

**WHEN NOVELS AND NEWSPAPERS WERE NEW MEDIA:  
THE STRANGE AND FAMILIAR IN THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY  
CULTURAL MARKETPLACE**

by Eleanor F. Shevlin

For 18th-century Britons, the word “media” as a common English noun was not in their lexicon. While the word enjoyed some currency, its meanings were limited to an ancient country in northwestern Iran or the feminine adjectival form of the Latin, *medium*. The term does not come to denote a “channel of mass communication, such as newspapers (“medium” 4.d, *OED* online) until the mid-19th century, and it is not until the early 20th century that its plural form gains widespread currency. In recent decades we have witnessed the plural noun “media” acquire a host of descriptors from “the” media to “print” media, “digital” media, “social” media, “mainstream,” “lame-stream,” and so on. Yet, despite the absence of formal nomenclature, the notion of media—both in ways familiar and strange to us today—was very much a part of the 18th-century cultural marketplace. At the forefront of innovation in this marketplace were novels and periodicals, what constituted the era’s new media and the subject of my remarks this afternoon. In what follows, I offer some musings about the era’s novels, newspapers, and magazines as viewed from the conceptual perspective of new media and against the backdrop of the strange and the familiar. Not only do my reflections aim to foster further thought about the ties between novels and periodicals, but I also wish to illustrate the pedagogical and theoretical usefulness of “new media” as frame for studying these forms and the cultural work they performed.

When Samuel Johnson observed that the two most engaging powers of an author entail making new things familiar and familiar things new, he was speaking of Alexander Pope’s handiwork<sup>1</sup> and not novels or newspapers. Yet, Johnson’s pronouncement could just as readily describe the cultural work that 18th-century novels and periodicals performed. Consider, for instance, Benedict Anderson’s descriptions of the roles that new print media played in forming “imagined communities.”<sup>2</sup> In his formulation both novels and newspapers in their own ways acted to make the new familiar and the familiar new. These two forms, however, share more than an ability to enact a familiarization of the new and a novelization of the familiar. Thus, rather than address their respective abilities to familiarize and novelize, I wish instead to examine how viewing 18th-century novels, newspapers, and magazines as the era’s new media provides less traveled avenues for understanding and teaching these forms. How does the notion of “new media” enable us to see these printed forms in fresh ways that are at once both strange and familiar? And how does the lens encourage us to see these two forms acting in tandem as opposed to operating independently in serving sociocultural needs?

My initial impetus for framing novels and newspapers as the new media of the 18th century was pedagogically inspired. I was simply seeking a hook to attract students to the period and help them understand the newness of these

forms during this era. As an 18th-century scholar of print who also studies media transformations and digital culture, I soon realized that framing novels and periodicals as new media posit more substantive possibilities than I had first imagined. Since the 1990s I have been examining how digital tools are transforming research, the types of work we can do, and the questions we ask while simultaneously addressing problems such as Optical Character Recognition (OCR) issues, poor metadata, absent or erroneous bibliographic information, and so forth that can complicate or hinder the usefulness of digital developments. Until recently, though, I had not treated our flourishing digital culture as a lens to decipher 18th-century developments. My typical trajectory has been to employ past alterations within manuscript or print cultures to navigate our current media transformations. When designing a new 18th-century undergraduate seminar focused on novels and newspapers, however, I was inspired to reverse that trajectory in an attempt to make the old familiar by way of the new.<sup>3</sup> Using new media as a lens proved not only helpful in making the material more accessible, but it also underscored the process of generic transformations, the role these two print forms exercised in public debates, and the synergetic relationships between novels and periodicals.

Many well-known scholars from Ian Watt and Robert Mayo to Lennard Davis, J. Paul Hunter, Benedict Anderson, and, more recently, Doug Underwood<sup>4</sup> have discussed the ties yoking novels with newspapers and other types of periodicals, and these links are now well familiar. It is equally familiar that 18th-century Britain witnessed an outpouring of printed material and the burgeoning of new generic forms. Newspapers, novels, and magazines—arguably all born of print—helped to create a marketplace rich in an ever-expanding array of reading material and new opportunities for an increasing number of authors. A spur to consumer culture, newspapers were replete with ads hawking the latest consumer goods, medicinal products, publications, houses to let, situations sought, and plays performed<sup>5</sup> as well as reports of foreign events, high society, royalty, commercial news, theatre and concert happenings, and crimes committed. Increasingly targeted to niche audiences—women, the sporting set, specific trades, particular religious denominations, literary aficionados, to name just a few groups,—magazines offered ideas, news, and “facts.” While newspapers and magazines often featured fiction as well as poems and other literary pieces, their pages also afforded an expanse of reports, advertisements, and news items that could then be appropriated, reworked, and repackaged as fictional narratives. Not only did these cross-fertilizations imbue novels with matters of the everyday, but they also created authors who were adept at packaging and repackaging written work to suit a set of generic expectations and to appeal to a reading public intent on being treated to constant novelties. It is not coincidental that so many 18th-century novelists also wrote for the papers and magazines, with journalistic endeavors frequently pre-dating fictional pursuits. Novelists Daniel Defoe, Eliza Haywood, Henry Fielding, Charlotte Lennox, Tobias Smollett, Edward Kimber, and Oliver Goldsmith, for instance, were all firmly ensconced in the periodical world. Given these multiple overlaps and close

working associations, it is strange that ties between novels and periodicals as the era's new media still remain so relatively underexplored.

This inattention may stem in part from assumptions that offer little reason for further exploration. The recycling of material in novels and periodicals, for example, has often been attributed to a need to fill space as well as a lack of skill. Sometimes the reappearance of the same or similar items probably did signal merely filler or slapdash execution. Yet, the twenty-first-century concept of repurposed content that forms the basis for much of today's new media provides a different vantage point from which to consider the occurrence of recycled matter in eighteenth-century novels and periodicals. In today's marketplace repurposing refers to changing the content's format, its intended audience, or a combination of the two. From the perspective of this definition, when eighteenth-century journalist and best-selling novelist Edward Kimber incorporates pieces he wrote for *The London Magazine* during the 1740s<sup>6</sup> in his novel *The Life and Adventures of Joe Thompson* (1750),<sup>7</sup> the result signals a strategic repurposing rather than a lack of original material. More specifically, in developing the novel's setting in volume one, Kimber reworks several *London Magazine* articles that describe West Yorkshire Riding from the region's geography to its markets, fairs, demographics, and the like. Drawn from factual descriptions already imagined in print, these re-workings endow the West Yorkshire scenarios with another layer of verisimilitude as they echo previously printed if not actually lived experience as well.

As the novel progresses, Kimber accelerates the repurposing of his work previously published in periodicals. The second volume's milieus of the East Indies, the North American colonies, and seafaring life evoke a "dispatch" quality enhanced by Kimber's integration of his *London Magazine* material. In this volume a revised version of a "Letter to a Son,"<sup>8</sup> a recasting of various "Poetical Essays," the versified "Letter from a Son,"<sup>9</sup> and the descriptions found in "Itinerant Observations"<sup>10</sup> all surface in phrases, fragments, and more intact replications. Often these strands emerge in seemingly the most minor of situations, but their appearance adds greater weight to the titular claims of "Founded on Fact." A letter written by the debt-ridden Sir William Failer, a character who appears but briefly in the novel, furnishes just one example. Sandwiched between his pathetic, personal appeals for employment as a colonial advisor (2: 80-81) are themes and phrases found in a September 1744 *London Magazine* letter-essay, "On the Present Danger of Our Colonies in North America,"<sup>11</sup> in which its author addresses trade and foreign policy concerns. Details of this sort and at this level add depth to the novel's ideological preoccupations with trade and morality and position the novel's rendering of these concerns as part of a larger, ongoing conversation about timely, topical domestic and international matters. Equally relevant is how these materials such as Kimber's poetry, his reports from North America, or a letter from his father to a son going abroad exist as discrete, unrelated bits and pieces in *The London Magazine*. However, when they appear in the novel, no matter whether essentially unaltered or considerably reworked, they acquire a new meaning, a new cohesiveness, and a different tenor as these pieces become subsumed as parts of the titled character's community. At the same time, the integration of

topical discussions already circulating in other media forms lends credence to Joe Thompson's fictional world and its commentary on issues of the day.

While Kimber's *Joe Thompson* integrates more standard news topics, other novels embraced sensationalism to fulfill a range of aims. The novelistic re-workings of highly charged topical events, especially trials, that dominated the pages of many newspapers and magazines were no doubt often undertaken to reap profits from ready-made, proven markets, but many such works were also clearly a repurposing of content to shape opinion or achieve another goal such as Fielding's appropriation of the notorious thief-taker Jonathan Wild years after Wild's death and long after his name had ceased to fill columns in newspapers and grace the titles of works from pamphlets to biographies. While Fielding repurposed Wild to drive home a political critique, others recycled for different purposes. The novel *Memoirs of an Unfortunate Young Nobleman*, a work that Patrick Spedding has convincingly attributed to novelist and periodical author Eliza Haywood,<sup>12</sup> tackles one of the most famous trials of the century and does so to both cash in and weigh in. Based on the *Annesley vs. Anglesey* case in which James Annesley sues his uncle the sixth earl of Anglesey for having him kidnapped in order to steal his estate, this novel was published in 1743, the same year the case was lodged.<sup>13</sup> It takes the figure of James Annesley and applies the facts of the case in a highly strategic way to create a compelling portrait of an heir terribly wronged. In 1747 a third volume appeared that featured trial summaries, testimonies, courtroom speeches, and a key to the previous 1743 publication.<sup>14</sup>

Haywood's novel was just one of many accounts found in magazines, newspapers, and pamphlets. All were timed to capitalize on the publicity being generated by the case's sordid charges of greed and violence, and collectively these printed accounts and commentaries further fueled public interest. *The London Magazine*, for one, regularly featured extended abstracts and commentaries on the case. On several occasions accounts of the "Cause between J. Annesley, Esq. and the E. of Anglesey" appear adjacent to other *London Magazine* material that would later become reworked for *The Life and Adventures of Joe Thompson*. Less coincidental than it might seem, this proximity suggests that the repurposing of periodical material for prose fiction was a more common practice than might be thought. Besides this kinship with twenty-first-century practices of repurposing, these frequently rush-to-press efforts and the later continuations and sequels that could be found in newspapers, magazines, and novels mirror the fictionalized re-enactment shows and made-for-television docudramas that permeate segments of our own age's media.

A rare, reverse situation in terms of lacking any prior, extended visibility in the press, Benjamin Victor's *The Widow of the Wood* (1755) appeared in the marketplace under the familiar guise of a novel. Textually the work quickly reveals itself to be evidentiary letters and actual depositions from a legal case involving Sir William Wolseley and Ann Whitby over charges of bigamy and forced marriage.<sup>15</sup> The "novel" went through two editions and pirated copies appeared as well, but only advertisements for the work and not details of the case itself made it to the periodical pages. Acting on the behalf of Wolseley,

Victor turned to the new media of the novel. Bestowing upon the work a title that would signal such a genre, he used its conventions strategically to present a persuasive narrative that depicted Wolseley as cruelly being duped by Whitby. All the while the guise of novel enabled the work to circulate freely without legal repercussions.

Text boxes boldly announcing “Breaking News” at the top of our cable news screens or hovering above the continuous updates that scroll along the bottom of our screens present another opportunity for using the familiar of today’s new media to make new its counterpart of the past. While titles of eighteenth-century headlines and advertisements lack the dynamic movement of today’s cable news announcements, they share over time similar visual complexities and encoded familiarities. Although seemingly static, headings such as “This Day is Published” or “A Few Remaining Copies” served as visual-verbal drumrolls heralding the actual titles and denoting their status. Visually, eighteenth-century advertisements for novels offered a cross between the titles of plays and verse titles on one hand and those for the titles of ostensibly more scholarly, religious, or practical works on the other. The use of larger typeface, of familiar titling formulas, and of ample white space made certain kinds of titles visually distinctive. For example, titles such as “Money. A Poem.” or “The Grave. A Poem.” evidence the brevity and structural patterns of verse titles which, when typographically rendered in newspaper advertisements, worked visually to distinguish poems from other genres. The distinctive appearance of verse ads—that is, the presence of black type situated boldly amidst expanses of blank space—evoked the cultural status of respected forms of eighteenth-century verse by mimicking poetry’s associations with leisure, decorum, and ease and, concomitantly, by inviting contemplation uncluttered by the concerns of the everyday. Advertisements for other genres—sermons, histories, treatises—frequently featured more copy, smaller type, and spatial compression. The combined effect exudes denseness, reinforcing titular impressions of weighty subject matter for sale. All the while advertisements for novels vied for attention with theater notices, driving home the competition for purchasable diversions. Although not an advertisement but still a case of re-appropriation of visual encoding, Harrison and Co.’s co-opting of the wording, typography, and layout, down to the use of a vignette, long associated with magazine title-pages for his collection of unabridged novels graphically signals to potential buyers the ties between novels and periodicals.

Twenty-first-century notions of social media as tools for content generation inform my final example of eighteenth-century novels and newspapers as the new media of their time. Published in 1774, *The Newspaper Wedding* is perhaps the example par excellence of the intimate relationship between novels and newspapers, for the work is literally born of the latter.<sup>16</sup> As its title page intimates (Figure 1), the novel concerns a newspaper advertisement for a husband—what in some quarters today is still known as a personal ad but what for many others might more readily evoke the profiles on OkCupid and eHarmony—and the ensuing responses that the ad generated. The advertisement referenced on the novel’s title page (Figure 2) ran in the *Daily Advertiser* on the 29th of July 1772 (and possibly at some point in *The Middlesex Journal*, too).

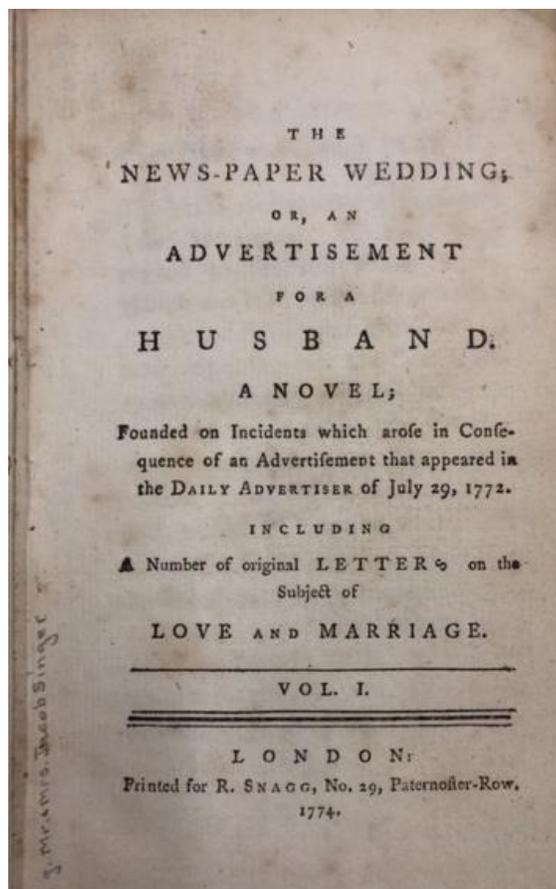


Figure 1. *The News-paper wedding, or An advertisement for a husband: a novel: founded on incidents which arose in consequence of an advertisement that appeared in the Daily Advertiser of July 29, 1772 . . .* London: Printed for R. Snagg, 1774. University of Pennsylvania Libraries, Singer-Mendenhall Collection. PR3991.A1 N48 1774.

**MARRIAGE, a serious Proposal.** A Lady who has a real Fortune of 4000l. and 40l. per Annum, South-Sea Annuities, who about two Years ago lost a worthy Husband, is again disposed to enter into the Married State, if she can find a Man to her Mind. She is on Terms of the strictest Honour, and expects honourable and candid Treatment, and that the most profound Secrecy will be observed. Any Person of Credit and Character, whether in or out of Trade, may address a Line to J. S. to be left to Mr. Ripley's, Bookseller, in Curzon Street, May-Fair, and a speedy Answer shall be sent. No Objection to a Country Life.

Figure 2: "Marriage, a serious Proposal." *Daily Advertiser*, 29 July 1772.

Up through the first fifty pages of its second volume, *The News-paper Wedding* consists primarily of letters the narrator has received in response to her ad. The action, in turn, derives from commentary on the letters and what they suggest about their writers as well as subsequent meetings that the narrator or her designee have with those seeking to marry her. In short, much of the novel's two-volume 411-pages could be deemed media-generated content, no matter if the letters were reproductions of real responses or inventions inspired by the ad.

The newspaper advertisement, however, acts as more than just a content generator for this novel. In a richly insightful article, Jill Campbell has detailed the "highly evolved, close but ambivalent relation to their newsprint cousin [advertisements]" that novels display (255), and her work holds relevance to understanding the full function of the ad in this anonymously written 1774 novel. Interested in more than the ways novels and advertisements participate in consumer culture, Campbell observes that the marketplace language of printed advertisements and their penchant for descriptive particulars exhibit the techniques of formal realism and the habits of minds characterizing commercial culture. Within this frame, she examines four novels spanning the long 18th century to explore and analyze the genre's complex interactions with that of the newspaper advertisement, including the complication that novels themselves are advertised commodities. All of Campbell's examples—Behn's *Love-Letters Between a Nobleman and his Sister* (1684-87), Richardson's *Clarissa* (1747-48), Burney's *Cecelia* (1782), and Edgeworth's *Belinda* (1801)—incorporate newspaper advertisements within their pages, and her analysis enables her to conclude that these novels "repeatedly highlight the difference between men's and women's positions within the peculiar blend of objectification and the cultivation of self [as] advanced by advertising culture" (282).

*The News-paper Wedding* participates in this cultural work of highlighting "the peculiar blend of objectification and the cultivation of self [as] advanced by advertising culture," but it does so with a decided difference. The advertisements integrated in the novels that Campbell discusses undergo a repurposing that equips them with different aims from their original context of the public prints. *The News-paper Wedding*, in contrast, does not simply recycle the advertisement for new aims. Instead, it adopts the advertisement as its ontological rationale and explicit ideological tool. The novel harnesses not just the content of the want ad but the very notion of the advertisement as a generic form that encapsulates marketplace transactions. Specifically, *The News-paper Wedding* repurposes the genre itself to advance its critique of marriage as a marketplace rather than sacred affair.

The novel's dedication and its preface articulate clearly this purpose: "the following Sheets" aim to rescue matrimony from "the disgrace of polite, fashionable, and avaricious pollutions...and the oppressive formalities, shackles and chains, that a partial legislature had impolitically loaded it with" ([v]) and to restore marriage to its original, divinely instituted state, "incited by love, and entered into with prudence" (xii). Through its letters, the novel's body, in turn, illustrates the many forms that marriage as a monetary undertaking can assume, while the narrator's commentary operates as a running editorial. Much like the contents of eighteenth-century newspapers whose pages could contain

everything from foreign, trade, and financial notices to crime reports and situations wanted, the letter-writers hail from diverse parts of England and abroad, represent a range of occupations (including the unemployed), and occupy various rungs of the social ladder. The descriptions offered when meetings with the letter-writers occur detail the clothes, mannerisms, and the speech habits (the latter augmenting observations already made about what the letter had revealed about its writer) recall the particulars of wanted and lost-and-found ads, supplying another link between this novel and its newspaper kin. In many ways, as its hybrid title clearly captures, this novel appropriates characteristics of newspapers—the diversity of content, use of letters, repetition of features, and their multiplicity of short, self-contained units—to render an extended public conversation about matrimony and marriage reform that straddles both media forms.

The wording of the advertisement, its presumed placement by a woman, and the adoption of a female narrator all bestow unusual agency to the novel's female protagonist. The ad itself expresses the writer's willingness to marry again "if she can find a Man to her Mind." The choice of "her Mind" is telling here both in its emphasis on the importance of thought and the fact that whether she will indeed re-marry is her decision to make. The ability to place an advertisement such as this one in public forum while maintaining one's privacy is something that the new media of newspapers enabled (even as it simultaneously could cause unwanted exposure and celebrity). As the narrator, Eliza S. sets forth her attitudes toward marriage and the problem with its social construction as a commercial engagement from the onset. Despite having placed an advertisement for a spouse, she escapes the censure of engaging in a marketplace transaction by marrying her long-lost, first love, Charles Beaumont, midway through the novel. The history of the author's life that occupies the last 160 pages or so of the novel advances the importance of love and prudence in marriage and champions the notion of the companionate marriage. That Charles collaborates with Eliza in reviewing the letters of potential suitors as well as meeting with some of them deserves more commentary, but it does model a partnering while also retaining Eliza's exclusive role as the editorialist as the novel's narrator.

Much more could be said about *The News-paper Wedding* itself, but I will close by discussing briefly its pedagogical values as a form that embraces and exemplifies eighteenth-century new media. As noted earlier, designing an undergraduate seminar around the concept of novels, magazines, and newspapers inspired framing these genres as the era's new media. And that decision led me to incorporate this anonymous 1774 novel as the seminar's final text and the basis for collaborative and independent work by participants. Having read the novel in the 1990s, I had often wished I could incorporate it in the classroom, but it was not included in the Eighteenth-Century Collections Online (ECCO) or the microfilm on which that collection was based. Yet a few years ago digital copies became available. That they were simply replications of the original novel proved empowering for my students.

Having spent much of the semester reading works by Addison and Steele, Defoe, Fielding, Haywood, among others, and immersing themselves in the

newspapers available through the 17th- and 18th-Century Burney databases, the students had acquired a solid working knowledge of eighteenth-century novels, periodicals, and newspapers, especially the advertisements of the time. While students also read supplementary readings on historical and sociocultural contexts, their work in the Burney database afforded them access to primary evidence that, in turn, enabled them to apply the background readings in more sophisticated ways. This foundation also enabled them to approach work on *The News-paper Wedding* with more confidence. Because no modern edition of the novel existed and nothing to date had been published on this work, students were compelled to engage in original research. To practice, we worked as a class annotating the preface and uncovering as much as we could about the publisher R[ichard] Snagg. Each participant was then assigned roughly thirty-five pages of the novel with the task of supplying all the annotations needed to identify the vocabulary, references, place names and the like for a twenty-first-century reader. If images were available to illustrate, the students were instructed to include them as well. After annotating the entire novel, students turned to producing essays that offered historical and cultural contextual background and critical readings; the essays ranged from a linguistic analysis of the depictions of non-English respondents to considerations of marriage laws, gender relations, the semiotics of dress, and more. In essence the students collectively produced a type of Bedford Cultural Edition of *The News-paper Wedding*. And in doing so they not only made the strange quite familiar, but they also had made the novel strangely their own. And that was something to tweet about.<sup>17</sup>

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### Notes

1. Specifically, Johnson is speaking of Pope's *The Rape of the Lock*. Samuel Johnson, "Pope," *The Lives of the Most Eminent English Poets; with critical observations on their works*, 4 vols. (London, 1781), 4: 188.

2. Benedict Anderson, "Cultural Roots," *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1983; revised edition: London and New York: Verso, 1991), pp. 24-36.

3. I should stress that I am sensitive to the risks of viewing the past through the lens of the present and that my use of the new is more at a meta-conceptual level than suggesting any direct correspondence.

4. Doug Underwood, "Journalism and the Rise of the Novel, 1700-1875," *Journalism and the Novel: Truth and Fiction, 1700-2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 2008), pp. 32-65.

5. Among their many significant uses, eighteenth-century newspapers advertisements serve as an excellent vehicle for acclimating students to the period. James Tierney, Peter Briggs, James Raven, and Beverly Schneller have published highly useful pieces on advertising in the period. In terms of explicit ties between eighteenth-century advertisements and novels of the period, see Jill Campbell, "Domestic Intelligence: Newspaper Advertising and the

Eighteenth-Century Novel," *The Yale Journal of Criticism*, 15 no. 2 (2002), pp. 251-291. Project MUSE, doi:10.1353/yale.2002.0015.

6. Edward Kimber's father, Isaac Kimber, was the editor of *The London Magazine* from 1732 until his death in 1755 when Edward assumed the helm.

7. Edward Kimber, *The Life and Adventures of Joe Thompson: A Narrative Founded on Fact*, 2 vols. in 1, 1750 (New York: Garland, 1974).

8. "Letter to a Son," *The London Magazine*, July 1744, pp. 343-44.

9. "Letter from a Son," *The London Magazine*, July 1744, pp. 355-57; this letter-in-verse is concluded in August 1744 issue, pp. 405-06.

10. "Itinerant Observation" appeared in *The London Magazine* over the span of a year in seven issues: August, November, and December of 1745, and then March, May, July, November, and December of 1746.

11. Americus, "On the Present Danger of Our Colonies in North America," *The London Magazine* (September 1744), pp. 444-46.

12. Patrick Spedding, *A Bibliography of Eliza Haywood* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2004), entry for Ab.57.

13. James Annesley, [Note: erroneous attribution] *Memoirs of an Unfortunate Young Nobleman*, 2 vols. in 1, 1743 (New York: Garland Publishers, 1975).

14. *Memoirs of an Unfortunate Young Nobleman, Return'd from a thirteen years slavery in America: Where he had been sent by the wicked contrivances of his cruel uncle. A Story founded on Truth, and address'd equally to the Head and Heart*, Vol.III, which completes the work, and is a key to the other two volumes (London, MDCCXLVII. [1747].) Eighteenth Century Collections Online (Gale, West Chester University, 19 October 2016).

15. Benjamin Victor, *The Widow of the Wood* (London, 1755). Eighteenth Century Collections Online (Gale, West Chester University 19 Oct. 2016).

16. *The News-paper Wedding, or An Advertisement for a Husband: A Novel: Founded on incidents which arose in consequence of an advertisement that appeared in the Daily Advertiser of July 29, 1772: Including a number of original letters on the subject of love and marriage* (London: Printed for R. Snagg, 1774).

17. I am grateful to David McKnight, Director, Rare Book & Manuscript Library at the University of Pennsylvania, for his help in arranging this work to be digitized for use in my undergraduate seminar. I also wish to express my debt to Lynne Farrington, Senior Curator, Special Collections at the University of Pennsylvania, who allowed my seminar to visit Special Collections, work with selections from the Singer-Mendenhall Collection, and take digital images, including the digital photograph of *The News-paper Wedding's* title page reproduced here.

*Editor's note:* We thank Eleanor for allowing the *Intelligencer* to print her enjoyable and insightful Presidential Address from our 2016 meeting, held at Mary Washington University in Fredericksburg, Virginia.

**CHARLES V, POLYGLOT EMPEROR**  
**(GULLIVER'S TRAVELS, IV, III, 2)**

by Hermann J. Real

Like others, when abroad, we enjoy paddling  
in the shallows of foreign languages.  
J. C., *TLS*, 7 December 2007, p. 32.

In explaining the nasal and guttural character of the Houyhnhnm language, Swift makes Gulliver resort to a widely circulated anecdote associated with the Emperor Charles V (1500-58):

IN speaking, [the Houyhnhnms] pronounce through the Nose and Throat, and their Language approaches nearest to the *High Dutch* or *German*, of any I know in *Europe*; but is much more graceful and significant. The Emperor *Charles V* made almost the same Observation when he said, That if he were to speak to his Horse, it should be in *High Dutch*.<sup>1</sup>

In trying to come to grips with this saying, Swift's annotators usually refer to a story, or a version of it, according to which the Holy Roman Emperor is said "to have declared that he would address his God in Spanish, his mistress in Italian, and his horse in German."<sup>2</sup> However, not aching for more than unsubstantiated evidence, they tend to lapse into silence at this stage.<sup>3</sup> Consequently, they have not realized either that Charles's remark, whatever its precise wording and varying contexts, was a comment not so much on the comparative nobility of the Emperor's imagined partners in conversation – God, mistress, horse – but a gloss on a long-standing *querelle* about the relative merits of three, sometimes four, major European languages – Spanish, Italian, German, and French. This *querelle* had recently flared up again.<sup>4</sup>

Of course, it is perfectly legitimate in annotating a passage of a somewhat anecdotal, if not proverbial, provenance to draw on source material that may simply have been 'in the air' and that an author may have picked up simply by listening. At the same time, albeit perhaps not strictly necessary, it is surely desirable to be supplied with written evidence of some kind or another, if only to satisfy any doubting Thomas of this world. In this case, evidence comes forth both in the French *editio princeps* and English translation of Pierre Bayle's multivolume encyclopedic *Historical and Critical Dictionary* of 1697 and 1710, respectively.<sup>5</sup> In an elaborate and detailed note documenting the polyglot proficiency of Charles V generally and praising the Emperor's expertise in "living Languages" particularly, Bayle compiled a collection of (equally patriotic and partisan) Spanish, French, and German sources which testify to no less than four versions of a basic pattern. The best-known one, which is embedded in the seventeenth-century quarrel about the relative merits of Italian, Spanish, and French and for which, among others, the authority of a French

Jesuit, Father Bouhours's *Entretiens d'Aristide et d'Eugene* (1671), is invoked, is this:

[Charles V] used to say, That if he was to speak to Ladies, he would speak *Italian*; that if he was to speak to Men, he would speak *French*; that if he was to speak to a Horse, he would speak *High-Dutch*; but if he was to speak to God, he would speak in *Spanish*.

This version contrasts with another, in which a Spaniard, possibly a courtier, announcing 'off his high horse' to Johann Lange, or Langus (1503-67), the Emperor Ferdinand I's ambassador to Poland, the alleged inferiority of the German language when compared with Spanish, was being paid back wittily by his opponent in his own coin. Latin being the lingua franca of contemporary diplomacy, this story is told in Latin:

Germani, *inquit*, non loquuntur, sed fulmant. Et credo ego, mi Lange Orator, Deum ex indignatione hoc sermonis fulmine usum, cum primos parentes extruderet Paradiso. *Cui Langus*, Ego rursus, *inquit*, verisimile censeo, serpentem suavi & blando vocis Hispanicæ fuco usum, cum imposuit Evæ.

[The Germans, said {the Spaniard}, do not speak but thunder, and I believe, my dear Lange, that God in his indignation made use of this thunderous language when he threw our first parents out of Paradise. I, for one, answered Lange, think it far more likely that the serpent made use of the sweet and seductive Spanish tongue when it deceived Eve].<sup>6</sup>

Neither of these versions is the earliest recorded one of the anecdote, however. This is associated with the treatise *De locutione* by the Italian anatomist Girolamo Fabrizi d'Acquapendente (1537-1619), who, in 1601, supplied two specimens of the story, of which the subsequent one, again in Latin, seems to have been more influential, at least in Continental Europe:

Alius vero, qui Germanus erat, retulit, eundem Carolum Quintum dicere aliquando solitum esse: Si loqui cum Deo oporteret, se Hispanicè loquturum, quod lingua Hispanorum gravitatem majestatemque prae se ferat: si cum amicis, Italice, quod Itolorum dialectus familiaris sit; si cui blandiendum esset, Gallice; quod illorum lingua nihil blandius; si cui minandum aut asperius loquendum, Germanice; quod tota eorum lingua minax, aspera sit ac vehemens.

[Another one, who was German, related that the same Charles V was wont to say at times that, if it were necessary to speak with God, he would speak Spanish, the Spanish language manifesting graveness and majesty; if with friends, Italian, the Italian tongue being conducive to intimacy; if he had to flatter someone, he would resort to French, no language being more persuasive than that one; yet if he had to threaten somebody or to speak

more unkindly to him, he would speak German, since that whole language of theirs was menacing, harsh, and violent].<sup>7</sup>

Whether any of this linguistic squabbling and posturing was known in England, whose language was not involved in the Continental *querelle* from the start, is unclear. What *is* clear, however, is, first, that none of the ‘sources’ mentioned so far is known to have been in Swift’s library at any time, and, second, that in the brouhaha that the source-hunting has occasioned two central questions have not even been asked, let alone answered.

First, what have all, or any of, the sources got to do with the version of Charles V’s witticism as presented by Swift? After all, the Dean’s reference to the anecdote (if it may be called a reference) is seriously abbreviated, even reduced to almost fragmentary status, and the syncrisis of the major European languages, which dominated its transmission on the Continent in the previous century, has altogether disappeared – with the sole exception of the comparison between the Houyhnhnm language and High Dutch. The conclusion is bound to be that Swift was not interested in a linguistic superiority contest, which was worn and trite by the time he had embarked on *Gulliver’s Travels*. In other words, he was no longer concerned with the merits of Spanish, French, and Italian whatever they were; he was only concerned with High Dutch. As a result, it is doubtful that the anecdote associated with Emperor Charles – more precisely, any of its fuller or more elaborate versions – sheds light on a more informed understanding of the text. It might turn out that readers of the *Travels* can safely do entirely without it.

Second, what do critics have to make of all these ‘sources’ (always provided one believes in their interpretative value), and how does one have to account for the passage comparing, and contrasting, the Houyhnhnm language with High Dutch *in terms of functions*? A traditional if facile explanation has resorted to ‘parody,’ “une plaisanterie sur les Allemands,” as a French scholar has declared, or, alternatively, in an American critic’s view, to “an expression of [Swift’s] contempt for German.”<sup>8</sup> Admittedly, seeing Germany as the site of a cultural backwater and the locus of a primitive, barbaric language is perhaps difficult to rule out given the fact that Swift probably saw, in an essay written by his employer Sir William Temple in Temple’s youth, a characterization of the German language as fit “to fright children when they cry,” and as “good to cleare a mans throat that were hoarse with a cold.”<sup>9</sup>

But more often than not, the seeming solution of one problem generates another: it is not immediately apparent to what extent contempt for the Germans contributes to the contextual and thematic coherence of Swift’s satire at this particular point. Whatever *Gulliver’s Travels* may be, or pretends to be, in the ‘final’ analysis, it is most certainly not a ragbag of amorphous *obiter dicta*.

When searching for an answer more germane to Swift’s purposes, one has to bear in mind, I think, two facets of the text, which are easy to overlook.

First, while “*High Dutch* or *German*” resembles, or “approaches,” the language of the Houyhnhnms, it is also *less* “graceful and significant,” *less* elegant and expressive, to be sure, but to some, admittedly unknown, degree still expressive and elegant.<sup>10</sup> Being not as expressive and elegant as the Houyhnhnm

language does not mean, however, that High Dutch, or German, is without any stylistic graces and merits. There is a strategy behind this endeavour to draw a veil over age-old stereotypical prejudices against the German language's primitive rusticity and poverty,<sup>11</sup> as will become apparent in a minute.

Second, although renowned for his "great Facility" in learning languages "by the Strength of [his] Memory" (XI, 20 [I, i, 3]) and although he "spoke *Dutch* tolerably well," after having studied medicine at Leiden for several years (XI, 154, 216, 217 [III, i, 6; xi, 4 and 5]), Gulliver does not speak High Dutch. In seventeenth-century English, High Dutch means what Swift says it means, "German." In fact, this usage was common, as Swift would have learnt, for example, from Ben Jonson's *Alchemist*, which was in his library,<sup>12</sup> and which he might have learned from Gilbert Burnet, who, in *Some Letters Containing an Account of What Seemed Most Remarkable in Switzerland, Italy, etc.* of 1686, reported of Swiss congregations whose ministers "preached in high Dutch," that is, German (p. 87). And when at the end of the century, the German philosopher and historian Samuel von Pufendorf's *Introduction to the History of the Principal Kingdoms and States in Europe* was published, it had been "made English from the Original, the High-Dutch."<sup>13</sup> The implication is perhaps not insignificant. By pretending to have at least a smattering of knowledge in a language which he does *not* speak – "their Language approaches nearest to the *High Dutch* or *German*, of any I know in *Europe*" – Gulliver sets himself up early on as the mendacious soothsayer he progressively becomes in Houyhnhnmland.<sup>14</sup>

But, then, High Dutch was also the language of German-born King George I and eminent members of his court. More importantly and suggestively still, the symbol of the Hanoverian dynasty is – the horse. The reverse of George I's coronation medal shows the Saxon horse "spanning the electorate and the kingdom."<sup>15</sup> A symbolic synecdoche, the horse signifies the House of Hanover, the British monarchy and the United Kingdom. It is a perfect piece of rhetorical *decorum*, of internal coherence and functionality,<sup>16</sup> that Swift makes noble animals, his aristocratic horses, communicate in what "approaches" the regal tongue of (Hanoverian) High Dutch. The compliment is backhanded and implicit, though, and has to be inferred. By conversing in High Dutch, which in turn is also reminiscent of the tongue of the Horses, the Hanoverian court falls back upon the language of animals. Perhaps it is correct to claim after all that there was no love lost between the King and the Dean.<sup>17</sup>

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### Notes

1. All quotations are from the edition of *Gulliver's Travels* by Herbert Davis (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1965 [1941]), p. 234 (IV, iii, 2).

2. *Gulliver's Travels: The Text of the First Edition*, ed. Harold Williams (London: First Edition Club, 1926), p. 487. Complicating matters, Allan Ingram has pointed out, rightly, that this anecdote "has been attributed to various European monarchs, but most consistently to the Holy Roman Emperor Charles

V” (*Gulliver’s Travels*, ed. Allan Ingram [Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview, 2012], p. 290, n. 4).

3. See, for example, *Gulliver’s Travels*, ed. A. B. Gough (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961 [1915], p. 414; *Gulliver’s Travels*, ed. Arthur E. Case (New York: The Ronald Press, 1938), p. 252; *Gulliver’s Travels*, ed. Angus Ross (London: Longman, 1972), p. 320; *Gulliver’s Travels*, ed. Louis A. Landa (Oxford: Oxford U. Press, 1976), p. 516; *Gulliver’s Travels*, ed. Robert DeMaria, Jr (London: Penguin Books, 2001), p. 293; *Gulliver’s Travels*, ed. Albert J. Rivero (New York: W.W. Norton, 2002), p. 198; *Gulliver’s Travels*, eds Claude Rawson and Ian Higgins (Oxford: Oxford U. Press, 2005), p. 344.

4. See Harald Weinrich, “Sprachanekdoten um Karl V,” *Wege der Sprachkultur* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1985), pp. 181-92.

5. See *Gulliver’s Travels*, ed. David Womersley (Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 2012), p. 348. The editor omits to mention that Bayle already refers to the anecdote in the 1697 French edition of the *Dictionary* (II, 835); he also ignores the rich variety in its transmission as becomes manifest in the English edition of 1710.

6. Bayle, *An Historical and Critical Dictionary*, II, 943-44; the translation is mine. It is this version that is also recorded by James Howell in his frequently reprinted *Familiar Letters, Domestick and Foreign*, with this difference that the serpent seduces Eva in Italian (8th ed. [London, 1713], p. 226).

7. Girolamo Fabrizio d’Acquapendente, *De locutione et eius instrumentis liber* (Padua: Lorenzo Pasquato, 1601), p. 64 (my translation). In addition to Weinrich, “Sprachanekdoten,” pp. 182, 190, see the essay by Franz Lebsanft, “Sprachanekdoten in der Tübinger *Consultatio de principatu inter provincias Europae* des Thomas Lansius,” *Lingua et Traditio: Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft und der neueren Philologien: Festschrift für Hans Helmut Christmann zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds Richard Baum, et al. (Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 1994), pp. 207-16 (207).

8. Jonathan Swift, *Oeuvres*, eds. Émile Pons, et al. (Paris: Gallimard, 1965), p. 1682; *The Annotated Gulliver’s Travels*, ed. Isaac Asimov (New York: Clarkson Potter, 1980), p. 225; see also *Gulliver’s Travels*, ed. Gough, p. 414.

9. *The Early Essays and Romances of Sir William Temple*, ed. G.C. Moore Smith (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930), p. 158; echoed in a book known to have been in Temple’s library (Peter Heylyn, *Cosmographie in Four Books*, 2nd ed. [London: Henry Seile, 1657], p. 398).

10. For the likely meaning of “significant,” see *Gulliver’s Travels*, ed. DeMaria, p. 293.

11. For some of the sources, see Lebsanft, “Sprachanekdoten,” pp. 211-13.

12. *Ben Jonson*, eds C. H. Herford, and Percy & Evelyn Simpson, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1950), 71 (II, i, 83-86) (Passmann and Vienken, II, 980-81).

13. Fourth edition (London: for Thomas Newborough and Martha Gilliflower, 1700), title-page.

14. See, for this aspect, Hermann J. Real, “Swift Horsing Around: or, The Madness of Reason,” in “...that I wished myself a horse”: *The Horse as Representative of Cultural Change in Systems of Thought*, ed. Sonja Fielitz (Heidelberg: Winter, 2015), pp. 61-81 (75-78).

15. Ragnhild Hatton, *George I, Elector and King* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard U. Press, 1978), pp. 16, 185, 261, and illustrations 17 and 18.

16. For the rhetorical notion of *decorum*, see Brian Vickers, *In Defence of Rhetoric* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), pp. 344-45.

17. As on previous occasions, I have been indebted to the critical acumen of Dr Kirsten Juhas and to the bibliographical expertise of Ulrich Elkmann, both Ehrenpreis Centre for Swift Studies, Münster.

### ***Online.Swift* Edition by Ehrenpreis Centre Newly Enhanced**

In October 2016, the *Intelligencer* reported updates made to the extended Ehrenpreis Centre *Online.Swift* Edition (see 30, no 2, 47-49). Since then, major upgrades to the design and functionality of the site have taken place, so that a new report on the project seems to be called for. As described a year ago, and explained in the description of the site, “Online.Swift is the Ehrenpreis Centre’s most recent and most ambitious project, made possible through the financial support of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (German Research Council) since 2008. Its objective is an old-spelling critical online edition of the Prose Works of Jonathan Swift, with introductions and variorum commentaries” (<http://www.online-swift.de/about.html>). The edition is based on the unique resources of the Ehrenpreis Centre, and it especially draws on the reconstruction of Swift’s own library in identical imprints, now 90 percent complete and rising.

While nothing has changed regarding the scholarly aims and expertise of the project, the resulting edition is now no longer presented in a pdf format. Instead, all editions, including the variorum commentaries, introductions, collations, and bibliographical information are now housed on a dedicated website and presented in an updated and easily navigable new layout, which makes extensive use of the features of a digital interface and allows for continuous updating of the commentary and bibliographies by the staff of the Ehrenpreis Centre (currently comprised of Janika Bischof, Kirsten Juhas, Dirk F. Passmann, and Hermann J. Real; with Peter Kollenbrandt, the head of the supply unit for digital data processing in the Humanities (IVV1) at the Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität, Münster, offering invaluable technical assistance). The website is now fully independent of the homepage of the Ehrenpreis Centre and can be reached at [www.online-swift.de](http://www.online-swift.de). To provide this new and sustainable edition “all results (texts, introductions, and commentaries) are encoded in XML according to the guidelines of the Text Encoding Initiative (TEI P5), a sustainable format that meets the demands of digital preservation. A single file contains all data for every work, including bibliographical information. The Oxygen XML Editor is used for the encoding process. The XML files are transformed via XSLT into HTML and embedded in a Javascript framework.” And thanks to continued funding by the German Research Council (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft), all this is available for free as an Open Access website.

The result is a simple yet effective website that allows easy reading of the introductions and primary texts with convenient access to notes, commentary, and bibliography all on the same page. On the main page, a “Swift Guide” serves as a basic introduction to the online edition, while the “News” section briefly informs users about the current state of edition and the Ehrenpreis Centre. It is easy to establish contact with the editors, who are interested in receiving comments and suggestions. Texts may be accessed via the “Works” link at the top of the page, which leads to an index of all prose works that will eventually be part of the edition. Currently, available editions are active links that will lead to the introduction page of the text in question.

Once the title of a work has been clicked, the introductory section to the work is presented, with a navigation column on the left, the introduction (textual and historical as relevant for the title) in the (main) middle column, and notes in the right-hand column. The sigla of the collated editions (as well as other editions and the reception including translations) can be found at the end of the introduction(s). The notes to the introduction can be aligned with the text by clicking the bold superscript numerals in the main column. Bibliographical references will be found within the notes in an abbreviated format consisting of a hyperlink highlighted in blue. Clicking on the abbreviation will resolve below the right-hand column into the full bibliographical information.

You may reach the main text by clicking on the appropriate link in the left-hand navigation column. This brings up the edited text in the main column, while the commentary will be displayed on the right-hand side of the screen. Features of the edition include the textual apparatus, which is indicated by a red underlining of the text in the main column. Clicking on a word thus highlighted brings up the apparatus below the right-hand column. Text segments with commentary are surrounded by blue square brackets. Clicking on either the right or left bracket will bring up the appropriate commentary in the right-hand column and highlight it in light grey. The commentary seeks to identify the sources used by Swift as well as to provide historical contexts and brief references to criticism. All bibliographical references are in abbreviated form, as in the notes for the introduction(s), and can be accessed in their full form by clicking on the highlighted text, which will bring up the full bibliographical details at the end of the commentary column. Cross-references to other passages within the text, in other documents on the site as well as external web links can also be accessed via highlighted links in the commentary and will be shown at the end of the column as clickable links. However, please note that these are not yet fully implemented.

The reader now has the option to print any chosen document either directly with a local printer or, if their computer permits, as a printable pdf file. These prints will provide the full content relating to the chosen work: introduction(s) followed by the associated notes, the text, individually numbered explanatory notes, and, finally, a full bibliography. The text will contain the same segments/lemmata contained within square brackets as on the web page, and each segment/lemma is followed by the segment ID number, thus linking it to the relevant commentary in the following section.

Among Swift's works already edited are *The Battle of the Books* and *A Discourse on the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit*, as well as the *Apology to the Tale* and further material associated with Swift's early masterpiece. Among the shorter texts are his "Resolutions when I come to be old," his Prefaces to Temple's *Works*, *A Meditation upon a Broomstick*, *A Tritical Essay upon the Faculties of the Mind*, and lesser known and harder to find editorial rarities such as *Scurrilous Pamphlet* and *Fragment on Monarchy* (better known as *Further Thoughts on Religion*).

Finally, it is important to note the main advantages of a digital edition, such as Online.Swift: first, the edition is *in progressu*, meaning that new discoveries and references can be updated at any time and added to the existing commentary. Evidence of this may be seen on the page showing the appropriate citations for the texts, which include the date of the latest update for each work. Second, as can easily be seen when printing a text via the print function, the commentary vastly exceeds the volume of the edited text, an imbalance that can only be reasonably accommodated on a website such as the one of the Online.Swift project, where text and commentary live side by side in the virtual infinity of cyberspace, free of page counts and the limitations of the physical page. As such, the Online.Swift Edition project is at the very edge of exploring the possibilities opened up by the Internet, aiming to show what can be achieved with the latest technology, while remaining firmly rooted in the tradition and history of Swift scholarship as becomes an institution as respected as the Ehrenpreis Centre for Swift Studies.

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### **Blifil: What a Bastard!**

by James Fanning

In *Tom Jones*, there is never any doubt as to the hero's illegitimacy, which is frequently referred to, e.g.: "A Difference arising at Play between the two Lads, Master *Blifil* called *Tom* a *Beggarly Bastard*." (III, 4).<sup>1</sup> The mystery, famously revealed at the end of the narrative, is only who his parents were. What commentators (and presumably most readers) seem to miss, however, is the fact that his half-brother *sans* Christian name, Blifil, may well also be illegitimate.

To arrive at this conclusion we need to be disturbed by the fact that the presence of Dr. Blifil in the novel is, at least on the surface, only weakly motivated, and start digging to find something more. This man's one positive recommendation is explicitly "a great Appearance of Religion" (I, 10). Doubt is immediately cast on the genuineness of this appearance by the narrator, but it is obviously an important part of the image he cultivates. He falls in love with Bridget Allworthy, or rather with her fortune, which he as a married man cannot

directly attain for himself. So he introduces his brother, Captain Blifil, into the Allworthy household, encouraging him to make advances to Miss Bridget (I, 11). The Captain sets to the task, but there is something enigmatic here:

During this whole Time, which filled the Space of near a Month, the Captain preserved great Distance of Behaviour to his Lady, in the Presence of the Brother and the more he succeeded with her in private, the more reserved was he in public. And as for the Lady, she had no sooner secured her Lover, than she behaved to him before Company with the highest Degree of Indifference; so that Mr. *Allworthy* must have had the Insight of the Devil (or perhaps some of his worse Qualities) to have entertained the least Suspicion of what was going forward. (end of I, 11)

The next chapter begins by telling us that “in less than a Month the Captain and his Lady were Man and Wife” (I, 12) – presumably another month is meant. Then eight months later the baby Blifil is born, “to all Appearance, perfect; but the Midwife discovered, it was born a Month before its full Time” (II, 1) It is clear that the child was in fact conceived before the marriage, but we readers are most likely to follow almost all the other characters in making the obvious assumption that Capt. Blifil is the father.<sup>2</sup>

Did Fielding really need Dr. Blifil as a technical aid to get Capt. Blifil into the Allworthy household? Or does the little bit of extremely mild satire on religious hypocrites suffice to justify his presence? The answer to both these questions must surely be no. Then what is he doing in the text? One possible answer is: siring his brother’s ‘son’. This would explain the enigma of the courtship passage quoted above. It would also explain Capt. Blifil’s behaviour towards his brother after his marriage:

[...] no sooner was he possessed of Miss *Bridget*, and reconciled to *Allworthy*, than he began to shew a Coldness to his Brother, which encreased daily; till at length it grew into Rudeness, and became very visible to every one.

The Doctor remonstrated to him privately concerning this Behaviour, but could obtain no other Satisfaction than the following plain Declaration: “If you dislike any thing in my Brother’s House, Sir, you know you are at Liberty to quit it.” This strange, cruel, and almost unaccountable Ingratitude in the Captain, absolutely broke the poor Doctor’s Heart. (I, 13)

Strange, and cruel, certainly; but only “almost unaccountable.” The narrator has already quoted the Devil’s maxim “when once you are got up, to kick the Stool from under you” (I, 13), but on the reading I am proposing it is even less unaccountable: in addition to the motivation intimated by the narrator, the Captain either knows or suspects the truth, and wants the real father of his ‘son’ out of the way.

That Dr. Blifil as a married man who cultivated a reputation for religion did not tell anyone about his bastard is quite credible. His brother would not have impugned his own honour by doing so, either. Both adult Blifils, medical

and military, die before the end of Book II, which leaves Bridget Blifil, *née* Allworthy, in sole possession of *this* secret (unlike the secret concerning Tom, which Jenny Jones also knows.) It is understandable that even immediately before her death she still did not want to inform anyone who young Blifil's actual father was, as she must have been rather ashamed of the affair, and presumably hated the memory of both the boy's father and his uncle equally. By contrast, she finally admitted to being Tom's mother and named his father because he was genuinely a love-child.

This reading cannot be proved, but it surely cannot be refuted either – and it is credible. More important, it makes sense within the text of the novel. As I have already said, it gives the Dr. Blifil a more solid *raison d'être* within the narrative. After Book II no one besides Bridget, and after her death in Book V no one in the whole cast of characters, has the slightest suspicion that Blifil is a bastard not only in the colloquial, derogatory sense, but also in the legal sense, albeit unknown to the lawyers; if we as readers realize this, however, it adds another layer of very fine irony to the plot.<sup>3</sup>

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### Notes

1. Quotations, giving Book and Chapter, are taken from: Henry Fielding: *The History of Tom Jones, a Foundling* (Wesleyan Edition), with an introduction and commentary by Martin C. Battestin, and the textual editing by Fredson Bowers (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), vol. 1 [CD-ROM: "Die Digitale Bibliothek" vol. 59: *English and American Literature*]

2. J. A. Stevenson reminds us that young Blifil was conceived out of wedlock and argues that he "reveals himself as morally illegitimate, for he is not only a schemer and a hypocrite, but an heir of Cain" (*The Real History of Tom Jones* [New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005], p. 30).

3. I should like to thank my colleague Mascha Hansen for drawing my attention to an article on a related topic: R. G. Collins, "The Hidden Bastard: A Question of Illegitimacy in Smollett's *Peregrine Pickle*," *PMLA*, 94, no. 1 (1979), 91–105. [[www.jstor.org/stable/461803](http://www.jstor.org/stable/461803)].

## The Conquest of Ohio

by William R. Everdell

In 1793, "the United States had never had an army before," writes William Hogeland on page 281 of *Autumn of the Black Snake*,\* burying his lede in order to tell a true and very complicated story with irresistible verve. You may have thought the United States got an army when the states got together to get us out of the British Empire in 1776 and the Congress appointed one of its Virginia delegates, George Washington, to command one. It's true that Washington

commanded an army, but it wasn't the United States Congress that appointed him (not the President either, because that was the title of the chairman of the Congress); it was the Continental Congress; and the very big difference that that made was that the "army" he took command of in 1776 was a collection of state militias, the "Continental Army," not the "United States Army."

This was a big difference in 1793, because militias are not "regulars." They do not "stand ready." They are no good at taking and holding territory. Militiamen did not have long enlistments or uniform training (if they trained at all); they had a disturbing habit of choosing their own enemies and fighting (or not) when they pleased; and their loyalty was to their state or local community, not to the United States government, which was only four years old in 1793. Even after 1789, when the Constitution of the United States went into effect and the President of the United States got the power to command the militias of the states when they were called into United States service, volunteer republican militias were nothing like their forbears, the ancient Roman *militēs* who served the Roman Republic for years-long enlistments, the citizen soldiers who learned to scale the mountains and bridge the rivers, to fortify camps permanent enough to become cities, and slowly but surely to conquer an Empire.

So when did the United States get an army, because it sure as hell has one now? And where did it first fight, and why? The War of 1812? No? Of course, the Quasi-War with France in 1798? No, the Quasi-War was fought with a private navy and no army at all. Aha! the Whiskey Rebellion of 1794? That would be ironic, a war against our own countrymen, but no, the Whiskey Rebellion was only the second U.S. war, and it was fought with militias. Maybe it's one of those Indian Wars in the West that we find so hard to disentangle from each other? Yes, there you have it. The first war fought by a United States Army was the war against the confederation of the Indian tribes in the fields and valleys of what they called the Illinois Country, led by Little Turtle of the Miami and Blue Jacket of the Shawnee.

It's the war that drove the Miami, Shawnee, Delaware, Wyandot, and Cherokee nations out of their towns and farms in what we now call the Midwest, together with Algonquian-speaking nations earlier pushed off the east coast (Piscataway, Nanticoke, Potawatomi), and Algonquian speakers of the north Midwest (Ottawa, Sauk and Meskwaki or Fox). It drove their British friends north of the Great Lakes to Upper Canada, insuring permanent undisputed U.S. occupation of what soon came to be called the Old Northwest. It's the war that guaranteed American colonization of Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, Michigan and Kentucky (in time for Abraham Lincoln to be born in U.S. territory), a war prosecuted in order to take land from its native inhabitants. (Hogeland cites Thomas Jefferson's 1779 letter to George Rogers Clark recommending "their extermination or their removal.") It is a war that remains without a name, but the first battle in 1791 had a name, "St. Clair's Defeat," and that battle was won overwhelmingly by Little Turtle and Blue Jacket because the United States, under its new Constitution of 1789, had a regular army of less than 1500 men who were badly supplied, barely trained, outnumbered, and incompetent to defend themselves.

This episode is quite well-known to American historians, but one can still say, “Who knew?” Why, asks Hogeland in nearly every paragraph of his writing, is the story so mis-known, given no space our schools and textbooks. It’s because the first war of the United States, plotted and led by the sainted Founding Fathers, was to conquer an empire and to dispossess its natives. The “optics,” as they say, are not good.

Hogeland’s title, whose meaning he holds back dramatically until page 303, makes sudden sense with the title of Part III, “The Black Snake March,” the successful invasion of the Indian confederation’s territory that General “Mad” Anthony Wayne began in the autumn of 1793. We learn that “Black Snake” had become the Indians’ name for Wayne, a man whom Little Turtle said could not be surprised at night because he “did not sleep.” Wayne got his army of 5000 well into the territory of the confederation, at the end of a string of forts built by his own troops, anchoring a supply line that proved both adequate and impregnable. Blue Jacket and other commanders (but not Little Turtle, who demoted himself from command rather than agree with Blue Jacket’s strategy) decided that their confederation would offer pitched battle at a place where fallen trees gave shelter for an ambush. By anticipating the ambush and holding his regulars marshaled, firing volleys rank by rank, Wayne won the Battle of Fallen Timbers on August 20, 1794, and with it the entire Old Northwest from the Appalachians to the Mississippi, for the new United States.

Why was the new U.S. Army so small? Hogeland, who understands U.S. intellectual history better than most, explains that a strain of political thinking that had acquired the Scottish name “Whig” stigmatized any “standing army” as a threat to the civil power, or civilian authority. Since Sulla had taken his legions into Rome and Caesar had ordered his own across the Rubicon, standing armies had embodied the danger of one-person rule to republics like ours. “Dictator” was the Roman title for Sulla and Caesar, magistrates who ruled alone and had full power over all the other officers of state. The Greek for it was “monarch” if it were permanent and hereditary; “tyrant,” if illegitimate.

England had recently provided examples that were well known to those English, including the members of the revolutionary Congress, who became Americans. Such were the deposition, trial and execution of King Charles I by Parliament for making war on his own people in an attempt to rule unchecked by his legislature, the military dictatorship of Lord Protector Cromwell from 1649 to 1659, and the deposition of King James II in 1688 (when the rebel slogan, “No standing armies,” appeared). In the year before Wayne’s invasion began, the French had deposed their own king, Louis XVI, declared a republic, and executed him; but French fear of a standing army was less than the English, and in 1793 they combined the virtues of militias and regulars by creating the first national draft army, to defend the Republic. Though not democratic like the French where propertyless men could all vote, the United States was also a republic, because it had no one ruler but rather three branches of government with checks and balances among them, and only one of the branches was singleton. A standing army would threaten that arrangement. Indeed, the mere creation of an empire might threaten the republican form of government, as it

had the Roman and would the French. The “Whigs” and “Anti-Federalists” in Congress were against both armies and empires. They lost.

So let’s reframe the old epic of the westernization of North America. This longstanding imperial venture, part of the westernization of the entire world, could be said to have begun with Cortez’s landing in Mexico. It continued with war after more and more professional war with the Indian nations both civilized and uncivilized, the absorption of the few commercial Dutch, the containment of the Spanish by the Brits, the sometimes forced removal of the thinly settled French, the attempt by the British in 1763 to rein in their land-hungry compatriots in the colonies with a decree prohibiting trans-Appalachian seizures, sales and settlement of the Indians’ land, which annoyed the colonists enough to stimulate the American Revolution ten years later. The Revolution, in turn, was led in Virginia by several prominent speculators in western lands who approved of Locke’s views on property, including a frontier officer named George Washington who had managed by 1773 to accumulate more than 20,000 acres of land originally set aside for his enlisted men in areas that did not really belong to Virginia. Having inherited the imperial design from the British the Americans intensified it and finally created a standing army to win it, thus securing the land claims of the speculators and sometimes even the squatters (though the squatters got taxed and the speculators didn’t).

For historians this sort of reframing is not news (though it did surprise a scholar like Michael Walzer as late as 2000). It was spearheaded before Vietnam by William Appleman Williams and after it by the likes of Francis Jennings (*The Creation of America*, 2000). The reframing of the “westward movement” eventually delegitimized Columbus’s word “Indians,” wrongly, according to Hogeland, since American Indians consider “Indians,” if used only as a collective noun for their individual nations and tribes, to be quite a bit more respectful than “Native Americans.” It’s a recasting that Hogeland himself has done before with his history of the Whiskey Rebellion of 1794. In the year of Fallen Timbers, tax-resisting squatters in western Pennsylvania were pacified by an army of state militias led out of Philadelphia by Washington himself and his Secretary of the Treasury, Hamilton, the Cabinet officer who had devised the whiskey excise tax to fund the payments to financiers of interest on the just assumed war debts of the states.

*Autumn of the Black Snake* has the same skeptical attitude as Hogeland’s three earlier Early National histories, giving the Founders their due as often extraordinary and usually honorable political pioneers, but never fails to show the underside of the Founders’ program in a way that recognizes the moral limitations of their era—and many of our own. This is an attitude well fitted to the unpleasant-sounding details of U.S. policy toward the western Indians during the 30 years from the first Peace of Paris and the Appalachian Proclamation Line in the fall of 1763 to the final defeat of the Glaiize Indian confederacy in the summer of 1794.

Hogeland’s is basically a military history, and some think of military history as the only kind of history worthy of the title. Military history is to history as romance is to fiction—the most popular genre—and books of it take up as much shelfroom in many bookstores as all other genres of history

combined. It would be beyond the scope of this review to discuss why, but as with other varieties of art, it is produced at every level of training, skill and craftsmanship. Hogeland has no doctorate or professorship, but despite taking on a war rarely written about even by military historians, he shows in this book an unusual mastery of the genre. And if you are not a fan of military history, you will be happy to find not a tedious line, a cliché or an unnecessary detail. He has the same dusty documents as the pros, but he constructs compelling and detailed stories out of them, comparing, for example, the performance of regulars and militia by mining General Wayne's reports to Secretary of War Henry Knox and surviving letters in the archives.

His deeply researched chapter-long account of "Mad" Anthony's mismanaged life is tragic, comic, sad and surprising. He explains Little Turtle's brilliant, complicated and inglorious strategy, which we call "guerrilla" and the Romans "Fabian," and how it nearly succeeded in wearing even the U.S. regulars down. He understands the device- and machine-free logistics of 18<sup>th</sup>-century war. He pulls unforgettable details from Wayne's reports on training and marching, like how the troops were fed, when they were issued liquor, how many were flogged, how hard it was to get them into ranks, and how effective their fire became when they did. He begins his tenth chapter with the arrival of Wayne's troops at the site of St. Clair's defeat on the Wabash River and the discovery by Captain Edward Butler of his elder brother's skull, scattered with others who had lain there, unburied, for two years. In a narrative masterstroke, Hogeland had begun the very first chapter of the book with General Richard Butler ordering his brother Edward to leave him with his wounds, propped against a tree with loaded pistols in his hands.

But military history, as it pursues the goal of explaining why the winner won and the loser lost, often neglects everything else. Not this one. Besides stories informed by the intellectual history of concepts of property, of republic, and of standing armies already mentioned, and stories exposing the vexed history of land law, of the legislative history of the army, and of constitutions and constitutionalism, you will find no less superbly informed accounts of diplomatic history in *Autumn of the Black Snake*.

Hogeland nicely explains the five major treaties involving the Illinois country and how they were made, but he never lets his story flag or confuse the reader. Protagonists and sometime allies, each trying to outmaneuver almost all the others, include British ministers, English Upper Canadians, British colonists based in Detroit, "white" Indians like Simon Girty, the abandoned French, Shawnee war hawks like Weyapiersenwah (Blue Jacket), Shawnee peaceniks like the Buffalo Creek faction, experienced Iroquois diplomats like the Mohawk Thayendanagea (Joseph Brant), and the Senecas Cornplanter (Kaiiontwa'kon) and Red Jacket (Sagoyewatha), freelance squatters, unaffiliated terrorists, Virginia planters, Pennsylvania democrats, plutocrats, U.S. legislative factions including nationalists, Whigs, pro-England Hamiltonian Federalists, pro-French Republic Jeffersonian Democratic Republicans (Jefferson being nothing if not ambiguous about anything). The complicated web of diplomatic protagonists in the Old Northwest compares only too well to present-day Syria (minus the 21<sup>st</sup>-

century military technology), and shows you why modern Presidents need to listen to State Department briefings.

To turn all this into a coherent story, with characters introduced and portrayed at precisely the right moment in the complexities of an ongoing plot, is extraordinarily difficult. It is done here so deftly and so inconspicuously that I do not hesitate to call *Autumn of the Black Snake* a masterpiece.

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*\*Editor's note:* The reference is to William Hogeland, *Autumn of the Black Snake: The Creation of the U.S. Army and the Invasion that Opened the West* (2017). See Peter Staffel's review of Hogeland's new book below.

### **Bucknell University Press & Rutgers University Press Create New Partnership**

by Greg Clingham

Readers of the *Intelligencer* will be interested to know that Bucknell University Press and Rutgers University Press have created a partnership that will, among other things, benefit scholars, teachers, students and general readers of the long 18th century. From June 19, 2018 Bucknell will have a new business partner in Rutgers UP. Enterprisingly and energetically led by its Director Micah Kleit, Rutgers publishes 120 titles per annum mainly in the social sciences, law, medicine, and film, and a partnership with Rutgers offers Bucknell UP the opportunity of working with a press with a commensurate academic philosophy and business sense. Practically, the arrangement enables Bucknell to benefit from Rutgers' promotional and distribution network—including our joint presence at many academic conferences and book fairs, both in the USA and abroad (such as the Frankfurt and the London Book Fairs. Our new business model will greatly reduce the list price of our books and bring a flexibility enabling us to publish more freely and more widely in various formats.

For the first time in Bucknell's 49 year history, our new partnership will enable us to write our own author contracts and retain control over our intellectual property. Our publishing program will remain under our own editorial control, and the possibilities for publishing new work in the long eighteenth century—with all of its comparative, global, and theoretical possibilities—will be limited only by the parameters of the field and the good judgment and abilities of the editors to attract and cultivate new work. Recent titles in Bucknell's *Transits* series is a sign of the vitality of eighteenth-century studies at present, and of the wonderful synergy that exists particularly between younger scholars and Bucknell UP.

The following is a list of 18th-century studies that have been published by Bucknell in 2017 or are currently slated for publication in 2018, including books in the Transits series, but excluding scholarly editions (for which, see below):

- Bergren, Katherine, *The Global Wordsworth: Afterlives of the English Poet*
- Booker, Kristina, *Menials: Domestic Service and the Cultural Transformation of British Society, 1650-1850*
- Brideoake, Fiona, *The Ladies of Llangollen: Desire, Indeterminacy, and the Legacies of Criticism*
- Buickerood, James G., ed., *From Enlightenment to Rebellion: Essays in Honor of Christopher Fox*
- Byrd, Vance, *A Pedagogy of Observation: Nineteenth-Century Panoramas, German Literature, and Reading Culture*
- Chander, Manu Samriti, *Brown Romantics: Poetry and Nationalism in the Global Nineteenth Century*
- Cheng, Mai-Lin, *British Romanticism and the Literature of Human Interest*
- Dale, Amelia Dale, *The Printed Reader: Gender, Quixotism and Textual Bodies, 1752-1800*
- Di Massa, Daniel, *The Romantic Comedy: Mythologizations of Dante in German Modernity*
- Goss, Erin M., ed., *Jane Austen and Comedy*
- Harris, Jocelyn, *Satire, Celebrity, and Politics in Jane Austen*
- Jack, Malcolm, *To the Fairest Cape: Travel and the Encounter of the "Other" at the Cape of Good Hope*
- Kavanagh, Declan, *Effeminate Years: Literature, Politics, and Aesthetics in Mid-Eighteenth-Century Britain*
- Kramp, Michael, ed., *Jane Austen and Masculinity*
- Lee, Anthony, ed., *Community and Solitude: New Essays on Samuel Johnson and His Circle*
- Mankin, Robert, ed., *The Internationalization of Intellectual Exchange in a Globalizing Europe, 1636-1780*
- Neal, Thomas, *Writing the Americas in Enlightenment Spain: Literature, Modernity, and the New World, 1773-1812*
- Russo, Stephanie, *Revolutionary Celebrity – Mary Robinson and the History of the English Novel in the late Eighteenth-Century*
- Schreiber, Elliott, and Edgar Landgraf, eds., *Goethe at Play: Theories, Narratives, and Practices of Play in the Age of Goethe*
- Sood, Arun, *Robert Burns in the USA*
- Swan, Jesse, ed., *Reading the British Eighteenth Century*
- Thell, Anne M., *Minds in Motion: Imagining Empiricism in Eighteenth-Century British Travel Literature*
- Warren, Lenora, *Fire on the Water: Sailors, Slaves, and Mutiny in Early American Literature*
- Wiggins, Ellwood, *Odysseys of Recognition: Performing Intersubjectivity in Homer, Shakespeare, Goethe, and Kleist*
- Williams, Sean, *Pretexts for Writing: German Prefaces around 1800.*

Not only will cutting-edge work continue to be possible and desirable, but so too will other, more traditional forms of scholarship which have, in the recent years, been less valued by tenure and hiring committees, and been less attractive to scholars. Among these types of work are scholarly editions, biographies, bibliographies, single-author monographs, and general interest and trade books that are designed to appeal to larger, literate but non-specialist audiences. We deem all of these to be essential to the ongoing vitality and strength of eighteenth-century studies, and to be forms of scholarship that provide ballast to a broad academic field that seems to reinvent and re-energize itself every decade. Among the trade books forthcoming with Bucknell is Sir Malcolm Jack's *To the Fairest Cape: Travel and the Encounter of the "Other" at the Cape of Good Hope*. In 2018 we are pleased to be publishing four important critical editions: *William Popple: Imitations of Horace's Satires and Epistles*, eds. Stuart Gillespie and Clare Bucknell (2018); *The Complete Works of Sir Charles Hanbury Williams*, ed. Tone Sundt Urstad (2018); and two volumes of the *Collected Writings of Charles Brockden Brown* (General Editors: Mark L. Kamrath and Philip Barnard)—*Volume 7. Poetry*, eds. Michael Cohen and Alexandra Socarides (2018), and *Volume 3. Literary Magazine, 1803-07*, eds. Robert Battistini, Michael Cody, and Karen Weyler (2018). (Bucknell in 2013 published Vol. 1 of *Letters and Early Epistolary Writings*, eds. Philip Barnard, Elizabeth Hewitt and Mark L. Kamrath.).

The passing of Gabriel Hornstein and the demise of the remarkable institution that was AMS Press has provided Bucknell Press with the opportunity of acquiring projects that have long been part of the landscape of eighteenth-century studies: The Stoke Newington Daniel Defoe Edition (General Editors: Maximillian E. Novak, Irving Rothman, and Manuel Schonhorn; Managing Editor: Kit Kincade); *The Age of Johnson* (Editors: Jack Lynch and J.T. Scanlan); and *1650-1850: Ideas, Aesthetics, and Inquiries in the Early Modern Era* (Editors: Kevin L. Cope, Baerbel Czennia, and Samara Cahill). These annuals and scholarly editions will re-commence publication with Bucknell in 2018.

Since 1998 Bucknell has published approximately 162 monographs and collections of essays pertaining to the long 18th century, including 51 in the series *Bucknell Studies in Eighteenth-Century Literature and Culture* (1998-2010) and 52 in *Transits: Literature, Thought & Culture 1650-1850* (since 2011). Those 162 titles represent the work of approximately 600 scholars. Many others in the field contribute their expertise as peer reviewers or informal advisers, making Bucknell's 18C list a collaborative undertaking like no other.

Fall 2018 will see the 50th anniversary of the Bucknell UP, a moment that will be variously celebrated, including a public lecture by Michael F. Suarez, SJ, Director of the Rare Book School at the University of Virginia, and a Bucknell alumnus. In 2018 the Press will be moving to new quarters, to be shared with a newly created and richly funded Humanities Center and the Griot Institute for Africana Studies, in a grandly redesigned and refurbished 1940s building (the Hildreth-Mirza Hall) standing adjacent to the Library and across from the English Department at the center of the campus. I would like to think that the symbolism as well as the practicalities of this development bodes well for the

future of the Press, as it does for the humanities at Bucknell. The Bucknell Press has never been more vibrant, and the editors of its 18th-century series would like readers to know that we continue to seek and welcome work of all kinds.

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 Facebook: <http://www.facebook.com/BucknellUP/>

**On the Publication of *ECCB*, Vol. 37, and *ECCB*'s Future**  
**[A September Report from the General Editor to the *ECCB* Editorial Staff]**

from Kevin L. Cope

Dear Friends, Contributors, and Colleagues,

Since the bankruptcy of AMS Press in March of this year, the status and the future of the *ECCB: Eighteenth-Century Current Bibliography* has remained an unknown. Although the cloud of uncertainty has not lifted, I do have a little bit of information to share with you.

First, I was recently contacted by one of the primary distributors for the AMS Press. From this company, I learned that the latest volume of the *ECCB*, volume 37 [on 2011 scholarship], has reached the distributor's offices and had been dispatched to assorted purchasers, most of whom are university libraries. Unfortunately, confidentiality rules prevent the distributor from disclosing to me which institutions have acquired this volume. I looked online at an assortment of libraries in the region that is covered by the distributor, where, admittedly, there are a great many institutions, and discovered that the volume had been received, catalogued, and shelved at the Harvard University Library. That catalogue record may be found on the Harvard Library catalogue page, <http://hollis.harvard.edu>. Unfortunately, I have not yet managed to buy or otherwise acquire a copy of volume 37. It appears that all available copies are in the process of being consumed by library purchasers. At the very least, however, we know that the volume exists, that it may be entered on CVs in the published category, and that our work is safely on the shelves of at least one major library and probably on its way to stacks within other ivy-covered halls.

Second, I continue to receive and review inquiries about the future of the *ECCB*. One very tantalizing offer has come along in the form of a suggestion that one major university press editor and I apply for seed money from ASECS (the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies) to put the bibliography on a new foundation and create a new management structure for it. I've also received an inquiry from a commercial publisher who wants to put up at least the back issues in an online format. And a few offers to go purely 'online' via university e-journal platforms.

All of these offers have something to say for them. Unfortunately, I must hold back from acting on any of them until the AMS Press bankruptcy attorney

releases the titles and copyrights to the editors. That should require a few more months but should be accomplished within a year. I would therefore describe the status of the *ECCB* as dormant but far from defunct. Some of the aforementioned offers have real merit. I will continue to keep you posted both on these prospects and on the status of the work that we have done to date. And, of course, I continue to appreciate both your contributions and your patience.

**Emily C. Friedman. *Reading Smell in Eighteenth-Century Fiction*.**

Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press; Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016. Pp. xii + 193; bibliography; index. ISBN: 978-1-61148-752-7. Hardcover, \$85.

Emily C. Friedman's *Reading Smell in Eighteenth Century Fiction* presents a new way of reading 18th-century literature: nose first. Its four chapters explore the ways in which class, gender, and other social signals inhere in fictional representations of odors, aromas, and stench, and the people who make, perceive, and avoid them. Smell is everywhere in 18th-century fiction, once you start to (forgive me this one pun!) sniff it out. Friedman's readings amply demonstrate the richness and diversity of the scent-based signals novelists employ to reveal their characters to us, and to one another.

Each chapter addresses one scent maker: first, tobacco (both smoked and snuffed), then perfumes and other bottled scents, then body odors and the inadequate (and sometimes considerably more offensive) attempts to mask them, and finally, sulfur in literatures of religion, industry, and natural disaster. The first two chapters, "Clouds of Smoke, Huffs of Snuff: The Smells of Tobacco" and "Running to the Smelling-Bottle," race from text to text, zipping back and forth across the long eighteenth century, as through there were too many instantiations of her thesis to settle on one text for long. The result is a convincing documentation of smell as a social signifier across temporal and formal boundaries. Chapter 3, "The Smell of Other People," narrows the focus to just a few texts, primarily Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* and Smollett's *Roderick Random*. These familiar novels feel newly alive as we read with attention to their characters' scentscapes. In Chapter 4, "The Age of Sulfur," more than the preceding chapters, Friedman extends the range of texts to include plays, poems, letters, journals, and newspapers, to show how the same smell can carry different meanings depending on the context in which it appears. Friedman concludes with a consideration of what she calls "The Great Unscenting," that is, the relative absence of explicit scent signals in the literature of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

This approach--first showing the wide range of smells readers encountered in 18th-century British fiction (with morsels of other literatures), then reading deeply to demonstrate new avenues into canonical works--suggests opportunities for critical reading more generally. *Reading Smell in Eighteenth-Century Fiction* offers an implicit how-to for others interested in extracting rich olfactory information embedded in literatures of the past. Even constrained by the long 18th century, the possibilities for reading smell within literatures we think we

know feel limitless. What does colonial and early American fiction smell like? How did sensational journalists and broadside-writers use smell to draw attention to their subjects? How did abolitionists and other reformers document social conditions and signal moral decay through ambient odors? How do changes in the smellscape signal narrative progression? As evangelical religious movements' devotion moved from enclosed spaces to the outdoors, what effect did the surrounding odors have on religious experience? What work did smell do to signal the exoticism and adventure of ocean travel, the people and landscapes of Africa, Asia, and the Americas, and how did reports of smell change as administrators were imposed in far-flung Barbados and India?

The introduction alone constitutes an important addition to the field of olfactory studies in literature. It offers a succinct, thorough overview of existing literary critical writing about smell, describes some of the challenges inherent in recovering and interpreting the odors encoded within these texts, and demonstrates the rewards of doing so. The primary difficulty consists of describing smells of the past, "in such a way as to have the original connotations understood by a modern audience" (3). To prepare readers for this work, Friedman summarizes the basic science and physiology of smell. For example, she explains, smell is so strongly tied to language that words describing strong odors trigger activity in the parts of the brain that interpret olfaction. Thus, hearing or reading a phrase like "spring shower" or "garbage truck" might be enough to spark the sensory experience of wet grass or sour milk.

After a quick survey of cultural histories of smell, Friedman considers why, in the critical literature, this visceral sensory connection with the world has been subordinated to sight and hearing. Our apprehension of smell as a "secondary" sense may actually stem from eighteenth-century scientific inquiry, in which smell was believed to take place outside the body, through the transfer of "Particles or Corpuscles" or "effluvia." Entering the body through the nose, smell was seen as creating an ephemeral (and, of course, sometimes undesired, sometimes difficult to physically situate) connection between people. Our noses protrude, and are therefore always open to smell, and we tend to be most receptive to new smells, in part "to quickly assess potential new threats in the environment" (12). This association of smell with novelty is perhaps one reason it suffuses the eighteenth-century novel, so concerned with unexpected turns of events, the intermingling of classes and cultures, and changes in social position.

Yet this quality may also distort which smells were recorded in writing. Familiar odors are least likely to be reported, or even noticed, while the newest, and most luxuriant or offensive, are the most likely to appear. Tobacco, snuff, perfume, and wig-powder offered new sensory experiences in the long 18th century, experiences that became customary or obsolete, and therefore unremarkable, in later eras. Gulliver's whiplash movements across cultures and his alertness to their odors, beneath notice to the Lilliputians, Brogdingnagians, and so on, adds a previously unexplored layer of depth to Swift's critique of British society. He prompted 18th-century readers to consider which odors they took for granted and which they deemed unacceptable, and why. And although the smell of sulfur was common enough as a literary referent by the seventeenth century to appear in Milton and the King James Bible, it took on new, and

seemingly contradictory, valences in the eighteenth: the seemingly unstoppable industrialization of England, the instability of human civilization as represented by the great Lisbon earthquake, and the relaxing, healthful geothermal spas prescribed as a remedy for the stresses of the modern world. When sensory evidence is employed primarily to record extremes, situate new experiences, and deflate the self-satisfied, readers are left with a distorted record. Friedman reminds us of this from time to time, as she so ably chronicles that record.

In her conclusion, “The Great Unscenting,” Friedman documents a shift to what she calls “cultivated anosmia” (109), or intentional occlusion of scent-cues, as literature turned away from the strange and the satiric to the genteel and the sentimental. British novelists did not, one day, turn completely away from olfactory description, of course; the smell of satire and the scentlessness of sentiment lived side-by-side. Still, Friedman documents an “osmological muting” in, for example, the obsessive self-reporting of cleanliness and the “scentless death” of the heroine of Richardson’s *Clarissa* (123). The relatively more fetid death by poison of Sinclair is an indication that readers were expected to associate strong smells or their absence with moral virtue and decay. Friedman associates such “increasingly metaphorical” references to smell--compared with earlier attempts to directly name and describe odors--with constraints on polite expression, especially for women writers. She contrasts Jane Austen’s smell-rich letters and juvenilia with the published novels. When *Persuasion*’s Fanny Price forgoes the expected contemporary perfumes, seeking solace instead in the gentle odor of geraniums, she is typical of Austen’s middle- and upper-class aspirants, who seek out or create smellscape associated with nature, and avoid confined spaces and cities, associated with corruption.

Where, in the age of satire, smell revealed falseness of character through attempts to cover up with perfume or dull senses into submission with tobacco, smell in the age of sentiment signaled a righteousness or degradation that was out in the open. If smell was thus tamed by the sentimental novel, employed primarily to reinforce our knowledge of a character’s integrity or corruption that was also visible in their clothing, physical expression, and setting, and audible in their word choice and syntax, then we still live in the anosmic world of sentiment. Smell doesn’t show up all that much in our books, movies, and television shows, but when it does, it reinforces rather than undercuts our understanding of the characters we read and see. Think of a callow teenager making a fart jokes on a television show. Think of young lovers walking through a field of daisies. Think of Kilgore in *Apocalypse Now*, saying, “I love the smell of napalm in the morning.” Each of these reinforces, rather than undercuts, what we already know about the characters. Because deployment of scent-cues remains rare today and continues to be deployed to reinforce our moral judgments of fictional characters, perhaps it should not be surprising that the sharpness of representations of smell in eighteenth-century literature jar us so, and lend the impression of that time as both smellier and more dissolute.

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**Temma Berg and Sonia Kane (eds.). *Women, Gender, and Print Culture in Eighteenth-Century Britain: Essays in Memory of Betty Rizzo*. Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press; Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2013. Pp. xxvi + 326. 5 illustrations; bibliography. ISBN 978-1-61146-141-1. Hardcover, \$99.00.**

This collection, as befits a tribute to Betty Rizzo, contains fifteen essays characterized by archive-based research, careful reading of texts, and clear and engaging writing. As the title suggests, the focus is on women and their texts, both characters in fiction and historical figures. But most important for Rizzo's legacy, it reminds us that research in the archives is not just a joy but an addiction, a kind of compulsion that pushes researchers to keep digging until they find that unknown or neglected fragment that changes our view of the lives of women in the eighteenth century. For this reason, Elizabeth Lambert's essay, "Lady Minto and her Lord," is the epitome of a tribute to Rizzo.

Lambert begins by admitting that finding instructions to burn a letter that, centuries later, the researcher is still able to read, or correspondence that nineteenth-century biographies either were not privy to or chose to suppress, represents "a siren song calling the researcher into hitherto undiscovered or undisclosed aspects of a subject's life." She heard the siren singing when researching the lives of the eighteenth-century Lord and Lady Minto, "and it was Betty Rizzo who alerted me to the fact that there might be more to the story of their marriage" than had been previously revealed (101). Several of these essays have this thread in them because Rizzo was a generous and supportive scholar, but Lambert not only follows up on Rizzo's hunch but, in excavating letters and newspaper articles, she finds out that "Betty Rizzo was mistaken" in some of the conclusions she came to, although the hint had impelled her to uncover the truth: the Mintos' marriage was clouded by betrayal. We do our best work when we allow the record to guide us, rather than ploughing on in the attempt to establish our own hypotheses; in following Rizzo's directions without unthinkingly absorbing her inferences, Lambert is doing precisely the kind of research that Rizzo valued.

The volume has many other pleasures, however; fifteen of them, to be precise, including the introduction and the afterword. Temma Berg's introduction begins by describing Rizzo as "an indefatigable and tenacious scholar" (xiii), and, like many of these writers, she finds that in her quest for information, in this case, about Richard Samuel's group portrait, *The Nine Living Muses of Britain*, Rizzo was there before her. The introduction sets the tone for the rest of the volume, which is divided into three sections, "Living in the Eighteenth Century," "Living in the Eighteenth-Century World," and "Afterlives." The first section is wholly concerned with fiction; the middle one provides essays on a combination of literary and historical subjects; and the last deals with nonfiction texts, anthologies, historical figures, and an art installation. Betty Schneller's concluding piece draws together the threads of the book's conversation by describing the ways that Rizzo's generosity, both personal and scholarly, promoted Schneller's career and got her hooked on archival research.

The first section contains many wonderful insights into works we thought we knew. Toni Bowers draws attention to the tone of the letters in *Clarissa*, which is at least as horrifying as the treatment Clarissa receives from her family. Ruth Perry, in an article previously published in *Persuasions On-Line*, uses Jane Austen's novels to indicate the ways in which the emphasis on sibling relationships shifted in the period, from being the primary familial bond to becoming secondary to the conjugal family. Fanny Dashwood's behavior forms the most egregious example, but all the novels, and Austen's own life, demonstrate this change in family allegiances. In a nice segue, George E. Haggerty's chapter on queerness in *Emma* begins with Frank Cburchill's haircut, but concentrates on Emma's friendships with men, which substitute for friendships with women, something that is also odd, or queer.

Sylvia Kasey Marks, in "Sarah Fielding's *The Governess*: A Gloss on her 'Books upon Education,'" argues that *The Governess* is a conduct book for children that provides the key to all her other works; she demonstrates that each novel contains characteristics of the conduct book. While the essay is a detailed analysis of the works, it shows the "how" but not really the "why," the reason for Fielding's choice to write a series of conduct books presented as novels, rather than either outright conduct books themselves or other genres of novels available to her for pedagogical purposes. Marks's account does not cover pedagogical texts other than conduct books; these include the works of John Locke and his followers and detractors and collections of fables and sermons, apart from Samuel Richardson's edition of *Aesop's Fables*, which she also designates a conduct book. What is more, given the tendency of novels to exist in more than one genre at a time, it could also be argued that *The Governess* might be a structural key—the frame narrative—because many of these texts also contain a frame, with other stories embedded in the main narrative.

The second section moves beyond the fictional depiction of women's lives to the world in which actual women lived. Stephanie Oppenheim draws together the continuing theme of thwarted travel in Jane Austen's novels and Austen's limited travel in her own life, remarking that "this did not prevent her from hitting some of the hottest spots on the domestic travel route" (82). In a nice corollary to Haggerty's chapter, she notes perceptively that Emma learns her life lessons at home while other people come and go. But she also demonstrates that Austen chafed at the restrictions her family put on her travel and the extent to which she was required to have a male chaperone when she did. A small caveat: I agree that she genuinely wants to encourage her nephew in her "bit of ivory" letter, although I do not believe it projects her honest evaluation of her work. Austen-Leigh's description is indeed condescending, as Oppenheim claims.

Lambert's essay, to which I have referred above, contains additional insights and pleasures. Who knew that in the long winter evenings in nineteenth-century Scotland families used to read aloud the letters of their ancestors? These readings got the nineteenth-century Lady Minto hooked on the archives, just like the scholars in this collection, and the result was a carefully organized and indexed collection and multiple publications. The hook for Lambert was a collection of letters never published but not discarded either; Lady Minto demonstrated her solid archival instincts by refraining from destroying them.

Nicole Pohl and Betty A. Schellenberg, in “Sarah Scott, Elizabeth Montagu, and the Familiar Letter in Dialogue,” examine epistolarity in fiction and real life; they use the letters between Scott and Montagu over a fifty-five year period as a rich case study to show the women, especially Scott, developing writing personae and employing various literary genres. Lorna Clark reminds us that there were other Burney women besides Frances; her discussion covers six generations of literary activity, including the fascinating study of several generations of daughters and grand-daughters who acted as secretaries, amanuenses, and research assistants to Charles Burney. Mary Margaret Stewart’s chapter, “‘Moving upon Glass’: The Madness of Lady Frances Coningsby” is a compelling revelation of the realities of dealing with madness in the eighteenth-century, reminding us both that the eighteenth-century world is very close to ours, in its depiction of the exhausting, endless work that caregivers of the mentally ill face, and very far away, because the relationship between Lady Frances and Mary Trevor, her constant attendant of many years is, as Stewart claims, an example of Rizzo’s “companions without vows.” This chapter could do with a shift in focus, because the emotional center of this sad story is Trevor, whose words are quoted in the title and whose letters reveal the devotion of a spouse.

The third section, “Afterlives,” begins with Barbara M. Benedict’s essay on Pope’s reputation in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. She takes her title, “Admiring Pope no more than is proper,” from Marianne Dashwood but focuses on the “beauties books,” whose contents reflect Marianne’s assumptions, Pope’s waning reputation as the other major British poet besides Shakespeare and the rise of the romantic poets. She demonstrates that the changes to copyright laws were influential in making possible these anthologies, which shaped taste and the literary canon. Her essay is a model of a clear and supported argument. Lisa Berglund brings to our attention a little-discussed work, Hester Thrale Piozzi’s *British Synonymy*, which, she argues, both strikes out into masculine territory and feminizes the project by claiming the goal of regulating language. Piozzi accepted the contemporary concept of the gendered connotations of words. It should be remembered, however, that, while philology might have been considered a masculine preserve in the period, men did not have exclusive entry into it; the first Anglo-Saxon grammar was compiled by Elizabeth Elstob and published in 1715.

Temma Berg’s essay on the capture of the *Baltic Merchant* by pirates investigates the possibility that Charlotte Lennox may have been on board the ship; here again, Betty Rizzo initiated the search. Berg reveals the discrepancies in the public press’s reports on the event and the fact that a similar incident in Lennox’s *Harriot Stuart* contains details available only in the eye-witness accounts. Alas, the gaps in the evidence do not allow Berg to establish the date of Lennox’s return to England, but her revelation of the contradictions in the print reports is compelling.

Frances B. Singh also takes up the gap in what other researchers have found a challenge. In “The Girl Who Raged and Her Virago of a Grandmother,” Singh digs into the historical record to find out what came of a problem child, Jane Cumming, after the libel case against her grandmother, Dame Helen

Cumming Gordon. Dame Helen withdrew Jane from school after she accused her school mistresses of “lewd” behavior, an accusation that resulted in the closure of the school and the teachers’ financial ruin. Singh handles the whole incident and the four women involved with great fairness, admitting that while Dame Helen was obviously a very difficult woman, she was also the only member of her family who attempted to do anything for her son’s two illegitimate children, and that she sent Jane, who was not exactly the image of girlhood sweetness, to the same school as she had sent her daughters. It is clear that, on the one hand, Jane Pirie and Marianne Woods, the school mistresses, took an instant dislike to Jane, whose mother was an Indian woman, and treated her prejudicially; on the other, they did have an intense relationship in a society that had no toleration for same-sex relationships. Having established what is known about the situation, Singh then narrates the path of discovery that leads to uncovering what had been thought not to exist: Jane Cumming’s own afterlife.

The final formal essay, Elizabeth Heckendorn Cook’s “Remediating Interpretation,” returns to epistolarity but moves it into the 21st century, showing how Sophie Calle’s art installation, *Take Care of Yourself* (2007), performs an act of remediation by moving the epistolary novel from the page to email and video. Calle asked 107 women to read a break-up email she received from a former boyfriend and documented their responses. Both the exhibit and the exhibition catalogue sound like fascinating multimedia creations, re-envisioning the subject of so many eighteenth-century novels. One caveat is that I do not see the specifically 18th-century site of remediation; writers continue to produce epistolary novels, even if the heyday of the form occurred in the 18th century, and Calle is not unique in turning to nontraditional forms of epistolary communication. When I was a teenager, I was enthralled by Bel Kaufman’s *Up the Down Staircase* (1965), which includes a variety of pre-digital genres of communication, written notes, intercom announcements, blackboard notices, and formal letters, to describe a high school teacher’s first year of teaching.

Every chapter in this collection adds something valuable to our knowledge of the period. More important, by reflecting the pleasures of archival research and the importance of clear prose and careful reading, they provide an affirmation of the importance of our work and models for our students. Betty Rizzo is well served by her friends and former students.

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**Eric Gidal. *Ossianic Unconformities: Bardic Poetry in the Industrial Age.***

Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2015. Pp. xiii + 226; 21 illustrations; index. ISBN: 978-0-8139-3817-2. Hardcover, \$39.50.

As a study of the ways in which James Macpherson’s divisive Ossian poems were received in Scotland and elsewhere in the 1760s and beyond, Eric Gidal’s of 1745 and the Age of Burns and Scott. *Ossianic* successfully captures both the national and international milieus within which the Ossian controversy

took place. By examining the lives and work of people such as Hugh Blair, Malcolm Laing, John Sinclair, and Peter Hatley Waddell, Gidal renders an aptly varied image of Scottish culture and identity during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with, of course, a specific focus on Scotland in the years from the Jacobite Rising of 1745 to the Age of Burns and Scott. *Ossianic Unconformities*: thus represents, in one respect, a distinctive contribution not only to the scholarship on Macpherson and his times but to recent conversations on authorial originality during the long eighteenth century, such as those in Tim Milnes and Kerry Sinanan's 2010 essay collection, *Romanticism, Sincerity and Authenticity* (a work that includes Margaret Russett's "Genuity or Ingenuity? Invented Tradition and the Scottish Talent" and Dafydd Moore's "'A Blank Made': *Ossian*, Sincerity and the Possibilities of Forgery"). But to delimit the appeal of *Ossianic Unconformities* to a highly specialized readership alone would obscure what Gidal here achieves at the level of the work's overarching concern with vast and rapid ecological change of the sort that transformed Scotland—and myriad places like it—beginning in the second half of the eighteenth century. By resituating Macpherson and his "translations" within an ecocritical framework, Gidal exposes their involvement in the propagation of the very industrial-capitalist ideology of which the elegiac Ossian poems seem a stark indictment. This account of the poetry and its relation to an ecologically ruinous industrialism gives *Ossianic Unconformities* a contemporary relevance and intellectual urgency that both amplifies its attractiveness to a more-generalized audience and rewards the reader who seeks to better understand the history of the environmental crises we face today.

Given the interdisciplinary approach that he employs, it is not surprising that Gidal finds his book's guiding metaphor in a phenomenon associated with the earth sciences. Because it involves "radically discordant appearances" (5) rendered over time in "distinct eras of sedimentation" (5), the image of the geological unconformity serves to frame Gidal's discussion of the mournfully nostalgic Ossian poems vis-à-vis an era of mechanization, emblemized by steamships and factories. Here the conceit of the unconformity "help[s] us to perceive the environmental significance of textual irregularities in the poems of Ossian through a kind of *biblio-stratigraphy*" that usefully foregrounds "the discontinuous" as a means to "reveal periods of economic displacement and environmental transformation in the irregular divisions assembled on the surface of the page" (15). Whether they are "spatial and temporal" (94), "medial and historical" (157), or "textual and rhetorical" (181), unconformities bear great significance to our lives, for, in an age of severe climate change and profound ecological loss, "We . . . will one day become, an unconformity" (184).

The Ossian poems, then, act as unconformities, propping up a nascent and lamentably irresponsible progressivism despite their melancholy evocation of preindustrial antiquity. Gidal sketches out both the nature and the consequences of Macpherson's complicity in the ascendant capitalist ethos of the 1760s. For example, he asserts that "Ossianic poetry produces a language of depopulation disturbingly conformable with the forced immigrations that both economic transformation and political confrontation had imposed [in this case, on Ireland]" (117). Beyond interrogating the conflicted and "proleptic self-eulogy

that Macpherson made a rhetorical master trope of his Ossianic poems” (183), Gidal asks questions regarding the ways in which other people of the time, including cartographers, antiquarians, polemicists, statisticians, and writers, may have contributed, often inadvertently but nevertheless surely, to the diminishment of the land and its peoples alike. Especially admirable in this respect is Chapter 4, “The Testimony of the Rocks,” in which, after describing the remaking of Glasgow and the River Clyde to suit the needs of commerce, Gidal mentions that the University of Glasgow—the city’s academic and intellectual heart—was “a major center for both industrial scientific research and the social and economic theories that laid the ideological groundwork and rationalization for their adoption” (126).

While the book’s principal emphasis falls on the people and events of the pre-Romantic eighteenth century, audiences interested in the Nineteenth Century may note that, in his fifth chapter, Gidal writes on both William Wordsworth’s late poetry and Jules Verne’s 1882 novel, *Le Rayon vert*. Although these sections have merit, what really distinguishes *Ossianic Unconformities* is its ecocritical take on the subject at hand. Specialists and general readers together will, I imagine, appreciate Gidal’s astute and persuasive contextualization of the Ossian poems and their reception within the framework of environmental studies. His examination of the cultural impulse “to reclaim a noble Scottish heritage through increasingly elaborate forms of speculative geography” (4) allows Gidal to pose questions about humankind’s culpability for prolonged and deep harm to the world around us. In this sense, the book holds a mirror up to our own age and invites us to consider our complicity, whether as individuals or as communities, in hastening our own devastation.

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**William Hogeland.** *Autumn of the Black Snake: The Creation of the U.S. Army and the Invasion that Opened the West*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2017. ISBN: 0374107343. Hardcover, \$28.00.

Although the subtitle has probably already given away the game, I’ve gotta tell you that George Washington does have his way, in spades: he gets that necessary standing army, ends the Indian threat to the “northwest” (read: modern upper Midwest), and makes his long-desired bundle in land speculation. Or, as Hogeland far more eloquently (and elegantly) summarizes the outcome of this all-but-unknown chapter in our colonial history—both the greatest of ALL Indian victories ever that opens this book’s narrative and the victory that avenged that brutal defeat—“[The] legacy is the formation of a permanent military establishment, via the conquest of indigenous people, in pursuit of the industrial and imperial power that, with the victory in its first war, the United States did go on to achieve” (p. 375). [Was Ike channeling Hogeland half a century ago in his farewell speech?]

Wow, what a book!

When we moved to the upper Ohio Valley over a quarter century ago, I had no idea that Wheeling WAS the American colonial west, as opposed the “American West” chronicled (usually fantastically / mythically / romantically) in so much entertainment passing as “history,” sort of. Without the winning of the colonial west carefully explained in Hogeland’s superb book, that “other” west might have looked very different. In fact, winning the early west led directly to the opening of “the” west, especially the Lewis and Clark expedition—William Clark’s brother, George Rogers Clark, is one of the minor villains of this book.

Instead of doing a terrible injustice to Hogeland by trying to retell his extraordinary tale, I want try to explain his narrative approach and encourage readers to indulge themselves in his lucid and almost conversational prose, because he is a master storyteller, as all four of his books attest. It is no secret to most 18<sup>th</sup>-century folks that we cannot study the literature without learning a heck of a lot of history along the way: each enriches the other. That’s why teaching the first half of the American Lit survey is such a treat to this 18<sup>th</sup>-century lit professor. Ancient Greek tragedy also has its place here. The audience always knew the eventual outcome; the brilliance of the playwright came in how he created his narrative. Unlike Aristotle’s rules for tragedy in *The Poetics*, Hogeland doesn’t limit himself to the single narrative—about two and a half years from one battle to the other. I lost count of all of his narratives, but that never prevented the inexorable movement forward toward that inevitable outcome. The numerous digressions and the nearly 75 years of the grand narrative made the extraordinarily vivid accounts of the two brutal encounters necessary but almost forgotten at the end of the book, as the author reminds us that they actually are in terms of our cultural knowledge, educational curricula, and historical landmarks, eloquently lamenting in the closing chapter: “Our first war . . . for possession of the ground where the memorial sits [in Defiance, Ohio, commemorating the soldiers who have fallen in America’s wars] remains nearly unmemorialized” (p. 386).

Within the first few pages of the book, Hogeland drops the reader into a terrifying moment when the Butler brothers—in full flight from a surprise attack of the Western [Indian] Federation led by Little Turtle and Blue Jacket (“Who?” you may well ask; just two of the greatest Indian war leaders in all first nation history, killing almost one thousand invading Americans fighters in this one engagement compared with rather paltry numbers of Tecumseh and Sitting Bull by comparison)—are forced to abandon their mortally wounded brother, Revolutionary War General Richard Butler, propped against an tree with two loaded pistols, and flee for their very lives. The narrative isn’t resumed for one hundred pages, when the total annihilation of General Arthur St. Clair’s militia army is privately communicated to President Washington during a dinner party, where he carries on as though nothing has happened, only to explode in private nearly an hour later, one of the only recorded moments of his loss of composure in his long and carefully chronicled life (p. 20). [A town named after this incompetent officer is just across the river from Wheeling.] Very late in the book, Hogeland takes us back to this scene when Butler’s brothers implore the advance party searching the now two-and-one-half year old battle site to locate

Richard's remains using the tree as a landmark, as well as the tell-tale mended leg bone from an old war wound (and they do find and bury his skeleton).

The key for my enjoyment in this book are the dozens of mini-biographies—Americans, English, Scottish, French, Spanish, Native American—that bring such life to the multiple narratives and cement the overarching one as well. [For all the hysteria over the recent hip-hop musical *Hamilton*, I would recommend fans have a look at Hogeland's *Hamilton*—a real piece of work, *Hamilton* and Hogeland's rendering—'nuff said.] Central to the project is, of course, George Washington, from his earliest years to his final retirement, even explaining how he “inherited” Mount Vernon. We meet him first as a very young man who explores the west with relish and intent. He is deeply involved his whole life in pursuing development of the American west, which leads to his nearly disastrous early military adventurism in the French and Indian War. [Fort Necessity is about an hour and a half due east of Wheeling.] However, for all the discussion of Washington, Hogeland doesn't stray into the Revolutionary War, except for a few instances, concentrating on the pre- and post-war narratives relevant to this story. Hogeland calls Washington the greatest man in the world, paraphrasing King George III: “Such terms denoted the rare personage who abruptly alters the European sphere beyond all recognition by the creative use of force. . . . Greatness meant conquest. Because achieving American independence didn't perfectly fulfill that requirement, the achievement was all the greater. . . . He hadn't only changed the world as they knew it. He had changed the terms of greatness itself. Napoleon would reject the whole idea [*no surprise there*]. After failing to take over the world, he would supposedly explain, ‘They wanted me to be another Washington.’ He and George III and others were referring to the peculiar thing that gave Washington his greatness: declining to retain power”

Equally fascinating is Hogeland's elucidation of the character of “Mad” Anthony Wayne [Waynesburg PA is about 45 minutes south and east of Wheeling], whom General Washington rescues from ignominy (self-created, of course) by appointing him to lead the newly established national army. [Hogeland seems to have tracked down the original source for the “Mad” bit, sort of a letdown.] The central section of the book tells the convoluted story of the fraught creation of this “standing army,” a real political potboiler in itself, with numerous mini-biographies interspersed; after all, you can't follow the game without a program, or, in this case, a carefully detailed cast list. The tale of Wayne's meticulous building, training, supplying, and transporting of this army is riveting for all the hurdles he had to overcome. Perhaps, the most interesting, even shocking is the “enemy” Wayne encountered in his second-in-command, General James Wilkinson, an old Revolutionary War friend now rival for Army command. This “patriot's” unbelievable treachery—not only against Wayne but against America: he was a double agent in the pay of Spain, so secret that he went by the moniker “13” and whose whole story was not discovered until nearly a century after the Battle of Fallen Timbers—makes the lead-up to the culminating battle incredibly tense.

I could carry on relaying anecdotes and opinions from Hogeland for pages, but he does it so much better. He clearly intends this book for a general,

educated readership. The book has three Parts with four, five, and three chapters respectively, generally 20-plus pages long. However, each chapter has many subdivisions demarcated by a feathery graphic, most of them one or two pages long. This structure facilitates his “jumping around” from character to character and place to place and even forward and backward in time, yet it does so almost seamlessly and naturally, even “logically.” And it keeps the various narratives moving along at a rapid clip and in nearly perfect synchrony. The style can also create some wonderful moments of irony, thanks to Hogeland’s marvelous sense of timing and language. Scots-American loyalist Alexander McKee, an early ally of the western exploration of Washington and husband to a Shawnee woman, worked tirelessly to unite the British and the Western Federation Indians against the Americans after the Revolutionary War. [McKees Rocks, his home, where he entertained GW in 1770, is about an hour northeast of Wheeling.] The closing sentence of a sub-section of Chapter Five reads, “McKee commuted between Pittsburgh and the Shawnee towns and made it all work” (the balancing act between Indians, colonists wanting western land, and the ruling British). “Then it didn’t work” begins the next section (p. 142). A similar bit of pulling the rug out from under the reader comes a chapter later, when Hogeland is describing how Wayne is riding high in both America’s and GW’s esteem immediately after the war: “In 1783, the future couldn’t have looked better for Anthony Wayne. Seven Years later, he’d blown it” (p. 186). The book is full of such moments.

Another aspect of what seems to be not very “academic” history writing is the apparent lack of textual citations or notes. In fact, there are nearly thirty pages of notes, in small type and single spaced, at the end of the text, and a quick survey shows one or two notes on nearly every page of text. The bibliography, a mix of primary and secondary texts, is again seven pages of small type. The point? This is a very well documented book. Plus, Hogeland is scrupulous in telling the reader when historians disagree on the interpretation of certain event and ideas, not being overly judgmental, simply informative.

One last point. The final chapter, “Black Granite,” is a long reflection on all that has passed in the more than half a century chronicled in the book, plus, the following years, right into Andrew Jackson’s presidency. Especially noteworthy is the segment on the Whiskey Rebellion and its direct relevance to the tale just told. I suppose this shouldn’t come as a surprise from the author of another excellent book: *The Whiskey Rebellion*. [Oh, much of that all took place about 30 minutes east of Wheeling.] Oh, one more “last” point, biographical, of course: After moving to Wheeling from Nwarlins over a quarter century ago, we decided we could stay after our first visit to the culturally enchanting and geographically amazing Pittsburgh. Hogeland reminds his readers that “da Boigh” was the first rough-and-tumble American frontier/Western town AND it was pronounced like “Edinburgh” (i.e., Edin-borrah, with a Scottish roll of the “r”) where I met and married my spouse, a city, like Pittsburgh, totally built into an extraordinary and challenging landscape.

I hope I am not belaboring the point here when I say how much I learned from and enjoyed this work. It belongs in every academic library and also any

Ohio Valley and Upper Midwestern public library, meaning all of ECASECS territory. If it's not there, buy and donate it, but read it first.

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**Anton M. Matytsin.** *The Specter of Skepticism in the Age of Enlightenment.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2016. Pp. xv + 361; index. ISBN: 9781421420523. Hardcover, \$60.00

The revival of Pyrrhonic skepticism in Europe coincided with Protestant Reformation debates concerning the justification of religious truths and the role of reason in understanding scripture. Both Catholic and Protestant apologists adapted the arguments of Sextus Empiricus's *Outlines of Pyrrhonism*, rediscovered in the fifteenth century and translated into Latin in 1562, to their polemical discourses. As its attack reached beyond theological contexts to encompass all bases of knowledge, skepticism became both a strategic argumentative tool and an object of intense aversion and dread, particularly for thinkers who perceived it as a pathway to atheism. The title of Anton M. Matytsin's erudite study of the intellectual debates stemming from the proliferation of skeptical discourse captures the anxiety felt by conservative thinkers attempting to preserve the foundations of their world views, in response to the Pyrrhonic menace. The "specter of skepticism" resonates throughout Matytsin's chapters: thinkers were led to "reformulate their essential claims about the nature of reality and about the human ability to understand it," in reaction to skepticism's looming threat and even in anticipation of it (270). The figure of the specter also evokes the lingering presence of authors whose texts continued to incite controversy and stimulate new theories of knowledge, long after their deaths: two chapters are devoted to arguments surrounding the massively influential *Dictionnaire historique et critique* of Pierre Bayle, the second of which is entitled "The Specter of Bayle Returns to Haunt France." The chapter given to the work of the Jesuit scholar Pierre-Daniel Huet, whose posthumously published skeptical treatise sparked such outrage that some readers refused to believe he'd written it, advances the metaphor of the specter in ways that connect attributions of skepticism to conceptions of authorship. Recurrent discussions of authors' sincerity, recounted by Matytsin not only in connection to the ongoing question of whether Bayle's texts represent his actual views, but also as part of the standard criticism that skeptical arguments are "insincere" in their inapplicability to practical life, suggest further connotations for the metaphor of skeptics as specters.

Matytsin's book brings to light the unexpectedly constructive role of conservative, anti-skeptical thinkers in responding to the specter of skepticism: he demonstrates the instrumentality of their arguments to the view of human reason that typifies the writings of the philosophes in the French Enlightenment. He demonstrates that "orthodox authors became, ironically, agents of intellectual change" (2). A "new conception of rationality" (2) developed from a dialectical process which transformed both skepticism and rationalism.

Pyrrhonism was mitigated into a more reasonable form, a middle ground between radical doubt and absolute certainty, such that suspension of judgment could be seen as a means of awaiting sufficient evidence, rather than as a permanent mental habit. The types of problems reason could solve were more confidently defined, even though reason's role was deeply constrained by the presence of uncertainty. By Matytsin's account, this dialectical process enabled the reconciliation of skepticism with a progressive view of knowledge.

The book's focus is primarily France and the French-speaking world, where "the revival of skeptical philosophy set down the deepest roots" (18). The equal attention devoted to skeptical and anti-skeptical thought enables Matytsin to discuss the work of important writers on both sides of the debate: Montaigne, Charron, Bayle, Huet, Gassendi, and Voltaire; but also Bouillier, Crousaz, Le Clerc, Haller, and Formey. Despite the fact that all five of these latter figures were religious thinkers attempting to refute skeptical arguments, they "saw themselves as taking part in intellectual activities that we consider to be crucial aspects of the Enlightenment" (265). Matytsin begins with the theological battles of the Catholic Counter-Reformation, paying particular attention to the disputes between the fideistic skeptics, who asserted that because human reason was too feeble to allow knowledge of God, faith could be the only source of certainty; and the *rationaux*, who saw rational foundations as essential to religious faith. The main period he studies is 1697-1772, bracketed by the appearances of two ground-breaking texts: Bayle's skeptical *Dictionnaire* at the beginning, and the completed publication of Diderot and d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie* at the end. Matytsin points out that historians typically regard the controversies stemming from the *Dictionnaire* as the "apex" of the Pyrrhonian crisis, and the *Encyclopédie* as an "ultimate expression" of intellectual audacity (19). The lucid summaries and comparisons that form his own pathway between these two "logical limits" reveal the epistemological angst that nurtured the encyclopedists' bold project (19). Ultimately, though, while the philosophes "admired the critical methods" of skeptical thinkers such as Bayle, their work discloses a deeper affinity with the "rational pragmatism" of the anti-skeptics (271). These perspectives render a more complex view of the free-thinking philosophes, of the Enlightenment as a whole, and of the French Revolution in relation to intellectual history.

Perhaps because he is eager to avoid the type of teleological, "triumphalist" narrative that he says typifies the work of historians who oversimplify skepticism's influence or to assume that secularism and radicalism were the Enlightenment's essential characteristics, Matytsin foregoes a directly chronological approach in favor of an organization by themes and major figures. Part I, "The Spectrum of Anti-Skepticism," opens with a chapter on the basic rhetoric of anti-skepticism in theological and philosophical contexts. This sets the stage for three chapters on debates surrounding major skeptical texts (the works of Bayle and Huet), and two chapters detailing the cumulative work of various Continental thinkers who gradually posited a pragmatic response to the crisis: the acceptance of probability as an adequate substitute for certainty. Much of Part II, "Disciplining Doubt," is given to the demonstration that "it was natural philosophy – above all other disciplines – that offered the most resilient

model for accommodating and simultaneously mitigating the claims of Pyrrhonian skepticism” (20). Part II opens with a chapter on the nature of thought and perception, which creates a framework for two chapters on specific problems in natural philosophy. The final chapter, taking up an area which, as Matytsin notes, has not received much scholarly attention, examines the influence of skepticism on historiography.

Matytsin’s discussion of dualism and materialism details various seventeenth-century attempts to answer the Pyrrhonic claim that “bodily dispositions” render the mind unreliable and inconsistent, such that reason is “unable to overcome logical paradoxes” (159). The attempts begin with Cartesian dualism, which raised several difficulties that disciples of Descartes (Malebranche and Régis) attempted to solve. Skeptical thought developed vigorously in reaction to the Cartesian theory of knowledge: the groundbreaking thinkers were Gassendi and Locke, who disputed the doctrine of innate ideas and advanced an empiricist epistemology. Locke’s ideas were promoted and developed by Voltaire and Condillac, and opposed by Berkeley, who (along with Leibniz) created an immaterialist system that provoked much backlash. It became apparent to thinkers on all sides that these systematic approaches, and the disputes they occasioned, led to paradoxes and inconsistencies that served skeptical arguments rather than defeating them. In two subsequent chapters on natural philosophy, Matytsin articulates the intense epistemological rifts concerning conceptions of natural substance and astronomy, which resulted in the displacement of Cartesian rationalism by Newtonian empiricism. He notes that parallel developments were occurring in England, where the roots of empiricist epistemology were much deeper; however, he restricts his focus to the influence of British natural philosophy on that of the French, which was very keen in the first few decades of the eighteenth century. To accept the arguments of Locke and Newton was to join them in conceding the skeptical claim that underlying essences or structures (whether of the mind or the natural world) are unknowable. The chapters on natural philosophy clarify the growing agreement that metaphysical arguments, and the labyrinths of speculation that accompanied them, were to be set aside and replaced by empiricist approaches.

A very intriguing line of thought within Part II suggests that attempts to withstand the scrutiny of skepticism had the effect of reinforcing the boundaries among separate academic disciplines, and of defining the procedures and rules characteristic of each field of study. One of the editors of the *Encyclopédie*, d’Alembert, captures a growing discontent with the “spirit of systems” when he points out that systematic approaches to knowledge are “dangerous” for the sciences, and that physics, medicine, and chemistry should each be limited to its own particular protocols and areas of study (231). Matytsin’s chapter about history, which examines responses to questions raised by skeptics about the possibility of obtaining certain knowledge of the past, reveals the emergent conclusion that history, like other disciplines, could accept probable knowledge as a reasonable alternative. A further, highly significant outcome of these debates was that formalization of “rules and procedures for establishing the relative certainty of past events” (for which Matytsin provides a rich array of examples) “rendered historical practice more professional and transformed the

historian's role" (235). Scrutinizing sources and eliminating bias were newly regarded as essential scholarly tasks.

The history chapter makes a provocative final example for this enriching study of previously neglected sources of epistemological transformation during the Enlightenment era. Matytsin's work uncovers a dialectical pathway in which interchanges between skeptics and their opponents formed a new conception of reason, sufficiently modest to have relinquished metaphysics, but sufficiently bold to motivate the encyclopedists' expansive ambitions, and to play a formative role in establishing the modern disciplinary structure of knowledge.

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***Goethe Yearbook. Volume XXIII. Edited by Adrian Daub and Elisabeth Krimmer (and Book-Review Editor, Birgit Tautz).*** Rochester, New York: Camden House, for the Goethe Society of North America, 2016. Pp. v + 320; 24 illustrations; 1 figure. ISBN-13:978-1-57113-957-3. Hardcover, \$75. With Special Section on Visual Culture in the *Goethezeit*, pp. 141-270, and with nearly 50 pages of book reviews.

Brown, Jane K. "Building Bridges: Goethe's Fairy-Tale Aesthetics." Pp. 1-17.

Jane K. Brown takes a giant step toward advancing understandings of Goethe's aesthetics by showing the fairy tale to be his "basic modus operandi." She argues that the fairy tale represents for him not only *an* aesthetic but *the* paradigmatic aesthetic and demonstrates this by revealing how despite his having written only three fairy tales as such, the genre is central to his oeuvre, revealing aspects of his less paradigmatic works. She shows how the fairy tale shares with them similarities of symbol, structure, and aspirations for society, all focused on a balance of opposites. Brown does a close reading of "Das Märchen," pointing first to understandings of the work now "fairly obvious to scholarly readers" (its interpretability more in terms of its symbols than its structure and its constructive response to the French Revolution), then moving on to focus on this tale's paradigmaticity for Goethe, "for its connection to morphology." Here she provides a simple map reminding readers of the "essentials" the "Märchen" shares with the "Metamorphose der Pflanzen" (Metamorphosis of Plants) and noting in detail the meaning and importance of its multifarious symbols as well as its spatial structure, both of which demonstrate how the "Märchen" points to possibilities for restoring social "order by restoring the law of nature." Brown's most special contribution here is her focus on the "Märchen"'s central symbol, the bridge dramatizing the means of the resolution to which the tale points. She shows the bridge's link not to ur-Germanic myth suggested by Grimm's *Wörterbuch* but to bridges illustrated in the fourth book of Palladio's *Quattro libri dell'architettura* (Four Books of Architecture, 1570), which Goethe acquired in Padua in 1787. One of these bridges (Palladio's own invention), Brown sees, "looks suspiciously like the final bridge in the Märchen." She shows how the two match.

Brown reads “Die neue Melusina” similarly closely, pointing to it as “as central to Goethe’s oeuvre, almost, as the ‘Märchen.’”

That fairy tales illuminate important aspects of *Wilhelm Meister’s Lehrjahre* (Wilhelm Meister’s Apprenticeship Years), *Wilhelm Meister’s Wanderjahre* (Wilhelm Meister’s Travels), *Die Wahlverwandtschaften* (Elective Affinities), *Unterhaltungen deutscher Ausgewanderten* (Conversations of German Refugees), the *Müllerin* (Lovely Maid of the Mill) poems, and *Faust*, underscores Brown’s claim of the centrality of the fairy tale for Goethe’s work.

Amrine, Frederick. “Goethe as Mystagogue.” Pp. 19-39.

Noting the range of arcana of special interest to Goethe already explored in depth in the scholarship, Frederick Amrine takes on the challenge of examining Goethe’s relation to the ancient mystery religions, a topic vast, complex, and still too little explored, but “precisely the place where Goethe’s two highest ideals, ‘das Ewig-Weibliche’ (the Eternal Feminine) and the Spinozist concept of Gott-Natur (God-Nature) intersect.” The topic is also important given the pervasiveness of the theme of mystery religion in the thought of Goethe’s contemporaries and of its centrality to the *Symbolikstreit* (controversy over symbolism) of the early nineteenth century.

Of special note is Amrine’s immediate insight into Goethe’s understanding of the Mysteries and his apparent incorporation of their paradoxical character into his work as especially “genuine.” It will be primarily this and its links with Goethe’s ideals noted above that Amrine’s essay demonstrates. He shows that, like the Mysteries, Goethe’s work, from single poems through *Faust I* and *II*, incorporates both the exoteric and esoteric. It simultaneously reveals and conceals, trading in comprehensibles but also secret revelations that remain *unknown*, thus necessarily veiling transcendent truths potentially destructive if not mediated.

But Amrine incorporates a second major theme into his essay, the importance of Friedrich Creuzer’s six-volume *Symbolik und Mythologie der alten Völker* (1810-1822) as a major source of Goethe’s understanding of the Mysteries. Amrine here vindicates Creuzer “through the testimony” not only of Goethe but also of Jung and others.

In a final section of his essay, Amrine shows that many scenes in *Faust* related to the Mysteries allude to Virgil’s *Georgics IV*, taking Goethe beyond Greece to Egyptian Mysteries featuring Demeter/Isis.

Holland, Jocelyn. “Observing Neutrality, circa 1800.” Pp. 41-57.

Jocelyn Holland’s “Observing Neutrality, circa 1800” takes its cues from a 1978 seminar of Roland Barthes entitled “The Figures of the Neutral,” in which he shows the neutral in “widely differing contexts” to embody a sort of resistance to paradigmatic structures understandable as a “refusal to dogmatize” that frees the neutral from thematic rigidity. Holland addresses her topic via examples from the decades around 1800 in two sorts of discourses: in terms of human relations and in scientific contexts, showing on one hand how neutrality is used to indicate a certain mode of being around others—a sort of absence—

and on another how it functions in the developing science of chemistry in the case of neutral salts.

At the outset, Holland considers the meaning of the neutral, distinguishing it from that of a close apparent synonym, the impartial, the defining difference between the two being not the absence of judgment on the part of the neutral, but “the act of ‘saying’ itself, the *pronouncing* of judgment available to the impartial self. In short, in “observ[ing] neutrality” one “performs a...speech act whose signifier is silence.” A version of a neutral self could be a “nonspeaking and nonparticipatory entity, a living discrepancy between ‘internal’ judgments and external signifiers.”

Holland then discusses the concept of neutrality first as a mode of social “being-with” as exemplified in the “beautiful, neutral soul” in Goethe’s *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* (Wilhelm Meister’s Apprenticeship, 1785) and then as a participant in the chemical understanding of neutral salts. In the body of her essay proper, she then observes three different cases of “observing neutralities” around 1800, the first, largely literary (Carl Philipp Moritz’s *Andreas Hartknopf: Eine Allegorie* [1786]); the second, largely philosophical (German Romanticism’s *Naturphilosophie*, with emphasis on Novalis and Friedrich Schlegel); and the third, a discussion of “Chemical Neutrality in [Hegel’s student August von] Cieszkowski’s Historiosophy.” Holland demonstrates that the chemical understandings of the time suffuse all these as recognizable forms of an unmistakably chemical poetics.

Nielsen, Wendy C. “Goethe, *Faust*, and Motherless Creations.” Pp. 60-75.

Wendy Nielsen’s “Goethe, *Faust*, and Motherless Creations” makes a contribution to feminism in reading Goethe alongside the automata and androids that his contemporaries imagined and created—creations motherless in the sense that “men create them” “attempt[ing] to usurp women’s primary role in reproduction.” She shows that Goethe’s relationship to these artificial life-forms illuminates the role of parentage in *Faust* and also his relation to contemporary debates about *Erzeugung* [generation]. Moreover, it sheds light on “the absence of mothers in 18th- and 19th-century German writing” that diminishes women’s role in embryonic development. *Faust II*, for example, reflects Goethe’s interest in the question of whether father or mother contributes more “to the creation of new life.” Though “female figures help redeem Faust’s humanity through love,” they scarcely “inhabit their roles as mothers, instead exemplifying a motherless “mothering,” a “surrogate motherhood.” Indeed, in *Faust*, mothers “remain superfluous to the nurturing of new life except on a symbolic level.” This essay is characterized by the most varied examples pointing up its thesis from different cultural arenas—from *Faust*, from the natural philosophy of the time, from the flourishing industry of artisanal automata, and from contemporary theories of generation in obstetrics and gynecology. The essay’s key example of motherless creations is Goethe’s Homunculus. Nielsen reads Goethe’s Homunculus scenario as a satire on “the [contemporary] theory of preformation (of the embryo in sperm or ovum), if not of creation itself.”

Nossett, Lauren. "Impossible Ideals: Reconciling Virginité and Maternity in Goethe's *Werther*." Pp. 77-93.

Lauren Nossett's essay contributes to the question of Lotte's relation to Werther's suicide in Goethe's *Werther*, focusing on impossible combinations of both Werther's masculine and Lotte's feminine roles necessitated by the death of Lotte's mother. Nossett makes use of Kristeva's theory of the abject to add to existing theories of Lotte's role in connection with the suicide. Lotte is adored by Werther as Goethe's ideal of femininity, the virginal. But her mother's death adds to Lotte's virginal role, complicating it with the addition of another, the fully *maternal*, sexualizing her and inevitably linking her to what Kristeva identifies as the abject, the grotesque female body "synonymous with pregnancy" and "the primal site of abjection," the prelinguistic, thus "borderless," archaic maternal space terrifying to a subject in the process of formation. Lotte's sudden acquisition of multiple roles elicits corresponding ones on Werther's part, none of which he can realistically inhabit. "Werther can play out his romantic love for Lotte only in...in-between spaces: dreams, fantasies, and realms between Himmel und Erde." He "cannot locate Lotte in the patriarchal-Symbolic sphere [the sphere controlled by language]. Rather than exist in a lover's purgatory of in-between, undefinable space, Werther chooses death." In heaven, imagined by Werther pre-suicide, he and Lotte will be united both with each other and with Lotte's mother, and Lotte can then revert to her merely virginal and Werther to his merely romantic-lover's, role.

An important omission from and also an addition to a given translation might be noted here. For the line "fern von der realen Mutter beleben sich in der Liebe zu Lotte die verdrängten Bilder einer archaischen Mutter," one finds the word "verdrängt" (crucial here for an understanding of Werther's situation) left untranslated, and, shortly, the word "displaced"—not in the line here-quoted but part of Nossett's interpretation—added. One also finds another interpretation of a line not borne out by the line itself. In the scene in which Werther imagines himself sitting at [Lotte's] feet among the children, now her charges, he is not imagining himself as one *of* them. Nossett's writes: "Werther imagines a scene...in which he sits at her feet with the *other* children...(emphasis added). "Other" implies his (or Nossett's) seeing himself here as a child. This is not his self-image here, as his reference to himself-and-the-children not as "we," and to the children as "sie" make clear.

Smith, John H. "Kant, Calculus, Consciousness, and the Mathematical Infinite in Us." Pp. 95-121.

Whatever the vicissitudes of the idea of the mathematical infinite, from radical objections in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to its current recognition as an essential feature of the apprehensions of the modern world, John H. Smith, in his "Kant, Calculus, Consciousness, and the Mathematical Infinite in Us," demonstrates that Kant, already in his critiques, traveled an until-now-unrecognized distance toward "taming" this paradoxical and hence "dangerous" idea, by recognizing it as a necessary fixture of human consciousness—that is, of humans' ability to perceive and hence to think. He shows, for example, that this idea did not have to wait for Hegel "in order to find

a kind of infinite that is ‘actualized’ in the finite,” indeed “constitutive of reality as consisting of infinite gradations of reality.”

Smith, working through the first *Kritik*, shows that Kant’s explorations of the antinomies revealed to him “dangers lurking in theoretical reason, urging it toward an illegitimate, transcendent use, dangers that had to be removed by the project of a critical philosophy.” Such “Kritik” pointed toward the necessity of “restricting theoretical reason” exclusively “to the realm of phenomena, possible objects of experience.” This restriction “opened up” for Kant “a use of *practical* reason” (my emphasis), by which he keeps “the experience of the mathematical sublime” separate from theoretical reason but at the same time within consciousness, where “the continuous and infinitesimally small intensities that anticipatorily frame the nature of perception are...constitutive of reality.”

Ter Horst, Eleanor. “Classical Aesthetics of Schlegel’s *Lucinda*.” Pp. 123-40.

Friedrich Schlegel’s *Lucinda*, often understood as displaying an anti-classical aesthetic, was early criticized by Schiller as formless and unnatural, and condemned by him for its “failure to adhere to...aesthetic principles...associated [in his time and later] with classical antiquity, principles associated with Winckelmann’s characterization of Greek classicism. Schiller saw a mixing of genres in *Lucinda*’s “chaos, fragmentation, and change,” and considered the work grotesque. But unlike Winckelmann, for whom the “highest Olympus” of the poetic was achieved by the Greeks, Schlegel finds Latin culture superior. To Roman culture and art he attributes a freedom from social strictures that he admires and would emulate. Indeed, Eleanor Ter Horst argues, what the classical tradition “criticized as... grotesque...may,” rather, be read “as a fusion of classical Latin aesthetics...with the early Romantic rejection of conventional literary form and bourgeois sexual morality.” If Schlegel “derives his erotic aesthetic principles from Latin literature,” she adds, “one of his models is *surely* Ovid, whose *Amores* and *Metamorphoses* [exhibit] thematic and aesthetic links to *Lucinda*.” She then notes numerous characteristics that *Lucinda* shares with Ovid. A few of these are: an episodic rather than narrative mode, one featuring short scenes and philosophical digressions; the “ironic treatment of love”; a sense of scandal deriving from a flouting of social conventions concerning marriage and adultery; a “redefinition of gender roles” including “fluidity of sexual object choice”; a fusing of all genres and some systems of thought (examples: philosophy with literature, elegy with epic) to the point of indistinguishability; the separation of things normally related along with “the creation of new connections among the normally disparate; and a “concern with transformation as both trope and approach to genre”—all these characteristics integrated with Schlegel’s aesthetic theory, no longer classical, as Ter Horst’s title might suggest, but rather as modern as it is classically inspired.

Lande, Joel B. “Acquaintance with Color: Prolegomena to a Study of Goethe’s *Zur Farbenlehre*.” Pp. 143-169.

Joel Lande opens his essay with a set of questions dense in their variety, having to do with the sort of text one is encountering when one consults, reads, follows the thought of, and participates in the experiential opportunities afforded

the reader by Goethe's "most ambitious scientific text." It will turn out that no single assessment of this text's nature will be adequate, since it is in a sense neither fish nor fowl, neither treatise nor directions for experiment, but offers the potential for an integration of both by the reader. Lande argues that the text "should be understood as a tool" and that "the key" to its nature *as* this "lies in the *opposition* [emphasis added] between the experimental routines of the moderns and the ancients, the moderns valuing first-person understanding derived from experience and thus including and emphasizing experimentation, and the ancients—though they "did science about and for lived experience," direct observation being "their greatest asset"—nonetheless relying upon wholesale acceptance of authorial authority, omitting from scientific treatises accounts of "step-by-step...actions and observations" supporting conclusions. Goethe's text integrates the two possibilities for being scientific. "To study *Zur Farbenlehre* is to engage equally" in understanding *and* [in] experimental reenactment. Goethe's text is thus both "thoroughly modern *and* faithful to the interplay of science and life embodied in the classical Greek moment."

Bersier, Gabrielle. "Hamiltonian-Hendelian' Mimoplastics and Tableau of the Underworld: The Visual Aesthetics of Goethe's 1815 *Proserpina* Production." Pp. 171-194.

Gabrielle Bersier's essay provides accounts of aspects of Goethe's 1815 *Proserpina* production that contribute first variously, then indelibly, to its understanding, concluding as it does with a reading to which the essay's title and its progress as it moves along give no hint. That this is so adds, ultimately, to the force of the essay. Bersier clarifies the nature and characteristics of the genre the work exemplifies, the tableau vivant in its well-known mode as "attitude" performance, with emphasis on its multimedia character—with pictorial effects interacting with lyrical and musical passages, and combining garment and color changes with spectacle and with illustrative gestures and swift dance movements exploding from static poses. She acquaints the reader with popular German attitude performer Henriette Hendel-Schütz, whom Goethe invited to Weimar in 1810 for a week during which she performed two of her "mimoplastic" scenes and was called an "incomparable female Proteus" by an admiring Goethe. Bersier also, and with noteworthy brevity, describes the modern iconography of the typical performance. In addition she traces views shared between Goethe and his sometime collaborator Carl August Böttiger but is careful to emphasize especially marked differences between them from the point of view of their ultimate interpretation of the Latinized myth of Demeter and Persephone. Böttiger Christianizes the myth, permitting a hopeful, heavenly outcome for Proserpina. Goethe stages a counter-understanding, undercutting the spiritualism of a virginal apotheosis for Proserpina with emphasis on the "sensuous appetite of his pomegranate-eating protagonist." Goethe's monologue may indeed elicit "feelings of empathy for the plight of an innocent...virgin kidnapped by a violent male predator," but Goethe foregrounds Proserpina as a rape victim "with an innate craving for [sexual] pleasure, which makes her a captive of her lascivious drives and therefore an accomplice in her own sexual enslavement," "another Eve whose lustful drives made her the agent of her own fall."

Allert, Beate. "J. W. Goethe and C. G. Carus: On the Representation of Nature in Science and Art." Pp. 195-219.

Though it has been argued that there was a break in the Goethe-Carus relationship in the middle of 1831, Allert shows that a deep connection between the two, most alive between 1818 and 1828, persisted until Goethe's death in 1832 and that this death would mark no end of Carus's involvement with Goethe's thought nor of expressions of devotion to Goethe's memory. She shows in detail the specifics of the two men's shared interests in various subject and performance areas: science, painting, color, poetry, music. She also shows their differing viewpoints—on the subject of landscape painting, for example; on the susceptibility of painting for use in healing due to its potential for affecting the psyche (Goethe being an art for art's sake purist); and especially on the credence Carus accorded the unconscious, Goethe emphasizing consciousness and generally rejecting psychological notions. Allert's greatest support for her argument that a deep connection between the two men was not broken rests on a series of Carus's publications that appeared after Goethe's death as well as in Carus's "artworks, including a series of six...in charcoal...inspired by *Faust* and completed after 1851."

Particular strengths of this essay are its structure and its clarity. Setting up her argument with a brief introduction noting in particular Carus's identity and the variety of exchanges, discursive and material, scientific and artistic, that took place between the two men, Allert points to an investigation arguing a break between them in 1831 as incorrect, and in support of her argument identifies Carus's above-noted publications and artworks. She also outlines what is to be the content of her article via noting five major points she will make, each of which she follows up on in detail. In a concluding section she then condenses the material covered by the essay as a whole in a summary clarifying the high points of the material she has uncovered.

Beate's identification of Johann Gottfried Herder merely as a "poet and scholar" surprised me, given Herder's formative influence on the young Goethe.

Macleod, Catrina. "Brentano's Remains: Visual and Verbal Bricolage in *Gockel, Hinkel und Gackeleia* (1838)." Pp. 221-243.

Catrina MacLeod reads the frontispiece and other illustrations for the fairy tale *Gockel, Hinkel und Gackeleia* "in dialogue" with the tale itself—"not merely as supplemental...embellishments but as mutually constitutive of its meaning." They serve as a paratext, as it were, in Genette's terms, a way *into* and importantly participatory *in* the text itself. Also, following Louis Marin, she considers the frontispiece, though a Rungian arabesque of borrowed images, nonetheless as a "discursive" set of instructions on how to read the work proper. But the frontispiece and illustrations are not the only such "thresholds" via which one might enter the work. The frontispiece is followed by an aesthetic manifesto by Brentano, another paratext. Moreover, Brentano includes a dedication of the work to his grandmother, the then middle-aged Marianne von Willemer, Goethe's sometime muse, this dedication serving as yet another way into the work, an additional paratext.

The work these paratexts lead into, or frame, exemplifies an aesthetic of what MacLeod calls “‘remaindering’—an assemblage of human, doll, and animal forms inspired by ‘Gerümpel,’ Willemer’s moldering collection of clothing scraps, jewelry, dried flowers, Christmas decorations, and cut-out pictures.” Across four intricately devised questions that provide their own ways into the work—questions that themselves constitute yet other paratexts, MacLeod is able to integrate the multifarious aspects of this work—visual, literary, almost-material—into a coherence, whatever its drifting bits and pieces, bookended, as it were, “by the frontispiece and its parallel arabesque illustration” at the work’s end.

Solanki, Tanvi. “A Book of Living Paintings; Tableaux Vivants in Goethe’s *Die Wahlverwandtschaften* (1809).” Pp. 246-270.

In his *Italienische Reise* Goethe reports having in 1787 viewed a private performance of an early form of tableau vivant, the “attitude,” by Lady Emma Hamilton in a town near Naples. The report is fictional, but he would go on, in Weimar in the 1810s, to embrace this new, multi-media art form, producing numerous tableaux vivants (typically live reenactments of familiar paintings), and even include three such tableaux plus a nativity scene in his *Wahlverwandtschaften*. Tanvi Solanki shows that the criteria for selecting the paintings go beyond what the scholarship has theorized to date, this being their service as a survey of popular eighteenth-century tableau themes, their possibly representing a tasteless display of grotesquery, or their being the aged Goethe’s critique of...shallow contemporary popular culture. Solanki demonstrates that the paintings fulfill an exemplary role not earlier recognized, in that they reflect the structure of the novel itself as “a book of living paintings.” “Far from being peripheral or trivial, the tableaux vivants serve to direct attention to the [novel’s] structure...by being self-conscious and theatrical enactments of precisely the kind of static, framed tableaux sequenced through the novel.”

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**Stephen H. Gregg. *Defoe’s Writings and Manliness: Contrary Men.***

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Paying homage in its closing pages to Roy Porter and G. S. Rousseau, Stephen H. Gregg concedes, “Gout, however, was an over-determined sign” (157). There’s a sense, in reading Gregg’s single-focus study, that one could say the same about manliness. This is not a complaint, but rather an observation about the necessary effect of conceptualising “manliness as a continual agonistic process, in a repetitive dialogue with its other, effeminacy” (163). Manliness, effeminacy: these are big terms, and Defoe was a writer “who,” as Gregg rightly attests, “bruted” big “opinions on every topic of the day in a dazzling variety of

voices” (165). Gregg’s book—full of vibrant close readings, stimulating observations, and productive connections—critically examines the contrary operation of those bruited voices.

Gregg contends that Defoe essentially endorsed a conservative “definition of manliness” in keeping with “his own time” (164). He sees Defoe’s definition of manliness (used interchangeably in this book with masculinity) as encoding “physical vigor, personal courage, rationality, a belief in (the Christian) God, an adherence to the role of authority in marriage, self-control over desire (speculation, emulation, luxury, consumables, sexual lust, fame),” and “an ethic of civic or national utility” that supported the ideal of Classical virtue (164). In Gregg’s hands, Defoe conceived of ideal manliness as a contrary bulwark—not against the specter of femininity itself but of effeminacy (effeminate is used interchangeably with feminized, perhaps somewhat confusingly).

The book itself moves consciously in somewhat contrary ways. For instance, the argument about Defoe’s definition of manliness is yoked to the admission that Defoe actually “never drew a picture of a man that unequivocally combined all of these” desirable manly “qualities” (164). The book closes by asserting that Defoe embraced “contrariness in the face of orthodoxy” (166), and book indulges its own contrariness as appropriately representative of the contradictory nature it locates at the heart of Defoean masculinity. Ultimately, the book wants to complicate our view of contrary masculinity by illuminating how the term was historically surrounded by, articulated through, and in dialogue with, a myriad of other concepts, tropes and discourses. In this book, this has included virtue, trade, credit, status and rank, reformation, gentility, manners, violence, sodomy, friendship, discontent, adventure, retirement, courage, reason, rationality (and irrationality), sin, subordination, marriage, colonialism, patriarchy, Jacobitism, Providence, Christianity (and atheism), High Church Tories, Whiggism, stoicism, the vapours, the passions, gardening, lust, labour and luxury (163).

Gregg’s Defoe is “magpie-like,” and the methodology of *Contrary Men* is, too; like Defoe, Gregg seeks to draw upon “every available source” that sought to define “masculinity: Christianity, classical virtue, civic humanism, what we might now call liberal economics, debates on status and gentility, and gender folklore” (164). While the book’s ambitious, complicating intentions might have been extended and deepened by closer engagement with additional extant scholarship on gender and sexuality outside of masculinity studies per se, the decision in the final paragraph to hang the book’s hat on Michael McKeon’s description of *Robinson Crusoe* seems appropriate, since, as Gregg says, McKeon’s description surely “can stand for much of Defoe’s writing on masculinity”: “a complex of contradictions” (166-7).

Demonstrably, then, *Defoe’s Writings and Manliness* contributes to Defoe studies by way of masculinity studies. The book explicitly asserts a generative contrary stance in wanting to make visible what it sees as “peculiarly invisible”—“the category of men” (2). Pursuing the fascinating claim that “Defoe’s abiding interest was in *failures* of manliness,” each chapter considers “how men could resist this slide into a failure so often termed effeminacy” (1). Gregg comes to his subject by way of a “powerful pictorial emblem”: “The

Choice of Hercules,” described by Addison in *The Tatler*. In it, “Hercules is flanked by two women, ‘Pleasure’ and ‘Virtue’: one scantily clad and beckoning to a blanket on the ground; the other clad in robes and pointing towards a steep path up the mountain” (3). Gregg’s reading of the emblem is provocative: Virtue offers a “scenario of manly agency (contrary to the effeminate choice offered by ‘Pleasure’),” a “manly outcome” as opposed to “the pursuit of women” (3).

Chapter 1, “‘Complete’ men, trade and history,” presses on “Defoe’s attitude towards trade through the lens of effeminacy” (1), revealing across a range of texts (*Roxana* to *A Plan of the English Commerce*) an uncomfortable and uneven engagement with the dictates of civic humanism. Building on extant theses about the economic man, the chapter wonders what it meant for Defoe that financial success was linked to luxury and that rampant consumerism was therefore at odds with manliness. Chapter 2, “Born gentlemen and godly manliness,” similarly draws on a range of texts (*Moll Flanders* to *The Compleat English Gentleman*, but especially *Character of the late Dr. Samuel Annesley*). The chapter takes up Defoe’s complicated attitude toward the gentry, his concerns about connections between “religiosity, foppery and manliness,” and his interest in the question of what it meant for a man to exert authority in the home but submit to the authority of god/Providence (7).

Each of the remaining chapters (3-6) primarily treats a single novelistic figure apiece, but has broader implications for understanding both Defoe’s writing and their time of production. Specifically, Gregg contributes to our understandings of Robinson Crusoe, H. F. (and friends), Captain Singleton, Colonel Jack. Chapter 3, “Crusoe, toil and temptation,” deals with the seemingly ubiquitous connection between effeminacy, irrationality, and “lack of autonomous self-mastery” (8). This is the longest chapter, and it explores “the contingency of Crusoe’s ostensibly autonomous manliness” with a provocative reading of the-island-as-Eden (9). Chapter 4, “*A Journal of the Plague Year*: godly manliness under stress,” takes a close and complicated look at each of the characters in the *Journal*, describing them as “a variety of manly exemplars, each an answer to the tricky negotiation between men’s submission to Providence and hegemonic ideals of manliness as *vita activa*” (10). Chapter 5, “Singleton, friendship and secrecy” examines that novel (*Captain Singleton*) as “negotiat[ing] the problematic legibility of male-male love” (12). Chapter 6, “Colonel Jack and the perils of delusion,” looks at how the eponymous protagonist struggles with three sources of temptation: Jacobitism, women, and wealth. Showing in this final chapter how Jack’s failures signal a submerged patriarchalism within contract theory post-Locke, Gregg generates a new critical entrée into this novel—as with other texts he treats—by way of gender. The treatment in *Contrary Men* of Defoe’s approach to the “slippery slope” (Gregg’s term) of effeminacy/feminization should be of interest not just to Defoe scholars but to a range of specialists, from those who work on eighteenth-century theories of identity and selfhood to feminist critics who have lead the way in charting other pieces of terrain from resonant angles.

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## Memorial Tributes to our Beloved Apostle, John Radner

On 9 May 2017 EC/ASECS lost our much admired colleague and friend John B. Radner in his 78th year--indeed, it was a loss to ASECS and the still larger communities of historical and literary scholars. It was a more immediate loss to John's wife Eleanor Greene and John's sons Joshua and Jamie by his first wife, Joan, and to his stepchildren Elizabeth and David Pelcyger and to three grandchildren. The loss must be great too for his neighbors in Washington, D.C., his colleagues at George Mason where he was emeritus professor, and for his recent colleagues and students at the Osher Lifelong Learning Institute.

With a big heart, a patient ear, and good will towards all, John was as much beloved for his character as he was admired for his scholarship that shone out from the page and the podium. After four decades of hearing John's searching analyses at conferences, with the delightful engagements thereafter during Q&A, we will sorely miss him this fall and at every annual meeting for decades. John's presentations have been the most important formative contribution anyone has made to our meetings: as Linda Merians pointed out, "John was one of the first of us to not actually read a formal paper, but talk from notes and excerpts." Yes, he established an exemplary manner of talking as much as reading, adopting his own classroom-manner and tone, earnest and enthusiastic, selling if not preaching, which many of us attempted to rhetorically emulate at least in spirit. And John had been very productive in recent years and promised us many insights into Samuel Johnson, James Boswell, and the English 18th century for years to come. His *Johnson and Boswell: A Biography of a Friendship* (Yale University Press, 2012) shared ASECS's Annibel Jenkins Biography Prize with a work of French scholarship in 2015 (see our review by Beth Lambert in 28.1 [March 2014], 38-40). The selection committee praised the book as a "wholly original biography of a biography, Boswell's *Life of Johnson* . . . tracing a history of collaboration and resistance . . . struggle for dominance," which enabled Boswell's biography to be such a "literary triumph." They went on to note that John's book was an "innovative and 'remarkable exercise of biography' written in 'elegant and attractive prose.'" No surprise to regulars at EC/ASECS meetings. We had watched John discover questions for inquiry and develop answers and hypotheses on such over the three decades prior to its publication and have since heard further illuminations of Johnson and Boswell's friendship, lives, and authorial careers.

John had written on Swift as well in the 1970s, after taking his B.A. and Ph.D. from Harvard and teaching four years at Georgetown before joining George Mason University (retired 2007), but by the 1980s he had selected Johnson and Boswell as the focus of his studies. The preface to *Johnson and Boswell* provides a good map of this scholarly pursuit as it records his early engagement with Johnson under the inspiration and formative interpretation of Walter Jackson Bate, first in undergraduate and graduate courses at Harvard (the first leading to John's undergrad thesis on Johnson's religion), and then through Bate's 1977 *Samuel Johnson*. There too John charts the questions pursued in his major essays and thanks those who assisted him on his journey, such as Irma Lustig (who drew him into Boswell studies), Donald Newman, Deborah Kaplan,

Amy Fulton-Stout (a graduate student who served as research assistant for a year), and the research staffs at the Folger and Yale's Beinecke Library and Boswell Papers Project; plus the many who read drafts of his chapters, such as Elizabeth Lambert, Eileen Sypher, Thomas Bonnell, Linda Merians, and especially Henry Fulton. Dr. Johnson would probably want it pointed out that the mature application of limits paid off in a truly exceptional book, which, in a century, will be read when none are by those piling up a new monograph every couple years. I leave it to reviews by Johnsonians to sing the praises of *Johnson and Boswell*, but I would point to one insight in a review offered by Peter Bee on Amazon that captures the emotional intelligence that enabled John to produce the book and win the affection of colleagues: after noting that "Radner has a talent like Boswell's: he can 'hear' the tone of letters exchanged, published remarks, offhand observations," Bee observes in Radner a "sympathetic fair-mindedness as he examines the personal flaws and blindspots of both men."

John brought out a sequence of essays, never rushed into print, that suggest his path to *Johnson and Boswell*, the most important of which include: "The Significance of Johnson's Changing Views of the Hebrides" in *The Unknown Samuel Johnson*, ed. by John J. Burke, Jr., and Donald Kay (1983); "Boswell and Johnson's Sexual Rivalry" in *The Age of Johnson*, 5 (1992), 201-46; "From Paralysis to Power: Boswell with Johnson in 1775-1778" in *James Boswell: Psychological Interpretations*, ed. by Donald J. Newman (1995); "Pilgrimage and Autonomy: The Veil of Ashbourne" in *Boswell: Citizen of the World, Man of Letters*, ed. by Irma S. Lustig (1995); "'A Very Exact Picture of his Life': Johnson's Role in Writing the *Life of Johnson*," *The Age of Johnson*, 7 (1996), 299-342; and "Constructing an Adventure and Negotiating for Narrative Control: Johnson and Boswell in the Hebrides" in *Literary Couplings: Writing Couples, Collaborators, and the Construction of Authorship*, ed. by Marjorie Stone and Judith Thompson (2006). One mystery led John to another until he completed his biography. As he wrote to me in late October 2016 regarding the reexamination of his 1984 EC/ASECS paper in 1986: "I discovered I couldn't fully understand what was happening in Scotland that fall without knowing about the first ten years of the friendship, and couldn't appreciate what Johnson did in the *Journey*--and what Boswell did in revising the original journal--without exploring what happened after the trip." An important addendum to *Johnson and Boswell* is John's essay "Boswell, Johnson, and the Biography Project" in *The Age of Johnson*, 23 (2015), 33-56. And next year in a collection on Johnson and his circle edited by Anthony Lee (Bucknell UP), we will find John's "Connecting with Three 'Young Dogs': Johnson's Early Letters to Robert Chambers, Bennet Langton, and James Boswell," with an appended table of Johnson's correspondence with the men. As Tony notes in his introduction, John's essay provides a context for understanding Johnson's "failure to write more often [in the 1760-70s] despite Boswell's efforts to coax responses."

Thinking about what Tony wrote in that introduction regarding Beth Lambert's essay on Boswell's, Burke's, and Johnson's attitudes to slavery and Boswell's handling of the subject of slavery in the *Life*, I asked John about topics that Boswell either did not discuss with Johnson or did not choose to record. On 20 February 2017 John emailed back as follows:

Boswell was warned in 1776--by both Lucy Porter and John Taylor--not to talk with Johnson about his experience as usher and didn't. He told Sir John Pringle later that spring that he "durst not" ask Johnson whether he ever slept with prostitutes, and it seems that he didn't; in fact when Johnson provided an opening in fall 1779, Boswell seems not to have followed up. He also pulled a curtain over what he and Johnson talked about on 9 May 1778, when--I think to make up for his having insulted Boswell earlier that month--Johnson for the first time talked at length with him about "the sensual intercourse between the sexes." There was also an undocumented conversation in 1776--see pp. 182-183 of my book--when Boswell somehow crossed a line and later feared Johnson's censure. I'm hoping to highlight some of this material--plus Boswell's reaction to what he heard on Easter 1783 from Mrs. Desmoulins--in a talk at ECASECS this coming fall, in a session marking the 30th anniversary of Eric Molin's death.

Let us record some of John's less known pedagogical and scholarly achievements. After taking his Ph.D., John worked for four years as the Head Tutor in English at Harvard, which surely reflected his abilities as teacher of literature and composition. With Stephen Ackerman, Ann Kelly and others, he formed a Washington area 18C discussion group that met for many years beginning in the 1970s. Later John participated in the Folger Colloquium on 18C Women Writers, established by Susan Lanser. These two experiences and his work directing theses at George Mason underlie his more recent leading of study groups for the Osher Lifelong Learning Institute. His support for EC/ASECS and his capacities as a collaborator and editor are suggested by two collections of essays that arose from conference sessions he co-chaired (whose papers he then co-edited) with Theodore E. D. Braun: "Death and Dying in the Early Modern Era," thirteen essays in a special section of *1650-1850*, vol. 7 (2002); and *The Lisbon Earthquake of 1755: Representations and Reactions* (Oxford Voltaire Foundation, 2005). The former was reviewed by Mary Margaret Stewart in the *Intelligencer* of May 2003 and the latter by Henry Fulton in that of June 2006. John served as President of EC/ASECS in 1995-6, when one of his initiatives was to reduce the registration fees for graduate students (see 10.i [Feb. 1996], 6--John had earlier helped set up the Molin Prize). John's Presidential Address at Georgetown U. in 1996 appears in *ECIntel* 11.1 (Feb. 1997), 1-4. In 2002 he was awarded our Leland D. Peterson Award for service to EC/ASECS, one of the first and most deserving winners of that honor. His other contributions to the *Intelligencer* include reviews of O M Brack's edition of Sir John Hawkins' *Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* (March 2011) and Elizabeth Lambert's *Edmund Burke of Beaconsfield* (January 2004), his contribution to Linda Merians' "Pedagogue's Post" of an account of teaching a graduate course on Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, with sample study questions (May 1999), and memorial accounts of his colleague Eric Molin of George Mason U. (December 1987 and January 1992). [Ask me for any of these *Intelligencer* articles that interest you.] In 1976, he contributed to *Eighteenth-Century Life*, then an offshoot of EC/ASECS, "The Youthful Harlot's Curse:

The Prostitute as a Symbol of the City in 18th-Century English Literature” (2: 59-64), and in 1973 and 1974 John contributed essays on Johnson to *Enlightenment Essays* and *Studies in Burke and his Time*. Two of his articles on Swift are “The Fall and Decline: *Gulliver’s Travels* and the Failure of Utopia,” *Utopian Studies*, 3.2 (1992), 50-74, and “The Struldbruggs, the Houyhnhnms, and the Good Life,” *SEL*, 17.3 (1977), 419-33.

Now your editor turns to appreciative tributes to John from our colleagues, concluding with Beth Lambert’s tribute to her teacher and mentor. On 11 May the ASECS distribution list posted Sue Lanser’s announcement of John’s death. She noted John, a “passionate Johnsonian since his graduate years at Harvard,” had spoken at the ASECS 2017 in Minneapolis “about Johnson’s travels in the Highlands and Hebrides. He had been honored by his students as one of the Society’s Great Teachers.” And she noted a memorial service on May 21st.

Howard Weinbrot, one of the most distinguished Johnsonians, wrote on 11 May: “I too was greatly saddened by the news of John’s death. He was an admired friend and colleague, whose work on Boswell and Johnson I had been reading for over forty years. Indeed, I had the pleasure of writing a glowing blurb for his Yale book, and of course had the greater pleasure of having read it with instruction and delight. I last saw and heard John in Minneapolis, where he was characteristically on target, and characteristically illuminating about his favorite topics. He represents the best of his generation. It is a commonplace to say that he will be missed. It also is true.” Howard comments on the dust-jacket of John’s *Johnson and Boswell*: “John Radner handsomely demonstrates that the Johnson-Boswell relationship was both a partnership and a competition that extended from their first meeting in 1763 to the publication of the *Life* in 1791. The book is original, persuasive, elegantly written, and an important contribution to Johnsonian, biographical, and eighteenth-century studies.”

Also on 11 May, among various posted tributes responding to Linda Merians’ lament to many in EC/ASECS, Ted Braun wrote: “What you all say about John reflects my own memories of him. . . . he and I co-chaired sessions on ‘Death and Dying’ and on ‘The Lisbon Earthquake,’ the former published in *1650-1850* as a 200-page Special Feature, the latter as a separate volume in *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*. I have had the pleasure of co-editing and of co-authoring books and articles; John stands out as one of the very best among the 20-odd people I have worked with in co-chairing sessions and in co-authoring and co-editing. But more than that, he was a great friend to have, warm and witty and caring. And he’s so much younger than I am, which makes me even sadder to lose him so unexpectedly. We’ll all miss him.

The next day Brij Singh wrote, “I was shocked and deeply grieved to hear the sad news and still can’t quite believe it. I know that John had had a heart attack some years ago, but he had begun to take excellent care of his health and was doing great. He used to work out very regularly, keep his weight down, walk a lot, . . . How could this happen? We will all miss him terribly. He was a good, loyal and generous friend, a great Johnson and Boswell scholar, a committed and engaged teacher much loved and admired by his students, and his presentations at EC/ASECS meetings were always a joy, with their air of easy informality mantling profound learning and always, always, wise insights.

Above all, John was a very fine human being. I shared a room with him once at a conference: he was a delightful roommate, so considerate, so accommodating, and a great person to talk to, whether about the 18th century or about teaching or our experiences in the gym or anything else. I feel his loss greatly.”

And Gene Hammon that day posted, “This is one more disturbing reminder that we have (almost) all reached a vulnerable age. I’ve shared a room with John at ASECS and ECASECS for roughly the past seven or eight years, including most recently at Minneapolis, and what all of you say is so true. John has always been a colleague, a sharer, a friend, a facilitator, and not an isolated voice. He was a pioneer in making conference time and classroom time truly useful for participants. And at an age when many of us can’t remember names or places, John still knew what happened every day of Johnson’s and Boswell’s lives, and how what happened on Friday affected what then happened on Saturday. He lived life fully as a scholar, a teacher, and a family member to the very end.”

John has an essay on Johnson forthcoming in *Community and Solitude: New Essays on Johnson’s Circle*. In the Acknowledgement, editor Anthony Lee remarks: “I learned the morning after sending the complete manuscript for this book to Bucknell University Press that John Radner, one of our contributors, had died. For a number of years I have enjoyed John’s smiling company at various ASECS and EC/ASECS gatherings. He was always eager to talk about Boswell (whose work he knew like the back of his own hand) and Johnson, and I always came away from our conversations happier and better informed than before. He will be missed by many in the eighteenth-century community.”--JEM

### **In Memory of John Radner**

by Beth Lambert

When John Radner’s friends heard of his death, their reactions were redolent of the incredulity voiced by Samuel Johnson’s friends when they learned that he died. Boswell wrote: “My feeling was just one large expanse of Stupor...I could not believe it. My imagination was not convinced.” If John Radner personified anything to those who knew him it was an energy for life and for the eighteenth century; an exuberance that was, at once, stimulating, catching, and joyful. Even several months later, it is difficult to grasp the reality that his special vitality was so quickly taken from us.

Most of us know John as a meticulous scholar and researcher whose amazingly detailed knowledge of the Johnson and Boswell relationship made any conference panel in which he spoke an exceptional one. As friends and colleagues, we were immensely gratified when his book, *Johnson and Boswell: A Biography of Friendship*, was published, and I now treasure my copy in ways that I did not anticipate when he gave it to me. But I want to speak here about John as a teacher. I was privileged to have been his student at the beginning of my graduate studies and to have benefited early on from his charismatic (not too strong a word) approach to the eighteenth century.

When John came to George Mason in the fall of 1975, it was a very different institution than the one from which he retired in 2007. The English MA program was in its infancy, graduate classes were held in the evenings, and most of the graduate students were older and held jobs, or, as in my case, had family responsibilities. The program may have been young, but the faculty benefited from the glut of PhDs then entering the job market. With John's addition to the graduate staff, George Mason gained a stellar teacher and scholar. I had been a graduate student there since September 1972 and had, within a very short time, cast my intellectual lot with eighteenth-century literature. I loved everything from the poetry to the novels and all the letters and diaries in between. But most of all, I loved Johnson and his friend Edmund Burke. John's classes were just what I wanted and needed.

Every week his students were required to submit a reading journal with our responses to the material assigned for that class. Without fail, John returned these the following class with his detailed, thoughtful comments and, perhaps even better, with questions that prodded one to think more deeply and in new ways about the reading. We loved the ongoing dialogue; it seemed as though each of us had a private tutor in John. I also remember more than one student voicing aloud the wish that he would lecture more instead of drawing us out with, albeit, probing questions. We knew what we thought; we wanted to hear his take on the material because it would be much more wide-ranging and insightful than ours. As I finished the course work for the MA, I knew I wanted to keep studying eighteenth-century literature and learn much more about Burke, Johnson, and their circle. It was John who actively encouraged me to go on for the doctorate and to apply to the University of Maryland.

The move to Maryland did not end my connection with John; it took it to another level. In 1979, Ann Kelly, John, and others formed our rendition of Johnson's Club. In fact, we called it that--"The Club"--and invited all those in the Washington area interested in eighteenth-century English literature. John's house on Quesada Street was often the meeting place for discussions about everything from Pope to "sub-literary" texts. We were also able to take advantage of well-known scholars, such as Patricia Spacks and Irvin Ehrenpreis, who were passing through DC and have them all to ourselves for an evening.

The Club was up and running well in the fall of 1980 when the Folger Institute, contrary to their practice, did not offer a seminar on the 18<sup>th</sup> century. John solved that problem by organizing our own seminar. In the 3-page letter I have he goes into every aspect of the proposal, from possible participants and discussion leaders, to the when, where, and time of each meeting. With his usual thoroughness, he talks about a number of possible subjects for our seminar as well as possibilities within those possibilities. And, in typical John-fashion he ended: "But of course the list of things we COULD do—and perhaps even SHOULD do—is pretty long. So's this letter. So I'll stop." And we did it; for nine weeks we met in true Johnsonian fashion.

As much as I look upon John as a long-time friend, I realize that I also always looked upon him as a teacher. Through the years I could count on him for solid advice about a paper I was working on or an approach I could take in writing my book. I was among those who read draft chapters of his book, and I

looked forward to the free-ranging conversations about the material he was covering at a specific time, and I learned something new.

After John retired in 2007 he continued to teach, this time for the Osher Lifelong Learning Institute at American University. Caught by his enthusiasm, when I retired I followed suit by teaching with OLLI at George Mason. The last conversation we had was on the subject of teaching Johnson's *Rasselas* to a clientele that ranged from retired military and government personnel of all sorts, to the simply intellectually-curious senior. *Rasselas* was a work that still spoke to both of us, and the conversation was alternately practical and speculative.

Johnson titled the last chapter of his tale: "The Conclusion, in which nothing is concluded." Oddly enough, that phrase speaks to the impact John had on so many of us. His work as a teacher is concluded, as is his life as a scholar, but the impact of his thinking, of his warm concern for friends, and the joy and challenge he imparted to fellow eighteenth-century scholars is not concluded. It is the gift he gave to us all.

Gettysburg College

### News of Members

First a correction to the March issue: when promoting the discounted subscription fee for *The Scriblerian* in the last issue (p. 61), I said that **W. Blake Gerard** was at the Univ. of Alabama at Montgomery--I should have said the Univ. of Auburn at Montgomery. The deal is worth repeating: \$15 for a graduate student initiation subscription for two years. The correction is important, for Roy Wolper has retired from editing *The Scriblerian*, which he co-founded half a century ago, and the administrative offices, or HQ, of *The Scriblerian* has shifted to Blake's campus: Department of English & Philosophy (Liberal Arts, 337) / Auburn U. at Montgomery / 7041 Senators Drive / Montgomery, AL 36117. Blake reported in August that the fall 2017 issue was at the press.

Next a rejoinder. **Robert Walker** wrote a good caveat to my remarks on the price of AMS annuals in the last issue, noting I failed to consider discounts to scholars and contributors: "I suppose I have more sympathy than most for the "jacked-up" pricing of volumes in recent years. I think it is noteworthy that, as someone with a standing order for *Age of Johnson*, I paid each year less than half the retail price you quote, and I don't think I had a deal that was not available to anyone who wished to have his own copy of his favorite AMS annual. Moreover, AMS would give a comparable discount on any of its volumes to someone who had an essay or review appearing in that volume."

On 12 July 2017 incoming ASECS President Sue Lanser sent forth a memo to the membership on changes in the leadership. The foremost of these was the replacement of Byron Wells as Executive Director by **Lisa Berglund** and thus the transition of ASECS's office from Wake Forest to Buffalo. Under Lisa, **Aimée Levesque**, for some years an EC/ASECS member, is now serving as ASECS's office manager, in Ketchum Hall at SUNY's Buffalo State College, 1300 Elmwood Ave., Buffalo, NY 14222 (asecsoffice@gmail.com; 716-878-

3405). It will not be easy for Aimée to follow the wonderfully efficient **Vickie Cutting** long in that role. We wish her and Lisa the best and already are in their debt for ASECS's weekly announcements with all their helpful links. Lanser also announced that **Catherine Parisian**, after years of service as Affiliate Societies Coordinator, steps down, replaced by **Rivka Swenson**. In addition, *Eighteenth-Century Studies* moves from Yale to the Univ. of New Hampshire, to be edited by Sean Moore (with Cheryl Nixon as book review editor). **Eve Tavor Bannet** will continue as editor of *SECC*, but joined by co-editor Roxann Wheeler (changes in the SECC format were noted in the last issue).

**Anna Battigelli**, having chaired a conference on Jane Austen & the Arts at SUNY--Plattsburgh earlier this year, is editing the collection "Art and Artifact in Jane Austen" for the U. of Delaware Press (expected in 2018), which includes **Barbara M. Benedict's** "What Oft was Thought': Wit, Conversation, Poetry and Pope in Jane Austen's Works." Barbara has recently published "Collecting Feeling and the Sentimental Virtuoso in Henry Mackenzie's *The Man of Feeling*." *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* vol. 28, no. 3 (Spring 2016): 473-99; and "Curiosity and the Occult: The Ambiguities of Science in Eighteenth-Century British Literature" in *The Palgrave Handbook of Early-Modern Literature and Science*, eds. Howard Marchitello and Lyn Tribble (2017). Barbara has many other essays, mostly book chapters, out this year or submitted and forthcoming soon: "The Virtuous in Distress: *David Simple*, *Amelia*, *Memoirs of Miss Sidney Bidulph*" in *The Sentimental Novel in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. **Albert J. Rivero** (Cambridge UP, 2017); "Curiosity and Collecting in English Literature," in *Curiosity in Multidisciplinary Perspective*, eds. Arjun Shankar and Perry Zurn (under review at MIT UP); "Jewels, Rings, and Bonds: Objects and the Body in *The Merchant of Venice*, *Cymbeline*, *Mansfield Park* and *Sense and Sensibility*," in *Interconnections between Shakespeare and Austen*, eds. Marina Cano and Rosa Garcia-Periago (under review); and "Advertising Women: Representations of Gender in the Print Culture of the Marketplace" in *Women's Periodicals and Print Culture in Britain, 1690-1820: The Long Eighteenth Century*, vol. 1, eds. Jennie Batchelor and **Manushag Powell** (Edinburgh UP, 2018). Barbara's essay "Paratexting Beauty into Duty: Aesthetics and Morality in Late Eighteenth-Century Literary Collections" will be published this month, along with essays by **Sandro Jung** and **Thomas Van der Goten** in *Annotation in Eighteenth-Century Poetry*, edited by **Michael Edson** (Lehigh UP, October 2017). Barbara's recent presentations have included "Alexander Pope and the History of Curiosity" at the Symposium on Curiosity in Multidisciplinary Perspective, held at Penn 9 Dec. 2016; and "'Preserve what Secrets are intrusted to you': Service and Secrecy in Defoe's *Roxana*" at the 2016 Canadian SECS.

**Jill Bradbury**, now ASECS's Treasurer, is working on a book about "Transatlantic Economic Discourse, 1650-1750," which is part of the motivation for her ("perhaps slightly crazy") pursuit of an M.A. in economics at George Mason U. Jill, who's an English professor at Gallaudet, gave a paper last year on "Shakespeare in ASL" at Emory University's Shakespeare and Accessibility Symposium. She has received an NEA Art Works Grant for her proposal "ProTactile Theater for the Deaf Blind." Jill contributed "Prose Genre and the Emergence of Modern Economic Reasoning in 18C Britain" to *History of*

*Economic Rationalities* (Springer, 2017) and "Shakespeare and Sign Language" to *Stanford Encyclopedia of Shakespeare* (2017). **Theodore E. D. Braun** at the SEASECS in this past March presented "Savinien de Cyrano de Bergerac: a model for Fontenelle, Swift, and Voltaire?" At the Minneapolis ASECS he read "Cyrano de Bergerac: Precursor of Swift and Voltaire" and chaired: "Science Fiction - II." At the meeting he was honored with "Ilustrados y Afrancesados": A Session in Honor of Professor Theodore E. D. Braun," partly in recognition of his establishing and helping to forward the goals of the Ibero-American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies. Ted offered his "Reflections on my Life," in which he spoke of his extremely impoverished origins, his upbringing, his education and academic awards (such as a scholarship to attend Bishop Loughlin High School and another full-tuition scholarship to attend Teachers College of St. John's U. where he was to become the valedictorian), his career as a high school teacher at his alma mater and at the Lycée Emile-Loubet in Valence, France, his work at the Army Education Center in Ludwigsburg, Germany, graduate studies at UC--Berkeley, and his career as Asst. and Asso. Professor at the U. of Wisconsin-Milwaukee and as Professor at Delaware, of his establishing and endowing an award for French undergraduate and graduate students at Delaware and an ASECS travel grant for French researchers. Personal topics included reflections on his marriage to Anne and fatherhood.

**Andrew Carpenter** along with Aileen Douglas and Ian Campbell Ross of Trinity College Dublin organized a very successful celebration of Jonathan Swift, **Swift350**, held in Dublin 7-9 June, mostly at Trinity College but also employing the Royal Irish Academy and Marsh's Library. They gathered support from other institutions, too, such as the municipal library, St. Patrick's Cathedral, and St. Patrick's Hospital, and the conference was run concurrently with the annual meeting of The Eighteenth-Century Ireland Society, with plenaries shared, including Moyra Haslett's lecture "Swift's Birthdays," drawing on her research on ballads and songs, Ian McBride's "Renouncing England: Swift's *Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture*"; and **James Woolley's** "The Circulation of Verse in Jonathan Swift's Dublin" (the latter at the Royal Irish Academy, ending with a reception). The RIA had mounted an exhibition, held in conjunction with lectures in June and July (Andrew on "Swift and Books," David Dickson on "Swift's Dublin," and Aileen Douglas on "Women in the Writings of Jonathan Swift). Exhibitions were also offered at the Castle and the Edward Worth Library (at Dr. Steevens' Hospital). Andrew, Aileen, and esp. the quick-witted Ian Ross were everywhere greeting and shepherding the guests from one excellent venue to another at Trinity. Both conferences ended with a delightful musical performance by two violinists (Claire Duff and Marja Gaynor) of George Philipp Telemann's *Gulliver Suite* (1728) and a wine reception in Trinity's majestic Long Room Library, where books bequeathed by **A. C. Elias, Jr.** (1944-2008) were on display (a well illustrated catalogue for the exhibition was prepared with a delightful cover photo of Arch, wife Susan, eldest daughter and son). The Swift350 was very well attended, and the 50 or so papers were generally of high quality. For instance, Brian Connery and David Brewer gave excellent papers back to back ("The Drapier's 'Apprenticeship in London'" and "Smoaking Swift on both

sides of the Irish Sea”). Editors from the Cambridge Swift gave good presentations, as Abigail Williams on Swift’s marginalia, Valerie Rumbold on “Printing Swift: Early and Late,” **Ian Higgins** on “Swift and Skelton,” and **Steve Karian** on “The Composition and Revision of *Cadenus and Vanessa*”-- I wished Arch and **John Fischer** were alive to have heard Steve’s ingenious but tightly argued and convincing hypothesis about the poem. It was a chance for an American like myself to hear presentations by scholars I’ve never heard speak, like the forceful Conrad Brunström (NUI--Maynooth), who offered “Spirits of Molyneux, Swift, Sheridan and Grattan: The Strategic Significance of Thomas Sheridan’s *Life of Swift* (1784),” certain to find its way into print. I had a ring-side seat beside Andrew Carpenter in a panel on “Swift and Print,” with Andrew speaking on one of his many valuable discoveries, “An Uncancelled Copy of Volume II, ‘Containing the Author’s Poetical Works,’ of Faulkner’s 1735 *Works of Swift*.” A dozen or so of the participants, many not mentioned above--as Daniel Cook, Melinda Rabb, Howard Weinbrot, and **Susan Woolley**--left Dublin thereafter for the 7th Swift Symposium in Münster symposium, surveyed below under its chair, **Hermann Real**.

**Andrew Carpenter** last year published his edition *The Poems of Olivia Elder: A Voice from Eighteenth-Century Ulster* (Irish Manuscripts Commission, 2016; pp. 144; ISBN: 978-1-906865696; hardcover, \$34 on Amazon and \$26.72 with free shipping on Book Depository). Elder (1735-1780) was the daughter of and spinster housekeeper to Revd. John Elder, Presbyterian minister in Aghadowey, “author of two tracts establishing the New Light Presbyterians.” Writing in the July-August 2017 issue of *History Ireland*, Andrew observes that “she was an avid reader of English poetry” and wrote “a wide variety of poetic forms . . . verse letters, satires, elegies, outspoken ‘caricatures’ of friends and enemies, fantasies, versifications of the bible and ‘epigrams’ inspired by particular events; all this material she transferred to a [bound] copybook” (NLI MS 23254). Quoting extensively from her poetry, Andrew’s article provides a good overview of Elder’s rural life (of boiling potatoes, etc.) and social world (a world of violent factions involving religious sects, her father’s New Light vs. the Old Light Presbyterians and then the Church of Ireland ministers and neighbors). The edition is handsomely produced with wide margins and a photograph of a page of the MS. It has a short intro, note on the text and its emendation, and appendices with textual variants in the MS and printed text of the only poem that Elder published (1772, in *Freeman’s Journal*, a “virulent” attack on the rector of Coleraine) and with “People and places mentioned in the text.” Andrew transcribes closely and annotates the roughly 120 pp. of verse in the fair-copy MS into which Elder copied poems in the 1760s and 1770s and made some alterations “probably not long before her death.” The introduction stresses the liveliness of the verse letters to friends (nothing survives of the verse replies likely from her female coterie) and the surprisingly outspokenness of her satires, which “represent direct speech with great skill” in sophisticated couplets.

The Spring 2017 issue (Vol. 23.1) of **Lorna Clark’s** *The Burney Letter* has much in it by and of interest to our members and folks in our region. It has always been superbly illustrated, laid out, and executed down to the choice of fonts, but this issue seems the best yet, adding color illustrations of the covers of

books by members. (The *Intelligencer* needs an editor with Lorna's skills.) *The Burney Letter* is one of two publications by the Burney Society of North America, the other being *The Burney Journal*, edited by our **Marilyn Francus**; its 14th volume will appear later this year with an essay by **Tara Ghoshal Wallace**. To join the Society, one sends \$30 (\$15 for students) to Membership Secretary Cheryl Clark (English / Louisiana College / PO Box 606 / 1140 College Dr. / Pineville, LA 71359; clark@lacollege.edu). President Elaine Bander's report carries some important conference information: beginning with this year's general conference on 2-3 Nov. at Duquesne U., the Society will no longer meet with a banquet on the evening prior to the AGM of the Jane Austen Society of North America, for in recent years, due to increases in the scope of both meetings, that piggy-backing of meetings has become "impractical." This year, "trying something different," the BSNA will join forces with the Aphra Behn Society, at its biannual conference: "We are sharing the AGM planning, infrastructure, and overhead as well as social activities and plenaries"--it's a "one-time joint event, but . . . may lead to a lasting, mutually enriching relationship." **Kristina Straub** will give the Behn Society's plenary, and the conference's final event is a performance of Susanna Centlivre's *The Busy Body* (1709). The conference hotel is the nearby Pittsburgh Marriot City Centre Hotel (conference rate of \$159 + tax). The Burney Society's program ("Placing the Burneys"), chaired by **Kate Hamilton, Sara Tavela, and Catherine Keohane**, will offer a plenary by Linda Zionkowi, and its sessions include papers by **Jeremy Chow, Kristin Distel, Teri Doerksen, Susan Howard & Peter Sabor**.

The lead article in this *Burney Letter* for spring is A. P. Woolrich's "Dr Burney and Rees's *Cyclopaedia*" (pp. 1-2, 10-11) on Dr. Charles Burney's nearly 1800 contributions to the 39 volumes of the *Cyclopaedia* (1802-1819). Woolrich is a craftsman engineer specializing in the Regency period, who had acquired the set of volumes 60 years ago to work on scientific articles by John Farey Jr., an engineer. Following his retirement, Woolrich began in 2013 to use the Wikipedia to provide an account of the *Cyclopaedia*, which had by then been become accessible in digital format on both the Internet Archive and the Hathi Trust. He reports that he has completed lists of contributors, of monograph-length articles, of biographies, and of sources. His article maps out the contents of the Wiki site, noting that the main article has links to lists of general musical articles, music biographies, and music plates (he counts 996 of the first and 756 of the second by Charles Burney, which all together produce Burney's "encyclopaedia of music"). Woolrich notes that it is wrongly assumed that Burney put into the *Cyclopaedia* materials from his *A General History of Music*; in fact, Burney tended to rewrite sections of his *History* that were put to use. In another, shorter article on music, Michael Kassler treats a hymn set to music by Dr. Burney that was in the 19C wrongly attributed to Frances Burney (the "Christmass-Hymn" originally by Charles Wesley and adapted by Rev. Martin Madan in 1760). Kassler provides the bibliographical details and points us to *The Hymn Tune Database* (of English-language texts to 1820), at <http://hymntune.library.uiuc.edu>. His take-away point is worth noting: "by the second half of the nineteenth century Frances Burney's fame so exceeded that of her father's that a work by 'Burney' could be presumed in the absence of a first

name to be a work by her” (p. 3). The issue carries a number of reviews: a translation into Spanish of two of Burney’s plays, **Jocelyn Harris**’s of Suzanne Rickard’s *Sailing with Cook: Inside the Private Journal of James Burney* (National Library of Australia, 2015, 256 pp., based on the MS held by the NLA); and Sophie Coulombeau’s of **Marilyn Francus**’s *Monstrous Motherhood*. There is also **Ellen Moody**’s account of a conference on 20 Oct. 2016 at Trinity College in Washington on “Frances Burney & Politics” (pp. 5-7), reproduced from Ellen’s blog *reveriesunderthesignofausten*.wordpress.com. Papers noted include **Tara Ghoshal Wallace**’s “Burney and the Politics of Empire,” focused on corruption in British-Indian affairs; **Geoffrey Sill**’s on differences in the political views of Frances and her conservative father; **Sara Tavela**’s on “Burney’s presentation of the medical and psychological sufferings of George III”; **Laura Engel**’s “Celebrity and Material Culture,” on three portraits of Burney; **Kate Hamilton**’s “Queen Charlotte, Burney, and Virtuous Servitude”; **Lorna Clark**’s “Burney at Cheapside,” on the sources of FB’s preoccupation with class and gender; and **Jocelyn Harris** on Colonel Molesworth Phillips, FB’s sister Susan’s abusive husband, whom Jocelyn sees as satirized in Fanny Price’s father in *Mansfield Park*. Ellen’s closing comments include the observation that *Cecilia* and *The Wanderer* appear to be the Burney texts most favored for scholarly discussion. The issue also notes that the Juvenilia Press has published “Works” and “Novels, Plays, and Poems” by Sophia Elizabeth Burney (FB’s sister Esther’s daughter), edited by **Lorna Clark** with the assistance of Sarah Rose Smith (ISBN: 978-0-7334-3398-6).

At the next conference we ought to sing a chorus of “For He’s a Jolly Good Fellow” to thank **Greg Clingham** for bringing Bucknell U. Press to the rescue of many dormant MSS left on the shelves of AMS Press (see his article above). **Paul deGateno**’s essay “The Correspondence of James Macpherson” appears in *The International Companion to James Macpherson and the Poems of Ossian*, ed. Dafydd Moore (Glasgow, 2017). Paul spoke on “Responding to Rebellion: James Macpherson’s *The Rights of Great Britain Asserted against the Claims of America*” in June at the Second World Congress of Scottish Literatures in Vancouver. This semester Paul’s accepted the challenge of teaching the 400-level Restoration and 18th-Century Literature course at two campuses through the use of Penn State’s virtual learning network—he was anxious but reports “all has gone well so far with thanks to IT at both campuses.” **JoEllen DeLucia** reviewed Sophie Cottin’s novel *Malvina*, ed. by Marijn Kaplan (Routledge, 2015) in the Spring 2017 *Eighteenth-Century Fiction (ECF)*. And JoEllen’s *A Feminine Enlightenment: British Women Writers and their Philosophy of Progress, 1759-1820* is reviewed by E. J. Clery in *Tulsa Studies in Women’s Literature*, 35.1 (2016), 273-75. **Teri Doerksen**’s “Richardson, Celebrity, and Editorial Mediation in Anna Meades’s *Sir William Harrington*” appears in *ECF*, 29.2 (Winger 2016/2017), 221-40. It’s within a special issue introduced by Louise Curran’s “Mediation, Authorship, and Samuel Richardson: An Introduction” and with an afterword by Thomas Keymer. Teri discusses how Meades sent Richardson the MS of her draft novel in 1757, and later exploited her connection with Richardson in the published novel (1771). Meades “engages with Richardson’s celerity status . . . creating a

text that operates as a celebrity relic” and offers readers a “synthetic relationship with Richardson.” Congratulations to **Michael Edson** on the publication later this month by Lehigh UP (and Rowman & Littlefield) of his edited collection of essays *Annotation in Eighteenth-Century Poetry* (pp. 270; 978-1-61146-252-4; \$95). The volume holds Michael’s substantial introduction and eleven essays, including contributions from **Barbara Benedict, Sandro Jung, Thomas Vander Goten**, Adam Rounce, and Mark A. Pedreira. Rowman & Littlefield’s website notes that other studies of annotations in 18C verse “have neglected annotation’s relation to developments in reading audiences and the book trade, and they have overlooked the interaction, even tension, between prose notes and poetry.” The volume should put some weight on the P&T scale at Wyoming.

**Julian Fung**’s “Early Condensations of *Gulliver’s Travels*: Images of Swift as Satirist in the 1720s,” which some of us heard when drafted as a conference paper, has appeared in the Spring 2017 *Studies in Philology* (114: 395-425). The expensive publication of *Gulliver’s Travels* in 1726 was followed by many cheaper abridgements that Julian examines for alterations from the original, finding the differences greatest in the fourth voyage, which loses much of its caustic misanthropy. **W. Blake Gerard**, now leading the editorial team for *The Scriblerian* (see above), spent a few weeks this past summer “ransacking New York libraries for US editions of Sterne.” He was “a little shocked how much many archives, like the New York Historical Society, had conceded to tourist traffic.” Late this summer Bucknell U. Press published **Jocelyn Harris**’s *Satire, Celebrity, and Politics in Jane Austen* (388 pp.; \$110), which treats Austen as satirist, celebrity watcher, and political observer. Rowman & Littlefield’s webpage notes that Jocelyn finds in *Mansfield Park*, Fanny Price draws upon Fanny Burney and Mr Price upon Susan Burney’s husband, and, similarly, *Northanger Abbey* treats the young Prince of Wales in the character John Thorpe. **Sylvia Kasey Marks** will review it for us in 2018.

**Rob Hume** is serving on the Advisory Board and Project Management Board for the Cambridge Behn, the Oxford Pope, and the Oxford Addison. He reports that “the Behn folks got several hundred thousand pounds from AHRC, and will be producing an “electronic dashboard” to facilitate cooperation and collaboration among 15+ editors of various parts of the edition.” Rob is hoping to bring “two of the general editors to present workshops on collational issues and the electronic dashboard.” Somewhat in conjunction with the edition, Rob is collaborating with Claire Bowditch (recent student of Elaine Hobby’s) on “Forc’d to write for Bread and Not Ashamed to Own It: Aphra Behn’s Finances,” which “will demonstrate conclusively that there is no way Behn supported herself purely from writing.” He’s also planning to write an “account of historicist scholarship from Crane to Ezell,” which would be Rob’s 18th book. Rob’s essay “The Problematics of ‘Evidence’ in Historical Scholarship and Criticism,” an expansion of a 2015 ASECS paper on a panel treating “Historical Criticism and Eighteenth-Century Studies” appears in the recent *Eighteenth-Century Life* (41:3:20-56). His “The Aims and Genre of Colley Cibber’s *Apology*,” appearing this past summer in *Studies in Philology* (114.3: 662-95), is apparently a much needed correction of the misunderstanding of that work as an autobiography. Rob notes that “The book actually tells us little about

Cibber.” By his count only 17% of the text is personal and only 5% “strictly biographical.” Rather the sub-title gives a “truer indication of the point of the enterprise: *With a Historical View of the Stage during his own Time.*” Cibber’s account of the London theater (for roughly 1690-1734) is found “to be remarkably accurate insofar as it is checkable.” **Sandro Jung** published “The Other *Pamela*: Readership and the Illustrated Chapbook Abridgement” in *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 39, no. 4 (2016), 513-31--a topic related to Sandro’s EC/ASECS Presidential address in West Chester. This month or next Lehigh UP will publish Sandro’s *The Publishing and Marketing of Illustrated Literature in Scotland, 1760-1825* (pp. 240; \$90). **Laura Kennelly** and **Rob Mayerovitch** travelled in Italy during March and then in Spain this past summer. Bob is retiring from Baldwin Wallace and gave a piano concert with much the same compositions that he played on first arriving at the college. Since our last meeting when the existence of an EC/ASECS facebook page was announced, Laura has attempted to improve it.

As mentioned above in our eulogy to **John Radner**, **Anthony W. Lee** is editing for Bucknell a collection entitled *Community and Solitude: New Essays on Johnson’s Circle*. It includes half a dozen essays by EC/ASECS members. Besides John’s essay on Johnson’s correspondence with three younger men (Chambers, Langton, and Boswell), it includes **Lisa Bergland**’s “Piozzi and the Johnson Letters,” exploring Johnson’s relationship with the Thrales and Hester Lynch Thrale Piozzi’s editing of *Letters to and from the late Samuel Johnson* (1788); **Marilyn Francus**’s “Down with her, Burney!’: Johnson, Burney, and the Politics of Literary Celebrity”; **Christine Jackson-Holzberg**’s “James Elphinston and Samuel Johnson: Contact, Clashes, and an ‘Argonautic’ Letter”; **Elizabeth Lambert**’s “Johnson, Burke, Boswell, and the Slavery Debate”; **Anthony Lee**’s “‘Under the Shade of Exalted Merit’: Arthur Murphy’s *A Poetical Epistle to Mr. Samuel Johnson, A.M.*”; and **James E. May**’s “Oliver Goldsmith’s Revisions to *The Traveller.*” In other contributions Claudia Thomas Kairoff’s treats Johnson & Anna Seward; Lance Wilcox, Johnson & Richard Savage’s circle; James Caudle, Johnson’s clash with Revd. John Dun and Boswell’s record of the remarks; and Christopher Catanese, Johnson & Thomas Warton. In addition, Tony has had a proposal accepted by Clemson UP for a volume entitled “‘Modernity Johnson’: Samuel Johnson among the Modernists,” which will argue that Johnson is “a compellingly modern figure” with an appeal that “many Modernist writers found irresistible.” The eleven essays bringing that position forward in the collection include **Melvyn New** (“Johnson, T. S. Eliot, and the Idea of Literary Canon,” treating *Prufrock*), **Jack Lynch** (“Johnson Goes to War,” that is, WWI in particular), **Robert Walker** (“Borneman’s Tomorrow Is Now: Thoughts about a Lost Novel, with Glances toward Samuel Johnson and other Modernists”), and Tony himself (“‘St. Samuel of Fleet Street’: Johnson and Woolf”)--contributors also include Thomas Curley, Helen Deutch, and Myron Yeager. Tony has a review essay of three works on or by **Christopher Smart** in the *Johnsonian News Letter* of March 2017 (68.1: 44-54). Tony “comes away . . . struck with a sense of the depth, range, and subtlety Smart possesses, both as a prose writer and a poet.” He notes that Donald Davie called Smart “the greatest English poet between Pope and Wordsworth.”

**April London** is editing the *Cambridge Guide to the Eighteenth-Century Novel, 1660-1820*, to which some members are contributing essays. April's essay "Secret History and Anecdote" appears in *The Secret History in Literature, 1660-1820*, edited by Rebecca Bullard and **Rachel Carnell** (CUP, 2017), pp. 174-87. Two essays are forthcoming, perhaps this year: "The Novel" in *Samuel Richardson in Context* (CUP), edited by **Peter Sabor** and Betty Schellenbeg, and "English Jacobin Novels" in *Mary Wollstonecraft in Context* (CUP), edited by Paul Keen and Nancy E. Johnson. In May, Johns Hopkins U. Press published **Devoney Looser's** latest book, *The Making of Jane Austen*. Between the introduction and a coda on Austen in the 21st century are four sections: "Jane Austen, Illustrated," "Jane Austen, Dramatized," "Jane Austen Politicized," and "Jane Austen, Schooled." Among the comments on the DJ is **Peter Sabor's**: "Beautifully written. An incisive and thoroughly original account of how an obscure country clergyman's daughter came to occupy a dominant position among the English novelists." The book is reviewed in the August issue of *The Atlantic*. (We've lined up a reviewer.) I'd add a note of praise to JHUP for producing this illustrated, indexed hardcover monograph of 300 pp. for only \$29.95 (it's about \$21 on Amazon). The next volume of *Swift Studies* will include **Jim May's** "Edmund Curll's Printers, 1706-1715, with Evidence from Woodcut Ornaments," a lengthy identification and examination of work by a dozen printers for Curll during his first decade as a publisher. We're happy to welcome as a new member **Blake Michaels**, an advanced graduate student in history at Lehigh University "working on political culture in colonial Philadelphia--specifically campaigning and organizing for elections."

Congratulations to **Carla Mulford** on winning the 2016 Malvin E. and Lea P. Banks Award for Outstanding Teaching in the Liberal Arts at Penn State U. Carla spent the summer working on her next monograph, "Benjamin Franklin's Electrical Diplomacy." Carla was hoping to "complete two chapters" this summer and the draft of the whole by the end of the next. Carla's last book, *Benjamin Franklin and the Ends of Empire* (Oxford UP, 2015), has been very positively reviewed in many major journals the past year. She argues persuasively that Franklin formulated ideas about colonial rights and imperial power as a young man and that, while his thinking evolved, his fundamental principles remained largely unchanged. Franklin had developed a coherent theory of colonial sovereignty well before the final revolutionary crisis. Last year in *Early American Literature* (51:501-05) Eliga Gould offers a thoughtful review of Carla's biography, observing that "Although Franklin's position can be hard to pin down, historians generally take his humiliation in 1774 by Alexander Wedderburn before the Privy Council, culminating in his dismissal as postmaster general of North America, as the crucial moment in his path from loyal subject to disaffected revolutionary. Without discounting the importance of what happened in the Cockpit, Mulford argues that Franklin's disillusionment with the British Empire was a much more drawn-out, gradual process, one that started during the opening stages of the Seven Years' War." And he stresses the importance of Carla's coverage of Franklin's reading: "By embedding Franklin the writer in the literature that he and his contemporaries read, Mulford brings Franklin the thinker back to life in ways that no other recent biographer has

managed to do.” John Brewer, in *New York Review of Books* (10 Nov. 2016), finds convincing Carla’s argument “that Franklin’s early imperialism and later patriotism are all of a piece . . . . For her, Franklin’s prime allegiance is not to a political entity but to a political vision, one she characterizes as ‘early modern liberalism,’ which could apply to the governance both of colonies and a new republic. There was no change of heart, only a change of circumstances.” In the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Allan Kulikoff offers a lengthy account of the biography (141:77-90), examining the treatment of specific Franklin works in detail. He writes that “Mulford’s discussion of Franklin’s *Modest Inquiry* is the best I have read.” One summary of Mulford’s analysis of Franklin’s views is worth excerpting at length: “Franklin developed a theory of divided sovereignty in the empire, details of which he laid out in a June 1770 letter to the Reverend Samuel Cooper of Boston’s Brattle Street Church. Parliament enjoyed sovereignty over Britain; since ‘colonies originally were constituted distinct States,’ colonial assemblies ruled over their own territories. Such rights were not only consistent with the liberties the English had always enjoyed, but colonial charters granted the colonies the same rights. Given this divided sovereignty, Britain had no right to keep a standing army in any colony, unless its assembly agreed. He had tired of hearing ‘*The supreme Authority of Parliament; The Subordinacy of our Assemblies to the Parliament and the like,*’ claims ‘founded only on Usurpation,’ and words without meaning if assemblies and the king shared legislative authority. As Mulford documents, no one in Parliament, even Franklin’s allies, shared his vision.” R. William Weisberger in *Pennsylvania History* writes that the book “has broken new ground and will become a classic biography” (84: 119-22). It is satisfying to see decades of careful research and thought recognized and digested by scholars.

**Mel New** has forthcoming in *Modern Philology* a long essay on the influence of Richardson’s *Sir Charles Grandison* on Sterne (actually “not really an influence study but a study of what we mean by influence”). *Sterne, Tristram, Yorick: Tercentenary Essays on Laurence Sterne*, edited by Mel along with Peter de Voogd and Judith Hawley, is reviewed by Jesse Molesworth in the Spring 2017 *Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, an issue (29.3) opening with a long essay by Patrick Spedding entitled “Imagining Eliza Haywood.” Our friend in Canterbury, **Yvonne Noble** continues to work on Ann Finch, John Gay, and others working in verse and opera & theater early in the century. **Kate Novotny** is teaching at Ohio State and working on a dissertation involving English fiction. **Hugh Ormsby-Lennon**, while at his London home this summer, was working on “‘The Tail of the Tub’: Dean Swift and Ben Franklin,” a topic on which he’ll speak at our fall meeting. For a book on Swift and Franklin, Hugh has swept a wide net, for instance, discovering details about the admiration for Swift by “Ben’s bosom companion in France,” André Morellet. On email Hugh has pointed out to Swiftians that there is **no statue of Swift in Dublin** (except a bust in TCD). The Spring 2017 *Studies in Philology* offers **Leah Orr**’s “Thomas Francklin’s *Minos*: A Recently Discovered Imitation of Lucan from the 1770s” (114: 446-72). Francklin (1721-1784) was a professor of Greek at Cambridge known for translations and some theatrical efforts, and this newly discovered text is the first known for his two-act comedy. Leah examines why it was never

published or performed, suggesting it involves the loss of interest in classical themes and imitations. *Sade's Sensibilities*, edited by **Kate Parker** and Norbert Sclippa (Bucknell, 2015), is reviewed in the Spring 2017 *Eighteenth-Century Fiction*. Reviewer Melissa Deininger, noting other recent publications on Sade, calls the collection, "a wide-ranging look at the Marquis de Sade as both a product of the Enlightenment and its most infamous rebel" and notes that it is divided between essays on Sade as man and writer and others on "texts and their interactions with society." The April 2017 issue of *Eighteenth-Century Life* (vol. 41, no. 2) opens with a tribute to **Adam Potkay** by editor **Cedric Reverand** for Adam's quarter century as book-review editor of *ECL*. As Ric notes, Adam has served as general editor for issues when former editor Robert Maccubbin was on sabbatical and put together a surprise commemorative issue in Bob's honor. The brightest of younger scholars, **Ashley Marshall**, has stepped into Adam's shoes.

**Hermann J. Real** co-edited with Kirsten Juhas the 32nd volume of *Swift Studies* this year. It includes their "Never-Sleeping Goddesses, Pocky Queens, and Degenerating Flowers: Swift's *The Lady's Dressing Room*, ll. 119-144" (101-16), and also Hermann and Ulrich Elkmann's compilation "Gulliver's Travels to Several Remote Nations of the World: A Bibliography of Translations into Remote Languages" (117-32). (The latter article led me, during the Münster Symposium on Swift in June, to ask Ulrich to show me the Mongolian translation he discovered and other unusual translations, particularly in Asian languages with which he has some command.) Other valuable essays in the issue are **James Woolley's** (and Dan Cook's) essay noted below; Howard Weinbrot's "Defeat, Isolation, and the Price of Failed Norms"; Matthew Gertken's "Swift, Mottraye, and Charles XII of Sweden"; and Dirk Passmann's "The Drapier, Gregorio Leti, and Pierre Bayle." Hermann's other recent articles include "Censorship in the Age of Swift," in *Speaking Volume(s)*, papers from the June 2016 colloque at du Havre, ed. by Elizabeth Durot-Bouc , and "Dean Swift on the Great Pox: or, The Satirist as Physician" in *Disease and Death in 18C Literature and Culture: Fashioning the Unfashionable*, edited by Allan Ingram and Leigh Wetherall Dickson (Palgrave, 2016), 101-24. And Hermann continues to find rarities for the Ehrenpreis's duplication of Swift's library, including a small format *Thomas Mori Utopia* (1631), Marcus Meibomius on ancient music theorists, and two Spinoza imprints (another "find" is the grant money for the latter). He writes, "our replica of Swift's library has now overshoot the 90% mark and is greatly facilitating the Online.Swift" (see the article above on the edition).

For a dozen EC/ASECS members, Hermann Real's main contribution was organizing, with Kirsten Juhas and others at the Ehrenpreis Centre for Swift Studies, Westfalische Wilhelms-U., the **7th Munster Symposium on Jonathan Swift**, subtitled "In Celebration of the 350th Anniversary of his Birth." This conference with its several dozen plenary papers occurred 12-14 June 2017, immediately after the "Swift 350" conference in Dublin, discussed above under **Andrew Carpenter**. For many of us the symposium has been our favorite scholarly gathering, but it takes a great deal of planning, funding applications, airport shuttling, hugging, late-night drinking, rapid walking, concentrated listening, and now copy-editing by Hermann and Erika Real, Kirsten, **Dirk Passmann**, **Janika Bischof** (who contributed the essay above on the Online

Swift and our cover illustration), and all “Team Ehrenpreis,” who really function as a superb team and deserved the thank-you dinner Erika Real cooked up a couple weeks later. I have experienced no hospitality so great as that in Westphalia, and it brings out very good humor in scholars from around the world. At an ideal conference hall a ten-minute walk from our digs at a modern Mövenpick Hotel, sessions ran from 9 to 6:00, with breaks for coffee and cookies. The opening reception offered us the cordial and witty company of Ireland’s Ambassador to Germany, Dr. Michael Collins, our patron. The second night we attended an after-dinner presentation by the author (John von Düffel), the composer (Gerald Resch), the dramaturge Hans-Peter Frings, and the male and female lead singers of the operatic adaptation *Gullivers Reise*, suited to “the whole family” and soon to take the stage (at the Oper Dortmund). It’s set in Lilliput, a world of political arbitrariness where Gulliver is tested (recall the Blefusudian fleet), with Gulliver given a love interest, Vaniliput, a positive character and an “alliance in favour of Gulliver.” It contains choruses by ladies in waiting, soldiers, and firemen. We received an interesting account of Düffel’s adaptation of his 2011 play, illustrated with renditions by the two leads.

The third night featured the reception amid the book-jammed Ehrenpreis Centre with a greeting by a dean of WWU’s Faculty of Philology and chair of English, Klaus Stierstorfer, followed by a trip to a lovely rural tavern, Landhaus Eggert. And the final night the conference banquet occurred at Schloss Nordkirchen, much of it dating to the 18C, which houses a superb restaurant in its basement that we filled with voluminous chatter (I strained to enjoy the very good cheer of nearby companions from Brittany, Erlangen, and Turkey). While most departed the next day, and Hermann was putting more miles on his car, half a dozen including **Gene Hammond**, **Allan Ingram**, **Steve Karian**, and **James Woolley** were feverishly working in the library. Now, brace yourself for the review of EC/ASECSers, as we were legion: **Ann Kelly** chaired the opening session, which offered **Gene Hammond**’s “What Do Young Men Know? Good Reasons to Question Orrery, Deane Swift, and Thomas Sheridan,” a detailed comparative account by the author of Swift’s most recent substantive biography. One of the most interesting aspects of this meeting was Gene’s engagement with certain territorial British Swiftians, which led later to **J. Alan Downie**’s judgment during his paper that Gene’s is the first biography since Ehrenpreis’s to add significantly to the biographical record (and I would add here that the equally erudite **Hugh Ormsby-Lennon**, unable to attend due to a neurological puzzle afflicting his legs, remarked to me that the biography “brims with much interesting incidental stuff”). In the next session **Stephen Karian** presented “Lost Swiftiana and the Ballad of January 1712,” on the likely joint composition of “An Excellent New Song . . .”; and **Ashley Marshall**, who came on crutches having recently broken her femur while spilling her mountain bike, offered “Swift, St. John, and *The Examiner*, 1710-14,” sorting out Swift’s editorial and rhetorical strategies from those in issues he was not involved in. On Tuesday **Barbara Benedict** was to speak on “Spontaneity, Memory, and Distortion in *Gulliver’s Travels*,” but was prevented from attending. That afternoon **Sabine Baltes-Ellermann** gave an interesting paper on fruit in Swift’s Ireland, **Jonathan Pritchard** discussed “Dubliners: Swift and his Neighbors,” focused

on Swift's liberty of St. Patrick's as a community under his watch. BTW, next issue I'll review Baltes-Ellermann's revised anthology *Jonathan Swift's Allies: The Wood's Controversy in Ireland, 1724-1725*, an essential tool expanding our understanding of the public's efforts (Peter Lang, 2017). Later there was a round table on "Reading Swift in the 21C," chaired by **Hermann Real**, with **Gene Hammond**, **Steve Karian**, **Ashley Marshall**, Brean Hammond, Marcus Walsh, Melinda Rabb, and Hans-Peter Wagner. Most read short papers, as Rabb on the unsatisfactory attention long given to 18C women. Of greatest value was Gene Hammond's list of biographical questions needing to be researched. Wednesday **Mascha Hansen** and Kirsten Juhas, taking turns, presented "Speaking with the Dead: Hester Thrale Piozzi and Swift," on three Piozzi dialogues imitating *Verses on the Death*; and **Ian Higgins**, making a strong case for his hard Tory view of Swift, presented "The Literary-Political Afterlife of Some Swift Pamphlets." Howard Weinbrot delivered a fine paper on "Jonathan Swift in France," finding that Swift was perceived as both ingenious and bizarre and of dubious morality in dealings with the women in his life (Orrery's *Remarks* was translated into French but not Delany's response). Much about Swift clashed with French culture. In the p.m., **Alan Downie** reflected in "The Biographer as Historian" on textual and interpretive cruces in texts from ca. 1710 that require more biographical information. **Andrew Carpenter** and **James Woolley** offered an account of last minute alterations in Volume II of Faulkner's 1735 *Works*, drawing on the copy Andrew had acquired from DeBurca with cancellanda and blank leaves pasted and bound in. There are a few other copies with pre-publication states, and we received a good handout to help identify cancels in other copies. Then **Jim May** spoke on "False and Incomplete Imprints in Swift's Dublin, 1715-40," which will have an appended list of hidden Faulkner editions when published in "Reading Swift VII." The session ended with **Hermann Real** and his friend Dirk Passmann's "Annotating J. S.: Swift's Reading at Moor Park in 1697/8."

**Cedric Reverand**, the book review editor of *ECCB* during Jim Springer Borck's tenure as general editor, and **Kevin L. Cope**, the present editor of *ECCB* and *1650-1850*, long published by AMS Press, are going to edit for Bucknell UP a festschrift in honor of AMS's deceased owner, **Gabe Hornstein**. In observing the worthiness of the volume, Ric wrote some sentences that I wish I had included in my account of Gabe March. Ric describes how Gabe stepped in to publish the edition of *Clarissa* that Jim Springer Borck could not gain NEH funding for, how Gabe "discovered hundreds of new researchers, advanced dozens of new and often risky projects, published stacks of monographs . . . and firmly established himself as one of the great patrons of Enlightenment studies." **Shel Rogers** with David Fielding published the "Copyright Payments in 18th-Century Britain, 1701-1800" in *Library*, 18, no. 1 (2017), 1-44, enriched with a bibliographical appendix listing authors, titles, payments, price of the works, and sources [19-44]; and with bibliography, graphs, and tables. **Peter Sabor** this year had his Canada Research Chair renewed for another seven-year term, so he'll be staying on at the McGill and at the Burney Centre. Peter gave papers on Jane Austen in June in London and in Halifax, and then in July at the Chawton House Library. He continues on as a general co-editor of the Cambridge edition

of Richardson--writing in May that seven volumes of the correspondence are now published and five are to come. Peter's "Rewriting *Clarissa*: Alternative Endings by Lady Echlin, Lady Bradshaigh, and Samuel Richardson" appeared in *ECF*, 29.2 (2016/2017), 131-50, the issue noted above that's introduced by Louise Curran. That issue also has **Jacob Sider Jost**'s review of *The Afterlives of Eighteenth-Century Fiction* ed. by Daniel Cook and Nicholas Seager (331-33), and Dan Cook reviewed Jacob's *Prose Immortality* in this summer's *ECF*.

A standing ovation to **Geoffrey Sill**: in January of this year Oxford UP published his edition of Vol. V: 1789 of *The Court Journals and Letters of Frances Burney, 1786-1791* (Pp. 512; ISBN-10: 0199262071, priced at \$210 but available for \$149 via Amazon. **Frances Singh**'s article "Dispose or Destroy: The Textual History of Woods and Pirie Against Dame Helen Cumming Gordon" is the lead article in the 2016 issue [early 2017] of *The Journal of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society*. In the issue's Foreword, the editor Joseph Marshall writes "Frances Singh's article reveals the surprising richness of Scotland's tradition of printing the papers that came before the Court of Session, focusing on the infamous case of Woods and Pirie in which teachers accused of sexual impropriety by a school child sued for defamation. Singh shows that this supposedly suppressed case is in fact well-documented through surviving copies of the Session Papers in libraries and archives across the world. The fact that there are some 250,000 uncatalogued such papers suggests that this is an area ripe for research." Frances continues to revise her biographical study of Jane Cumming and Dame Cumming Gordon, discussed in her essay in the festschrift honoring Betty Rizzo (reviewed by **Martha Bowden** above). In September Frances was investigating the voyage to and from India. This summer's issue of *Eighteenth Century: Theory & Interpretation* contains **Chloe Wigston Smith**'s "The Circulation of Political Things," a review of Neil Guthrie's *The Material Culture of the Jacobites*. **Kacey Stewart** has a research assistantship at the Winterthur Museum while doing his graduate work at the U. of Delaware, which involves a fair amount of transcribing journals, sorting ephemera, and other library tasks; it suits his study of material culture. His main interest is in "the transmission and dissemination of environmental knowledge in early America." He writes, "I have been working on the aesthetics of field guides and the popular understanding of traditional ecological knowledge."

**Robert Walker** wrote in April while digging about to see if an essay on Ernest Borneman "had legs"--he's hoping to make use of information from the dust cover of Borneman's 1959 almost-still-born novel, *Tomorrow Is Now*, and to bring Samuel Johnson into play. Bob was leaning into a two-week trip to Africa in May--marveling at all the colors that one is advised not to wear while hiking in the bush: "white, black, dark blue, red, orange" and absolutely not cammo. For an American in a hunting state, I was surprised by the avoidance of orange and red, but Bob replied that some colors are avoided as attracting tsetse flies and the like bugs. **James Woolley** was selected for a plenary lecture at the "Swift 350" conference in Dublin last June, and he delivered a ground-breaking, indepth lecture on "The Circulation of Verse in Jonathan Swift's Dublin." His talk was accompanied with a bibliographical handout that anyone working on MS verse from early 18C Dublin should request from him. **James** and Daniel

Cook, following a search for books from Swift's friend Charles Ford's library (which they found had a distinctive bookplate), published "Charles Ford's Library: New Light on Swift and Arbuthnot" in the 2017 volume of *Swift Studies* (32:9-44).

### **Forthcoming Meetings, Events, Prizes, Resources, Publications, &c.**

The **Canadian Society for 18C Studies** (CSECS) meets jointly with the **NEASECS** in Toronto on 18-22 October 2017, with the theme "From Cosmopolitans to Cosmopolitanism. See <http://sites.utoronto.ca/tecg/csecs-scedhs-2017>. Gale has provided participants with complimentary access to ECCO, NCCO, and newspaper collections through 31 Oct, with a link at the conference website. The CSECS in 2018 meets 10-13 Oct. in Niagara Falls.

On 19 October the **Library Company of Philadelphia** in association with the McNeil Center for Early American Studies, hosts a book launch for Randy Browne's *Surviving Slavery in the British Caribbean* (reception at 5:30, lecture following). On Wed. 8 November five LCP curators speak on topics related to material culture, such as scrapbooks (reception at 5:30, presentations at 6:00).

The **Midwestern ASECS** meets this year in Sioux Falls, SD, 12-13 Oct., with the theme "18C Frontiers." See [mwasecs.net](http://mwasecs.net) (facebook page, @mwasecs).

Our **2017 EC/ASECS** meeting occurs at Howard U. in Washington, D.C., on 2-4 November, Thursday to Saturday, chaired by Emily Kugler ([emily.kugler@howard.edu](mailto:emily.kugler@howard.edu)), with the theme "Capital Culture and Cultural Capital." Tara Ghoshal Wallace (English, George Washington U.), is the plenary speaker; Eugene Hammond will offer a Presidential Address; and we will celebrate our late colleague John Radner at a session Friday morning. Peter Staffel will again organize an oral/aural experience for the reception on opening night, probably a reduced version of George Etherege's *The Man of Mode*. Regarding the Eric Molin Prize for best presentation by a graduate student contact Dr. John Heins ([johnpaulheins@gmail.com](mailto:johnpaulheins@gmail.com)) and see the conference website (<http://ecasecs2017.wordpress.com>). Registration [\$90 regular and \$50 for students] is possible via Pay-Pal at that website. Or register by sending a check payable to ECASECS to Peter Staffel (Dept. of Humanities / West Liberty U. / 101 Faculty Dr. / Wheeling, WV 26003). The website also has a link to the conference hotel, Cambria Hotel & Suites, 899 O St. NW (202-299-1188), with a block of rooms held until 12 Oct. at the rate of \$169+ per night.

The **Burney Society of North America** and the **Aphra Behn Society** meet on 2-3 November at Duquesne U. (see the news above at Lorna Clark).

The **British Society for 18C Studies** holds its 47th meeting at St. Hugh's College, Oxford, on 3-5 January 2018, with the theme "Truths and Lies." (The submission deadline was 6 October.)

The **South Central Society for 18C Studies** meets 23-24 February 2018 in Oxford, MS, with the theme "Mirth, Fun, Conviviality." Conference organizer Kevin Cope ([encope@LSU.edu](mailto:encope@LSU.edu)) announced the meeting is dedicated to one SCSECS's longest-serving and most beloved members, Colby Kullman of Ole Miss. See <http://scsecs.net/scsecs/2018/2018cfp.html> for more info.

The **Consortium on the Revolutionary Era, 1750-1850**, treating Europe, the Atlantic World and beyond, meets 22-24 Feb. 2018 in Philadelphia. The conference occurs at the Hilton Penn's Landing (on the waterfront, conference rate \$169+); registration is \$150 (\$75 for students), providing Friday's lunch and Saturday's banquet plus breaks, etc. Proposals are due 20 October. Contact conference chair Wayne Hanley, History Dept., West Chester U., West Chester, PA 19383; whanley@wcupa.edu; and see <http://www.revolutionaryera.org>.

The **Kislak Center for Special Collections** and the English Dept. of the U. of Pennsylvania are co-sponsoring "**Jonathan Swift in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century**" on Feb. 23-24, 2018. A related rare book exhibition, *A Raging Wit: The Life and Legacy of Jonathan Swift*, including works bequeathed by A. C. Elias, Jr., will open in mid-February 2018 and run through May. (See our March issue.)

**ASECS and the SEASECS, held in conjunction**, meet 22-25 March 2018 in Orlando, FL. The venue is the Hilton Buena Vista Palace, said to be conveniently located to Orlando's major attractions. See the ASECS webpage or contact its office, now in Ketchum Hall 327A, SUNY Buffalo State College, Buffalo, NY 14222 (asecsoffice@gmail.com; 718-878-3405); for details about SEASECS contact Saralyn DeSmet at sdesmet@wesleyancollege.edu.

The **Eighteenth-Century Scottish Studies Society (ECSSS)** meets 17-21 July 2018 in Glasgow (in the remodeled Kelvin Hall, which houses the Hunterian Collection). The theme is "Networks of Enlightenment," and papers on William Hunter and Hugo Blair are also encouraged. The submission deadline is 1 Nov. Send title, abstract for a 20-minute paper, and one-page CV to Ronnie Young, the conference organizer, at ronnie.young@glasgow.ac.uk. For more information, see <http://tinyurl.com/y9nyx5vq> [I kid you not].

The **JASNA** celebrates the 200th anniversary of the publication of Jane Austen's *Persuasion* at its AGM in Kansas City on 28-30 September. The theme is "*Persuasion: 200 Years of Constancy and Hope*," with papers sought on all key terms and on such sub-themes as the British navy and the city of Bath. Send proposals by 1 Nov. to Julienne Gehrre, AGM 2018 Coordinator, at PersuasionAGM@outlook.com. See [jasna.org/agms/kansascity/call-for-papers](http://jasna.org/agms/kansascity/call-for-papers). The Society's CFP boasts its having "5,000 members"--isn't that dissuasive? Certainly it triggers my flight response. Apparently it has more members than ASECS! We should run a session reflecting on what this immense popularity says about the state of 18C scholarship--and pedagogy (is it due in part to Austen's becoming the gateway for undergrads into "old" English literature?).

The **International Society for 18C Studies (ISECS)** holds its next Congress on 14-19 July 2019 in Edinburgh organized by the British SECS, the U. of Edinburgh, and ISECS. See [www.bsecs.org.uk/isecs2019/](http://www.bsecs.org.uk/isecs2019/).

The 4th International Conference on **Jacobite Studies** was held at Maynooth U. near Dublin on 30 June to 1 July 2017, chaired by Maynooth's Éamon Ó Ciosáin, with an exhibition at the Russell Library. The program, easily googled up, identifies participating scholars and their presentation titles.

On 7 September the **Voltaire Foundation** at Oxford and **Liverpool U. Press** announced a "strategic partnership for the publication of the long-running series *Oxford University Studies in the Enlightenment* [formerly *SVEC*]." As of August 2018 Liverpool UP will publish per annum 11 volumes of the series in

print and digital format “and will make more than 500 backlist titles in the series available digitally.” The Voltaire Foundation continues to publish the *Complete Works of Voltaire*, a British Academy project (in Sept. it published vol. 60A, *Nouveaux Mélanges*, edited by Nicholas Cronk). The Liverpool UP is the UK’s third oldest university press, publishing 100 books and 28 journals annually.

**Donna A. Sy**, web-editor of **BibSite**, e-archive of the Bibliographical Society of America, has now posted updates (to May 2017) of eight files with Jim May’s bibliographies of scholarship published 1985-2016 on authorship (441 pp.), the book as physical object, censorship, children’s literature, 18C materials in 21C collections, engraving, journalism, and reading/bibliophilia. She has also posted the first edition of May’s “**Studies of Printers & Publishers and Publishing during the Long 18C, 1985-2016**” (241 pp.). Visit BibSite through the link at the BSA’s website to avoid old versions.

Updating the “Authorship” bibliography, I found that there are voluminous 18C authors on whom little or nothing was published in 1985-2016 to judge from the MLA bibliography. Scholars can find much basic work awaiting their efforts, especially if willing to work on **moral and religious authors**. *MLAIB* has nothing after 1973 on Patrick Delany but a note on *Clarissa*, a Swift attribution by James Woolley, and Robert Hogan’s 2006 edition; nothing on Edward Syngé; only one article on Narcissus Marsh (1996); nothing on John Tillotson between 1971 and 2007; and one article on Robert South since 1966.

The McClay Library of Queen’s U. Belfast has posted the **Northern Ireland Official Publication Archive** at <http://niopa.qub.ac.uk/> (open access). It is “fully searchable with browsing and full-text” functions. On testing it 27 Sept., Maureen Mulvihill found “the database design & search protocols perfectly convenient & speedy,” and 19C images seen were “quite clear.”

The **National Library of Ireland** in August began a four-year redevelopment of the main building on Kildare Street to create storage and improve preservation conditions. In the initial stage some hours have been altered for main and manuscript reading rooms (as Monday closings) and access to the Prints & Drawings and Ephemera Collections has been reduced to only online access (NLI has placed over 17,000 images on line and that project goes forward--requests could speed digitization--contact [printsanddrawings@nli.ie](mailto:printsanddrawings@nli.ie)).

The **earthquake in Mexico** during mid September damaged much of the state of Puebla’s 18C heritage. Carrie Kahn reported on NPR on 25 Sept. that the quake damaged 150 churches in central Mexico, many dating from the 18C. The dome collapsed in the grand church atop Cholula’s pre-Columbian pyramid. Authorities have forbidden the ringing of church bells as many cracked churches could suffer further injury. The *Mexico News Daily* on 21 September reported that Puebla’s regional museum, El Museo Casa del Alfeñique, built c. 1790, was “the most severely damaged building” from the quake. Its three-story facade is decorated with small confectionaire-like figures, called *alfeñiques*, that along with internal arches have been damaged. Tons of loose facade have been braced.

**Discoveries of note** this year include a small 17C MS notebook (ca. 1” x 2”) with notations on and quotations from Shakespeare’s plays, which the owner brought it to an Antiques Roadshow in Caversham and showed to Matthew Haley, head of Books and MSS at Bonham’s (*The Telegraph*, 2 April 2017). The

notebook was once owned by 18C antiquarian John Loveday (most of whose collection is at Penn State, as discussed by **Sandra Stelts** in the *Intelligencer*). Also, the Newbery Library posted images of three MSS at its “Transcribing Faith Portal” to **crowd-source** efforts to translate and interpret them (they’ll appear this fall in “Religious Change, 1450-1700”). They include “The Book of Magical Charms,” with spells for cheating at dice and relieving cramps, etc.

Jennifer Schuessler in *The New York Times* of 21 April 2017 reported on the discovery in England by Danielle Allen and Emily Sneff of an **unknown transcription on parchment, from the 1780s, of the Declaration of Independence**. It is the only MS on parchment of the Declaration besides that from August 1776 at the National Archives. Schuessler wrote a few days in advance of a Yale conference presentation by Allen and Sneff but after reading a textual study posted online. Allen and Sneff argue that, though found in the West Sussex Record Office and once in the hands of the 3rd Duke of Richmond, the MS was produced in America, probably for “James Wilson, a Pennsylvania lawyer and one of the strongest nationalists at the 1787 Constitutional Convention.” One of their arguments involves the signatures’ not being grouped by the states, as they are in the original of 1776 and all known 18C copies; rather, the signatures are presented as those of individuals pledging their lives to fellow individuals. Schuessler reports that “the new discovery grew out of the Declaration Resources Project,” started by Dr. Allen in 2015 and managed by Ms. Sneff, a clearinghouse for information about the many editions (“the project’s database counts some 306 made between July 4, 1776, when Congress commissioned a broadside from the Philadelphia printer John Dunlap, and 1800.” Last summer both women traveled to Chichester to examine the document, “folded into a small square,” finding that it has stylistic features in common with 18C American “legal and mercantile documents.”

Beverly Schneller passed along a BBC news story in July about builders in Quebec unearthing a 200-pound mortar shell fired during the Battle of the Plains of Abraham in 1759—army bomb experts said it could still explode! The Liberty Hall Museum (a 1770 house on the campus of Kean U.) discovered in its wine cellar three cases of Madeira bottled on arrival in America with the label “Robert Lenox of Philadelphia, 1796,” then purchased by John Kean of Elizabeth, NJ. Beverly also reported a good story about the 18C’s legacy: Back at the start of September 2014 a public appeal was launched to raise money to keep the 80,000 **Wedgwood Collection** together (250 years of not only ceramics but drawings, paintings, etc.). The Wedgwood Pottery firm collapsed in 2009, with £134 owed to the employee pension fund. Thus, the public appeal for £2.7 million. A month later, on 3 Oct. 2014, *The Telegraph* reported that £2.74 was raised from thousands of donors and was joined to over £13m raised by the Heritage Lottery Fund, the Art Fund, etc. The collection, now owned by the V&A, will remain on display at the factory in Barlaston.

*Cover illustration:* The fine print of Dean Swift on the cover was engraved by P. Fourdrinier from an original picture painted by Charles Jervas in 1718, under Jervas's supervision. Courtesy of the Ehrenpreis Centre for Swift Studies, Münster.

