attitude in *Evelina* (1778). Her young heroine shows a just personal taste in her critique of London and her immediate pleasure at the Italian opera; at the same time, however, she is quite continually the object of male attention, judgment and “guidance.”

Barbauld's “Thoughts on the Devotional Taste, of Sects, and of Establishments” (1775) offered a provocative and surprisingly impartial overview of different religious temperaments. What divided religions across the spectrum was not theology but rather taste: some people respond warmly to the openness and informality of a young church (“Sect”), while others are more comfortable with the ritual, dignity, and tradition of a church “Establishment.” This distinction lends itself to Mr. Noggle's double temporality of taste, situating divergent kinds of religion on a single spectrum of possibilities. Barbauld herself extended the connection further, however, by analogizing the immediate appeal of ‘Sects’ to the freshness of a young marriageable woman and the long-running steadiness of “Establishments” to the dignity of a respectable matron. Mr. Noggle argues that the point here is not that ‘Sects’ necessarily evolve into “Establishments,” although they may, but that Barbauld was seeing the question of immediacy and duration from the inside, as a reflection of tastes and experiences typical for a woman.

A chapter on the relationship between taste and high fashion begins with nearly aphoristic brevity: “Fashion is a synonym for taste in its most hectic relation to time.” Mr. Noggle then examines the pulsation of this hectic energy through the public world where “the great” presided. The temporality of taste worked differently in this realm. Personal taste was less spontaneous because it was used to taking fashion cues from the great; and historical taste tended to be crowded out by fashion’s relentless present-mindedness. Adam Smith saw no value in fashionable dress and treated following the fashion as useless expenditure; nevertheless, the *passing* of fashions one after another might have some social utility, as it created hand-me-downs for middling people to wear. Fashion takes a different turn when Mr. Noggle shifts attention to Sir Joshua Reynolds and his sister Frances. Sir Joshua helped to disseminate elite fashions through his portrait-painting and he believed that elite taste, however arbitrary and changeable, was a necessary defense against the vulgarity of a commercial age. Mr. Noggle suggests that Frances Reynolds found the prevalence of fashion considerably more oppressive. In her *Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Taste, and of the Origin of Our Ideas of Beauty* (1785) she argued that true taste was both feminine and domestic; to the extent that this was so, the prevalence of fashionable public tastes, often coarse, was coercive, an unwelcome pressure to conform to alien standards. Such standards left virtuous private women no way to express their true selves, pushing them toward “the last stage of depravity.”

Mr. Noggle’s final chapter addresses William Beckford in his double role as collector and writer and urges the close kinship between these roles. He argues that the conventional assumption that collecting objects is a way to stabilize and savor selfhood did not apply to Beckford. For him it was the thrill of exchange, not the settled fact of possession, which conveyed the greatest pleasure: “Sighing and groaning to buy at one moment and at having bought the next – it’s the most delirious and feverish existence imaginable!” Exchange, of course, is potentially endless, particularly for the heir of a sugar fortune as Beckford was. Mr. Noggle examines the relationship between collecting and value theory, emphasizing the disjunction between the gratification of individual taste and the impersonal financial mechanisms of the marketplace. In practice, Beckford bridged that gap easily and entertained himself with a disorderly profusion of collectibles at his Fonthill estate. Mr. Noggle further suggests that some of Beckford’s literary creations were fantastic extensions of his own delight in collecting. Endless exchange and a disorderly plenty: the absence of a settled order among Beckford’s collectibles seemed part of their appeal, as fancy could always rearrange its objects. Conversely, settled possession as it is imagined at the end of Beckford’s *Vathek* implied the death of fancy and an imaginative “hell,” the condition of being defined and owned by one’s possessions.

Mr. Noggle’s carefully researched and written study is interesting and thought-provoking, but it is not entirely an easy read. The problem is its tendency toward abstraction. Taste in itself is an abstract idea, and it becomes more so in Mr. Noggle’s extended “Introduction” where he works to ground



taste in modern philosophical and literary theories. Getting down to particular instances is a necessary counterbalance, of course, and he does just that; even here, however, the same problem arises in another form. In his instances taste continues to touch on general questions of value, so discussion ranges from the psychology of pleasure to economic theory, from classical standards to the competition of modern ideologies; such evaluations are capably done, but they repeatedly draw discussion back toward the thickets of abstract theory.

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**Daniel P. Watkins, *Anna Letitia Barbauld and Eighteenth-Century Visionary Poetics*.** Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012. Pp. 245 + xvi.

Daniel Watkins admires Barbauld immensely, and devotes this book entirely to her *Poems*. In so doing he seeks to advance understanding of her work and the work of other women poets in the later eighteenth century. It is a noble aim. But reading the book reminded me of Barbauld's remark that "the God of the Assembly's catechism and the God of Thomson's *Seasons* are not the *same* God." The Barbauld *Poems* that Watkins reads is not the Barbauld *Poems* I've known.

It's not a difference of information; Watkins draws his information mostly from the McCarthy-Kraft editions and *Voice of the Enlightenment*. It's a difference in aims and ways of reading. Influenced by Joseph Wittreich's idea of a visionary tradition in English poetry from Milton through Blake, Watkins aims to identify women poets within that hitherto masculinist tradition. Barbauld's *Poems* unquestionably offers moments of transcendent vision; think of "A Summer Evening's Meditation," for one. Barbauld, writes Watkins, "is a visionary poet who engages with other texts for inspiration and in order to correct them and who is motivated by an idealistic spirit committed to the promise and possibility of a world transformed from violence and struggle to peace and stability"; like Blake, she imagines a "renovated world" (xiii). Though it's said of *Poems*, this is a fair description of the Barbauld of, say, *Hymns in Prose for Children* and *Sins of Government, Sins of the Nation*; it notices, also, her contrarian bent, her engaging with other texts "in order to correct them." It's one of the good things in Watkins' book.

The difficulty, for me, lies in his decision to read her *Poems* not as a collection of discrete pieces but holistically, as a unity. That is the purpose and principal action of his book. One can appreciate the temptation; the thirty-three poems of Barbauld's 1773 volume display artful arrangement, and thematic and verbal links can be drawn among them. And who will deny that "Barbauld's *Poems* is perhaps the most important poetic document of the later eighteenth century" (195)? Indeed it is, but does its importance warrant reading it as if it were a single, unified work, integrated by authorial intention? And Watkins

takes the maximum position here: Not only *can Poems* be read as a unity, but “[o]nly when the volume is considered in its entirety do individual poems find their proper voice” (x). This would have surprised Barbauld’s contemporaries; they regarded her poems as individual pieces and loved or criticized them as such. Watkins reads *Poems*, however, as if it were a Wordsworthian narrative, “The Growth of a Poet’s Mind.”

Before attempting that reading one ought to acknowledge obstacles to it and try to explain how *Poems* came to be constructed. And that’s a problem. *Poems* gathered pieces composed over a number of years, some of them previously published; it was not *written* as a single work. We know almost nothing about its preparation during 1772. Working from Lucy Aikin’s vague account and the fact of John Aikin’s previous experience with publishing, I speculated that John helped his sister arrange the poems in this, her first book, and that their epigraphs were chosen by him, like those in his own *Poems*, years later. That speculation may be wrong; John’s help could have stimulated her to construct the book as a unity. If she did, however, she kept silent about it; she wrote no preface to instruct readers, as Wordsworth did for *The Excursion*. Watkins, however, ignores the question altogether: he strides ahead as if there were no issue to address. His treatment of the epigraphs is symptomatic: he *assumes* Barbauld chose them herself, and chose them, moreover, with a view to startlingly complex intertextualities. Read, for example, his excursus on Virgil’s bees apropos the epigraph to “On the Backwardness of the Spring” (83-84).

Well, as they say, the proof of the pudding . . . If his reading is interesting and no historical evidence contradicts it, why not run with it? And several of Watkins’ readings *are* interesting: for example, when he notices poems that, like “The Invitation,” end with Barbauld seemingly balked, unable to continue (77). But then comes this, in his account of “The Mouse’s Petition”: “The mouse warns Priestley about the dangers of creating other tyrannical minds like his own,” for which Watkins cites the line “Tremble lest thy luckless hand dislodge a kindred mind” (90). This asks us to read *dislodge* as a synonym for *create*. Such moments in the book arise mainly from Watkins’ imposition on the poems of meanings that seem intended to carry forward his cumulative reading of them and often override their individual details. For instance, because he reads *Poems* as Barbauld’s personal exploration of visionary poetics, he imposes her identity even on the speaker of “Song VI,” reading the “I” as “she” (Barbauld) and turning an exercise in extravagant love lyric into an allegory of allegiance to Apollo (130-32). He also reads into *Poems*, as if they were full-fledged there, attitudes that Barbauld developed over the years. Thus, lines in “The Invitation” that foresee Warrington graduates bringing home “spoil” from foreign lands are made to show that “[i]mperialism and militarism will fade away under the Dissenting principles taught at Warrington” (74). Despite the words in that poem, this reading expresses Watkins’ conviction that Barbauld was anti-imperialist. In middle age she was indeed anti-imperialist, but not in 1773.

An experienced editor would question Watkins’ interpretation of small textual differences between the 1773 and 1792 editions (208n11): for instance, claiming thematic meaning for the repositioning of a date from the bottom to the

top of a page (50), when in both editions the date only signals that the poem (“Corsica”) was topical in 1769. And before reading the long *s* of “sire” in the 1773 text of “Ode to Spring” as “fire” and making an interpretive point of it (148), it would have been prudent to check the McCarthy-Kraft text.

To find faults in this first-ever book-length study of Barbauld’s poetry is not what one wishes; I would far rather say, with her, that “th’ attempt is praise.” Happily, there are things to praise besides the attempt itself. Along his way Watkins makes excellent observations: on women poets and the issue of gender (5); on Barbauld’s political views (43-46); on her sympathy with the Corsican insurgents (57, 59); on her critique of power in “The Mouse’s Petition” (90, notwithstanding my objection, above); on her dislike of “abstract philosophical notions . . . unless they make space for — indeed, embrace — the lived reality of individual people” (94); and more. That he knows her work is as evident as that he loves her work. Had he been content to write a more loosely thematic study of Barbauld’s poetry instead of insisting on seeing *Poems* as a whole (I almost said, “an *organic* whole”), I could have welcomed *Anna Letitia Barbauld and Eighteenth-Century Visionary Poetics* enthusiastically. Mindful, however, of Barbauld’s deprecation of reviewers who “assume the right of directing the taste of the publick,” I advise readers to open the book and see for themselves.

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**Simon Dickie.** *Cruelty & Laughter: Forgotten Comic Literature and the Unsentimental Eighteenth Century*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2011. Pp. xvii + 362; 15 illustrations; index. Cloth: \$45. ISBN: 0-226-14618-9.

What kinds of humor did eighteenth-century readers enjoy? Ever since Stuart Tave’s *The Amiable Humorist* (1960), the general notion has been that the period saw a gradual shift away from nasty, Hobbesian, ill-natured humor and towards cheerful benevolent humor. Laughter at one’s physical defects, vices, or misfortunes was frowned upon by the late eighteenth century. Fielding’s Parson Adams is a typical “amiable humorist,” a character who is ridiculous but also lovable, someone upon which we would wish no harm. Or so the standard narrative goes.

Simon Dickie’s *Cruelty and Laughter* seeks to challenge the idea that eighteenth-century humor became more polite as the period progressed. The stated goals of this study are threefold. First, Dickie aims to draw attention to the many non-canonical and often non-literary comic texts of the mid-eighteenth century (1740-1770)—jestbooks, forgotten comic poems, farces, and the like. Second, by demonstrating that the humor contained in these works is often lewd, crass, scatological, and violent, Dickie argues that the mid-eighteenth century was hardly a period when cruel laughter was condemned and middle-class

politeness became the norm. Finally, Dickie aims to offer “an expanded understanding of some major authors,” in which category he includes Fielding, Richardson, Smollett, Sterne, Montagu, and Burney, *inter alia*.

To accomplish these goals, Dickie gives us five chapters with different kinds of foci, along with an introduction and a conclusion. The first chapter discusses jestbooks and the kinds of crude humor to be found therein. Wives who urinate on their husbands, old men who are told to hang themselves to end their misery, and wags who lead blind people into walls are standard comic fare. Dickie makes some surprising claims here and supports them with empirical evidence. From the high prices of many of these jestbooks, he infers that they were purchased by the wealthy; crass humor was not confined to the lower classes. Nor were these jestbooks enjoyed only by men; records of book sales demonstrate that women also purchased them. Dickie points out that while some jestbooks attempted to justify or qualify the cruelty of their jokes, most did not, and what justifications exist are insincere. The wealth of examples Dickie offers, taken from over two hundred jestbooks, demonstrates convincingly that a strong demand for “cruel humor” existed in the decades Dickie covers. The so-called “age of sentimentality” contained some decidedly unsentimental literature.

Chapters 2, 3, and 5 focus on several specific types of humor—laughter at disability and deformity in Chapter 2, pranks played on the poor by the wealthier classes in Chapter 3, and rape jokes in Chapter 5. In these chapters Dickie moves beyond jestbooks and draws examples of cruel humor from myriad sources, including poems, plays, illustrations, and almanacs. Where he can, the author gives examples of cruel humor from canonical authors, as when he points out Peregrine Pickle mercilessly tormenting his hunchbacked teacher. To show that pranks against the deformed and the poor occurred not just in art but in life, Dickie draws on newspaper reports of young bucks disturbing the peace about town and anecdotes of various practical jokes performed by bored noblemen. He carefully acknowledges that such accounts were often exaggerated, but they suggest that real-life humor against the disadvantaged was a genuine source of mirth. In his discussion of rape humor, Dickie turns to the rape trials recorded in the Old Bailey Sessions Papers. Some of these trials were deemed humorous enough to be included in the *Humours of the Old Bailey* (ca. 1772), an anthology of comic trials, demonstrating that even claims of actual rape could be turned into jokes.

In these chapters Dickie proceeds mainly by enumerating examples of different types of comic situations, but he also provides some speculation about why such humor was so prevalent. Here he avoids single, generalizing, categorical explanations, but instead takes a nuanced approach to the causes of cruel humor. For instance, he advances several reasons why deformity humor was popular. Some jokes, especially those between friends, were marks of affection rather than malice. Deformity jokes might also arise out of a need to deflect or sublimate the horror evoked by seeing deformity; yet again, they might be Bergsonian reminders of humanity’s embodied nature. All of these ideas seem plausible, and they might all contain an element of truth, though they

are ultimately unprovable. Dickie's willingness to entertain multiple possibilities is intelligent and refreshing.

Dickie's fourth chapter is of a very different nature, as it provides an interpretation of Fielding's *Joseph Andrews* based on the kinds of humor he has been discussing. In the other chapters, Dickie uses canonical works mainly to provide examples of general trends, but here he demonstrates how a sensitivity to the kinds of things eighteenth-century readers found funny can change the way we read particular texts. Fielding, of course, claimed in the preface to *Joseph Andrews* that affectation is the only source of the ridiculous. For Dickie, however, Fielding is a man conflicted; though he claims not to condone cruel humor, he actually delights in it, as evidenced by the scene in which Parson Adams is repeatedly victimized by the Roasting Squire and his companions. Dickie claims perceptively that Adams and not the Squire is the butt of humor in this scene. If the point were simply to satirize the Squire's vices, the various pranks played on Adams would not need to be described with such energy and detail. The further argument that the various jokes on Adams are indications that Fielding rejected orthodox Christianity is perhaps a bit overstated. Parson Adams is certainly a ridiculous and mildly hypocritical clergyman, and he is often the target of cruel humor, but this hardly makes him a serious indictment of the Church of England. Fielding's fun at the expense of soldiers in *Tom Jones* is not evidence for a dislike of the military; likewise, his ridicule of Parson Adams and other parsons does not necessarily prove that he disliked the clergy in general. Nonetheless, Dickie is certainly right to view with suspicion Fielding's claims to eschew cruel and non-corrective humor.

The conclusion discusses the large number of non-canonical comic novels published in the mid-eighteenth century. These forgotten works bear such titles as *The Adventures of Dick Hazard*, *The Memoirs of Lydia Tongue-Pad*, and *Juliana Clack-It*, and *The History of Pudica*. Dickie terms them "ramble novels," and they are unsurprisingly formulaic. They tend to follow a hero with an unusual birth who plays pranks on those around him. As an adult, the hero continues to play pranks and get into scrapes, eventually skirting misfortune and marrying a wealthy heiress. While ramble novels have little artistic value, their popularity tells us much about the reading practices of the time: novels were not high art forms but entertainment, and readers craved comedy and adventure, notwithstanding modern critical notions that the novel was primarily concerned with female subjects.

Overall, *Cruelty and Laughter* has many merits. The book is carefully researched and well-documented. Dickie's style is lively and lucid, and his arguments are generally well-supported and persuasive. Dickie certainly succeeds in his goals of elucidating the comic literature of the eighteenth century and demonstrating that the period was hardly an age of politeness and sentimentality. If the book has one slight shortcoming, it is that Dickie's third aim—offering new understandings of canonical writers—is not met as fully as his other two. While Dickie provides a new take on *Joseph Andrews*, he does not dwell on other canonical works in great detail. For instance, he often mentions Smollett's works and shows them to be full of violent humor—but this

has long been acknowledged to be a characteristic of Smollett's novels. Dickie's sustained reading of *Joseph Andrews* leaves one wanting more of such extended analyses.

But despite this minor flaw, the book is a genuinely interesting and important contribution to scholarship. Anyone interested in the comic writers of the eighteenth century will find *Cruelty and Laughter* worthwhile. Dickie has changed the way we should conceive of eighteenth-century humor and altered our understanding of what readers enjoyed reading. This book makes possible critical reassessments of Fielding, Smollett, Sterne, and others that take into account the reading public's taste for cruel comedy.

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**Scarlet Bowen.** *The Politics of Custom in Eighteenth-Century British Fiction*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010. Pp. xiii + 223. Hardcover: \$80. ISBN: 0230103545.

Did eighteenth-century English novelists deliberately invoke older forms of popular culture in an attempt to make their novels seem less new, less "novel"? Did the novel—often identified as a bourgeois literary form—consciously embed the conservative values and behaviors of the laboring classes? According to *The Politics of Custom in Eighteenth-Century British Fiction*, the answer to both questions is yes. Utilizing the work of Marxist historian E. P. Thompson, Bowen bases her study on the belief that custom—"a constellation of traditional social ideals" (1)—remained particularly entrenched in eighteenth-century English laboring-class culture; the continued popularity of traditional forms of popular culture—such as ballads, broadsides, chapbooks, and the like—among the lower stations, expresses these conservative values. Based on the belief that popular culture and custom are vehicles by which conservatism and tradition find expression, Bowen "seek[s] to highlight previously overlooked aspects of and uninterrogated assumptions about the novel's and popular culture's history" (6). Specifically, by invoking traditional popular culture and traditional values, "the novel mitigated some of the world's 'newness,' but it also disguised its own novelty" (4). Bowen confirms the heterogeneous nature of the early English novel by demonstrating how and why laboring-class ideology, culture, and texts became infused within it.

Chapter 1 discusses Defoe's *Moll Flanders* and *Roxana* in terms of the need for "the middling sort to maintain and draw upon the survival strategies of the laboring poor and the underclass" (24). Bowen reads *Moll Flanders* within the context of the South Sea Bubble and the economic struggles of many laboring poor in its wake. Moll's seduction by the Elder Brother is likened to that of investors and speculators; Moll, in turn, uses "bubble" tactics, which backfire when she inadvertently lures her own brother into marriage. Bowen also notes the comparison, made by Defoe, between crime and business. In all,

Moll's successful end is based upon her ability to employ her working-class background when necessary, ultimately affording her the opportunity to revitalize and reform the economic market: "Moll's early experience as the neglected ward of Britain's mercantilist conscience enables her to eventually transform into its ideal embodiment" (44). The reading of *Moll Flanders* is highly competent, if unexciting (with a few points open for contestation). *Roxana* is a different story, as Bowen provides a fascinating discussion of "Roxana and Amy's queer desire for each other" (47). (Might we hope for a forthcoming essay by Bowen on this topic?) Bowen then returns to the earlier theme of the chapter—the need for plebian values—by examining Roxana's refusal to sully her hands with labor, even when she finds herself without home or money. Susan exists as "the voice . . . of the dispossessed domestic English worker" (51).

Next, Bowen provides a strong, informative reading of Richardson's *Pamela*. In the first section, Bowen argues that Richardson found inspiration for his tale of the pert, young servant in such popular ballads as "Tommy Potts" (wherein a virtuous male servant finds favor with a lady), "True Love Exalted" (wherein a Knight admires the modesty and deference of Peggy, the daughter of a weaver), and ones that demonstrate the necessity of saucy speech in warding off licentious males. Evidence that Richardson was familiar with "Tommy Potts" may be found in his correspondence to Johannes Stinstra; in regards to the other ballads, Bowen does not claim that Richardson was familiar with them, but implies that he was, based on textual similarities between *Pamela* and these popular songs. The second section of the chapter suggests that Pamela's scribbling aligns her with the self-effacing laboring-class poet, Stephen Duck, whose modesty, deference, and "scribbles" won him patrician patronage.

The very interesting and highly persuasive Chapter 3 examines how the fictional memoirs of two cross-dressing female soldiers—Christian Davies and Hannah Snell—promoted the cause of British military nationalism. The argument is highly convincing, and Bowen provides excellent and nuanced background information on the politics of the time and the various wars in which Britain had recently been engaged. Bowen demonstrates how the "female masculinity" of the heroines is used "to cajole other male characters in the memoirs into being 'real men'" (86): "Whether the plebian heroines are in or out of male disguise, by their example, they inspire, cajole, and reprimand men to be better men and better soldiers" (88). The introduction of plebian culture—in the form of the masculine heroine—is employed as a means to counteract the presumed emasculation of British manhood by the Walpolian government, which preferred the route of diplomacy, rather than that of warfare. Specifically, "Opposition writers construed Walpole's peacekeeping efforts as signs of effeminacy" (83), while arguing that "going to War was Britain's manly duty" (84). A fictional female soldier like Davies or Snell provides "a foil to the men of Britain's ruling classes" (84), suggesting the presumably inherent and dangerous effeminacy of the Court and the Crown.

Another fine chapter follows, this one on *Humphry Clinker*, with Bowen viewing the physical, patrician body of Matthew Bramble—constipated, gouty,

and lame—as metaphor for “the plight of the Tory landed gentry amid a host of disempowering political and economic events of the 1760’s and early 1770’s” (103), and she shows how the plebian body of Humphry Clinker acts as antidote to and tonic for Bramble’s various maladies. In *Humphry Clinker*, plebian culture exists as an “amalgamation of tradition and innovation” (120), which patrician culture needs to emulate in order to survive. The chapter concludes by demonstrating how “Smollett uses the aesthetic properties of the grotesque to formulate a paradigm for managing cultural difference” (122)—that is, Smollett portrays Clinker and Lismahago as comic grotesques, who nonetheless “help Bramble alleviate his fears about cultural mixing” (127). Overall, the chapter proves an insightful and entertaining read.

The fifth and final chapter, on *Caleb Williams*, argues that “Godwin, witnessing the power of customary values firsthand and their grave consequences for his radical peers in court, searched for the emancipationist potential of custom as part of his gradualist vision” (137), and, in *Caleb Williams*, he does so by revisiting the works of earlier English novelists, which, coincidentally, happen to be the very same novels addressed earlier in the study—a rather neat (perhaps too neat) tying up of ends.

For me, the principal flaw in this study is the lack of any works by any identifiable female novelists (the fictional memoirs of Davies and Snell being published anonymously), a problem of which Bowen is well aware: “While female protagonists of novels feature prominently in this study, women-authored novels do not, an absence that bespeaks greater complexity in women writers’ perceptions of both the politics of custom and of British traditional popular culture” (5). She further notes that “Male fiction writers . . . were much more likely than women writers to respond to anxiety over the novel’s newness by turning to an older model of popular culture”; in contrast, women writers “are far more engaged than male writers in a critique of customary social relations” and their works “generally expose custom as the site of patriarchal oppression” (5). If this indeed is so (which is not at all certain), then the question arises as to the extent that plebian culture infuses the genre of the eighteenth-century British novel, particularly if one considers that women authored a substantial proportion of the published novels. Assuredly, Bowen clearly and convincingly demonstrates the influence of plebian culture on specific novels by specific (male) authors, yet if indeed novels by women writers eschew or provide negative critiques of traditional custom, then this complicates our understanding of the value of plebian (traditional) popular culture in mitigating the effects of both the “world’s ‘newness’” and the novel’s “own novelty” (4).

Overall, the lack of women novelists notwithstanding, Bowen’s study provides insightful and incisive individual examinations of plebian influences on a number of eighteenth-century British novels, and it proves a welcome entrant into the discussion of the dialectical, heterogeneous nature of the early novel.

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**Nussbaum, Felicity.** *Rival Queens: Actresses, Performance, and the Eighteenth-Century British Theater*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010. Pp. 383. Hardcover: \$55.00. ISBN: 978-0-8122-4233-1.

In this stimulating and provocative study of the acting careers, life-writings, reputations, and acting texts of a select group of star 18th-century actresses, Felicity Nussbaum seeks to elevate their celebrity status, the triumphant and combative stories told about them, and their alluring, exciting and admirable clothes and independent lives. She argues these projected a set of exemplary proto-feminist identities which helped other women act to loosen sexual, social and financial boundaries hemming them in (7, 12, 16-17). In the introduction and Chapters 1-2, Nussbaum grounds her thought by outlining Butlerian (Judith) and Lacanian perspectives that insist what people profess to be their motives and feelings are more or less calculated maneuvers mirroring what is thought to be socially admirable or allowable. Ordinary life really is best understood as a series of socially-constructed performances.

With this in mind, she departs from close readings of the literal meanings of documentable contemporary social and sexual mores and texts (3-6), from semiotic deconstructions of illustrations (266-75) and costumes to discuss the ways she thinks contemporary audiences gossiped about these. She interprets how audiences reacted to behavior on stage and how the actors understood this behavior and coped with it (71-90, *passim*). Her discussion of Tate's *Rival Queens*--its players and long stage history and its many parodies--is almost wholly taken up with what she assumes were unwritten heavily sexualized and transgressive delights felt by its many audiences (Chapter Three). Where others have argued that stage players subjected to the gaze, values, and ill-treatment of audiences were struggling against abjection, mortification, and lack of power and status (e.g., Straub 13-18), Nussbaum sees the players as manipulating the conditions of their employment, enjoying an experience of admiration and acknowledged effective power, and taking from this the social capital that can be monetized and raise status (Chapter Four).

Nussbaum is able to write a "narrative of progress" by her emphatic rejection of a key element of actresses' existence from the Restoration through the later 18th century as usually understood. Was the identification of women who made their living from the public stage as sexual promiscuous women ("whores") inexorable? Nussbaum says that, if we see that her "exceptional" actresses, her super-successful stars, transcended (or at least marginalized) the continual familiar slandering (9, 19-22), we will be able to understand their function in their society more adequately. Her book demonstrates that these particular women were developing a more "expansive vision of virtue" than the usual equation of virtue with chastity (93-94). These special actresses were admired for their acting talents, their costumes, for how much money they made, for the comfortable circumstances in which they were enabled to live, for whom they lived with or married, and for who received them socially. Their manners and fashionable clothes made them seem more aristocratic than aristocrats.

These actresses compensated for their unconventional lives not centered in family life through acts of courtesy, generosity, and charity (56-57).

Nussbaum's chapters on three individual actresses are persuasive. She examines the two contemporary memoirs of Anne Oldfield's personal life (Chapter Five), what was said by supporters of Catherine Clive's career and Clive's own able brave writing (Chapter Six), and Francis Abingdon's reputation as a self-contained exemplar of luxurious fashion to be consulted by others (Chapter Seven). All three achieved financial security: all had remarkably feminist epilogues written for them in which they moved from beloved comic characters associated with them to enact versions of liberated women who defied contemporary and even 20th-century pious cant. From my own studies of these women's careers, contemporary writing by and about them (including letters), I would say that in comedy (which is what Nussbaum discusses) Anne Oldfield became a virtuoso at self-conscious playing with hostile configurations of female sexuality. She was able to project these roles as forms of masquerade she took pleasure in. Remarkably Catherine Clive published polemics on her own behalf, in the form of letters to the press, once a pamphlet, and some burlesques and epilogues attributed to her. She showed real originality of thought and action when in terms uncannily like those of cheated and manipulated workers or union leaders today she candidly told how her managers tried to pressure and manipulate her into taking less money and accepting lesser roles. Francis Abingdon engaged successful contemporary playwrights (e.g., Arthur Murphy) to write parts with her in mind and to rewrite older plays so as to supply herself with a consistent line of dominant female types.

Though Nussbaum does not adduce this comparison, it is striking that an earlier super-star Elizabeth Davenport Boutell ("Betty") of Restoration fame is still known in histories as she "whom all the town fucks" (*Court Satires* 206, Pullen 45-47). Milhous's life of Boutell shows her to have lived a respectable life comparable to these three women: Boutell endured a brief married life like that of Clive and Abingdon (Oldfield never married); she supported relatives; she commanded appropriate roles, she achieved financial security and independence. The obstacle for Boutell was that she never extricated herself as a person from an identification with the transgressive sexual roles she enacted on stage. Nussbaum makes use of an anonymous 1888 biography of Francis Abingdon, but does not bring out how the author simply ignores Abingdon's sex life (Abingdon enriched herself by what may be called serial monogamy, including paying one husband to stay away). This anonymous author treats Abingdon as a craftswoman (actress, costume-designer) and, more detachedly than Nussbaum, offers us examples of Abingdon's correspondence where Garrick becomes the important man in Abingdon's existence.

I do not find Nussbaum's argument convincing. Among others, Sandra Richards (cited by Nussbaum 11) has made a persuasive case that it was in the mid-19th century that the public began to cease regarding actresses as necessarily promiscuous. It was also half a century later that resentful attitudes towards all players as unjustifiably breaking through their original class boundaries began to subside. What brought this about? 1) women began to be

managers for the first time and set the terms in which they were presented on stage; 2) the early Victorian presentation of women as having an elevated nature (seen in the way Siddons was regarded) was kept up; and 3) women began to write respectable, serious life-writing and write about their acting. Less demonstrable but also important was women's emancipation from exclusively domestic roles, which may be seen in the establishment of girls' public schools between 1840 and 1870 (Richards 90-137). Nussbaum attempts to shift the beginning to our earlier period and credit the celebrity culture, theatrical work, and famed lives a few ambitious and lucky women were seen to have experienced, but the nature of her evidence is too narrow, local, and relies on ephemeral events and subjective theoretical readings.

Her book is a troubling one that at its core relies on an exclusionary complacency content to find progress in the lives and asserted words of a very few. There is a long list of 18th-century (and later) star actresses who never extricated themselves from scorn even if they died in a financially secure position or had had long, hard careers where they drew large audiences, who died young, alone and/or poor, or who avoided this fate by marriage (sometimes rocky) or becoming someone's invisible mistress. I will name a few nearly absent or cursorily treated in this book. Slander or the derisively-told "whore" story, whatever the amused tone in which it's couched, shaped the lives of Eleanor [Nell] Gwyn who did not spend her life as an actress (Nussbaum, 95-97), Susannah Arne Cibber (brought up briefly, see index 368), George Anne Bellamy, (53-56, 114-18, whose memoir Nussbaum confusedly and without explanation says was "ghost-written"), and Dora Jordan (basically ignored). Nussbaum appears to disdain some of these: in unguarded moments she refers to Sophia Baddeley as a "notorious courtesan" (246), and to other unnamed milliners aspiring to be actresses as "the prey of unsavory men" (228; see also her remarks about Mary Robinson and Ann Catley, 281-83).

It is in her first three chapters and epilogue that Nussbaum reveals one of the origins of her project and her attitudes. Her book is a response to specific books and essays which argue that a new "interiority" for women was developed in the novel and life-writing of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, mostly in English and French (e.g., Nancy Armstrong's *Desire and Domestic Fiction: A Political History of the Novel*; Carla Hesse's *The Other Enlightenment: How French Women Became Modern*). By contrast, she means to show her actresses had "real" not "metaphoric" power: novelists she suggests made little money, had little personal power. The stories of novelists are most often about how transgression causes grief; the heroines are "victims;" Nussbaum's selected actresses presented characters who "counter abject females"; are "savvy, moneyed, high-spirited women with hearts of gold" (187). She will channel celebrity actresses because they were famous ("influential"), rich and had exercised effective power over their lives (16-19). Although she openly says she is writing about "exceptions," her selectivity goes beyond this. It is no coincidence she omits fairly successful tragic actresses who did enact suffering, anguished, and distressed victims (Cibber, Bellamy) and presents a hostile view of Sarah Siddons as a "formidable paragon" who simply represented a retreat

into virtue and lived a life of unqualified success privately and on the stage (278-84; but see Manvell, 52-65, 205-88). She describes female rivalry as triumphs not simply to show how the women called attention to themselves or one side won. In this book the successful feminist has become a highly competitive individual seeking aggrandizement. At one point Nussbaum concedes a possible loss when she admits that this modern feminism may preclude tight relationships with other women, and “has sometimes faltered as it has encountered critiques of its class alignments” (188), but appears unconcerned about what these words imply.

Equally problematical is Nussbaum's definition of “professional”: she praises her cadre more than once as justifying their “claim to status as tough negotiators on their own terms; in other words, they become legitimate professionals” (60). The basis of one's right to be called a professional has become not art or a craft or knowledge or training in your discipline, but monetary and commodity exchange: Clive was “someone who exchanged herself into a commercial marketable commodity worthy high wages” (152). Bellamy and Abingdon's ability to have a relationship with aristocratic women (presented as a mark of their success as actresses) shows they had an “acute patronage sense” (149). Early on she says she has chosen these “great actresses” because they “established themselves as astute, profit-oriented women as they exploited the economic opportunities the stage offered” (48). She takes the Lacanian perspective to the point that “recognizable personhood” is a “function of the value that other people assess you at” (159). The new identities on offer paradoxically resemble the emotional fluidity under masks of Diderot's actor in *Le Paradoxe sur le Comedien*, only Diderot did not mean to include people in real life (Wilson 620-28).

Nussbaum's unpersuasive Chapter Seven on Margaret Woffington reveals the treatment of realistic historical context throughout Nussbaum's book. Margaret Woffington seems to have been chosen because she went beyond the cross-dressing and travesty breeches parts to at the same time perform persuasive masculine presences as the character types were understood at the time (e.g., Sir Harry Wildair in Farquhar's *The Constant Couple*). In some of these roles and in epilogues intended for Woffington to speak, Woffington allowed herself to be used to shame the men in her audiences to enlist for war. Thus Nussbaum refutes the claim that “in the mid-18th-century” woman “had no place in the political imaginary of the nation-state at this crucial moment” (194, 207-213). Nussbaum does not bring into her discussion Woffington's known position as an Anglo-Irish woman appealing to Englishmen, nor that she was hooted off the stage in Ireland after one of these performances (Dunbar, 201-12). Nussbaum does not discuss the civil war's political issues, the economic or social conditions that led to it and to men's enlisting, nor does she critique the values Woffington embodied or projected. It seems enough to assert that she was influential and “a site where contesting [sexual] discourses converge” (193).

Since Woffington left so little writing, we cannot know what Woffington felt about the transvestite parts that enabled her to have a flourishing career on stage. It is true that she never attempted to hide her semi-permanent liaisons

with men (among them Garrick), and within limits exhibited herself on stage in sexually iconoclastic ways (221). It's also true that she converted to Protestantism when it was in the interest of her career to do so (Dunbar 187), and amassed enough money to educate, support and marry off a sister respectably, and to purchase a comfortable house to retire to. But hers was a hard-working life in which we see her go back and forth from company to company: study of her playbills suggests she hardly took a night off. She collapsed on stage while playing Rosalind in *As You Like It* (Dunbar 22), became invalid and died three years later (Dunbar 219-22). One of the more lurid and defamatory biographies of actresses was written about Woffington during her lifetime (Nussbaum 203-04).

Nussbaum makes sweeping statements about how people responded to actresses; she delivers slanted versions of the lives of the actresses she deals with. She puts together a totalizing view of all sorts of disparate events and perspectives, and at times uses a slack and incoherent definition of what counts for political action. Celebrity and commercial and monetary success guarantee significance. She may well be right that the actresses she speaks favorably of should be counted as (in Johnson's words) contributing to the improvement of women's lives and fostering women's arts: "the progress of reformation is gradual and silent, as the extension of evening shadows; we know that they were short at none, and are long at sun-set, but our senses were not able to discern their increase" (*Adventurer*, No. 37). Or, in Nussbaum's words, "the theater audience, hungry for juicy tidbits and private information about these strong-minded women, interpreted their roles as well as their spoken prologues and epilogues as affording authentic glimpses into actresses' private lives even as they redefined virtue. Exceptional virtue helped mold a new kind of double standard for a commercial age in which the extraordinary talent of star actresses substituted for respectability" (112). But we are not shown evidence that audiences felt this way, responded so uncritically and adopted new definitions of virtue.

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***Women, Dissent, and Anti-Slavery in Britain & America, 1790-1865*. Edited by Elizabeth J. Clapp and Julie Roy Jeffrey.** Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011. Pp. 272. Hardcover: \$110; ISBN: 0199585482.

This useful collection of eight essays is the third volume produced by the Dr. Williams's Centre for Dissenting Studies, an ongoing collaboration between Dr. Williams's Library and Queen Mary College, University of London. The Dr. Williams's Library, located in Gordon Square, London, has a rich collection of Puritan, Protestant nonconformist and dissenting books and manuscripts. The Dr. Williams's Centre encourages research, based on these resources, and understanding of the importance of Puritan and Protestant dissent in English society and literature. The eight essays in this volume examine the importance of Puritan and Protestant dissent in exploring the intersections of women's activism, religious dissent and transatlantic anti-slavery.

The historiography of abolition has been contested since Thomas Clarkson wrote his account in 1808, one year after the successful conclusion of the campaign against the British slave trade. In the opening historiographical overview in this collection, David Turley discusses Clarkson's and other "participant histories," noting that Clarkson says little about women activists and even less about religious women. Turley does not note, however, that Clarkson said much about Quaker women in his *Portraiture of Quakerism* published in 1806. In it, Clarkson, unlike his evangelical colleague William Wilberforce, praised Quaker women for their religious and reform leadership, pre-dating the tensions that Turley traces between evangelical and dissenting attitudes toward women's anti-slavery activities.

Focusing mainly on more recent transatlantic abolition historiography, Turley argues that "virtually all" (31) historical writing relating to anti-slavery women is rooted in feminism, focusing on power and agency and including class and identity as well as gender. As Turley points out, and the following seven essays make abundantly clear, religion animated the lives of many female antislavery activists on both sides of the Atlantic. The contributions of Quaker antislavery women in the U.K. and U.S. are now becoming relatively well known. Yet as Turley argues and this collection proves, considering a fuller range of dissenting women provides important new insights into both the history of female religious activists and the wide-ranging contours of transatlantic anti-slavery activities.

Timothy Whelan's essay on "Martha Gurney and the Anti-Slave Trade Movement, 1788-94" highlights a previously unknown woman abolitionist.

Although Gurney is a surname often associated with Quakers, Martha Gurney (1733-1816) was a Particular Baptist and bookseller who “sold (and in some cases published) fourteen anti-slave trade pamphlets between 1787 and 1794” (45). Whelan’s fascinating profile of Gurney expands knowledge not only about dissenting anti-slavery women, but also about women’s participation in the London book trade and the contribution of booksellers to the public popularity of abolition in the late eighteenth century.

Similarly, an excellent essay by Clare Midgley shows how Quaker convert Elizabeth Heyrick (1769-1831) drew from and spoke to a wide range of dissenters and nonconformist women and men on both sides of the Atlantic in her 1824 pamphlet supporting the immediate emancipation of slaves. Midgley makes a strong case for Heyrick’s importance as a radical, not only advocating immediate emancipation but also supporting working class rights to fair wages and collective action. As David Turley says, Heyrick “has emerged as the symbolic figure of a new state of women’s anti-slavery.” (34) Midgley’s essay provides important perspectives on Heyrick’s links between religious dissent and anti-slavery radicalism.

While essays like these feature enlightening case studies of individuals, others contribute stimulating overviews, like Julie Roy Jeffrey’s, “Women Abolitionists and the Dissenting Tradition.” Building on her groundbreaking work, *The Great Silent Army of Abolitionism: Ordinary Women in the Antislavery Movement*, Jeffrey points to pre-evangelical religious ideas dating back to the Reformation as a source of inspiration for American anti-slavery women. Recalling the force of Puritan ideas in the founding of the North American colonies, Jeffrey maintains that anti-slavery women drew on this deep religious past “in their struggle against the great sin in their world” (154).

Probing the influence of anti-slavery women in the U.S., one essay examines the popular writings of Harriet Beecher Stowe, while another looks at female activities in the often-overlooked region of the “Old Northwest.” Stacy Robertson begins her well-written essay with an angry Sarah Ernst trying to rally her anti-slavery sisters in Cincinnati. Although Ernst was a transplant from Boston, Robertson discusses many homegrown female activists in the Northwest, such as those graduating from mixed-sex colleges like Oberlin.

Since several essays raise unresolved questions, the collection would have benefited from a concluding synthesis. Such a conclusion could highlight further areas of study, especially concerning the tensions between the ideas of equality and difference among anti-slavery female activists and the roles of women of color. Another area of study raised but not addressed by the essays is the paradox that some radical women’s anti-slavery activism is related to gendered notions of what Turley calls a womanly “guardianship of moral principle” (36).

Overall, however, this relatively small (214 pages) but far ranging collection of essays covers important ideas, geographical areas and new and familiar women in the transatlantic anti-slavery movement between 1790 and 1865. The essays provide important information and raise new questions. Taken as a whole, the volume offers concrete proof of the importance of further

explorations of Puritan and Protestant dissent in Anglo-American female antislavery efforts.

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**Elizabeth Powers, editor.** *Freedom of Speech: The History of An Idea.* (Aperçus: Histories Texts Cultures.) Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2011. Pp. xxvii + 227; appendices; bibliography; index. Paperback: c. \$28.00 [also available in hardcover]; ISBN: 978-1-61148-385-7.

This intriguing history, a compilation of essays, traces freedom of speech via a number of thinkers, movements, and radical events. Elizabeth Powers offers both an introduction and conclusion that serve to question what the freedom of speech is doing in modern society and, furthermore, how the history of the idea itself, with its different incarnations, influences how we perceive this freedom worldwide, but specifically in the West. The selected essays have admirably varied focus and are placed in a good sequence: Jonathan I. Israel, “*Libertas Philosophandi* in the Eighteenth Century: Radical Enlightenment versus Moderate Enlightenment (1750–1776)”; Joris van Eijnatten, “In Praise of Moderate Enlightenment: A Taxonomy of Early Modern Arguments in Favor of Freedom of Expression”; John Christian Laursen, “Cynicism as an Ideology behind Freedom of Expression in Denmark-Norway”; Douglas Smith, “Alexander Radishchev’s *Journey from St. Petersburg to Moscow* and the Limits of Freedom of Speech in the Reign of Catherine the Great”; Paula Sutter Fichtner, “Print versus Speech: Censoring the Stage in Eighteenth-Century Vienna”; Javier Fernández Sebastián, “The Crisis of the Hispanic World: Tolerance and the Limits of Freedom of Expression in a Catholic Society”; Helena Rosenblatt, “Rousseau, Constant, and the Emergence of the Modern Notion of Freedom of Speech”; and Lee Morrissey, “Toward an Archaeology of the First Amendment’s Free Speech Protection.” The book and its essays are rooted in the Columbia University Seminar on Eighteenth-Century European Culture in 2007–2008. As such, the volume is not meant to be a complete history, although the three appendices with milestones in the history of free speech cover some of that ground (1) The Netherlands and Britain; 2) Northern Europe, Hapsburg Lands, & Russia; and 3) Spain). Instead, it traces developments in the history and formation of the idea of the freedom of speech and tries to make sense of them in the context of the twenty-first-century West.

Powers begins this history by questioning the solidity of the freedom of speech. She notes that in 2005, the West and the idea of freedom of speech were brought into question by what she refers to as the “so-called Mohammed cartoons controversy,” which followed the publication of cartoons critical of the prophet in the Danish newspaper *Jyllands-Posten*. Restrictions against free speech allowed legal objections to be brought against the cartoonists (x). This particular controversy, Powers says, “found the West more cautious and brought



to the fore a divide within the West itself concerning freedom of speech” (xi). Powers explains that an “inability to articulate a defense of freedom of speech” during and after the cartoons controversy encouraged her to initiate the series of talks this book is based on, since “what seemed required . . . was a renewed understanding of the historical background that preceded the institutionalization of the right of freedom of speech” (xi).

*Freedom of Speech: The History of an Idea* complicates freedom of speech: in this book, “the postmodernist view is readily acknowledged: modern Western civil society, in which both freedom of speech and equal protection under the law are constituent parts, is anything but a natural state of affairs” (xii). This is considered throughout the various essays, but is dealt with most thoroughly, with eighteenth-century concerns in mind, in the conclusion by Powers.

All contributors to this volume deal narrowly, but well, with some aspect of the historical background of freedom of speech. Jonathan I. Israel's “*Libertas Philosophandi* in the Eighteenth Century: Radical Enlightenment versus Moderate Enlightenment (1750–1776)” may be the most intriguing. In dealing with the dichotomy of the radical and moderate Enlightenment, Israel clarifies that “only the radical Enlightenment was inherently committed to the principle of full freedom of expression and liberty of the press” (1). Moderate Enlightenment, on the other hand, with figures like Voltaire as its voice, did not believe that a large part of the population could handle being enlightened, and, because of this, could not handle the same freedoms the smaller, more responsible part of the population could be trusted with.

Israel illustrates this form of censorship and restricted freedom of expression through a series of letters between Genevan biologist and *philosophe* Charles Bonnet and the royal minister and director of the *librairie* in Paris, Malesherbes, as well as a number of other texts by different thinkers, including Voltaire and Diderot, and touching on the influence of Spinoza and his “freedom of thought.” This leads up to an account of radical Enlightenment. The kingdom of Denmark-Norway on September 4, 1770, removed all censorship and became “the first state in the history of the world to proclaim full freedom of the press and to declare it to be a public benefit” (11). Though it might not have had the best results, this is indeed what Israel argues to be the embodiment of the radical Enlightenment. To the radical philosophes, “it was necessary to proclaim and promote freedom of expression and publication” (15).

Powers's conclusion wraps up the volume nicely, asking questions about progress and placing these ideas into a modern West, suggesting that, if “this freedom [of speech] is in trouble today, the threat is not from outside, but from within, and is due to our failure to reflect on the enabling conditions of this freedom” (197). This volume manages to reflect on these “enabling conditions,” and offers a broad historical background for freedom of speech. It is intriguing, well-written throughout, concise, and well-organized. The problem with a volume's covering such a broad idea is that it is impossible to be comprehensive. These essays offer insights into particular thinkers and historical movements, with necessarily a limited view with which to understand freedom

of speech in a historical context. This, however, is unavoidable in a volume of reasonable length, such as this one, and *Freedom of Speech: The History of an Idea* succeeds in providing a way to renew our understanding of the ideas that preceded the institutionalization of freedom of speech and dealing with those ideas in a modern West.

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### **Notes from Newark**

by Theodore E. D. Braun

Those who read my report from last August might recall that I reported on four intellectual feasts. This report will cover only three such events, the SCSECS and ASECS meetings in March and festivities in France in April. The latter revolving entirely around my humble self, and actually not being an annual meeting of an 18<sup>th</sup>-century society, I'll start with that. The unusual and the personal first. Those not interested in this part of the column should skip until they see the acronym SCSECS at the head of a paragraph below.

Our principal stops in France this time were Paris, Montauban, Carcassonne, and Nîmes. Both Montauban (about 60 miles north of Toulouse) and Nîmes were refuges set aside by King Henri IV as places where Protestants could maintain churches and practice their religion publicly, a tradition of tolerance that Louis XIV broke in 1685 by revoking Henri's Edict of Nantes. Nearby Carcassonne, an impregnable fortress city, remained staunchly Catholic. Toulouse-Montauban and Nîmes and their areas had been the targets of the Catholic Church earlier, in the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries by their adherence to the Albigensian heresy; the Cathares, as the Albigensians were known as, established a series of fortresses, fortified churches and towns, some of which are still intact to this day. Others were destroyed, and in some cases villages were burned to the ground and many people slaughtered (one village that Anne and I visited in 1966 was in the Minerve area near Carcassonne, where the entire population of over 700 was executed for religious reasons; one can thank the Dominicans for that, since they were formed to defend the theological purity of the Church). The religious descendants of the Cathares embraced Protestantism when the Reformation reached their centers of commercial and cultural and religious life. The Protestant outlook on life is still alive in 2012.

"What does this have to do with the 18<sup>th</sup> century?" you may well ask. Surprisingly, a lot. About 25 years before revoking the Edict of Nantes, Louis XIV moved the royal tax court from picturesque and very Catholic Cahors (about 60 miles north of Montauban) to Montauban to establish a Catholic elite in that city. As in England, only the faithful of the state religion could attend public schools and universities and practice certain professions, such as law and

medicine. Thus the members of the court and their families, as well as other professionals, became the social and economic leaders of the city. Louis had the medieval market place enlarged and modernized, had a magnificent episcopal palace constructed on the banks of the Tarn River, made plans to refurbish the church of Saint Jacques, located a stone's throw from the bishopric and the market place, eventually converted the Protestant College into a Catholic institution, and in general gave Montauban a more Catholic look, although the lower classes continued their Protestant ways.

Coming to Montauban with the Cour des Aides was the Le Franc family, the patriarch of which occupied for generations the offices of Presiding Judge and then Chief Justice. In 1709, my poet-dramatist-magistrate object of research for the last 50 years was born; his family gave their eldest son a Protestant name, Jean-Jacques, who—as far as can be known—never publicly spoke or acted unkindly towards his Protestant neighbors. He had apparently been brought up to respect everyone for their personal worth, not for their religious beliefs. An unusual case of religious tolerance for the times, when intolerance was considered a virtue. Nevertheless, when in 1730, at the ripe old age of 20 or 21, he founded the Société Littéraire de Montauban, which he managed to have elevated to the status of Académie in 1744, all the members were male and Catholic. In secular France today, religion is not a requirement of membership, nor in the present day is gender a concern. The current president of the Académie is a woman. And it was because of the Académie de Montauban that we found ourselves lodged in a hotel located about two blocks from the Marché and three blocks from the house where Le Franc was born and brought up, and in the other direction, about two blocks from the Collège protestant, where the Académie has its office. We were privileged, thanks to my sponsor Jacques Carral, to visit the inside of that house, which the present owners have carefully restored to its 18<sup>th</sup>-century beauty.

Jacques met us at the railroad station virtually the moment we came off the TGV. Four other members of the Académie were with him, a kind of happy omen of the days that were to follow. We were treated as though we were gods come down from the heavens! The reason became apparent when we were told by numerous people that they were all amazed and grateful that someone from so far away had been working so long on one of their most famous citizens neglected by most French scholars (other Montalbanais *not* neglected include the painter Ingres, the sculptor Bourdelle, and the Revolutionary feminist Olympe de Gouges). My topic was one that several readers might have heard me speak about, or even have read about in the most recent *New Perspectives on the Eighteenth Century*. This time I spoke in French and twice as long as any talk I'd given in English, on Le Franc de Pompignan's midlife crisis that saw him redirect his life towards religion. Judging from the reactions of the audience made up of Academicians and the public, it went over well. And two days later, on my 79<sup>th</sup> birthday, I was made an honorary citizen of the city of Montauban.

Between Jacques Carral and various descendants of Le Franc de Pompignan, especially Sabine in my generation and Clotilde and Tanguy in the next, we were taken to breathtakingly beautiful places from the Spanish border

to the Rhone River. The mountains of Canigou in the Pyrenees about which I'd sung with the Chorale universitaire de Valence when I still had a voice (basse noble, for those interested); Albi; Cordes sur Ciel (and walking to the top of the hill it's on made it feel as though you were beyond heaven!); the monastery at Fontfroide; the little town of Colliures on the Mediterranean, a gem; and other places that one or the other of us had never seen. When we said goodbye to Jacques and the Pompignans, it was to head to Nîmes to visit the Torts, friends I had made when I was a young assistant d'anglais in Valence 57 years ago. We walked all over the old city, saw the Roman arena, the Maison Carrée, many of the sites of the Renaissance city, City Hall and countless rues piétonnes (no cars allowed), parks, the Tour Magne from a distance, the lycée where Jean Tort taught for many years, and other interesting things.

Back to Paris, a visit to the musée d'Orsay (where, standing in line in the rain we were startled by a woman who, rushing over to us and pointing to my University of Delaware umbrella, asked if I was a Blue Hen!) And many other places of interest to us, including a chocolate shoppe with a chocolate saxophone.

Spiraling backwards in time . . . I landed in San Antonio for the ASECS meeting there. Our hotel, the Hyatt Regency, was located almost within sight of the Alamo. I'm sorry to irritate my Texan readers, but the Alamo was a disappointment. Whatever its historical value might be, it doesn't hold a candle to Padre Junipero Serra's missions in California. And compared to the glories of France, . . . well, there is no comparison. On the other hand, the River Walk was all it's cracked up to be, a place even in March teeming with people, and a sight to behold. Tiny cascades, the burbling of the river, the trees, and the restaurants! I asked a native San Antonian what the river's called: you see it emerging from the ground here and apparently dip underground there, but on no map is it named. He chuckled and told me, "It's not a river. It was created by the city officials some years ago as a way of revitalizing the downtown area. They had a long ditch dug and ran water through it. It's fed by a number of those cataracts and is sloped so that the water runs. It's closed down and cleaned out at least once a year." "What!" I answered, "An urban renewal project that worked? A stroke of genius!" Walking near the River Walk, to see some of the old city, I was pleasantly surprised by the shops and houses there, and doubly surprised when I saw Brij and Frances Singh doing a bit of sightseeing. They were looking for a park, which we finally found, featuring a very high structure and several mansions that had been moved from other areas in the city to make a little outdoor museum. Unfortunately, at the time we were there, interior visits were not possible, but the view from the outside and the thought of moving these several massive houses were literally awesome.

My own participation in the conference took place at the second session of the first day, on a panel organized by Gloria Eive, "Cultural Counterpoints: Theater and the Arts and their Interactions in the Societies and Cultural Milieu of the Old and New Worlds-I". Interestingly, the three papers discussed different aspects of censorship and strategies to avoid the consequences of censorship. Frieda Koeninger discussed the problem of "Forbidden Dance and Religious Repression in Eighteenth-Century Mexico"; my paper followed, "Two

Eighteenth-Century Spanish Translations of Voltaire's Tragedy *Alzire*", dealing with one Mexican and one Spanish translation; and Peggy Bonds enlightened us on "Dramatic Censorship in Madrid." I did some panel hopping in the next session, managing four papers on four panels: Brycchan Carey "'To Friends beyond sea', or, how London Quakers and Philadelphia Quakers Played Politics by Mail"; John Burke, "Dryden and the Lucretian Swerve"; Gloria Eive, "Blas de Laserna, Pablo Esteve y Grimau, and 'La Caramba': Censorship and Musical Politics in Eighteenth-Century Madrid"; and Ken Ericksen, "Bells, Dogs, Whistles, Harpsichords, Pianofortes—Noise Pollution in Eighteenth-Century Bath." These were all exciting papers to listen to. After lunch, I was severely torn between three panels, finally deciding on a SECFS panel, "Folie(s) des Lumières", featuring most interesting papers by Carole Martin, "Diderot, théoricien à l'encontre de Rousseau, censeur de la 'folie' des Lumières"; and Art Kolzów, "La Folie sociale dans la philosophie morale de d'Holbach." I could manage only two papers in the panel "Law and the Arts in the Long Eighteenth Century": Brijraj Singh, "Juries, the Radicals, and Press Freedom, 1674-1670," and Edmund Goehring, "Mozart's *Figaro* and the Limits of the Lawful Stage." After just one day I was already exhausted! That happens when you're less than a month away from turning 79. Actually, I couldn't resist the lecture/recital by Peter Kairoff, "Keyboard Suites of J. S. Bach." Imagine: music, dance, censorship, several literatures, and more yet. The members' reception that followed capped off quite an opening day.

There is, of course, a social aspect to attending conventions, and I determined to concentrate a bit more on this, if only to keep me relatively alert during the intellectual sorties--not that the social and the intellectual aspects of conventioning are mutually exclusive, not to mention the cultural aspects, but it's all too easy to find yourself spending an entire day sitting in a lecture room. So I did spend time in the book exhibit, in particular at the University of Delaware Press table where I could encounter my friend Don Mell, the Director of the Press, and at the Voltaire Foundation, where I could chat with Jonathan Mallinson and my Canadian friend Edward Langille, and finally meet his former student Gillian Pink, with whom I had had a correspondence during a period when she was considering writing her senior thesis on Le Franc de Pomignan, who might be a distant relative. And virtually every day I went with a large variety of friends for lunch and/or dinner along the Riverwalk.

By chance, the first panel I attended on Friday was "Teaching the Eighteenth Century: A Poster Session," with seven posters on German and French topics (a second poster panel dealt with 10 English-oriented mountings). I was mostly interested in the French displays, and especially those of David Eick ("Connaissances et représentations des non-Européens dans l'*Encyclopédie*"), Catherine Gallouët ("Race, Society and Culture of the *Ancien Régime*"), and Jack Iversone ("France and New France: Eighteenth-Century Literature"). These poster sessions bring home the creativity and the dedication to teaching of our colleagues, most of whom are well-known scholars, thus proving the interrelationship of teaching and scholarship. I heard Mary Trouille read a paper on "La Maladie honteuse: Venereal Disease as Grounds for Marital

Separation (Rheims, 1757 and Pais, 1771)". After lunch, a triple-play session including the Presidential Address (Laura Brown, "Non-Human Genres: Love, Paradise, and the Rise of the Animal," with many beautiful illustrations, told with charm and wit), Awards Presentation, and ASECS Business Meeting. This was followed immediately by "Recent Research on Voltaire" and included Yasser Derwiche Djazaerly, "Frederick the Great Performs Voltaire"; Jonathan Mallinson, "A Satire fit for a King: Voltaire's *Akasia*"; David Eick "Nuances in the Counter-Enlightenment: The Anti-philosophical Dictionaries of Chaudon, Paulian and Nonnotte"; and Gillian Pink, "Hidden Marginalia: Voltaire's Commentary on the *Éloge et Pensées de Pascal*." All excellent papers. The evening ended with the dinner and business meeting of the Society for Eighteenth-Century French Studies, always a highlight of ASECS meetings, with its chatter in French and a great meal and good fellowship.

On the last day of the meeting, I seem to have mostly been a tourist, but there are some program highlights, the main one being a magnificent panel on "Santiago Billoni and Ignacio Jerusalem: Italian Musicians in Eighteenth-Century New Spain." Organized by David Shields, the lecture was provided by Drew Edward Davies; Elda McGinty was the soprano; and orchestral work was provided by student musicians from UT-Austin. A pity there were only 10 or so people in the audience.

And now, a final spiral in time, back to late February and the SCSECS meeting in Asheville, NC. Since the hour glass is running low I must jot down just a few impressions. The first has to do with the luxurious hotel we were lodged in: The Grove Park Inn is the first hotel I've ever been in that had its registration area on the top floor, and the restaurants, meeting rooms, and sleeping rooms in the six or seven stories below. The reason for this arrangement is that the hotel and spa occupy a kind of huge C-shaped promontory ending below in a kind of park and a golf course. By the second day we had discovered a "secret" passageway from our wing of the building to the opposite wing, running underground and through a tunnel to the spa. An elevator ride up brings you to the places you want to go to, avoiding the need to take a long walk around the periphery. "We" in this case means my friend from grad school Paul Barrette, who was also the first of my 20 or more co-authors: we wrote two textbooks together, *First French* (1964 and 1970) and *Second French* (1968). A propos of these books, a woman was apparently looking for me because she knew I was on the program," but she ran into Paul first, seeing his name on his badge. What she wanted was for us to sign the books, which we were glad to do. The odd coincidence is that six weeks later, in Montauban, a man came up to me after my *discours de réception* with a copy of my first book on Le Franc de Pompignan, which he had hope to have me sign at the Colloque Le Franc de Pompignan in 2006, which had a stop in Montauban; but the panelists were all rushed out of the room in order to reach the restaurant for lunch. Paul is a medievalist and had never been to an enlightenment conference before; and he thoroughly enjoyed this one.

My room faced the mountains, which were covered with fog and mist every morning. I'd driven through the Great Smoky Mountains more than once

before, but waking up in the morning and looking out at this scene is something I think I will never forget. But there were too many interesting panels and events to linger before the window. The meeting, with the theme "Panoramas and Perspectives," was ably organized by Phyllis Thompson of East Tennessee State University. Jane MacMorran gave a plenary on "Eighteenth-Century Scottish Fiddle Music" and Judith Bailey Slagle, another on the Scottish writer Joanna Baillie; in addition, Gloria Eive and Janet Wolf presented a "Performance Extravaganza" on Jean-Philippe Rameau's *Les Indes Galantes*.

See you in Baltimore!

Newark, Delaware

***The Poetry of the Gentleman's Magazine, 1731-1800: An Electronic Database of Titles, Authors, and First Lines--An Ongoing Project on the WWW at [http:// www.gmpoetrydatabase.org](http://www.gmpoetrydatabase.org)***

The database is designed to provide users with a comprehensive, fully browsable and searchable list of the 12,365 poems (of which 4,763 are by identified authors) printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* from its beginning in 1731 through 1800. Presented chronologically, with full titles, first lines, authors (if known), signatures, references or justifications for attribution, and additional historical information where needed, the database is intended to offer researchers ready, rapid, thorough, and user-friendly electronic access to the vast resources of literary (and in many cases historical) source material encompassed in the poetry of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, one of the greatest repositories of verse in the eighteenth century. An alphabetical synopsis by contributor incorporating all of the 1,258 known authors of poetry printed in the *GM* serves as an authorial cross reference to the contents of the database as well as providing dates of birth and death and authors' occupations, if known.

The database enables researchers of eighteenth-century print culture and of the *Gentleman's Magazine* in particular to examine trends in publication and identify clusters of subjects that found favor with poets, readers, and publishers alike. It offers the student of specific poets an improved opportunity to track the printing or reprinting of their works. It showcases the printing of poems produced by dozens of eighteenth-century women writers, many of whom were ignored by mainstream scholarship until very recently. It provides eighteenth-century historians expanded access to the magazine's tremendous fund of source material on a variety of topics ranging across political, military, colonial, and economic history as well as science and medicine, theology, literary taste, the arts, leisure, and attitudes toward such social issues as slavery and the role of women.

Though constructed to stand fully alone, *The Poetry of the Gentleman's Magazine, 1731-1800*, complements the author's *Attributions of Authorship in the Gentleman's Magazine, 1731-1868: An Electronic Union List*, Web

(Charlottesville: Bibliographical Society of the Univ. of Virginia, 2003), at <http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/bsuva/gm2>.

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*Editor's note:* We thank Professor De Montluzin for allowing us to broadcast her account of this valuable and accessible new tool, announced by her on 11 July 2012.

### 2012 EC/ASECS Conference in Baltimore

We in the EC/ASECS hold our 43rd annual meeting on 1-3 November at the Hyatt Regency Baltimore on the Inner Harbor. The meeting runs from Thursday night through Saturday. The theme of the meeting is “What does Infamy Matter: When you get to keep your fortune?” The organizing/program committee was chaired by Beverly Schneller (Baltec18@gmail.com), with others, especially our Executive Sec’y, Linda Merians, and webmaster, Jim Moody, greatly assisting. Registration was \$175 for regular members and \$100 for graduate students reading papers, but there is a higher rate for late registration. Those in the area and not on the program should consider coming at the day-rate, excluding meals, of \$40, available for students or faculty. Highlights include a reception to launch the new journal *Eighteenth-Century Poetry*, edited by Sandro Jung at the University of Ghent, and then the Oral/Aural Experience, directed once again by Peter Staffel. Friday begins with a breakfast reception to honor Donald Mell for his long and faithful service to eighteenth-century studies, in part as Director of the University of Delaware Press. Later George S. Rousseau offers a plenary Sir John Hill, the subject of his recent book: *The Notorious Sir John Hill: The Man Destroyed by Ambition in the Era of Celebrity* (pp. xxxi + 391 [Lehigh UP, 2012]), celebrated also with a reception. The conference banquet is Friday evening (\$75). On Saturday there will be a book talk with Vin Carretta on his recently published *Phillis Wheatley: Biography of a Genius in Bondage*, also a poster session on best practices, and then a reception in honor of the late Leland Peterson, with the recognition of our Peterson Award winners. And we’ll have Kathy Temple’s presidential address during the business meeting. There are relatively more sessions and participants than in recent meetings. So long as nobody drowns trying to swim across the harbor or jumping off the *U.S. Constellation*, I think it will be a fine meeting.

### News of Members

In the spring 2012 *Eighteenth-Century Scotland*, **Corey Andrews** reviews Murray Pittock’s *Robert Burns in Global Culture* (Bucknell UP, 2011), and *Burns and Other Poets*, edited by David Sergeant and Fiona Stafford (Edinburgh



UP, 2012). The issue also contains Evan Gottlieb's review of Smollett's *The Adventures of Roderick Random*, ed. by **O. M. Brack, Jr.**, James Basker, et al (2012). This year Skip Brack, with **Walter (Hank) Keithley**, Leslie Chilton, **Jim May**, et al. have been working up a two-volume critical edition of Smollett's miscellaneous writings (items not in the Georgia UP edition of Smollett), hopefully to be published by Pickering & Chatto. Next year the U. of North Carolina Press, for the Omohundro Institute, will publish **Kevin Berland's** edition of *The Dividing Line Histories of William Byrd II of Westover* (pp. 592; ISBN1469606933; priced \$59.55 but available on preorder from Amazon at \$51.13). Kevin has put many years into this edition of Byrd's two accounts of his 1728 expedition along the Virginia and North Carolina border. Kevin edited the two works from manuscripts: "The Secret History of the Line," written for private circulation, rakish and satirical, with anecdotes of scandal, and "The History of the Dividing Line," written and extensively revised over many years for a proper London audience. Kevin is posting his critical and literary writings on the blog *Netwallah redivivus* (<http://netwallah.blogspot.com/>). For instance, on 7 July 2012 he posted "Some Notes on Evidence, Biography, and Historiography," with observations on "writing the lives of eminent characters," like Socrates. **Elisa Beshero-Bondar** is currently engaged in a project to determine the best practices for planning, designing, and encoding scholarly digital editions. Working with Fred Burwick (Emeritus, UCLA) and Diego Saglia (Associato di Letteratura Inglese at the U. degli Studi di Parma), she is hoping eventually to launch a collaborative digital scholarly edition of the poetry, prose, drama of Mary Russell Mitford, together with selected correspondence and contextual materials. For now she is working on smaller-scale edition projects, writing and thinking about digital archives and editions, and researching Italianate poetry and drama by Mitford and her contemporaries. She still enjoys digging into the intricacies of Robert Southey's writing and reputation. With **Sayre Greenfield**, she is co-teaching a course in Digital Humanities at Pitt-Greensburg. Elisa has recently published: *Women, Epic, and Transition in British Romanticism* (U. of Delaware Press, 2011). She presented "The Trouble with Being Prolific: The International Afterlives of Robert Southey" at the 2011 International Conference on Romanticism (ICR), Montreal, 3-5 November, 2011, and "Pacific Love in Flight: The Mutiny on the Bounty and the Shifting Theatrical Imagery of Polynesia after 1790" at the interdisciplinary conference "Exploring Empire: Sir Joseph Banks, India and the 'Great Pacific Ocean': Science Travel, Trade, Literature, Culture 1768-1820," at the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich, 24-25 June 2011.

Yale University Press has recently published Boswell's *Life of Johnson: An Edition of the Original Manuscript in Four Volumes, Volume 3, 1776-1780*, edited by **Thomas F. Bonnell** (352 pp.; ISBN: 9780300182927 [different for Europe, where sold by Edinburgh UP]; the volume is affordably priced at \$85). The first two volumes of the transcription were edited by Marshall Waingrow and then by Bruce Redford with Elizabeth Goldring. Tom is presently working on Vol. 4. He will speak of the project during the Cleveland ASECS on a panel for the Johnson Society of the Central Region chaired by **George Justice**. I'm

sure Tom's account of the difficulties untangling Boswell's revisions will be fascinating. The edition "restores deleted passages, recovers passages lost or overlooked during the printing, and reveals a host of other typesetting errors." Surely Tom's editorial results offer insights into Boswell's rhetorical objectives. Although any such transcription must involve careful work, this being *The Life of Johnson*, with all its close readers, the task must also carry many anxieties. Speaking of Johnson and biography, note that the latest issue of **Jack Lynch's** *The Age of Johnson* has an essay by Julien Pooley on John Nichols' contribution to *The Lives of the Poets*. **Caroline Breashears** reviewed G. Thomas Tansell's *Book-Jackets: Their History, Forms, and Use* (2011) in this summer's *SHARP News*. **David Brewer's** combined editions of R. B. Sheridan's *The Rivals* and George Colman the Elder's *Polly Honeycombe* are to be published at the end of this month by Broadview Press (324 pp.; \$15.95; ISBN 155481006X)--add this possibility to your seminar's reading list. **W. Bliss Carnochan**, taking exception to Rob Hume's claim in the March *ECI* that "few" critics give serious study to Ian Watt's *The Rise of the Novel: Studies in Defoe, Richardson and Fielding*, advises those who want a different view to see his *Afterward* to the book's 2001 edition by the U. of California Press. **Lorna Clark's** two volumes of *The Court Journals of Frances Burney*, vols. 3 and 4 (for the year 1788) are nearing completion and due out in 2013. Lorna published three recent articles on it: "Dating the Undated: Layers of Narrative in Frances Burney's Court Journals." *Life-Writing Annual* 3 (2012), 121-42; "Presented in Dialogue: Frances Burney attends the Warren Hastings Trial." *The Burney Journal* 11 (2011 [2012]), 7-22; and "Epistolarity in Frances Burney," *The Age of Johnson* 20 (2010), 193-222. Lorna has for many years been editing the *Burney Letter* for the Burney Society, yet her issues get stronger with the long passage of time: the spring and fall 2012 issues (20 and 24 pp.) are full of informative and enjoyable articles and enviably well illustrated. In the fall issue, Anna Lewton-Brain and Stefanie Cardarelli announce the rediscovery of a MS journal-letter in which Susan Burney reflects on French travels in 1767; Lorna Clark describes Burney family manuscripts bought by McGill University; and curator Stephen Clark provides an account of the restored Strawberry Hill. Also Wendy Moore offers, in "Educating Sabrina," a taste of her forthcoming book *How to Create the Perfect Wife*, on Thomas Day's education of an orphan from the Foundling Hospital, later his housekeeper while he groomed her to be the perfect wife. Other articles include Hilary Newman's "Mrs. Thrale and the Gordon Riots" and Carmen María Fernández Rodríguez's "Sarah Harriet Burney, Maria Edgeworth and the Inordinate Desire to be Loved." Our newsletters are often indebted to Lorna's *Burney Letter*. Contact Lorna at LJ\_Clark@carleton.ca. (North Americans who would join this society, should contact Alex Pitofsky at 3621 9th St. Dr., N.E., Hickory, NC 28601; pitofskyah @ appstate.edu). This summer appeared **Logan J. Connors' Dramatic Battles in Eighteenth-Century France**, the 7th volume of the Voltaire Foundation's *SVEC*. Connors studies the dramatic arm of the battle between Enlightenment *philosophes* and their enemies, wherein spectators were enlisted to become agents in cultural and political conflicts (several chapters

concern Voltaire). Logan teaches French at Bucknell; his current research concerns theories of tragedy & identity in early modern France.

Several years ago **Kevin L. Cope** and Noel Library Curator Robert C. Leitz, III, organized a small conference at the Noel Library in Shreveport on problems involving eighteenth-century books, including those related to their profusion, in large part due to digital reproduction. Revised essays from that meeting were published this summer as *Textual Studies and the Enlarged Eighteenth-Century: Precision as Profusion* (Bucknell UP [distributed by Rowman & Littlefield], 2012; pp. vi + 284; index; ISBN: 978-1-61148-442-7). This is a strong and fairly coherent collection, with--as Kevin's introduction argues--some relevance for nearly all working on 18th-century studies--and I say that even though I contributed to the collection. Many EC/ASECS members contributed to the volume: **David Hill Radcliffe**, "No Man but a Blockhead: What the Eighteenth Century Has to Teach Us about Digital Humanities" (21-38); Kevin Cope's "The Plurality of Images for the Minority of Texts" (on 18C book illustration, a profusion all its own; 39-60); **James May**, "Threats to Bibliographical and Textual Studies Posed by Widely Distributed Filmed and Digitized Texts" (61-99); **James L. and Connie C. Thorson**, "The Manuscript Newsletter: Its Contribution to the Evolution of the Public Sphere" (117-32); **Peter Sabor**, "Power in Profusion: Collecting and Selecting Jane Austen's Letters" (169-86); **W. B. Gerard**, "In Pursuit of Laurence Sterne in America: A Lark in the Sandbox"; and **Greg Clingham**'s afterword, entitled "Delirious God: Text, Book, and Library in the World of Samuel Johnson." The other contributors include Kathryn Stasio, who writes on books about pirates, Kit Kincade, on bibliographical conflicts regarding Defoe, and John Kaminski on reducing Jefferson to commonplace selections. Michael Suarez provided a quantitative overview of what was published in the 18C, but that went into the *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*. We welcome and hope to meet in Baltimore **William Coulter**, the Katherine Haas Eichelbaum Professor of English at Randolph College (renamed from "Randolph-Macon Woman's College" in 2007, which must have made Professor Coulter's service as academic dean then all the more interesting!). Professor Coulter's specialty is actually 17th-century English literature, which he enjoys working with in the context of music and the visual arts.

To the 2012 *SCSECS Newsletter*, **Baerbel Czennia** contributed an engaging account of the last South Central SECS meeting, organized by Phyllis Thompson and held at the historic Grove Park Inn in Asheville (noted by Ted Braun in his "Notes" earlier). We were pleased to read that the South Central there awarded the Society's "Lifetime Achievement Award to long-time SESECS impresario, **Kevin Cope**." I recall how Howard Weinbrot was long the pillar of the Johnson Society of the Central Region, and I know that **O M Brack, Jr.**, has edited newsletters, organized meetings, and long supplied keepsakes and other productions for the Johnson Society of Southern California, and I'm daily thankful that EC/ASECS has **Linda Merians** as our fairy godmother, but no Society in my professional years has ever been so indebted to a member as the South-Central has to Kevin Cope, particularly in his service as

its “Venues Director.” Kevin has long lined up (well in advance of any panic) good conference chairs at terrific locations, as this coming February 21-23, when **Frieda Koeninger** organizes their meeting in Austin, Texas, “live music capital of the world.” And I’m sure that the genial, good-humored nature of South-Central’s meetings owes much to Kevin’s wit and generosity. **Matthew Davis** twice contributed to the March 2012 issue of the *Johnsonian News Letter*, one of his articles being “Geotagging the Scottish Journey: A Proposal,” that is, for the creation of a “Global Johnson and Boswell Positioning System,” which he illustrates with a table with sites, fields, coordinates (63.1:53-57). Matthew’s essay “‘Ask for the Old Paths’: Johnson and the Nonjurors” is published with four other essays plus intro and closing essays in *The Politics of Samuel Johnson*, edited by Jonathan Clark and Howard Erskine-Hill--Erskine-Hill contributed the Introduction and Clark the Conclusion (256 pp. ; \$85 [Palgrave-Macmillan, 2012]). Palgrave this summer published another collection of essays on Johnson edited again with enclosing essays by Clark and Erskine-Hill: *The Interpretation of Samuel Johnson* (248 pp.; \$68). One of the six essays in this collection is **O M Brack, Jr**’s “Attack and Mask: James Boswell’s Indebtedness to Sir John Hawkins’ *Life of Samuel Johnson*” (43-71). **JoEllen DeLucia**’s review of Katherine Glover’s *Elite Women and Polite Society in 18C Scotland* (2011) appeared in this June’s issue of *Eighteenth-Century Scotland*, edited by **Richard Sher**, as ever sharing much helpful news (e.g., the merger of the National Archives of Scotland with the General Register Office of Scotland to form the National Records of Scotland).

**John Dussinger** and **Shef Rogers** are warmly thanked for assisting **Keith Maslen** in publishing a 52-work addition to his catalogue of Samuel Richardson’s printing, *Samuel Richardson of London Printer: A Study of His Printing based on Ornament Use and Business Accounts* (English Dept., U. of Otago, 2001). The article, “Samuel Richardson of London: Printer: Further Extending the Canon,” appears in the most recent issue of *Script & Print*, 36:3 (2012), 133-54, and for that reason especially benefited from Shef’s editorial suggestions. John Dussinger, long working to identify what Richardson wrote and also printed, passed along two dozen newly identified editions to Keith. The article broadly introduces and contextualizes the list that occupies its second half, which contains some corrections and amplifications to the old entries besides the detailed bibliography of new items. **Lorraine Eadie**’s essay “Johnson, the Moral Essay, and the Moral Life of Women: The *Spectator*, the *Female Spectator*, and the *Rambler*” appears in *The Age of Johnson*, 21 (2012). **Jess Edwards**, whose work often integrates cultural geography and literary study, has an essay in a distinguished collection, *Early American Cartographies*, ed. by Martin Brückner and published by North Carolina for the Omohundro Institute, 2011; it’s entitled “‘A Compass to Steer by’: John Locke, Carolina, and the Politics of Restoration Geography.” Jess has been focused recently on Defoe’s contributions to geography and more generally on travel literature; much of that is reflected by a forthcoming essay on “Defoe the Geographer: Redefining the Wonderful,” to appear this year in a collection of essays on early modern literature and science from Ashgate, edited by Judy Hayden. Also, he

published “Geographic Literacy and Defoe’s Complete Englishman: Meere Bookcases v. Walking Maps” in this September’s *Journal of Eighteenth Studies* (35.3: 325-41). Congratulations to **Patrick Erben** on the publication of his book *A Harmony of the Spirits: Translation and the Language of Community in Early Pennsylvania*, published in June by the University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute for Early American History and Culture, 2012 (978-0-8078-3557-9; 352 pp.; 19 illus.). Patrick attacks the notion that language diversity greatly reduced communal coherence in Pennsylvania. His book delves into pansophist and Neoplatonist philosophies of European reformers who ran holy experiments. He examines German and English archival sources for Francis Daniel Pastorius, the Ephrata community, the Moravian missions, and others. **Polly Fields** is researching American and Caribbean theatre in the middle of the 18C, searching for details on Kitty Charke and her colleagues in the theatricals organized by David Douglas, a “Miss Cheer” in particular. **Alex Fotheringham** mailed from Northumberland his 80th rare books catalogue back in May, and **John Price** continues to send out short catalogues of rare books as PDFs with colored photographs. **Anna Foy**, having written her dissertation at Penn on “Poetry and the Common Weal,” started the fall semester as an assistant professor at the University at Alabama at Huntsville. **Patricia Gael**’s “The Origins of Book Review in England, 1663-1749” appears in *The Library*, 7th series, 13, no. 1 ([March] 2012), 63-89. The essay, which provides a good overview of a too neglected resource, ends with a helpful tabular appendix on “Early English Periodicals containing Information about Newly Published Books.” Patricia here provides titles, periods of publication, and characterizations of the periodicals and their references to books. Congratulations to **Maureen Gallagher** for receiving the Duquesne’s “Graduate Student Award for Excellence in Teaching”! **Karen Bloom Gevirtz**’s essay “Behn and the Scientific Self” appears in *The New Science and Literary Discourse: Prefiguring Frankenstein*, ed. by Judy Hayden (2011). **Susan Goulding** stepped up to chair the English Dept. at Monmouth U. and moved close to the campus. She recently published on Isak Dinesen (“Professing ‘Charlatanry’: The Pedagogical Possibilities of Dinesen’s ‘The Deluge at Norderney’” in *Eureka: Studies in Teaching Short Fiction*) and on Mary Robinson (“Legitimizing Voice: Petrarchan Form in Mary Darby Robinson’s Sonnet Sequence *Sappho and Phaon*” in *Essays on Romanticism*). Susan is teaching a senior seminar on Robinson this fall.

The 2011 colloquium in memoriam Paul-Gabriel Boucé was held in Greifswald, Germany, hosted by our member **Mascha Gemmeke Hansen** and her department’s chair, Jürgen Klein. They have edited the collected papers, already in print, *Great Expectations: Futurity in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Peter Lang, 2012; ISBN: 978-3-631-62007-6). After Mascha’s introduction come her essay “Great Expectations? Plans and Planning in Women’s Memoirs”; **Kevin Cope**’s “Miracle versus Mayhem: Disturbances of the Future in a Long Eighteenth Century that thought it would be short”; **Bärbel Czennia**’s “The Futurity of Fame: Eighteenth-Century Paths to Immortality”; and **Hermann Real**’s “‘Not in Utopia: Subterranean Fields, Heaven Knows Where’:

or, Apocalypse When?" Hermann's essay provides an overview of the 17C issues in eschatology, emphasizing the resurrection, judgment, heaven, and hell, identifying some challenges from science to religious thought, and working through to a contrast of Swift's and Origenes' conceptualizations of the end of history (with Origenes envisioning a forgiving God). Other essays concern the 18C's conceptualization of the future while examining the Oriental tale, Pope's *Dunciad*, Shaftesbury, Swift, Lord Hervey, Edmund Burke, et al. Hermann Real writes that Elizabeth Durot-Bouc , now chair at Le Havre, France, will host the next of the on-going meetings begun by her late husband, Paul-Gabriel Bouc  and continued in his honor--it's great that Elizabeth can host the gathering herself. (Bouc 's *Les romans des Smollett* is still called the best book on the subject.) We welcome **Conrad Harper** to EC/ASECS--his interests include Frances Burney, Samuel Johnson, and Samuel Richardson. **Haskell Hinnant's** "Ironic Inversion in Eliza Haywood's Fiction: *Fantomina* and *The History of the Invisible Mistress*" was published in *Women's Writing* 17.3 (Dec. 2010), 403-12. He also published "Pleasure and Virtue: The Construction of Female Beauty in Restoration Court Portrait" in *Eighteenth-Century Women*, edited by **Linda Troost**, 6 (2011), 21-45. The previous issue of *ECW* contained Haskell's "If Folly Grows Romantic: Allegorical Portraiture and the Restoration Court Beauty." For a very interesting and entertaining break at the computer, google up **Margaret A. Hogan's** interview in *Humanities* May-June 2008 on John and Abigail Adams (she had by then co-edited *My Dearest Friend: The Letters of Abigail and John Adams*). I believe Margaret is still editing Adams papers, indicating in 2011 that she was studying the relation of Abigail and her sisters.

We wish we could attend the book launch (party) at the BookCourt in Brooklyn on 24 October for **William Hogeland's** *Founding Finance: How Debt, Speculation, Foreclosures, Protests, and Crackdowns Made Us a Nation* (U. of Texas Press, in the "Discovering America" series, 256 pp., 0292743610, \$20). Bill's book turns up dire conflicts in 1765-1795 that surprisingly resemble our recent economic troubles: predatory lending leading to a real-estate bubble, dubious debt instruments, foreclosures with public uprisings in response. Bill notes this isn't us vs. the Brits, it's "the founding war between some Americans and other Americans, a war between ordinary people and the consolidated elite over money, debt, and government's role in public and private finance . . . a war we've never stopped fighting." Sounds to me like we might see Bill on TV! **J. Paul Hunter** gave the plenary ("Poetry on the Page: Visual Signaling and the Mind's Ear") at the 2012 SEASECS conference. The SEASECS's newsletter celebrates the meeting as a big success, with thanks to **Martha Bowden** and **Joe Johnson**, past and present presidents, for organizing efforts--Burney's *The Wiltings* was performed, with Martha and also **Emily Friedman** joining in the cast. Martha is chairing SEASECS's new Annibel Jenkins Prize (\$500) for the best article in performance and theater studies in a scholarly journal, annual or collection, this time between 1 Sept. 2011 and 31 August 2012, with submission deadline of 15 Nov. 2012 (send a PDF copy to mbowden @kennesaw.edu). **Andrea Immel's** review of Anne Markey's *Children's Fiction 1765-1808* appears in the summer 2012 issue of *Eighteenth-Century Studies*.

Our thanks to all this issue's reviewers for stepping up to help their colleagues get a better survey of scholarship (and perhaps find something closely related to their work). Among those with reviews above is **Judi Jennings**, the Executive Director of the Kentucky Foundation for Women and the author *The Business of Abolishing the British Slave* and *Gender, Religion and Radicalism in the Long Eighteenth Century*. Another is **Peter Briggs**, a mainstay of *The Scriblerian*--Peter will spend a sabbatical next year working on the early archaeologist Robert Wood, whose writings on Homer Peter discussed at our 2010 meeting. I need not introduce **Ellen Moody**, long active in the EC/ASECS and a frequent reviewer of challenging books, certainly one of our most dependable reviewers. She and **Beverly Schneller** will sometimes find a book that they think should be reviewed in the *Intelligencer* and determine to contribute the review even if we can't get a review copy, as often happens (we always strike out with some presses, as Palgrave Macmillan). One group of reviewers to whom I am especially grateful are graduate students, working under a lot of pressures, like **Julian Fung**, whom we thank for a fine review above. We have a few review copies in need of a reviewer--I would especially be grateful to hear from members who'd consider reviewing over the next year works in French and German studies, American history, and Intellectual history. (Sometimes I have to return a book that would interest many readers but for which I can't find a qualified reviewer.)

**Beverly Scheibert Jerold** has published a group of articles on music during the past several years: "Hummel's Metronome Marks for Mozart and Beethoven," *The Beethoven Journal* 26/2 (2011): 14-17.; "Eighteenth-Century Stringed Keyboard Instruments from a Performance Perspective," *Ad Parnassum* 9 (April 2011): 75-100; "The Bach/Scheibe Controversy: New Documentation," *BACH, Journal of the Riemenschneider Bach Institute* 42/1 (2011): 1- 45; "The French Time Devices Revisited," *Dutch Journal of Music Theory* 15/3 (Nov. 2010): 169-189; and "What Handel's Casting Reveals about Singers of the Time," *Göttinger Händel-Beiträge* 13 (2010): 141-163. **Ailsa Kay**, who is finishing or has finished her dissertation ("Trade in Feelings" at McMaster on the relation of economics and emotions in literature, will have her first novel published next year by Goose Lane Editions: *Under Budapest*. Above we happily posted **Emily Lorraine de Montluzin's** announcement that her valuable electronic database "Poetry of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1731-1800" is available. Lorraine this past July, in passing on this welcome news, mentioned that "all the technical work to launch it was done by the "brilliant son, Benjamin," of our member **Christopher Johnson**, Lorraine's colleague at Francis Marion U. Way to go, dad and mom! [That's called a "shout-out."] Chris remains the book-review editor for English books of the SEASECS's journal *XVIII: New Perspectives on the Eighteenth Century* (edited by Samia Spencer in Foreign Languages at Auburn U.) **Sandro Jung** has finished a forthcoming book entitled "James Thomson's 'The Seasons,' Print Culture, and Visual Interpretation, 1730-1842," which those who heard him speak at our Pittsburgh meeting had a foretaste of. One of the receptions in Baltimore will celebrate Sandro's inaugural issue of *Eighteenth-Century Poetry* (2011 [2012],

Academia Press, 978-90-382-1878-6; \$54). Sandro also edits the *Journal of the Printing Historical Society*.

**William Kinsley** has put his finger on why Samuel Johnson is such a provocative springboard for literary criticism in a short and rewarding essay, "A Fable for Johnsonians," in the March 2012 issue of *Johnsonian News Letter* (63.1:35-40). Bill assigns positive remarks about Milton and Pope by Johnson, esp. in the *Lives of the Poets*, to poet Jones and negative about the same to Brown, and thus places in relief Johnson's tendency to offer unnuanced largely contradictory pronouncements. *Paradise Lost*, for instance, "scarcely any recital is wished shorter" and yet "none ever wished it longer." Besides not qualifying judgments as most of us have long done, Johnson also doesn't try "to slip into the skins" of the authors, to adopt their point of view or goals, and he directed his concentrated judgment into as forceful language as he could, not coordinating positions on the immediate problem with others. Bill concludes, "the paradoxical result of Johnson's authoritative pronouncements on both sides of a question is to act like the paratactic antitheses recommended by Bacon as the style of discourse most likely to lead to the discovery of new knowledge" (40). Also in this issue is **Anthony W. Lee's** "Samuel Johnson: New Contexts for a New Century," an account of the conference by that name held at the Huntington Library last September, organized by Howard Weinbrot. Papers there included **Stuart Sherman's** "The Future in the Instant: Johnson, Garrick, Boswell, and the Perils of Prolepsis" and **Jack Lynch's** "reconquering of the extant correspondence, 'A Disposition to Write: Johnson as Correspondent,' probing "some of the psychological possibilities inhabiting Johnson's . . . deep emotional investment in and frequent resistance to the dialectical process of writing and receiving letters." Tony describes many other interesting papers, which he notes will be published by the Huntington. Tony will be speaking on Johnson at Bucknell University come the end of October, in a lecture organized by **Greg Clingham**. Tony's essay "'Through the Spectacles of Books': Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden, and a Johnsonian Intertextual Topos" appears in *The Age of Johnson*, 21 (2011 [2012]), 43-75; and his very in-depth and astute review essay of **O M Brack's** edition of Hawkins' *Life of Samuel Johnson* (2009), Thomas Curley's *Samuel Johnson, the Ossian Fraud, and the Celtic-Revival in Great Britain and Ireland* (2009), and *Samuel Johnson after 300 Years*, ed. by Greg Clingham and Philip Smallwood (2009) appears in the recent volume of *1650-1850* (18 [2011]: 385-411)--that last volume includes essays by **Clingham, O M Brack, Jr., and Jack Lynch**. **Martha Koehler's** review of *Mentoring in 18th-Century British Literature and Culture*, ed. by Anthony W. Lee, with in-depth remarks on essays by **Tony Lee, Shef Rogers**, and esp. **Kevin Cope**, appears in *The Scriblerian's* fall 2011 issue (44:77-79).

**Kate Levin** left her position at CUNY to become the Commissioner of the New York City Dept. of Cultural Affairs. **Mark A. Magleby** last year became the director of the Brigham Young University Museum of Art. **Ashley Marshall** published "Henry Fielding and the 'Scriblerians'" in *Modern Language Quarterly*, 72 (2011), 19-48. This May her essay "Fabricating Defoes: From Anonymous Hack to Master of Fictions" appeared in *Eighteenth-Century*



*Life*, 36.2 (Spring 2012), 1-35. In 2013 Johns Hopkins UP will publish Ashley's revised dissertation, *The Practice of Satire in England, 1658-1770*, a broad survey but especially focused on poetry. She is presently writing the book "Swift and History: Politics and the English Past," planned "as a stepping stone to a larger book on Swift's career as a propagandist and controversialist." This is another strong issue from editor **Cedric D. Reverend II** (and book review editor **Adam Potkay**), with seven essays, among which is another on Defoe, by Mark Vareschi, plus Andrew Lincoln on *The Tatler* and *Spectator*, Brett McInelly on Methodist Hymns, and **Barbara M. Benedict** on "Collecting Trouble: Sir Hans Sloane's Literary Reputation in 18C Britain" (111-42). **James McLaverty's** "The Revision of the First Edition of *Gulliver's Travels*: Book-Trade Context, Interleaving, Two Cancels, and a Failure to Catch" appears in *PBSA*, 106 (2012), 5-35. It offers a very careful examination of some disputes regarding this important text, providing an overview of the publication history and hypothesizing well from diverse sorts of bibliographical and textual evidence.

**Ellen Moody** published "Intertextuality in Simon Raven's *The Pallisers* and Other Trollope Film" in *Victorian Literature and Film Adaptation*, edited by Abigail Burnham Bloom and Mary Sanders Pollock (Amherst NY: Cambria Press, 2011). The volume and Ellen's contribution were praised with intelligence and depth by Kamilla Elliot at *Review19* ([www.nbd-19.org](http://www.nbd-19.org)), who notes the breadth of the volume (yes, it reaches to Austen). **Maureen E. Mulvihill** (Princeton Research Forum) has sent in a healthy report: she received a 2012 Hutner Grant from her Princeton community, her third Hutner award. Dr. Mulvihill is the 2012-13 Vice President of the Florida Bibliophile Society (FBS); she is currently residing in Sarasota & NYC. An illustrated article on her guest lecture in Tampa, on her rare book collection, may be viewed on the FBS website. Her feature article (March 2012) on printer Carl Mario Nudi (*Detroit Free Press*; Tampa Book Arts Studio) may be viewed on the FBS website (see Book Arts Studio Tour). Her illustrated essay on the Peter Paul Rubens show (Ringling Museum, Sarasota) ran in *Seventeenth-Century News* (Spring, 2012), with illustrated notices by *Fine Books & Collections* (NYC) and the *International League of Antiquarian Booksellers* (Stuttgart). Maureen spoke at the annual ASECS Conference (2012, Texas) on the Enlightenment 'program' of Mary Shackleton Leadbeater, *protégée* of Edmund Burke (see her Flickr site for the paper's exhibits). Maureen's introductory essay in her edition of Leadbeater's 1808 *Poems* (Irish Women Poets series, Alexander Street Press, Va., 2008), is now online. Maureen was a designated bookgiver in the first World Book Night USA (April 23, 2012)--that book is displayed at her Flickr site. She is working on Irishwomen's political writings, pre-1800, and finalizing for *EEBO Introductions* an essay on Thomas Dawks II, a King's Printer and business associate of royalist bookseller, Henry Brome, and very probably the unrecorded printer of ESTC R218925. For online hostings of her recent writings, see "my sentimental library," a blog of collector Jerry Morris, a specialist on Mary Hyde, et al.

**Maximilian Novak's** "Daniel Defoe and *Applebee's Original Weekly Journal*: An Attempt at Re-Attribution" appears in *Eighteenth-Century Studies*,

45 ([Summer] 2012), 585-608. **Catherine Parisian**, still the ASECS Coordinator for Affiliated Societies, this month published *Frances Burney's Cecilia: A Publishing History* (Ashgate, 2012; 386 pp.; 88 illus.; ISBN: 9781409418207; c. \$108). From Cathy's early publications, I have no doubt that this is one of the best histories of any 18C book ever produced, covering the printing and publication history in great detail, exemplifying what book history is at its best. **Geoffrey Sill** characterized it as "the sort of book a scholar might be expected to produce at the end of a lifetime of study. More is known about the writing, printing, illustrating, distribution, and critical reception of *Cecilia* than perhaps any other book in the late eighteenth century, making it a key text for the discipline of book history in this period, and Parisian is our vade mecum to the history of that book." Incidentally, another exemplary book-history study of late is that on Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's *Paul and Virginia* in *The Book Collector* by **John Bidwell**, the Morgan Library's curator (60.4 [Winter 2011], 539-58), with fine attention to the textual transmission and the illustrations in the many editions, esp. translations into English, as by Helen Maria Williams.

Congratulations to **Kate Parker**, who has left Bucknell UP, where her work was highly praised by **Greg Clingham**, to become a tenure-track asst. professor of English at the University of Wisconsin in La Crosse. On 28-29 September, at the American Antiquarian Society, the Bibliographical Society of America (BSA) sponsored the symposium "Poetry and Print in Early America" to mark the publication of *A Bibliographical Description of Books and Pamphlets of American Verse Printed from 1610 through 1820*, compiled by Roger Stoddard and edited by David Whitesell and published by Penn State UP for the BSA. Participants included **Christopher Phillips**, who presented "Versifying African Methodism; or, What did Early African-American Hymnbooks Do" and **Patrick Erben**, who delivered "'The Letters All Stand in One Root': Theory and Practice of Multilingualism in Early American Religious Poetry," both on a session regarding rare, religion and early American Poetry chaired by **James Green**. On a panel entitled "Poetry in Circulation," **Laura Stevens** spoke on ". . . a Fundraising Poem for Wheelock's Charity School." Last year our meeting was enhanced with appearances by at least **Manushag Powell** and **Derek Pacheco** from Purdue, and this year they return to the program along with a number of graduate students in Purdue's English Program. (As a writing teacher, I'd add my appreciation for Purdue writing center's very useful instructional pages on the web--I tell my students to look up the Purdue "Owl," Online Writing Lab, for guidance on documentation styles, plagiarism punctuation, and much more.) **Adam Potkay** published the essay "The British Romantic Sublime" in *The Sublime: From Antiquity to the Present* (Cambridge UP, 2012), edited by his colleague in Philosophy at William and Mary, Timothy Costelloe. Adam tells me "There's much in the volume to interest our friends in EC-ASECS, including essays on Burke's Aesthetics, Kant, 'The Sublime in Shaftesbury, Reid, Addison and Reynolds,' & 'The Associative Sublime: Gerard, Kames, Alison, and Stewart.'" Adam's best news is that his book *Wordsworth's Ethics* will be published, hopefully in November, by Johns Hopkins. Adam spends "a good amount of time with Wordsworth's eighteenth-century roots and

contexts: e.g. his philosophical and poetic debts to Shaftesbury, James Thomson, and Mark Akenside.” A chapter on the loco-descriptive genre in Thomson and Wordsworth was translated into Polish by Dorota Chabrajska and published in *Ethos* 25:1-2 (2012), 193-215 (the journal is published by the Catholic Univ. of Lublin, Poland, where Adam lectured on joy in March 2011). Finally, Adam’s essay “Teaching Equiano’s *Narrative*” (*ECS*, 2001) is being reprinted in the collection *Teaching Equiano’s Narrative* due this fall from the U. of Tennessee Press. **Claude Rawson** has published in the recent *Age of Johnson* the review essay “The Unclubbable Life: Hawkins on Johnson.”

In May **Hermann J. Real** drove to Leeds to join other contributors to a festschrift honoring Oliver Pickering, presented in a ceremony at the Brotherton Collection (it’s a special issue of Leeds Studies in English). Hermann is happy to report that Continuum (now Bloomsbury) will reprint *The Reception of Swift on the Continent* (2005) in paperback. The British paperback edition is to come out in December this year and the American one in February next year. Hermann is disappointed that the volume cannot be updated (the page settings could not be altered), but the editors can revise the volume in all sorts of small ways. Hermann and the staff at the Ehrenpreis Centre spent much of 2012 editing a thick collection of 35 essays from the 2011 Münster symposium on Swift for *Reading Swift VI*, due next year from W. Fink. He was thus all the happier to accept an invitation to contribute this September to a session on Apocalypse at the *Anglistentag*, the Association of German Professors of English, held at Potsdam. Remember in Potsdam is the fabulous place called Sanssouci where Frederick the Great used to receive Voltaire and engage in philosophical conversation with him. Hermann’s lecture was entitled “Something to be Frightened of? Swift’s *The Place of the Damned*.” Besides another Boucé colloquium (see above), Hermann is looking forward to a CISLE conference on “New Frontiers in Research” to be held in Innsbruck, Austria, from 16-21 July, organized by Michael Kenneally and wife Rhona Richman Kenneally (Concordia U.), functioning as a farewell conference for Wolfgang Zach, who’ll be emeritus in October 2013. I think that if I lived in Westphalia, not central Pennsylvania, I’d go to more conferences—even though gas companies might start hydrofracking in my yard while I’m away. Hermann can drive to Paris or Prague in the time I spend driving to Cincinnati or Richmond.

**Alvaro Ribeiro** donated his copies of Dr. Charles Burney’s letters to the Burney Center at McGill. **John Richetti** and **Rivka Swenson** have a contract to co-edit for Broadview *The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*. **Shef Rogers**, besides editing *Script & Print*, is co-directing with Donald Kerr the Centre for the Book at the U. of Otago. This Centre has established a Rare Books School that offers courses in Dunedin, Melbourne, and Wellington on a four-year cycle, with the classes drawing on the strength of the host library. Three classes are slated for the 2013 New Zealand summer (January 28-1 February), including a class on “The Business of Books in Britain” taught by James Raven (U. of Essex) and another on paleography taught by Heather Wolfe (Folger). For the Centre and the English Dept., Shef has been writing up suggested bibliographical projects, such as 18th-century printers’ ornaments,

noting initial resources in such research. Shef is compiling a bibliography of 18th-century travel writing and collaborating on a project involving the history of the book in New Zealand. I misspoke in saying **Angus Ross** had finished his biography of John Arbuthnot. **Peter Sabor**'s edition of Volume 1 (1786) of *The Court Journals and Letters of Frances Burney*, along with Stewart Cooke's Vol. 2 (1787) were published in 2011 by Clarendon, £100 each (both are reviewed on pp. 23-24 of the fall 2012 *Burney Letter* by Maggie Lane). Peter will give a plenary on several Burney family members (Alexander d'Arblay and Richard Burney) at next July's Burney Society meeting at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. Congratulations to **John Savarese** on completing his Ph.D. at Rutgers and beginning this fall an A.W. Mellon Foundation fellowship at the University of Texas at Austin, where he is teaching 18C and 19C literature. The most recent *Age of Johnson* contains **Manuel Schonhorn**'s "Climates, Sites, and a Sanctuary: Austen's *Mansfield Park*" (243-54), a convincing examination of geographical tropes patterning the characterization and action in that novel. **Norbert Schürer** was in the UK from August 2011 to July 2012 on a Leverhulme Fellowship from the U. of Winchester. Some of his research, as on the Austen family and John Burdon's bookshop in Bath, is related to his article on the Chawton House exhibition reprinted earlier in this issue (Norbert's keynote address at the opening of the exhibition is expanded somewhat in its catalogue). During that period away, his edition of Charlotte Lennox's letters was published by Bucknell UP (reviewed above). Also, with Tim Keirn, he edited *British Encounters with India, 1750-1830: A Sourcebook* (Palgrave-Macmillan, 2011). Norbert's essay "Sustaining Identity in I'tesamuddin's *The Wonders of Vilayet*" appears in *The Eighteenth Century: Theory and Interpretation*, 52.2 (2011), 137-55. Our congratulations go to **Sarah Schuetze** (English, Univ. of Kentucky) for winning a Mellon fellowship from the McNeil Center for Early American Studies in Philadelphia to study early American narratives about disease and illness. **Patrice Smith** presented on Swift's "Cantata" at the Eighteenth-Century Ireland Society's 2011 conference in conjunction with the Trim Swift Festival, in County Meath. At Trim she joined in a marathon reading of *Gulliver's Travels*. In Dublin, Patrice worked on Swift and music at TCD and the Representative Church Body's archives.

The third volume of the new annual *Religion in the Age of Enlightenment* has been published by AMS Press. Perhaps you'd not heard of this addition to AMS Press's many hardbound annuals (ISSN1947-444X; \$125). It's edited by Brett C. McInelly (Brigham Young U.), with Kathryn Stasio as Book Review Editor (Saint Leo U.)--both are regular participants at SCSECS meetings--indeed, Kathryn is its newsletter editor. Through **Kevin L. Cope**'s connections to the press (long editor of *1650-1850* and *ECCB*), AMS has in turn regularly held receptions at SCSECS meetings and cultivated a productive commerce between Gabe Hornstein's press and the SCSECS. In this third volume of *RAE* appear **Laura M. Stevens**'s "*The New Pilgrim's Progress*, Anglican Longing, and Eighteenth-Century Missionary Fantasies"; **James L. Thorson**'s "Jonathan Swift and the Afterlife: Heaven, Hell, or Maybe Not"; **Martha Bowden**'s "Preaching on the Brink of Ecclesiastical Change: William Sancroft's Sermon at

the Consecration of Seven Bishops, Advent Sunday, 1660”; and **Paul Kerry**’s “*Diesen Kuß der ganzen Welt!*: Locating German Enlightenment through the Idea of Tolerance.” And among the reviews are two by **Anna Battigelli** and **Kevin Cope**. With funding from the Noel Foundation, Kevin and Bob Leitz held a mini-conference in NYC in mid April, “Paper, Ink, and Achievement: Gabriel Hornstein,” at which Gabe contributed a history of AMS press since it was the Abraham’s Magazine Service in 1889. The conference also included Kevin’s “The Holes in the Lifesavers: The Explosion of ‘Helpfulness’ in the Buoyant Eighteenth Century”; **Greg Clingham**’s bibliophilic appreciation “The Place of Books”; **Jack Lynch**’s “Generous and Liberal-Minded: Packaging Johnson and His Age” (on what’s included in anthologies and textbooks); **Jim May**’s “Edmund Curll’s Printers, 1706-1726: The Evidence from Cut Ornaments”; and **Cedric Reverand**’s “The Unreadable *Dunciad*: In Four Unreadable Books.” Also, J. T. Scanlan praised “Three Bibliophiles,” including James M. Osborn, and Janet Aikins Yount examined literary receptions and conflicts in apartheid South Africa. **Kevin Berland**, **Rebecca Shapiro**, and **Brijraj Singh** offered some interesting comments during the Q&A.

Our best wishes also go to **Suzanne Tartamella**, who took her Ph.D. from Maryland in 2010 and taught last year at Gettysburg, and this year starts a tenure-track professorial appointment in English at Henderson State University in Arkadelphia, Arkansas. **James Tierney**’s “The State of Electronic Resources for the Study of Eighteenth-Century British Periodicals: The Role of Scholars, Librarians, and Commercial Vendors” appears in *The Age of Johnson*, 21 (2011 [2012]): 309-38. An early version of the paper was offered at the EC/ASECS in Bethlehem, at a session of electronic rules chaired by **Eleanor Shevlin**. A related session at the Albuquerque ASECS was chaired by **Anna Battagelli**. Now, Anna and Eleanor have gathered several papers from those sessions along with another into a group within the 21st volume of *Age of Johnson*, providing an introduction to the essays (255-62). Besides **Tierney**’s the section includes **David Vander Meulen**’s “*ESTC* as Foundational and Developing” (263-82), offered at the Bethlehem session, and **Stephen Karian**’s “The Limitations and Possibilities of the *ESTC*” (283-98) offered in Albuquerque. **Jack Lynch**, editor of *The Age of Johnson*, was at both meetings and recognized the value of these essays on important tools. To those essays Anna and Eleanor added Laura Mandell’s account of another digital resource: “Brave New World: A Look at *18thConnect*” (299-308). (For more recent discussions of *18thConnect*, just google up the website with its account of its several goals, as to increase access and identify best practices for digital tools, and one can also find comments regarding it upon Anna and Eleanor’s archived blog *Early Modern Online Bibliography*. [an electronic newsletter could have a hyperlink for such parenthetic remarks!]) Not only do David and Stephen address the utility and potential of the *ESTC* but so does Jim Tierney, for the *ESTC* is the starting point for periodical studies. Those working in English art, history, literature and the like who begun using the digitized online 18C newspapers and periodicals should consider Tierney’s article a “must-read” for its survey and critique of resources. David’s essay, not surprisingly given his erudition, provides a

historical overview of the important short-title catalogues before the ESTC and of the ESTC's own evolution. Then he demonstrates why it's foolish to try to rely on the static ECCO citation pages as a substitute for the larger and evolving ESTC and how the ESTC might be corrected and expanded to become even more valuable (as by adding collation formulas, more data from bibliographies and references like J. D. Fleeman's bibliography of Johnson, and by building into it links to other databases and also building into those other sites, like the Reading Experience Database, links to the ESTC. Steve has proposals for how the ESTC might be expanded and then further employed. On 24 June at the ALA conference in Los Angeles, David (Vander Meulen) spoke on a panel regarding "The Current State of Bibliography and Its Future as Practiced and Supported in Special Collections Libraries"; others on the program were David R. Whitesell, the curator of Virginia's Small Special Collections Library, James P. Ascher of the U. of Colorado's English Dept., and moderator, Gerald W. Cloud, the new Clark Librarian.

**Tara Ghosal Wallace's** *Imperial Characters: Home and Periphery in EC Literature* was published a year or more ago by Bucknell University Press, as a volume in Bucknell Studies in 18C Literature and Culture (2010, 244 pp., \$58.50). The study--treating Behn, Pope, Thomson, Defoe, Smollett, Bage, hamilton, and Scott--shows how "literary texts rehearse the risks incurred in the course of imperial expansion." a subject relevant to enough members work that we've asked for a review copy. **Melissa Wehler**, the winner of the 2011 Molin Prize, will publish "The Haunted Transatlantic Libertine: Edmund Kean's American Tour" in January when Ashgate brings forth *The Transatlantic Gothic*, ed. by Bridget Marshall and Monica Elbert. Congratulations to **Brett Wilson** on his receiving tenure and promotion at The College of William and Mary during 2011. Brett's book, *A Race of Female Patriots: Women and Public Spirit on the British Stage, 1688-1745*, has been published by Bucknell U. Press as part of its series "Transits: Literature, Thought, and Culture, 1650-1850." The book examines the recurring figure of the woman who advances the good of her community--either as a martyr or as a civic hero--in plays by Nicholas Rowe, Catharine Trotter, John Dennis, and James Thomson. Brett has an article on Richard Steele's sentimental comedy *The Conscious Lovers* in *Eighteenth-Century Studies*: "Bevil's Eyes: Or, How Crying at *The Conscious Lovers* Could Save Britain" (45.4 [Summer 2012], 497-518).

Let me mention some of the news I am relaying too late. The Midwest ASECS (MW/ASECS) held its meeting in Madison, Wisconsin, on 11-14 October 2012, chaired by Karen Ray. The North American Burney and Austen societies met in New York in early October (**Lorna Clark**, **Teri Doerksen**, **Catherine Keohane** were among the participants). Felicity Nussbaum of UCLA organized "A Conference in Honor of Anne K. Mellor" for 19-20 October, a Friday-Saturday, at the Clark Library. At the Institut de Monde on 20 Oct. occurred a conference on "Cross-National Influences and Divisions in the French and British Periodical Press." That weekend also occurred the "International Conference of Thomas Paine Studies." The Folger Shakespeare

Library through 30 Sept. had an exhibition entitled "Open City: London, 1500-1700," exploring the church, theater and market as communal gathering places.

### **Forthcoming Meetings, Resources, Projects, & Publications**

The Rousseau Association and the Colorado College sponsor "The Enduring Challenge of **Rousseau's Thought** Tercentenary Conference" on 13-15 December in Colorado Springs.

The **Modern Language Association** meets in Boston 3-6 January 2013.

The annual meeting of the **South-Central SECS** occurs in Austin, Texas, on February 21-23, chaired by the Society's President, Frieda Koeninger (Foreign Language Dept., Sam Houston State U., Huntsville, TX 77341-2147; fol\_fck@shsu.edu). The conference theme is "Frontiers of Friendship, Close and Distant," and the venue is the Courtyard Marriot at 300 E. 4th St. Caroline Crimm, a historian of Tejanos and the southwest, will offer a plenary Saturday night on "Romantic Interludes in 18C Northern New Spain." (And there will be a dance, too, with music by the Oklahoma group Ladies at Play.) Note too that the SCSECS has an annual "Presidential Prize" for the best paper at its meeting--the deadline for papers at the 2012 meeting is 31 December, with the winning essay to be published in the annual *1650-1850* (contact Phyllis Thompson, last year's chair at thomsop@etsu.edu for that competition).

The **American Handel Society** holds its 2013 festival at Princeton on 21-24 February. See <http://music2.princeton.edu/AHS/>.

The 39<sup>th</sup> meeting of **SEASECS** on February 28-March 3, 2013, at the Francis Marion Hotel in historic, downtown Charleston, South Carolina. Our plenary speakers will include the distinguished scholars Paula Backscheider and Malcolm Cook. We will also have an excellent opportunity at professional development in the form of a ball of traditional Low-country dancing led by our colleague Chris Hendricks of Armstrong-Atlantic University. The deadline for paper proposals is 1 November 2012. Contact Elizabeth.Kuipers@clayton.edu.

The **Society of Early Americanists** holds its Eighth Biennial Conference on 28 February to 2 March 2013 in Savannah, Georgia, at the Regency Savannah (it last met in Philadelphia, March 2011). It also offers two sessions at the Cleveland ASECS. See the website [www.societyofearlyamericanists.org](http://www.societyofearlyamericanists.org) for details. To subscribe to the SEA's listserv, send your name and the message "SUBSCRIBE EARAM-L YOUR NAME" to listserv @ listserv.kent.edu.

**ASECS** meets at the Renaissance Cleveland Hotel on 4-7 April 2013. Fighting it out for the same weekend with ASECS is the Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century British Women Writers Conference held in Albuquerque.

The second biannual meeting of the **North American Kant Society** will be held at Cornell on May 31-June 2, 2013. Papers are welcome "in any area of Kant's philosophy, or on themes related to his philosophy. Please identify the area under which you wish your paper to be considered (theoretical, practical, etc.)." Presentations should not exceed 20 minutes (approx. 3000 words). "Papers will be blind reviewed, and so please keep identifying information on a

separate page. We especially encourage graduate student submissions. If you are a graduate student, please identify yourself as such in the information page. A \$200 travel award will be provided for the best graduate paper and this paper will be considered for the annual Markus Herz Prize. Submit your proposal by 1 January as an attachment to [cornellnaksconference@kantpapers.org](mailto:cornellnaksconference@kantpapers.org).”

The **Eighteenth-Century Scottish Studies Society** meets with the International **Adam Smith Society** at the Sorbonne (U. of Paris), 3-6 July 2013.

The **Chawton House Library** in Hampshire, UK, opened in 2002 as a collection and center for researching women’s writing, will hold the conference “Pride and Prejudices: Women’s Writing of the Long Eighteenth Century” on 4-6 July 2013. Sponsored also by the U. of Southampton and the U. of Kent, the conference is open to all aspects of the writing of women in the long 18C, but it esp. invites papers that reflect on scholarly achievements within the field over the last decade and that map out work to be done. By 14 January, submit abstracts for 20-minute papers, or shorter contributions to roundtables, to one of the panel or roundtable organizers on the email addresses given in the Topics and discussions document at [http://www.southampton.ac.uk/scecs/documents/pride\\_prejudices\\_topics.pdf](http://www.southampton.ac.uk/scecs/documents/pride_prejudices_topics.pdf). Send general inquiries to Gillian Dow, Director of Research, Chawton House Library ([g.dow@soton.ac.uk](mailto:g.dow@soton.ac.uk)).

The **Tercentenary Conference Laurence Sterne 1713-2013** will be held 8-11 July 2013 at the Royal Holloway College of the University of London, organized by Judith Hawley ([J.Hawley@rhul.ac.uk](mailto:J.Hawley@rhul.ac.uk)), Melvyn New ([mnew@english.ufl.edu](mailto:mnew@english.ufl.edu)), and Peter de Voogd ([peterdevoogd@fastmail.fm](mailto:peterdevoogd@fastmail.fm)). Proposals for individual papers or panels on any aspect of Sterne studies are invited to be submitted by 1 December to [peterdevoogd@fastmail.fm](mailto:peterdevoogd@fastmail.fm). For papers submit your name, email address, affiliation, title, and 250-word abstract. The abstract for submitting panels should be 500-words long and be submitted with details on contributors and their titles.

**SHARP** (Society for the History of Authorship, Reading, and Publishing) meets 18-21 July 2013 in Philadelphia, hosted by the U. of Pennsylvania and other local institutions, with a large organizing committee that includes Eleanor Shevlin (SHARP’s membership sec’y), James Green (curator, Library Co. of Philadelphia), and Daniel Traister (former rare books curator at Penn) Paper proposals of 400 words are due by 30 November, ideally related to the theme “Geographies of the Book” (explicated at the conference website, where also appears a link for submitting proposals). You can propose now and join later.

The Third Biennial Meeting of the **Defoe Society**, with the theme “Global Defoe: His Times and His Contemporaries,” will occur 9-10 August 2013 in Normal, IL. Panel proposals were due in Sept. to Andreas Mueller ([a.mueller@worc.ac.uk](mailto:a.mueller@worc.ac.uk)). A CFP should come this month.

The Fourth Anglo-Italian Conference on Eighteenth-Century Studies occurs 5-7 Sept. 2013, and the German Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies on 9-11 September 2013 (in Wolfenbüttel, at the Herzog August Library). And a conference on “Sugar and Beyond” is being organized for the John Carter Brown Library in Providence, for 25-26 October 213.



The EC/ASECS will meet in Philadelphia during fall 2013, co-chaired by Peter Briggs, Doreen A. Saar, and Geoffrey Sill.

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**Hey, it's grant season**--the Huntington's deadline is typical, 30 Nov. And consider applying for the Irish-American fellowship (details in the March *ECI*).

On 22 July 2012, Barry McKay, the rare books seller who does a fine job publicizing book history conferences in the UK, sent off the following request for letters supporting the **Mendham Collection**, with much 18C materials. The letter is from Dr Alixe Bovey, Chair, Mendham Collection Task Force and Director of the Centre for Medieval and Early Modern Studies & Lecturer in Medieval History in the University of Kent's School of History. I quote it in its entirety, ignoring paragraph breaks: "I am writing to ask for your support for a campaign by the University of Kent and Canterbury Cathedral to save the Mendham Collection, a historic library of manuscripts and printed material. Its founder, Joseph Mendham (1769-1856), was an Anglican vicar and, in the words of the *Dictionary of National Biography*, a 'religious controversialist'. The collection was given to the Law Society in the 1860s, and then loaned by them to the University of Kent and Canterbury Cathedral in 1984. You can browse through the collection's holdings on the University's library catalogue by looking up the keyword 'Mendham'. Although we have an agreement with the Law Society until the end of 2013, they have suddenly decided to sell the most valuable items at auction to plug a hole in their finances. On Wednesday, Sotheby's took away about 300 of the most valuable books. Colleagues in and beyond Kent are extremely distressed by this and are hoping to draw attention to the plight of the collection. We are entreating the Law Society to pause so that we can try to find a way to preserve the collection intact for current and future researchers. We have sympathy for the Law Society's predicament but are nonetheless horrified that this historic collection is to be sacrificed."

The University of Michigan's special collections have mounted through 13 January the exhibition *Discovering Eighteenth-Century British America: The William L. Clements Collection*," which includes not only the original 1923 donation (with wonders such as Benjamin West's painting *The Death of General Wolfe*) but items since acquired.

The Lilly Library of Indiana University's exhibition into December showcases *The War of 1812*, probably the subject of more than one exhibit.

From Conor Wyer we received the following information dated July 2012, apparently written by Margaret Ford, about a free public resource: "The Bibliographical Society in conjunction with the University of Toronto is pleased to announce the publication of an important new online reference work for book history. **The British Armorial Bindings Database**, begun by John Morris and continued by Philip Oldfield, is now available on the web at <http://armorial.library.utoronto.ca/>. This catalogue, which attempts to record all known British armorial bookbinding stamps used by personal owners to mark and decorate their books, reproduces over 3,300 stamps used between the sixteenth and twentieth centuries, associated with nearly two thousand individual owners.

Intended primarily as a tool to facilitate the identification of heraldic

stamps, the database may be searched from many angles. Stamps may be searched by heraldic devices, such as arms, crest, mottoes etc. Owners can be found under their family name, their titular name, rank in the peerage, and by gender. The 12,000 odd books which provide the sources for the stamps, from libraries around the world, may be sorted by author and title, and individual libraries can be searched for their holdings of armorial bindings. The database will be useful to rare book librarians, book historians, book dealers, students of heraldry, genealogists, and anyone with an interest in questions of provenance and the identification of coats of arms.”

**Christopher Fauske**, who co-coordinates the biennial **Money, Power, Print Colloquia**, has posted a “results page” summarizing the fifth colloquium, held 14-17 June 2012 at the Citadel in Halifax, Nova Scotia ([https:// sites .google. com/site/moneypowerprint/colloquia/2012/results](https://sites.google.com/site/moneypowerprint/colloquia/2012/results)). This “page” offers a summary and synthesis of the discussions during the meeting. Papers concerned such texts as Pope’s *Of the Use of Riches*, John Gay’s *A Panegyric Epistle to Mr. Thomas Snow*, David Hume’s *Of the Balance of Trade*, and Malachy Postlethwayt’s *Of the Encrease and Decrease of Real Money in a State, and of the Price of Commodities*. Chris’s account of the colloquia is substantive and detailed, noting such topics as cash crops and the impact of army units on the towns in which they were posted; recurrent threads through the meeting included the “tension between fiscal and monetary policy in theory and the actual results of those policies.” The account contains some photographs and links. Among the links is “A Further Working Bibliography of Published Sources Cited at the Colloquia Held at the Citadel . . .” Chris announced on 15 August his organization’s migration to a new website at [http:// www. moneypowerandprint.org](http://www.moneypowerandprint.org). There he and his colleagues have posted the material from all five previous colloquia held to date, including papers. As part of the website redesign they have also been able to add a “forum” component to allow discussion of MPP-related matters.” Anyone wishing to register should contact Chris at [cfauske@gmail.com](mailto:cfauske@gmail.com). They are planning the sixth colloquium for June 2014 to be held at what was once the Irish College in Leuven, Belgium. Expect the CFP at the end of this year or the start of 2013.

In spring 2012 **ASECS’s Digital Humanities Caucus** conducted a technology survey of ASECS members. A report was then issued (dated 18 July 2012) and attached in September to ASECS’s weekly announcements. Summary remarks were posted at <http://eighteenthcentury.org/>. To facilitate discussion, a forum was established at Anna Battigelli and Eleanor Shevlin’s website *Early Modern Online Bibliography*. The report, with input from 343 respondents, contains answers to such questions as which social networking tools do you use, what digital humanities topics are you working on or interested in learning about, would you prefer another discussion group format to C18-L [like a blog or “online forum”], what kind of session format would you prefer at ASECS--the traditional panel of 3-4 papers was the favorite followed by roundtables (274 and 260), but 214 wished to see workshops with hands-on opportunities to explore new digital tools and 161 wanted point-counterpoint debates. Recently the blog *The Long Eighteenth Century: For Anyone Interested in the Long*

*Eighteenth Century* was created in response to calls on C18-L for a weblog (I can't figure out by whom). All 18C scholars can contribute to it. It will carry links to other blogs and post calls for papers. To my inexperienced eye, the site seems to gather, integrate, and record for recall comments on topics much as *Early Modern Online Bibliography* (EMOB) does--the two seem to overlap in topics and comments. Once C18-L's discussion list served as the only extensive online conferencing; I can't but wonder if some fragmentation could occur through the proliferation of blogs. At any rate, within eighteenth-century studies there are many digital and WWW developments to miss if you aren't regularly checking blogs like EMOB, which have largely improved on newsletters like the *Intelligencer*, giving pages to matters of interest to relatively few. One posting in early October on EMOB concerns "New Digital Projects II: Vernacular Aristotelianism and Digitized Archives at the Wellcome Library" (posted 4 October by Anna Battigelli), and also an article announces that Laura Mandell, Director of the Initiative for Digital Humanities, Media, and Culture (IDHMC), along with two co-researchers, received from the Andrew Mellon Foundation a two-year \$734,000 development grant for the "Early Modern OCR [optical character recognition] Project." The project is intended "to develop new methods and tools to improve the digitization, transcription, and preservation of early modern texts." While working with the digitized documents on EEBO and ECCO, the IDHMC "will aggregate and re-tool many of the recent innovations in OCR in order to provide a stable community and expanded canon for future scholarly pursuits."

Earlier this year on EMOB, Eleanor Shevlin described the **British Newspaper Archives**, a joint project of the BL and the company "brightsolid online publishing": "Over the next decade, this partnership is slated to digitize over 40 million pages of the British Library's newspaper collection," working from both original papers and microfilm. Eleanor indicates the archive has a built-in capacity for the reader to correct the OCR text. She adds "The site's descriptive information suggests the collection dates primarily from the nineteenth century on, but there are 24 eighteenth-century provincial newspaper titles available in the current collection." These include the *Bath Chronicle*, *Caledonian Mercury*, *Leeds Intelligencer*, *Ipswich Journal*, *Newcastle Courant*, and *Northampton Mercury*, those with the most issues (there are no 18C London papers yet). This is a subscription service with varying rates (for limited and unlimited searching), with a year's unlimited access offered for £80. Eleanor's comparison to the Burney Online suggests to me the search options are not quite as good, but do include varied options. Eleanor identifies some glitches, too.

Now for something old fashioned. Gabriella Hartvig, my colleague in Swift studies, sent me a special issue, devoted to reception issues in the long 18C, of the *Hungarian Journal of English and American Studies*, 13, nos. 1-2 (Spring-Fall 2007 [2008]). Gabriella and her co-editor Gabriella Vöo provide a good introduction to an often thoughtful collection of original essays (214 pp. with summaries). Of particular notice is **Bernhard Fabian's "The Reception of British Writers on the Continent: Principles and Problems"** (7-22). After a valuable critique of "reception studies," Fabian focuses on the republication of

English texts (in roughly 10,000 editions in German alone from 1680-1800). He notes, “in 1700 an educated person could do without English, whereas in 1800 it was essential to him”—which relates to how many translations of English authors were from previous French translations (as into Germany) or German translations (for languages like Russian and Hungarian further into Europe) and to the relative failure at mid-century of the first English-language publications. Fabian identifies much that is not yet known about the history of British books and the agents and agencies involved in their alteration, editing, translating, selling, and consumption on the Continent. He calls for studies of translations (what’s cut or added?), mediators, publishing practices (some European houses like that of Philipp Erasmus Reich in Leipzig went to London to seek exclusive translation rights [Richardson was so approached] or simply sent agents to discover what needed to be translated). He concludes by recommending attention to such frames of reference as the image of Britain created and transmitted outside Britain and the needs of the country that put English texts to use. Fabian stresses that “Reception processes have to be approached from the receiving end”; works are introduced that fill “gaps” and complete and help redirect the culture in desired ways, as to modernize itself. This point is very well exemplified in the next item in the volume, Aladár Sarbu’s “Hungarian Literary Nationalism and English Authors of the Eighteenth Century” (13:23-34), which shows how Hungarian efforts to modernize and civilize the country led to a translation campaign through the 19th century (Sarbu’s principal example is Hugh Blair’s *Lectures on Rhetoric*, translated by János Kis in 1838). The issue’s other essays include Howard Gaskill on Holderlin’s *Hyperion*, Tom Hubbard on Sir Walter Scott’s poetry, Sandro Jung on John Gilbert Cooper’s *Letters Concerning Taste*, and Andrew Rouse on the “transportation ballad.”

Kathryn Stasio and Michael Austin have issued a call for submission for an AMS Press volume they will co-edit on “Reasoning Beasts: Evolution, Cognition, and Culture in the Long 18C,” with explorations of literature and culture that apply **cognitive or evolutionary cultural theory**. Send a 500-word abstract and short CV by 1 Nov. (acceptances will be mailed by 1 Dec.). Contact the editors at [kathryn.stasio@saintlio.edu](mailto:kathryn.stasio@saintlio.edu) and [austinm@newmanu.edu](mailto:austinm@newmanu.edu).

Above I noted that David Vander Meulen’s high praise for the ESTC’s capacity to evolve. Here I call attention to one frequent sort of misinformation offered by the ESTC, warning scholars not to stumble over it before it is fixed. Many imprint **dates in the ESTC** are placed in square brackets when the correct date is present in the imprint. Those brackets traditionally imply the imprint lacks the date or has the wrong date or the date in roman numerals. There may be thousands of such misrepresentations in the ESTC; that misinformation is repeated in ECCO citation pages for all nine examples below (presumably the problem will be fixed in the ESTC but the errors are likely to remain on ECCO):

- Miscellanies by Dr. Jonathan Swift* (“Printed for E. Curll . . . 1711”); ESTC T39444 noting “[1711]”;
- Deuel Pead’s *The Honour, Happiness, and Safety of Union. Or a Sermon* (“Printed by W. Downing . . . 1707”); T36637 noting “[1707]”;
- The Student’s Library* . . . (“Printed by John Humfreys, . . . 1713”); T48755

- noting “[1713]”;
- Edmund Curll’s *The White Crow* . . . 2nd ed. (“Printed in the Year . . . 1710”); T61285 noting “[1710]”;
  - Curll’s *Complete Key to the Tale of a Tub* (“Printed for . . . 1710”); T73673 noting “[1710]”;
  - Christopher Bullock’s *A Woman’s Revenge* (Curll, et al., “1715”); T57276 noting “[1715]”;
  - An Epitaph upon His Grace John, Duke of Marlborough . . . by a Monk of the Order of St. Dominic*. (“Printed . . . 1714.”); T120685 noting “[1714]”;
  - Tale of a Bottomless Tub* (“Printed . . . 1723”; T49830 noting “[1723]”);
  - A Dream: or the Force of Fancy* (“Printed. . . 1710”); N16861 noting “[1710].”

The Folger Shakespeare Library has adapted into a “web-enabled database” and mounted at “firstlines.folger.edu” the *Union First Line Index of English Verse*, for MS verse, originally compiled by Carolyn Nelson on Excel spreadsheets. It allows searches by various keywords: first line, last line, author, title, shelfmark, and “women only”, and one can limit searches by collection. The manuscripts indexed are in the collections of the Folger, BL, Bodleian, Brotherton, Harvard, Huntington, Yale, “Harold Love and Meredith Sherlock (*Clandestine Satire*), and Steve May’s *Elizabethan Poetry*.” The index incorporates first lines from “Hilton Kelliher’s British Library index of 1894-2009 acquisitions” and from the Wing Short-title catalogue. Some of the first lines have been “modernized and cannot be trusted as direct transcriptions.” The website has a page with instructions and a link for contacts.

**ASECS and Ashgate Press** has approved a “partner page” at Ashgate’s website to provide ASECS members with a discount on books (the promotional code is “ASECS20”). I learned this from ASECS’s weekly news circulars from the efficient Vickie Cutting--always with pages of links to calls for papers, etc.

**James Fenning**, long an important antiquarian bookseller in Dublin, has died and his stock is being auctioned off 19-20 October by Whyte’s in Dublin.

The **cover illustration** is reprinted through the courtesy of the Rev. Dr. Daniel and Mrs. Juliet O’Connor of Balmullo, Co. Fife (intended to accompany Brijraj Singh’s essay on Mughal painting above). W. H. Capone’s steel engraving is based on a drawing by London artist T. C. Dibdin, which in turn is based on a sketch by T. Bacon, perhaps an employee of the East India Co. and probably dating from the 1830s. (Dibdin frequently produced detailed drawings from others’ sketches.) The engraving was first published in 1842 by the Edinburgh publisher A. Fullarton and reprinted in various works over the next two decades, including *A Gazetteer of the World or, A Dictionary of Geographical Knowledge*, 7 vols. (Fullarton, 1855; rpt. in a 2nd edition at both London and Edinburgh, 1856). Capone was a successful book illustrator, many of whose prints have been removed from 19th-century volumes and are sold separately. Professor Singh adds that more than one internet print seller identify the scene, despite its caption noting Delhi, as a view of a section of the Red Fort in Agra.

