

The Eighteenth-Century Intelligencer

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Through this newsletter, scholars and teachers can pass along to colleagues news, opportunities, and practical tips normally not communicated in scholarly journals. Members are encouraged to submit book reviews, notes and essays, notices, accounts of travel, conferences, concerts, and exhibitions, pedagogical advice, light verse, and queries. They are asked to report news of their publications, lectures, grants, and on-going projects. Please submit contributions as an attachment in Word 2003 or 2010 or in RTF. Pertinent articles are indexed in *The Annual Bibliography of English Language & Literature, MLA International Bibliography, The Scriblerian*, and *Year's Work in English Studies*.

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English-Language Resources on Wörlitz Park and Palace: A Bibliographical Survey

By John P. Heins

It was my honor and pleasure to serve as the President of EC/ASECS for 2020, and to present the presidential address at our annual meeting this past October (conducted online because of the pandemic). My talk, entitled "Both Here and There in Wörlitz," addressed some features of Wörlitz Park and Palace in Saxony-Anhalt, eastern Germany, working through a series of photographs and thinking through some ideas about our collective remoteness. Customarily the presidential address is published here in the *Intelligencer*, but I believe that my talk would not be as effective in print form, and after the fact--in the words of folk wisdom, "you had to be there." In its stead, and in the hope that my talk might have piqued some listeners' curiosity. I offer the present exploration of English-language resources regarding Wörlitz. The German-language literature on Wörlitz is extensive, and the rate at which both scholarly research and popular writing are conducted and published has increased dramatically since German reunification. For the researcher whose German reading ability is rusty or underdeveloped, however, there is a substantial linguistic barrier to a potentially very interesting and fruitful crosscultural topic of study. Luckily, there are some resources available in English that might give the reader a start on understanding this historically crucial German example of the English landscape garden, an eighteenth-century cultural practice with distinctly trans-European relevance. What follows is a brief account of such resources, organized into five categories: eighteenthcentury sources, descriptions in general works on garden history, illustrated overviews and guidebooks, articles in the periodical literature, and scholarly monographs. This report is not intended to be exhaustive, but rather to give a quick overview and to encourage further research and writing.

Wörlitz Park, built between the late 1760's and around 1800 in the small principality of Anhalt-Dessau, is one of the earliest and most influential English-style landscape gardens in Germany. It consists of five fairly distinct sections, built in successive periods and circling a central lake. Wörlitz Park and Palace now form the centerpiece of a UNESCO World Heritage site, the Garden Kingdom of Dessau-Wörlitz, a group of several palaces and parks in the vicinity of Dessau, whose website provides some introductory information and photographs. The garden and the Palladian palace at Wörlitz were built under the direction of Prince Franz of Anhalt-Dessau (1740-1817), in collaboration with the architect Friedrich Wilhelm von Erdmannsdorff (1736-1800), and a succession of several head gardeners (most prominent among them: Johann Christian Neumark, Johann Leopold Schoch, and Johann Georg Schoch). Prince Franz undertook a series of informative journeys over the course of his life, beginning with a voyage to England in 1763-64, and then to Italy in 1765-66, generally in the company of Erdmannsdorff. Together they gathered visual impressions to complement their reading and discussions, impressions that would gradually be reflected in the buildings and landscape of Wörlitz. Survivals of classical antiquity encountered on that Grand Tour are reflected in statuary and garden structures in Wörlitz Park, while the

architecture of Palladio and its interpretation in England are reflected in Wörlitz Palace, considered by architectural historians to be one of the first neoclassical structures in Germany. Wörlitz is also home to an early example of neogothic architecture (the "Gothic House"), and to an artificial volcano built on a small island (the *Stein*) in the lake, a feature recalling the Dessau party's encounter with Vesuvius (guided by Sir William Hamilton) on the Italian journey. These architectural elements complement the design of the landscape garden and render the whole site a complex object of experience and carrier of meaning.

Among eighteenth-century resources about Wörlitz available in English, the 1997 publication For the Friends of Nature and Art centers on an English translation (with French original) of Erdmannsdorff's journal entries of that first trip to England.³ The journal covers their travels through Germany, Holland, and Belgium, and then a two-month portion of their travels in England, through October 1763, detailing in particular the houses and gardens they visited. Unfortunately the remainder of the journal, conceivably covering the subsequent months in England through the spring of 1764, is lost. This volume begins with an excellent brief account by Michael Stürmer of Prince Franz's biography and of the historical development of the Garden Kingdom, placing the landscape design factors in the context of Franz's broader Enlightenment reforms (modern agricultural methods, public education, Jewish emancipation, and freedom of the press, among other things). For a reader seeking some theoretical background to the German reception of English landscape garden design ideas more generally, a highly significant eighteenth-century source available in English translation is C.C.L. Hirschfeld's *Theory of Garden Art*, translated and edited by Linda B. Parshall.⁴ Hirschfeld's work was perhaps the most widely-read work on the English landscape garden style in the German-speaking world by the end of the century, and thus can provide context for an understanding of the reception of Wörlitz by a broad public, even if (as Parshall points out) Hirschfeld never visited the place, and his brief second-hand account of it fails to grasp its significance. Parshall's introduction to Hirschfeld's work is an excellent resource on the landscape garden in eighteenth-century Germany, as is her earlier journal article from 1993.5

Descriptions of Wörlitz in general works on garden history in English, however brief, provide a useful framework of broader developments in garden design, general information about the park, and hints about the fuller history that the reader might pursue. Marie Luise Gothein's two-volume History of Garden Art of 1928, translated from German, devotes a few pages to Wörlitz, in which she opines that Prince Franz had achieved "the first essentials: variety and contrast" in the park, however snidely she describes the *Stein Island*. The artificial volcano, however popular with visitors when first constructed, "today would not produce the desired illusion even for children. Men of that day, however, had a great fancy for such toys [...]."6 Christopher Thacker's 1979 History of Gardens features a section titled "The Sublime Garden in Germany and France," in which his brief mention of Wörlitz focuses on its "ambitious scale," its "size and boldness." He counters Gothein's opinion on the volcano: "We may think it ridiculous, but it is identical in spirit with the monstrous effects achieved and enjoyed in the modern cinema."⁷ A more substantial treatment appears in The Oxford Companion to Gardens of 1986, which

devotes two columns of text to Wörlitz, briefly describing the five sections of the garden, giving a short history of its development, and including references to other gardens which exercised an influence on its design.⁸

A recent, more specific overview of Continental developments in eighteenth-century garden design is offered by Michael Symes in *The English Landscape Garden in Europe* of 2016. Symes devotes a full chapter to Germany, beginning with a helpful reminder of the political and administrative complexity of the German territories in the eighteenth century (343 in number), and their corresponding intellectual and cultural complexity. He mentions some twenty or so gardens, granting Wörlitz a more extensive treatment than others, since "to many eyes Wörlitz was, and remains, the greatest of landscape gardens in Germany," and placing it in the context of Prince Franz's "ambitious Enlightenment project." Symes's treatment of Wörlitz directs attention and whets the appetite, without, however, providing a full scholarly apparatus to point the reader to many further resources.

Works on Wörlitz coming from Germany over the last twenty years have sometimes been published in English versions as well, particularly some general overviews richly illustrated with artful photographs, and some guidebooks. These works provide richer content than one might expect from this category of work, accompanied as they sometimes are by substantial essays from well-versed scholars. The book Infinitely Beautiful: The Garden Realm of Dessau-Wörlitz was published simultaneously in an English and a German version in 2005. 11 The title, with the slogan "infinitely beautiful," derives from a well-known and much-referenced quotation from Goethe, who visited Wörlitz many times. Along with its high-quality photographs to support Goethe's aesthetic judgement, this book presents essays on aspects of all of the sites making up the Garden Kingdom: Oranienbaum (a baroque palace with Dutch-style garden and an addition in the anglo-chinois style, with a pagoda modelled on the one at Kew); Schloss Mosigkau (just west of Dessau, a rococo palace); the Luisium (a small neoclassical villa built for Franz's wife, designed by Erdmannsdorff and accompanied by another small landscape garden); the Georgium (a neoclassical palace built for Johann Georg, Prince Franz's younger brother, with another landscape garden, within the city of Dessau); the Sieglitzer Park; and the Kühnauer See. The essays on Wörlitz itself handle major aspects of the park, detailing the relationship between Prince Franz and Erdmannsdorff, the palace, the Gothic House, the Stein Island, the synagogue designed by Erdmannsdorff and built just east of the palace, the area around the churchyard, the "palace garden," Neumark's Garden, Schoch's Garden, the "Neue Anlagen," and the town of Wörlitz.

Similarly well-illustrated is the volume *Wörlitz, eine Annäherung* = *Wörlitz, an Approach* of 2017. The focus in this bilingual volume is more narrowly on Wörlitz as the real centerpiece of the Garden Kingdom, and the six "reflections," by six different authors, are more weighty than one might expect in a large format, photo-heavy, non-scholarly volume. The authors remark on the recent history of the garden (Thomas Weiss), the Wörlitz "country house" and landscape garden as expressions of English mentality (Hans-Dieter Gelfert), the roots of the English landscape garden "between ideology and aesthetics" (Vittorio Magnago Lampugnani), the "iconic quality" of Wörlitz Palace (Adrian von Buttlar), the embeddedness of Wörlitz in a broader context of Enlightenment reform in Anhalt-Dessau (Bazon Brock),

and the idea of tolerance in Wörlitz (Michael Stürmer). Similarly surprising for their degree of information are some of the readily-available English-language guidebooks to the Garden Kingdom. A good example would be *The Garden Kingdom of Dessau-Wörlitz* from 2017.¹³ This guide offers a wealth of information in texts by Erhard Hirsch (the unofficial "dean" of scholarly Wörlitz studies) and Annette Scholtka, in addition to impressive photos (by Janos Stekovics) and very helpful maps. The text situates the Garden Kingdom in its historical origins briefly and clearly, touching on several crucial aspects of the "Dessau Enlightenment," as well as giving a brief introduction to Dessau's role in the early twentieth century as the home of the Bauhaus (after it moved from Weimar, where it was founded).

If we turn to the periodical literature, perhaps the first substantial English-language article published after German reunification was Ludwig Trauzettel's "Wörlitz: England in Germany" in the British journal Garden History in 1996. Trauzettel, who was the manager of the gardens from 1981 to 2017, details the various ways in which Prince Franz's fascination with England manifested itself in Wörlitz, from economic and technological innovations to architectural and landscape styles. Trauzettel's article is particularly interesting for the perspective it gives on the 20th-century history of the Garden Kingdom, explaining that the building of a freeway and corresponding feeder roads divided the Kingdom and ruined the approach to the city of Dessau from its parts in the east (Wörlitz, Luisium, Oranienbaum), and that subsequent neglect during the German Democratic Republic period had led to a situation where "the whole appearance of the Wörlitz estate barely corresponded to the original."¹⁵ In the restoration that began in 1992, priority was placed on restoring the views by clearing overgrown parts, re-establishing the succession of garden scenes as the originally-intended "series of pictures." The original footpath from Dessau to Wörlitz was substantially cleared, and many structures were reconstructed. John Harris stresses the urgency of this kind of work in his one-page notice in Apollo in that same year of 1996, "The Stalemate of the Wörlitz Stein: A Plea for International Aid." ¹⁷ Harris frames his remarks by citing the importance of Prince Franz's accomplishments: "The Wörlitz gardens have no peer in Germany. From 1763 to 1813 Prince Franz built three palaces, made five gardens, and in all built more than 140 garden structures, churches and estate buildings. . . . Nothing in Europe better demonstrates the interaction between the Enlightenment and the making of gardens." Harris focuses most distinctly on the Stein Island, with its artificial volcano and its Villa Hamilton, a small tea house modeled on Hamilton's "Villa Emma" at Posillipo. The description of the volcano's structure and the neoclassical decoration of the Villa Hamilton are intended to motivate international concern, as the *Stein* represented "undoubtedly the most important endangered garden building in Europe" at that time. In the end, the designation of UNESCO World Heritage status for the Garden Kingdom as a whole came in 2000, and the restoration of the *Stein* was completed in 2005.

In more recent years, a smattering of periodical articles have taken up more specific aspects of the garden history manifested in Wörlitz. The most substantive of these for the purpose of interpreting the iconography of the garden appeared in the American journal *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes* in 2009. This was Marcus Becker's "Meeting immaterial gods? Copies of antique sculptures in German sentimental gardens." Becker

addresses a tension he sees between "Arcadia" and "art" in the landscape garden, that is, the purportedly intended immersive experience of the "sentimental visitor" on the one hand and the modern copies of antique statues of the gods on the other. Becker asks if or how the visitor might have thought about the materiality of these sculptures in two primary examples, Wörlitz and Machern. In the case of Wörlitz, he examines a crucial primary text, August Rode's much-reprinted guidebook to Wörlitz, in the edition of 1798 (a text that would be a valuable English translation project). 19 Becker addresses Rode's narration of the intended successive experience of a section of the garden called the "Mystical Part" that culminates in the Temple of Venus. Becker skillfully illustrates the startling contrast between Rode's poetic and mystical narration of the approach to the temple, on the one hand (a narration Becker suggests is intended as "an instruction for an ideal perception of the scenery"), and the cold, prosaic description of the Venus statue, with technical details about materials and construction, on the other. The reader of Becker's article might feel free to disagree with some of his conclusions, while still appreciating the details of his close reading of Rode's text, and the possibilities for iconographic interpretation as well as material history of Wörlitz. Later in the same journal, the Stein is discussed briefly in Sonja Duempelmann and Herrington's "Plotting Time in Landscape Duempelmann and Herrington note that the Stein reflects "the fascination with geological formations and deep time" following eruptions of Vesuvius in the 1760's and 1770's, and that the bridge program at Wörlitz, including the iron bridge (a scaled-down copy of the first iron bridge at Coalbrookdale), located in close proximity to the *Stein* Island, tells a story of industrial progress.²¹

In the last two years, Wörlitz has appeared in two separate issues of the British journal Garden History. First, Michael Symes's brief article "Anglo-German Garden Connections in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries" makes some general observations about such connections, while noting that German interpretations of the English style were "very much their own creations, attuned to local topographies, agendas and aspirations, and expressive of the owner's cultural character."22 He naturally singles out Wörlitz for comment, suggesting that this garden exhibits elements of English landscape design with great clarity: "long views and vistas, varied architecture, relationship of features to each other, balance of plantings and clear spaces, the centrality of water, cultural references." I can only echo his remark that "for non-readers of the language, there is a pressing need to have some of the most important and useful German texts translated into English."²³ In 2020, another issue of Garden History included two articles related to Wörlitz. Christopher Oschatz's article "The Use of English and German Pattern Books at the Garden Kingdom of Dessau-Wörlitz, Germany" presents two case studies of the cultural transfer of architectural ideas.²⁴ One regards the *Schlangenhaus* at the Luisium. The other is the Garden Inspector's House at Wörlitz, built between 1797 and 1799 following plans for a "villa in a countryside style" that had appeared in the first volume of Johann Gottfried Grohmann's Ideenmagazin für Liebhaber von Gärten, englischen Anlagen und für Besitzer von Landgütern (1796). Those plans, Oschatz explains, were taken from John Plaw's pattern book Ferme ornée; Or Rural Improvements of 1795, in a clear moment of (unattributed) cultural borrowing. On a similarly practical theme, Mark Laird, Lara Mehling and Bonnie Tung's article "Schoch and 'Schrubs': Translation of a German Shrubbery Manual of 1794" takes up Symes's call for English translations of relevant German materials. ²⁵ Unlike the theoretical character of earlier German works on the English garden style (like Hirschfeld's), Johann Georg Schoch's garden manual of 1794, *Versuch einer Anleitung zu Anlegung eines Gartens im englischen Geschmack*, provided purely practical directions for the design and planting of such a garden, based on his experience at Wörlitz. The article includes an English translation of one chapter of Schoch's work under the title "On the Arrangement of Plants in the Layout of Shrubberies." Laird, Mehling, and Tung provide a brief but rich discussion of the principles elucidated in Schoch's work, presenting as well some striking digital imaging of Schoch's shrubbery plan.

For the English-reading scholar who might become intrigued by the information in these general works and brief periodical articles on Wörlitz, and so wish to read a full scholarly monograph in English, perhaps on its more theoretical or political aspects, the historian Maiken Umbach's 2000 book Federalism and Enlightenment in Germany, 1740-1806 is the only one that I have found. 26 As the title suggests, the stakes in this remarkable work are larger than the history of a single palace and garden, though Wörlitz in its symbolic power is her example. Umbach's thesis is that the Palladian villa and English landscape garden at Wörlitz are central expressions of what she calls "enlightened federalism," to be contrasted with the much-remarked "enlightened absolutism" of Prussia. In this argument, the political institutions and legal practices of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation might be understood as not simply premodern holdovers resisting the modernizing force of the central-power Prussian model, but rather a dynamic system of decentralized powers, characterized by "diversity within unity, in practical terms a federation between autonomous and highly diverse member states," a system entirely compatible with a kind of "progressive federal Enlightenment" (Umbach 4-5). Prince Franz was active in trying to establish forms of cooperation among like-minded princes of small states in the 1770's, as an "imperial opposition movement against Prussia" (Umbach 17). This political context is crucial, Umbach suggests, for understanding the whole series of Enlightenment reforms instituted by Prince Franz: economic reform, agricultural innovation, educational reform, religious tolerance, and other social reforms. The park and the palace take on a central role as expressions of political ideals, she argues, in a way that parallels the complicated political language of landscape gardens in England in the first half of the eighteenth century. Just as the nobility forming the Patriot Opposition in England might express a critique of the Walpole administration through garden design and iconography, for instance, so the rulers of small German states might assert their autonomy against the growing power of Prussia, also through garden design and iconography (Umbach 64, 180).

Since Prince Franz left behind little writing, let alone political writing, Umbach admits that we have no *direct* evidence that the garden was created specifically to illustrate a distinct political vision (65, 67). Her task becomes one of arguing in general terms that Wörlitz does in fact function as political expression, as well as experimentation in practical Enlightenment, and of interpreting carefully the iconography of the garden and the palace, which she undertakes in her third chapter, "The Image of the Enlightened Prince." The complexity and extremely rich detail of her account resist quick summary, but

overall she clearly puts to rest any idea that the features of this garden can be grasped by concepts like "ununified" or "idiosyncratic." The Gothic House, for instance, should be understood as an exploration of the patriotic belief in the traditions of the German nation in the context of the Empire, while the Swiss components of its decorative program allude to the liberties guaranteed in that other *federal* system. Umbach also takes the *Stein* Island seriously, explaining it not as simply travel impressions made physical, or simply an homage to Sir William Hamilton, but as a careful meditation on Hamilton's own scientific concerns, particularly regarding volcanism. Finally, Umbach very helpfully details and explains the centrality of the two most important English models for Wörlitz, those being Painshill and Stourhead. She not only notes similarities and asserts influences, but rather describes the iconographic importance of the parallels, grounding important points in evidence from Prince Franz's visits to those gardens. Any English-language researcher will have plenty of material and arguments to engage with in Umbach's book, and will come away with a substantial overview of why Wörlitz has taken a central place in German garden history of the eighteenth century.

One last scholarly work to be recommended, particularly as regards the German philosophical discourse of the landscape garden around 1800, is Michael G. Lee's book The German "Mittelweg": Garden Theory and Philosophy in the Time of Kant. 27 Lee's first sentence references Wörlitz. noting that the Belgian prince Charles Joseph de Ligne exhorts all gardeners. painters, poets, and philosophers to visit that garden. Part of Lee's stated task is to explore how and why philosophers would be included in such a list, as he examines the role of professional academic philosophers in the emerging garden literature. Lee wants to trace the development of the theory of the Mittelweg garden in the 1790s, whose result was to be "a new form of gardening, unique to Germany, that would avoid the perceived excesses of both the previously ubiquitous 'French' formal gardens and the rapidly spreading new [English] style" (Lee, 3-4). Correspondingly, he wants to trace garden theory's role in the development of a broader aesthetics, looking especially at the ways that Karl Heinrich Heydenreich and Friedrich Schiller translate the *Mittelweg* into Kantian terms. Wörlitz figures significantly at important points in Lee's work, as when he addresses the complexity of the conception of the "natural" in these writers, and in Kant himself (Lee, 202-04). or when he explores the "instability of signs" in gardens (Lee, 108-09). At the time of his writing. Lee asserts that there were "no comprehensive studies of late eighteenth-century German garden theory in the English secondary literature," and as far as I have discovered, Lee's is still the only one (10).

Topics within eighteenth-century studies are invariably enriched by viewing them from an international point of view when possible, and the trans-European history of the English-style landscape garden is one especially good example of this. So, "England in Germany" (as Trauzettel's title had it) is important, but the tracing of manifest influences of other cultures at Wörlitz will always need to be understood alongside the immediate social, political, and philosophical context of the garden's creation as well, both in terms of its material reality and its iconography. Whatever can be done to lower linguistic barriers to the garden historian's research should be applauded. For the study of Wörlitz and other significant gardens in the German-speaking world, the publication of resources in English would be part of the task, while supporting

the development of German reading skills, to unlock much more numerous resources and insights, would be another!

National Gallery of Art Library

Notes

- 1. https://www.gartenreich.de/en/. See the entry for the *Garden Kingdom* on the UNESCO World Heritage website: http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/534.
- 2. For some thoughts on the effects of the Italian journey especially, see John P. Heins, "Exploring the Italian Journals of Erdmannsdorff and Berenhorst: Cultural Attitudes and Wörlitz Neoclassicism," *Lessing Yearbook* XLVII (2020): 141-157.
- 3. For the Friends of Nature and Art. The Garden Kingdom of Prince Franz von Anhalt-Dessau in Age of Enlightenment (Ostfildern-Ruit: Verlag Gerd Hatje, 1997).
- 4. C.C.L. Hirschfeld, *Theory of Garden Art*, trans. and ed. Linda B. Parshall (Philadelphia: U. of Pennsylvania Press, 2001).
- 5. Linda B. Parshall, "C.C.L. Hirschfeld's Concept of the Garden in the German Enlightenment," *Journal of Garden History* 13:3 (Autumn 1993): 125-171.
- 6. Marie Luise Gothein, *History of Garden Art*, 2 vols. (London: J.M. Dent, 1928) 2: 302-304.
- 7. Christopher Thacker, *The History of Gardens* (Berkeley: U. of California Press, 1979) 218.
- 8. *The Oxford Companion to Gardens* (Oxford: Oxford U. Press, 1986) 613-614. The 2006 edition of this resource is available online (with paywall).
- 9. Michael Symes, *The English Landscape Garden in Europe* (Swindon: Historic England, 2016) 47-66.
 - 10. Symes 48-49.
- 11. Infinitely Beautiful: The Garden Realm of Dessau-Wörlitz (Berlin: Nicolai, 2005).
- 12. Wörlitz, eine Annäherung = Wörlitz, an Approach (Wettin-Löbejün: Stekovics, 2017).
- 13. *The Garden Kingdom of Dessau-Wörlitz*, 3rd ed. (Wettin-Löbjejün: Stekovics, 2017; Steko Art-Guide 33).
- 14. Ludwig Trauzettel, "England in Germany," *Garden History* 24:2 (1996): 221-236.
 - 15. Trauzettel 230.
 - 16. Trauzettel 232.
- 17. John Harris, "The Stalemate of the Wörlitz Stein: A Plea for International Aid," *Apollo* 144:416 (October 1996): 58.
- 18. Marcus Becker, "Meeting immaterial gods? Copies of antique sculptures in German sentimental gardens," *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes*, 29: 1-2 (2009): 13-24.
- 19. Becker cites August Rode, *Beschreibung des Fürstlichen Anhalt-Dessauischen Landhauses und Englischen Gartens zu Wörlitz*, revised edition (Dessau: Heinrich Tänzer, 1798). This guide originally appeared in 1788, and was reissued in 1814, as well as several times in the twentieth century.

- 20. Sonja Duempelmann and Susan Herrington, "Plotting Time in Landscape Architecture," *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes* 34:1 (2014): 1-14.
 - 21. Duempelmann and Herrington 4.
- 22. Michael Symes, "Anglo-German Garden Connections in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries," *Garden History* 47:2 (Winter 2019): 272-276; here, 272.
 - 23. Symes 272 and 276, respectively.
- 24. Christopher Oschatz, "The Use of English and German Pattern Books at the Garden Kingdom of Dessau-Wörlitz, Germany," *Garden History* 48:1 (Summer 2020): 59-78.
- 25. Mark Laird, Lara Mehling and Bonnie Tung, "Schoch and 'Schrubs': Translation of a German Shrubbery Manual of 1794," *Garden History* 48:1 (Summer 2020): 79-96.
- 26. Maiken Umbach, *Federalism and Enlightenment in Germany*, 1740-1806 (London: The Hambleton Press, 2000). Hereafter cited parenthetically as "Umbach."
- 27. Michael G. Lee, *The German "Mittelweg": Garden Theory and Philosophy in the Time of Kant* (New York: Routledge, 2007). Hereafter cited parenthetically as "Lee."

An Epitaph or Barbarie Themilthorpe

by Greg Clingham

Spending a lot of covid-time indoors during 2020 prompted me to clear out old papers. Among those that were on the verge of going is this essay, typed on an old Remington typewriter with a wonky letter "r," that I wrote as a graduate student at Cambridge in the early 1980s. A Saturday afternoon ramble in a fenland village led me to an ancient flint church, one of many scattered across East Anglia, and to the following still memorable discovery. The eighteenth century has become increasingly long as literary histories and methodologies have evolved, and as the sympathies of readers of the *Eighteenth-Century Intelligencer* have become increasingly capacious. It is their indulgence I beg for what follows.

In the Church of St. Andrew, Isleham—an early fourteenth-century flint and pebble church, remodeled in the late fifteenth century (with a rebuilt tower from 1863), on the fens some fifteen miles north east of Cambridge¹—may be found an epitaph on a monument, almost unknown except to locals, yet that speaks eloquently in the language of the two great eighteenth-century critics of the epitaph: Johnson and Wordsworth. In the north transept of St. Andrew is an effigy of a child, recumbent on her side, cheek in hand, below a large monument inscribed to the memory of Barbarie Themilthorpe, who died in 1619 at the age of seven. The epitaph, without punctuation or evident form, is shaped to fit onto the elaborate monument.

The inscription reads as follows:

Whoso ear chance for to behold ye tombe shal see a flower blasted in hir bloom for all are like to flowers grasse or haye that ye houre springs next dies & fades away Even so ye maid whos tender youth might have lived longer heare & not possest hir grave so soone but God that knoweth best what is for us did take hir Soul to Rest and whilst hir corps intierd awhil doth sleep this marble tombe obsequius tears shal weepe Then let this tombe to all be as a merror to tell us Life is but Breth to Trust it error.

In his *Dictionary* (1755), Johnson defined "epitaph" as "an inscription on a tomb," and illustrates this with a quotation from Edmund Smith (text unidentified):

Some thy lov'd dust in Parian stones enshrine, Others immortal epitaphs design; With wit, and strength, that only yields to thine.

In the first of his great *Essays on Epitaphs* (1810), Wordsworth observes that an epitaph should speak "in a tone which shall sink into the heart, the general language of humanity as connected with the subject of death—the source from which an epitaph proceeds—of death, and of life." John Holloway (1920-99), poet and Professor of Modern English Literature at Cambridge, printed this epitaph, without comment and with some silent modernizations, in *The Oxford Book of Local Verses*, where it has remained as unnoticed as the girl it commemorates in "Parian stones" and "the general language of humanity."

The monument for Barbarie Themilthorpe clearly suggests a family of means and social standing. She was the stepdaughter of Sir Edward Peyton (?1588-1657), son of Sir John Peyton of Isleham, Member of Parliament for Cambridgeshire (1592-1604) and High Sherriff of the County (1593 and 1604).⁴ The Peytons had owned Isleham manor since 1430 when Thomas Peyton married Margaret Bernard of Isleham, and had been patrons of St. Andrew from 1495, when Crystofer Peyton had raised the nave and had a timber roof built. Edward, educated at Cambridge and knighted in 1611, contributed to the war of pamphlets of 1641-1642 in the Puritan cause. He was elected MP for Cambridgeshire in 1621, for which constituency he sat until the dissolution of the second Parliament by Charles I in 1626. Edward was married three times: to Martha Livesay of Tooting (1604); to Jane, daughter of Sir James Calthorpe, and widow of Sir Edward Themilthorpe (1613); and to Dorothy Bale of Stockwell (1638). Barbarie must have been a child from Jane Calthorpe's first marriage and have been a year old when her mother married Sir Edward Peyton.

The author of the epitaph is possibly Nicholas Thimblethorpe or Themylthorpe, the son of George Thimblethorpe of Foulsham, Norfolk, and kinsman (of some description) to Sir Edmund Thimblethorpe. Nicholas matriculated as a sizar at Jesus College, Cambridge on Easter 1573. His one recorded work—by Nicolas Themylthorpe, Esquyre of England—is devotional: The Poesie of Godly Prayers. With a Devote Epistle before the Booke and after the Booke, a Perfect Table, to finde Prayers for everie purpose and person (1608). This popular collection of prayers exemplifies a

similar elegant combination of biblical and liturgical imagery with the simple purity of nature that we find in the epitaph.

As though givest mee corporall light, so I beseech thee giue me spirituall light: for I surelie believe, that my bodie shall bee as cleare as the Sunne in the day of Iudgement: and as the Sunne ryseth in the morning, is highest at noone, and in the evening draweth downwards, so my lyfe, & all things in this world, (how glorious soever) being at the highest, decrease, and weare away: grant mee, therefore, O God, a quiet and contended mynde, which is most lyke thy holie nature. And as houses are ordained to keepe vs from the injurie of weather, crueltie of beasts, disquietues of the people, and other dangers of the world; so grant, most gracious Father, that my bodie may enter unto the heavenlie mansion, where-in both my soule and bodie may have rest, peace, and joye, for ever. (129-30)⁷

Wordsworth thought that an epitaph ought to be "a record to preserve the memory of the dead, as a tribute due to his individual worth, for a satisfaction to the sorrowing hearts of the survivors, and for the common benefit of the living." Samuel Johnson's epitaphs on Hogarth and Claudy Phillips, and his elegiac reflections on the death of loved ones and friends in his letters, suggest that he was at one with Wordsworth on the nature of epitaphs. But he points out that "the difficulty in writing epitaphs is to give a particular and appropriate praise." This, however, is not always possible, for, as he remarks on Pope's epitaph for Robert Digby, most people "have no characters at all, have little that distinguishes them from others equally good or bad, and therefore nothing can be said of them which may not be applied with equal propriety to a thousand more." Barbarie Themilthorpe was a child, and thus necessarily without the character that could only have been cultivated in the course of time and with experience. The epitaphist thus does not seek to record personal particularities, but—as Wordsworth and Johnson would have approved—concentrated on the eternal verities, on the transience and natural rhythms of life as measured against God's eternal existence. In doing so he has written a serious and lovely poem.

Whoso ear chance for to behold ye tombe,	a
Shal see a flower blasted in hir bloom;	a
For all are like to flowers, grasse, or haye,	b
That ye houre springs, next dies, & fades awaye.	b
Even so ye maid whos tender youth might have	c
Lived longer heare & not possest hir grave	c
So soone; but God that knoweth best	d
What is for us, did take hir Soul to Rest;	d
And whilst hir corps intierd awhil doth sleep,	e
This marble tombe obsequius tears shal weepe.	e
Then let this tombe to all be as a merror	f
To tell us, Life is but Breth, to Trust it error.	f

This meditation generates its lyrical seriousness by drawing on the liturgical rhythms of the Book of Common Prayer and the Old and the New Testaments of the Bible, enunciated in the King James version of 1611. For example, in the Book of Isaiah, we have:

All flesh *is* grass, and all the goodliness thereof *is* as the flower of the field. The grass withereth, the flower death: because the spirit of the *Lord* bloweth upon it: surely the people *is* grass. The grass withereth, the flower fadeth: but the word of our God shall stand for ever. (Chapter 40, verses 6-8)¹⁰

In Psalm 90, we have:

A thousand years in thy sight *are but* as yesterday when it is past, and *as* a watch in the night. Thou carriest them away as with as flood; they are *as* a sleep: in the morning *they are* like grass *which* growth up. In the morning it flourisheth, and groweth up; in the evening it is cut down, and withereth. (Verses 4-6)

And in the First Book of Peter, we have:

For all flesh *is* as grass, and all the glory of man as the flower of grass. The grass withereth, and the flower thereof falleth away. But the word of the Lord endureth for ever. (Chapter 1, verses 24-25)

Furthermore, two early-seventeenth-century elegies probably also form a context and a source of inspiration and allusion for Themylthorpe's epitaph: John Donne's *An Anatomie of the World: The First Anniversary* (1611) and Ben Jonson's *On my first daughter* (1616). Donne's poem is written for Elizabeth Drury (1610)—daughter of Dr. Robert Drury, Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral and Donne's patron—who died at the age of 14. Donne provides the basic metaphysical conceit for all poems of loss, certainly all those of the metaphysical persuasion: that while poetry can only fancy its ability to transmute base metal into gold or body into spirit, this make-believe makes *all* the difference for the living.

... how can I consent the world is dead While this Muse lives? which in his spirits stead Seemes to informe a World; and bids it bee, In spight of losse or fraile mortalitie?¹¹

This conceit is perhaps included in Johnson's identification of metaphysical wit as "heterogeneous ideas ... yoked by violence together," though in *The First Anniversary* the "violence," such as it is, is a mark of the desolation Donne feels at the death of the beautiful, promising girl, and his sheer insistence that these lines *will* her soul into perpetual existence—something the often desolate Johnson would have understood. As per his *Dictionary* definition, we have the "lov'd dust" of both Elizabeth Drury and Barbarie Themilthorpe "enshrined" in "Parian stones."

Donne's images and tropes provide a matrix against which Themylthorpe registers his loss, though his lines are entirely without Donne's urgency and poetic energy:

When that rich Soule which to her heaven is gone, Whom all do celebrate, who know they have one When that Queene ended here her progresse time, And, as t'her standing house to heaven did climbe... (Donne, p. 197)

... nor could incomprehensiblenesse deterre
Mee, from thus trying to emprison her,
Which when I saw that a strict grave could doe,
I saw not why verse might not do so too.
Verse hath a middle nature: heaven keeps Soules,
The Grave keeps bodies, Verse the Fame enroules. (Donne, p. 209).

In Themylthorpe, Donne's protest against existence becomes Christian resignation and morality ("Life is but Breth, to Trust it error").

Commonplace as the morality is, however, it is not trite. For Themylthorpe may also have been an admirer of Ben Jonson, and more intimately indebted to his *On my first daughter*, published in *Epigrammes* in the 1616 folio edition of Jonson's *Workes*, though it probably existed in manuscript for years before publication. Jonson's daughter Maria died in 1593 at the age of 6 months. Themylthorpe may not quite possess Jonson's command of language and depth of feeling, but there are similarities in image and especially rhythm between the epitaph and Jonson's poem:

... but God that knoweth best What is for us, did take hir Soul to Rest; (Themylthorpe)

Whose soule heauens Queene, (whose name she beares) In comfort of her mothers teares, Hath plac'd amongst her virgin-traine: (Jonson, ll. 7-9)¹³

And whilst hir corps intierd awhil doth sleep, This marble tombe obsequius tears shal weepe. (Themylthorpe)

Where, while that seuer'd doth remaine, This graue partakes the fleshly birth. Which couer lightly, gentle earth. (Jonson, ll. 10-12)

Whether or not these allusions to Donne and Jonson were wholly intentional, the epitaph for Barbarie Themilthorpe, inscribed on ancient marble and set amidst the silence of St. Andrew, Isleham, embodies the qualities of what Wordsworth thought of as a successful epitaph. It deserves to be better-known: "A parish-church, in the stillness of the country, is a visible centre of a community of the living and the dead; a point to which are habitually referred the nearest concerns of both." ¹⁴

Notes

- 1. See Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Cambridgeshire* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1954 and 1970), pp. 413-6.
- 2. Essays on Epitaphs, in Wordsworth's Literary Criticism, ed. W.J.B. Owen (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974), pp. 128-9.
- 3. *The Oxford Book of Local Verses*, Chosen by John Holloway (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 121.
- 4. See *Dictionary of National Biography* and, for the whole Peyton family, Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden, *Virginia Genealogies* (Baltimore: Southern Book Co., 1959), pp. 461-68.
- 5. See *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, ed. John Venn and J.A. Venn (Cambridge: The University Press, 1927), p. 219. Themylthorpe was one of five brothers to attend Jesus College, Cambridge.
 - 6. The Short Title Catalogue lists 29 imprints between 1608 and 1638.
- 7. Quoted from a 1636 edition (Aberdene, By Edward Raban), the title of the prayer being, "Meditation, whereby the contemplation of Light & Darknesse is stirred up, with a remembrance of the shortness of our lyfe, and for lyfe everlasting."
 - 8. Wordsworth Literary Criticism, p. 125.
- 9. Samuel Johnson, *Lives of the Most Eminent English Poets*, ed. Roger Lonsdale, 4 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006), 4: 88.
- 10. I quote *The Bible: Authorized King James Version*, eds. Robert Carroll et al. (Oxford: Oxford U. Press, 2008), OT, pp. 801, 690; NT, p. 286.
- 11. John Donne, "To the Praise of the Dead, and the Anatomie," Prelude to *An Anatomie of the World: The First Anniversary*, quoted from *Donne: Complete Verse and Prose*, ed. John Hayward (London: Nonsuch Press, 1972), p. 195 (no line numbers).
 - 12. Johnson, Life of Cowley, Lives, ed. Lonsdale, 1: 200.
- 13. Ben Jonson quoted from *The Oxford Jonson Vol. 8: The Poems and Prose Works*, ed. C.H. Herford & Percy and Evelyn Simpson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1947 and 1970), pp. 33-34.
 - 14. Wordsworth's Literary Criticism, p. 127.

"Pursued by the Otters": Proofreading in the Twenty-First Century

by Melvyn New

One of the pleasures of retirement is the opportunity to read some of those minor eighteenth-century novels bought over the years but never opened. Ann Radcliffe's *The Romance of the Forest* (1791) is one such title, a Barnes and Noble copy (2004) edited by Joseph Milicia, which I purchased at a typical library book sale for a mere \$1.25. While other and better textbook editions are available, none would be able to elevate Radcliffe's third novel to any status above mediocre. That being the case, it was read with some speed and a careless eye, skimming over many paragraphs of meaningless descriptions striving for "sublimity," a weeping heroine who elicited neither

empathy nor sympathy, and a plot that calls to mind those wonderfully absurd ones in the seventeen-year run of the BBC's *Midsomer Murders*.

Yet, despite this less than careful reading, I found the text so filled with errors that it seemed to reinforce a point I made in a brief essay published in the March 2017 *Eighteenth-Century Intelligencer*, "Monuments of Unageing Intellect" (pp. 1-8). There I had questioned the notion raised by another literary scholar that in a computer age textual accuracy is no longer an issue; after all, she had opined, "Is the long s really such a hardship?" My answer was that, indeed, when ignored, it is, because every letter of every word does matter, and I offered a few illustrations from my own experience as an editor.

This edition of *Romance of the Forest* served to intensify my concern that we are no longer paying sufficient attention to the words on the page, both in our research and in our classroom. It also intensifies my belief that we need to cultivate our own capacity for accuracy and precision of observation precisely because we live in a computer age. A plethora of information made available, as modern politics tends to show, in no way guarantees a more informed receptor—too often, just the opposite. Had I been teaching this novel and ordering copies for a class, I would have demanded from Barnes and Noble a financial settlement for foisting so sloppy a piece of work on an unsuspecting public. As it is, I will simply list here the sentences I caught with my quite "casual" reading; I suspect perhaps many times as many errors would be caught by anyone carefully collating this text against the original (which, by the way, provides the expected alternative reading in every case).

- p. 24 He passed on to a door . . . and unlocking it, round himself in the great hall.
- p. 31 And so you are returned as wife as you went?
- p. 32 That's the only wife thing you have done yet.
 La Motte made inquiries concerning the town and sound it was capable of supplying him.
- p. 50 "My May of life / Is fall'n into the fear, the yellow leaf" (Macbeth)
- p. 63 The apartments . . . appeared to me a deplorable habitation; but they are a place [for "palace"] compared to those.
 These cells are also a place [for "palace"] compared to the Bicétre.
 - La Motte was no secreted within this recess.
- p. 67 [He] heard distinctly, persons waling [for "walking"] in the closet above.
- p. 69 They had quitted the country, left his blunders should again betray him.
- p. 71 She was somewhat alarmed left the animal . . . betray her

- p. 83 And Sorrow fly before Joy's living mom!
- p. 126 She was unwilling to go to bed, left the dreams . . . return.
- p. 134 The moment of her rate seemed fast approaching.
- p. 154 The idea shrilled her with horror.
- p. 157 [He] wished to throw father ridicule upon the terrors of Adeline.
- p. 171 Adeline was now too careless of lire to attempt convincing him of his error.
- p. 175 No misery can exceed . . . being anywhere pursued by the otters you make me.
- p. 193 "I am not much hurt," said he saintly.
- p. 249 I also with it over.
- p. 255 A light Hashed across the hall.
- p. 268 She said no more, but slew to the door.
- p. 270 His tender pity . . . seldom tailed in administering consolation. Very seldom did he even mention his wire.
- p. 323 [At sea, the moon] beaming a soft light on the white fails. Sometimes the breeze wasted them away.
- p. 325 Light's magic colon steal away [I take this to be a misprint for "colour" rather than an anticipation of the modern colonoscopy.]
- p. 329 [He] turned into the woods on the lest and disappeared.
- p. 340 Adeline [inquired] more particularly . . . than the chose to do.
- p. 372 Jean d'Aunoy could no where be sound.
- p. 374 [He] brought her up as his won child.

I rest my case for it being an editorial responsibility to take care that every letter in the text be an accurate one.

University of Florida, emeritus

Kevin I. Cope and Cedric D. Reverand II (editors). *Paper, Ink, and Achievement: Gabriel Hornstein and the Revival of Eighteenth-Century Scholarship*. Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2021 [2020]. Pp. xii + 225. ISBN: 9781684482511; paperback: \$34.95.

Kudos to Bucknell University Press for publishing this book, which has many of the characteristics of a traditional festschrift despite not being in honor of a still-living academic. Rather this is a tribute by academics to a non-academic publisher who was as important to the pursuit of 18th-century studies as any other single person. It appears in an era when too many collections are simply rewritten conference papers of dubious quality and only an alleged thematic unity. It is refreshing to read an openly heterogeneous group of essays—the three-word title with two concrete and one abstract noun in parallel suggest this true diversity. (Perhaps presses that peremptorily dismiss festschriften, treating them similarly to "unrevised dissertations," should rethink their screening criteria.)

Everyone will find something of interest here, as well as some essays that, by their specialized nature, are somewhat difficult to evaluate. For me, two essays fell into the latter category: James E. May's "Elizabeth Sadleir, Master Printer and Publisher in Dublin, 1715-1727," and Susan Spencer's "Ihara Saikadu and the Cash Nexus in Edo-Era Osaka." May's bibliographical detective work casts new light on the neglected Sadleir, as well as "the vagaries and instabilities of the publishing business in Dublin in the first part of the eighteenth century" (64). His examination of the physical books, including ornaments, is detailed and establishes his case that Sadleir was not only a good printer but also the second-most prolific woman printer in Dublin during the period she worked. And even someone untrained in bibliography will appreciate insights like this: "the dominance of printers over publishers in early eighteenth-century Dublin is apparent in the usual imprint formula, reading 'Printed by,' not 'Printed for,' as in London" (47).

If there is one thing about which I know less than bibliography it is seventeenth-century Japanese literature, but I know more after reading Spenser's treatment of "the irreverent satirist Ihara Saikaku (1642-1693), the greatest professional prose writer of Japan's brief but brilliant Genroku era" (69). In a collection honoring a book publisher who combined financial acumen with encouragement of the publication of literary criticism, Spenser's tying together Saikaku's success with the seismic changes in the Japanese economy during his life is a serendipitous union, deepened by the obvious analogues between Saikaku and Britain's Defoe. The shift from an agricultural to a commercial economy in both Japan and Britain surely nurtured an environment in which the striking similarities between the writers' narrators flourished. Spenser carefully notes that the Saikaku-Defoe link has been explicated by several recent critics, but her contributions are important none the less. An example: "Saikaku's decision to dispense with the wry, moralizing narrator . . . and instead cast the Amorous Woman's story as a firstperson account provides today's reader with a window into how the introduction of currency as a primary means of exchange irrevocably changed the culture of Edo-era Japan ('account' seems an especially appropriate commercial term: both the author and his creation describe their lives as a series of debits and credits)" (88).

J. T. Scanlan's "Raising the Price of Literature: The Benefactions of William Strahan and Bennett Cerf," summarizes how the two men succeeded in the always financially risky enterprise of publishing while simultaneously encouraging the authors they supported. "The nexus between writing and publishing is often much less adversarial than such great writers as Swift and Pope have encouraged us to believe" (12). Strahan is treated primarily though his relationship with Samuel Johnson while Cerf is credited with a wider influence: "Cerf and Random House's contributions to the development of the taste of American readers should not be underestimated" (21). But both publishers, Scanlan argues, would agree with Cerf's summary of his modus operandi: "When people are decent things work out for everybody. . . . If you're making money, let the other fellow make it, too. If somebody's getting hurt, it's bad, but if you can work a thing out so that everybody profits, that's the ideal business" (19).

If a sign of a good essay is that it is both informative and provocative, Leah Orr's "Eighteenth-Century Publishers and the Creation of a Fiction Canon" is certainly a good essay. I find many more objections from my pencil in its margins than in any other essay in this collection. The essay succeeds in looking at "several key early collections of book-length, previously published works of fiction in order to argue that publishers sought to create a fiction canon much earlier than has been acknowledged" (28). Beginning with publisher Richard Bentley in 1692 and continuing with, among others, Richard Wellington (1699), John Watts (1720), John French (1774), James Harrison (1780), and concluding with *The British Novelists* (1810), edited by Anna Laetitia Barbauld, Orr examines the circumstances around and assumptions about a collection, or corpus, of novels that would have current appeal to the British readers. To oversimplify parts of Orr's argument, perhaps, she proceeds from artifact to audience, and seems often to assume that the selection of novels to be included in reprint collections shaped popular taste rather than simply reflecting existing taste. At other times, however, she accepts at face value statements by publishers that their selections have been dictated by the desires of their customers. One suspects that publishers will always say this, even when other factors (e.g., availability of the text to be reprinted) are determinative. Orr points out that translations into English were numerous in the earliest collections but nearly disappeared in later ones. John Watts emphasized translations, as well as handsome embellishments such as newly engraved frontispieces: "he was trying to craft a deluxe edition, suitable for an upper-class market" (32). One wonders if "upper-class," always a slippery term but less so in the eighteenth century, is right, since one assumes that most of the upper class would have a command of foreign languages. Nouveau riche, a term used later, is better. Finally, whether publishers actually shaped the public's taste (and thus the canon) or were shaped by it remains a chicken and egg issue. But we are all thankful that in one instance, at least, the publisher seems to have had little subsequent influence: John French's "ninety-four-page version of *Clarissa*, [which made] Lovelace unsuccessful in his attempts to seduce or rape Clarissa" (34) did not last.

Linda V. Troost writes well; even someone not especially conversant with her subject—"Frances Brooke's *Rosina*: Subverting Sentimentalism"—will profit from her essay. First, relying on the work of other critics, she gives us a mini-biography of Brooke up to 1783, when she finally brought to the

stage the long-delayed comic opera that was to become "one of the great successes of the age" (102). The plethora of performances and editions of *Rosina* until the end of the 19th century and recent revival of interest (directed admittedly more toward William Shield's music than Brooke's libretto) suggest the work has withstood the test of time and deserves the closer look given it. Both theater history—"[*Rosina*] showcases Covent Garden's female vocal talent. Brooke and Shield has three strong women singers to write for" (105)—and source studies—"Brooke's main innovation [deviating from Charles-Simon Favart's *Les Moissoneurs*] lies in the secondary plot about two squabbling rustic lovers" (104)—contribute to Troost's reading, which concludes that the play "explores the limitations of sensibility and innocence, the exact opposite of [what] one might expect from a pastoral village opera" and thus was "pleasing to both the admirers of sentimental drama and those who see the criticism underneath the sentiment" (106; 111-12).

In an endnote Manuel Schonhorn calls attention to Geoffrey Tillotson's reading of Pope's Epistle to Harley: "For a beautiful analysis of a beautiful poem, see . . . " (126). This encapsulates the virtues of Schonhorn's short essay, "Pope's An Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot and Justius [sic] Lipsius: Sources and Images of the Writer," with its combination of wide research into historical analogues and contemporary scholarship, accompanied by an obvious affection for literature. (The unfortunate typo in the title occurs also in the t.o.c: "Justus" is printed in the body of the essay.) Schonhorn summarizes the copious previous explications of the opening 68 lines of Pope's famous poem before arguing that they have all overlooked an important classical topos, that "of the acclaimed man of letters sought by his contemporaries in his studio, but usually in his garden, to assist them in correcting or improving their literary productions" (116). Precursors include Seneca, Suetonius, Horace, and Swift, but Schonhorn would here focus us on "Lipsius's self-portrait with which he introduced his study of Stoic philosophy" (117), helpfully reproduced in an appendix. Schonhorn acknowledges that his argument may seem tenuous—"Some literary studies, more than others, ask for the assent of the reader. This applies, I think, to source studies" (120)—but never has such a request been presented more gracefully.

Early in "When Worlds Collide: Anti-Methodist Literature and the Rise of Popular Literary Criticism in the Critical Review and the Monthly Review," Brett C. McInelly writes, "Although the Methodists never represented more than 1 percent of Britain's total population during the eighteenth century, they laid the groundwork for its unprecedented growth in the nineteenth century on both sides of the Atlantic" (136). The concessive clause is the most eyebrow-raising statement in the essay. With all the ado about the Methodists we find in Fielding, Smollett, and the review periodicals, it is easy to assume that the number of adherents was much higher. Perhaps the situation is analogous to that in the rhetoric surrounding the recent presidential election, when some people were undoubtedly convinced there was a white supremacist lurking behind every tree. This analogy is mine, not McInelly's, but the following characterizations projected on Methodists by their detractors may suggest it is relevant: "Charges of sexual impropriety among the Methodists tailed the revival from its beginning" (147) and "The purportedly nonsensical ways by which Methodists communicated their religious experiences and ideas

fit into a broader critique of the Methodists themselves, a critique that portrayed them as unintelligent, illiterate, and uneducated" (141).

Especially interesting are the comparisons drawn between the two leading review journals of the century when they comment on the same publication, notably Richard Graves's *Spiritual Quixote*, Samuel Foote's *The Minor*, *The New Bath Guide*, and *A Plain and Easy Road to the Land of Bliss*. This is a solid, informative essay, despite this concluding stretch: "Methodism and the antagonistic literature . . . influenced one of the more significant literary developments of the eighteenth century: the modern review essay."

One way to characterize David Venturo's "Swift, Dryden, Virgil, and Theories of Epic in Swift's A Description of a City Shower" is to suggest it exemplifies the radical meaning of satire, a medley of fruits (lanx satura). Far from a unified essay with a single thesis, we have instead a series of excellent insights loosely stitched together. The possible historical reasons for Swift's animus towards Dryden are briefly reiterated, before Venturo gets to one of his contributions, the relationship between Swift's view of parody and his treatment of his "near Relation." Parody, "an act of satiric, discordant ventriloquism . . . a form of mock-Longinian imitation in which an author is imagined as writing in a new and inappropriate context" (154), had been claimed as a defense by Swift in his Apology for the fifth edition of Tale of a Tub (1710): in Swift's words, "the judicious Reader cannot but have observed, that some of those Passages in this Discourse, which appear most liable to Objection are what they call Parodies, where the Author personates the Style and Manner of other Writers, whom he has a mind to expose" (154). Venturo notes that "Dryden is perfect for Swift's parody, because Dryden is constantly striving to justify and aggrandize himself' (155). He provides an impressive reading of "Verses Wrote in a Lady's Ivory Table-Book," which shows it is "packed with satirical impersonations" (159). (The poem's conclusion is also packed with bawdry, which Venturo ignores.) The highlight of the essay is its second half, a reading of City Shower that includes too many compelling observations to mention in a short space. Suffice to say that not just Dryden but Vergil are invoked as objects of parody: "To Swift, the epic world of firsts and bests was a lie. Consequently, [the poem] is both mock epic and itself a miniature epic—a distillation of epic" (172-73).

The ground that Philip Smallwood covers in "Tension, Contraries, and Blake's Augustan Values" is hardly untrodden, but his essay nevertheless serves as a valuable corrective to the still dominant view of Blake first advanced by Blake himself: "Blake presents his personal mission as having historical proportions, and his version of events, with himself leading the charge against such Augustans as Johnson, has been received as the way that English poetry went" (177-78); "Blake's claims to radical originality, in the formation of which Pope and Johnson can play no part as kindred sprits, have been too easy to take at face value" (180). This is a delightful essay in Smallwood's hallmark style, as represented by this topic sentence: "Blake's arguments with the Augustan past are not always original, though he often writes as if he had thought of them first" (181). The specific areas of Blake's kinship with his immediate past include his participation, with Milton, Pope, and Johnson, in an "opposition culture" (Smallwood used Howard Erskine-Hill's phrase); and his acceptance of the Sister Arts ("Blake's Augustan values close the gaps that have to be kept open by historians looking for a new

'Romantic' chapter in literary history, and his terms from the graphic arts—'Colouring,' 'Graving'—echo long-standing parallels between poetry and painting") (180). Smallwood's ultimate analysis, which discusses, among other things, the inscriptions chosen by Blake's friend and fellow printmaker George Cumberland to three of Blake's engravings (reproduced in b/w), as well as various of Blake's pertinent manuscript notations, may not be determinative but it is suggestive in the best sense of the word.

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Frances Singh. Scandal and Survival in Nineteenth-Century Scotland: The Life of Jane Cumming. Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press / Boydell & Brewer, Ltd., 2020. Pp. xxxviii + 318; appendices [237-250]; index. ISBN: 9781580469555: hardcover: \$110.00 / £90.00. ISBN: 9781787444850: ebook: \$24.99 / £19.99.

Truncated versions of Jane Cumming's life story, boiled down to a paragraph or two, appear from time to time in newspapers and literary supplements. Their focus is narrow and very specific: a sensational 1811 court case in which the sixteen-year-old Cumming claimed to have witnessed her two teachers, Marianne Woods and Jane Pirie, engaged in sexual relations. These pieces are usually published as historical context to add interest to one of the frequent revivals of Lillian Hellman's 1934 play The Children's Hour, which relocates the events from Scotland at the end of the long eighteenth century to twentieth-century New England. Repeatedly, we are reminded that the actual events on which the play was based have been forgotten by the audience. Less often, we are reminded that there is a lot more to the story. Fifty years after the premiere of Hellman's play the feminist scholar Lillian Faderman published a book-length study of events surrounding the trial in Scotch Verdict: The Real-Life Story That Inspired 'The Children's Hour,' focusing mostly on Woods and Pirie; as a specialist in LGBTQ history and literature, Faderman's primary interest was to explore the challenges faced by queer women in the fiercely patriarchal long eighteenth century. Although the case eventually concluded with a settlement because the accusations could not be proven, the two teachers lost their livelihood and their reputations. What happened to their accuser is a different tale, and one that has been almost universally overlooked.

Eighteenth-century scholars in the past decade, however, have been introduced to a broader and much more complicated tangle of challenges by Frances Singh, who has published several recent articles on Cumming including a book chapter in Sonia Kane and Temma Berg's 2013 collection of essays, *Women, Gender, and Print Culture in Eighteenth-Century Britain* and Jane Cumming's entry in the 2018 *New Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women*. Singh's lively conference presentations on different aspects of Cumming's tumultuous life, and the enlightening details that emerged in conversations afterwards, have prompted many of us to express hope that she would offer us a deeper dive into the influences around and within the life of a woman who embodies the figure of an outsider in multiple ways.

Scandal and Survival in Nineteenth-Century Scotland is the fruit of ten years spent combing through primary source materials, including three summers in Edinburgh tracking down archival and genealogical sources that have never before been consulted. The result is a many-faceted examination of not just Cumming and her extended family, but the eighteenth century as a whole. The narrative introduces subjects as various as punishments meted out by the East India Company to sailors who committed different categories of sexual transgression at sea—acts that the young Jane might have witnessed and been impacted by on her eight-month voyage to Scotland from her birthplace in India—to the particulars of a two-month London shopping spree in which her perpetually cash-strapped Uncle William spent the equivalent of \$18,800 in today's money on jewelry, "cologne, soap, tea, coffee, Carolina rice, and assorted condiments" as well as "commodes, silver cups and saucers, a porcelain elephant and packing cases for the commodes" (Singh 196). The family history is punctuated by legal contracts: lawsuits, marriage contracts, property disputes. As we read about the individuals whose lives intersected with Jane Cumming, we learn a great many interesting oddities about Scottish law. We are also introduced to the bitter schism in the Presbyterian Church that occurred in the 1830s and 1840s, a dispute in which she and her husband became deeply involved on opposite sides.

Very few people's lives are devoid of interest after the age of sixteen, and no single life event occurs in isolation. As this comprehensive biography demonstrates, Jane Cumming's adulthood was fraught with rather more drama than most. Yet she left little written record other than what was said *about* her by others. Even the journal that she kept as a teenager has been lost, except for extracts that were used as evidence in the case against Woods and Pirie and were included in the printed proceedings—and these barely escaped destruction when lawyers hung onto private copies despite directions to destroy them. The British Library "still keeps its set...in its collection of pornographic and erotic materials (the Private Case)" (Singh 200). Thomson Gale Cengage has since digitized a set belonging to Harvard in its series *Making of Modern Law Trials 1600-1926* (Singh 201).

One of the more salacious details in Cumming's testimony was her relation of a tale that she said she heard from the school's maid, who claimed to have watched the two teachers in flagrante delicto through a keyhole between the schoolroom and their drawing room—a keyhole that, upon examination of the premises, was found to be nonexistent. The original working title of Singh's project was A Keyhole History of Jane Cumming, reflecting a subject that can be captured in glimpses based almost entirely on what others believed about her, clues that reflect multiple subjective realities: "Jane's story led me into fictional, psychological, and legal studies of what might be called keyhole witnessing....when the sightings of Jane I obtained through the apertures I used are strung together, they add up to something greater than themselves: the life of a complex and sometimes unstable woman" (Singh's introduction, xxix-xxx).

Both in life and after, Jane Cumming has been viewed and judged, often harshly, through various filters. In her own lifetime every action she took on her own initiative was evaluated in terms of racial and sexual stereotypes; she appeared as an ambiguous figure in Hellman's play and as a slanderous villain in William Roughead's 1930 book of "matters criminous," *Bad Companions*;

in Faderman's study, she operated as a catalyst that exposed society's anxieties about female sexuality; in the 21st century, authors of recent creative works have projected visions of her that bear more resemblance to contemporary concerns than any reality the subject herself would have recognized.

The sense of being at the mercy of people trying to make her fit into molds of their own making, however, would no doubt have felt all too familiar. As a mixed-race illegitimate daughter of the wayward scion of an aristocratic Scottish family who left behind two children when he died at the age of 26, Cumming's place in society was problematic from the start. She and her younger brother were shuttled from their birthplace in Calcutta, where she lived for her first eight years, to a series of boarding schools and teachers (the brother died in 1812, while still in school). In 1818 her family arranged her marriage with William Tulloch, a verbally abusive man twice her age.

Although Scottish law and the nature of Cumming's marriage contract determined that her husband was unable to gain control of the settlement she received from her uncle, she lacked the funds for a separation and spent the rest of her life in the backwater villages of Nigg and Dallas. Despite their five children—and his role-model position as the minister of Dallas—Tulloch openly carried on with several women in the parish. The tension within the couple's marital state was such that a fellow minister who would have intervened confessed privately to being intimidated by their mutual hostility. He likened them to two bats he had once seen tied "tail to tail": "no one can approach them without being bitten or torn by the one or the other" (qtd. by Singh, 186). Their squabbles, which often occurred in public, were notorious. When the Scottish Presbyterian Church split between the Residual Establishment and the Free Church, William Tulloch adhered to the Establishment while Jane Cumming Tulloch chose to "come out" as a member of the Free Church in 1843, along with all of her surviving children. She was the only minister's wife in Scotland who chose to defy her husband's choice, a decision so shocking she was never even mentioned by name in any of the records. It seems she was destined to live her life being spoken about in whispers as a disruptor, or an embarrassment.

Cumming's ability to stand up and strike out rather than give in when confronted with a series of adversities that would have crushed a weaker spirit attests to her strong will, and in the face of multiple tragedies and abuses throughout her life she proved her resilience. Thus the book's final title, *Scandal and Survival*. But survivors do not always emerge unscathed. Singh refers to Jack P. Shonkoff and Andrew S. Garner's influential 2012 study of "The Lifelong Effects of Early Childhood Adversity and Toxic Stress" and George Bonnano's research on PTSD, grief, and depression, reminding us that case studies have demonstrated that "some of the coping strategies of people who have suffered traumatic events, while pragmatic, are mean, nasty, vituperative, malicious, destructive, retaliatory, vengeful" (Singh 228). Too often, these shock tactics seem to have appeared to Jane as her only option for drawing attention to the many elements in her life that caused her pain.

The book's final chapter, "Assessing Jane," examines the subject's behavior in light of recent findings by sociologists and psychologists of the impact of traumas reflected in the life story that has just unfolded for the reader, including loss of a parent and early neglect, and the sense of uprootedness unique to children plucked from their home in international

adoptions. In Jane Cumming's case, she twice needed to adapt to a new language, mastering English on the ship from Calcutta and then moving to the Gaelic-speaking village of Nigg upon her marriage.

Throughout Scandal and Survival in Nineteenth-Century Scotland we are introduced to the pressures exerted on a young female who was expected to react according to different sets of expectations: illegitimate poor relation, "black" female in a white world, teenager rebelling against authority in a repressive educational system, and finally a minister's wife, with the eyes of the congregation upon her every waking moment. Mostly, however, the Orientalist trope of the conniving sensualist from hotter climes kept emerging, not only during the titillating scandal of her youth but in local gossip when she publicly expressed frustration with her husband's infidelities.

The focus throughout the text is on Jane Cumming herself. Those who are interested in the fate of Marianne Woods and Jane Pirie, either in terms of "were they or won't they" and their lives after they were no longer involved with their former pupil, can find information about them in the appendices.

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Donald J. Newman, editor. *Boswell and the Press: Essays on the Ephemeral Writing of James Boswell.* Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2021. Pp. vii + 182; index. ISBN 9781684482818; paperback: \$34.95.

In contrast with James Boswell's biography of Samuel Johnson and, to a lesser extent, Boswell's personal journals, his journalistic writings have received little attention since the publication of the still-important *Literary Career of James Boswell*, *Esq.*: *Being the Bibliographical Materials for a Life of Boswell* (1929) by Frederick A. Pottle. A short list of significant works on the subject would include Margery Bailey's edition of *The Hypochondriack* (1928), about which more later, and *Facts and Inventions: Selections from the Journalism of James Boswell* (2012), by Paul Tankard, a contributor to the present collection, but it is certainly correct to state, as Donald J. Newman does in his opening essay, that "scholars have, for two centuries, considered most of his ephemeral writing unworthy of serious critical attention because it is too topical, too superficial, or too trivial to yield any new insights into Boswell or his work" (1). Not over-promising, Newman suggests this collection demonstrates that "there is some wheat among this chaff" (2), and the essays that follow justify that view.

Among the best of those essays is Newman's introductory overview of Boswell's ephemera, which largely avoids the necessary evil of such introductions, namely, a brisk trot through all the following essays in an attempt to illustrate, or create, a unity in the collection. A mere three of the 29 pages are so employed, with the balance providing an excellent summary of the role that producing journalism played throughout the author's life. Since diversity is now firmly established as a laudatory term, surely Boswell must be praised for writing in so many diverse genres and sub-genres within his journalism. He wrote in the newer forms (newspapers and magazines) as well as in the older (pamphlets and broadsides). Within these large categories he

employed traditional forms (the essay), and modified forms (the letter and the letter extract, the account, the squib). The need for Newman's vade mecum is obvious, even before considering the various degrees of anonymity and fictionalization Boswell employed, often creating a "fog of self-promotion."

Boswell's (and his century's) view of anonymity is the subject of Paul Tankard's "Anonymity and the Press," which helpfully contrasts the earlier view with today's. Then "anonymity was the rule and named authorship the exception" (32). Today, the by-line is the rule, "and (in further deference to the contemporary bogey of 'accountability') often the reporter's email address [appears] as well. Could eighteenth-century British readers see this, they would regard it as possibly fetishistic, and certainly as an outrageous limitation on press freedom" (32-33). Although for his anthology Facts and Inventions, Tankard focused on Boswell's "straight journalism: news and reportage [where] Boswell was a pioneer in the field" (33), it remains nonetheless true that "by far the majority of the items Boswell sent to the press concern (in one way or another) his favorite topic: James Boswell' (35). Tankard follows John Mullan in observing that rarely was final concealment the aim of anonymity or pseudonymity. The issue was treated with more subtlety by writers then than today, but still some of Boswell's stances strike us as vaguely or intentionally deceptive: "He sent a letter to the press speculating as to the authorship of his own anonymous pamphlet poem, No Abolition of Slavery" (43). And against the noted tendency for even anonymous works to be known or suspected we have this rather stunning fact: the authorship of his two most substantial periodical publications—The Rampager (20 essays) and The Hypochondriack (70 essays)—"was not known in his lifetime" (41).

Boswell commented on his mentor Lord Eglinton's remark "Jamie . . . You have a light head—but a damn'd heavy A[rse]" that "This illustration is very fine: For I do take lively projects into my head; but as to the execution, there I am tardy" (59). James J. Caudle has included this apt quotation in his "James Boswell's Design for a Scottish Periodical in the Scots Language." We have only the manuscript of his prospectus for this project (c.1770?), which Caudle transcribes and then translates from Scots. His introduction provides context, and the most important take-away from the aborted project may be a further indication of Boswell's "cultural balancing act," as he strove to adapt his public voice to "succeed in the post-Union culture represented by the literary capital of London [while remaining] connected to a Scots vernacular national literary past and the national language" (60).

Terry Seymour's "Boswell in Broadside" examines "the circumstances of their rarity and survival" of two of "his ballads, each . . . printed as a broadside after celebratory occasions" (68). The broadsides, *Verses in the Character of a Corsican* (1769) and *William Pitt, the Grocer of London* (1790), were composed and published at watershed moments in Boswell's life, "in the wake of his literary triumph, *An Account of Corsica*," and just preceding "the publication of his magnum opus, *The Life of Johnson*" (68-69), so further information regarding the context of their appearance is welcome. The essay also reproduces both ballads and therein lies the rub. Pottle (*Literary Career*, 1929) had discovered only one copy of the Corsican broadside (now at Yale, referred to as the Baskerville version and "far superior in printing quality" to others subsequently discovered and printed on 6 September, a day before Baskerville). Seymour makes these points and provides a list of six extent

copies of the broadside, five of the lower quality and one the Yale Baskerville. But he fails to tell us which he has followed in the reprint he offers here, which is introduced simply as "Text of the broadside." I assumed it was the Baskerville rather than one of the inferior printings or one from the subsequent magazine printings until I compared it with the version printed by Tankard in *Facts and Inventions*, which is based on Baskerville. In 46 lines there are 22 discrepancies between Seymour and Tankard. The discrepancies are those that could result from proofing by reading for sense instead of comparing texts word by word—e.g., dropped / dropt; honor'd / honour'd; tragic / tragick; failure to italicize; and mistakes in punctuation. Unfortunately, several other essays in this collection are similarly inattentive to the texts they are quoting.

The collection's editor contributes, in addition to his opening essay, another short essay, "An Elegy on the Death of an Amiable Young Lady: Serious Effort or Elaborate Joke?", which treats a 24-page pamphlet published in 1761 by Boswell and two friends. Newman makes the case, with too much hesitation for my taste, that the pamphlet, including two poems and three "critical recommendatory letters," "was conceived as a joke from the beginning" (80, 91). His reading the pamphlet as a burlesque is a success, despite several disconcerting stylistic infelicities: "holistic whole" and "Lycidas specifically remembers he [sic] and Menalcas reading William Wilkie's etc." Also, that a subject is "happily chosen" does not imply that it is a "happy subject."

No hesitation whatsoever is evident in the imaginative, and largely convincing, argument that Celia Barnes advances in "Making the Press my Amanuensis': Male Friendship and Publicity in *The Cub, at New-Market*." The poem, published in 1762, describes the appearance of the Cub, that is, Boswell, at his London coming-out during the meeting of the Jockey Club in New-Market two years earlier. Barnes leads us through a complex poem, from the first considered partially obscure, "a literary production about literary production, a poem that poeticizes its own composition and reflects on its own publication, distribution, and reception" (97). It is difficult to do justice to the subtlety of Barnes's reading, except to say that few would disagree, finally, with her concluding remark: "In this Shandean, topsy-turvy world, public shaming restores 'the equity of heaven,' and the Cub's humiliation curiously becomes his apotheosis" (105). Twice Barnes seems to ride her hobby-horse too hard: once in a dubious explanation for "my back to trim" as a "grooming ritual between men" (101)—more likely a reference to whacking, although that may simply be another blow from the critic-jockey's switch, to pursue the metaphor much too far—and once in a clear misreading of the text. But the essay is so good that I only reluctantly point out nine places in 12 pages where quotations are slightly erroneous.

Allan Ingram takes what would seem an obvious subject and treats it in an enlightening way in "The Hypochondriack and Its Context: James Boswell, 1777-1783." Here are just a few of his insights. Boswell originally intended the series to be in the Spectator tradition, but he significantly altered his original plan from 1765, when he wrote what would become, twelve years later, the first number of the series. He had envisioned an "open-door policy... with correspondents, real or fictitious," but when he actually got into the series, it had a "single voice," that "of a hypochondriack [whose] topics... fed into hypochondria" (110). Ingram is especially good on Hypochondriack

39, where Boswell gives up the illusion advanced in *Hypochondriack* 1, that he is a *recovered* hypochondriac, and admits that he "is himself at this moment in a state of very dismal depression, so that he cannot be supposed capable of instructing or entertaining his readers" (119, quoting Boswell). Boswell's frankness "will not much surprise modern readers . . . but would undoubtedly have had the capacity to shock deeply readers of the eighteenth century, accustomed to a diet of relative restraint in their periodical essays" (120).

Jennifer Preston Wilson is not as convincing as Ingram as she treats the same periodical series in "The Embodied Mind of Boswell's *The Hypochondriack* and the Turn-of-the-Century Novel." Her thesis: "As he argues for diverse and diverting mental stimuli, Boswell often represents the unseeable brain in language that foreshadows the embodied portrayal of cognition in the . . . novels of Frances Burney, Maria Edgeworth, and Jane Austen. Read together, these writers mark a notable turn toward portraying and understanding the mind in its most subjective and vulnerable states of being" (129). Most of Wilson's resonances are trivial or strained, and at times she seems to mistake nuances in Boswell. It is doubtful, for instance, that "in assessing the qualities of his own changeable personality, . . . Boswell wishes that he had a more reliable and mechanically equipped brain" (134), and equally doubtful is this generalization, that he lived "in an eighteenth-century social world that typically prized stoicism as an essential virtue" (135).

An historian as well as a Boswellian, Nigel Aston closes the collection with the least literary contribution, "Principle, Polemic, and Ambition: Boswell's *A Letter to the People of Scotland* and the End of the Fox-North Coalition, 1783." Its point, an important one driven home with convincing evidence, is that "constitutional considerations weighted at least as heavily with Boswell as frustrated ambition and that his antipathy to Fox's abortive East India Company Bill was underpinned by disappointment with the Fox-North coalition's record in office over the previous eight months" (144).

The book's usefulness is enhanced by an index and a bibliography, which cites both Bailey's 1928 two-volume edition of *The Hypochondriack* and her 1951 one-volume edition, *Boswell's Column*. Both print all 70 essays, but the latter, using the same text as the former, uncorrected, has a much shorter introduction and far fewer annotations. All but one of the contributors cite *Boswell's Column* rather than the 1928 edition when they refer to the series, which I find somewhat strange. I would recommend that Boswellians add the two-volume edition to their personal libraries: at this writing it is available at AbeBooks for \$24.

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Samuel Johnson: Selected Works. The Yale Edition. Robert DeMaria, Jr., Stephen Fix, Howard D. Weinbrot. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2021. Pp. 856. ISBN: 9780300113037. Hardcover: \$40.

The days when *The Yale Edition of the Works of Samuel Johnson* sailed majestically through the decades, from 1958 through 2018, are now over. The three editors named above have clearly been working on an anthology drawn

from the twenty-three volumes for some time now. Bruce Redford, editor of the five-volume Hyde Edition of Johnson's Correspondence and the second volume of the Yale Edition of the manuscript of *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, has been involved from the outset, as this remark from the Acknowledgments reveals: "We wish first to acknowledge the contribution of Bruce Redford, who at an earlier stage of this project played a key role in shaping the contours and contents of this book" (xxxi). Indeed, an intergenerational constellation of scholars have contributed to the *Edition* as well as this Anthology, many no longer living. To this melancholy toll I must add one of the key editors, Howard D. Weinbrot, who passed within a month of this anthology's publication. He sent me a presentation copy shortly before his death, and it is to him, however inadequately, that I dedicate this review. He was a brilliant man, and he always treated me with the utmost respect and kindness. *Requiescat in pace, Hovardus*.

How does one go about reviewing an anthology, particularly one with 818 pages of text? One cannot, obviously, survey the entire contents. I am perhaps at some advantage here, for I have read almost all of its contents prior to picking up this book. It remains, nonetheless, a formidable task.

One cogent possibility consists in comparing the Yale Anthology with one published by Oxford just a few years ago. These two now constitute the Choice of Cebes, when an instructor deliberates upon which to use for classroom use. I reviewed the Oxford 21st-Century Authors hardback version of *Samuel Johnson* when it appeared in 2018, for the *Intelligencer*: I assessed it rather harshly for its manifold deficiencies. The paperback version appeared last year, 2020. Perhaps the editor, David Womersley, heeded my review (or perhaps others), for many of the errors have been corrected. Not all, however. On p. viii we read: "his scything [scathing] review of Soame Jenyns blithe essay"; and on a following page, "he emphasized that the honorand had." The Yale Anthology, however, from my reading, appears to be relatively free of typos—although practically no published work can claim to achieve perfection. On this count alone, three heads are better than one, and the Yale Anthology is preferable.

Further comparison of the two efforts yields additional illumination. The

Oxford Anthology, a small-font version at 1294 pages, is clearly the more comprehensive of the two. It includes a number of the early biographies, a generous selection of letters, a number of reviews from mid-century, three of the late political pamphlets, the *Journey to the Western Islands* in its entirety, and the 1744 version of the Life of Savage. It is arranged chronologically. Although bulkier in size, the hardback Yale Anthology is comprised of fewer pages. Its cream-colored leaves are larger, thicker, and set in a larger font making for much easier reading. By every possible standard, it is a gorgeously wrought book. The contents are arranged thematically: "Religious Writings," "Political Writings," "Literature, Learning, and Authorship," "Shakespeare Criticism," "War and Imperialism," "Marriage, Men, and Women," etc. It contains none of the early biographies (save The Life of Savage, which is printed in its later redaction), no reviews (save an abridgment of Soame Jenyns' volume), only one letter, to Lord Chesterfield, and only one late political pamphlet, "The Patriot." The Journey to the Western Islands is printed in an abridged format. Although there are only five *Lives of the Poets*, they comprise almost a third of the volume. They are each presented in almost

their entirety; The Oxford Anthology has more of the *Lives*, but many in truncated form. I studied under a Johnsonian professor at the University of Chicago who declared that he could not in good conscience assign a text containing an abridged Life of Pope: Oxford includes the work in almost its entirety. (The Essay on Epitaphs at the end is omitted.) The Yale editors have chosen the *Lives* they include judiciously: Bertrand Bronson declared Savage to be "Godlike, irreplaceable"; Cowley was Johnson's own favorite; Pope was originally intended as the capstone to the entire collection, and Milton and Gray are the most controversial (except perhaps the Life of Lyttleton), good examples of Johnson's capacity for negative hermeneutics. It would have been better had the Yale editors included samples of the early biographies for point of comparison—say, The Life of Boerhaave or The Life of Browne.

When weighing the respective apparatus of the two editions, the palm goes easily to Yale. Womersley's end notes are difficult of access—they are not cued in the text, rendering consultation a hit-or-miss affair. In fact, I consider this the greatest problem with the edition. The Yale editors, on the other hand, use footnotes that are quite easy to locate. They often deploy definitions of hard or obsolete words from the *Dictionary*. (A glossary of definitions culled from the fourth edition used in the text is appended to the back.) Furthermore, the Yale editors have taken the opportunity afforded them by this collection to update the notes to the Yale Edition in general. Thus, this book will be desired even by scholars owning the complete twenty-three volume edition. The Yale Anthology also includes a generous four-page list of suggestions for further reading. (The Oxford simply provides a list of abbreviated works, plus a recommendation for Roger Lonsdale's Lives of the Poets and J. D. Fleeman's Journey to the Western Islands.) I was particularly delighted to find James L. Clifford's two biographical studies included; while long in the tooth, they, along with A. L. Reade's Johnsonian Gleanings and the Hill-Powell edition of Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, should be the starting place for those wishing to learn more about Johnson's life.

Both volumes are competitively priced: the Yale set at \$40 by the publisher (a deal for a large hardback) and available at Amazon for \$27.61; while the Oxford retails for \$25.95. It is good to have both, especially for the annotation. However, if one is forced to choose one or the other for classroom use, the Yale *Selected Works* is best suited for those instructors focusing upon the major works, while the Oxford *Selected Writings* is ideal for those who wish to expose their students to a wider range of Johnson's oeuvre.

In sum, we inhabitants of the twenty-first century are fortunate to have the Yale Edition, Thomas Curley's *Lectures on the English Law*, facsimile and computerized editions of the *Dictionary* (1755, 1773), and Bruce Redford's five-volume Letters of Johnson in our libraries. Now joined by the Oxford and Yale Anthologies, our happiness is near complete. (To my knowledge, we await three future events: the Bucknell collection of writings contributed to by Johnson; Robert DeMaria Jr.'s Longman edition of Johnson's poetry, and, if I may be immodest, my own edition of *The Annotated Rambler*.) It may finally be said that, after some hundred years in which people valued his sayings rather than his writings, Johnson's day has finally come.

Anthony W. Lee Arkansas Tech University Hilary Havens. *Revising the Eighteenth-Century Novel: Authorship from Manuscript to Print.* Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 2019. Pp. xi + 230. ISBN-10: 1108493858. Hardcover: \$99.99. [\$73.73 (\$70 for the Kindle) on Amazon, which lists the paperback, to be published 1 July 2021, for \$29.95.]

From Pamela to Great Expectations and Caleb Williams to Frankenstein, the English novel tradition is filled with second thoughts. Before and after publication, novelists from the mid-eighteenth to mid-nineteenth centuries—and beyond—have changed endings, altered lines, and responded to the critical suggestions of both private correspondents and public reviewers. Just as nearly all Shakespearean textual scholars have come to acknowledge, despite the arguments of Sir Brian Vickers, that there can never be One King Lear, editors and readers of the novels above (as well as of Clarissa, Camilla, The Monk, and others) must make their peace with texts that cannot be reduced to a single definitive version.

Revising the Eighteenth-Century Novel is a detailed study of Richardson, Burney, Austen, and Edgeworth—whose novelistic revisions can be traced through their surviving literary manuscripts, correspondence, and published editions. A final chapter offers briefer readings of Sterne, Matthew Lewis, and Godwin. Havens's guiding concept is that revision bears witness to what she christens "networked authorship": "authors were enmeshed in networksliterary, familial, or otherwise—that influenced their novels and revisions; authors were affected by the rise of literary reviews to such an extent that they would make post-publication revisions; and authors recycled and reworked material from their previous texts." Networked authorship thus includes Richardson deferring to the expertise of Lady Bradshaigh in the use of aristocratic titles in Clarissa, Burney amending the grammar of Camilla in response to a critical review, Austen reprising themes from her juvenilia in her published novels, and Edgeworth deferring to her father's judgment in excising an interracial marriage from Belinda. In these and other examples, networked authorship as Havens understands it often has an oppressive edge, as parents and social superiors (or, in the case of Matthew Lewis, moral censors) domesticate and discipline the imaginations of her chosen novelists.

This study's careful attention to a massive archive makes it a valuable piece of scholarship. Richardson, Burney, Austen, and Edgeworth were each prolific writers and Havens' thorough coverage of all four is a service to the field. This is particularly true in the cases where Havens has worked directly with the manuscripts. Burney scholars, for instance, will be excited to discover the canceled passages that Havens has deciphered in the manuscript of *Cecilia* using newly available photopaleographic techniques. But Havens also uses the concept of networked authorship to organize the findings of previous editors, and *Revising the Eighteenth-Century Novel* is a testament to excellent recent work at the Burney Centre at McGill University, Havens's doctoral alma mater; of Austen scholars such as Peter Sabor, Kathryn Sutherland, and Margaret Ann Doody; and of the contributors to the *Cambridge Edition of the Works of Samuel Richardson*, for which, at the time of writing, Havens's faculty website reports she is co-editing the letters between the novelist and the poet Edward Young.

Revising the Eighteenth-Century Novel is at its strongest when it successfully connects concrete, local findings from the archive to larger topics

of contemporary interest. Because of its accessible focus on themes of gendered (dis)empowerment in the lives and works of its canonical figures, I can pay this study the tribute, rarer than it should be, of saying that I expect to recommend it to undergraduates, among whom the analysis of female agency in Burney and Austen is a perennial favorite topic. But some of its wider claims about the importance and historical stakes of its findings are overstated. It argues, for instance, that "the novel had not fully stabilized as a genre by the turn of the nineteenth century," on the grounds that authors used the same techniques of revision in novel-writing and playwrighting. But to say that novelists and dramatists both revise their work with input from others, and that the same people write novels and dramas, does not entail that "novel" and "drama" are unstable generic concepts. Similarly questionable is the closing claim that "the innovative composition and revision practices Richardson and Edgeworth used in their novel-writing went unrivalled until perhaps the end of the twentieth century," when Ken Kesey, in 1989, wrote a novel "with the creative writing class he taught at the University of Oregon." In fact, the same careful scholarly attention that Havens gives to Richardson, Burney, Austen, and Edgeworth would find equally fascinating networked dynamics in the Brontës' juvenilia, Henry James's revision of *The Outcry* from a play to a novel, the one-chapter-per-author collaborative whodunits of the Dorothy Sayers-era Detection Club, Rose Wilder Lane's role in the Little House on the Prairie books, Virginia Woolf's inclusion of pictures of Vita Sackville-West in Orlando, and John Ashbery and James Schuyler's Nest of Ninnies, a novel that began with its collaborators alternating sentences during a long car ride. Indeed, I commend adding to this, my own idiosyncratic list, as a parlor game for the reader and the reader's friends. Perhaps a future academic conference will allow us all to play with Havens herself, though my first order of business will be to ask what discoveries she is making in the Richardson-Young correspondence. "Networked authorship," as Havens defines it, is surely much closer to a constitutive feature of human creativity and sociability tout court than a local feature of the eighteenth-century novel.

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Anna Battigelli (editor). *Art and Artifact in Austen.* Newark: University of Delaware Press [distributed by University of Virginia Press], 2020. Pp. 288 pp.; 20 illustrations; index. ISBN 978-1-64453-174-7; hardcover, \$75.00. Available in paperback (\$37.50) and e-book.

One would think nothing could be more conducive to producing lucid, reasonable essays based on outside documentary evidence, and/or close reading of the novels than being asked to write or speak on art and artifacts in Austen. Are her texts not artful, at times originally so (I am thinking of the tightly consistent use of ironic point of view in *Emma*)? Are not there scattered in the six well-known novels several ekphrastic dialogues on language, the picturesque, and visual composition, and production or knowledge of music in at least seven of Austen's heroines, viz., Marianne Dashwood, Elizabeth and Mary Bennet; Jane Fairfax and in her wake, Emma Woodhouse; Mary

Crawford, and Anne Elliot)? Austen's love of landscape and her depiction of landscapes in her novels have been a frequent subject for conversations and writing about Austen. Alas, this book represents yet another set of writings about Austen or her writings doused in hagiography. As a group, the essays manifest, common today, the uncritical attributing to Austen of omniscient powers. Arguments are repeatedly made that her novels are centrally interested in subjects and/or contain political and philosophical perspectives that I submit her writing will not sustain without building forced arguments, using overstated and strained language, and sleight-of-hand maneuvers.

Battigelli's introductory essay presents two seemingly contradictory points of view: on the one hand, computer analysis demonstrates that "material arts and artifacts appear sparingly" in Austen's novels and letters, and Austen's responses to what Austen mentions are muted (I'd put it enigmatic, guarded, and abrasive). On the other, from Battigelli's six pages of analysis (3-8, 17), the reader can see that quite a number of explicitly detailed objects and arts seem to be everywhere in Austen's writings and crucial to the heroines' creating "a sense of belonging and community [and identity] that was otherwise difficult to establish" (4). Battigelli organized a conference in Plattsburgh (a SUNY college in upper New York State) where she asked the contributors to write about how the arts we find practiced and discussed in Austen, and the objects which realize or embody philosophical attitudes of mind, are used to mirror the life of the time or become plot points in the stories. In her introduction she asserts "new scholarship" has turned these arts, artifacts, and discussions of them in Austen into "cognitive bases" or "theaters of consciousness" which "telegraph" unassailable profound meanings central to the novels or important in the era's art and lives (8-9).

Five of the essays include close readings of some part of Austen's texts, which offer insights into, and descriptions of, aspects of Austen's novels where she uses some form of art. All five capture ironies actuating Austen across her books and letters or genuinely explicate central parts of her books without moving into overloaded and indemonstrable claims. Peter Sabor ("Portraiture as Misrepresentation in the Novels and Early Writings of Jane Austen") argues that most portraiture found in the novels or alluded to in the letters misrepresents individuals and events, either by flattering the characters or people involved, or erasing the hard realities of the events. The problem here is a central part of the evidence for what Sabor takes to be satire on Austen's part are Cassandra's tiny, awkward and embarrassingly bad sketches that accompany the juvenilia. The only one of Cassandra's drawings or engravings which shows persuasive psychological depth is that of Austen facing her one day, tense, tired, her armed crossed as if to ward off a spectator's intrusive study, which Jane Austen seems to find it hard to endure; this depiction of Austen has often been frequently rejected on the grounds it is the result of Cassandra's poor artistry. But it is arguable (as Sabor does) that deceit on some level, indifference on the part of most of the characters to the art of a sketch itself (as in Emma), or an absurdly literal-minded response in an observer (most famously the egoistic inanity of Mr Woodhouse) should be taken into account in trying to understand how Austen may have meant artistic representatives in her fiction to function for her readers. Sabor contradicts, corrects and qualifies a lot of what Austen's characters say about these pictures, but does not so much produce a line of argument (which would be

impossible) as repeat his central assertion. He believes that Austen uses "visual images ... to unsettle us, thwart our expectations, and make us question much of what we wish to believe" (41).

Elaine Bander ("Artless Heroines") demonstrates that the old-fashioned moral kind of literary readings of Austen, where we are told the lessons we are intended to learn, have not vanished from Austen studies. Alone among Austen heroines, Catherine Morland and Fanny Price are not accomplished, and actively resist being taught." They are also "the least liked" (44). They will not be tricked into doing what they consider wrong (at least once alerted to this possibility). We are told this "was a deliberate strategy, part of [Austen's] lifelong project to interrogate and to remake the English novel" (45-46), but Bander does not discuss how Austen achieves this questioning and remaking. Instead she moves to assert that Austen was not having any of the "picturesque theory" of Humphry Repton or Richard Payne Knight, presumably as alluded to in Mansfield Park (54-55). There is, though, some astonishingly accurate picturesque writing in the probably unfinished Persuasion (see the famous description of "the environs of Lyme," Vol. 1, Chap. 11). But I find plausible Bander's idea that Austen's comic and burlesque presentations of artlessness-her pity for Fanny Price's humiliation (and sympathy for a female character who, like Elizabeth, is reluctant to "exhibit" in public and only resists "authority through retreat")--might be intended to lead us to value as heroic sincerity in the service of ethical behavior--because such sincerity is so rare.

Barbara M Benedict ("Gender and Things in Austen and Pope") would have us believe that Austen is much indebted to Pope (e.g., her tendency to epigrammatic style) and that they shared many attitudes. The objects Benedict chases down in Austen's novels and Pope's poetry are books and manuscripts, and she is persuasive. Leaning on an essay by George Justice on the place of print in Austen's milieu, she implies (by quoting a few sentences from Austen's writing) that Austen was not herself someone who wanted to be "subsumed by books" (126). We are told that, like her heroine Elizabeth Bennet, Austen drew the basis of her identity elsewhere, and that she resented snobbery over libraries as well as "the commodification of literature" (127). (I recall that Austen was very eager to profit from her books.) Benedict's line of argument then morphs into showing a gender fault-line between Austen and She argues that Austen shows women complicit in their own commodification and the process which shames people if they do not surround themselves with expensive well-laid-out things (131-39). The idea we should be honest with ourselves over what we need and what we don't need is embodied in Austen's better characters and argued for in Pope's Epistle to Burlington. This is a quiet, detailed essay whose claims are rooted in the chosen texts (which include Austen's letters) and the consumer culture of the eighteenth century that Austen participated in.

Juliette Wells ("Intimate Portraiture and the Accomplished Woman Artist in *Emma*") offers a careful analysis of Emma's thoughts about her drawings. The narrator also scrutinized implicitly the criticism, praise, and description by others of Emma's drawings in the context of what happens in the novel's story. We see what if anything new the characters learn or expose about themselves in response to Emma's performances. For example, Emma does not seem to have learned anything in one revealing case, where her sister Isabella rejects Emma's portrait of Isabella's husband, Emma's brother-in-law, John

Knightley: we are left to surmise Emma caught a psychological reality in John Knightley his wife does not want to see. Wells shows that the novel is a comedy of misconstructions, one with frequent suggestive revelations of character, e.g., "Here in a nutshell is the dynamic between Mr Knightley and Emma ... his truth-telling followed by her quiet recognition and self-protective lack of response" (200).

Unusually, Linda Zionkowski and Miriam Hart ("Is She Musical?") argue that in Austen's "novels, serious attention to playing and singing signifies her heroines' emotional and psychological depth": these novels' talk about music reveals a "rich inner life" very much worth the having (222n15). The heroines who are serious musical artists or students of music are Marianne Dashwood, Jane Fairfax, and Anne Elliot, but Zionkowski and Hart discuss many female characters who involve themselves in music, including those in the juvenilia. Elizabeth Bennett's refusal to play is presented as part of her refusal to "self-market" herself, and "more power accrues to her because of her refusal" (212). Mary Crawford uses music to make an erotic spectacle of herself (215), but Mary, like the Mansfield players, is misusing music. So, Austen's warnings about a heroine's devotion to music as dangerous, selfindulgent, arousing passions, vain, exploitatively erotic, belong to Austen's critique of social life. Obtuseness to the power and importance of music reveals a character's flaws: consider the kind of trivialization Emma indulges in, e.g., "if I give up music, I shall take to carpet work" (Emma, Volume I, Chapter 10). Zionkowski and Hart point out how Austen took lessons on the piano from at least age 12 to 21 with William Chard, assistant organist of Winchester Cathedral; how throughout her life she owned or rented a piano, is said to have gotten up and played early every morning, and left 17 books worth of songs. I am not sure this upending of a sort of consensus about Austen's attitudes towards passion in the novels is fully persuasive, because in her letters Austen tends to see anyone professing a liking for music as hypocritical. But we can take the essay as showing that not infrequently the Austen who produced the finished novels is a different consciousness than the Austen who wrote the letters and drafted burlesques. This essay is refreshing to read and backed up by considerable quotation and studies of genteel women's education in music in the era.

I had been invited to attend and wrote a paper for this conference entitled "Ekphrasis Patterns in Austen's Novels." (The weather and a lack of public transportation prevented my going; Battagelli herself generously read some of it aloud and summarized the rest.) I reviewed the complicated discussions the characters in Austen's novels have about the land- and cityscapes they see, and the occasional professional pictures they encounter or reference. I also suggested the perspectives one could draw from Austen's caricaturing of romantic pictures and novels in the era and specific characters' literal minded interpretations (Mrs Allen on the gothic, Admiral Crofts on a capsized ship). I wanted to tie these to picturesque discourse and the enclosure movement in the era. Does John Dashwood's obdurate, irresponsible behavior in Sense and Sensibility, or the absurd conspicuous consumption the Rushwood family enacts in Mansfield Park connect to or anticipate large serious economic and social concerns occurring in the Elizabethan and Enlightenment eras and discussed in the Victorian? I had found myself struggling to remain within the limits of what could be argued from Austen. I too had not resisted moving outwards to more general studies of the picturesque, enclosure and economic hardship, and aesthetic treatises in the era.

But I became dissatisfied and suspicious of my over-stretched theses placing Austen's novels in such contexts. What had all this to do with Austen's fiction, and the remnants left to us of her life-writing and manuscripts of unfinished or unpublished novels? The problem is Austen herself is nowhere consistent when the reader tries to find a coherent thought-out point of view. She is not a theorist of material or aesthetic or religious culture, and, when it comes to literary or artistic criticism, hers is a caustic unqualifiedly partisan voice. She is continually adamantine in her self-protectiveness, understandably when one considers her dependence on her family and their supersensitiveness to anything that might obstruct family aggrandizement or hurt the family reputation. In her biography of Austen, Claire Tomalin suggests that Austen is a very difficult novelist to write an in-depth persuasive biography about because of the way she hides herself, will not commit to any line of argument, and in the letters draws back from any empathy with people she herself has registered as vulnerable or poignantly in potential and real distress.

Five essayists did what I found myself beginning to do, with the difference that they moved into improbability, building their arguments on others who had taken over-stretched routes before them, or attributing to her what can be found in other writers' texts. One no longer needs even a specific allusion to a place to assert that the place is central to any one of her novels. Tonya J. Moutray ("Religious Views: English Abbeys in Austen's Northanger Abbey and Emma") expects us to believe that the Catholic past of England, and its endangered future, the present situation for Catholics and nuns, were in Austen's mind when writing and placing ex-abbeys in these two novels. She connects Austen back to Gilpin's books of picturesque illustration where she similarly thinks Gilpin has Catholic losses in history in mind; the evidence she draws from Austen's burlesque History of England is based on her idea that Austen is to be understood as seriously sympathetic to Catholicism when it comes to religion. Considered apart from the tenuous attachment Moutray forces her material into with Austen's novels, her essay is insightful, and informative about Catholic refugees in Britain, the problems of nuns, and rich with comments from Gilpin's texts and illustrations from his books. To be sure, Burney, whom Moutray brings in as sympathetic to French emigrants, wrote about the contemporary political situation and shows awareness of the plight of minor French clergy particularly, but there are only three references to Catholicism in all of Austen's writings; two are on nuns and are of the commonplace kind one finds in novel after novel: a nun leads a life of "penitence" and "mortification," or, as in Gothic novels, she is "ill-fated". I like to think that Austen's deliberately outrageous comments on behalf of women in history come from a proto-feminist point of view. She is, for example, in her letters, adamantly for Queen Caroline of Brunswick "because she is a woman & because I hate her husband" (Austen's Letters, ed LeFaye, 4th edition, 216-17; 16 February 1813). If anything I see an ironic poignancy in Austen's lack of any individual interest or empathy for Catholic nuns because she was herself a lifelong single-woman and in her letters find she was thwarted when she made plans to live or travel with congenial female friends while under the control of her family and her brothers especially.

Natasha Duquette ("A Very Pretty Amber Cross") turns another novel by

Austen into a primarily religiously-oriented text. Duquette brings together Charles Austen's present of a pair of small topaz crosses, his religiosity (it is possible the three prayers now attributed to Jane are by Charles), various scholars' assertions of a close proud bond between them (despite her not being keen on his in-laws, and writing about the Palmers with contempt) and Fanny Price's devotion to her brother William's gift. Duquette writes in a Christian moralizing vein about the Crawfords' behavior until we have reached the assertion that "William's gift of the cross signifies his hope for Fanny's elevation, his faith in God's providential love for Fanny," and the cross itself is Austen's "empirical" way of "reminding us of how the shape of a cross has functioned as a memorial for centuries within the international history of Christianity" (148-49).

Underlying the arguments in these five essays is an assumption that Austen participated in a remarkable number of cultural interests in her era, and was remarkably erudite, which in her letters she flatly denies. Sometimes she is not ironic. In the last couple of decades there has also been an eagerness to make Austen into a popular regency romance writer, to show her sharing our or a particular critic's tastes and values. In "Legal Arts and Artifacts in Jane Austen's Persuasion," Nancy E. Johnson replaces the language of Persuasion, psychological, moral, descriptive, with a set of concepts and words drawn from legal philosophy, and the novel is interpreted as if it were a legal Cheryl Wilson ("Everything Is Beautiful: Jane Austen at the Ballet") builds up Austen's use of dancing in her writing to the point theater stage arts and the popularity of ballet and spectacle are made central to Pride and Prejudice; she then leaps from assembly balls and Elizabeth's predilection for rigorous walks to making Elizabeth a "fantasy ballerina," which then explains why and how Austen's Pride and Prejudice has become matter for a ballet so named at the American Repertory Theater, the Princeton Symphony Orchestra, which seems to have equally inspired a young adult sequel novel, Jessica Evans's ballet novel, The Muse: a Pride and Prejudice Variation. Austen never once mentions Gilray though she mentions many minor illustrators across her writing and excoriates the crudeness of *The Spectator* in Northanger Abbey (Volume I, Chapter 5); nonetheless, Jocelyn Harris ("What Jane Saw - in Henrietta Street") insists Austen delighted in his raw semipornographic burlesques.

Two essayists do not aim to attribute to Austen what cannot be proved or seems unlikely. Deborah Payne ("Jane Austen and the Theater: Perhaps not so Much") pours scorn on a growing body of books and essays about the 18th-century theater or drama whose central justification is the idea that Austen learnt her art from omnivorous play reading, attendance, and remarkable powers of memory, but then works very hard the myth that Austen invented "free indirect discourse" and its centrality to Austen's achievement (85-87). It is as if Payne needs to find some area of flawlessness and originality to make up for arguing Austen's knowledge and use of plays is not extraordinary, and only one aspect of her achievement, and, according to Payne, not very much.

Marilyn Francus ("Jane Austen, Marginalia, and Book Culture") performs heroic and diligent feats in combing Jane Austen's and perhaps her family members' marginalia in print and manuscripts in order to suggest that the Austen family and Jane liked not only to read voraciously, but to talk about and to write their opposing views into the books they owned. Her essay

belongs to book history studies. George, Jane's father, owned 500 books before the family moved to Bath; Edward Austen had an extensive collection now at Chawton House. One problem is that when the marginalia is simply an exclamatory word or punctuation in a book that Jane Austen is not known to have read herself, one cannot tell who wrote it. Another is attempting to infer a larger argument or purpose for Austen vis-à-vis one of her relatives when so many of Austen's phrases are so short, general, vague, caustic, or emotional. There is also the problem that later relatives cut out precisely what might have given the modern researcher the specific words she needs. Francus shows how this is documentable where Burney in her marginalia is fighting depression (119). But she does prove that Austen was not unusual in her family, and was not isolated but supported by people she lived with as an engaged resistant reader who did not "hesitate to enter" or mark up her books (119).

With all the intense desire to make of Austen as a person and her books an endlessly fecund site that can participate in any and all areas of our lives today, it is telling that her letters are badly in need of a modern scholarly edition. Deirdre LeFaye's edition, thick as they are with information (and her speculation and pro-family point of view), is difficult to use. The problem is they are remnant of what existed and themselves censored. Stereotypes of Austen's close family members descending from the Austens themselves linger on further to prevent readers from tracing coherent experiences recorded in these letters. Take the oft-quoted comment by Jane during a visit to London where she accompanies her brother Henry to an exhibition when they see two paintings, each of which Jane Austen declares are either her Jane or Elizabeth Bennet to the life (based on the color of the subject's dress). The letter includes Henry's offer to go with Jane to a gathering where Madame de Stael might have been and Jane's refusal. In many recent scholars' eagerness to deny or explain away why it is that Jane Austen would not want to go, they overlook Henry's reluctance; he seems to be going with his business partner, Mr Tilson and his wife as a networking duty. We also read of preparations for Henry to leave the apartment he had shared with Eliza, who has recently died an agonizing death at which Jane was present (if she wrote letters about this death to Cassandra, they are among those destroyed), and suggestions of many hardfought negotiations for money (Henry's banking business is not doing so well). The date of the letter is May 24, 1813; it is one of a series of letters directly after Eliza Austen's death where Jane's purpose seems to me to help the widower endure the immediate aftermath of grief. Many have been trained to assume Henry to be superficial, not deep feeling (his relatives never forgave him for not succeeding in profession as banker and having to turn to them for monetary help), so the context of Henry's recent widowhood and money worries is treated as if it was not there. If you follow the intermittent series of letters by Jane at this time (several seem to have been destroyed), you can just about trace a slow process where Jane is helping Henry to cope with his grief and anxieties. We overlook what they are about as a group because we are reading them to find material on Jane Austen as a novelist working to succeed in what we take to be her profession.

There are many ways to read and to misread Jane Austen. In this collection of essays I see a myriad of impulses actuating the individual writers: hagiography, self-mirroring, over-valuation and what is fashionable intermix with close readings and scholarly study. To read Jane Austen studies at the

present time is to enter worlds where Austen's writing is placed in other worlds of meaning that you must be trained to understand.

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Reviewer's Note *: Here are the three references: in Austen's Juvenilia or (Chapman's edition, Minor Works), The History of England, under "Henry 8th", this is representative: "Nothing can be said in his vindication, but that his abolishing Religious Houses and leaving them to the ruinous depredations of time has been of infinite use to the landscape of England in general, which probably was a principal motive for his doing it ... "From Emma: Of Jane Fairfax: "With the fortitude of a devoted novitiate, she had resolved at one-and-twenty to complete the sacrifice, and retire from all the pleasures of life, of rational intercourse, equal society, peace and hope, to penance and mortification forever" (Volume II, Chapter 2). From Northanger Abbey: "...she could not entirely subdue the hope of some traditional legends, some awful memorials of an injured and ill-fated nun" (Volume II, Chapter 2).

Patrick Scott (editor). *The Ghost at the Feast: Religion & Scottish Literary Criticism*. (An *SSL* [Studies in Scottish Literature] Symposium.) Columbia, SC: Studies in Scottish Literature, 2020. (Irvin Dept. of Rare Books, U. of South Carolina Libraries; printed and distributed by Kindle Direct Publishing and available on paper at Amazon; freely available in PDFs on the WWW at https://scholarcommons.sc.edu/ssl). Pp. viii + 127. ISBN: 9798688182699.

Murray Pittock and Craig Lamont (editors). *Allan Ramsay's Future*. (*Studies in Scottish Literature*, 46, no. 2 [Fall 2020], ed. by Patrick Scott and Tony Jarrells.). As with the preceding, published on the WWW in PDFs and on paper by KDP via Amazon. Pp. vii + 150; illus. ISBN: 9798573354088.

Patrick Scott and Tony Jarrells (editors). *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 46, no. 1 (Spring 2020). As with the preceding, published on the WWW in PDFs and on paper by KDP via Amazon. Pp. xiv + 195.

These three 2020 publications from *Studies in Scottish Literature* provide an opportunity to promote the program for Scottish studies conducted by Patrick Scott and Tony Jarrells at the University of South Carolina (Scott is affiliated with the Dept. of Rare Books and Jarrells with the English Dept). The journal *Studies in Scottish Literature* (*SSL*) was founded by G. Ross Roy (1924-2013) in 1963, moved to South Carolina in 1965, with Roy editing 36 volumes to 2012 (the first 12 vols. are quarterlies and then they vary; gaps without issues occur in 1976-1977 and 1994-1995). In 2012 Scott and Jarrrells assumed editorial responsibility, producing vol. 38 after reissuing a festschrift to Roy as vol. 37; they have produced spring and fall issues since 2016. At some point they mounted with open access all the back issues in itemized PDFs at a well designed, searchable website, while continuing to allow the purchase of well-printed and bound paper copies via Amazon. The PDFs, at least for the two 2020 issues, contain helpful abstracts of the articles that are

not found in the printed issue; in addition, plates, as in Steven Newman's article in Vol. 46.2, are in color in the PDF and b/w in the printed issues.

The most recent issue, that for Fall 2020, vol. 42, no. 2 (posted on the WWW in December 2020), is entitled Allan Ramsay's Future and edited by guest editors Murray Pittock and Craig Lamont. Scott and Jarrells's preface notes that this is the "first-ever collection of essays devoted to Allan Ramsay's work published outside Scotland," originally intended to be included in Pittock's edition project funded by the Arts & Humanities Research Council with £1 million. Its essays celebrate Ramsay's achievement in part by examining his reception in its broadest sense and his impact on various aspects of 18C Scottish language, literature, and culture. They note that Roy had "built up a significant Ramsay collection, with other 100 editions dated between 1718 and 1800, planning to produce . . . a new descriptive bibliography of Ramsay's work." The frontispiece reproduces a mezzotint of Ramsay by George White (d. 1732) based on a painting by William Aikman (d. 1731). In their Introduction Pittock and Lamont discuss the ongoing edition of Ramsay's works, related scholarship, and the essays in this issue, noting the efforts to revitalized Ramsay and thus his Edinburgh (an explicit effort by sponsors to boost tourism, as through an Allan Ramsay Heritage Trail in the city). They focus attention on the topics of Ramsay's reception and public image, his role in the Enlightenment and Romanticism, his impact on poetry and theater, and his accomplishments in the context of geography, language, and the learned world. Pittock very directly addresses many of these topics in "Allan Ramsay: Romanticism and Reception" (8-21); there he surveys Ramsay's career and contemporary and modern reception, stressing the breadth of his audience and his promotion of a Scots literary language, more than a vocabulary (a "Doric" English language as opposed to the urbane "Attic" one, both equivalent descendents of Saxon), and a Middle Scots poetic tradition especially anchored to the pastoral (via collections like *The Evergreen*), aided by his efforts as publisher, theatrical projector, and culture-broker. Pittock then argues the formative role of the ballad-opera The Gentle Shepherd: A Scots Pastoral Comedy (1725) in Scottish Romanticism and national identity.

Rhona Brown's "Networks of Sociability in Allan Ramsay's The Fair Assembly [1723]" (22-39) demonstrates Ramsay's support in both his poem and its dedication for this weekly dance assembly shortly after it was initiated in 1723 by five aristocratic "Directresses," a support displaying pro-Jacobite and anti-Presbyterian sentiments, even stronger, notes Brown, in the holograph MS. She also investigates the familial networks of that assembly (as in part indicated by the poem) and the public debate around its "morality" (Ramsay marvels that there should be opposition to the Thursday evening dances). Craig Lamont's title indicates his focus: "Some Few Miles from Edinburgh': Commemorating the Scenes of *The Gentle Shepherd* in Ramsay Country" (40-60, with ten illustrations and maps). Lamont in 2018 examined memorials to Ramsay in Edinburgh, and now he examines those in the countryside around Carlops where Ramsey visited (as James Clerk's family home in Penicuik); here the memorials honor him by referencing *The Gentle Shepherd*, set in "a Shepherds Village and Fields some few Miles from Edinburgh." In "Compylit in Latin': Allan Ramsay and Scoto-Latinity in the 18C" (61-76), Ralph McLean surveys versification in Latin in early 18C Jacobite circles and in Ramsay's own, discussing the verses of Archibald Pitcairne, Thomas

Ruddiman, and Robert Ferguson, as well as Alexander Fraser Tyler's Latin translations of Ramsay's poems. Also, Ramsay's translations of Horace and his own identification with that tradition are stressed in a larger claim that Ramsay encouraged a Scottish engagement with Latinity, repackaging the classical heritage in an accessible tongue. For me, the most interesting essay in the issue was Steve Newman's "Some Pastoral Improvements' in *The Gentle* Shepherd: Mediation, Remediation, and Minority" (77-102), although I stumbled on the subtitle and found the abstract a little obscure. Newman provides a fine account of Ramsay's evolving intentions while examining the composition and publication of the play, aided by an examination of three drafts and the fair copy. He argues the importance of Ramsay's historical setting in the 17C and its theme of improving the land and Scotland generally after the Cromwellian devastation, with increased literacy and learning too ("a Jacobitical story of return," 85), and he attends well to the evolving text as it meets the stage and songs are added, and then, breaking new ground again, to its adaptation in the New World. Newman is a co-investigator in the Collected Works project, as is Brown, and Lamont is a Research Associate, as is Brianna E. Robertson-Kirkland, who contributed "Mapping Changes in the Songs in The Gentle Shepherd, 1725-1788" (103-26), an excellent bibliographical analysis—given the edition's stress on music, she has an important role.

The Spring 2020 issue of SSL (mounted at the journal's website in August 2020), from the regular editors, has its usual format: a symposium of shorter essays—this treating "Insurrections" in the 17C-20C, with an Introduction by Jarrells and Afterword by Christopher Whatley and six essays—then follow four full length articles, two short notes, a review, and "books received." The editors' preface notes the intention of running such regular issues with occasional special issues, like that in Fall 2020, and solicits articles and notes, sending us to the journal's homepage for guidelines (the address is in my heading). The editors also preface the issue with tributes to three lately deceased scholars of Scottish literature. The symposium honors a 1820 armed Scottish insurrection, a too rarely recalled protest that is the subject of James Kelman's play Hardie and Baird: The Last Days (1978). Three of the essays treat the long 18C. While examining John Galt's 1823 novel Ringan Gilhaize, which recounts the history of the Presbyterian establishment in Scotland and depicts the Covenanting Wars of the late 17C, Padma Rangarajan looks for the currents of late 18C political ideas and events (7-13). Carol McGuirk's "The King and the People in Burns and Lady Nairne, with a Coda on Jane Austen's Favorite Burns Song" (14-22) finds a shift in revolutionary focus from the King to the people in songs by Burns and Nairne (Caroline Oliphant). She closes by making the case that Burns's "Their Groves of Sweet Myrtle" may be echoed in Austen's Emma. Alexander Dick's "Bliadhna nan Caorach / The Year of the Sheep: Reading Highland Protest in the 1790s" (23-31) examines the fascinating protest in 1792 when two hundred farmers drove ten thousand intrusive sheep toward Inverness, attending to a poetic response by Allan MacDougall and some prose discussions. Whatley's Afterword integrates the earlier six essays and weaves in the Reformation, the Jacobite insurrections, and women's rights protests such as the "insurrection of maids" in 1872, thus opening up windows on other potential studies. The longer articles after the symposium begin with Kelsey Jackson Williams's "Paper Monuments: The Latin Elegies of Thomas Chambers, Almoner to

Cardinal Richelieu," on poems by this mid-17C Catholic priest (77-99). Passing over three 19C and 20C essays, we come to Patrick Scott's article on a document: "Yon High Mossy Mountains': A Burns Song Manuscript from the Roy Collection" (147-57), investigating the provenance and variants in a second known MS of a poem published 1792, with a photograph of the MS.

The Ghost at the Feast: Religion & Scottish Literary Criticism is an expanded reissue of the symposium in SSL, 45, no. 2 (Fall 2019 but posted online in June 2020). The contributors were to start from Crawford Gribben's "The Literary Cultures of the Reformation," published in Review of English Studies, 57 (2006), which lays out the dizzying variety of 16C-17C religious literature overlooked by criticism dyed with an anti-Calvinist bias since the Enlightenment. The Scottish Kirk evolved and fractured during the 17C and 18C, and there was much religious writing by non-Calvinists. Gribben cleverly asserts the adverse consequence of neglecting and broad-brushing these literatures, noting, for instance, how it has made Knox a larger figure and also led to the neglect of women and Catholic writers—and, in general, as Patrick Scott puts it, "shorthand dismissal has often preempted fuller critical engagement" (5). For the separate issue of the symposium, Gribben's challenging and ground-breaking essay has been reprinted and another essay has been added to the original eight essays. Plus, Scott has added a preface, a bibliography of "further readings," and revised his introduction, which is valuable for its overview of Gribben's essay and its discussion of difficulties arising when teaching Calvinist and anti-Calvinist literature like Burns's "Holy Willie's Prayer." The contributors, as Scott admits, do not very fully engaged with Gribben's essay, for they deal with later literature, but Gribben's "Afterword: Finding Religion in Scottish Literary History" (111-17) provides his engagement with the contributors' essays as he surveys some promising developments since writing his RES essay. Indeed, one might read Gribben's account of these essays before reading them (113ff.). Two concern our period: Kelsey Jackson Williams's "Archibald Pitcairne's Liturgical Year" (33-40), discovering in a thinker associated with Enlightenment ideas "devotion to Christ, the Episcopal church, and the exiled king James" in his Latin poetical cycle of 1712-1713 (35), and Robert Irvine's "Presbyterianism, 'Scottish Literature,' and John Galt's Annals of the Parish" (41-47), offering a thesis modifying Gribben's explanation of the anti-Presbyterian movement. One wishes Irvine's essay were longer. He stresses that opposition to Presbyterianism was not to its theology but to the Kirk as the national institution (a point Gribben finds "plausible" and "important" [116]). Irvine identifies two developments or phases: first that begun by Ramsay to promote a national literature out of the materials (excepting the novel) for which the Kirk had no use, and a later effort seen in Burns' "The Cotter's Saturday Night" to create a "version of Scotland . . . pious, domestic, and British," detached from the institutional church: constructing "a counter-tradition in which the Presbyterian legacy was not simply disowned or discarded . . . but misremembered" (43-44). As part of the latter, Galt's 1821 novel presents the Scottish resistance as not a defense of the Kirk but of the family represented in the efforts of a Scots-speaking widow for her children.

The October 2015 *Intelligencer* (32.2:63) notes the publication that year of three volumes in Patrick Scott's renewal of the Scottish Poetry Reprint series, begun by Roy and including seven volumes (1970-). In 2017 an 11th

appeared: *Musick for Allan Ramsay's Collection of 71 Scots Songs*, set by Alexander Stuart, with an introduction by Kirsteen McCue. This undated engraved oblong music book of the early 1720s is "believed to be the first musical publication relating to Allan Ramsay's *Scots Songs*"; it contains settings by Stuart without lyrics, engraved by R. Cooper. The photographic reproduction is available on 175 images, beginning with title "Musick For the Scots Songs in the Tea Table Miscellany," inscribed to the "Countess of Eglintoun"; this is followed by music for "Bonny Christy," etc., and has indexing on its final page (posted at U. of South Carolina Library Digital Collections: https://digital.tcl.sc.edu/digital/collection/rbc/id/2942).

James E. May

Problems in Gale's New Platform for ECCO

The Eighteenth Century Collections Online (ECCO) has a new platform that is much inferior to the old, greatly handicapping my work. At least some changes result from its being "moved to Gale Primary Sources cross-search platform" late in 2020 (acknowledged under "Research Tools"); one addition is that every record on a results page has "Found in Eighteenth Century Collections Online." As ever, a high proportion of the screen is wasted on headings (a problem shared by ESTC, where it leads to much wasted paper). The magnification of a page is no longer set numerically as 25% or 33% but by "+" or "-" buttons with too few gradients; now, I cannot view an entire page at once while it is still large enough to read. To access more than a page at a time, one pulls down the print menu's new scrolling counts for the initial and final pages of text (formerly one typed in the start and finish numbers); this pull-down with rolling set of numbers is very unresponsive in lengthy books, such that one wastes much time setting it at say "200" start and "450" conclude. More seriously, often pages, especially toward the end of a requested run, are either covered fully or in part with a gray rectangle or are entirely a white void, often in alternation with pages that are visible—on occasion most page sequences are voids. Formerly one could magnify or diminish a page image as needed while one scrolled down but not any more. Also, before one could use this print function to select pages of text and then move to another edition search to call up another version or copy for comparison, with both on the screen. That capacity is lost, at least to me, unless I am using two computers. Also, the new platform lacks the old's ability to print just what is magnified and viewed on the screen (a way to save ink when one wishes to print a cut ornament). And printing any page takes longer and is disruptive. When one prints a page within a section of text called up via the print function, all those pages previously displayed are lost and need be again called up. Nor can one check citation information without leaving selected pages called up to the screen. And the citation page extends down the screen such that it cannot be seen all at once—one need often scroll down both on the citation page and also on the overall window image in the right margin to read the ESTC number and copy digitized. Less information is now offered by the citation page, some being placed in the "explore" function where word

searches occur. Also, the page digesting contents has never more in it than "front matter, main body," and (sometimes) "back matter," with the last being an appendix or perhaps an index but not consistently the first or last "back matter"; whereas formerly texts were itemized into dozens or even hundreds of subsections, allowing quick overview and rapid navigation with a click.

I must concede that the results page for a search includes now images of title-pages and "keyword preview" boxes that enable one to read a line or two of text with words in one's word- or phrase-search. (This feature allows the unqualified more easily to write after a day's data-mining articles on topics like shoes in Defoe's works published by W. Taylor in 1715-1725.) Ironically this rollout occurred within several months of ASECS's asking in a survey how much we would pay to make *ECCO* available to all ASECS members. Gale has put much effort into appearing to consult scholars but little into revising ECCO, whose citation pages are lousy with errors since corrected in the *ESTC*. Why has there been no effort to gather and indicate on citation pages copy deficiencies such as missing pages or to correct inaccurate publication dates? Fortunately, ESTC is adding more links to PDFs on Google Books, Hathi Trust, and digitizations by libraries.—J. E. May

Four Memorial Tributes to Hugh Ormsby-Lennon

Hugh Ormsby-Lennon grew up in London a few houses from the British Museum, attending the City of London School for Boys and then going up to King's College, Cambridge. He won a Thouron Scholarship to go to the University of Pennsylvania where he got his PhD under Paul Korshin in 1977. From there, he remained in the United States at jobs in various universities until he was quickly tenured at Villanova University. He retired from VU in 2018, some 30 years later. He was awarded First Class Honours for his BA at King's and Distinction for his PhD at Penn. He was the first graduate student to deliver a paper at ASECS.

He loved the 18th-century English colonial look of the heart of Philadelphia where we lived, and he became a guide at our local Georgian church where the English are said to have stabled their horses in its box pews during the Revolutionary War. A friend from school tells me that Hugh "was always a surprise: a cockney, born within the sound of Bow Bells; he was also Irish and American. Both his parents were free-thinkers but he was baptised both in the Church of England and Roman Catholic faith. He grew up in a small top-floor flat at 28 Museum Street in Bloomsbury, and wherever he went he took a Bohemian atmosphere with him, even to the City of London School where he dodged Confirmation, disliked sports, and hated the then-compulsory cadet force CCF [Combined Cadet Force] (he used to aim at other people's targets during shooting practice)." An old student at Villanova tells me that he "loved that [Hugh] was available to e-mail about Dr. Who or James Bond, or whatever insane comic adaptation was coming down the pike, and he had already thought deeply about."

In our life together, Hugh continually snapped up unconsidered trifles. He would pursue the trifle, peering at its neighbors, its byways, corners, milieu, and little secrets until he had laid out its *gestalt*. At museums, he would

find the dog in church, the angel in the background. He was always looking for the significance of the mundane. When I publicly scolded a bigot, he claimed I was displaying traits handed down from my Quaker forebears by "giving testimony." He knew far more about Quakers than I did, so he taught me something about my own family. A lovely mind.

As a scholar, Hugh wrote effortlessly -- to my envy -- and turned out a long list of reviews and essays and three books. We did not work in the same fields, so the only work I know well is *Hey Presto! Swift and the Quacks*, which I helped Hugh to edit. From that editing I grew to admire deeply Swift's athletic, conversational prose. Lines from *A Tale of a Tub* often applied in our household were that "the first proselyte [a charlatan] makes is himself" -- particularly apt in US politics these days. But the work of Hugh that knocked my socks off was "Classis? Under the Stage-Itinerant." [In *Swift: The Enigmatic Dean*, eds. Rudolf Freiburg et al. (Tübingen: Stauffenburg, 1998), 173-199.] A master exercise in pursuing the trifle to its utmost end.

Margaret Boerner LLM JD MA PhD 70 Great Percy Street London WC1X 9QU

Here is what I would like to be associated with Hugh in his residence of Memory Lane, Swift Avenue, The Heavens Most High: "I first met Hugh at the ASECS conference held at Williamsburg 1986. A year before, Irvin Ehrenpreis had died at Münster from an accident, and in its wake, the Centre and the annual named after him Swift Studies: The Annual of the Ehrenpreis Centre had been founded. On that occasion, Hugh came to me to learn more about the tragic circumstances of Ehrenpreis's death as well as the projects my late friend Heinz Vienken and I had embarked on by then in memoriam Irvin Ehrenpreis. He also told me at length, and with a passion, too, about his own origins in Ireland, his education in England as well as the beginnings of his academic career in the United States and his current research on Swift's Tale. This first encounter already made me realize, however faintly, what many scholars in the field of Swift studies came to praise in Hugh in subsequent years: impressive erudition matched with enviable stylistic ease, as well as love of humour and wit. Moreover, there was always an ironic twinkle in his eyes. Hugh love to tease and to upset, to challenge and to provoke, to call anything that might go under "conventionality" in question. Being the agent provocateur he was, many things that appear to be "conventional" to the antibourgeois mind were anathema to him.

On my return home, I found an unpublished typescript of some 400 pages in my mail, entitled *New Light on Dark Authors*, his first study of *A Tale of a Tub* of which we still retain a copy in the Ehrenpreis Centre's archive. Having read this and knowing a genius when I see one, I wrote Hugh a letter in which I urged him, indeed, urged him, to publish it at once. Having taken my habilitation years earlier with a historical old-spelling, annotated edition of *The Battle of the Books*, I felt that what I had just read was the most illuminating criticism I had read on the *Tale*, the work which, ostensibly, every critic grants to be a masterpiece but no critic knows why. Hugh knew why, manifesting as he did a vision of the whole, a vision that did not get lost in the welter of hitherto unexplained, arcane detail, as one of my students was to put

it, "what the *Tale* was all about." Hugh did not follow my advice, and *New Light on Dark Authors* was never published. But then, not even his closest confidants would have always described Hugh's conduct as *rationis capax*.

However, Hugh soon turned out to be a true friend of the Ehrenpreis Centre and its annual *Swift Studies*. By 1988, the journal was only in its third year, and Hugh knew that I was desperate for good material, so he decided to help me on the bumpy way to success by submitting for publication a scholarly bombshell. Arguably, "Swift's Spirit Reconjured: das Dong-an-sich" is the most outrageous and inspiring essay published on the *Tale* in twentieth-century criticism until then, but still hard to surpass in its sensitivity to dark learning, love of language virtuosity, and gusto for interpretative bravado. As a reader of Swift, Hugh will continue to live as one who was *non pareil*.

Hermann J. Real Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität, Münster

I first met Hugh, not in England, but at the 1986 ASECS conference at Williamsburg. A lot of Swiftians attended, including James Woolley, Hermann Real, Brean Hammond and David Hayton, and we had a few drinks together. The next time I attended ASECS, at New Orleans in 1989, it transpired that Hugh and I were on the same plane from Atlanta. A couple of months later he made an utterly unforgettable appearance at the Second Münster Symposium on Jonathan Swift. In those far-off days when academics were exercised by 'theory', Hugh's paper was a piece of performance art as, dressed in an extremely long stripey scarf and a white T-shirt bearing the inscription of a vermin-killing powder, 'd.CON KILLS CRITS', Hugh deconstructed the way conference papers were supposed to be presented. In the forty-odd years that followed, I often met Hugh at conferences, usually in Margaret's company. We sometimes appeared on the same bill. In 2010, for instance, he gave the opening paper at the Trim Swift festival and I gave the closing one. I greatly enjoyed his company, and his idiosyncratic thoughts on Swift, Benjamin Franklin, the best cop shows on television, and much else, for Hugh was not only a fine scholar; he was also great fun. Who else, I wonder, would have had the wit and the erudition to write the following sentences from *Hey Presto!*? "To believers, Jesus was more than a theurgos; to detractors he was at best a magos, at worst a goes. In the irreligious world of the Tub, anything goes."

J. Alan Downie Goldsmith's College, University of London

This was heartbreaking news, when Margaret posted it on FB the day after Christmas. I remember Hugh so fondly, because he never cared about rank. When I was brand new, a wide-eyed MA student, a whippersnapper, he was as kind and gracious to me as he was when I was a new full professor. I remember the Georgetown EC/ASECS, when I was on a panel with Alan Downie and Brean Hammond, moderated by Geoff Sill, and it had been the best kind of affectionately contentious, and for a long moment no one would ask a question. The whole room, all the seats, seemed to move backward when we were done, away from us. But Hugh's hand came up, finally, and I remember thinking, good lord, anyone but me, ask anyone but me. I was a

brand new PhD student and Hugh had enough knowledge, quirky and thorough and formidable, that the last thing I wanted to be was on the receiving end of a query. I don't remember to whom he asked a question. Probably, knowing him, of all of us. What I remember is that his question sparked a conversation that made the Q&A session beautiful, and even when I am an old woman, I'll remember that as one of the truly special panels of my life. Hugh was a delight, gracious, generous, adorably weird and utterly brilliant. He was a light, and I miss him already.

Ashley Marshall University of Nevada, Reno

Editor's bibliographical note: Hugh's dissertation was entitled "The Dialect of those Fanatic Times: Language, Communities and English Poetry, 1580-1660." He co-edited with Marie M. Roberts Secret Texts: Literature of Secret Societies (AMS Press, 1965), to which he contributed "Nature's Mystick Book: Renaissance Arcanum into Restoration Cant"; with Margaret Boerner, he published Fools of Fiction: Reading William Trevor's Stories (2005; rev. ed., Remodeled Books, 2016); with the silent assistance of Margaret, he completed his erudite and groundbreaking engagement with A Tale of a Tub in 2011: Hey Presto! Swift and the Quacks (Delaware, 412 pp.), and at his death he was working on the monograph "Curious Couple: Jonathan Swift and Benjamin Franklin." In addition to essays mentioned by Margaret above, his many articles include "Poetic Standards on the Early Augustan Battleground" in Studies in 18C Culture [SECC], 5 (1976); "Radical Physicians and Conservative Poets in Restoration England: Dryden among the Doctors" in Studies in 18C Culture, 7 (1978); "Swift's Spirit Reconjured: Das Dong-ansich" in Swift Studies, 3 (1988); "Rosicrucian Linguistics: Twilight of a Renaissance Tradition" in Hermeticism and the Renaissance, ed. by I. Merkel and A. G. Debus (1988); "Swift and the Quakers, I" and ", II" in Swift Studies, 4-5 (1989, 1990); "From Shibboleth to Apocalypse: Quaker Speechways during the Puritan Revolution" in Language, Self, and Society: A Social History of Language, ed. by Peter Burke and Roy Porter (1991); "Commonplace Swift" in Reading Swift: Papers from the Third Münster Symposium on Jonathan Swift, ed. by H. J. Real (1998); "Fields of Dreams: Diggers, Cargo Cults, and the *Ursprache*" in *The Language of Adam*, ed. by A. Coudert (1999); "Trips, Spies, Amusements' and the Apogee of the Public Sphere" in *Reading Swift* [IV], ed. by H. J. Real and H. Stöver-Leidig (2003); "Of Late a Tabu: Newer Light on Dark Authors" in "The First Wit of the Age": Essays on Swift his Contemporaries in Honour of Hermann J. Real, ed. by K. Juhas, M. Hansen, and P. Müller (2013); "Pinching Snuff: Dean Swift as Paralytic Gnomon in James Joyce's 'The Sisters'" and its Part II in Swift Studies, 29 and 31 (2014, 2016). One is struck by how many of the above studies involve language and how clever Hugh's titles are-Pat Rogers told Alan Downie that he didn't know Hugh but did know "he was really clever." He was unusually well suited to tackling the wit in Swift's *Tale*.

In Memory of Irwin Primer

Professor Irwin Primer died on 1 December 2020, at the age of 91. He was survived by his wife Blossom, sons Jeremy and Joel and their wives, and two grandchildren. Irwin, long a resident of Maplewood, NJ, had been an active member of ASECS, EC/ASECS, and Columbia U.'s 18C Seminar and participated in the online community PhilPeople. Although his degrees were in English and his livelihood was teaching English at Rutgers U. in Newark, his scholarly contribution was in philosophy and the history of ideas.

On 24 August 1991 Irwin was interviewed at home in Maplewood, NJ, by Gilbert Cohen for an oral history project, in which Irwin focused on student and civic rights movements in Newark during the 1960-70s: "Preserving Memory: Newark and Rutgers in the 1960's and 1970's." (The typescript is in a PDF on the WWW, and the audio file is available too, within Rutgers U. Libraries' Rutgers U. Community Repository). Irwin begins with background information: "I took a BA at Brooklyn College . . . '49. Attended Columbia University for graduate study briefly. . . . arrived at Yale in '52. Took an MA in English in '54, and a Ph.D. in 1961. I arrived as an instructor of English at the Rutgers-Newark campus in 1958," from which he retired in 1998 (making a place for Jack Lynch). He taught four courses on three days, the semester lasting several weeks into January: he believed more was learned with the Christmas break within the semester, allowing students to research and write papers then. This was back before the new campus was built, back when, to Irwin's enjoyment, faculty from different disciplines were closely joined in a building on Rector Street. With a caveat about the possibility that he and others romanticize the past, he noted that many thought the students were better during his first decade, before a student body needing remediation was admitted in the late 1960s. He recollects, too, the liberalization that followed the Newark riots in '67 and the student takeover of Conklin Hall in 1967, and the general attacks on academic authority and on the value of certain disciplines, attributing to them changes in the curriculum, such as the abandonment of courses like Non-Shakespearian Elizabethan Drama and the insertion of film courses. Although half or more of what Irwin recollects is specific to the campus's faculty and administration, the whole is a paradigmatic account of America's universities during the period.

Irwin Primer's first major contribution was his edition of Bernard Mandeville's *The Fable of the Bees* (NY: Capricorn, 1962), based on a 1795 edition, with a 19-page introduction and silent changes to spelling and punctuation—intended to provide popular, inexpensive access, not to replace F. B. Kaye's edition. The edition did not develop out of his 1961 Yale dissertation ("The Progress Piece in the English Literature of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries"); indeed, his first publication was "Further Discussion of Godwin's *Imogen*: Some Implications of Irony" in the *Bulletin* of the NYPL, 67 (1963), 257-60. By the 1960s he was working on a range of Mandeville texts, publishing in 1969 "A Bibliographical Note on Bernard Mandeville's *Free Thoughts*" in *Notes and Queries*. In 1975 Irwin edited a collection of essays by distinguished scholars that was well reviewed: *Mandeville Studies: New Explorations in the Art and Thought of Dr. Bernard Mandeville* (The Hague: Nijhof; Dordrecht: Springer; et al.), to which he

contributed "Mandeville and Shaftesbury: Some Facts and Problems." In the 1970s and '80s he worked with Bernhard Fabian (Münster) on a collected edition of Mandeville that involved facsimile reproductions with introductions and textual and critical notes (Hildesheim: George Olms, 1981-90). OCLC records indicate that it was projected for eight volumes in nine tomes, but Olms apparently published only four: Volumes 2: A Treatise of the Hypochondriack and Hysterical Diseases (1981); 4: Fable of the Bees, Part II (1981); 5: Free Thoughts on Religion, the Church, and National Happiness (1987); and 6: An Enquiry into the Origin of Honour and the Usefulness of Christianity in War (1990). The Fable of the Bees Part I (intended to be Vol. 3?) was less of a priority as already edited by Irwin and before him by F. B. Kaye. His edition of Mandeville's Free Thoughts was republished by Transaction Publishers, which OCLC entries date both 2000 and 2001 and indicate the presence of textual notes on the first and second edition (records do not clarify its relation to the 1987 edition).

Thereafter Irwin published Seneca Unmasqued: A Bilingual Edition of Aphra Behn's Translation of La Rochefoucald's Maximes (AMS Press, 2001; lvi + 198 pp). In her review in *Scriblerian* (35.1-2 [2002-2003], 72-73), Mary Anne O'Donnell laments that publication was delayed for over five years, then surveys Behn's approaches to translation and praises this comparative edition of Behn's 1685 loose translation printed against the text of La Rochefoucauld: Primer shows "clearly which maxims Behn omitted, which she combined, and which she mistranslated." O'Donnell finds it a considerable improvement over Janet Todd's edition in her works of Behn. She is pleased with Primer's introductory, textual, and bibliographical sections and his inclusion of related additional materials and a thematic index. Irwin followed this up with another edition: Moral Maxims by the Duke de la Roche Foucault Translated from the French with Notes (London: A. Millar, 1749). A Dual Language Edition with an Introduction and Further Notes (U. of Delaware, 2003). Here reproduced is an anonymous translation that hereafter became dominant, one that presented a less Hobbesian views of humankind than Swift had perceived in La Rochefoucauld. Irwin's essays and notes tackle bibliography, biography, and the reception and translation history of this popular work. Thereafter Irwin published Bernard Mandeville's "A Modest Defence of Publick Stews": Prostitution and its Discontents in Early Georgian England (Palgrave Macmillan, 2007). It includes notes, introductory and commentary essays, bibliography, and appended early reviews and materials from reprintings. Irwin presents the work as brilliantly ambiguous, forcing the reader to decide what is serious proposal and critique and what is jest (in the tradition of Erasmus's *Praise of Folly*). It was reviewed very favorably by Laura Mandell in *The Scriblerian*, 43.2 (2011), 246-47, despite objections to her earlier work.

Apart from historical criticism in his editions, Irwin published a number of essays on Mandeville's works, such as the entry on Mandeville in *British Prose Writers 1660-1800* (DLB, 1st ser.), edited by Donald T. Siebert (1991); "British Readers of La Rochefoucauld's *Maximes:* The Case of Lord Forbes of Pitsligo" in *SVEC*, 305 (1992), 1379-82; "Lord Forbes of Pitsligo and the *Maxims* of La Rochefoucald" in *1650-1850*, 1 (1994); "Erasmus and Mandeville: A Reconsideration" and "Private Vices, Public Benefits? The Contemporary Reception of Bernard Mandeville" both in *Philological Quarterly*, 72.3 (1993) and 76.4 (1997); "Mandeville on War" in *Mandeville*

and Augustan Ideas: New Essay (ELS Monograph, 83), ed. by Charles W. A. Prior (U. of Victoria, 2000). On looking over this tribute to his "quiet and gentle" friend, Manuel Schonhorn remarked that it "reveals only a small part of his offerings to 18C scholarship. He always surprised me with his wide range of interests and classical learning." That diversity is evident in Irwin's reviews for 1650-1850, MLS, PQ, and Studies in Burke and his Times, and, particularly the many for the International Studies in Philosophy.—J. E. May

In Memory of Howard D. Weinbrot, 1936-2021

Howard Weinbrot, a giant of Restoration and 18C studies and friend to many of us, died 19 January from complications of Covid-19. His wife Dawn Simon shared with colleagues at his passing that he was diagnosed with Covid-19 on 31 December, suffered cardiac arrest the next day, and was placed in intensive care. The English Department at the U. of Wisconsin-Madison, where Howard was a chaired professor, posted a tribute to him written by Richard Begam and Mark Vareschi, from which we here quote:

"After receiving his B.A. from Antioch College in 1958 and his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago in 1963, Professor Weinbrot taught at Yale University and the University of California, Riverside, before coming to the University of Wisconsin, Madison, in 1969, where he spent the rest of his academic career. . . . he was a Guggenheim Fellow from 1988-1989 and an Andrew Mellon Visiting Professor at the Institute of Advanced Studies in Princeton . . . 1993-1994. After retiring [and moving to Pasadena], he devoted much of his time to conducting research at the Huntington Library In a 2017 essay on historical criticism [in ECL], Professor Weinbrot observed that the 'historical critic illumines what once was dark,' a statement that perfectly describes his own scholarship. Capacious in knowledge and precise in details, his [book] publications spanned almost fifty years, extending from *The Formal* Strain: Studies in Augustan Imitation and Satire (1969) to Samuel Johnson: New Contexts for a New Century (2014). With his numerous books and over ninety essays, chapters, and reviews, . . . [he] helped define the field of 18C studies for decades. His early work challenged the idea of naming the socalled 'Augustan' age after Augustus and . . . invited scholars to rethink the classical bases for 18C neoclassicism. . . . [He] produced a diverse series of memorable and highly influential works, among them Britannia's Issue: The Rise of British Literature from Dryden to Ossian (1993), Menippean Satire Reconsidered: From Antiquity to the 18C (2005), and Literature, Religion, and the Evolution of Culture, 1660-1780 (2013). In his later scholarship, he continued to affirm historical methods of literary study, publishing essays on topics ranging from the British monarchy to the long-forgotten sermons of Samuel Johnson. He epitomized what it meant to be a scholar."

Weinbrot published too many books for all to be mentioned in an obituary. Some that need be added are *Augustan Caesar in Augustan England: The Decline of a Classical Norm* (1978; repr 2015), alluded to above; *New Aspects of Lexicography: Literary Criticism, Intellectual History, and Social Change* (1972); *Alexander Pope and the Traditions of Formal*

Verse Satire (1982; repr. 2014); Eighteenth-Century Satire: Essays on Text and Context from Dryden to Peter Pindar (1988); and Aspects of Samuel Johnson: Essays on his Arts, Mind, Afterlife, and Politics (2005). The Intelligencer carried reviews of Britannia's Issue and Menippean Satire by Leland Peterson in 10.1 (Feb. 1996) and 20.2 (June 2006); of Aspects of SJ by Elizabeth Lambert in 24.1-2 (Feb. 2010), of Literature, Religion and the Evolution . . . by Robert Walker in 28.1 (March 2014), and of SJ: New Contexts by Anthony Lee in 29.1 (2015). There are also volumes that he coedited, such as Eighteenth-Century Contexts: Historical Inquiries in Honor of Phillip Harth, with Stephen Karian and Peter Schakel (2001) and Johnson after Three Centuries with Thomas Horrocks (2011). In the MLAIB or ABELL one can survey the range and concentration of his articles: a score treating Pope from 1965 to 2019; a couple dozen on Johnson, including a half dozen on his relation to Jacobitism (19996-2003), four on his sermons (2008, 2010, 2016, 2019) and several on his fortunes in France (1993, 1994); half a dozen on Dryden (1965-2016) and another half on Swift (1999-2008 and his reception in France 2019). Other recurrent subjects are literary theory / criticism, the canon, politics, and religion. Weinbrot wrote on dozens of major and major-minor figures working in all genres: William Collins (1992), Defoe (2013, 2016), Fielding (1996, 2017), Goldsmith (1976, 2012), Robert Gould (1965), Thomas Gray (1984), Macpherson [Ossian] (1994), Richardson (2015, 2017), Perceval Stockdale (1993), Nahum Tate (1985), and Richard West (1983). In the last decade he was attending more to prose than poetry.

On 20 January Stephen Karian, on hearing of Howard's death from Tom Kaminski, Steve sent an email to many of Howard's colleagues that started an uncommonly long chain of tributes, following Steve's effort to express how "very important to me personally and professionally" he was: "He was a dedicated and generous mentor in addition to being an accomplished and prolific scholar. He had more energy than perhaps anyone else I've known. He has had and will continue to have a major impact on our discipline." Alan McKenzie, who saw Howard annually at conferences, put well the contrary impressions felt by many: "I took every opportunity to be in his audience and was always pleased, and a little anxious, to find him in mine [HDW was formidable in Q&A sessions, as George Justice remarked]. He was the most eminent colleague I knew, and one of the nicest." Rob Hume prized Howard as friend and authority: "I learned an enormous amount from . . . his work. I treasure memories of our play-going and many dinners in London, and I will remember him with reverence." Max Novak, another giant, summarized his scholarly achievement: "He was an excellent literary historian with brilliant works on satire, Pope, and Johnson. Few scholars had so large a range or provided so many original insights into writers of the Restoration and eighteenth century." Brian Corman brought up a telling aspect of Howard's character as he recalled meeting Howard when he visited Gwin Kolb at Chicago: "I could see the respect and gratitude he felt for his own mentors at Chicago, qualities he continued to show toward subsequent mentors such as Phil Harth and Donald Greene. Howard, of course, outdid anyone I know in especially junior colleagues." Brian generosity toward colleagues, complemented this by recollecting Howard's playing Imlac in costume when Rasselas: The Musical was performed at the Johnson Society of the Central Region's 2000 meeting in Toronto. (Howard offered humorous accounts, often

with mock-heroic touches, of the Society's conferences while JSCR's newsletter editor in the 1980s—I excerpted one in the September 1990 *Intelligencer*.) Lance Wilcox also stressed Howard's good nature, remarking he "was a supremely friendly (and funny) man." He recalled how several decades ago "as a young scholar, I had been having breakfast alone in a hotel restaurant when Howard saw me and gestured me over to his table to join him" (an experience like one of my own). Lance added, "I had a number of interactions with Howard over the years and everyone resulted in laughter."

A number fondly recollected Howard as their professor and/or mentor, among whom was George Justice, who describes how helpful Howard also was to Devoney Looser and Al Rivero. Howard was a long-distance reader of Ashley Marshall's dissertation and brought her afterwards to Madison in hopes she might join its faculty. In later years they enjoyed arguing and sparring with each other at conferences. Matt Kinservik wrote, "I was an undergraduate at UW-Madison in the late '80s and had the remarkable good fortune of ending up in an 18C novel course taught by Howard. He was both a great scholar and a wonderful classroom teacher in all the ways you'd imagine: witty, engaging, demanding, and generous. I was hooked on 18C literature and took multiple classes with Howard during my BA and MA. The amount of time he put up with me in office hours is remarkable, and I remember those visits fondly. I also remember with fondness that Howard was a devoted fan of the Green Bay Packers, something that surprised me when I learned of it because it seemed so incongruous with his erudition and classroom formality. I owe him a great deal and will always think of him with love and gratitude." Heather King recalled Howard's mentoring her for decades after she went to Wisconsin "starstruck" from reading his books: "He was unfailingly supportive of me, even when my own interests diverged from his. He complained comically about having to re-read Frances Burney's novels, yet did so all the same, as his detailed comments on my drafts made clear. And those comments! Detailed is an understatement for the line-edits and careful engagement with arguments (or teasing out an argument where there wasn't yet one). That level of care makes it all the more remarkable that he turned drafts around so quickly. I honestly don't think I ever waited more than a week to receive a draft back from him, which was far from the norm [In his office after her dissertation defense] He congratulated me, told me that I was now to call him Howard, and then, holding out his arms, proclaimed "avuncular hug" before hugging me. His sense of rectitude was deeply ingrained, and another aspect of the respect he showed his students. . . . He remained a supportive friend, and I am deeply pained today to think how much of the labor of keeping up our friendship he took on as I got busy with securing tenure, raising children, etc. He infallibly reached out to me to check on my life (not just my scholarship, but my family as well), and would gently nag me to come to Pasadena more often."

We quickly came to know Howard, who was always the same self: a big, well-groomed head above a short, Roman body, fit and quick into old age, always dressed for the occasion (dapper at meetings); always courteous; defining himself like Dr. Johnson with negations, skeptical questions, and authoritative rejections, which is partly why some characterize him as exuding authority. He was also defined by a steadfast persistence to get to the bottom of big questions, often returning to texts or topics in successive studies, while

retaining and applying great erudition. He enjoyed debate, gravitating toward intellectual combat (e.g., celebrating Johnson over Swift at the Münster Swift symposium and then arguing at a reception that Trump should not be impeached but voted out). Our period's scholarship owes Howard particularly for elucidating difficult literary, political, and religious contexts; defining several genres, championing historical criticism, and shedding light on the role of Latin literature and on the exchanges between England and France. His scholarship was intensely moral as well as historical. What he accomplished took more than rare memory and analytical ability: it took a disciplined life, embodied for me in the sandwich he packed for lunch, acceptance of responsibilities, and an idealistic respect for traditional virtues. I'm sure he would have been a superb wrestling coach. ASECS's mentoring award might be named for him. Paying fit tribute to Howard Weinbrot's life and scholarship requires a chorus like the dozen thankful scholars quoted above.—J. E. May

In Memory of Todd Gilman

by Barbara M. Benedict

Dr. Todd Gilman, Librarian for Literature in English, Comparative Literature, and Linguistics at Yale University since 2001, scholar of eighteenth-century British studies, author, musician, lecturer and rare-book curator, died at 55 at home in Weston, Connecticut, of cancer on December 8 after several years of continued and heroic productivity despite the disease. His husband Steve was by his side at the time of his passing.

Todd was an unusual figure in academic circles: a true polymath. His interests were broad and deep, across history, art, and popular culture, and they included hand-on practices as well as academic learning. . . . Todd's academic publications centered on 18C music and musical theater, as well as librarianship and information technology. He was the author of the magisterial The Theatre Career of Thomas Arne (Delaware, 2013). This stands as the first serious academic study of the composer Thomas Arne (1710-1778), famed for composing "Rule, Britannia!" and the compatriot of Handel. The book remains the authoritative and comprehensive biography of Arne, and its scrupulouslyresearched detail includes musical examples from Arne's entire opus attached via a hyperlink, as well as information about the performers and performances of all Arne's pieces. Todd also acted as the foremost researcher and consultant for both Later Eighteenth-Century English Erotica: Wilkes and the Late Eighteenth Century, ed. by Barbara M. Benedict (Pickering and Chatto, 2002), where he discovered the murky (and sexist) origins of the "black joke," and Jane Austen's Northanger Abbey, co-edited by Barbara M. Benedict and Deidre LeFaye (Cambridge, 2006). He also published over 25 essays in academic journals on librarianship, and 18C book and music history.

Todd's was a profoundly 18C sensibility. Ebullient, joyously social, irreverent, a frighteningly good mimic—as many of us will uneasily remember—a natural satirist and a lightening wit with apparently boundless energy, he would be quaffing and chatting long into the night after other conferees or club members had retired to bed. His creativity and initiative burst out of conventional bounds. His knowledge of 18C musical and literary culture was panoramic, especially his knowledge of the byways of its theater,

and he himself would, at the drop of a hat, hilariously act out the quirks of a perceived buffoon or hypocrite. He was also a scrupulous and dedicated teacher of literature, library science and the new information technologies: always learning and adapting to fresh developments and able adeptly to introduce them to others. Many have noted how extraordinarily generous he was with his help in the excavation of obscure facts to both professor and student alike. Todd loved 18C culture in all of its wrinkles and guffaws.

Todd was also an accomplished musician of the cello and viola da gamba, and played duets with his husband on the piano. He acted as the Artistic Co-Director of the Toronto-based baroque ensemble Arbor Oak Trio from 1988-1996, and his graceful performance on the gamba with his chamber group was professionally recorded and released. But Todd also practiced the material culture of books, as it were: he learned how to make and bind books at the Rare Book School in Virginia and produced some beautiful specimens. In addition, he taught himself how to throw and glaze clay pots. A film afficionado with tastes ranging from the political to the absurd, in his forties and fifties he and his husband created a number of satirical underground movies shot in studios and around New York and featuring friends and actors in Gothic and subversive roles. Acting and directing were in his blood.

But the creative project of which he was most proud was his singlehanded revival, direction, and staging of Arne's ballad opera, Love in a Village (1762, published 1763). Produced by Steve Serra and filmed and recorded for academic use, the opera was co-presented by the U. of Rochester's Humanities Project and NEASECS and performed at the Rochester's Strong Auditorium on October 12, 2018. The performance was a landmark undertaking: the first after the 1700s, historically informed public revival of the complete contents of the manuscript's full score. I attended it myself and can testify that the operatic musicianship (which included all 42 musical pieces, five freshly composed by Arne) and the creative staging were outstanding: arrestingly, the performance included the balladic interludes of the original script, long, mimed, graceful intervals which dramatized with amazing authenticity the unique pacing and stylishness of 18C opera. Todd himself gave a bravura performance as the decadent and soignee Sir William Meadows, clad in rich stuffs and sporting a massive, curling, black wig strongly reminiscent of the peruke worn by King Charles II, to the general hilarity of the audience. The U. of Rochester will publish copies of the performance online and on DVD.

Todd also had 18C tastes. He was a chef *extraordinaire*. Every Easter, he would cook "something lamby" for his spouse, my spouse, and me: fragrant and juicy and scandalously delicious, preceded by some original concoction of a spicy soup. I remember watching fascinated as he gently coddled an egg in a small bowl for the accompanying Caesar salad while chatting lightly, to the background of Arne's music, of Samuel Foote, of . . . musical practices.

Todd was born on February 15, 1965 in Cambridge, MA, spent his childhood in his beloved Hastings-on-Hudson, and moved with his family to Ann Arbor for his high school years. Todd earned his B.A. in English and French at the U. of Michigan in 1987; he went on to earn his PhD in English, with a concentration in musical theater, from the U. of Toronto in 1994, after which he taught literature and writing at the U. of Toronto, Boston U., and MIT. In 2001 he earned an advanced degree in Library and Information Science at Simmons U., and for 17 years (from 2004) taught on-line

bibliography at San Jose State. In 2001, Todd served as Library Associate for Collection and Maintenance of Public Services for the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. Since 2013, he has acted as the Executive Secretary of NEASECS and the long-term Treasurer of The Johnsonians. He also served as the President of NEASECS, and recently as Editorial Advisor of the Gay & Lesbian Thought and Culture database. In 2017, Todd moved to a country house in Weston, Connecticut and shortly thereafter married his long-time partner Steve Serra.

Todd's *joie-de*-vivre, polymathic interests, resilience, fearsome mimicry, deep empathy, strength of character and extraordinary personality represent the very best of academic intellectual ambition and 18C sociability. His like will never be seen again. A memorial site for Todd Gilman can be found at http://www.mykeeper.com/profile/ToddGilman/?pvqLink+nyo8em79he.

Trinity College, Harford, CT

Tribute to Anne Barbeau Gardiner, 1938-2020

Distinguished scholar of Restoration and early 18C literature, Anne Barbeau Gardiner died at home on October 19, 2020. Born in New Hampshire, she attended a French-Canadian boarding school, took her B.A. in English from the U. of New Hampshire (Durham) and Ph.D. from CUNY (1968). Barbeau taught English at John Jay College, married colleague Thomas J. Gardiner (d. 1997), retired in 1996, and then moved to Brewster, NY.

Gardiner revised her dissertation as The Intellectual Design of John Dryden's Heroic Plays (Yale UP, 1970), in which she argues that Dryden's characters in five heroic plays embody ideas and values that are tested in the action of the play (later chapters generalize about Dryden's values and his dramatic technique). Gardiner went on to publish scholarship on history, literature, and religion until 2019. In 1998 she published Ancient Faith and Modern Revelation in John Dryden's The Hind and the Panther (Catholic U., 1998). Kevin J. Berland praised the study in *Scriblerian*: "In her complicated, fascinating argument, Ms. Gardiner reviews the tradition of Jewish and Christian biblical commentary, the tradition underlying Dryden's allegorical animals, Dryden's extrapolation of the structure of Canticles into a history for his own time—and she furnishes a sensitive reading of Dryden's conversion" (her second part re-examines "the entire subject from the perspective of lateseventeenth-century events" [49]). He noted the "book is rich in detail and persuasive analysis, arranged in concise, well-argued chapters, a model of scrupulous attention to detail. What is more remarkable is that it is both accessible and erudite," clarifying "an unexplored area of Dryden's thought."

In a diversity of major journals, she published two dozen articles on Dryden and two dozen more on other Restoration and 18C figures, many on Milton and Swift but also on such unsung heroes as the Catholic Abraham Woodhead and the royalist Elizabeth Cellier (the latter in the 1988 ARS reprint Malice Defeated; *and* The Matchless Rogue [1680], and a 1990 article in *ECL*). She wrote on Continental authors like Bayle and Spinoza who were tangential to English works and controversies. Most of these articles were reviewed (favorably) in *The Scriblerian*. Her literary explications discovered

allusions from a broad range of texts, biblical and classical as well as English literature, politics and religion. Many of her essays reconstruct political and religious events, figures, and forces, drawing on literary materials and sometimes on evidence from graphic arts and numismatics.

Although she produced encyclopedia essays on Dryden (2007) and Oldham (1993), she was prone to argument over exposition, assertive to a degree that could be termed "adversarial" or "feisty." Some of her essays and reviews reflect a partisanship for the Stuarts, Dryden, et al. that fueled her research and added passion to presentation, evident in such a remark as "more Whigs leaders knew of the Rye House Plot [on Charles II and the Duke of York, 1682] than has usually been admitted by historians" ("Dryden, Bower, Castlemaine, and the Imagery of Revolution, 1682-1687," ECL, 25.2 [Spring 2001], 135). A Jacobite, she advocated for the converted Dryden and his political and religious positions. That sort of bias motivates many, though we notice it more now within the defense of minor authors; still, we might imagine one would remain cooler about the fortunes of a giant like Dryden. This partisanship led her to discover Jacobite verses, the presence and reference of allegorical and coded language, the relevance of Augustine's De Trinitate to the structure of Eleonora, "Milton's Parody of Catholic Hymns," the likely date of Amboyna, and the impact of inheritance laws, and, more generally, to create devout portraits of Dryden and Swift, and to sketch the plight of Catholics and Jacobites suffering under the sham propaganda and villainy of Whigs over a century. See, for example, her review of David Bywaters's *Dryden in Revolutionary England*, where she applauds his political gloss to The Hind and the Panther but faults his inattention to religion; and she is mad that Bywaters supposes Dryden's positions were a "rhetorical strategy" to avoid attacks for apostasy and inconstancy, at his neglecting to weigh the dangers of opposing the government and Dryden's deep personal losses as his sons' removal to the Continent (Scriblerian, 24.2 [Spring 1992], 182-84).

Gardiner was a workhorse in reviewing, While she reviewed for various academic journals, such as 1650-1850, Albion, Catholic Historical Review, JEGP, Journal of Modern History, and Recusant History, Scriblerian received the most, at least twenty-one between 1977 and 2010, usually in detail and at length (her four reviews make up about 10% of the 1999 double-issue). In 2004-2010 she surveyed for *Scriblerian* nine books, sharing her expertise on Jacobites, Whiggism, the Bangorian controversy, Behn, Dryden and Restoration poetry, and Swift. Usually appreciative, she contextualized and offered analytical summaries, detailing points that people needed to hear, but added refutations to points to which she took exception ("This is not persuasive since . . ." and "Somehow 'anxiety' does not quite fit Dryden's robust personality"). In the Spring 1982 Scriblerian, she detailed objections to Derek Hughes's Dryden's Heroic Plays (1980), a book addressing the subject of her first book. She thought he found Dryden's heroes too similar to his villains. In response to Hughes's letter complaining that Gardiner had perverted and reductively misread his observations, she stood by her critique.

Gardiner also produced devotional literature for fellow Roman Catholics, translating Michel de la Sainte Trinité's *The Third Secret of Fatima* (1991) and translating & editing St. John Fisher's *Exposition of Seven Penitential Psalms* (1998), a very substantial project. In 2005 and thereafter she co-authored a book and essays on modern American authors. After 2010 most of Gardiner's

publications appear in Catholic journals and either praise the exemplary or argue contemporary issues involving abortion, the death penalty, "deep ecology," education, sexuality, and theology. Her passion for Restoration controversies was redirected toward related topics in our world. An overlap occurs wherein she published in Catholic magazines pieces on the 17C and 18C relevant today, thus on Swift's defense of Christianity in Touchstone (Oct. 2004) and on translations of Casimir Sarbiewski published by MHRA in Samaritan Review (June 2010). Her most frequent review forum was the New Oxford Review. Networked in scholarly organizations, she co-signed a letter in 2016 to Catholic bishops advising them not to adopt Common Core standards and in February 2020 to Trump to protest the rescinding of an invitation to historian Raymond Ibrahim by the U.S. Army War College. For decades she advocated for death-row inmates, maintaining dozens of correspondences, often signing off with "A truckloads of hugs, Momma Bear." On this charity and her saintly character, see "Anne Barbeau Gardiner R.I.P." by David Mills at https://catholicherald.co.uk/ch/anne-barbeau-gardiner-rip/.—J. E. May

A Tribute to the Yale Johnson from a Correspondent in India

From Paul Tankard's review of the final volume in the Yale Edition of the Works of Dr Samuel Johnson (2018) published in the current issue of Notes and Queries (December 2020), I have come to know that the work commenced way back in 1958 under the general editorship of James Clifford has been brought to a successful and satisfying conclusion with the publication of final volume edited by the late O M Brack, Jr. of Arizona State U. and Robert De Maria of Vassar College. . . . The literary and linguistic works of the greatest genius of English literature include the most widely varied and complex range of materials few authors in English literary history could hope to achieve and emulate. The series began with an edited collection of diaries, prayers and annals, and it is a fitting finale that the concluding volume ended with analogous matters: reviews, prefaces and ghost writings. The entire series consist of 23 volumes though the final volume is numbered as XX, because the letters, miscellaneous writings and the Dictionary were left out from the series to be dealt with separately on account of their immensely stupendous materials. Now that the entire project has been completed and brought to a successful conclusion, it may be pertinent to recall the massive contributions made by the past editors to the Yale edition which was the most extensive project after the Oxford edition undertaken back in 1825. Over the many years eminent scholars have spent their life time of intellectual activity and energy devoted to this work of huge scholarship, successfully completing the big task. At its inception and throughout the sixty years of its operation, the Editorial Committee of the Edition has had many distinguished members. Serving as chairman of the committee or general editor in the past were Herman W. Liebert, Allen T. Hazen, John H. Middendorf, and finally Robert DeMaria Jr. Many others served as volume editors. Each of them deserves lofty praise and commendation--to whom scholars and general readers alike owe to a deep debt of gratitude for their painstaking research over many years and their tremendous intellectual endeavour of a very high order that brought the series

to a close. Taken as a whole, the Yale edition of the complete works of Samuel Johnson is a remarkable achievement of monumental scholarship.

Tapan Kumar Mukherjee, West Bengal, India

Report on the Annual Business Meeting from Zoomland

by Peter Staffel, Executive Secretary, EC/ASECS

Well, for anyone who attended the business meeting, there was a gaping hole in our conviviality: NO FOOD (especially missed by the x-sec was dessert! Sheesh!! In hindsight, we should have "organized" a brownbag luncheon, which we will discuss with our fabulous Chairs, Sylvia Kasey Marks and Eleanor Shevlin, prior to the October 15-16 get together on Zoom (see their invitation to the 2021 meeting below). Perhaps, we could organize a simultaneous drone drop of cheesecake at registrants' home addresses.

This lacuna, however, was admirably compensated for by President John Heins's wonderfully visual presentation. I cannot wait for the travel bans to lift! Otherwise, business was held to a bare minimum as usual, with Anna Foy elected as vice-president to underpin the presidential administration of the redoubtable Joanne Myers. Tony Lee rotated off the Executive Committee to be replaced by Brett Wilson (William & Mary). Tony's role as Molin Committee Chair (more below) will be filled by Elizabeth Lambert, ably assisted by Brett and Jane Wessel. Conference Co-Chairs Eleanor Shevlin and Sylvia Marks agreed (under only modest duress) to remain on until we reach the promised conference land: Winterthur (October of 2022). Do NOT miss it!

I would like to ask the membership to feel free to offer nominations (self or otherwise) for our various offices. Generally, the Executive Committee finds itself doing all the cajoling of fellow EC-ASECSers to join the "brain trust." If you want to offer your services or suggest someone else's, please contact President Myers, who chairs the Nominating Committee (which also includes Past Presidents John Heins and Sylvia Marks). At-Large Executive Committee Members serve for three years, acting as judges for the Molin Prize. The President serves for a year and is responsible for the annual address before serving two years on the Executive Committee as a "Past President." My second and last three-year term as Executive Secretary will end after Winterthur, and I look forward to handing over the mailing and dues lists. Volunteers would be welcomed, as would "volunteered" names of members you think would be suitable and amenable (which, given the congeniality of our beloved society, means we have a great many possible candidates). [Those interested in becoming the newsletter editor should ask Jim May about the job's duties and resources. If they wish to be considered for the position, they should contact President Myers and/or John Heins and Sylvia Marks. A new editor might well wish to remake the newsletter as a virtual publication.]

We are also always in need of chairs to host the annual conference. This can be on a campus or in a city hotel (or a combination, as at Gettysburg). Chairs also remain on the Executive Committee to offer advice to future

conference chairs. Speaking of which, we are looking for a location and chair for October 2023. Remember that you are definitely NOT on your own. We have an experienced group to help, so don't be afraid to consider it. Give me a call/email if you would like to discuss it. If you do, you can participate in planning the Winterthur conference so that you get a feel for what is needed.

Now for the really exciting part: the financial report. Our expenses (\$2,897.44) were according to my calculator \$208.36 higher than our income from dues (\$2,689.08). Thus, we ended the year safely in the black with a checking account balance of \$3,596.55, although \$500 of that have been transferred to the Future Fund. Without a conference, our expenses were limited exclusively to bank fees: \$60; Molin Prize award: \$150, Website fees: \$261.05; *ECI* postage \$521.51 spring & \$685.32 autumn; and printing: \$718.24 spring & \$511.32 autumn; and dues-letter postage: \$223. We continue to receive Future Fund donations, and I would encourage you all, esp. lifetime members, to consider including a bit extra in your dues for the Future Fund.

One of our most senior AND most beloved members, **Ted Braun**, has just donated \$10,000 to the Future Fund, which pays for all but \$25 of graduation students' registration at conferences. We all know Ted for his wit and wisdom, his unceasing good humor and friendliness, and, of course, his sartorial splendor, swathed in Voltairean L'Orange from shoes to hat (and car). He co-chaired three of our annual meetings, served as President, produced our first website, and has regularly presented at our meetings, usually attended with his wife Anne. What you may not know are his distinguished career accomplishments, unless you have seen his signature in email, where the tips of that iceberg are seen: "Membre correspondant, Académie de Montauban / Citoyen honoraire de la Ville de Montauban / Chevalier dans l'Ordre des Palmes Académiques." For our 2022 assembly at Winterthur, Ted is planning a wonderful display of his collection of 18C editions of Voltaire.

Another announcement I am pleased to make is the winner of the 2020 Molin Prize: Jacob Myers, a PhD student at UPenn (see below). If you missed the Molin Panel, it was splendid and a reminder that our field of study grows ever more diverse and exiting. This year, the Molin Prize Committee (Elizabeth Lambert, Jane Wessel, and chair Anthony W. Lee), charged with selecting the best paper delivered by a graduate student at the "Brief Intermission" gathering, faced a particularly difficult decision-making process.

I cannot close without saying that the Executive Committee (a terrific group of friends and colleagues) struggled with the decision to postpone the conference at Winterthur for another year. Granted, vaccines will be available to all adults by summer, and many of our campuses are seriously considering opening back up again. Nonetheless, few campuses have not been hit hard financially, so funding for travel may be difficult to come by. Plus, many of us are old, and even with the vax we might be reluctant to mingle comfortably. Added to that, Winterthur could not guarantee us a fully opened facility. Therefore, we reached the sad but wise decision to postpone for another year. That said, with a year's worth of experience under our collective belt, we are planning to offer a richer virtual conference than this past year's, which, you have to admit, was pretty darn good, considering So, I will sign-off here and see you in October virtually and in the flesh October 2022 at Winterthur.

Jacob Myers Wins 2020 Molin Prize

This year, the Molin Prize Committee (Dr. Elizabeth Lambert, Dr. Jane Wessel, and Dr. Anthony W. Lee), charged with selecting the best paper delivered by a graduate student at the "Brief Intermission" gathering, faced a particularly difficult decision-making process. The Molin submissions are invariably strong, but this year proved particularly challenging for the judges. The papers of the two runners-up, James P. Ascher's (University of Virginia) "Bibliography, Genre, and Transactions" and Christoforos Sassris's (Villanova University) "Yerasimos Vlachos' Dictionary and the Hellenic Diaspora of Eighteenth-Century Venice," are compellingly forceful (and, we think, are near the cusp of publication). But the palm goes to Jacob Myers for his presentation "Arthropods under the Lens: The Aesthetic Instability of Insect Microscopy in the Caribbean."

Jacob Myers brings together natural history, literary studies, and art history to make an argument about knowledge production in the Caribbean. While his primary subject, Mark Catesby, has been well studied, Myers makes the case that attitudes toward the microscope and our understanding of its role in imperial British knowledge production are overly shaped by the metropolitan viewpoint. Myers argues that native and Black communities in the Caribbean had ways of understanding arthropods that predated the microscope's contributions, and that our archive "forgets" the complexity of that knowledge. Myers's interdisciplinary work is well researched; his presentation was at once professional and engaging, and his findings promise to generate additional research.

The Molin Prize, named in memory of Eric Molin, a stalwart member of EC/ASECS and a notable eighteenth-century scholar and teacher, awards \$150.00 to the paper read by a graduate student at the annual conference that is deemed the best by the judging committee. If you are a graduate or advanced undergraduate student presenting a paper at the next annual meeting, please do consider applying.

Anthony W. Lee Chair, Molin Prize Committee

Join EC/ASECS Colleagues This Fall for the 2021 Meeting: The EC/ASECS Conference Report

Plans are well underway for the EC/ASECS 2021 and 2022 meetings. Due to the pandemic's many lingering uncertainties, the Executive Committee, after careful deliberation, has opted to hold a virtual 2021 conference, "Prelude to Material Culture." For our 2022 meeting we have already reserved Winterthur Museum, Garden, and Library for a well-deserved grand reunion and a proper "Material Culture 2022" in which eighteenth-century materiality can finally be experienced in person from October 15 to the 17th.

The 2021 virtual meeting will open Thursday evening October 14 and run through Saturday, October 16. While the conference will expand beyond the "Brief Intermission" we held last fall, we will not run sessions concurrently, so

each panel will have its own individual time slot. Those with an accepted panel or paper proposal for the cancelled 2020 conference had the option of presenting their work at the 2021 meeting, and many decided to stay on. We thus already have six of the eight panel slots filled.

Yet, rather than issue a call for papers for the remaining slots, we are extending a special outreach to graduate students to present their work and compete for the prestigious Molin Award. The award comes with a monetary prize of \$150, and, if of suitable length, the paper will be welcomed for publication in *The Intelligencer*. If you are a graduate student, please seriously consider submitting a proposal to ecasecs2021@ gmail.com by June 1. And faculty, we ask that you tell your students of this opportunity and urge them to propose a paper. EC/ASECS has long had a reputation for welcoming graduate students and providing an environment and network that advance their professional development and opportunities. Those who wish to be considered for the 2021 award must notify the Molin Committee of their interest. The Committee will be publishing full details about deadlines and the submission process; please see the EC/ASECS Society's and 2021 conference websites.

In addition to the panels and the Molin sessions, we will have many of our traditional events. Peter Staffel will organize and host his Aural/Oral experience on Thursday evening. Peter will be looking for volunteers to participate in this annual event. Joanne Myers, will deliver her presidential address, and we will have our business meeting. In anticipation of convening physically in 2022 at Winterthur, we are working on developing one or two virtual tours or talks by Winterthur expert staff for our "Prelude" conference.

Please mark your calendars for both this year's virtual conference and the 2022 meeting at Winterthur. We look forward to welcoming you on Zoom this fall and then in person at Winterthur in 2022. The conference website, https://ecasecs2021.wordpress.com/, will be live by mid-April. If you have any questions about the conference, please contact us at ecasecs2021@ gmail.com.

Eleanor Shevlin and Sylvia Marks Co-Chairs, EC/ASECS Conferences 2021, 2022

Additions and Corrections to the Directory

Beshero-Bondar, Elisa. Eeb4@psu.edu (Chair, Dept. of Digital Media, Arts, & Technology) 141 Kochel Center / Penn State U.—Behrend /

4701 College Drive / Erie, PA 16563

Carretta, Vincent. Better email: VAC@umd.edu

Geist, Edward. New addess: 256 Log Cabin Road / Perkasie, PA 18944-4208

Hansen, Mascha: new email: mascha.hansen @email.de Kittredge, Katharine: another email: kkittredge@ithaca.edu

Reid-Walsh, Jacqueline. 117 Hartswick Avenue / State College, PA 16803

Roberts, Kyle (History, now Asso. Director of Library and Museum Programming of the American Philosophical Society Library & Museum)

The Library, APS / 105 S. Fifth St. / Philadelphia, PA 19106-3386

Sher, Richard B. rbsher6@gmail.com; 42 Bowdoin St. / Maplewood, NJ 07040

Urban, Christopher Urban: 822 Cuzzart Rd. / Bruceton Mills, WV 26525

News of Members

I apologize for the dozen or so blunders and typos in the October issue of the *Intelligencer* mailed to members, the worst of which include calling Marilyn Francus "Francis" on p. 24.5 and 24.23, Albert Rivero "Rivera" on 63 (up 5), and "Münster" "Müster" on 68 (up 10), and noting "16C" in place of "17C" on 50 (up 5). Also, "Palumbo" should be possessive 4 ll. u p 65, and "Judaeophobia" is needed up 18 lines on p. 71. What can I say? I invented the typo and then, turning 69, I forgot how to spell it. But I have good friends like **Hermann Real** who'll point out my blunders. Most errors were corrected in a revised PDF posted in the archive at wwww.ec-asecs.org. If you'd prefer to receive a PDF of issues in place of paper copies, please let me know.

Members might wish to read over the EC/ASECS Constitution, mounted at www.ec-asecs.org by Susan Beam with much else (e.g., tables of contents and indices to this newsletter, lists of former Molin and Peterson prize winners, etc.). We have in recent years stopped referring to the Constitution and strayed from its language, as for instance in sometimes speaking of the three At-Large Executive Board Members as "Molin Prize Committee Members." Also sometimes overlooked is the stipulated role of the Nominating Committee of the present and two former Presidents. A good deal of thought went into the Constitution, and senior members like Ted Braun and Linda Merians worked on its revision. Nonetheless, it needs to be updated, which only requires a petition with ten signatures followed by a vote at the annual meeting (this should wait till 2022's meeting, the sort envisioned by the framers). The By-Law on the Molin Prize indicates that the award should be supplied at least in part from "an endowed fund," which I doubt exists, though the Future Fund might be substituted. Also the Constitution does not include mention of our new policy of fixing registration for graduate students at the annual meeting at \$25; instead it notes that students "may be charged at least half the registration fee." One wise but difficult-to-attain regulation that should be removed or honored is the requirement that President, Vice President, and Executive Secretary not be from the same discipline (arguably these offices are filled by English professors, though Peter is at least nominally a humanities professor). The language might be modified to require that they and the At-Large members not be from the same discipline.

In his report above **Peter Staffel** has provided an account of our meeting on 23-24 October 2020, via Zoom, entitled "A Brief Intermission." It featured four sessions: on Friday the 23rd, at 4 p.m., a "Teaching & Research Roundtable" launched the mini-conference. Later at 7:30 that evening occurred the Aural/Oral Experience, with Peter Staffel as ever a delightful MC overseeing readings of literary works. The next morning at 10 a.m., on the 24th, we reconvened for a panel of graduate students competing for the Molin Prize (they were uniformly excellent). After lunch occurred the business meeting, on which Peter reports at length above. There followed **John P. Heins**'s illustrated Presidential Address "Both Here and There in Wörlitz," discussing the creation and aesthetic goals of this World Heritage site in eastern Germany near Dessau. It was obvious from the lively and informative Q&A that most of us wanted to visit it. Though the *Intelligencer* cannot convey the illustrations central to John's talk, including his own fine photographs taken

there (one is on our cover), he has written about Wörlitz Park and Palace in the lead article. **Eleanor Shevlin**'s zoom links and her and **Sylvia Marks**'s general coordination of the event ensured that this—the first conference online that many of us attended—went swimmingly. Sessions were attended by 22 to 45 persons, including some non-members and also members outside the country, as **Deborah Kennedy** in Halifax and **Kwinten Van de Walle** in Freiburg, Germany. Unlike some regionals' online meetings, ours was free.

Let us record the sessions in more detail. On Friday at 4 p.m., Joanne Myers of Gettysburg College chaired a "Teaching & Research Roundtable," featuring three presentations, Jessica Banner (U. of Ottawa) on 18C needlework and crocheting, Jeremy Chow (Bucknell U.) on snake images and symbolism, particularly in Gothic works like Lewis's *The Monk*, and **Ronald** McColl (West Chester University's Special Collections Curator), on William Darlington, M.D., a Renaissance man who contributed much to botanical studies in the first half of the 1800s (and to West Chester, PA). Saturday morning's contest for the Molin Prize featured James P. Ascher (UVA), replaying his reading on a teleprompter, who spoke on researching the issues and settings of the *Philosophical Transactions* and on several technological innovations related to his work, as an impressive app allowing the collation of books. Jacob Myers (Penn) spoke on his research on microscope studies and the illustration of such research reports, focusing on arthropods in the Caribbean—for which he won the Molin Prize. And Christoforos Sasaris (Villanova) discussed the revised second edition of a multiple language wordbook published in Venice (1723), considering how alterations served the Greek community of the time. The day after our conference, Ellen Moody posted an account at her blog Reveries under the Sign of Austen, along with observations on the Jane Austen Society of North America's virtual meeting. In speaking of the latter, Ellen mentioned some of the benefits of zoom meetings recorded and available online: "since I usually go to listen to the papers at the sessions, I probably enjoyed the JASNA more than I do at the usual conferences. If you didn't care for what you were seeing or hearing for whatever reason, it was very easy to click away; you could see what was available all at once, watch far more than you intended or skim along using your cursor" Regarding our Zoom meeting, Ellen wrote, "I enjoyed all of it, as much (as other people said) to be back with friends, see familiar faces, talk as friends (chat before and after papers)." After discussing individual papers, she concluded: "The high point . . . to me was John Heins' paper on Wörlitz Park: he had so many beautiful images of this quintessentially Enlightenment picturesque park (where he and his wife had been it seems several times)! He told its history, of the people involved in landscaping it, how it was intended to function inside the small state, . . . [how different buildings were inspired by others]. He ended on his own house built in 1947, called Colonial style, in the Washington area, from which he regaled us. He brought home to me how much of my deep enjoyment of costume drama and BBC documentaries arises from their immersing the viewer in landscapes, imagined as from the past, or really extant around the world."

In December Corey Andrews' essay "Caledonia's Bard, Brother Burns': Robert Burns and Scottish Freemasonry" was published in *Association and Enlightenment: Scottish Clubs and Societies, 1700-1830*, the tenth volume in the series 18C Scotland published by Bucknell in association with

Eighteenth Century Scottish Studies Society. Edited by Mark Wallace and Jane Rendall, the volume includes ten essays on societies for businessmen, doctors, students, women, etc. (284 pp.). Rick Sher, the series editor, writes that it is available for \$27 postpaid to ECSSS members in the US who use a code offered at the ECSSS website (non-members can use code RFLR19 to purchase it for \$31.47). Within a month we will probably receive Rick's 2021 issue of Eighteenth-Century Scotland, which he now distributes in a PDF prepared—with great diligence—on MS Publisher assisted by Nitro (since ECS has such global membership, this saves a great deal in postage). Jessica **Banner**, who spoke of textile handcrafts at the fall conference, has a review in the Fall ECS of Lydia Edwards, How to Read a Dress: A Guide to Changing Fashion from the 16C to 20C. Barbara Benedict, whose tribute to Todd Gilman appears above (and more fully appears in this spring *Johnsonian News* Letter), last year saw the republication by Princeton U. Press in its "Princeton Legacy" series, of her Making the Modern Reader: Cultural Mediation in Early Modern Literary Anthologies. Temma Berg in November published her essay "Our Monuments, Our History" on The Cupola, an on-line website of Gettysburg College (at its Musselman Library's site). Her essay starts by reporting on conflicts over monuments in the Gettysburg area and then describes the solution to a historic anti-Semitic monument in Vienna, now contextualize by surrounding monuments to the victims of 15C pogroms and hate crimes since. She learned of these monuments while working on hidden Jews in George Eliot. Lisa Berglund, after a stellar review of her tenure as Executive Director of ASECS, is stepping down this summer, for ASECS's Board feels it ought to be a full-time job (and she agrees). Lisa would prefer to keep her position as an English professor chairing her department at Buffalo State College. She and Aimee Levesque, her office manager, have done a terrific job maintaining communications during the coronacrisis, revising the website, scrutinizing the financial accounts, etc. Elisa Beshero-Bondar has moved to Penn State's Behrend Campus to Chair the Dept. of Digital Media, Arts, & Technology and run its Digital Humanities Lab. Martha Bowden contributed "'Provide your self of an Aesop': Mary Davys's The Fugitive as Fable Collection" to the Fall 2020 Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature (39.2:217-35). The issue also contains Misty Anderson's review of Samara Cahill's Intelligent Souls? Feminist Orientalism in 18C English Literature, and Natasha Duquette reviews of Jocelyn Harris's Satire, Celebrity, and Politics in Jane Austen and Devoney Looser's The Making of Jane Austen.

During late November I corresponded with **Samara Cahill**, asking her if I could reprint her C18-L comments on controversial memorial statue to Mary Wollstonecraft (see below). Regarding the *Studies in Religion and the Enlightenment*, her web-based biannual (a continuation of *Religion in the Age of Enlightenment*, which died with AMS Press), Sam reported that the latest issue (2.1) was "posted late in October," which begins with the "Global Borders" editorial introduction at the top. "We are in the beginning stages of preparing the special issue on 'Race, Religion, and Revolution in the Enlightenment' for Spring 2021 (that will be issue 2.2). . . . The material we already have is exciting, . . . We haven't finalized the CFP for our Fall 2021 issue, but it will be focused on issues falling under the umbrella of 'Anthropocene and Apocalypse in the Enlightenment' and specifically will engage with Amitav Ghosh's (1) critique of 'the Enlightenment' and the

(in)ability of realist fiction to deal with the scale and probability of climate change and (2) the contrast he outlines regarding the language of the Paris Agreement and of Pope Francis's encyclical Laudato si' (both published in 2015)." Sam is Book Review Editor for **Kevin Cope**'s annual 1650-1850, whose 26th volume (2021) Bucknell will publish in May. Vincent Carretta's Penguin edition of Olaudah Equiano's The Interesting Narrative and Other Writings has been reprinted with an updated bibliography and two new appendices: the first comprises eighteen manuscript and printed writings by Equiano discovered since 2003; the second comprises addenda and corrigenda to Vin's original endnotes. Vin recently revised his *ODNB* entry on Ignatius Sancho, and he replaced another's older entry on Phyllis Wheatley. He's given several public talks to audiences in UK and US via zoom, and last November he was preparing one on Cugoano for a London audience. Tita Chico reviewed Melinda Alliker Rabb's Miniature and the English Imagination (2019) and Leah Orr reviewed The Oxford Handbook of the 18C Novel ed. by J. A. Downie in Digital Defoe, 11 (2019); presumably it was posted in 2020, there being no issue since (at the time of the 2019 issue, the 2020 was announced as containing selected papers from the 2019 Defoe conference in York). Leah calls Alan Downie's *Handbook* and its 34 essays an "excellent addition" to the series and welcomes its "expansive approach."

Greg Clingham is editing the New Cambridge Companion to Samuel Johnson, scheduled for publication in late 2021, and including contributions by other members of EC/ASECS (Lisa Berglund, Anthony Lee, Samara Cahill, and John Richetti) and others such as Tina Brownley and Clem Hawes. He notes, "The first Cambridge Companion to Samuel Johnson (1987) sold 5000 copies and continues to do well. We hope for the same success from this volume, newly commissioned for a new age." In the meanwhile, Greg has published an article on the archive of Lady Anne Barnard (1750-1825), "Lady Anne Barnard: Remnants and Renewal," Quarterly Bulletin of the National Library of South Africa, 73:2 (2019), pp. 167-78; a Foreword (pp. ix-xviii), "Global Johnson," to Johnson in Japan, ed. Mika Suzuki and Kimiyo Ogawa (Bucknell, 2019); and he co-edited, with Baerbel Czennia, Oriental Networks: Culture, Commerce and Communication in the Long Eighteenth Century (Bucknell UP, 2020), a volume that contains his essay "Cosmology and Commerce on Lord George Macartney's Embassy to China, 1792-1794" (pp. 190-220), as well as essays by members **Kevin Cope, Baerbel Czennia**, Jennifer Hargrave, and Samara Cahill. Among other ongoing projects, Greg is preparing a collection of his unpublished essays on Johnson for Lehigh UP, "Samuel Johnson's Interests: Life, Literature, Limits." Finally, Greg invites inquiries and proposals for his new series with Clemson UP / Liverpool UP, "Eighteenth-Century Moments." In the fall, Greg corresponded with Blake Gerard about the forthcoming volume that Blake co-edited (to be published by Bucknell), and remarked that "Even two weeks before he died, he did not let on to me that he had cancer." Regarding Blake whom we paid tribute to in the last issue, I heard in November from Brigitte Friant-Kessler in France, who co-authored with Blake half a dozen studies of illustrations related to Sterne. She had just seen an "in memoriam slideshow for Blake online in Sterne's study at Shandy Hall," and wrote, "I took that picture of him and when I saw it on screen memories flushed back like a dam broken by a tsunami. . . . I can still see him standing there, next to Tristram's desk, and the two of us, together

with Patrick Wildgust [curator of Shandy Hall], bantering around and sharing ideas about our beloved Yorkshire parson. . . . we met because of illustrations; he had just finished his PhD and I was writing mine. We never thought of each other as rivals but rather as companion pieces on each side of the Atlantic. I'll miss him as he left us orphaned of his radiant presence."

At Gettysburg in 2019, biologist **Kay Etheridge** provided us with an illustrated lecture on Maria Sibvlla Merian's artistic and scientific work on flora and fauna. For many of us it was the best presentation at the conference. In December Kay published, in Brill's "Emergence of Natural History" series, her book The Flowering of Ecology: Maria Sibylla Merian's Caterpillar Book [1679]. Would a suitable reviewer please let me know if you'd take responsibility for the review copy being sent from Europe? Marilyn Francus reviewed Jenifer Buckley's Gender, Pregnancy, and Power in 18C Literature: The Maternal Imagination in ECF's Fall 2020 issue, where we also find James Raven's review of Eve Bannet's 18C Manners of Reading. William Everdell sent off a book manuscript to a publisher in December, remarking that "It will probably lack the reader appeal of my other books, and I suspect that it is not a selling title, but perhaps it's one that will telegraph the book's impossible scope and breadth of possible readership: 'The Evangelical Counter-Enlightenment: Ecstasy, Piety and Fundamentalism in Judaism, Christianity and Islam in the Eighteenth Century.' Just the thing for a retired high-school teacher of World History to pass the pandemic writing—and copyediting." Those of us at the last Gettysburg conference will remember hearing Bill speak on 18C pietism in America and Germany. I had a good letter at Christmas from Henry Fulton, whose reflections on retirement are shared by many of us: "we're reading more, reading what we please. Learning to zoom—I now belong to two chat groups,—and relieved we are no longer teaching. . . . 'Remote' in more ways than one." He had recently read the Cambridge Companion to Edward Gibbon and the first two vols. of Macaulay's History of England. While he has some unfinished papers on Dr. Moore, he spent the year on "a narrative of my favorite aunt, a missionary in China during the Sino-Japanese War," who wrote a weekly letter home. Henry writes for a parish monthly a biography on "worthy" Episcopalians, of which he has now written over 360. **Michael Genovese's** The Problem of Profit is reviewed in the Fall ECS, by Natalie Roxburgh, who applauds its rethinking of the georgic and its examination of attitudes toward capitalism or finance vs toward profit. The review was aptly placed, for this issue (54.1) was focused on the 1720 bubbles and financial revolution. Gene Hammond recently reviewed Valerie Rumbold's Swift in Print for ECL. He's been teaching his writing classes via Zoom, which he thinks more productive than the "asynchronous" approach officially favored. He's hoping to teach Swift again before he retires. Gene will review for us Clive Probyn's Jonathan Swift on the Anglo-Irish Road.

Palgrave Macmillan in December published *British Sociability and Enlightenment Europe: Cultural Practices and Personal Encounters*, co-edited by **Mascha Hansen** with Sebastian Domsch. Palgrave notes, "This volume covers a broad range of everyday private and public, touristic, commercial, and fictional encounters between Britons and continental Europeans, . . . moments that led to a meaningful exchange of opinions, practices, or concepts such as on friendship or politeness," arguing that these "reveal the growing impact of British sociability on the sociable practices on the continent, and,

correspondingly, the convivial turn of the Enlightenment." Attending to how people "grappled with their cultural differences," the thirteen essays are divided into sections on travelers, the spread of cultural practices, and fictional encounters in philosophical dialogues and novels. Besides her introduction (1-12), Mascha contributed "Medicinal Sociability: British Bluestockings and the Continental Spa" (63-84). Also here are essays by Domsch on Boswell in Corsica and Paoli in London, Allan Ingram on Dr. Johnson in Paris, and Patrick Müller on "Sociable Encounters in Shaftsbury's Characteristicks." Mascha is working on a digital edition of Queen Charlotte's letters to her brother, Charles Mecklenburg-Strelitz. Sharon R. Harrow with Kirsten T. Saxton has edited Adapting the Eighteenth Century: A Handbook of Pedagogies and Practices (U. of Rochester Press, 2020), pp. ix + 305; which includes the editors' 23-p. introduction and 18 essays, most deriving from ASECS panels, such as Harrow's on teaching adaptations of Haywood's The Distress'd Orphan; Catherine Ingrassia's and "Adaptations and the 'Invisible World' of Jane Austen"; Nora Nachumi and Heather King's on "Teaching Pride and Prejudice and its Adaptations in General Education Courses"; and Rivka Swenson's "The Crusoeiana: Material Crusoe." Maureen Mulvihill passed along to me for Tom Hothem. after Tom's contribution on teaching Linnaeus to the last Intelligencer, news of an illustrated book from Norton Young Readers by Karen Magnuson Beil, What Linnaeus Saw: A Scientist's Quest to Name Every Living Thing (2019). Tom thought it "an interesting introduction to the history of science as young adult readers might experience it, adding that his "12-year-old likes Linnaeus and gets what he was about." Speaking of his course on environmental writing at UC-Merced, he mentioned requiring, along with John McPhee's The Control of Nature, Laura Cunningham's A State of Change: Forgotten Landscapes of California (1994). Tom is assisting Cunningham, famous for her oil landscapes, in creating "an electronic version of her work, which illustrates California landscapes as they may have appeared 500 or so years ago" (see www.lcunningham-art.com/). Tom is also writing a book on the picturesque and looking at its intersections with 18C natural history, and he'll speak at ASECS on the Claude glass used by landscape painters.

Susan Kubica Howard's essay "Frances Burney and the Tea-Table Wars: Negotiating Agency at Windsor and in the Court Journals" is published in Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture (40 [2020], 201-28). It treats Burney's record while hosting the tea of conflicts or engagements with Mrs. Schwellenberg, Rev. de Guiffardièr, and Col. Digby. This volume of **SECC**, edited by Eve Tavor Bannett and Roxann Wheeler, over 400 pp. long, has many forums with conference papers on Structural Racism in the 18C Curriculum; Slavery in the Caribbean; The Postcritical 18C; Art, Alchemy, and Rivalry: The 18C Manufactory; The New 18C Ireland; and Defending the Humanities: Making the Case for 18C Studies. EC/ASECS members should see the CFP below for they have apparently not been submitting to this annual (we are greatly outnumbered by Irish scholars). **Robert Hume** has a review in the next Scriblerian on the multivolume edition of The Plays and Poems of Nicolas Rowe, ed. by Stephen Bernard et al. (Routledge, 2017-); it will be very helpful to anyone contemplating the editing of long-18C playwrights, detailing what should be necessary considerations and editorial duties. Catherine **Ingrassia** has taken on the duties of Book Review Editor for *Restoration*.

In December Virginia U. Press published Jacob Sider Jost's *Interest and* Connection in the 18C: Hervey, Johnson, Smith, Equiano (pp. [x] + 194). Along with the intro and conclusion there are four chapters, one on each titular figure beginning with John Hervey, entitled "Whig Theory of Mind: Influence and Interpretation in Lord Hervey." Jacob traces the "evolution of the concept of interest across multiple domains," using its "multiple meanings" to reveal much about social ties. The book "describes relationships of patronage, obligation, and affiliation in the small world of Hanoverian politics and the literature and philosophy of the era." On 16 December, The Freiburg Institute of Advanced Studies hosted a book launch for Jacob on Zoom, with Q&A following. Deborah Kennedy published "The Wordsworths, The Meyers Family, and British India" in Wordsworth Circle, 51.2 (Spring 2020), 242-57. She writes that she has no hopes of being vaccinated before June, but Halifax has had relatively few COVID-19 cases. Anthony Lee, whom we thank for another fine review (above), in May will give a zoom presentation to the Samuel Johnson Society of London at the invitation of Lois Potter, who said the Society is taking advantage of the viral catastrophe to bring talks to its members via Zoom by those with "extensive" publications on Johnson who would not normally be able to attend its meetings. His talk, on the scholarship of the Johnsonian J. D. Fleeman, is entitled "J. D. Fleeman: The Greatest Johnson?" Tony's "Hearne, Roper, More, and Rambler 71" appears in the September Notes and Queries (67.1:422-26). Tony identifies a lengthy quotation by Thomas Hearne (described as "the learned antiquary of Oxford") in Rambler 71 as appearing in Hearne's 1716 edition of William Roper's Life of Sir Thomas More and then heaps up Samuel Johnson's references to and potential contacts with Hearne and his many productions. (It is noteworthy that Tony quotes from his forthcoming edition "The Annotated Rambler," suggesting it is drawing close to publication.) Since Johnson repeatedly criticized antiquarians, as also in *The Vanity of Human Wishes* the year earlier, Tony sets out to explain his respect for Hearne, whom he probably admired for "immense learning" and "accurate contributions to the recovery and preservation of . . . English social history." Both also shared many "political and High Church religious convictions." Hearne, as a Nonjuror, had lost his position as Keeper at the Bodleian before Johnson studied at Pembroke, but, if he did not know him then, he would have known Hearne's work when compiling the Harleian Catalogue. In the September Johnsonian News Letter (71.2), Tony published both "The 'clangor of a trumpet': John Locke and Rambler 94" and "Quintus Curtius Rufus, Plutarch, Cicero, and Johnson's First Sermon." In October I called attention to Katharine Kittredge on-line newsletter The Early Children's Literature and Cultural Chronicle (see p. 82). but I failed to provide her email address: kkittredge@ Ithaca.edu. Jim May has been identifying the ornament stock of early 18C Dublin and London printers. He would add a thought to last issue's survey on iconoclasm: a resolution to some disputes over the presence of monuments, one retaining them as public art, is simply to rename them, such that a Confederate soldier is broadened to "Infantryman" or "Horseman" and Columbus to "Exploration" (The old title noted on a plaque or left to the erudition of antiquarians).

The follow up to **William McCarthy**'s corrective account of Barbauld's correspondence in *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature*, noted here in October, will be his edition of those letters appearing soon on *Romantic Circles* (it was

"in their queue" in October). Also, to recollections of her husband Jim in the last newsletter, Nancy McGlathery replied that she is well and still living in the family home in Champaign: "Jim really enjoyed all those conferences, and I loved being 'along for the ride." Ellen Moody has been teaching a couple of courses remotely for the OSHER Institute (taking a couple too), leading a monthly women's poetry group, and producing regularly her blog "Reveries under the Sign of Austen." Maureen E. Mulvihill (Princeton Research Forum, NJ): recent publications include "New Work on Mary Tighe" (Irish Literary Supplement, print & online; Spring 2020), her twelfth essay for ILS. Earlier pieces discussed the Dublin print trade, Irish anthologies and reference works, Swift, Oscar Wilde, Thomas Sheridan, etc. Her 2020 "Tighe" assesses recent biographies and, with special attention to textual scholarship, the new edition of Tighe's poetry by Paula Feldman (Johns Hopkins UP). And for the Florida Bibliophile Society Newsletter (online), she contributed five illustrated webpages: the new Carl Linnaeus biography by Karen Beil; Max Beerbohm items in the Samuels Lasner Collection, Delaware; the Martin Scorsese-Fran Lebowitz documentary (Netflix); Sarasota's Colette Project; and, for St Pat's Day 2021, Irish book history. Her updated Key to Female Poems...by Ephelia (London, 1679), being Appendix A of her 'Ephelia' website <www. ephelia.com>, was announced on several listservs (Jan., 2021). The Key may be accessed at David Barry's site <griffinbookbinding.com>, St Petersburg, FL. Barry, trained in Wales, is conservator of the Mulvihill Collection. The updated Key will soon be imported into the 'Ephelia' website. Maureen has generously assisted colleagues on two recent occasions: For the upcoming redesign of Isobel Grundy's Orlando Project (Cambridge UP; online datasets on women writers), she donated digital images, with caption notes, of seven portraits from the Mulvihill Collection. And for the first-ever logo of the UK Frances Burney Society, she facilitated access to the John Bogle Burney portrait from collector Prudence Carlson, NY (former provenance: Peyraud Collection, NY; see Mulvihill, Peyraud auction report, ECS, Autumn 2009; also Bedazzled by Burney, Burney Centre, Montreal). Reciprocally, the UK Burney Society newsletter published a profile of Maureen (Dec., 2020, 2pp., color photo). Maureen's review, with images, of The Cambridge History of Ireland, vol. II, will be hosted online by RareBookHub ('Frisco). And she adds, "Still on my schedule are woefully late reviews for Scriblerian of three Swift essays" (in Reading Swift VII).

Mel New's wife of 61 years, **Edith Joan Cockrell New**, died 26 November after a severe heat attack. Born in Rocky Mount, NC, in 1936, she took her BA from Blue Mountain College, attending on a musical scholarship. After marriage, she taught high school English in NJ, TN and FL. While at home raising sons David and Carl Samuel, she co-edited with Mel the first two volumes of the Florida Edition of Sterne, with *Tristram Shandy* (1978). After working for a time at the U. of Florida Library, Joan took an MFA, published two volumes of poetry, and taught creative writing at Florida. By the time I met her at an EC/ASECS over a dozen year ago, Joan was fully engaged with quilting, producing museum-quality work that won a dozen or more awards, some at the state level. I had not then known that she wrote descriptive and meditative lyrics bringing people and nature to life and that work for me as poetry, those found in her *The River Bend* (1993) and *Migration* (2000).

After W. Blake Gerard's death, during November and December, Mel New led a team including Neil Guthrie, Melanie Holm, Jim May, E. Derek Taylor, Robert Walker, and Donald Wehrs that published the Autumn issue of *The Scriblerian* (vol. 53.1) and found a new home for the journal. With **Rob Hume**'s encouragement, a contract was accepted whereby Penn State U. Press took over its ownership and distributed the Autumn issue, which Mel had printed by Renaissance Printing in Gainesville. Guthrie has joined Melanie and Taylor as senior editors, who'll soon send off the Spring 2021 issue to Penn State UP. The fall issue includes Jim May's "Scribleriana Transferred" on 2019-20 listings; Robert Walker's reviews of three essays on Swift and of James Buchan's John Law: A Scottish Adventurer of the 18C; a favorable review of **Tita Chico**'s *The Experimental Imagination*; and Mel New and Derek Taylor's note "Mary Astell, John Norris, and a Small Mystery," on MS slips with corrections to the second edition of Astell and Norris's Letters concerning the Love of God sewn into a recently purchased first-edition copy. The issue ends with tributes to Paul Alkon and Philip Harth by Howard Weinbrot; it begins with Mel's tribute to Blake (a photo of Blake before Shandy Hall is on its penultimate page). Mel has long been the book review editor for Scriblerian, but Brian Norton of CSU-Fullerton has come to his relief. For editorial contacts, write Melanie (melanie.holm@iup.edu). This past winter Mel and co-editors Derek Taylor and Elizabeth Kraft have been proofreading their edition of Richardson's Sir Charles Grandison (Cambridge UP's website says that it will be published this August). Mel's "Martinus Scriblerus's 'Sevenfold Shield'" appears in September's *Notes & Oueries*.

Two days after Christmas, Margaret Boerner wrote friends that Hugh Ormsby-Lennon had died on Xmas Eve suddenly of a heart attack at their home in London: "He was the light of my life and my best friend. Thirty wonderful years together." Some will recall having met Margaret at our meetings. We were fortunate to have her contribute the first of the tributes to Hugh above. By way of consolation, she told us that Hugh "had lately been diagnosed with pulmonary fibrosis, which would have slowly squeezed him to death." Regarding their great compatibility, she mentioned that "You could say anything to him," and I'd add that Hugh could say anything to you, for he was remarkably candid and imaginative too, with a wit that was often, as Tim Parnell remarked, "bonkers." Leah Orr's "Valuing Copyright in Early 18C London: The Example of Daniel Midwinter" appears in the December *PBSA*.

Hermann Real and co-editors Kirsten Juhas and Janika Bischof this month sent to press *Swift Studies* 36 for 2021, which after Hermann's and Kirsten's tribute to Philip Harth has **Stephen Karian's**, "Philip Harth: An Appreciation." Also here is **Howard Weinbrot**'s "Within the Frown of Power': Politics, Religion, and Perceptions of Jonathan Swift: His Thirtieth of January Sermon as Self-Defence"; Corrina Readioff's "'A good honest Junta': Reconstructing the Scriblerus Club from the Verse Invitation to Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford"; **Melvyn New**'s "Single and Double: *Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus* and *Tristram Shandy*"; **David Palumbo**'s "Raillery and Satire in the Bathurst-Swift Correspondence" (first presented at one of Don Mell's EC/ASECS panels); Michael Düring on Russian and other editions of Swift in the National Parliamentary Library of Georgia in Tbilisi (richly illustrated), and Hermann and Ulrich Elkmann's "Swiftiana Rara: 'Eine Liebliche junge Nymphe begiebt sich zu Bette." Bucknell UP this year published Robinson

Crusoe after 300 Years, edited by Andreas E. Mueller and Glynis Ridley (2021; x + 222; illus.; index). Recommended on its cover by John Richetti and Rivka Swenson, its eleven essays included Geoffrey Sill's "Robinson's Transgender Voyage: or, Burlesquing Crusoe" (27-59), Daniel Yu's "Crusoe's Ecstasies: Passivity, Resignation, and Tobacco Rites" (99-113), Jeremy Chow's "Taken by Storm: Robinson Crusoe and Aqueous Violence" (115-34), and Maximillian E. Novak's "Crusoe's Encounters with the World and the Problem of Justice in The Farther Adventures" (167-81). Kyle Roberts left Loyola of Chicago to become the Asso. Director of Library and Museum Programming of the American Philosophical Society. Kyle remains engaged by the digital "Jesuit Libraries Provenance Project" (2012-). In April Kyle offers a podcast via the Library Company on Jesuit library building in 19C Chicago.

Marilyn Roberts's clear and thoughtful "Jane Austen and the Tradition of Masculine Benevolence," treating Emma, Mansfield Park, and Persuasion, is in Eighteenth-Century Life, 45.1 (Jan. 2021), 75-94. In the same issue we find review essays by Susan Carlile (on Literary Coteries) and Danielle **Spratt** (on British women of science). BTW, the September issue was devoted to papers from a 2018 symposium in Singapore on 18C representations of war. In the September Johnsonian News Letter Loren Rothschild pays tribute to **Robert Allen** (d. June 2020), praising his work on Johnson and leadership of the Samuel Johnson Society of the West-I would add his formative role editing n.s. volumes 1-4 of the ECCB (1975-81). In December Timothy L. Ruppert reported that he, Danette DiMarco, and Jason Hilton had edited a collection of essays entitled Pandemic University: Teaching and Learning in a Global Crisis, published by Slippery Rock Univ. Besides co-authoring the introduction, Tim contributed "Laughing Gravely: British Literature II and Innovative Student Scholarship" (69-76) to a section on "Student Collaboration during COVID-19." Tim's class was "designed around the centerpiece experience of a Spring Break study abroad visit to London," suddenly cancelled, and virtual treasure hunts had to replace walking about London. The volume has dozens of contributions by Slippery Rock faculty teaching remotely that address instructional practices (such as teaching diagnosis in clinical skills or supervising student teaching), technological alternatives, measuring student attitudes, and outreach to the community.

Among 80 pp. of reviews in the Winter 2021 issue of ECS is Norbert **Schürer**'s of Elizabeth Neiman's *Minerva's Gothics: The Politics and Poetics* of Romantic Exchange, 1780-1820. Rebecca Shapiro along with Kevin Berland is spending her sabbatical in Barbados, where the past month she was writing an article about the popular grammar author Anne Fisher's efforts in publishing (Fisher's husband Thomas Slack was a Newcastle publisher). Eleanor Shevlin's Center for Book History at West Chester U., in association with its F.H. Green Special Collections Library, is running a monthly Zoom lecture series entitled "Object Talks" on what books as material artifacts reveal. The first two occurred on Wed. 24 Feb. and 31 March at 6 p.m. The last offered talks by Dr. Emily Aguiló-Pérez on board books for children and Dr. Kristen Kondrlik on "Representations of Women Physicians in 19C Periodicals." The series will continue through the summer, and Eleanor will happily send you a link to the events. Eleanor is the Graduate Coordinator at WCU as well as its University Projects Review Coordinator—and I gather spends twelve hours a day at the computer. Several others in our group play

important administrative roles at colleges, as **Linda Merians**, who is Chief of Staff at Guttman Community College in Manhattan. Linda has been trying to help Guttman's many students impoverished by the pandemic. Soon she will be planning another graduation. Brij and Frances Singh have been writing at home: Brij, a memoir of teaching in NW India, and Frances on Queens in the 19C and early 20C and most recently on young soldiers who died in the Civil War (her support for the local 18C Vander Ende-Onderdonk House Museum and its exhibits throws up topics for her). Frances's book on Jane Cumming is reviewed above (21-24). Linda Troost wrote 16 March that she and Savre Greenfield were "teaching on campus only one day a week and Zooming the remainder . . . I am finding Zoom really handy for my online writing course. Washington & Jefferson's students have been very compliant—we test everyone every two weeks and typically get 2.5% positives (about 10 cases a week)." Linda and Sayre have sabbaticals all next year. Sayre is working on "How Shakespeare's lines became famous," and Linda is "exploring video/computer games connected to literature and investigating Ann Cargill, a notorious performer in the late 18C." Congratulations to Jane Wessel for winning the SEASECS biennial Annibel Jenkins Prize for the Best Article in Performance & Theater Studies with "'My other Folks' Heads': Reproducible Identities and Literary Property on the 18C Stage" (ECS, 55.2 [Winter 2020], 279-97). Thanks to **Brett Wilson** (William and Mary College) for accepting the nomination to serve alongside Elizabeth Lambert and Jane Wessel as At-Large Members of our Executive Board. Our former President Cal Winton is living productively in Sewanee (where they now have armadillos!), and by Christmas had made reservations for himself and son Will to take a research trip to London in May, where at the time "hotel rooms seem almost free."

Forthcoming Meetings and Other Announcements

Most 18C studies groups have scheduled online meetings for 2021, but some late in the year are hoping for mixed, or "hybrid," meetings with some sessions at conference sites. The **Dutch-Belgian Society for 18C Studies** was held online 10-12 March with theme "Making Sense of Finance" and keynote by Dror Wahrman, conceived to mark the tercentennary of the Mississippi and South Sea bubbles. Apparently the group accommodates papers in English.

ASECS has a fully online 2001 meeting 7-11 April with presentations to be prerecorded and turned in two weeks before the conference and sessions limited to one hour to prevent fatique (20 minutes reserved for Q&A). Registration is \$80 and \$35 for students (the printed program, \$7.50). It will meet at the Hilton in Baltimore on 31 March-2 April 2022, and the Hyatt Regency in St. Louis 7-12 March 2023. On 7 May, Lisa Berglund announced: "To ensure the continuing vitality of ASECS," it offers "free membership renewals for 2020-2021 to current graduate students, non-tenure track faculty, and members who have become unemployed as a result of this crisis. Graduate student memberships will be renewed automatically." NTTF and the unemployed need fill out a form at ASECS's website to request free renewal.

The **Eighteenth-Century Ireland Society** holds its annual online 16-18 June 2021, hosted by the Univ. of Limerick with its Centre for Early Modern Studies. There is no theme, but papers involving anniversaries in 2020-21 are encouraged (e.g., the Declaratory Act in 1720; the rejection of the Bank of

Ireland in 1721, the publication of Goldsmith's *Deserted Village* in 1770). Besides 20-minute papers, PhD students are encouraged to offer a "Thesis in Three," an account of their dissertations in three minutes. Proposals with 250-word abstracts should be sent to Dr Morin at Christina.morin@ul.ie by 6 April.

The **Eighteenth-Century Scottish Studies Society** meets at Liverpool's 18C World Research Centre in its Georgian quarter on 29-31 July, hosted by Mark Towsey (U. of Liverpool, Towsey@ liverpool.ac.uk); its theme is "Scots Abroad." It meets in Ottawa with CSECS in Oct. 2022 and then St. Andrews.

EC/ASECS meets 15-16 Oct. 2021 online and then 15-17 Oct. 2022 at the Winterthur Museum, Winterthur, PA (see the article on pp. 61-62 above.)

After a year's postponement, the **Canadian SECS** will meet jointly with the **MWASECS** on 13-16 October 2021 at the U. of Winnipeg and online with the theme "Translation and Appropriation in the Long 18C."

The conference "Buying Art and Antiquities in 18C Italy / La compra de Arte . . . XVIII" will be held online and/or at the Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, Madrid, on 4-5 Nov. 2021. The third international conference in the series "Transnational Relations and the Arts," it treats such topics as commercial hubs, agents, the logistics of buying, forgeries, copies of old masters, etc. The CFP is at Craig Hanson's Enfilade website (contact cochair Pilar Diez del Corral Corredoira, drezdelcorral@geo.uned.es). As noted previously, Enfilade provides access to Journal18, whose Fall 2020 issue, "1720" (for its historical associations with the Mississippi and South Sea Bubbles), offers articles on pocket globes sold by Herman Moll, maps of La Louisiane, the theme of global commerce in Giovanni Antonio Pellegrini's ceiling painting for the Paris Banque Royale, and Oliver Wunsch's "Rosalba Carriera's Four Continents and the Commerce of Skin" (c. 1720s, on the implications of skin colors). No. 11 (Spring 2021) from editors Nina Dublin and Meredith Martin will concern "Architectural Reference" and no. 12 "The Long 18C?" The latter will scrutinize the phrase, asking about the causes and consequences of this elongation, and its fitness for scholarly fields now that they are geographically and culturall expanded in "Worlding" efforts of late.

The **British Society for 18C Studies** expects to hold its 51st annual next year, as usual in January at St. Hugh's College, Oxford. Contact Dr. Brianna Robertson-Kirkland at conference.academic@bsecs.org.uk. BSECS recently initiated a PG/ECR summer conference at varying venues for papers by postgraduate students and early career scholars; cancelled last year, the format for 2021 has shifted to papers online the last Thursday of the month: besides the usual 15-minute talks, there will be "lightning talks" three minutes long.

After a virtual meeting on 25-27 Feb. 2021 (requiring paid registration and featuring a cooking demonstration by Dr. Christopher Hendricks), **SEASECS** will meet 17-20 February 2022 in Ft. Myers, FL, with the theme "Oceans Rise, Empires Fall: Tidal Shifts in the 18C." Proposals for panels and papers are due by 30 June 2021 to conference chair Mary Crone-Romanovski (mromanovski@ fgcu.edu). The conference hotel is The Luminary & Co. Hotel (with discounted rates \$184 to 209 through 17 Jan. 2022).

The **SCSECS** will be held around Feb. 2022 at Bryan and College Station, TX, chaired by Samara Cahill (samara.cahill57@ gmail.com).

The annual **Print Networks** conference in the U.K., this year with the theme "Printing for Tourists, will be held online 20-21 July 2021; the webinar

requires a £25 registration fee, though the Bibliographical Society is offering ten postgraduate students free admission.

The Gipson Institute for 18C Studies at Lehigh University is hosting this semester a lecture series on "Race in the 18C," a webinar with moderated Q&A via Zoom. Events have occurred at noon. One will be announced for early May. Contact the Institute's co-director Michelle LeMaster for a Zoom link (mil206 @lehigh.edu). March's lecture was by Sharon Block (UC-Irvine), author of *Colonial Complexions: Race and Bodies in 18C America*, on "Creating Race on Colonial American Bodies"; April's, by Sasha Turner (Johns Hopkins) on "Race, Gender, and Caribbean Medical Encounters."

The Library Company of Philadelphia is offering a series of webbased, weekly programs entitled "Library Company Fireside Chats," cosponsored by GradFutures, an initiative by the Dean of Graduate Studies at Princeton U. (Thursday evenings at 7:00). These include: 8 April: Mark Boonshoft (Duquesne), "Aristocratic Education and the Making of the American Republic (book talk)"; 22 April: Chris Kuncio (billed as "Creator of Young Ben Franklin," Kuncio re-enacts BF on the streets of Philadelphia—see YouTube), "Reimagining Ben Franklin"; and 29 April: Michael Hatton (Yale) "Past and Prologue: Politics and Memory in the American Revolution (book talk)." It offers other online programs, too, overseen by Will Fenton, its Director of Research and Public Programs. On 13 April at 5 p.m. Fenton moderates a roundtable with Lindsay DiCuirci (Maryland-Baltimore), author of Colonial Revival: The 19C Lives of Early American Books (2018), and Derrick Spires, author of The Practice of Citizenship: Black Politics and Print Culture in the Early United States (1919), along with Walter Biggins, the editor of the Penn Press, which published both books. DiCuirci's Colonial Revival concerns the rise of American antiquarianism and historical reprinting in antebellum America; it won LCP's last contest for the best "first book." The Library Company, though closed, is assisting over a dozen research fellows working remotely. This past month Emily Guthrie, the Library Director at the Winterthur since 2017, was hired as LCP's new Librarian, following the retirement of James Green after 35 years in the position. For more info on LCP programs, see its website and request its frequent email postings.

At the end of March as we go to press, after over 560K have died in the US and over 31 million been infected, new daily COVID-19 cases are about 60-65K, down following our third surge (in January there were c. 250K daily) and the death rate has dramatically fallen. Fueled by more aggressive strains, Canada, Europe, and Brazil are facing surges. For the week ending 28 March, case totals exceeded the previous week's in 33 of 50 American states, and my state's numbers for the previous fortnight were 50% over the previous one (in some states, as FL, MI, NJ, and NY, this is partly due to rising transmission of the British variant; in many it is due to the lifting of mask mandates and increased travel and social activity). However, in the US with over 155 million shots administered (often 3+ million a day), as in Britain where an even higher proportion are vaccinated, there is hope that libraries and borders will open this summer (if only to those with vaccine passports) and that in-person teaching will resume this fall. This academic year, many universities with students in dorms also taking in-person classes have suffered surges leading to lockdown measures and increased testing with quarantines. A CDC report on 8

January 2021 found that counties with large universities holding in-person classes saw a 56% increase in COVID cases during the three weeks after fall classes began; those counties with universities only with remote instruction saw a 18% decline at that time (*Science News*, 23 Feb. 2021). Even after some schools had problems in the fall, many suffered the same this spring. A *NYT* survey updated 3 March found 17 universities reporting over 1000 new infections during the first two months of 2021, including 2138 at U. of Florida and 1822 at Arizona State. One recent report claims over 100 university students have died of COVID-19. Most teachers in EC/ASECS have taught remotely (as have most teaching K-12 in the US, with remote learning having had recognizably poor results). Members overseas are also teaching remotely, as in Germany, where summer classes will also be remote. Irish universities have mainly relied on remote instruction since March 2020, and since the huge surge at start of January 2021 some require permission to come on campus.

The major research libraries or at least their rare book rooms now closed include the British Library, Folger (an ideal time for reconstruction), Huntington, Library Company of Philadelphia, Library of Congress, U. of Maryland, McMaster U., National Library of Ireland, the NYPL research collections, Penn, Penn State U., Royal Irish Academy, TCD's Early Printed Books, Virginia, etc. Some like RIA opened briefly around December and then closed due to covid surges. The Newberry Library and Kansas's Kenneth Spenser Research Library have limited access by appointment to reading rooms. Most museums, as the eight Smithsonians in DC, are closed, but DC's Phillips Collection and NYC's Metropolitan are open, as is The Frick (Thurs.-Sunday by advance ticket) at its temporary home at 945 Madison Ave., former site of the Whitney. (BTW there is a delightful and profitable review essay in The New Yorker of 15 Feb. by Peter Schieldahl treating its masterpieces.) The Brooklyn Museum is open with preticketing. The Philadelphia Museum of Art is open Thursday-Monday with masks, temperature checks, and preticketing to limit admissions. A number of other museums in the city reopened in January, as the Barnes Foundation, the Penn Museum, and the Independence Mall. The City Tavern within the Independence Mall park, sporting a colonial menu and waiters in costumes, closed due to the pandemic, having lost its clientele.

Due to financial woes (college enrollment was down 10%), predicted budget cuts occurred to libraries this academic year. A survey by Ithaka S+R published 8 December, covered by *Inside Higher Ed* ("Library Leaders Brace for Budget Cuts," by Lindsay McKenzie), found that 75% of 638 library directors reported "reduced budgets" for 2020-21, typically 1-9% (remarkably 20% said their budgets still had to be determined). Most had the autonomy to determine services cut, but a third had staff cut by outsiders. The deepest cuts occurred in public "doctoral universities"; the least in "private baccalaureate colleges." Many recognize that stack space will be reduced after a year without visitors. Penn State U. Libraries suffered a \$2.2 mil. reduction, which according to one source likely takes \$400K from the Humanities and \$200K from social science budgets. The University Senate was expected to discuss the cuts, for there had been little consultation with faculty, many of whom fear the cuts will permanently reduce standing orders. The Las Cruces Sun reported 14 Feb. that New Mexico State U. decided to save \$400K by canceling its 433journal package from the Dutch distributor Elsevier (mostly tech journals).

The Pennsylvania State System of Higher Education announced in April 2020 that its 14 universities would immediately begin to cut expenditures severely. In mid-October, the nature of those cuts at Indiana University of Pennsylvania were announced. As reported in a NYT article by Matt Richtel and Sarah Blesener (repr. in Lancaster's LNP, 2 Jan'y), IUP's administration announced the loss of 15% of its full-time faculty, 128 faculty positions, "81 through layoffs and the rest through attribution." Six colleges would cease to be standalone units, and some departments, as Journalism, were eliminated. The article records causal forces prior to the pandemic that led to this RIF. Earlier in this century, IUP, despite predicted demographic reduction, spent \$2.6 million on 60 Steinway pianos, \$250 million on new dorms, \$50 million on "the 148,500 square-foot Kovalchick Convention and Athletic Complex." Between 2008-2018, Pennsylvania's legislature slashed its appropriation for the universities, and per student funding fell 38%. Due to the demographic dip and the increases in tuition (from \$5,358 in 2008-09 to \$7716 in inflation adjusted dollars), IUP's enrollment fell from "15,600 in 2012 to 10,600 at the start of the 2019-20 school year." The authors report that nationwide higher education enrollment peaked in 2010 at 18.1 million and fell to 16.6 in 2018. In March the Chancellor of PA's state system, Dan Greenstein, proposed placing three universities in the west and three in the east under joint administrations, and, if not done, he would call for dissolving the system. The faculty union responded that talk of dismantling the 14-school unit hurt recruiting and fundraising. For a national context, Penn's Robert Zemsky in The College Stress Test (2020) predicted 100 private colleges with enrollments under 1,500 could close over the next five years and last April in the WSJ, due to the pandemic, raised the number to 200. The same financial threat from lost international students and dorm profits threatens British and Irish universities.

As a footnote to the last issue's remarks about bookshops being threatened by the lockdowns, I've heard mixed opinions from **antiquarian bookdealers**. A British antiquarian thought he had suffered a loss of sales. Another, John Price says that, if you ask the UK trade how sales have been, you'll hear "we've done all right," while Americans tend to be more forthright, a west coast dealer once saying "It's been a fucking disaster." John, whose been issuing enjoyable and interesting PDFs almost weekly (and sold ten books in a recent music list), doesn't think the Two Gentlemen of Corona's putting us under "house arrest" has "had much effect on orders from civilians as well as libraries." While libraries are ordering, "the accounts departments in most universities seem to be closed. I have unpaid invoices dating back to last year." And he notes, "Prices in auctions seem to be holding up well."

In July 2020 ProQuest developed a new interface for *Early English Books Online* (*EEBO*), replacing the Chadwyck-Healy interface in use for two decades. In the March 2021 *PBSA* (115:114-17), Penn State's Heather Froehlich has an informative account of its advantages. She notes that MARC "standards and classifications [are now] more visible," search fields allow narrower or more complex searches, useful field codes are discussed in the "search tips" file, and a companion guide explains "how to use the new, hugely robust command line to query the database using drop-down menus." The changes do not effect the original digitizations from the *Early English Books* microfilms—the fundamental content is unchanged. This issue of *PBSA* also includes Jessica Malay's "Reassessing Anne Clifford's Books: The

Discovery of a New Manuscript Inventory" and Nicholas Seager's "Defoe, the Sacheverell Affair, and *A Letter to Mr. Bisset* (1709)."

In November David Brewer, the new editor of *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* and Crystal Lake, its new associate editor, announced: "we are expanding the eligibility to be considered for publication . . . in recognition of the drastic changes to conferences and other academic gatherings imposed in the short term by the COVID-19 pandemic and in the long term by climate change. Effective immediately, *SECC* will be happy to consider for publication revised versions of papers and roundtable remarks presented in any public venue by a member of ASECS or of a learned society affiliated with ASECS or ISECS between July 1, 2019 and June 30, 2021. This includes papers that were scheduled to have been given at **conferences that were cancelled** because of the COVID-19 pandemic; it also includes papers given at virtual conferences, in other online formats, or as part of any public event."

In response to last issue's mention (p. 82) of Andrea Immel's intro to the recent *A Catalogue of the Cotsen's Children's Library Pre 1801*, Immel wrote that she "was not involved in the compilation of the last volumes of the Cotsen catalogue beyond making a preliminary choice of items for inclusion." But she added: "I am now in the final stages of editing the descriptive catalogue of Cotsen's collection of Newbery juvenile imprints, and it should be going to press in winter 2021. It will contain a lot of surprises about what and who was reprinted anonymously in children's books and the question of the influence of chapbooks on the contents and illustrations (hint—very little)."

Kerry Sinanan, Nicole Aljoe, and Mariam Wassif invite contributions to a special issue of *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* for Winter 2022 on *The Woman of Colour* (1808). Proposals for short and long essays are solicited with finished work due 1 Feb. 2022. Contact Sinanan at kerry.sinanan@utsa.edu.

I've bought a number of old volumes of *ECCB* discarded by colleges and thus inferred the bibliography is disappearing from the stacks, devalued as big, old reference books. As James Woolley and Kevin Cope remarked to me, the series needs to be digitized and scanned for OCR, perhaps by JSTOR, though copyrights claims, such as by Gabe Hornstein's family, would need be resigned. For now members should ask their school libraries not to discard it. And ask that they subscribe to *1650-1850* from Bucknell UP.

"Legacies of the Enlightenment: Humanity, Nature, and Science in a Changing Climate" can now be found on the H-Commons site. . . . [It] offers resources for researchers and instructors to address the question of how the Enlightenment continues to shape our social, political, and ideological landscape into the present. . . . [It is] a database of teaching/research materials . . . [for] students, teachers, and researchers interested in how and why we continue to practice and embody the legacies of the Enlightenment. Such topics include the evolution of social & political relations; theories of climate, as well as the relations between the natural world, the human, and society, . . . structures of authority and institutions . . . notions of race, class, gender" etc.

One vigorous discussions on C18-L since our last issue concerned 75-year-old Maggi Hambling's statue of a standing ten-foot robust female nude erected on Newington Green in Islington to honor Mary Wollstonecraft. For its image, see the BBC news of 10 November, "Mary Wollstonecraft Statue: 'Mother of Feminism' Sculpture Provokes Backlash." The silvered bronze statue, erected near where Wollstonecraft attended services and set up the

Newington Green School for women, was funded by the "Mary on the Green Campaign" chaired by Bee Rowlatt, a biographer of MW. Hambling is also known for a statue of Oscar Wilde at Trafalgar Square (1998). One defender remarked "MW was a rebel and a pioneer, and deserves a pioneering work of art." Most on C18-L found it wrong or offensive on "feminist and aesthetic grounds." One colleague remarked, "it is more pop culture feminist schlock than a respectful tribute to a great historical writer." For her this 10-year £143,000 project was a "lost opportunity." A friend suggested I single out Samara Cahill's points on 12 November: "It's an interesting statue, beautiful in its way, but I don't see that it has anything to do with Wollstonecraft, and I personally find the association with her offensive. Having said that, my (very provisional) theory about the statue is that, when we look at it, we're not assessing Wollstonecraft, or even Hambling's version of Wollstonecraft (as Jim Rovira pointed out, Hambling has said it is a statue for Wollstonecraft rather than of her), but rather a non-intersectional version of feminism. The statue is an individual, rising from the swirling masses, in glorious pale chrome, and apparently anatomically female. I can understand a celebratory feminist re-visioning of the female nude as a rejection of/challenge to the masculinist aesthetic tradition. But once such a statue is associated with Wollstonecraft, a whole host of problems arises: Wollstonecraft did see herself as unique, but then she was frequently cruel to other women specifically because she valued her uniqueness; she could be very prudish and certainly never chose to portray herself nude in any of the paintings for which she sat (and I agree with those who point out that a non-allegorical/classical male political thinker would not be portrayed nude...). She believed in the progress of history for all societies, and yet her comments about Islam and Catholicism were decidedly illiberal and, in the case of Islam and "Mahometan" spaces such as the harem, flatly ill-informed; she sought friendship and believed in the political value of human connection, yet she was a deeply lonely woman who consoled herself with her exceptionalism. The statue doesn't recognize this complexity, nor the divided legacy that Wollstonecraft left for Western feminism. The other problem is Hambling herself, we have a statue by a white woman who has joked about wanting to benefit from slavery."

The Intelligencer needs reviewers for: Sharon R. Harrow and Kirsten T. Saxton, editors, Adapting the Eighteenth Century: A Handbook of Pedagogies and Practices (Univ. of Rochester Press, 2020), pp. ix + 305; illus.; index; includes the editors' 23-p. intro. and 18 essays (see "Harrow" in the news above). Also, Jacob Sider Jost, Interest and Connection in the Eighteenth Century: Hervey, Johnson, Smith, Equiano, (Univ. of Virginia Press, 2020), pp. [x] + 194; bibliography; illus. with chapters on each author in subtitle tracing the "evolution of the concept of interest" (see above). In addition, as listed at more length in October 2020, we still need reviewers for Barbara Crosbie, Age Relations and Cultural Change in Eighteenth-Century England (Boydell Press, 2020), and Noah Shusterman, Armed Citizens: The Road from Ancient Rome to the Second Amendment (U. of Virginia Press, 2020), pp. 283.

Cover illustration: The Stein Island and the Villa Hamilton at Wörlitz Park. Photograph by John P. Heins, 2017. See the lead article.

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