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Editor: James E. May
1423 Hillcrest Road
Lancaster, PA 17603
JEM4@psu.edu

Executive Secretary: Kevin L. Cope
9 Tamarack Trail
Camden, Maine 04843
encope@lsu.edu

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

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Theatre Fans and their Books
EC/ASECS Presidential Address, November 2, 2024

by Jane Wessel

It was an honor to deliver the 2024 Presidential Address at the annual EC/ASECS conference in Lancaster. My talk was part of a longer book project on extra-illustration as an early mode of fanwork. My contribution to the *Eighteenth-Century Intelligencer* largely follows my talk, but I have abridged parts that relied heavily on images.[1]

In December 1769, biographer James Granger wrote a letter in which he complained of a "new Disease" sweeping through London, which he called "Iconomania": "One Symptom of it, in which it differs from all other Kinds of Madness is, that it delights in maiming of old Books."[2] Granger was describing readers cutting images out of books to bind them into other books. This practice of binding images and other materials into books came to be known as extra-illustration, and it is at the center of my new project. Granger's complaint about the destruction of books engendered by extra-illustration is one that would be repeated many times over, though of course it is particularly interesting coming from the author whose book, *A Biographical History of England* (1769), famously set off this craze. What is more interesting to me, though, perhaps for its irony, is that Granger's letter was reproduced decades later by the engraver Charles John Smith and included in a collection of his engravings, *Historical and Literary Curiosities, Consisting of Fac-Similes of Original Documents* (1840). Smith created a facsimile of Granger's letter, printed on a page with an image of Granger's home. He sold this book to readers interested in collecting the handwriting of famous literary and historical figures. Commercializing and reproducing a document featuring Granger's unique handwriting to sell as a souvenir of a literary celebrity embodies the very "iconomania" that Granger decries in the letter. This volume, comprised entirely of Smith's engravings, most of which were manuscript facsimiles, moreover, practically beckons readers to destroy it, to take it apart and re-insert the manuscript facsimiles into other books. A Charles Mathews fan, for instance, might remove the page featuring a print of Mathews's home at Ivy Cottage and a reproduction of his handwriting to re-house it in a copy of Anne Mathews's *Memoirs of Charles Mathews,* as I have seen done on numerous occasions. A cheeky reader might even remove the Granger facsimile and place it within a copy of Granger's own *Biographical History of England*, as the prolific extra-illustrator John Mansir Wing did, enacting the book destruction that Granger laments.[3]Then again, while Granger worried about "old Books" being destroyed and losing their value, Smith's book was arguably produced to be taken apart. It participates in the commercialization of "iconomania" and catering to fan cultures by producing a feeling of public intimacy with the literary celebrity.[4] Print reproduction of unique manuscripts meant that personal documents became widely available to readers without extraordinary means or connections.

The *OED* defines "iconomania" as "an infatuated devotion to images" or a "mania for collecting icons or portraits," dating its earliest use to 1722.[5] The

term never took off. But it nonetheless describes what was happening in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries quite well. Granger's characterization of iconomania as a "madness" echoes the root of the term "fan" as "fanatic" or "fanaticism" – itself considered a sort of ailment. I would like to suggest that iconomania was one facet or expression of early fandom. Fan studies often situates the origins of "fandom" in the early twentieth century, with new forms of mass media.[6] The term has roots in the late nineteenth century to describe zealous baseball fans – a shortening of "fanatic." Yet even though the terminology was not yet used in the period I focus on, I find Daniel Cavicchi's and Emily Friedman's calls to historicize fan studies compelling.[7] As Cavicchi argues about nineteenth-century music lovers, "the patterns of behavior the term [fan] was meant to describe" predate the use of the term itself (54). The impulse to extra-illustrate books about favorite performers, I argue, was one of the "patterns of behavior" that the term "fan" would come to describe. It makes sense, then, that theatrical biography was a hugely popular genre for extra-illustration. In my project more broadly, one of my aims is to show how, in order for modern fandoms to develop, theatre-goers had to become active rather than passive consumers of performance and to produce content about the theatres. In other words, a participatory mode of consuming theatre developed, in which fans asserted their own roles in constructing communal knowledge about the theatres and in elevating certain actors and actresses to celebrity status. Taken in this light, extra-illustrated theatrical biographies are transformative works and examples of early fanworks. Readers were interested in engaging with – and adding to – the celebrity life.

Before I delve more into the argumentative work of this talk, I want to tell you a bit about extra-illustration as a practice. Extra-illustration, as I mentioned before, took off with James Granger's *Biographical History of England*. Granger's book was a sort of catalog of print illustrations of major figures in English history; upon its publication, print collectors began using the book as a base text in which to insert those very prints, ultimately having them bound in. Initially, these collectors tended to be quite wealthy men, including Richard Bull and Horace Walpole, who were able to amass huge print collections. In order to make the books neat, rather than bursting at their seams with extra material, they would have the prints professionally bound into the text. The result was that a one-volume book might extend to two, three, or many more, depending on the number of insertions. The practice soon extended beyond Granger's book. Collectors took pleasure in illustrating biographies, religious texts, and Shakespearean texts, among others. This is certainly not the first time that readers put things in their books.[8] But extra-illustration as a formalized, widespread practice really took off after 1769.

So what actually went into creating an extra-illustrated book? There's quite a bit of variation in terms of the quality of the production, how much of the work was being outsourced to professionals, and who was creating the books. Lucy Peltz identifies "waves" of extra-illustration, arguing that during the first wave, these books were often produced at home. She writes, "This demanded an understanding of the structure of books and paper, experimentation with recipes for paste, dexterity in cutting and ruling window mounts, trimming and beveling

prints – and then sufficient skill to inlay them in the desired configurations."[9] Later on, though, as the practice became more elaborate, extra-illustrators worked more extensively with professional print collectors, inlayers, and title-page designers to complete their works. While some individuals collected materials themselves, there were also booksellers who used their excess inventory to pre-make such books and sell them at a higher cost. Trends in the practice changed over the course of the late eighteenth, then the nineteenth, and even early twentieth centuries.

Although my overview cannot possibly account for the range and variation in practice, I will lay out the basics. Individual readers would choose a book they wanted to illustrate. As they read, they might make note of people or places mentioned in the text that they wanted to include an image of and seek out prints of them. And they would decide where in the book to insert them. Because books were often sold unbound in the eighteenth century, the reader could do all of this before taking the book to a binder. At first, images were the only types of materials inserted into extra-illustrated books. But as the practice became more popular and extended to more genres, readers also expanded the range of materials they inserted. In theatrical books, for example, playbills are not uncommon. Colorful political caricatures by Thomas Rowlandson and James Gillray began appearing as additions in books. Particularly wealthy collectors could afford to buy unique manuscripts, and so biographies might include original letters written to and from the subject. Sometimes the materials that readers wanted to add were much larger than the books themselves, particularly if they were quartos or octavos. To handle this, they might fold the material. But the more elegant solution was to mount the objects and book pages onto larger pages, cutting out a rectangle with beveled edges in order to create a window in which to inlay the object. Extra-illustrators sometimes spent years collecting and compiling before considering their work finished.

As you are probably realizing, this was an artform that required specialized skills, especially inlaying and binding. It was, in this sense, different from a simpler art like scrapbooking. While some extra-illustrated books are relatively humble, and much of the labor could have been accomplished at home, other extra-illustrators delighted in having elaborate editions made for them. Most of what I can piece together about the logistics and costs of these processes come from late nineteenth and early twentieth century extra-illustrators, some of whom wrote about their practice. For instance, in his 1903 pamphlet, "Granger, Grangerizing and Grangerizers," Alexander Meyrick Broadley names the professionals he works with, including the booksellers most equipped to carry a "supply of portraits." He notes that inlaying prints "is now carried on to a great extent by ladies, and certainly affords an almost ideal form of feminine occupation." He names two men who have helped him with arrangement, inlaying, and binding. And he insists that "the extra-illustrator should always provide his newly-formed volumes with specially printed title pages, which add materially to their completeness and general appearance."[10] The vast number of artisans involved in the process means we should think of extra-illustration as a highly collaborative process, at least for someone like Broadley. Nor do I think we should consider these artisans as merely executing the will of the extra-

illustrator. Some extra-illustrators and artisans formed long-term relationships that resulted in collaborative decision-making. This became especially evident to me when I was reading letters from the Brooklyn-based inlayer, Augustus Toedteberg, written to one of his major clients, the New York theatre manager and collector Augustin Daly. In one of these letters, from 1890, Toedteberg writes, "Among those [prints] sent over for your copy of *As You Like It* is a beautiful Garrick, [won't] you allow me to use that as a frontispiece for one of the Vols. of Ireland. I might take [one] from the Actors & A! to replace it -- Please let me know what to do."[11] Toedteberg consults Daly before executing the work, but he often acquired the prints and made suggestions to Daly about how and where to use them. Now that I have laid out some of the logistics, I return to my opening question: what does it mean to think of these books as fanworks? Why should we think of this activity in this way, rather than just as a bookish fad? For the remainder of my talk, I will explore a couple of examples, bringing it back to the theatre. Let me begin with a lovely little copy of *An Authentic Narrative of Mr. Kemble's Retirement from the Stage*, published in 1817, and now held in the Lewis Walpole Library.[12] This book was owned and extra-illustrated by James St. Aubyn, the oldest illegitimate child of Sir John St. Aubyn. While I have been unable to find a great deal of information about St. Aubyn, what I do know is that he lived from 1783 to 1862; he appears to have been a minor actor; and he was a member of what the *Authentic Narrative* describes as "a small Society of Literary and Dramatic Friends, who had associated themselves into a Club" (*Authentic Narrative*, 38). As a member of this club, St. Aubyn became one of the key organizers of John Philip Kemble's retirement dinner. He also seems to have been something of a Kemble superfan, which becomes clear when reading his surviving journals, held in the Huntington Library. He writes in his journal on May 21, 1810, that "it is a rule with me to see Mr. Kemble play Hamlet once a year. I went therefore for this purpose to Covent Garden Theatre this evening for the fifth time."[13] On May 27, 1812, he saw Kemble in *Macbeth*, commenting "This like Hamlet I had seen many many times, and like Hamlet always with increased pleasure. Mr. Kemble in every part shewed a perfect knowledge of the author."[14] These are just two of the many times St. Aubyn comments, with delight, on Kemble's performances. This sort of regular attendance at Kemble's performances and personal commentary in his journal is certainly a mark of fannish behavior.

It is no surprise, then, that when the *Authentic Narrative* was published, St. Aubyn bought a copy. It is also not terribly surprising to me that he chose to extra-illustrate it: as an organizer and attendee of the dinner, he was invested in how the narrative of the retirement was constructed. He remade his copy in a way that allowed him to layer his own voice into the official version. This is not a typical extra-illustrated book. In fact, St. Aubyn does not add a single visual illustration. Instead, he interleaved pages and wrote in additions to the text. Some were his own notes, others were transcriptions of published sources. He also added three manuscripts in Kemble's handwriting. I think of this as a sort of hybrid book. It has been extra-illustrated by the addition of manuscript material. His own handwritten additions, meanwhile, function not just as marginalia, but as extra textual material. It is clear that St. Aubyn sees his copy of the book as a

new version of the work, because across from the original table of contents, he adds his own, in which he lists additions to the text. Although this book, then, might not resemble the typical extra-illustrated copy, St. Aubyn seems to be thinking of it in these terms: his extra-illustrations strive to make the narrative both more thorough and more personal.

St. Aubyn's addition of original manuscripts in Kemble's handwriting conjure the presence of the celebrity through a personal document he touched and wrote. St. Aubyn was very selective and focused in his choices. As someone who knew Kemble, he likely had more manuscripts than he included. The ones he includes directly correspond to what is happening in the text (many extra-illustrators, by contrast, simply provided a manuscript across from where a particular person is mentioned). For instance, the first Kemble manuscript is a brief note in which he writes "Dear Sir, I shall not be in town till Saturday - when I will correct the remaining sheets of the whole of K Henry 8th - if you will have them ready at my house. Yrs. JP Kemble. Dec. 21st 1814. Wednesday." St. Aubyn inserts this note across from where the text says that "during the time of Mr. Kemble's management, he did not confine himself merely to the duties of his situation, but added very considerably to the stock of dramatic pieces, both by original compositions, and also by translations and revision of foreign and obsolete plays" (*Authentic Narrative*, ix). The Kemble manuscript attests to his revisions of such plays.

A particularly interesting example comes in the form of a not-terribly-interesting manuscript. On pages 41-42 of the *Authentic Narrative*, the author includes the text of the letter the committee sent to Kemble inviting him to the celebratory dinner. The letter is signed by Walker & Urquhart on behalf of the whole committee. This is followed by Kemble's brief response, humbly accepting the invitation. The publisher of the *Authentic Narrative* included a foldout facsimile manuscript of Kemble's response on the page following the textual transcription. Manuscript facsimile, as I discussed earlier, commodifies public intimacy: a purchaser of this book could see not just what Kemble wrote, but how he wrote it – the strokes of his pen followed by his signature. Thus, this foldout was a selling point of the book. Right before the manuscript facsimile, St. Aubyn inserts a sheet of paper in Kemble's handwriting simply labeled, "For Messrs Urquhart & Walker. &c. &c. &c." This is, in all likelihood, the outside of the letter itself, since in his "Table of Contents," St. Aubyn labels it "Superscription in Mr. K's hand writing, of the note containing his Answer to the Kemble Committee." St. Aubyn, the owner of this particular copy, provides what the masses – a multiplicity of readers – could not have: the real thing. Any theatre fan could purchase a facsimile copy of Kemble's handwriting. St. Aubyn declares through his extra-illustrations that he does not need the facsimile. He possesses the original.

St. Aubyn's interventions of "real intimacy" in a book that is interested in mass marketing public intimacy between the celebrity and his fans is a characteristic of his extra-illustrating strategies. This is evident, too, in his marginalia. St. Aubyn attended Kemble's final performance, helped organize the retirement dinner, and attended the dinner. He would naturally have had his own reactions and memories, and these did not always align with the published

account of the retirement. For example, where the text mentions that Kemble "finally closed his professional labours, on the 23d day of June, 1817, in the part of *Coriolanus*" (xiv), St. Aubyn marks an asterisk and adds, across from the text, "Mr. Kemble was for a long time in suspence between the characters of Hamlet and Coriolanus for the termination of his theatrical career." As a friend of Kemble's, St. Aubyn would know this, whereas a typical reader might assume that *Coriolanus* had been an obvious choice. St. Aubyn uses the published account of the retirement as an occasion and a space in which to record his own memories and add to the official narrative. The story of Kemble's retirement, then, develops across different media and through the contributions of fans, as Henry Jenkins argues of transmedia storytelling.[15]

This level of intimacy and access was not the norm, of course. Most fans did not have St. Aubyn's means or connections. As my final example, then, I want to look at a much more typical book. I do not know who its maker was or when it was made. More often than not, we don't. When looking at an object like this, I am not trying to make a claim about an individual person and their motivations. Instead, I aim to show how a typical extra-illustrated theatrical biography reflects not just an artistic appreciation, but a desire to know – and contribute to our knowledge about – the theatre world and its celebrities.

In 1816, Charles Inigo Jones published the memoirs of the relatively new actress, Elizabeth O'Neill. The book was written and published when she was just 27 years old; she would retire from the stage three years later, in 1819, and live another 53 years after that. This was not a posthumous biography, but rather a celebration of a popular, up-and-coming actress, designed to help promote her career. An extra-illustrated copy of this book is held in Princeton University's Special Collections.[16] It is a single volume, with the original book pages and additional material mounted onto larger pages. Many of the inserted prints were published in the 1810s, but at least one was published in 1830, which suggests that the maker is looking back at least a decade. The extra-illustrator added sixty-four prints to the book, but no playbills, letters, or other materials. I think of this book as fairly typical because it includes primarily images that were commercially available. The vast majority of images are portraits of actors and actresses or images of them performing. Eleven of these are of Miss O'Neill herself. These are supplemented by images of her contemporaries, especially Mary Ann Yates, Sarah Siddons, and Edmund Kean. The range of images is intended to situate O'Neill within her theatrical network. To be a fan of an individual actor is also to be a fan of the theatre world as a whole – to compare, to judge performances, to know who plays which parts best. That is why theatrical biography during this period is often equally a history of the theatres. This is an artform based on community and collaboration.

The way the extra-illustrator situates O'Neill within her theatrical community mirrors the author's goals: Jones structures the book, at least in part, by moving through and evaluating O'Neill's theatrical characters. He repeatedly highlights her similarities to more established actresses, especially Sarah Siddons. He writes that Siddons's retirement left "a chasm in the heroines of the stage. Ineffectual attempts had been made to supply her place by second rate characters." He is proposing O'Neill to fill that hole. On the final page, he

declares, "no actress ever received such a marked attention from Mrs. Siddons as Miss O'Neill" (100). He intended to promote O'Neill and help establish her reputation in the London theatre world.

The extra-illustrator highlights and enhances the book's strategy of showing O'Neill in her best parts and drawing comparisons with other actresses. There is a very methodical approach to the additions, which suggests that the illustrator was not just aiming to give us a picture of each person mentioned in the text, but rather to illustrate the text in a deliberate way. This was a careful reader. In the vast majority of cases, the images of O'Neill depict her in the particular role that the text is describing. To collect the right images of O'Neill performing the correct parts would have been a labor. Other extra-illustrators did not always bother with this level of precision, instead just showing the person mentioned. The print illustrations largely work in tandem with the text, providing a visual supplement to the argument Jones makes, and allowing the fan to bask not only in the textual descriptions but also in the act of collecting and illustrating.

If the extra-illustrator was largely working with the text, there are also cases where an extra-illustrator added information that the original writer could not have known. Jones ends with an entreaty to O'Neill not to marry. He argues that actresses are better off remaining single until they can gain their own "consequence and independence." When the book was published in 1816, Jones had heard rumors that O'Neill was being courted. But he could not have known that her marriage would mean she would retire from the stage entirely. The extra-illustrator, who assembled the book at least a decade later, on the other hand, did know. After Jones's entreaty, the last print inserted is "Mrs. Becher Late Miss O'Neill." The image creates a striking sense of finality, invoking not a literal death, but the death of her career. Placed after the last page of text, the image and the extra-illustrator speak the last word, contributing to the narrative that Jones began.

Why should we think of this as an example of fandom? Why does it matter if we think of extra-illustrated books this way? Extra-illustrators were not just collectors or hobbyists. These were usually people who went to the theatre and were interested in following the careers of performers, knowing the most recent news, and understanding theatre history. How they supplemented their books helped construct a celebrity's public image, especially as these books were often made to be circulated, displayed, and shared. Their additions augment the historical record of the celebrity life. This was a mode of user interactivity, allowing theatregoers to transform from passive consumers into storytellers, makers, and participants. Extra-illustrated books offer us a dazzling and understudied record of how people read, how people watched, and how people formed community around their favorite celebrity actors.

United States Naval Academy

Notes

1. I thank the Lewis Walpole Library, Princeton University Library, and Houghton Library at Harvard University for fellowships that have made this

work possible. I am grateful, too, to Leah Benedict and Mattie Burkert for their feedback.

2. James Granger letter reproduced in Charles John Smith, *Historical and Literary Curiosities* (London: H.G. Bohn, 1852).

3. See David Schneiderman, "The Miraculous and Mucilaginous Paste Pot: Extra-illustration and Plagiary in the Burroughs Legacy," *Journal of Beat Studies* 2 (2013), 58.

4. For more on public intimacy, see Joseph Roach, *It* (Ann Arbor: U. of Michigan Press, 2007).

5. *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "iconomania (n.). [https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/4295032396.]

6. See Henry Jenkins, *Textual Poachers: Television Fans and Participatory Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1992) and John Fiske, "The Cultural Economy of Fandom," in *The Adoring Audience: Fan Culture and Popular Media*, ed. Lisa A. Lewis (London: Routledge, 1992). Alexandra Edwards traces an earlier history of fandom in *Before Fanfiction: Recovering the Literary History of American Media Fandom* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State U. Press, 2023).

7. Daniel Cavicchi, "Fandom before 'Fan'," *Reception: Texts, Readers, Audiences, History*, Vol. 6 (2014): 52-72; and Emily C. Friedman, "What We Talk About When We Talk About Fan Fiction," *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 36.1 (January 2024): 159-168.

8. See, for example, Whitney Trettien, *Cut/Copy/Paste: Fragments from the History of Bookwork* (Minneapolis: U. of Minnesota Press, 2022).

9. Lucy Peltz, *Facing the Text: Extra-illustration, Print Culture, and Society in Britain, 1769-1840* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 2017).

10. Alexander Meyrick Broadley, *Granger, Grangerizing, and Grangerizers* (Bridport, U.K.: W. & E. Frost, 1903), 5.

11. Augustus Toedteberg, Letters to Augustin Daly, Folger Shakespeare Library, Y.c.5094 (1-6).

12. *An Authentic Narrative of Mr. Kemble's Retirement from the Stage* (London: John Miller, 1817) [Lewis Walpole Library, Hag29 K32 z817a.] Hereafter cited parenthetically.

13. James St. Aubyn, Journal, 1810-1819. HM80304 at Huntington Library 15.

14. *Ibid*., 100.

15. Henry Jenkins, *Convergence Culture* (New York: New York UP. 2008).

16. Charles Inigo Jones, *Memoirs of Miss O'Neill*, 2nd ed. (London: Sherwood, Neely, & Jones, 1818) [Princeton U. Library, Special Collections, Oversize 35771.157.51q.]

Helen Craik and the Scottish Gothic: (Re)Writing History and Empire

by Rachel Mann

The recently published collection of Helen Craik's poetry edited from the Beinecke Manuscript offers scholars insight into Craik's larger oeuvre.[1] More importantly, and as I discuss in this article, the collection allows scholars to reexamine assumptions about gothic and historical literature and women's relationships with and to both. As I have said elsewhere, what is perhaps most remarkable about Helen Craik is how unremarkable she is.[2] .That is, many seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Scottish women produced significant bodies of poetry and identified themselves as poets, even if they never saw their work in print.[3] .Regrettably, this has meant a comparative dearth of scholarship on women's writing. (For the recovery of Scottish women writers, see Craik, lxxxi n.2) And, perhaps consequently, a too ready acceptance of the binary between historical and gothic literary forms put forward by Walter Scott. As Diana Wallace notes, literary criticism tends to focus on disentangling the two genres—partly because the development of the historical novel is typically traced back to Scott's *Waverly* (1814). Instead, Wallace argues for the necessity of an alternative genealogy. Focusing on women's writing ultimately shows the way in which women used the Gothic as a form of historiography or metahistory long before *Waverly* arrived on the scene.[4] Attention to Craik's poetry can further demonstrate how women saw themselves in history but also their refusal to be erased from history. Additionally, Craik's poetry suggests a relationship between the two literary genres that appears to be mutually constitutive rather than oppositional.

Many of Craik's dramatic monologues and narrative poems slot neatly into assertions about the early gothic as a historical literary form. They feature multiple points of view and provide an account of history typically filtered through the lens of a female protagonist. As Angela Wright notes, by uncovering multiple histories, the Scottish Gothic explores the crisis of identity brought about by the 1707 Union and 1746 Jacobite rebellion.[5] .Likewise, Wallace, following David Punter, too sees the gothic as a historical mode. Wallace's focus, however, is on the female gothic, in which, she argues, women writers have both "emplotted history and theorized their exclusion from mainstream historiographical accounts."[6] Seeing Craik as a forerunner in the development of the historical novel, Adriana Craciun writes that in Craik's novels "the connection between parental and political tyranny was a recurring theme."[7] Centered on similar motifs, Craik's poetry prefigures her later, gothic novels published by London's Minerva Press between 1796 and1805.[8]

While Craik's poetic protagonists are generally tragic characters, Craik locates their personal tragedy within the larger context of national events. As such, we can also see Craik using the gothic form to explore Scottish nationality and what it means to be an engaged citizen who is at once Scottish and British. Many of Craik's dramatic narratives are sites where gothic, historical, and national concerns both converge and clash. In the sections below, however, I

will focus on "The Maid of Enterkin," written c. 1781, and "The Indian Maid," written c. 1789-90. On their surface, neither appear especially gothic—they're mostly devoid of specters and the supernatural. Nor do they seem to be especially Scottish—while the former *is* set in Scotland the latter takes place in the Caribbean and both are written in Augustan English. And yet, both bear the hallmarks of what many see as characteristic of the Scottish Gothic, particularly their investigation of history and of what Katie Trumpner describes as "the traumatic consequences of historical transformation and the long-term uneven development . . . it creates in 'national characters'"[9] In both poems, Craik engages with the cultural and intellectual currents that shaped much of the literature of her time and place.

Both dramatic monologues are reconfigured stories that had been published previously, in different formats and by different people. In "The Maid of Enterkin," Craik changes the narrator of the tale from the male traveler of the published story, an outsider who recounts the events many years later, to a female speaker, who is deeply involved and in mourning for her father.[10] ."The Indian Maid" is based on the well-known story of Inkle and Yarico (see, e.g., Richard Steele, The Spectator, no. 11 (1711) and George Coleman Jr.'s opera, performed in Dublin in 1787) but Craik's poem is also meant as a companion to Hector MacNeill's *The Harp* (1789). By shifting perspectives and weaving together source materials, Craik does not simply replace one historical truth with another. She questions the very veracity and possibility of 'History' and exposes the way state-sanctioned narratives are used to justify imperial projects.

The Maid of Enterkin

In the Beinecke MS, "The Maid of Enterkin" is one of two dramatic narratives set explicitly in Scotland.[11] While Craik notes that the poem was inspired by "an incident said to have happened in the neighbourhood of Enterkin," she most likely came to the subject matter through her friend and neighbor, Captain Robert Riddell to whom she dedicated the narrative (76). Given Riddell's attention to post-Culloden Jacobite-related songs and stories and that his home at Friar's Carse was located just a few miles south of Enterkin, the original source material almost certainly piqued his interest. Titled "An Affecting Story," the tale was published in *The London Chronicle* in 1781 and reprinted in *Scots Magazine* that same year. And indeed, in her prose preface, Craik neatly summarizes the details of the original story: a doting father and his daughter live as fugitives for fifteen years. The pair was happy in their seclusion until the maid was followed home by an unwanted suitor who threatened to expose them unless the maid would yield to his attentions. In order to save his daughter, the father flees into the hills, returning home three days later only to die of exposure. Deep in mourning, the maid grieves her father "an *hour* for *every year* of his Life" and then "plung[es] into a neighbouring Pool" (77). Craik's verse narrative that follows is a departure from the source material in that it is a passionate lament told from the perspective of the maid during her final moments of grief.

Given the setting, the political tenor of the poem cannot be ignored as the Enterkin Pass was an important site in the Covenenter Movement. Born out of political and religious unrest, the Movement asserted the independence of the Presbyterian church against the Stuart monarchy and their attempts to Anglicize the church, bringing to the fore questions of Royal authority and prerogative. On July 29, 1684, a small party of dragoons, who were escorting Covenanting prisoners through the Enterkin pass and on to Edinburgh for trial, were ambushed. The commanding officer was shot and killed and the troops fired only a single volley before surrendering their prisoners, who subsequently fled to the hills. Gaining almost mythological status, the name Enterkin would, at the time Craik was writing, first evoke the dramatic clash in the Enterkin pass in July 1684. However, the very public source material Craik is working from makes it clear that her fugitive is a Jacobite not a Covenenter. According to the narrator of the published tale, the events he relates occurred nineteen years prior to their publication in 1781, so 1760. The fugitive had been in hiding for fifteen years, which takes us back to 1746—the year Bonnie Prince Charlie's Rebellion was crushed at the battle of Culloden.[12] .With no explicitly specified date and reference only to a "fugitive" who "fought *with* his Friends, but *against* the Laws of his Country," Craik's poem is both temporally vague and geographically specific, allowing Craik to graft the Jacobite rebellion onto Enterkin, which was outside the main theater of the Jacobite uprising (76). In so doing, Craik simultaneously conjures two important periods of resistance but also internal strife in Scotland's history. The national drama and trauma evoked by the poem can thus be mapped onto the familial drama and trauma narrated within it.

Through her representation of an ideal father, who, because of the political tenor of the poem, cannot be separated from an ideal ruler, Craik explores different models of familial and political duties.[13] On the one hand, the maid's love for her father and his for his daughter is characterized by "calm *Content*" and, "blest indeed," through "*Patience* and *Virtue* [had] ev'ry want supplied" (83, ll. 18, 15, 17). On the other hand, the suitor's love is "from Hell's black centre driv'n, / For Love like thine is enmity with Heav'n—" (ll. 23-24). Whereas the maid's father flees, ultimately sacrificing his life so as not to force his daughter's hand, her suitor attempts to preclude any agency she has—using her love for her father against her. Craik's binary representation thus dramatizes the difference between consent and force and how the former fosters filial/political duty and fidelity.

Through the contrast between male figures, Craik likewise probes the way in which one manipulates language to write dominance—thereby also manipulating the narration of history. For example, the maid questions: "From smiling *Love* can such deep anguish rise!" only to correct the record in the following line: "*Love*!—No!—'twas *Vice*" (ll. 22-23). Describing the suitor as a "legal Villain" and "mean *Informer*," the maid offers further corrections of the record (p. 84, ll. 50, 54). The comparison between father and suitor makes clear that legality is not synonymous with honor. Asserting that "Treach'ry comes disguis'd like smiling Love," Craik calls into question the state's motives and

points to the way in which state-sanctioned narratives are put forth to advance hegemonic projects (83, l. 38).

As such, Craik offers an alternative narrative. Her change from the outside male narrator of the source material who stumbles upon the scene and recounts it to the female protagonist experiencing the events is critical. Rather than reading an account of the maid's anguish, as mediated by another (male/imperial) gaze, we are plunged into it. Craik imbues the maid with a full range of subjectivity and explores the tension between reason (or objectivity) and emotion: The maid, "with ev'ry woe opprest," is "from *Reason* torn"; her "filial Duty" "to *Frenzy* gives the rein" (p. 82, ll. 1, 10, 9, 10). Consequently, the maid is beset upon by "Ideal Phantoms" and a "burning Madness" "till mental suff'ring close the weary scene" (83-84, ll. 35, 44, 60). By shifting perspective and highlighting the conflicted and fractured identity of the maid, Craik infuses the personal and the political, thereby plotting history both "locally" and "relationally," to use Trumpner's words.[14] And yet, readers are still one step removed. Craik is narrating and re-narrating the story, not the maid. She makes this clear in her prefatory notes, writing "the following Lines were occasioned by an incident said to have happened…" (76). In so doing, Craik inscribes herself into the political arena she was otherwise excluded from. Coupled with the preface, Craik's change of narrator further calls attention to her source material and to the narrative's constructedness, and so the poem seems to be more about processing and/or reprocessing events than about preserving them.

Indeed, preservation is less the point than is the refusal to be absorbed into a stable narrative and its bad faith promise of erasure. So often written out of history, women were, as Wallace writes, subsumed within and by the "social and legal structures which declared women 'civilly dead.'"[15] And yet, much like the maid, they remained eerily present. The Gothic provides a way of exploring that presence. That Craik includes this poem in her first gothic novel, *Julia St. Pierre* (1796) without substantive revisions, is not surprising. In their work on British women writers and the French Revolution, Craciun and Kari Lokke note the way in which women, including Craik, worked to "create new models for women as public subjects" who "saw themselves as vital participants in an international, cosmopolitan conversation about the moral and political fate of Europe."[16] And in the poem, Craik demonstrates how the public profoundly impacts the private and explores alternative models of political duty and allegiance that allows for female agency.

While Craik writes the female protagonist back into the story, giving her a voice denied by the outside male narrator of the source material, she also offers, by extrapolation, an analysis of how one uses language to reinforce prevailing ideologies. Through narrative, such ideologies are presented as historical inevitabilities. As such, the poem questions how one finds history, creates, catalogues and preserves history, and generates a different kind of history. Just as Enterkin becomes the site of two different conflicts, both mapped onto one another and thus neither truly present nor truly erased, the past is never truly stable, that is to say, it is never truly knowable.[17] The tension between Craik's present and the past she depicts is inescapable and the two forces mutually formative.

The Indian Maid

In her two-part poem, "The Indian Maid," Craik likewise weaves together multiple published texts to construct her narrative, primarily the well-known tale of Yarico and Inkle. First recorded in Richard Ligon's *A True and Exact History of the Island of Barbadoes* (1657, 1673, 1680, etc.) and, most influentially retold by Richard Steele in *The Spectator*, no 11 (1711), the story centers on a seventeenth-century English merchant, Inkle, who is rescued from drowning by Yarico, an indigenous woman. The pair fall in love and Yarico abandons her island home to return with Inkle who subsequently betrays her by selling her into slavery. In addition to the well-known English sources Craik is working from, she notes that the poem is "intended for a companion to Hector MacNeill's *The Harp,*" even subtitling it as such. So as to make the reference explicit, Craik includes an asterisked footnote: "*A Poem, written by Mr Macneil" (138). Set in Scotland, *The Harp* tells a story with some parallels to Craik's poem: a minstrel and his wife are caught in a storm and the wife takes ill. To save his wife's life, the minstrel burns his prized harp, only for her to leave him the following morning for another man. In Craik's poem, Yarico burns her "*only* change of dress" and "each fav'rite cup" to save Inkle (144, ll. 39, 46). By overtly weaving together source material to retell the tale, Craik destabilizes any notion of a singular, authoritative narrative.

Explicitly pointing readers to MacNeill's *The Harp*, which was based on a Gaelic proverb stemming from a Highland tale, Craik makes clear that the poem's concerns speak not only to the slave trade but also to the practice of British imperialism closer to home.[18] As Trumpner notes, the harp is a symbol of Irish, Welsh, and Scottish nationalism standing for "an art that honors the organic relationship between a people, their land, and their culture."[19] Notably, the clarsach tradition began to die out after the failure of the Jacobite Rebellion and the ensuing Act of Proscription, which curtailed Highland customs, ultimately suppressing Gaelic heritage and culture in the name of unity. In MacNeill's tale, the harp is sacrificed for what turns out to be a perfidious lover. Craik's harp, i.e., Yarico's coco cups and grass dress, the very things that connect Yarico to and mark her of her culture, suffer the same fate. In both tales, the symbolic harps are sacrificed to preserve or create what is ostensibly a union but what Craik exposes to be transactional and individualistic pursuits on the part of those for whom they are sacrificed.

Craik's emphasis on Yarico's communion with nature and Inkle's sophistication further troubles the justification underpinning British imperialism as progress. As she does in "The Maid of Enterkin," Craik exposes false binaries as false by creating her own. For example, Yarico is depicted in line with the 'noble savage': she is a peaceful "Indian Queen" whose "Palace" is a "humble Grot" "deck'd from Ocean's wat'ry bound" (140, ll. 28, 31, 33). Her "bow and arrow guiltless hung, / 'Twas there for state,—no wound it gave" (ll. 41-42). By contrast, "faithless Inkle" is the beneficiary of "the crimes of polish'd Life" (139, l. 15; 141, l. 74). Upon his arrival "so pure a scene [is] destroy'd / For all the empty wealth below" (ll. 75-76). Craik's depiction of the fall of Yarico's

Eden follows an especially Scottish tradition. As Ian Duncan has argued, the literary romanticization and objectification of the Scottish Highlands (in Craik's poem, the Caribbean) illustrated two attitudes toward British history and modernization. In the first, Scotland is reimagined as immune to the passage of time and modernization and is a state from which Britain had fallen. In the second, Scotland is a state from which Britain had emerged.[20] Keton Holson notes that these mythic representations of Scotland, especially popular in the 1790s, "served the interests of historical revisionists" who were thereby able to reframe the Union, which was essentially an economic annexation, as an exemplar of progress.[21] Unlike previous versions of the tale, Craik makes clear the fate of Yarico and her unborn child after being sold into slavery: "—Ah see!—she plunges in the Deep, / No more alas!—To rise again" (147, ll. 127-28). Issuing her readers, whom she earlier identifies as "Britons," a command in her final lines, Craik refuses "in oblivion [to] wrap the scene" and drives home the tragic effects of the slave trade (146, ll. 97-98). In so doing, Craik not only rejects the myth of colonialization as vehicle for progress but exposes it as myth.

Craik likewise questions what it means to be part of yet subsumed by empire. In the poem, Craik focuses on Yarico's emotional anguish at the "treach'rous art" and "Av'rice" of Inkle (144, l. 54; 141, l. 73). Described as "*Albion's* faithless Son," Craik emphasizes Inkle's Englishness while at the same time marking the consequences for the greater whole: "[Yarico's] Hist'ry sad Remembrance keeps, / and mourns *Britannia's* lasting shame" (141, l. 68, my emphasis; 139, ll. 21-22, my emphasis). By depicting Yarico as a type of 'noble savage' Craik lays bare the savagery and greed underlying what is and was a purely economic endeavor thereby rejecting the belief in "colonization as a transformative process designed to bring societies into the light of modern era."[22] At a time when Scots were overrepresented among soldiers fighting in the colonial wars and much of the Kirkcudbrightshire gentry, including Craik's neighbors the Oswalds, had built their wealth from slavery, Craik applies a critical lens to Scotland's part in the development of the British empire.

Conclusion

The palimpsestic nature of these two poems allows Craik to challenge what Carol Margaret Davison and Monica Germanà describe as "the foundations of hegemonic authority."[23] Shaped by numerous voices and events, past and present, the poems likewise illuminate what Trumpner describes as "the transportability of nationalist tropes" while "problematiz[ing] the act of transport itself." Craik's poetry thereby complicates and questions what it means to be part of an empire.[24] One is simultaneously subsumed by and therefore part of but also separate from an empire and the line between oppressed and oppressor is blurred. Craik's poetry offers a view of history that is, for lack of better words, both/and not either/or.

Through Craik's poetry we can reexamine current assumptions about gothic and historical literature. Craik appears to have made little distinction between the two—turning again, to a both/and approach and disrupting the false binary between historical and gothic literary forms later cemented by Walter

Scott. Moreover, tending to work such as Craik's allows scholars to examine how women saw themselves in history but also their refusal to be erased from history. While many of Craik's female protagonists take their own lives, their deaths represent acts of agency rather than self-abnegation. Unlike Yarico's cups or MacNeill's harp, which are sacrificed in the name of union, Craik's heroines sacrifice themselves in the name of resistance. Through their deaths, they ensure that they are the authors of what is only ostensibly their erasure. As such, Craik's poems do what Joan Wallach Scott argues women's history should: "analyze the effects of dominant understanding of gender in the past [and to that I would add empire] rather than simply adding information previously ignored."[25] Craik's layering and weaving of source materials represents so much more than an accretion of information or a correction of the historical record—it is a questioning of and reckoning with the very endeavor of creating such a record in the first place.

University of South Carolina

Notes

1. Helen Craik, *Poems by a Lady*, ed. by Rachel Mann and Patrick Scott (Association for Scottish Literature [ASL], no. 52, 2023)

2. Matthew Sangster, "Five Questions: Rachel Mann and Patrick Scott on Helen Craik's *Poems by a Lady*." *Five Questions* (blog). *BARS*. October 22, 2023. https://www.bars.ac.uk/blog/?p=4847

3. See Juliet Shields, "How to Become an 'Authoress' in Provincial Scotland: Women's Poetry in Manuscript and Print," in *The International Companion to Scottish Literature, 1660-1800*, ed. by Leith Davis and Janet Sorensen (Glasgow: ASL, 2021). More generally, see Margaret Ezell, *Social Authorship and the Advent of Print* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins U. Press, 1999); Harold Love, *The Culture and Commerce of Texts* (Amherst: U. of Massachusetts Press, 1993); and Carol Barash, *Women's Writing and the Circulation of Ideas* (Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 2002).

4. Diana Wallace, *Female Gothic Histories* (U. of Wales Press, 2013).

5. Angela Wright, "Scottish Gothic" in *The Routledge Companion to Gothic*, ed. by Catherine Spooner and Emma McEvoy (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), 73.

6. Wallace, 12; David Punter, *The Literature of Terror*, Vol. 1, 2nd edn. (Longman, 1996).

7. Adriana Craciun, "The New Cordays" in *Rebellious Hearts*, ed. by Craciun and Kari E. Lokke (State U. of New York Press, 2001), 214.

8. *Julia St. Pierre: A Tale of the French Revolutionaries: A Novel*, 3 vols (1796); *Henry of Northumberland,* or, *The Hermit's Cell: A Tale of the Fifteenth Century*, 3 vols (1800); *Adelaide de Narbonne, with Memoirs of Charlotte de Cordet. A Tale*, 4 vols (1800); *Stella of the North, or, The Foundling of the Ship: A Novel*, 4 vols (1802); *The Nun and Her Daughter, or, Memoirs of the Courville family: A Novel*, 4 vols (1805).

9. Katie Trumpner, *Bardic Nationalism* (Princeton U. Press, 1997), xii-xiii.

10. See "An Affecting Story, from The Country Curate," *Scots Magazine,* 43 (October [i.e. November], 1781), 536-38; reprinted from *London Chronicle* (9-11 October, 1781); also in *Edinburgh Magazine*, 54 (November 1781), 138-41); *Weekly Miscellany*, 17 (29 October 1781), 100-104. See also, Craik, 79-82.

11. The other, "Helen: An Old Scots Tale," retells the well-known ballad, "Fair Helen" or "Helen of Kirkconnel Lea." See Craik, 110-121.

12. "An Affecting Story," *Scots Magazine*, 537-538.

13. As Craciun has addressed, parental and political tyranny was a common motif in Craik's novels. See "The New Cordays," 193-232. Nevertheless, in "The Maid of Enterkin" Craik suggests that such a connection is not inevitable.

14. Trumpner, xv.

15. Wallace, 17.

16. Craciun and Lokke, "British Women Writers and the French Revolution" in *Rebellious Hearts*, 15.

17. Following Mary Ann Doane, Wallace distinguishes between representations of the past in psychoanalysis and in historiography; in the former, the past is aggressive and haunting and in the latter, it is static and inert. For Wallace, the historical gothic yokes together these two seemingly incompatible representations, 144.

18. "Smeirg a loisgeadh a thiompan ria," i.e. "I'll never burn my harp for a woman." See Craik, 138.

19. Trumpner, 19.

20. Ian Duncan, "Introduction" in *Scotland and the Borders of Romanticism*, ed. by Leith Davis, Duncan, and Janet Sorensen (Cambridge U. Press, 2004), 1-19.

21. Keton Holson, "Noble Savage, Noble Scotsman," *Augsburg Honors Review*: Vol. 12 , Article 2, 2019, 14.

22. *Ibid*.

23. Carol Margaret Davison and Monica Germanà, "Borderlands of Identity and the Aesthetics of Disjuncture" in *Scottish Gothic: An Edinburgh Companion*, ed. by Davison and Germanà (Edinburgh, Edinburgh U. Press, 2017), 5.

24. Trumpner, 19.

25. Joan Wallach Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *The American Historical Review* 91.5 (December 1986), 1053-75.

Learning---and Teaching—in Retirement

by Elizabeth Lambert

"And gladly would [she] learne and gladly teche." Chaucer certainly got that right. When I retired from Gettysburg College in 2008 all but 12 of my 72 years had been spent in the classroom either as a student or a teacher, sometimes as both. Retirement presented a quandary: what am I going to do now? The standard advice for retirees is to do nothing for a year; just experiment with all sorts of possibilities. None of the possibilities held any appeal. However, my "nothing for a year" was short-lived when my husband came home with a catalog from the Osher Lifelong Learning Institute a neighbor had given him: "Beth might be interested in this." I certainly was. The catalog listed courses in some ten disciplines and advertised: " No homework; no exams; no papers. Learning for the sheer joy of learning" And they were asking for volunteer teachers. I had the solution to my retirement issue: thanks to Osher Lifelong Learning I still could both learn and teach.

Osher Lifelong Learning Institute (known as "OLLI") was begun by the Bernard Osher Foundation for the purpose of giving older adults—typically the recently retired—an opportunity to learn without the pressures of the usual academic setting. It is a non-credit, non-degree program. The Foundation grants of up to 1 million dollars to universities willing to support a lifelong learning institute. In my case, OLLI is based at George Mason University; locally there are also OLLIs at American University and the University of Virginia.

George Mason gave OLLI three buildings at the edge of campus: they are not glamorous by any stretch of imagination. However, they do provide ample classroom space of varying sizes, administrative offices, a coffee/tea gathering space, and an "annex room" used variously. All classrooms are equipped with a windows-based computer, large screen, projector, and a DVD/cd player. Before Covid, OLLI had classroom space in a Reston, Virginia, church building and in George Mason's Loudoun County facility. Both were about a 45-minute commute from the George Mason campus. By the time COVID abated, George Mason had relinquished the Loudoun campus, and the comforts of ZOOM took its toll on in-person classes in Reston, so OLLI gave up that site.

Most importantly: OLLI is a member-driven organization. Only the Executive Director, some six staff members, and six site-assistants are paid. All teachers, members of the Board of Directors, and members of Program Planning groups for the various disciplines are volunteers. For example, I am a member of the five-person Planning Group that oversees all subject areas. Yes, it is a lot of work without pay, but it is challenging as well as fulfilling.

While OLLI runs on its volunteer members, it is not free. George Mason's OLLI has an annual membership fee of $450.00 with discounts given to new members or a one-term only membership fee. While it is a significant investment, the yearly fee covers the cost of all classes an individual wishes to take each year, membership in various Clubs, recordings of current and past classes, and university privileges. (Other OLLIs charge per course.) Like the typical university, OLLI has four terms with the spring and fall terms consisting

of eight possible sessions per class and winter and summer terms having four. It is up to an individual instructor to determine the number of sessions needed for the specific class he or she is teaching. For example, this fall, "Thackeray's *Vanity Fair*" class is scheduled for eight sessions, while a history course, "The Cold War Decline and Collapse of the Soviet Union: Brezhnev to Gorbachev' will run for five sessions. Then there are the one-timers, such as "Cataloguing America: A Peek behind the Scenes at the National Gallery of Art."

When I began OLLI classes they were all held in person. When Covid shut down in-person meetings, OLLI immediately went to Zoom programming. Yours truly, a purist for in-class teaching, determined that I would not teach a class unless I could be in a classroom. One term went by, then another before I succumbed to the advantages and the problems of Zoom. I was encouraged to use Zoom that Covid January when one of our best teachers sent out an email: "Anyone want to read *Great Expectations* with me?" It was a sanity-saver that winter. Now a teacher can elect to give a course in person, by Zoom only, or hybrid (a combination of in-person and Zoom class).

Paradoxically, the administration, having promoted Zoom classes, now is trying to get members to return to in-person classes. But the OLLI population is a shifting one, with members moving to retirement communities or to another city to live near their children. These members-on-the-periphery not only take classes, but they also serve on various committees and teach classes. OLLI-GMU reached a high point in membership in 2015 with 1179 members. That number has significantly decreased to 992 in 2022. Another membership issue is one that so many organizations share: trying to get a more diverse population that reflects the Northern Virginia area. OLLI is always searching for teachers and new classes. Under the heading "Teach for OLLI" on the website, there are resources for first-time (and seasoned) teachers. Practical matters aside, the real richness of OLLI is in the variety and quality of its courses and instructors.

While there is not a laboratory available for science classes, there are seventeen science and technology courses listed in the Fall 2025 catalog. A sample: "The Brain and the Body," "Landforms," and the provocatively titled: "You Can't Make This Stuff Up," a course on medical information that is simply urban legend. There are also clubs of every variety, from the very useful (Caregivers Support Group), the Dirty Knees Club (the Landscaping Committee) to the special interest clubs, such as the Poetry Writing group.

When it comes to recruiting teachers, we are fortunate in the DC area to have a pool of resources, such as employees or retirees from government agencies, the media, the military, specialists in a variety of occupations and retired teachers from all levels of education. There are also those who have developed new interests in retirement and want to share them. While George Mason professors sometimes volunteer to teach an OLLI class, there are not many who do so. Those of us who are retired faculty members find ourselves reminding OLLI administrators that "publish or perish" is still operative in academic circles, and community service (such as volunteer teaching for OLLI) is not given high priority by tenure and promotion committees.

I had decided to take time off from teaching during the first year of retirement to just attend classes and discipline-specific interest groups. That plan

ended rather abruptly when I went to a History Course Planning meeting. I should note here that, as an Edmund Burke scholar I had learned much 18th century English history and had paired Burke's "Speech on Conciliation with the Colonies" with Samuel Johnson's "Taxation No Tyranny" in my upper-level literature classes. Perhaps the location of Gettysburg College, where one is literally surrounded by history, had something to do with developing an interest in historical details. So, when the chair of the OLLI history group asked for course suggestions, I raised my hand and suggested there should be some sort of an eighteenth-century course. He leaned over the podium, pointed a finger, and said: "YOU! I have waited a year for this." (Program Planners did not recommend this as a viable teacher solicitation method.)

I took that opportunity to develop a course on "The British Side of the American Revolution," and stemming from that, a course on "the Loyalists." By request, I also taught a course on the English Civil War and several times gave one-session presentations on Oliver Cromwell's fight with Governor Berkeley's of Virginia over Berkeley's support of King Charles II. Obviously Jane Austen's novels are a "natural" for literature courses. Although she is timeless, and has a faithful following, it is hard to convince men that Austen's novels are not for women only and have a lot more substance than the girl-in-search-of-a-rich-husband tale. (I did get men in my class when I taught *Persuasion;* I think mentioning "the British navy" in the course description may have done it.) I have taught all of the novels in no particular order, as requested by class members ("Let's do *Persuasion* next.") and then in sequence, term by term, taking the order in which she wrote them. I also had a go at Fielding's *Tom Jones,* Frances Burney's *Evelina* and Samuel Johnson's *Rasselas.* Right now, I am trying to develop a course on Johnson and Boswell. Obviously the towering figure of Johnson demands a course and, of course, there is Boswell. I told a program planner that it is like trying to harness a whale.

So, what is it like to teach seniors, perhaps people your age? No matter the students' ages there is always the perennial "waving hand" that has the answer to every question—and this probably is particular to the OLLI population—there is the person who is taking your class and wants to assume the role of co-teacher. This individual holds forth for long minutes, referring to personal knowledge and experience, and sometimes adding to what the instructor has said. In other words: "I know as much, or maybe more than you do about this subject." I was in a class where such an individual even made a handout which she distributed before the next class. No one was pleased, especially the instructor.

As might be expected when dealing with retirees, there is the usual demand made upon teachers: needing to speak loudly enough to be heard (the small microphone attached to the collar helps here). Other than the teacher's own voice, the most useful—and most utilized tool is PowerPoint, which has its own hazards. The "Instructor Tips" on the OLLI website warn against writing a lot of text on a given slide and reading it aloud. In teaching eighteenth-century literature and history courses I find PowerPoint useful for illustrations; one of my favorites is a British recruitment poster for volunteers during the American Revolution. I also use PowerPoint as I would the blackboard, for a list of points to be covered or discussion questions for a given class. Technology has its

hazards, as we well know, but there is always a paid site assistant in attendance who knows the solution to every possible technological glitch.

Teaching methods are pretty much focused on lectures and responses to student questions and comments. Although there is a mechanism on Zoom for "discussion rooms" whereby class members are put into groups and then report back to the entire class, I saw this used only once. Most of us rely on the raised hand or voice from the chat box on Zoom. Initially class members may be reluctant to speak out, but once they get to know the teacher from this or an earlier course, they freely contribute. Obviously, that is the advantage of in-person classes where the atmosphere stimulates give and take.

Having noted the challenges, I can also testify to the satisfaction and pleasure—often sheer fun—that a teacher for OLLI experiences. As noted, everyone is there simply because the material seems to be interesting, has wondered about a subject, or loves a particular topic and wants to learn more and to talk about it. In class, they respond accordingly. Incidentally, the advertised "no homework," of course, does not pertain to literature classes; it also does not apply to current events courses or some language courses. Seniors also have a lifetime of experiences that inform a discussion in significant ways and that keep an instructor honest. (Try teaching "The British Side of the American Revolution" to retired military!)

In the scheme of things, there are those whose classes, for one reason or another, do not meet students' expectations. OLLI learners vote with their feet. One of the clues to a successful class is that you have as many—or about as many--in attendance on the last day as you did the first day of class. At the present time, there is an evaluation form that teachers can distribute and that only the instructors will see. However, currently the issue of teacher evaluations is a hot one among program planners, some Board members, and a new administration. Those of us who have read scores of teaching evaluations through the years—our own and others—are adamant that they are not warranted in a situation such as OLLIs where teachers and presenters are volunteers and not paid instructors. If someone truly has a complaint about a given teacher, he or she can (and they do) take it to the executive director or someone else in charge. And, let's face it, people can get crotchety in their old age—one of OLLI's stellar teachers forwarded an email that she received from someone in her class complaining that the said teacher could not be understood because of her "accent." (The teacher, with a law degree and also an M.A. from George Mason, was born and raised in Sheffield, England.)

Finally, I should note that OLLI also has a number of social activities every year, such as Kick-Off Coffees before each term, an annual Holiday Party, a Teacher Appreciation breakfast, and several between-term events. There are also excursions, such as a wine trip to the Virginia countryside or to the National Art Gallery in DC. Lately there has also been interest in travel excursions managed by travel agencies; Costa Rica is on the calendar for February 2026. But the real attraction remains: the opportunity for intellectual enrichment during retirement. For so many of us it is the gift that keeps on giving.

Gettysburg College, emerita

”Elizabeth is missing!”; or “Lanah, you should go home with me and stay the night there”

by Ellen Moody

This review-essay has three sections. The first consists of two linked reviews concerning books by John Wood Sweet and Judith Moore regarding the rapes of unmarried teenage girls. The first case, that of Lanah Sawyer's, was planned and executed by a wealthy well-connected young man, Harry Bedlow, with the help of Mrs. Ann Glover Carey, a brothel madam, in lower Manhattan, between the 1790s and 1810s; and the second case, Elizabeth Canning’s, includes an aggravated assault on an open high moor, upon which she fell into an epileptic fit and was abducted by the male perpetrators across central London, to a brothel where the leader George Squires’ 80-year-old, crippled mother, Mary Squires, resided. Here Elizabeth (illustrated on our cover), now conscious, was stripped naked, robbed at knife point of her corset, harassed and beaten until it was realized she would not “budge,” “go their way,” i.e., become a prostitute, so with the complicity of the brothel-renter madam, Mrs. Susanah Wells, Canning was forced up a stairway into a locked attic room, where starved and further terrified. The whole ordeal occurred between January 1 and 29, 1753. The second section offers an account of teaching in a feminist literary history course about these cases through close readings of books and essays with older or retired adults (four sessions at Oscher Lifelong Learning Institute at American University in Washington, D.C., and at George Mason University in Virginia--on the Oscher Institute, see the preceding article by Elizabeth Lambert). The third section is a coda on rape itself. I had asked the students what they thought about how rape was treated in the 18th century, and also about courtship in these two English speaking countries and cultures. And I asked whether they thought any progress had been in the relationships between men and women of the same and different classes since then.

Readings for Part One:

Sweet, John Wood. *The Sewing Girl's Tale: A Story of Crime and Consequences in Revolutionary America*. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 2022. 365 pp. An appendix, ample useful notes with bibliographical citations; index; many illustrations (mostly b/w drawings, e.g., maps, people, places, etc.); 7 colored plates. I provided links to Premium YouTube, where Sweet has placed a number of videos of himself lecturing and answering questions.

Moore, Judith. *The Appearance of Truth: The Story of Elizabeth Canning and Eighteenth Century Narrative*. Newark: U. of Delaware Press, 1994. 278 pp. Appendices, bibliog., index. 6 b/w illustrations (drawings of maps, houses inside & out, people) & reprints of handwritten correspondence.

_____.. “Elizabeth Canning and Mary Squires,” *Representations of Guilt and Innocence in Legal and Literary texts, 1753-1789*, Online at: https: // www.jstor.org/stable/10,3998/mpub.16843.1. Recommended

Fielding, Henry, *Clear State [sic] of the Case of Elizabeth Canning*, London, 1753. Middleton, DE: The Perfect Library, 2025. Also on ECCO; download distributed to the classes. Required.

John Wood Sweet's *The Sewing Girl's Tale* is as fresh, excellent, and relevant as a historical study of a series of events that occurred 230 years ago told as a sort of realistic novel sticking to a plethora of documents can be. Sweet offers a fully researched and documented account of the rape of an eighteen-year-old lower-middle class, unmarried female seamstress, Lanah Sawyer. She was educated in a genteel finishing school and could read and write. She was raped by a well-connected upper-class elite, mannered and richly dressed propertied male, Harry Bedlow. Bedlow had a reputation as "a very great rake," who led a life of privilege with access to opportunities for power and wealth. His violent snatching and assaults occurred Wednesday-Thursday, September 4-5, 1793, from late evening to dawn hours outside and then in a locked basement bedroom in Ann Carey's fairly large brothel in New York City's bowery near the island's water edge. (I offer my class illustrations of the dress held together by pins that Lanah wore when attacked and a map of lower Manhattan at the time.) What made this feat doable by Sweet is that Lanah's stepfather, John Callanan, a successful ship pilot (no easy job). Callanan went to court to accuse Bedlow of rape. The case was tried at length, and much of what was said written down by an ambitious young lawyer, William Wyche. The jury's decision of "not guilty," resulted in angry class-induced riots, the burning down of the brothel (as if the women there were at fault) and extended newspaper debates & reports during which time Lanah tried to hang herself but survived. The members of all the involved families and other individuals testifying left papers--the 1790s stage of capitalist society is awash with personal documents.

Having studied all these, Sweet shows in riveting, supple prose how from the outset Lanah Sawyer was at a severe disadvantage because the law demanded that she prove she had resisted vigorously, sustained conspicuous physical injuries, and reported the crime quickly, and also that she was untainted, as by never having gone to court to make needed money and giving no suggestion that she wished vindictively to destroy the reputation (life, career) of the accused male, especially if he was a man of property or family standing. It never mattered that Bedlow lied to Lanah to lure her to walk out with him, intended to seduce or rape her with the help of Mrs. Carey. All the savaging of her character that Bedlow's side could do was listened to; the lies, for example, that the brothel madam concocted against Lanah (e.g., that she came back to connect with Bedlow again) are given credence after the woman is proved to have lied on other matters, and necessarily to be a liar by profession. On top of the obvious gender-distrust of the unmarried eighteen-year-old maiden, we see how nuanced levels of class and connections mattered every step of the way. The punishment for Harry Bedlow would have been hanging.

We see how important were the capable lawyers and some kinds of evidence. Sweet remarks "the fact that Lanah Sawyer managed" to win over enough people (especially her enraged stepfather and mother on the morning of the next day when Lanah arrived home) to have a trial occur is a "testament to

her courage, to her emotional endurance, and to her ability to inspire trust and sympathy" (122). And none of it would have happened had Callanan, her stepfather, not been himself a man with connections, sufficiently educated, of strong determined character, who had participated in a revolt against resented aristocrats and loyalists like the Bedlows, and would "not be circumvented."

The case did not stop there. Callanan went on to sue Harry Bedlow in civil court for the seduction of his stepdaughter. The perspective was now not that of an individual woman's sexuality, but a fight between men, one of whom now anticipates a loss of income, damage to him and her and their family's reputation, with an awareness of the understood cost, time, trouble, and work of the trial; and this time Callanan and Sawyer won an enormous sum for the era, $4,500, which the Bedlows would not pay, so Bedlow landed in debtor's prison for nearly two years. Because of this sum, I concluded that, even if not acknowledged, there were enough people in the court who wanted Bedlow's masculine predation punished.

The Bedlow family countersued over Callahan's assault of Harry on the streets when, early on, in an unexpected encounter Bedlow carelessly denied knowing Lanah and cast a slur on her. One of the lawyers involved on the Bedlows' side of the case, Alexander Hamilton (himself), may have been involved with (and was accused by Callnhan's lawyers of) the manufacture of a forged letter allegedly written by Lanah retracting all she had said as lies. This takes us into one of Hamilton's more sordid love affairs, which involved clearly forged "love-sick epistles" written by Hamilton's possible mistress.

There were also published letters to the public by women. Francis Harrison, signing herself "Justitia," was "outraged" not so much by the "brothel riots," though she is sarcastic about how men were "grieved" over this "considering what comfortable hours they have passed in these peaceful abodes, far from the complaints of a neglected wife, or vexatious cries of hungry children." She observes without using the phrase a double standard in court. Both classes were surprised when she excoriated a trial that "revolved around" the "protection of a wretch'" and "the blasting of a spotless reputation." I quoted from Sweet's book the resulting "vigorous attacks" at "Justitia," "excoriating" her for "daring to cast aspersions on the city fathers." A number of women wrote to newspapers arguing "there is no natural difference between" women's intelligence and men's. One "Maria" exposed "the grossly unfair" nature of the whole line of innuendo: should a woman "be blamed" for "trusting a man?" were they "supposed to regard every man as an enemy?" (I enjoyed this--the women smiled [206-210].) At this juncture, Sweet writes that a new brothel was quickly built to replace Mrs Carey's.

Sweet's narrative study has been widely reviewed for such a book, as, for instance, in *The New York Times, The Guardian, Amazon Publishers Weekly, The Gotham Center* for NYC History, with interviews on C-Span, and YouTube.

Lanah Sawyer's is not the only non-fictional case of this type to have attracted attention and caused a class-based riot over the injustice of a "not guilty" verdict. Another is that of Elizabeth Canning, who thought she had been beaten by a gang of males, and, after waking from an epilectic "fit," found herself with her clothes all torn, being dragged a long way from where she was

attacked to a brothel where Mary Squires lived. Squires was an 80-year-old crippled gypsy beggar and mother of George Squires (one of the gang's leaders). I originally intended to spend the last of these sessions' four classes on three cases of alleged aggravated rape (I defined rape to include highly violent perhaps murderous assault). But I found interesting and detailed the story of a "simple" (as everyone who talked with Canning categorized her) seventeen-year-old girl, daughter of a nearly destitute but respectable widow, also an Elizabeth Canning, who eked out a precarious living washing laundry that could be dealt with inside a building,. She had four more, much younger children living in the two rooms she rented. Why did this girl become the center of a 300-year old mystery *cause célèbre*?

I decided to give one and a half sessions to Elizabeth Canning (the girl was rarely addressed as "Betty," never "Liz" or "Lizzie"), because of the nature of descriptions coming from many similar responses to or memories of her. She was repeatedly said to hardly ever leave her mother's side, to have no friends her own age, to be very hard working when a live-in servant, following routines obediently (this to show her virtuous, docile nature), who was not interested in sex. I was struck by her bringing back ("saving") "a small minced pie" (Fielding 20) in her dress inside pocket for her younger brother; and the repeated assertions of her simplicity (she was "one of the most simple girls I ever saw" [Fielding 28]). Fielding depicts her as quiet and loyal. He thought her incapable of thinking up, much less concocting such a complicated accusation, for which there could be no motive, and which caused listeners to see her as a particularly cunning hypocrite (two 20th-century writers begin with the assertion that she was a "lethal liar"). Fielding points out that it was the neighbors and (male) friends who brought the charges, and put together the coherent narrative as they understood it--and as told by Virtue Hall, a servant in the brothel,--a narrative close to what Elizabeth said, but which she would not repeat "for fear of Wells and the Gypsy Woman (Fielding 21). This is because, writes Fielding (and Cox the apothecary strongly concurs, Fielding 27-28), Elizabeth was in such a "dreadful" state that the perpetrators ("a gang of wretches") should be punished. The question that people who assume she was guilty have tried to answer is, Where was she? She was seen nowhere. People have looked and thought about this for a couple of hundred years. Some (among them Sarah Walters) note her mother's bewildered repeated assertion "Elizabeth is Missing!"

When in the 1990s Judith Moore wrote her book and article on Canning, the mental disability now called autism, was just beginning to be widely known and taken seriously. According to John Donvan and Caren Zucker (*In a Different Key: The Story of Autism* [2016]) the story or history of autism begins in the 1930s, when it was described as a clinical, partly genetic disorder by Hans Aspergers. I am something of an expert on autism, having a now 40-year-old autistic daughter, and, since around 2002, I have been convinced that I am on the spectrum too. After all it's inherited, if in a complex ways. Well, I noticed that Elizabeth Canning manifests all the "classic" symptoms of autism. Her passivity, aloneness (hardly any friends, staying with mother), sameness (sticking closely to a routine, eating the same foods), her inability to come back alertly and quickly account for herself, her inconsistencies and not noticing the

things around her, not trying to go out, especially in an unfamiliar place. Autistic people seek safety, avoid adventure, seem to have a flat or nonexpressive calm face. (Consider the sketch of her above, drawn during one of several trials.)

When Judith Moore accounts for the intense dislike and distrust Elizabeth Canning and her story have aroused by saying people found her "repellently passive" (Moore 236-37), memories spring to my mind. I have many times seen people react to my younger daughter with dislike and resentment and call her arrogant. Now that she has the label "high-functioning autism," some accuse her of being, or assume to be, anti-social. But the realities of her condition include anxiety over social codes, not knowing what to do, and loneliness.

The extensive bibliography related to Canning, still being added to, includes at least three novels, all of them somewhat to adamantly hostile: the first an 18th-century anonymous epistolary romance, the last, *The Franchise Affair,* published in 1948 and set in the 1940s, a still selling popular 1930s style "comfortable" "golden age" detective story by the Scottish author Elizabeth MacKintosh (1896-1852), writing under the pseudonym Josephine Tey. As late as 1998 the BBC made a six-part serial film adaptation, endorsing Mackintosh's misogynist but common conclusion that Canning, re-imagined as "Betty Kane," was a "lethal liar," a "fille fatale" whom Tey locates (completely imaginary) in another country, reached by plane, for a month with a married lover. (I show my seminars the cover illustration of the latest (2001) reprinting of *The Franchise Affair,* introduced by Antonia Fraser and Tara French, a supposed feminist writer of 21st-century detective novels, where victims are not infrequently presented as sexy, and turn out to be aggressive lying villains (4). Sarah Walters, a respected feminist writer, can be found in *The Guardian* as recently as 2016 defending Elizabeth Canning and Betty Kane from the recognizably misogynistic class-biased and curiously spiteful portrait found in Tey's book.

Moore's book is a study of the ambiguities of all the testimonies and how what people paid attention to tells us more about them at that moment, their era, who they are, how they relate to Elizabeth, and the class impositions of variously prejudiced attitudes towards far more than sex itself at the time. Moore's cover illustration depicts the brothel in which Canning was held for over a month. Moore shows how one judge, Sir Crisp de Gascoyne was outraged that this girls' "friends and family," all of very "low class status," found standing and actually called for a retrial after the first jury found Mary Squires and Susannah Welles (the brothel madam), guilty of complicity, of theft of an object worth 40 shillings, and of running an "infamous" "disorderly" "bawdy" house. Mary Squires had testified it was she, not her son who cut Elizabeth's stays off of her body. The sentence of branding Welles's hand and flogging was carried out (as in Mrs. Carey's case). In time to rescue Squires from execution, Gascoyne successfully engineered a retrial accusing the young Elizabeth of perjury and of concocting an alibi (she was hiding a pregnancy). Elizabeth Canning was found guilty of perjury and transported to the American colonies. Moore remarks not one of the involved males was ever punished.

Alas, I came upon Moore too late to assign this excellent insightful thorough and yes quietly feminist conventional historical study of the Canning case, one-third of which tells a history of many passionately held disagreements

since. The price was well over $70 anyway. I recommended a couple of reviews of the book and assigned one essay by Moore comparing Elizabeth Canning to Mary Squires as they were depicted in court (taken from other documents at the time). But besides a very few scans and my summary of Moore's book, the second class text was Henry Fielding's *Clear State [sic] of the Case of Elizabeth Canning*, (1753) either as reprinted in modern type by Perfect Library for $12 or the pdf on ECCO, which I downloaded and gave out to my class. I also invited both classes to watch *The Franchise Affair*, the BBC serial; on YouTube, or read the book (available in at least 3 reprints, two of them separate editions), and I gave out an excellent article on a recent rape in New York City and trial, which had appeared 26 May 2025 in *The New Yorker*, Sarah Beckwith's *"Returning to the scene of my brutal rape" (*https:// www.newyorker.com/magazine/ 2025/06/02/returning-to-the-scene-of-my-brutal-rape).

Part Two: Teaching the Cases of Lanah Sawyer and Elizabeth Canning

Besides the materials noted above, I recommended or required others:

Cox, Daniel. *An Appeal to the Public, in behalf of Elizabeth Canning*. 1752. ECCO download/ Amazon facsimile. Recommended.

Lisak, David, *Understanding the Predatory Nature of Sexual Violence.* Amherst: U. of Massachusetts, 2008. A 9-page pamphlet online. Everyone seemed to have read it. Its important argument is that rape is an act of violence, connected to anger, or rage, and a desire to conquer. Sex is the context, as it were, the excuse. Required.

Rowlands, Lili Owen. "Diary" of her time (2015) working for a rape crisis center in London, the *London Review of Books*, 47:10 (5 June 2026), 45. Only recommended as behind a paywall, but I shared it.

Tey, Josephine,*The Franchise Affair* (1949); rpt 2001. Introduction by Antonia Fraser; illustrations by Paul Hogarth. London: Folio Society. In addition, the BBC serial *The Franchise Affair* (1998) 6 part 40 minutes each. This material was not required but recommended. Many in both classes either read the novel (not long) or watched at least some of the serial.

Walters, Sarah, "The Lost Girl," *The Guardian,* May 16, 2016. Online: https:// www.theguardian. com/books/ 2009/may/30/sarah-waters-books. She describes a 1949 American-made "film noir" based on the book (with the same title, listed and discussed on IMDB). Unfortunately, people found this too long, and, like Beyer's below, Walters' assumed a familiarity and sympathy with a women-centered (feminist) point of view, which many in both classes did not have. Suggested.

The most disappointing element here was that a few people found Fielding very difficult to read. But I took this as an opportunity, and it was Fielding's text that I and the classes went over together, turning the pages or scrolling down as we talked in the fourth and fifth sessions. I did the same, more briefly over Moore's essay. I did not "give away" that Elizabeth was a disabled and (I believe) autistic teenager until the last

class, so will save the classes' responses to rape and disability until my third section below.

It was relatively easy to set up the first two and part of the third session's discussions. We read one-third of *The Sewing Girl's Tale* each week. In the second week I recommended and was delighted to discover many people in both classes had read Sarah Beckwith's account of her experience of rape in London, and Lili Owen Rowland's diary about her time working for a rape crisis center, also in the UK. Even if the individual had not her or himself been raped, people could identify with and imagine what had happened.

The first session I began with two definitions of or kinds of rape. Simple, sometimes date- or acquaintance rape characterized as not relying on brutal violence, but rather the element of surprise and threat, captivity or coercion of some sort. Central to the experience is a calculated loss of agency, the target-victim confronts a sudden onslaught that goes well beyond her (it is usually a her) expectations. Aggravated or assault rape, often by a stranger, is highly visible violence, sometimes leading to considerable bodily harm or murder. This includes rapes where there are multiple assailants, with an element of sadism, jeering (e.g. fraternity rape). Elizabeth was badly pitted by small pox, said to be ugly, very thin, probably poorly dressed. I imagine Squires and the others thought to themselves they'd have a "bit of fun" by scaring and bullying this "simpleton;" with the event's temperature and what was done changing radically when she had one of her epileptic fits, and lost consciousness. What happened to Lanah and Elizabeth corresponds to the first and second forms of rape, respectively. Sweet wrote Sawyer and Callanan's story as if it were a novel, with chapters given over to the different characters, places, circumstances. He followed the event as a story experienced chronologically from Lanah's POV where she won over different levels of gatekeepers. Class discussion was lively, people in the classes comfortable, and they enjoyed the maps.

The atmosphere altered when we got to the equivalent of "discovery," the trial, and the closing arguments. Here is where Beckwith came in; she gave an easily understandable description of the unfair criteria the victim must fulfill since Matthew Hale outlined them in the 17th century. Sweet showed that the way rape is discussed, places the victim at a severe disadvantage every step of the way ("what is her reputation?" Did she consent?). As Beckwith asks rhetorically (I paraphrase) why is rape defined as sex without consent; if someone attacks, robs you, steals from you, it is assumed you would not have consented, had you been asked (20). In Sweet's epilogue he says emphatically "the myth of white men's supposed vulnerability to false accusations of rape by vengeful acquaintances" and associates (employees, rivals, women) "continues" to flourish until today." And yes here is a typical response from a middle-class male medical student today to a successfully prosecuted rape: "no man is absolutely safe, if Women are disposed to injure them" (121, 171).

For both Lanah and Elizabeth, getting a magistrate to take a

complaint seriously comes first; their complaints were seen as threats against the social order; both Cox and Fielding (and other witnesses) insist on how terrible Elizabeth looked, "almost starved to death," how she showed the effect of "violent blows," hours of epileptic fits (10,19). After the Squires' complicated alibis were set forth, Fielding asserts that she was incapable of inventing such a tale ("one of the most simple girls I ever saw," 28). Cox emphasizes how sick she looks, and the evidence of her "good character," her docility (silence), hard work despite her low status (17, 18) and many supporters.

I read aloud insofar as we had time for them the closing arguments in Lanah's case, where Lanah was egregiously condescended to, her "feelings treated with callous disregard," "sexualized," as "not worthy of sympathy and concern" (183), and (like Elizabeth Canning) as a "malicious calculating liar" (185). Lanah's lawyers had to rely on the court believing in her naiveté. In both classes women brought up the unlikelihood of Lanah losing such awareness of time as to stay out past midnight. She had not come to any physical harm. Sweet says it's likely her stepfather's presence, and his choice of respected ambitious lawyers was important in the case going forward in the first place. It was at this point both classes became reticent about Sweet's book. Sweet had made his subject matter hit home, and many didn't want to admit how they might have decided were they jurors or neighbors. I regard his book as having succeeded

Since I dwelt in both cases on the representations of rape and the people Lanah and her stepfather had to deal with, over the last third of the book the class exhibited more compassion for Lanah. Conventions now favored her and her stepfather. The criteria for a civil suit by Callanan against Bedlow for seducing his stepdaughter enabled his lawyers to show Harry Bedlow's character in a disreputable light. A guilty verdict did not require a death sentence. The forged letter was absurd; Callanan took one look at it, and dismissed it as not his stepdaughter's handwriting. Yet Harry produced another and litigation continued (Chapter 11). He had married a young woman whose status his parents wouldn't accept; when she died in childbirth, they rejoiced. Now he found himself unable to find a place or occupation that he could succeed in; the lingering imprisonment for him, and the injustice with which the Bedlow family had treated Lanah and Callanan had (according to Sweet) remained in public memory. Harry Bedlow's reputation presumably hurt his later career, for he became a permanent family drone in perpetual debt. Respect for Lanah seems gradually to have re-emerged (again Sweet's view). She married respectably, moved to Philadelphia, had at least one child, and disappears from view or historical record.

Part Three: A Coda on Rape and Disability

Of the readings below, I recommended to my classes only Laura James's memoir. I summarized the material in Peter Hotez's book, and provided a link to

a YouTube video of a news anchor interviewing him. The other disability and rape citations represent a tiny relevant selection from what I've read.

Atwood, Margaret. "Rape Fantasies" online: http://seniorap.pbworks.com/w/file/fetch/89727896/Rape%20Fantasies.pdf; or https://www. serichardson.com /Readings/Rape_Fantasies.pdf. These are short funny tales intended to show how melodramatic and "sexed up" these sorts of stories often are.

Beyer, C. "Seeing the Actual Physical Betty Kane": Reading the *Fille Fatale* in Josephine Tey's *The Franchise Affair* in the Age of #metoo. Open Library of Humanities, 5.1 (2019): 70, pp. 1–20. I described and suggested this. It had the opposite effect intended. When those who could and did read it reached the point (early on) where Beyer shows how misogynist are all Mackenzie's assumptions, some people were ready to be resentful, and thus I didn't succeed in suggesting how unfair this mid-20th-century book was because they were not made sceptical by how the assumptions which led to Elizabeth Canning being seen as a criminal were similar to those Mackenzie dramatizes as true in her presentation of a manipulative sly Betty Kane. They knew the phrase "slut-shaming," but Beyer's "exposure" of Mackenzie's exploitative use of Betty's unadmirable traits seemed to fall on deaf ears even after I brought up as a parallel the case of Christine Blasey Ford versus Brett Kavanaugh. I noticed attitudes and language among these adults that resembled those of teenagers. The settings and characters in the serial did recall the 1930s, and they likened it to an Agatha Christy film. They criticized the book and movie's class snobbery.

Davis, Lennard (editor). *The Disability Studies Reader*. 3rd Edition. New York: Routledge, 2010. Historical, medical, theoretical essays..

Donvan, John and Caren Zucker. *In a Different Key: The Story of Autism*. WETA played a film adaptation of this book on one of its news series, and it is therefore available on their Passport site (NY: Crown, 2016). The book and film are told from a parental perspective, directed at low-functioning younger people, and finding a cure (there are none), so it could have the effect of reinforcing false stereotypes and propaganda against vaccines.

Fine, Michelle and Adrienne Asch, eds. *Women with Disabilities: Essays in Psychology, Culture, and Politics*. Philadelphia: Temple UP. 1988. The finest, most useful study I know.

Higgins, Lynn and Brenda Silver, eds. *Rape and Representation*. New York: Columbia UP, 1991. I described this to classes as one of the best general studies of how rape is represented.

Hotez, Peter. *Vaccines Did not Cause Rachel's Autism: My Journey as a Vaccince Scientist, Pediatrician, and Autism Dad*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 2008.

James, Laura. *Odd Girl Out: An Autistic Woman in a Neurotypical World*. [Basingstoke?], UK: Bluebird [Macmillan], 2017.Recommended.

Moody, Ellen. "'What right have you to detain me here?' Rape in Richardson's *Clarissa*." With full bibliography. Online at: http://www.jimandellen.org/RapeInClarissa.html.

_____. "'How you all must have laughed. Such a witty masquerade.' Rape in Richardson's *Clarissa*." With a bibliography on rape in 18th century. Online at: http:// www.jimandellen.org/clary1991.html

Mounsey, Chris., ed. *The Idea of Disability in the Eighteenth Century*. Lewisburg: Bucknell UP, 2014. Described.

I had invited remarks on the course as a whole, and any aspect of the books, essays, movie they wanted to bring up. A few women did become autobiographical, but this was no "Me too" session, probably because I told them I had a couple of personal experiences, but would spare them and me, and in both classes some men persisted in attending.

I began this last session by telling them of my first literary experience of rape. I read an unabridged *Clarissa* by Richardson at age 18 (1964), and wrote my PhD dissertation on it and the epistolary novel (1976-79). I described the book, and my intense response to it ("I would really read it for 16 hours at a time in a state of wild absorption, suspense and anxiety"). In the mid-1990s I led a group of people to read *Clarissa* online together in "real time" (following the dates of the letters). In the later 1990s I finally wrote about rape in Richardson's book, and masquerade (deceit) in the 1991 6 part BBC adaptation, (scripted by David Nokes who told me he was influenced ("followed") by Mark Kinkead-Weekes' *Samuel Richardson, Dramatic-Novelist*. I said it has been an important book for me because of events that happened to me in my early teens, the meaning of which I have never resolved (it's much easier for me to talk about a realistic fiction than my own).

I said the book and movie reinforce many myths about rape which both Sweet and Moore are concerned to counter, e.g., that the life of a raped girl is ruined forever after--often she dies a pariah fairly soon afterwards. I too remark "Not so generally and not so here." Like Lanah, Elizabeth seems to have recovered eventually or as far as we can tell. She never spent much time in prison, for a short while after the second trial she was returned to her mother's side (perhaps to protect her), then put on a separate ship or area of a ship bound for Connecticut where she became an indentured household servant. She seems to have married a male servant in the household before, like Lanah Sawyer, disappearing from history.

I proposed two disparate topics. Since rape is not the result of innate male lust tempted by circumstances, our cultural patterns of behaviorn or of a woman's trying to attract man, then sex is rather an excuse, the context that allows or encourages this manifestation of anger, a desire to triumph, a compensatory display of power., is there some way we can begin to present and talk about it differently? But given the way we do talk about it, we are led to think such a sudden or unexpected hostile assault leaves her traumatized. How do people assume it leaves the male? Much of our talk has been condemnatory of the male, yet he often gets off easily. This relates to the paradox I pointed to early on: the punishments for rape are fierce, it can be treated as akin to murder, which it can lead to, yet men often get off. Both our heroines had to endure accusations against them and not guilty verdicts for the perpetrators. Since I couldn't take notes, I don't remember much that students said. People were

again reticent. They didn't want to quarrel. What I remember is in both classes we ended on vexed discussions of secondary matters. Is it important to get married? To have a permanent relationship? Lanah's mother was so incensed at her for ruining her and her siblings' chances in the world by aspiring to what she had no right to. Who did she think she was? The second half of my title is a sentence attributed to the neighbor who took Lanah back to her house to protect her from her mother or stepfather's wrath that first night back. My students were inclined toward less fraught topics, like how should people dress on a date. We talked of romance and fruitful and normal human relationships rather than of rape's destructive side.

I hope now that it was a useful exercise. Most of my classmates said they enjoyed Sweet's book for the detailed picture we had of the era. Most of them felt very sorry for Elizabeth and her mother, and those who read Fielding wished the perpetrators had been punished more. I told them about how at the end of *Tom Jones*, Fielding said Blifil's punishment was being Blifil. So George Squire and his "gang of wretches" (to quote Fielding) were punished by being themselves. Certainly Harry was. Jane Austen would tell us he had been badly educated, and his worst traits encouraged.

Alexandria, Virginia

In Praise of Formative Scholars and Scholarship

Around the end of April your editor asked Melvyn New, the distinguished Sterne scholar now retired from the University of Florida, what the formative secondary studies of literature were for him while in undergraduate or graduate school. He provided a paragraph and then added more, finding that, in paying tribute, he had to include some of his professors. I passed on his response to some other senior scholars in EC-ASECS and found that people enjoyed sharing their appreciation of books and mentors. Later I sent the query with a handful of earlier responses to suggest the range of answers (there is a surprising range), and contributors tended to write longer responses. This question drew contributions from almost everyone I asked. I will see if, for the Spring *Intelligencer,* I can get a comparative anthology of tributes from younger scholars who took their degrees in the 21st century, and I hope such members will take this as a call for contributions and email me (jem4 @psu.edu)--don't wait to be asked!. After Mel New's response and Marie McAllister's, I have grouped the contributors alphabetically.

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Mel New: Without doubt, Frye's *Anatomy of Criticism* and everything Wayne Booth wrote were my primary influences in Graduate School; also, Aubrey Williams' study of the *Dunciad*. Obviously, I was drawn to formalism, and the Chicago School version of New Criticism, which, I suspect, boils down to "very *attentive* reading of the subject text." Interestingly, we were not encouraged to read secondary studies as an undergraduate (Columbia)—in fact, the undergraduate library contained primary works and one needed a special

pass as an undergraduate to use the research collection in Butler Library; I believe we were supposed to read other works by the author we were writing about rather than secondary studies—that is, *Tom Jones* after the class-assigned *Joseph Andrews*, if we wanted to know more about Fielding.

I just saw today on-line an article in the *National Review* by Jay Nordlinger (January 31, 2025), on learning from the legendary professor Mark Van Doren (1894–1972), and it did remind me that I should have mentioned Van Doren as one of my important *undergraduate* influences. I took his Great Books course and certainly learned from him the reason why one must read the classics. He was sufficiently impressive as a teacher that I asked him if he would let [my future wife] Joan sit in on one of his lectures, and he readily agreed (remember that Columbia was all-male in 1958). He was lecturing on *Don Quixote*. . . . I did assign his *Shakespeare* as required reading when teaching Shakespeare courses in the early 2000's—an enduring work of attentive reading.

Although at Columbia I had as instructors such stars as Lionel Trilling, F. W. Dupee, and Eric Bentley, the greatest influence on me was the Miltonist, Edward Le Comte, with whom I took four courses, ranging from an introduction to literary studies to a seminar in Milton. He was a fascinating lecturer, who came to class on crutches, the result of adult polio, but once seated would deliver an hour lecture, filled with knowledge and wisdom. He taught me, as a future teacher, the art of daily quizzes to ensure reading—and the folly of opening the classroom to student opinions. The list of authors studied under him was my introduction to the very best, from Donne, the Metaphysical poets, and Milton among earlier writers, to--needless to say—Laurence Sterne, among the later writers. He moved on to SUNY Albany at the end of his career; his autobiographical account, *The Long Road Back* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957) is still worth reading.

Marie McAllister: I'm afraid I got the same undergraduate marching orders as Melvyn New: primary texts only, with a few (mildly scandalous) theory courses allowed on the side. Northrup Frye and Roland Barthes were the theorists whom I served up, in sadly undigested form, in senior papers. As for the "Yale Deconstructionists" who were then busy shaking things up in the English and Comparative Lit. departments, my main memory is the T-shirt created by some witty graduate student: "d-CON."

Eve T. Bannet: Wylie Sypher was quite a famous and distinguished professor in his day, the author of multiple widely-read books, including *Rococo to Cubism in Art and Literature* (1960) *, Loss of Self in Modern Literature and Art* (1962)*, Literature and Technology: the Alien Vision* (1968)*,* and *Guinea's Captive Kings: British Antislavery Literature of the Seventeenth century* (1942). He was way ahead of his time, and doing Cultural Studies *avant la lettre.* When I met him, he had "turned his back on Harvard," as he put it, to establish an English department at Simmons College that, like him, was on the other side of the river from Cambridge, MA in every possible sense. He picked me up off the street almost literally (I had wandered the world as every self-respecting sixties person did, picking up the odd English course here and there, had no "bit of paper" to

show for it, and had discovered that in the US, I needed one to get a job). He broke the rules to admit me to his program mid-year, and proceeded to blow my mind with courses that connected literary texts to art, to philosophy, to music, to history, to religion and everything else, courses that presented perspectives on literature, on culture, on the past and on the present that my experience of the New Criticism had not led me to suspect even existed. When I had taken every course he offered, and earned an MA, I wanted to be able to do for myself and for others what he had done for me – awaken curiosity, learn in fascination, open unsuspected horizons, unfamiliar points of view, interactive connections across all the ways and byways of culture. So, with his (unexpected) encouragement, I went on for a Ph.D. I would not be in the academy were it not for him. We kept in touch, but he died the year I returned to the US, having dictated a letter of recommendation for my job search because he could no longer write (his wife said, he could hardly speak). He was an exceptional human being, an exceptional teacher, and intellectually, a pathbreaker. The closest I have ever come to meeting a great man.

Barbara Benedict: Oddly enough, my undergraduate training included, generally speaking, more theory than my graduate experience, which instead centered on critical interpretations of specific authors and texts. The most important influence on my career without doubt was the eminent Johnsonian W. Jackson Bate. He allowed me, despite being a mere freshperson at Harvard College in 1972, to take his legendary graduate course, "The Function of Criticism," in which he gave dazzling lectures to accompany his textbook, *Criticism: The Major Texts*—a survey of critical theory from Plato to the Moderns, each selection introduced by a dazzling essay—to which I referred for my entire career; it was his course on "The Age of Pope" that convinced me to abandon Classics as a major and switch to History-and-Literature. I was especially fascinated (although not convinced) by I.A. Richards' New Critical *Practical Criticism*—it informed my close reading although I rejected its ahistoricism early in my professional career. In graduate school at UC Berkeley, I was nudged toward contextual or historical criticism. I did not take a course with Stephen Greenblatt, but his New Historical approach was in the air. I was, however, lucky enough to take Margaret Doody's course in the early novel, which led me to her brilliant *A Natural Passion: A Study of the Novels of Samuel Richardson:* this study shaped my dissertation topic although it did not persuade me to write on Richardson. Instead, I used as models *Jane Austen and Her Art* by Mary Lascelles (who, I believe, was Doody's sometime instructor at Oxford) and *Tristram Shandy's World: Sterne's Philosophical Rhetoric,* by my dissertation advisor, John Traugott, along with J. Paul Hunter's *Occasional Form: Henry Fielding and the Chains of Circumstance* and George Starr's *Defoe and Spiritual Autobiography*. More generally, I'd say Mikhail Bakhtin's *The Dialogic Imagination* shaped my approach most significantly, along with Ian Watt's *The Rise of the Novel*, Wayne Booth's *The Rhetoric of Fiction,* and Wolfgang Iser's *The Implied Reader.* In the end—long after graduate school—reader-response and New Criticism and historicism became

wary friends. Finally, Claude Rawson's *Gulliver and the Gentle Reader* was a very important book in my graduate career.

Lisa Berglund: The book that I most vividly remember from my graduate school years is Paul Fussell's *Samuel Johnson and the Life of Writing*, particularly Chapter 6, on "The Anxious Employment of a Periodical Writer." I first read this book while studying for my PhD oral exam, and I reread it several times while writing my dissertation on *The Rambler*. The first sentence of the chapter is "So much for theory." Writing in 1971, Fussell was referring to his speculations about Johnson's relationship to imitation as a literary mode, but, when I first read this sentence, in 1986, it sounded like an invitation to escape my struggles with Derrida, Lacan, Foucault, Kristeva, and so on. I did engage with theorists in my dissertation (mainly Fish, Iser, and Rosenblatt), but soon my scholarship went in a different direction. Looking back, I see that Fussell's book gave me the model for literary study that I strive to emulate: good, clear writing about good, clear writing."

Lorna Clark: When I think of influences in my studies, I think more of people than of books (though of course, I read their works as well). For my undergraduate degree, it was undoubtedly Northrop Frye, a colossus at our university, whose course I took not long before he retired from Victoria College in Toronto. It was a special course that you had to petition to take, and I was lucky to get in. He was lecturing on the Bible (The Great Code) and what I remember most is that at lectures, he would pause from his erudite synthesization of western thought and ask if there were any questions. You could hear a pin drop in the lecture hall and he would wait . . . and wait . . . and wait until some young student was hardy enough to venture one. Despite his international reputation, Frye remained grounded and modest, a true educator. His theories permeated our department; it took me until my fourth year to grasp fully his *Anatomy of Criticism* on which I wrote my senior essay.

For my Master's at the University of London, it was undoubtedly Isobel Grundy, my supervisor, whose influence was paramount. A trail-blazer, she inspired in me an an abiding interest in early English women writers, which was then a little-travelled field (so untravelled that the texts had to be read in the circular reading room of the British Museum with its weird acoustics). Many feminist critics look to her guidance and mentorship, which I was lucky to experience up close as she directed my dissertation. Later, her expertise consolidated into the *Feminist Companion to Literature in English,* which she co-edited, and the *Orlando Project*, which she co-founded at the University of Alberta. It seemed remarkable that she herself relocated to Canada (to which I also returned) where she still remains a beacon of light for generations of students and scholars.

While studying in the UK, I noticed that the multi-volume *Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney* that I was reading were being published by McGill U. Press, located in my hometown, Montreal. This seemed unbelievably fortuitous, so, when I returned home (having been reduced to my last $100 backpacking around Europe), I applied for a PhD there, on the Burney Project (as it was then

called). I met with the Director, Joyce Hemlow, doyenne of Burney studies, who was about to retire, but she did suggest a thesis-topic, an edition of letters of a little-known female novelist. The rest, as they say, is history. I was hooked on the field (and scholarly editing) forever; what I most enjoy is the joy of discovery in the archives . . . . It was too late in her career for Hemlow to direct my dissertation (which is perhaps just as well for she conducted her calls to students early on Sunday morning), and I transferred to the University of Toronto, a great editing school. But years later, when the directorship of the Burney Centre passed to Peter Sabor, my dream came true when I was invited to edit two volumes of Burney's Court Journals. Looking back, it is the generous mentors whom I remember most.

Greg Clingham: Two formative books during my (undergraduate and graduate) years at Cambridge were F.R. Leavis's *The Common Pursuit* (1969 Penguin Books reprint) and H.A. Mason's *To Homer Through Pope: An Introduction to Homer's Iliad and Pope's Translation* (Chatto, 1972). Leavis's essays (on Shakespeare, Milton, Swift, Pope, Johnson, Lawrence, and literary criticism) taught me that criticism was a serious discipline with social and ethical implications. (An amazing idea to a school boy.) He modeled rigorous close reading, in which word-choice and style were no less important than judgment. Mason's book (which I read before I became his student) introduced me to the idea of poetic translation as a quintessentially creative enterprise, the notion that poets—such as Dryden and Pope—became most deeply *themselves* when translating writers of stature, such as Homer, Virgil, Horace, and Ovid, as well as Boileau, Rapin, and Bouhours as they made literature specifically English.

Though Leavis and Mason were co-founders of *Scrutiny* (Mason younger by 16 years), they came from very different intellectual traditions. Leavis was an evangelical late Victorian moralist who channeled Arnold and Wittgenstein; Mason was a Renaissance humanist, deeply versed in Greek, Latin and modern languages (German, French, Italian, and Spanish) who translated Plato, Dante, and Italian librettists (Monteverdi, Da Ponte) with friends and students. Both embodied the powerful idea that literary critics exemplified their values in their *manner* of writing. Both were forceful, charismatic personalities, from whom I learned a lot through resistance and appropriation as much as emulation.

J. Alan Downie: I'm happy to write about formative books but I am likely to be an outlier for two main reasons: 1) I never took an English Lit. course at university; I read history; 2) we don't have grad schools in the UK, so no coursework. I never took a course after taking my finals as an undergraduate in May 1972. Reading *Tom Jones* as an A-level student (high school in your terms) was formative and whetted my appetite for the eighteenth century. I then read Fielding's other prose fiction, and *Pamela*—which I found very different! I always taught *Pamela* to undergraduates but never *Clarissa*.

At university, Bill Speck was remarkable in that he got us to read imaginative literature as primary sources for historical context, e.g. *Absalom and Achitophel*, *Spectator* essays, and political pamphlets by Swift and Defoe. I then took his special subject, England in the Reign of Queen Anne. And that's why

he became my PhD supervisor. ***The*** formative book was Geoffrey Holmes' *British Politics in the Age of Anne,* which we called the Bible. However, as a postgraduate I found Pat Rogers' *Grub Street* enlightening on several counts. I then joined Pat in the English department at Bangor, and started teaching English Lit. to undergraduates. The secondary sources I found most interesting were E.D. Hirsch, *Validity in Interpretation* and Wayne Booth's *The Rhetoric of Fiction*. And of course Ian Watt's *The Rise of the Novel* was seminal even if, over time, and on account of my own research, I found I increasingly found its thesis untenable.

Kevin Cope: When it comes to texts that influenced early intellectual development—if I can really claim to have an "intellect," that is!—two books immediately come to mind. Strangely, these two volumes, which are tied as competitors for my affection, are only on the fringe of even the long eighteenth century. Or perhaps they contribute to the relentless lengthening of that period. The first, now forgotten composition is Herschel Baker's *The Wars of Truth: The Decay of Christian Humanism in the Earlier Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1952). For a lad from southern California, where, in those days, everything was monumental, whether the films of Cecil B. DeMille or the reputation of Elizabeth Taylor or the colossal figures often found outside of muffler or tire shops, the conjuring of a grand scene in which philosophers engaged in fervid philosophical struggles that animated both revolutions of state and the enlargement of the life of the mind was not only appealing, but utterly transformative, creating a panoramic mental picture of an epic of ingenuity, invention, and ferment. True, Baker's old-timey and overly confident intellectual and artistic history, in which there is little of what we now call diversity, is now intensely out of fashion, but it benefits from a lack of anxiety that allows the magnificence of an entire era to come into Panavision-level color, breadth, and focus. Rivaling Baker's masterpiece in the competition for my affection is a volume that is as much anthology and interpretation, C. A. Patrides's *The Cambridge Platonists* (Harvard UP, 1970). Drawing together selections from the likes of Ralph Cudworth, Benjamin Whichcote, Henry More, and several lesser luminaries, Patrides, like Baker, unveils a monumental intellectual movement abounding in dazzling imaginative yet relentlessly earnest and surprisingly productive crackpots. Imagine someone like Cudworth sitting down alone at a desk and writing out 800 pages detailing the supposed true intellectual system of the universe! Think about Henry More deploying a gazillion pseudo-Spenserian stanzas to ascertain whether the animals on other planets might resemble those on earth—or might routinely undergo reincarnation (yes, indeed, I had a former life as a bluish-greenish giraffe on the planet Neptune (my name was "Spotty"). For a naïve son of San Diego who nevertheless admired the antics of urban hermit Gypsy Boots, Patrides's book offered the ideal segue into the faraway universe of artfully heterodox Restoration thought as well as to the long traditions that supported the self-styled and often super-serious "Platonists" who counterpointed King Charles II's fun-loving court. C. A. Patrides, you were one of the great ones!

John Dussinger: Having discovered Plato's dialogues in my high school years, I made a point of studying ancient Greek in college (in addition to Plato, courses included Xenophon, *Anabasis*, Sophocles, *Oedipus Rex*, Homer, *Odyssey*) as well as continuing Latin readings (Caesar, *Commentarii de Bello Gallico*. Virgil, *The Aeneid*, Ovid, *Metamorphoses*). Schubert's lieder prompted me into German literature, which led to wide readings in Goethe and Thomas Mann (*Tonio Kroeger, Dr. Faustus*). Graduate work at Princeton was an opening to criticism of the modern novel (especially Henry James), but the most inspiring and innovative seminars were given by D. W. Robertson (*A Preface to Chaucer*), which involved research in J.-P. Migne's *Patrologia*.

This background in the Augustinian world view primed my interest in reading Richardson's deeply religious masterpiece—*Clarissa*. Both old and new general historical approaches were influential, from Leslie Stephen's *History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century* to Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things*. More specifically, the Salisbury Court businessman received excellent scrutiny by Alan McKillop, *Samuel Richardson, Printer and Novelist* and William Sale, Jr., *Samuel Richardson, Master Printer* (greatly expanded by Keith Maslen, *Samuel Richardson of London, Printer: A Study of His Printing Based on Ornament Use and Business Accounts*). But the most relevant template for my interpretation of *Clarissa* was William Law (*A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life*) and John Wesley. My work on Richardson as anonymous editor stems largely from Maslen's.

Marilyn Francus: The work that probably influenced me the most as an undergrad at Douglass College (the women's college for Rutgers) was Gilbert and Gubar's *The Madwoman in the Attic*, which was published in 1979, the year I started college. I remember being impressed with the symmetry and elegance of Frye's *Anatomy of Criticism*, and Ian Watt's voice (and certainty!) in *The Rise of the Novel*. But *The Madwoman in the Attic* felt like it changed everything. In grad school I would learn of the work being done by so many scholars to recover women writers and to study them on their own terms. But as an undergrad who had come from a high school where my literary studies were dominated by male authors—and I had had a great time studying Shakespeare, Donne, T.S. Eliot, and Joyce in high school—to study a literary tradition of British women writers opened up a whole new world.

As for works that influenced my thinking at Columbia during graduate school…Michael McKeon's *Origins of the English Novel* and M. M. Bakhtin's *The Dialogic Imagination* changed the ways I thought about novels and conceptualizing the history of the genre. The rise of New Historicism, particularly Stephen Greenblatt's *The Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, altered my understanding of the intersections of history, politics, literature, and culture. Luce Irigaray's *This Sex Which Is Not One*, Jane Tompkins' *Reader-Response Criticism*, and Roland Barthes' *Writing Degree Zero* were gateway texts to studies in gender, authorship, and audience. (I had a soft spot for Robert Darnton and Anthony Grafton's work on book history, too.) I am not sure that I could identify my favorite eighteenth-century scholarship from my grad school days—there are so many texts, as my bookshelves remind me. But I do know

that I learned to appreciate the editorial work of standard editions in grad school—like the California Dryden, the Wesleyan Fielding, and the Yale Twickenham of Pope—which I had never considered before.

Susan Howard: I thought my courses at Berkshire Community College, the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, and the University of Glasgow had given me a firm foundation in British literature, but it wasn't until I began graduate work at the University of Delaware that I was introduced to the novel of the long eighteenth century. With the guidance of teachers including Jerry Beasley and Don Mell, and editors Martin Battestin, Marilyn Butler, Margaret Dalziel and others, I discovered authors experimenting with form and in conversation with one another, and, most intriguingly, with the reader. Feminist criticism and genre studies illuminated the novels, but it was Wolfgang Iser's phenomenological approach to the reading process that helped me to understand my role in creating the literary work and to appreciate the cooperative nature of the relationship novelists like Fielding, Sterne, Edgeworth, and Scott envisioned with their readers (particularly "The Reading Process: A Phenomenological Approach" in Iser's *The Implied Reader: Patterns of Communication in Prose Fiction from Bunyan to Beckett*).

Linda Merians: Selecting influential secondary sources from my years at graduate school prompts a wave of memory and reflection. The text that sticks with me still is Paul Fussell's *The Great War and Modern Memory.* Published in 1975, just two years before I joined the graduate program at University of Maryland/College Park, it had won the deep respect of Cal Winton, who recommended it to me. In the Preface, Fussell explains his approach: "I have focused on places and situations where literary tradition and real life notably transect, and in doing so I have tried to understand something of the simultaneous and reciprocal process by which life feeds materials to literature while literature returns the favor by conferring forms upon life."

When I reflect on my own scholarship, I now see the impact Fussell's work had on me: to aspire to and produce humane scholarship. The collection of essays in *The Secret Malady,* which I had the honor to edit, and my publications and conference papers on how the so-called "Hottentots" came to be identified and categorized as the lowest form of human society, were both projects connected to real life and our shared humanity or lack of it. I still own the copy of Fussell's book I purchased so many years ago, and I find myself going to it now and then as I feed a renewed interest in war poetry and novels, now written by Ukrainian authors and others.

Also, thanks to Cal, who assigned it, I found myself on path to 18th-century studies in Donald J. Greene's *The Age of Exuberance*. I remember also Terry Eagleton's *Literary Theory: An Introduction* as a work that helped me to understand what was for me then quite difficult comprehend, theoretical approaches to literature not always connected to what I considered real life.

David Palumbo: I entered college at a time when card catalogs were available (and used) but on the way out. New Critical analyses still dominated course

work in English, American, and World Literatures. And the high seriousness of college conversation seemed to forbid the purposeful laughter that I associated with anything worthwhile. Then, I took a course on 18th-c. literature. The first book we read was Jane Collier's *An Essay on The Art of Ingeniously*. My response was simple and predictive: "What's this? And is there more of it?" Once triggered, my desire for the interruptions of irony took me from card catalogs to internet search engines and finally to the scholarly conversations that create spaces for critical laughter. . I think Carol Houlihan Flynn's *The Body in Swift and Defoe*, Margaret Anne Doody's "Swift among the Women," Deborah Wyrick's *Jonathan Swift and the Vested Word,* and *Pope, Swift, and Women Writers* [ed. by Donald Mell] were critical studies that drew me ever closer to Swift Studies.

Adam Potkay: At Cornell, 1979-1980, I took a year-long undergraduate course in which we read *The Norton Anthology of English Literature*, volumes 1 and 2 (third edition), with four of the Anthology editors, including General Editor M. H. Abrams. The anthology is structured to give pride of place to William Wordsworth and his autobiographical epic, *The Prelude*, which occupies many pages at the start of volume 2. Wordsworth also stars in the first critical study I recall buying and devouring: Abrams' *Natural Supernaturalism: Tradition and Revolution in Romantic Literature* (1971). It presents Wordsworth's marriage of mind and nature, or re-enchantment of the world, as a semi-secularized version of Christian theodicy and eschatology admixed with the Neoplatonic return to the One. It also finds Wordsworth's impress on the authors who followed him—Abrams' title, *Natural Supernaturalism*, is taken from the eminent Victorian Thomas Carlyle. Well, from then on, I was going to have to study the Bible, Plato and Plotinus, Augustine's *Confessions*, classical languages and maybe German (never got to the German) …the great books tradition spread out before me. Readers of this journal may ask: what about the eighteenth century? It's a bit of a detour in Abrams, but important to other early-to-mid twentieth century historians of ideas and the literary criticism they influenced, including two books that impressed me early in graduate school. A. O. Lovejoy's *The Great Chain of Being: A Study of the History of an Idea* (1936) argues that the static chain of being in place from antiquity through Pope became a temporal process of becoming in the Romantic era. And Earl Wasserman's *The Subtler Language: Critical Readings of Neoclassic and Romantic Poems* (1959) traces *concordia discors* as a principle of cosmic and poetic harmony from Heraclitus to Denham and Pope, allegedly collapsing in the hobby-horse modernity of Laurence Sterne (I've argued, au contraire, that *concordia discors* continues into and beyond Wordsworth). Wasserman then turns to subtle close readings of God-probing poems by Percy Shelley. All these studies are, I think, worth revisiting. One last observation: in them, and through the deconstructionist 1980s, poetry was far more central than it is now to the understanding of literary periods, and I hope it may regain some of its former luster among learned readers.

[Editor's note: I was glad Adam mentioned an anthology, for nobody else had. I was much indebted to critical prefaces in anthologies. My first undergraduate survey used *Major English Writers*—Wordsworth and Coleridge led off vol. 2, edited by G. Meyer—the set was edited by G. B. Harrison—it was printed first in the 1950s. As a teacher I reread the critical introductions in the Nortons. The most impressive set of critical intros for me were in *The Riverside Shakespeare*. Also I found formative René Wellek and Austin Warren's *Theory of Literature* (1949), assigned in my Comp Lit methods course, and I suspect many were influenced by those first assigned texts in graduate methods courses.]

Brijraj Singh: I am writing on some of the books that influenced or shaped me as a student. I read quite widely in the works of Swift, Pope and Johnson as an undergraduate, and as a graduate student took a demanding course with W.K. Wimsatt on the Age of Johnson, when I read again the authors I have just mentioned, and, in addition, Thomson, Gray, Collins, the brothers Wharton, Shenstone, Young, and Cowper. But my major focus of study, both as an undergraduate and as a graduate student, was not the 18th century but the poetry of the period 1598-1660 or a little bit later. And my Ph.D dissertation, supervised, if it could be said to be supervised at all, by Richard Ellmann, was on five critics of the late Victorian / Edwardian age. So I had a very diverse and general education that rendered me quite fit for a career as a college teacher, which I had chosen when I was 20. I was never really a scholar of the 18th century, though the exigencies of staffing when I taught in Delhi found me teaching that century where I ultimately found a home.

I think it might be helpful to know this background to understand my saying that I probably missed out many of the seminal critical texts on the 18th century which my contemporaries specializing in the period might have read and been influenced by. . . . . What really impressed me then because of its monumental scholarship and extensive index, and what I devoured, was the Hill-Powell edition of Boswell's *Life* of Johnson. And a book that I don't hear mentioned today, Kathleen Williams' *Swift in the Age of Compromise,* taught me to read Swift and gave me an understanding of his vision and his work, especially *A Tale of a Tub* and *Gulliver's Travels*, which has not changed since.

But, as I said, my major interest was 17th-century poetry, and nothing was more influential than two remarkable books, both by William Empson: *Seven Types of Ambiguity,* and *Milton's God.* The former taught me how to read poetry attentively, to consider all the meanings of words, to pay attention to their choice, their arrangement, and their function in the totality of the poem—and always to have the *OED* handy. And his book on Milton was a delight: skillfully but charmingly argued, written in a very accessible style and language, very different from the turn that literary criticism took in the late 1980s and early 90s, and it really advanced my understanding of *Paradise Lost.* And there was another book on *Paradise Lost* that was a seminal influence, A.J.A. Waldock's *Paradise Lost and Its Critics.* Again, the argument was brilliant and convinced me totally, not least because of the way it was presented Waldock seemed to be talking to a group of friends by the fireside, a glass of sherry in hand, anticipating questions, explaining clearly what he meant in civilized, clear,

simple language, showing a full awareness of all the previous discussions of the poem casually almost, without showing off, not pretending to know everything, and carrying his audience along. From him I learned (I hope) how to argue, and how English is best written, or should be written, in critical discourse.

In graduate school at Yale I did a year-long course with Louis Martz on Milton and the poetry of the 17th century. I read Martz's *Poetry of Meditation* then for the first time. In Oxford his work had never been mentioned to me. Perhaps my tutor, who had to tutor students in everything they were interested in, had himself not had the chance to read Martz, though in retrospect that is surprising, since he was writing a book on Milton when he tutored me, though I did not know this at the time. Subsequently, when it was published as *The Logical Epic,* I found it very good and very useful as a teaching tool.

I had been brought up on A. C. Bradley's book on Shakespearean tragedy in India, where we used to recite this little poem:

> I dreamt I saw Shakespeare's ghost
> Appear in an exam for a public post.
> The English paper of that year
> Contained a question on *King Lear.*
> Shakespeare answered very badly
> Because he had not read his Bradley.

But in Oxford, G. Wilson Knight was all the rage. I actually went to a performance of *Measure for Measure* which he had directed (not very well, I must add. Or perhaps it was the players who let him down. In any case, it wasn't much of a performance). So I read his works on Shakespeare and found that they were far better than his work as director.

At Oxford I was a Leavisite, so I read all his books, but today regretfully I don't remember anything much from any of them. But two principles I did learn from him. One was that all good literature has an element of drama, in that it *shows* rather than *tells*. I think his word for this was *enactment.* All good writing *dramatically enacts* meaning. More important, I learned that all art has a moral foundation--not that it is didactic, or preaches morality, or anything of that sort. Rather, all art, and especially fiction, draws fine moral distinctions. Fiction reading makes you sensitive to these moral distinctions, discriminations, with fine and thin but yet impermeable boundaries between proper and not so proper speech, conduct, etc. And these discriminations were to be sought in the relationships between people, so that social manners, according to Leavis, were an inalienable part of a character's moral conduct. Manners and morals were one and the same thing.

I realized later on that following Leavis meant that one valued realism above other modes of writing, like fantasy, metaphysics, myth, etc. But he also made literature an essential part of the business of living, and of leading a self-aware, thoughtful, moral life. All of one's thoughts and actions needed to be scrutinized with great care, and had, in fact, to be *judged* by the doer. Reading literature attuned one to this activity. It affected the way one lived, just as the way one lives affected one's reading of literature. This is an insight I have never

shed. Indeed, my Ph.D. dissertation was motivated to an extent by this insight. [Editor's note: The precepts in this final paragraph are an important response to discussions of the threat posed by ChatGPT and AI in literature courses.]

Ann Schmiesing, *The Brothers Grimm. A Biography*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2024. Pp. ix + 318; bibliography; index; illustrations. ISBN: 35978-0300-22175-6; hardcover: $35.

Thanks to the brothers Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm folk tales, folklore, and legends involving Cinderella, Rumpelstiltskin, Snow White, Bluebeard, the Brementown Musicians, and Puss in Boots, among many others, continue to thrive in popular culture. Ann Schmiesing's impressive cultural biography of the Grimm family, the work of Jacob and Wilhelm in the creation, recovery, development and marketing of German popular culture and contributions to philology and linguistics with a governing narrative of their lives in Napoleonic and post-Napoleonic Germany is a rewarding read.

The book is divided into fourteen chapters, which fall broadly into three groups. The narrative begins with the early years of the Grimm family, and the evolution of Jacob (1785-1863) and Wilhelm (1786-1859) as scholars of German folk culture (chapters 1-5). Then chapters 6- 9 focus on the publication and impact of both their *Children's and Household Tales* (1812) through the second edition of the same in 1819, Jacob's *German Grammar* (1816), and the two volumes of their groundbreaking *German Legends* (1818). The third section hones in on Jacob mainly as a linguist and the philological contributions of Grimm's Law (1819) as well as and the brothers' *German Dictionary* of 1854 (chapters 9-12). The majority of the narrative is based on Schmiesing's reading of the primary publications and the brothers' correspondence, from which she provides her own translations of quoted material.

As is to be expected, there has been no shortage of critical analysis of the *Tales*, which started immediately upon their initial publication. However, the brothers as patriots, cultural historians, and scholars have not received a thorough analysis since the 1990s in English scholarship. As a biographer, Schmiesing is thorough and detailed in reconstructing the Grimm family which endured the hardships of Napoleonic occupation, the early death of the patriarch which caused the family of six surviving siblings and their mother to reduce their economic circumstances unexpectedly, the death of the matriarch, and the inevitable burdens of employment and housing insecurities the brothers faced in trying to provide for their four younger siblings and themselves. Both Jacob and Wilhelm were able to start university studies, but between their needs to be self-supporting and their desire to follow a path into folklore studies, they did not finish their degrees though they were awarded honorary doctorates in 1819 from the University of Marburg, where they had been enrolled. Wilhelm married in 1825 and had four children, the last of whom lived to 1919.

It is evident from the letters and their forms of collaboration that the brothers were sympathetically unified but did not see their work exactly the same way. Jacob was more rigid in shaping the *Tales;* whereas, Wilhelm, who

led the effort to create the second edition, was more flexible in bringing together alternate versions of the same stories for the subsequent editions, smoothing out some of the more violent or morally disturbing aspects of some tales, especially around incest, and marketing the volumes to broader audiences.

In the history of German literature and linguistics, the brothers were part of important circles of authors, legal scholars, and philosophers. Jacob while serving as the court librarian to Napoleon's brother Jerome, the occupying king of Westphalia, and Jacob and Wilhelm while serving in Wilhelm I's library at his return to power, had time and access to manuscripts, writers, and thinkers. Their association with both Clemens Brentano and Achim von Arnim, put them at the heart of the development of the debates on "high" and "low" literature, popular culture and the belles lettres, and German Romanticism. Jacob traveled extensively in Germany and to Paris in his government jobs, which allowed him to collect and solicit tales and legends for publication. Schmiesing does an excellent job of tying these recovery efforts to the brothers' passionate identity as Hessens and their drive to preserve their unique German culture. Wilhelm, who suffered with a variety of ailments, persevered as equally as Jacob and together the brothers went without food to support their siblings while working diligently in sleep-deprived poor health to collect their tales and legends.

The overarching, persisting critique the brothers faced in their *Tales* was their apparent lack of consistency or a scientific methodology as editors. Yet, it is clear from the Jacob's letters that he had a vision of what he wanted the voice of the *Tales* to be and in this regard, while he was aware of the work of Brentano and von Arnim in collecting oral tales, he and Wilhelm might be considered autodidacts when it came to their collecting and editing. Schmiesing details in Chapter 9 the editorial work of Wilhelm as main editor of the second edition of the *Tales:* how he affected plots, added and removed selections, and emphasized more strongly the teaching of morals and the consequences of bad deeds. He came close in doing this to creating new tales; whereas, in the first edition the point was more to capture the stories from the interviews the brothers held with their "informants," the term they used for their tale tellers.

Schmiesing develops details on these informants who were mainly young educated women the brothers knew from their social and government circles, not the commonly assumed poorer people from villages or farms near Kassel, their hometown. In fact, an iconography and a mythology arose around the collecting as Schmiesing shows in an 1892 woodcut illustration of the Grimms, depicted as gray haired and prosperously dressed (though they were poor and in their early 20s) in a parlor with their primary informant, Dorothea Viehmann, a local woman in her 40s, surrounded by a family eagerly listening to her storytelling. In fact, Viehmann would visit the brothers in their apartment in Kassel, and her compensation, such as it was for sharing the tales, was limited to a cup of wine or some food, if the brothers could spare it.

Like the brothers, Schmiesing has focused on a book that is readable by scholars and non-scholars alike. Literary scholars might like to have seen a bit more about antiquarianism and the rise of global forms of Romanticism in the discussion of the *Tales*, but she has offered enough to underscore the main points about the contributions of the Grimms to the definition of literature, to the

development of German philology and linguistics. The Conclusion is a reception history of the Grimms' works that tackles the appropriation of their nationalism, evolving evaluation of the concepts of their works, adaptations, and the significance of being the first to launch new creative and scholarly work. Her back matter of a chronology, genealogy, notes, and name index are valuable in keeping this complex narrative readable. It is also pleasing to see the annotation "Collection of the author" after so many of the illustrations. Schmiesing, a professor of German and Scandinavian Studies at The University of Colorado, Boulder, has delivered a high quality biographical and cultural history that will continue to affirm the legacy of the brothers Grimm and encourage new scholarship on their important work.

Beverly Schneller
Governors State University

Travellers in Eighteenth Century Europe: The Sexes Abroad. **Edited by Julie Peakman**. Havertown, PA: Pen & Sword Books, 2024. Pp. xxiii + 270; illustrations. ISBN 978 1 39904 960 3: hardback: $49.95. (Also available as a digital ebook, $29.99 digital.)

Too often introductions to collections of essays by divers hands are overly long and unhelpful, and. Unfortunately, this is the present case. But Peakman has no easy task, imposing some semblance of unity where differences seem far more meaningful than similarities. *Travellers* in the title is better termed British Travellers, *Europe* includes Turkey, and *The Sexes Abroad*, while only two, seems merely a marketing ploy. The writers discussed are sometimes the traditional authors of commonplace narratives of the Grand Tour, but exceptions abound. "'She set out with all the pleasure imaginable.' Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's Turkish Travels," co-authored by Jo Willett and Julie Peakman, treats correspondence by Lady Mary written during the second decade of the eighteenth century, published posthumously in May 1763 (although privately circulated during her life); the more than forty-year interval seems to matter little, nor any generic difference that may have existed between letters and travel logs, guide books, and similar publications. Sophie Dunn's "John MacDonald: A Travelling Servant's Life of Cultural Exchange" treats the memoir published in 1790 by a Scottish servant, whose career consisted of accompanying his various masters on visits to Europe, Asia, and even Africa. Shirley F. Tung ("'In the Character of a Corsican': Mediating Chieftain Masculinity in James Boswell's *Account of Corsica* [1768]") does show a sensitivity to the force of genre when she writes that "Boswell adopts the initial posture of a knowledgeable and impartial travel writer to serve a propagandistic purpose" (69), although, if this collection demonstrates anything at all, it is that "impartial" travel writers were rare indeed in the century.

Among my faults as a book reviewer is a tendency to become annoyed when I sense that an author has not considered his content important enough to convey it in polished prose. Often the cause is an infatuation with theory,

leading to sentence after sentence of ill-constructed abstractions. That is at times the issue with "Through an Exile's Eyes: Touring Switzerland with Helen Maria Williams," where Louise Duckling reads the journey of Williams, who is crossing foreign borders while "'concealing carefully' any relationship with France," as an indication of the theme of *liminality*, "blurring the boundaries of genre and disrupting the typical Grand Tour narrative" to create "a universal, timeless platform from which she can challenge social injustice" (121). In for a penny, Duckling brings aboard Julia Kristeva—*Strangers to Ourselves* (1991)—and decides that "Williams enters [Kristeva's] kind of transformative space as she experiences 'a sort of annihilation' at the [Rhine] Falls" (123-124). This was triggered, apparently, by a long "ceremonial of examination" (120) at the border of Solothurn—one wonders how Williams would react to Customs and Passport Control in Miami.

The prose style of more than half the essays seems like they were put into print without close review by the writers themselves, Peakman, readers for the press, or copy-editors. In one essay we find, on a single page, three awkward transitions: "In this," "For all that has been said," "In this," only to have this topped by another writer's four uses of "As such" in three pages, with another coming a few pages later. Admitting defeat, alongside Strunk and White, I will skip over "who he saw at Mass," "depending on who you believe," and "importantly," but surely someone in the editorial process should have saved the writers the embarrassment of "disinterested" for "uninterested" and "the review inferred" for "the review implied." Retrospectively, I checked myself for discipline-bias by reading the contributors list and was pleased that of the five essays I had marked as "well-written," (out of the thirteen) only one was crafted by someone in traditional literary criticism: Shirley F. Tung. The other four were Sophie Dunn, Emily Paterson-Morgan ("'She won't give up her unlawful love (myself)': Byron's tales of Italian adultery"), Teresa Rączka-Jeziorska ("'Auch ich in Arkadien!' Michal Jan Borch's Travels to Italy"), and Eleanor Reynolds ("'I maintained my opinion—like a woman, and an obstinate one too': The Countess of Blessing, the Female Nude, and a Woman's Right to Gaze").

Sophie Dunn's essay about the memoir of servant John MacDonald is a well-crafted, highly original, and very informative example of social history. Indeed, as she claims, the MacDonald text "provide[s] a new perspective on elite British travel, and especially the Grand Tour" (48). Dunn is especially good at selecting passages that reinforce her insights, including this that supports the idea that often good servants were travelling translators—and hints a bit at MacDonald's work ethic and commonsense morality: "My master made not any improvement in the Spanish language . . . . But I stopped at home, and got my lesson when the other servants went out amongst whores and after their own fun; and they laughed at me for staying at home; but, by and by, when their doctor's bills came in, I laughed at them" (52). Of course, Dunn must have selected the best parts of MacDonald's narrative but those parts are very good indeed, so, if you would like to know more about why he advises British elite travelers to see the sights first in their home country, his use of Queen of Scots soup, how and why he travelled as a Roman Catholic, and how he introduced the umbrella to the English, seek out this essay.

I may be slightly over-rating Emily Paterson-Morgan's article on Byron, since she has an easier way to please her audience than, say, Mina Tsai-Yeh Wang in "'I cannot yet give up the hope': Mary Wollstonecraft and Observations on European Travel." Both contributors quote copiously from their subject's observations, but Wang obviously has a tougher hill to climb, since Byron is delightful and Wollstonecraft is, well, Wollstonecraft. We academics usually choose kindred spirits to study and write about, so Wang is not to be faulted for overlooking the rather shocking intellectual weaknesses displayed by her subject, who, instead of reversing course when observing The Terror first-hand, transitions to second- and third-generation progressive philosophies. Of course, no one would expect Wollstonecraft to don a tee shirt reading "Burke was right about everything," but it is difficult for me to credit her ideas on, among other things, motherhood when she twice attempted suicide, as Wang relates, while the sole support of her one-year-old daughter. Byron was hardly a role model but at least he was witty. He traveled first to Europe on the Grand Tour for two years, 1809-1811, whence *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (1812), but Paterson-Morgan focuses on his expatriate period in Italy (1816-1824), and the letters describing "the three most significant affairs which Byron had whilst [there]" (184). Italian sociosexual ethics is the topic and Byron as *cicisbeo* is hardly an untrodden road, but the standardized promiscuity of Italian high society is a fascinating subject, as is Byron's gradual discovery of its rules and regulations. Venice, which Byron terms a "sea-Sodom," has standards quite different from England and even other parts of Italy; in the poet's words, "jealousy is not the order of the day in Venice, and daggers are out of fashion, while duels, on love matters, are unknown—at least, with the husbands" (185).

The travels of Michal Jan Borch, Teresa Rączka-Jeziorska's subject, are more in the spirit of Charles Darwin's to the Galapagos than Byron's and Boswell's to Europe. Borch's overarching interest during his extended stay (1774-1780) was scientific, particularly geology, mineralogy, botany, mining, and chemistry. He returned home to Polish Livonia (present-day Latvia) only upon the death of his father, to manage the family estates. But the author makes clear that Borch rightly considered himself a citizen of the world, and his interests and abilities extended far beyond the narrowly scientific. The essay begins with an apt epigraph from Goethe's *Italian Travels* (although Goethe and Borch probably never met, Goethe compliments him in print as his predecessor for his work in the mineralogy of Sicily) and ends with a section on Borch's artistic vision (he illustrated his published letters with his drawings). Several of these drawings are reproduced here, but I found most fascinating a comparison between a 1778 portrait of Borch by Austrian painter Ludwig Guttenbrunn and Joshua Reynolds' portrait of William Hamilton, done the previous year. Both portraits are reproduced and, although it is obviously not a case of direct influence, the similarities in pose and detail strongly suggest a sub-genre within portrait painting: as Rączka-Jeziorska notes, "[Hamilton] and Borch were connected, among others, by the exploration of Etna" (103). I will note here that the entire book is copiously, if not lavishly, illustrated with small to medium-size b/w reproductions. In this essay they are essential and appropriate but in other essays less so. It is difficult to see why two facing pages (94-95) contain

quite similar images of singer Elizabeth Billington in "'A stranger in this country': British Singers, Travel, and Education," by Brianna E. Robertson-Kirkland. Conversely, when Willet and Peakman write of Lady Mary's visit to the Sophia bath house, there are none—"According to Montagu, the baths were luxurious with five domes attached to each other. There were no windows except in the roof, but the skylights gave plenty of light" (21)—the text seems to cry out for illustration, especially since several are available for free on-line.

I will rely on their descriptive titles—all the essays in the collection have such titles and this is welcome—to close by listing four essays for which there was not space to comment fairly: Julie Peakman, "Lascivious Travelling: Sex, Religion and Antiquarians in the Eighteenth Century"; Maria Grazia Dongu, "Thomas Gray on Tour: New Views on Much-Known Lands"; Valentina Aparicio, "Women's Labour in Maria Graham's *Three Months Passed in The Mountains East of Rome* (1820)"; and Miriam Al Jamil, "Travels through post-Napoleonic Europe: Harriet Elizabeth Parry's Trip to France, Switzerland and Italy (1819)." Despite its issues, a few excellent essays in this collection make it a worthwhile purchase, especially in view of its price, inexpensive compared to most university press publications.

Robert G. Walker
Washington & Jefferson College

Alex W. Barber. *The Restraint of the Press in England, 1660–1715: The Communication of Sin.* (Studies in Early Modern Cultural, Political, and Social History, Vol. 47.) Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press, 2022. Pp. xvii + 333; bibliography; index. ISBN: 9781783275175; hardcover, £95, $130.00. ISBN: 9781787448766; ebook, £19.99, $29.95.

Alex Barber's *The Restraint of the Press in England* examines the post-revolutionary background to the political and soteriological instabilities in England and their intersections with ideas about and purposes of print media. Barber seeks to complicate what he conceives to be received opinion about the "debates and practices concerned with the freedom of the press and censorship," but the book is more a thorough account of the religious background to ideas about a free press. By examining the entanglements of political and religious conflict, Barber argues, "we can capture why post-revolutionary England remained such an unstable political society" (xiv). The years Barber studies comprise two decades – the 1690s and the first decade of the eighteenth century – rather than the nearly five decades mentioned in the book's title. Its lens centers on the most important figures – Toland, Tindal, Defoe, Hoadly, along with many others less well known – who sought to challenge or maintain the political status quo.

Like the late professor Justin Champion, his mentor, Barber is keenly alert to the various crises in ecclesiological culture. Barber's contribution lies in considering how concerns about enlightenment were driven as much by "churchmen maintaining religious shibboleths whilst simultaneously accepting

the needs of civil peace" as by secular doubters of religious cant (278-79). Barber insists that, contrary to examining "a secular and liberal story" of enlightenment and a free press, a "better version of the story of the press and eighteenth-century Britain might build on recent excellent work concerned with the religious identity of the early English Enlightenment" (279). Religious controversies form Barber's preoccupation. Rather than focusing on print media specifically (readers, publishers, the book trade, clandestine markets), Barber examines the complicated relationships between the church and state, focusing on the historical difficulties extending from the revolutionary era under William to the prosecution of Henry Sacheverell for his sermons denouncing Catholics and dissenters (deists, Unitarians, latitudinarians, and others promoting tolerance). The emphasis on Sacheverell explains the subtitle of the volume, Sacheverell's incendiary 1709 sermon denouncing Whig leadership.

The 1690s are featured in Barber's first four chapters, its Part I. Barber is interested in how, under King William, both established Anglican authority and voluntary movements worked together "to change behaviour, through restraint, coercion, and exhortation" (26). In the first chapter, Barber argues that "movements for moral reformation promoted a vision of society in which sin was controlled precisely because it endangered the life of the individual, the community, and the country in much the same way Sacheverell was to argue in 1709" (26). Authorities and voluntary groups of the 1690s also argued, as Sacheverell later averred, that "the Church was the guarantor of salvation but that it was the duty of the clergy to rebuke error and to promote truth, piety, and virtue" (27). Anxieties about "errant expression" were high, and the Trinitarian disputes (over "what constituted the true nature of the Trinity") signaled the desire of some leaders to shut down the more liberal tendencies of religious pluralism (40). John Toland's response to clerical interference and sometimes petty niggling, *Christianity Not Mysterious* (1696), was (as Barber says in Chapter 2) less about proposing a free press that could examine openly the controversies than it was about "render[ing] Scripture explicable to the entire nation by stripping away mystery and in the process . . . remov[ing] the need for clerical mediation in all categories of interpretive societal behaviour" (70). Debates needed to become free from clerical interference; Barber reads Toland's main point as "a politico-religious point designed to dismiss the clergy as self-interested and tyrannous" (69-71).

These series of debates become important with regard to press freedom because of contentions over licensing. Should the government continue with licensing works, or shall England have a press free of intervention by the government? Chapters 3 and 4 examine the controversies about the press. As Barber notes, during "the years between 1695 and 1700 bills to control the press were introduced every year apart from 1699." These bills never passed. Barber highlights how authorities sought to retain "doctrinal purity" (89). Like Toland before him, Matthew Tindal suggested that "freedom of enquiry and debate would create godly community and thus ensure peace and stability" (114). Indeed, Tindal argued that a free press would "establish civil religion and political stability" while also "allow[ing] each individual to establish truth and achieve salvation" (124). Francis Atterbury argued, by contrast, that unorthodox

books ought to be restrained and "remitted to the jurisdiction of the Church" (89). Fifferences were less about whether the press might be "free" than about "which books challenged doctrinal purity and how they should be dealt with."

As Part II of the book, Barber treats the problems associated with licensing in Chapters 5 and 6. Chapter 5 examines several writers who argued about a range of issues associated with pre-publication licensing, issues ranging from mere inefficiency to the ideological question about tyranny over freedoms. Daniel Defoe's solution? Forbid anonymity. Barber argues that "Defoe blamed the licentiousness of the press on anonymity. Licensing, he admitted, snuffed out an author's ability to hide their responsibility for errant publications" (156). If authors would be made responsible for their writings, they would be forced "into more consideration of their ideas, whist maintaining the newly emerging right to engage in debate" (157). Chapter 6 turns to responses by members of the high church, particularly Henry Sacheverell, who began to publish his sermons in the early eighteenth century. High church members argued that a free press was destabilizing to both the church and the state. Any form of dissent was a threat, according to Sacheverell. In analyzing Sacheverell (in Chapter 6 and later, Chapter 8) Barber delineates his High Church ideas about religious conformity. Admitting the view that Sacheverell "was hardly a sophisticated theologian," Barber seeks to show how "Sacheverell was committed to emphasising the dangers posed by imbibing and spreading errant ideas" (171).

The last two chapters, as Part III, address what Barber labels (calling on historical precedent) the "high church in danger." The High Church campaign against the press was to secure the shape and purity of religious practice as state practice, Barber says. But Whigs argued that high church leaders were seeking to undermine the revolution settlement by insisting on intolerance of difference. Many inside government sought privately (and quietly) to wrestle with the those challenging the church authority. Barber's key contention comes to light here, where he asserts that attitudes toward the press "were not divided along ideological lines. There was no straight division between Whigs and Low Churchmen supporting freedom and Tories and High Churchmen proposing restraint" (208). Indeed, Barber says, "Whig politicians and their supporters in the Church readily accepted restraint of ideas, when they considered it expedient, or they felt their long-held support of toleration and the Protestant succession were under threat" (208). The trial of Henry Sacheverell (Chapter 8) enabled the Whigs to challenge church authority. Remarking that Sacheverell's trial "has usually been considered purely as an episode in politics," Barber argues that "it was clearly inseparable from High Church disgust with church policy, the establishment of toleration, and what [those in the high church] considered to be an unrestrained press" (237).

Barber's study offers an erudite examination of controversies in the established church and state. Derived from the dissertation, which identified the era under discussion as 1690-1715, the monograph betrays a sense that the case about press freedom has been tacked on to what seems to be a dense and admirable history of the ideas about church polity and its relationship to government. Those of us who are deeply interested in concerns related to press freedom might find the study disappointing. Yet the book offers a rigorous

analysis of the High Church and Low Church debates about how to restrain liberalism and social change. Barber's examination of these debates and of the inconsistencies within particular leaders' positions is exemplary. Barber has worked with state papers, private papers, well-read and less well-read sermons and tracts, and he has developed a narrative that, in effect, suggests to this reader that what was really under contention was not press freedom but the impact of the so-called Glorious Revolution on governance. The principles of the "revolution" – toleration, individual liberty, including liberty of speech and association, and economic innovation – came under significant scrutiny, as Barber shows. The merit of Barber's book. lies in its careful examination into the history of ideas and politics.

Carla J. Mulford
Pennsylvania State University, University Park

Nathalie Zimpfer, *The Sermons of Jonathan Swift: Silent Rhetoric.* (Oxford University Studies in the Enlightenment.) Liverpool: Liverpool University Press for the Voltaire Foundation, 2024. Pp. 270. ISBN 2634-8047; paperback: $99.

This book breaks my heart. My first published essay, more than half a century ago was titled "Swift and Sterne: Sermons and Satire," and I have repeated its arguments consistently to the present day. Concurrently, I have argued—along with a growing number of scholars—that far from being a secular age, the century's dominant thrust was to renew faith by reconciling Christianity to Enlightenment values. In her early chapters, Nathalie Zimpfer ably reinforces these arguments, first by bringing Swift and Sterne together as satirists who were also Anglican clerics, alongside a very fine chapter surveying in extensive depth the critical commentary on both Swift's and his society's religious faith, reaching to the present day when arguments about the secularization of both have come to seem old-fashioned.

Unfortunately, the rest of her book disappoints this hopeful beginning, dimming its argument with three missteps: 1. An over investment in the jargon of linguistics; 2. An overapplication of "linguistic" notions to Swift's texts, and underapplication of the same notions everywhere else, most particularly when reading Scripture; and 3. a scholarly carelessness that is shocking.

I will deal with the last issue first. In any scholarly work, but particularly one that will argue the vital importance of words (oral and written) one must quote accurately. The primary text for Swift's sermons is vol. 9 of Herbert Davis's edition of *Prose Works* (1963). So inaccurate is Zimpfer, that I hoped she had found another text, but her pagination conforms with my copy. In most of the quotations, she fails to copy capitalization; omissions of punctuation and italics also are commonplace. A few examples will suffice: p. 104, 10 errors in 4 lines; p. 105, 16 errors in 6 lines; p. 119, 15 errors in 7 lines. One fears that Oxford University Press no longer has in-house proofreaders, and that some auto-correct *ghost in the machine* may be at fault, but this ill-prepared manuscript is inexcusable (from my edition of Sterne's sermons I found 3 errors

in 6 lines (139): "applier to this" s/r "applier of this"; "rejoicing in himself" should read "*rejoicing in himself*"'; and "is the" s/r "in the."

I have thrown in the towel on the present-day misuse of "begs the question," but in a book based on rhetorical analysis it remains shocking to find it, p. 39. There are failures in coding that proofreading should have caught, e.g., p. 113 where part of Zimpfer's text is rendered as a drop quote; and again on p. 114. There are the typos we have come to expect in publications from presses no longer housing proofreaders, e.g. "godlily" (120), although also traces of an inane in-house style sheet, as when the Voltaire Society's policy of lower-casing titles gives us "*The Importance of the guardian considered*," which is not a typo since the error is repeated within the paragraph (30.

There is one sentence in Zimpfer's early discussion of linguistics and rhetoric that encapsulates my problem with this study: "One should nevertheless beware of turning such truths into an unerring quest for absolute consistency" (21). Or, from Swift's own version of the idea, his "ambivalence towards the indeterminacy of meaning and metaphorical slippage. . . . [S]o many factors may thwart the safe delivery of intention" (23). Applying theories of linguistics to these truisms, Zimpfer discovers "the dawning realisation [in the 17th century] that words and objects were not necessarily united in a one-to-one relationship and that words might therefore be ambiguous, imprecisely applied, and lead to disputes and controversies" (25). One does wonder why Homer and Horace, Chaucer and Shakespeare did not realize this, nor the rabbis and church fathers who spent lifetimes in "disputes and controversies" about Scripture. Linguistic play is briefly pursued by Zimpfer through Swift's many satires (but not *Martinus Scriblerus*), and despite rejecting any notion that a person must use language consistently, she insists that we recognize "a common denominator between Swift's linguistic prescriptivism and his verbal exuberance: the recognition of the *depth* and therefore potential opacification of language" (35). Or again, "Swift's point that two different persons will attach two different ideas to the same word . . . is one made in the *Port-Royal logic*: the word 'virtue' will not mean the same to a pagan and to a theologian" (37). One is not certain whether it is the fault of linguistics or Zimpfer to belabor the obvious, perhaps both; one further example will suffice: "What Swift's 'plain style' is definitely not is artlessly spontaneous" (41). But indeed, her concluding section, "The rhetoric and communication style of Swiftian homiletics" is itself a rhetorical exercise in masking the obvious, viz., that sermons are always rhetorical, and that Swift was a particular master of that most human of rhetorical devices, masking rhetoric as truth-telling; of Truth-telling, sans rhetoric, that is God's ineffable Word, unavailable to the human ear without the fine art of persuasion (the "opacifications" of rhetoric).

"Opacification" is here the beginning of a jargon-ridden discussion, leading to sentences like "Propositional attitude leads to embeddedness, therefore complexifying and opacifying meaning" (43). Again, "These maxims account for the notion of *implicatures,* 'one of the single most important ideas in pragmatics.' The neologism was coined by Grice [to mean] *pragmatic* inferences generated beyond the semantic content of sentences" (62). With great faith in such terms, Zimpfer can affirm in confidence that *implicatures* "make it

possible to account 'scientifically' for the fact that an utterance may mean more than it actually says" (62). Thus, when Swift writes "wicked people" she can tell us "with certainty" that he has Whigs in mind (63). My own distaste for any jargon-ridden discourse is reinforced by her discussion of "linguistic pragmatics," a concept governing her entire enterprise despite acknowledging that the term "has no clear meaning. Some scholars thus argue [it] does not constitute a coherent field of research and that the meaning of the word [pragmatics] varies considerably" (58-59).

Zimpfer's use of "actually" and "certainty" illustrates the most damaging flaw in her monograph, on display in this typical sentence: "An essential clue as regards the actual meaning of the adjectives 'plain' and 'simple' is actually provided by Swift himself . . ." (40). Words like *essential* and *actual(ly)* all rely on a "Truth" that is not the *existential* and *conditional* "truth" of our world, but the Truth embedded in "I am that I am," linguistically meaningless, theologically the beginning of all scriptural thought. Zimpfer began by rightly suggesting the ambiguities of language, and Swift's endorsement of that view, but her subsequent discourse insists on reading Swift's sermons with *absolute certainty*—and, even more depressing, she applies the same *certainty* to her reading of Scripture. She insists that Swift's sermons address "political and social concerns rather than political [sic; a misprint: "theological" is intended] ones" (61). This is the heart of her argument and may be a quite useful observation (although separating political and social concerns from theological ones is quite impossible throughout the century). At any rate, her conviction is that this lack of theology defines Swift as different from all other sermon-writers of his time, both in his putting politics over theology and in "distorting" Scripture in order to preach Tory Royalism. Her primary comparison is to Tillotson, with a glance at Sterne, but these turn out to be deceptive choices.

For his "Abuses of Conscience" sermon, Sterne borrowed extensively from Swift's "On the Testimony of Conscience." Reading with her fixed presupposition that Swift's perspective is, in all his sermons, "institutional" (106-7) she finds Sterne's sermon, to the contrary, "psychological." Swift, she believes, addresses his congregation as a civic body while Sterne addresses individuals. Setting aside that her parallel passages between the sermons quite fail to make her case, her main lapse is not addressing the occasion of Sterne's sermon, the Yorkshire Assizes in 1750. The emphasis on "judgment," "testimony," "self-accused," "guilt," all of which she seems to find "psychological," are far better explained by this sermon being preached to a congregation of attorneys and related legal persons, quite different from a Dublin Anglican congregation in the heart of a colonized Catholic Ireland. Yes, Swift directs some of his sermon against Catholics, but it is worth recalling (as Zimpfer does not) that Sterne's sermon, unmodified, is read aloud by Trim in *Tristram* Shandy, to the great mortification of Catholic Dr. Slop.

The other major comparison she offers is to the sermons of Archbishop Tillotson. Setting aside the important fact that Tillotson published 257 sermons to Swift's 11 or 12, Tillotson was writing to reconcile Anglicanism and dissent after 1660 (oddly, Zimpfer refers to Puritans rather than dissenters), and preaching in Canterbury and London to congregations that would have included

many clerics under instruction, especially after he established himself as the foremost *social* and *political* Anglican theologian of his era. His ambiance, in other words, is as different from Swift's time and place as one might imagine. More to the point, the comparisons necessary to Zimpfer's study should have been to other English or Irish Anglicans preaching in Irish cities and towns, or other Anglican clerics when preaching on political occasions, say January 30, November 5, or May 29. But even lacking this wider range of comparison, Zimpfer seems confused when labeling Swift's social concerns as polemical; Sterne seems better to have captured the times when he compared "polemical" sermons with Rabelais's description of horse-riding acrobatics, while practical sermons were those directed to the heart. To be sure, we might suggest that most sermons partake of both, always an effort to persuade one's congregation to live another week, against its inclinations, with only a modicum of sinfulness, and offering Scripture as the guide and impetus for doing so.

Additional jargon is introduced, *eisegesis* and *exegesis,* the latter, the rather common critical activity of finding the "discoverable meaning of the text" and eisegesis, reading one's "own presuppositions or even biases into the text" (68). It is here that Zimpfer runs into her greatest difficulty, mistaking her engagement with texts as exegetic rather than being influenced by her "presuppositions." Put simply, can a faithful Christian read any passage in the New Testament without bias? Conversely, will a deist or atheist read that same "self-evident" passage differently? For her, the preacher is a vessel for God's Truth, and therefore presuppositions ought not play a part in readings of Scripture. And thus she can tell us without hesitation that a passage means absolutely, positively, certainly, and essentially what she tells us it means—and that Swift, again and again, violates these passages by turning them into lessons for obedience and discipline—the deceptive message of a Tory royalist. Her linguistic orientation allows her to identify all these instances as Swift's deliberate misreadings of the scriptural text, but only by ignoring her own preconceptions, most obviously to validate her scholarly argument, but also because she has predetermined Christianity to be modern liberalism as opposed to eighteenth-century Anglicanism, dastardly royalism in Swift's hands. Such god-awful notions as "the deserving poor" and subservience to one's government are not justified by Zimpfer's accurate and undistorted "true" readings of the passages distorted by Swift's social and political concerns. This self-contradiction of the undecidability of language quite unravels her attempt to reclaim Swift as a Christian.

One instance out of far too many repetitions of the same presumptiveness will have to suffice: "There is *no mistaking the correct interpretation* of the parable, as it is given in the conclusion in *very explicit* terms: 'I say unto you, that likewise joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine just persons, which need no repentance' (Luke 15.7)" (122; my italics). Of course, one can mistake or misinterpret this parable which is not at all subject to "correct interpretation"; some might argue that is precisely the reason Jesus spoke in parables rather than in explicit terms! To my Jewish ears it is a "conversion parable," saying that the ninety-nine people who resist conversion are damned, while the one who accepts Jesus, whatever her other

sins, will be saved. Without a predisposition to understand the parable as an already believing Christian (and even as such, various levels of difficulty are possible, e.g., is one mass murderer who makes a deathbed conversion more welcomed by God than ninety-nine saintly nuns?) it is open to interpretation as a possible truth but never a certain Truth.

There is a reason, of course, that the word of God comes down to us as the word of the King of Kings, rather than the Prime Minister, President, or city council member. Moreover, living in a country not one's own, with a dialect and a religion also not one's own—in short, a hostile environment—what did Scripture say about that situation, what did Paul? Equally to the point, how did a slave religion, born in an environment similar to Swift's, an occupied country, become within its first 500 years, a religion of empire and emperors? One might suspect the infinite meanings human language is able to produce, so often based on our preconceptions, how every text, in fact, is susceptible to our needs and greeds, desires and aspirations. To then accuse Swift of distortion is simply to welcome him into the world of pulpits, and indeed, given the emergence of dissenting preachers and their evolution into Whitefield and Wesley, Swift turns out to be, like Tillotson and Sterne, just another flawed vessel for the ineffable, unknowable word of God.

Nathalie Zimpfer's early support of those Swift scholars who, in recent years, have argued that Swift's religion should be understood as honest and spiritual is welcome, and it is even possible that the small sampling of sermons he left behind emphasize the "discipline" of Christianity, more than its theology or "spirit." Surely, however, the same can be said for almost any preacher given the responsibility for guiding the souls of a congregation to heaven while busy (preacher and congregation alike) with the world and all its traps and temptations. It is here that I believe a better study of the sermons could have emerged, although admittedly, this panders to my own presuppositions. At the beginning of her work, Zimpfer looks at the relationship of Swift's sermons to his satires, but quickly decides they are connected primarily, if not only, by his recognition that language can be "nimble, private, idiosyncratic," that is, the flexibility that allows him to distort Scripture in service to King and country. I would rather have seen her approach the connection with an eye toward those favorite words we all use without thinking, as in yet another example: "Yet establishing the *precise* nature" of Swift's language in satire and in sermons should make one "beware of turning such truths into an *unerring* quest for *absolute* consistency" (21; my italics). I would have better enjoyed a study of Swift's sermons that explained to us why the Dean of St. Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin, charged with imparting the Word of God to others, and a satirist, who could write a poem of genius like "A Beautiful Young Nymph Going to Bed," were *necessarily* the same person, one vocation creating and sustaining the other. Such an exegesis would have been worth its weight in gold.

Melvyn New
University of Florida, emeritus

In England on the Trail of Jane Austen, Summer 2025

by Lorna J. Clark

This was an exceptional summer to visit the UK with all the special celebrations for Jane Austen's 250th anniversary. The peak was a conference at Southampton organised by Gillian Dow and Katie Halsey, the *Global Jane Austen Conference* at which there were 170 speakers, who came from all over the world. Before that, I followed an Austen trail that began at Reading where the school attended by Austen and her sister Cassandra was opened to visitors (said to be the original of Mrs Goddard's school in *Emma*). It continued through Winchester where 8 College Street, the house in which Austen died on 18 July 1817 was similarly opened up. Special exhibitions at Winchester College, the City Museum, and the Cathedral focused on different aspects of Austen's life (I found the one on Anna Lefroy and other friends of Austen most interesting).

There are several sites associated with Austen in Southampton, so many that they have created a Jane Austen Heritage Trail map so that you can give yourself a self-guided walking tour to see the site of the house she stayed in, the theatre she attended, the esplanade she strolled along, etc. Other guided walking tours have been organised as well as a special exhibition at the SeaCity Museum (which focuses on the social circle of Austen in Southampton). (If you do go to the SeaCity Museum, you may get distracted by their Titanic exhibit which traces the hundreds of employees on board who were based in Southampton and finishes with a theatrical representation of the public enquiry--quite fascinating.)

Nearby Chawton, of course, is a must-see for Austen fans. Jane Austen's House has a new permanent exhibition, *Jane Austen and the Art of Writing*. Chawton House, too, has an excellent one, *Sisters of the Pen* and has dedicated each month to a different novel with programming built around it.

Bath, of course, cannot be missed on an Austen itinerary: both the Jane Austen Centre and Number One Royal Crescent are marking the occasion, and there is a Jane Austen festival planned for September. The Holburne Museum set in Sydney Gardens (near where Austen once lived) does not have an exhibition on Austen but rather on Turner (which is worth seeing). Harewood House near Leeds combines the two in *Austen and Turner: A Country House Encounter*, which explores their parallel lives (they never met) in the context of the country house life. The Jane Austen 250th anniversary celebrations continue into the fall; more details can be found through Google.

Funding Cuts, Closures, and Censorship, Plus the Loss of Foreign Students

As was the predicted consequence of Trump's policies, there was a decline this fall in foreign students enrollments, one that could be the immediate cause of some colleges folding. NAFSA: Association of International Educators from government data concluded in August that there was a potential for a 30-40% decline in new international student enrollment in the United States this fall" that could "result in a 15% drop in overall enrollment," potentially costing "$7

billion in lost revenue and more than 60,000 fewer jobs." This could be an existential threat to small colleges. Foreign students--as 236 from China alone in spring 2023--make up 17% of Lancaster's Franklin and Marshall College's enrollment, which has declined nearly 20% since 2020. The University of Buffalo had 4000, but expects a decline of 750 this fall. At Clark University in Worcester, MA "More than a third of its undergrads and two-thirds of its graduate students come from abroad" (*Marketplace,* NPR, 25 August), NAFSA estimated 1.1 million foreign students studied here in 2023-24 (331K from India, 277K from China), spending 43.8 billion and creating 378,000 jobs (repeated by *The New York Times International* on 21 April 2025). US Customs and Border Protection found there to be a 28.5% decline in foreign student arrivals in July 2025 from July 2024 (from 107 to 76.5 thousand), and the decline in students from India was nearly 50% (reported by Stuart Anderson at *Forbes*.com, 21 August). The spring semester of 2025 had already marked a 7.7% foreign enrollment decline. The government has ceased to fund scholarships that had encouraged international and language studies. By mid August *Bloomberg* reported that schools like Stanford and Duke were filling seats left open with those students on waiting lists. After courts temporarily protected students, Trump suspended visa interviews from 27 May to 18 June and began them with the addition of a review of "applicants' social media accounts." The NAFSA article added that, compared to the previous year, there was a drop of 12% in F-1 visas from January to April 2025 and of 22% in May. By early April Trump revoked visas of about 4000 students (traffic violations were even used as grounds), and then on 9 June he restricted travel to and from 19 countries. Foreign students have a Student and Exchange Visitor Information System record (SEVIS) filed with Homeland Security, and, when the government revokes it, they can no longer work at universities.

The Hill on 19 August 2025 reported that the Trump administration revoked student visas from 6000 by August, claiming 200-300 of the students were "supporters of terrorism," which usually means students had protested Israel's crimes against humanity in Gaza. Some of these protestors have often been in the news, such as Mohsen Mahdawi, a Palestinian with a green card at Columbia and Rameysa Ozturk at Tufts. Ozturk wrote an editorial in the Tufts newspaper criticizing her university for its treatment of student demonstrators and its failure to divest in companies tied to Israel. She was arrested March 23 in the Boston suburbs and dragged off to detention in Louisiana, until Judge William Sessions in Vermont ordered her release around 8 May, finding her arrest a retaliation. (Mahdawi, arrested after a citizen interview 14 April, was ordered released by another federal judge a week earlier in May.)

Pennsylvania Humanities identifies Trump's proposed elimination of the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA), the Institute of Museums & Library Services, and the Historic Preservation Fund as undercutting the "bedrock of an informed, creative, and prosperous society." Even cuts thus far, including that to the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, have injured local economies, education, civic life, and the arts and humanities. Paul Solman, one of the PBS *News Hour* superb reporters, examined the Trump administration's impositions on historical education and

museums (1 July 2025). The introduction noted that 20 states had in the last decade "passed laws or policies that reflect how history can be taught in schools"; and also, that in the last national assessment "only 13% of US eighth graders scored proficient in US history." Among Trump's initiatives that Solman covered was the claw back of two grants supporting National History Day, a competition involving 3000 American students, held this year at the Univ. of Maryland. Those grants totaling $336,000 were "among more than 1000 terminated" at the NEH." Trump has forced changes to the leadership of the Library of Congress, National Archives, National Portrait Gallery, Kennedy Center, and the Smithsonian. In criticizing the Smithsonian Institution, which receives 62% of funding from the federal government but has an independent leadership, Trump objected to its focus on "how horrible our country is, [and] how bad Slavery was" (*Truth Social*, 19 August), but the struggle to live enslaved and to abolish slavery are also full of uplifting, virtuous heroics. Trump began his campaign against the museums back in the spring. On 28 March the AP published Darlene Superville's article on "Trump Executive Order to Force Changes at Smithsonian," claiming there was a "divisive narrative" that had to be rooted out and that J.D. Vance would oversee the removal of "improper ideology" as by restricting future funds. (Trump's remarks on 27 March included a call to renovate Independence Hall by 4 July 2026, and to return memorials and statues removed since 2020 "to perpetuate a false reconstruction of American history.") In July the National Museum of American History removed references to Trump's being twice impeached from its exhibit on the Presidency.

Trump's general position is summed up for Solman by Mike Gonzalez of the Heritage Foundation: "America should not be felt they [sic] have to live in shame or that there is a collective guilt to be carried." I do not have the emotional and moral sensitivity of Mr. Trump, but I suspect most like me don't feel guilt and shame over events before our births. I may be a sociopath for I have read without guilt or shame studies of slavery like Hugh Thomas's 900-page *The History of Slavery* or of American racism as Isabel Wilkerson's *The Warmth of Other Suns*. (Besides, only a man wearing a hat that proclaims him "Right about Everything" has no need for guilt and shame.) The White House's order for the museum review calls for "alignment with the President's directive to celebrate American exceptionalism, remove divisive or partisan narratives, and restore confidence in our shared cultural institutions." (Ironically, for most of us, nothing in our lives has undercut our confidence in our institutions so much as actions of all three branches of the government the past eight months.) Note that the White House on 21 August published "Trump is Right about the Smithsonian," with examples of harmful exhibitions at five museums, including the African-American Museum's discussion of the privileging of "whiteness." Some examples involve celebrations of LGBTQ people at the American History museum and would be objectionable to many conservative Christians, but other examples will antagonize few Americans such as an exhibition on Anthony Fauci's career at the National Portrait Gallery. The list of divisive remarks in museums includes, in the National Museum of American Latino, the description of a Californio family "losing their land to American 'squatters." This and several other examples concern the "unpatriotic" admission that the southwest

had belonged to Spain and then Mexico. How can one avoid talking of race in history classes when five times as many people from Africa (over 11 million) as from Europe came to the New World in the first 325 years of colonization?

Readers have seen how President Overreach boldly attacks examples like the Smithsonian, Columbia, or Washington, DC, to inspire fear more broadly. Under the bogeyman of antisemitism, Columbia had to agree to a $220 million settlement to keep over twice that in government funding; Brown agreed to pay $50 million; and Trump has frozen grants to Harvard totaling over $2 billion and threatens to take away its 5800 patents. Other Jews at Harvard protesting along with its President Alan Garber include "A group of 27 Jewish scholars of Jewish studies who have filed an amicus brief in Harvard's lawsuit against the Trump administration . . . . [they] reject Harvard's [and Trump's] troubling assumption that . . . criticism of Israel's genocide in Gaza constitutes antisemitism" (*The Guardian*, reprinted on Pressreader.com 13 June). Yes, it's like saying it's anti-American to condemn Trump's war on renewable energy. Trump's effort to extort a $1 billion from UCLA for alleged antisemitism--spearheaded by "the freezing of $584 million in research funds"--has been answered in a hell-no letter from 360 Jewish faculty and staff addressed to the Board of Regents. They are angered by the cynical use of antisemitism as a "fig leaf excuse." On *MSN,* 22 August, Dan Miller and Jaweed Kaleem also note that the Justice Dept, besides the $1 billion, seeks "an additional $172 million for a claim fund for those affected by alleged civil rights violations and UCLA's submission to an outside monitor." Trump himself links his attacks on programs and museums to that on universities, as 19 August on Truth Social:: his attorneys are to "go through the Museums, and start the exact same process that has been done with Colleges and Universities." Often one can't separate eliminating funds for NEH and NEA from injuring schools. On 10 April, a week after Trump terminated 1000 NEH's grants (hundreds slated for some of the $74.4 million were archival), the NEH terminated 65% of its staff.

In addition many universities are also attacked for "diversity equity and inclusion programs that [federal] officials say exclude white and Asian-American students"--so wrote Collin Binkley of the AP back on 14 March in "More than 50 Universities Face Funding Investigations under Trump's Anti-DEI Campaign." Binkley noted 45 (including Yale, Cornell, Duke, MIT) were under investigation for working with the PhD Project, a nonprofit helping "students from underrepresented groups get degrees in business." Linda McMahon's Education Dept. notes this assistance "limits eligibility based on race." Other schools are accused of using race as an admissions factor, a practice barred by the Supreme Court in 2023. Though most major universities have been injured and threatened with worse, I have heard no calls for strikes by American faculty. ASECS's website announces legal challenges by scholarly organizations, including that by the ACLS, AHA, and MLA to restore NEH funding and that by the AAUP, Middle East Studies Association, and Knight Institute against the deportation of students and faculty for lawful speech.

Trump's hostile policies have contributed to a reduction by 3 million of foreign tourists during the first 7 months of 2025, and one might suspect fewer scholars will come from outside the US to the 2026 ASECS in Philadelphia.

International conferences held in the USA during the next few years might better be run virtually. American progressives will befriend Trump's victims, like Washington or the history of slavery and punish his allies. One wonders what MAGA's impact on research subjects and conference topics will be.--J. E. May

Bucknell University Press to Close in 2026

Editor's note: The following notice and appeal was posted by Greg Clingham on C18-L on 18 August 2025. Greg was Director of the Press from 1996-2019. As he indicates, the closing will seriously injure eighteenth-century studies and other Humanities fields.

Members of this list will want to know that the administration of Bucknell University has decided to close the university press in 2026. As many (perhaps most) of you know, Bucknell University Press (founded 1968) is one of the leading publishers of eighteenth-century studies, particularly since the 1990s. The current series is *Transits: Literature, Thought & Culture, 1650-1850*, which I began in 2010, and which has been ably edited by Miriam Wallace and Mona Narain since 2019, when I retired from Bucknell. I venture to suggest that hundreds of people who subscribe to this list have published books or essays or both with Bucknell, and that hundreds more read BUP books and draw on them in their research and teaching.

The termination of BUP will diminish the opportunities available to scholars at every stage of their careers and have a serious adverse impact on eighteenth-century studies (not to mention the other fields in which the press is distinguished, such as Latin American studies and Iberian literatures and cultures). Not only will *Transits* go, but so will other series that publish work in the long 18C: *New Studies in the Age of Goethe, Scènes francophones: Studies in French & Francophone Theater*, *Studies in 18th-Century Scotland*, *Aperçus: Histories Texts Cultures,* and the annuals, *The Age of Johnson,* and *1650-1850: Ideas, Aesthetics and Inquiries in the Early Modern Era*.

The purpose of this message is informational, not to argue or speculate about the political and economic reasons for the University's decision. Suffice it to say that it is an echo of other 'defundings' that are occurring nationally (NEH, NEA, NPR, USAid, etc.), and that the decision was sudden and arbitrary. (Press staff were notified half an hour before a public announcement.) If members of this list wish to communicate their sense of the value of BUP and their disappointment at its unnecessary destruction, they can write to the following: President John Bravman, bravman @bucknell.edu; Provost Wendy Sternberg, wendy.stemberg @bucknell.edu; and University Press director Suzanne Guiod, Suzanne.guiod @bucknell.edu. (An email to the administrators should, I think, be copied to Suzanne, who is bearing the brunt of responsibilities and who would, I imagine, appreciate the support.)--Greg Clingham

Join Us for ECASECS 2025

Join colleagues this October 9-11 at Washington College in Chestertown, Maryland, for this year's ECASECS conference. With the theme "The Ebbs and Flows of the Eighteenth Century and Eighteenth-Century Studies," the 2025 meeting is just around the bend! The conference begins Thursday evening at the Center for Environment & Society Building on the waterfront campus, offering views of the river and historic Chester. We'll kick off an exciting (and very 18th-century couple of days) with Peter Staffel again chairing our Oral-Aural Experience. Peter will be armed with anthologies for "adventures in Neoclassical and modern rhymed poetry," but he encourages members to bring their own favorites to read. We are still in the process of developing the full program, but we have a few things in the works for our program participants and attendees. There will be sessions on Friday and Saturday morning and afternoon. The business luncheon will be Saturday, followed by Brett Wilson's Presidential Address, a thematically centered talk on islands (title TBD). Please visit the conference website as we get closer: https://ecasecs2025conference. wordpress. com. A portion of the conference is supported by the Maryland 250 Commission, offsetting the cost of the conference per participant, but also supporting a special plenary session on the digital humanities, archives, and minority voices that takes place on that Friday.

If you will attend, we ask that you register as soon as possible using the link at the website. The registration fee ($130 and $25 for students) includes the cost of the business lunch on Saturday. The guest registration charge of $20 does not cover the lunch, but it does cover the coffee breaks spread across the two conference days. As a reminder, all presenters must be members of ECASECS. Payments for registration or for membership dues can be by check payable to "ECASECS" and mailed to Executive Secretary, Kevin Cope. His mailing address appears on the registration site and at www.ec-asecs.org (it's 9 Tamarack Trail / Camden, ME 04843.. The registration fee goes up on 2 October to $160 ($50 for student).

For lodging, the conference organizers privilege the Comfort Inn, a pet friendly hotel that offers free parking, free WIFI and free hot breakfast, and that is a short walking distance to campus. Downtown, there are inns such as the White Swan Tavern, a small colonial-era guesthouse. Traveling to Washington College is a 90-minutes car ride from Philadelphia or Baltimore's airports; and a 60-minutes car ride from the Amtrak train station in Wilmington, DE or New Carrolton in the DC area.

If you are a graduate student presenting a paper at the meeting, please apply for the Society's Sven Eric Molin Prize for the best paper presented by a student. ECASECS established the Molin Prize in 1989 to encourage the participation of graduate students. The winner receives $250 and recognition in the *The Eighteenth-Century Intelligencer*. Please contact Dr. David Palumbo, Chair of the prize committee, at david.m.palumbo636 @gmail.com to have your paper considered for the Molin Prize. We will have book displays from the University of Delaware Press and tentatively Bucknell University Press. It is important that we show our support to academic presses, especially now. If you

have any questions about the conference, please contact the 2025 organizers, Elena Deanda Camacho and Victoria Barnett-Woods at ecasecs2025@ gmail.com, or directly at vbarnettwoods2 @washcoll.edu and edeanda2 @washcoll.edu. We are looking forward to welcoming many new and returning members to the ECASECS conference in Chestertown.--Victoria Barnett-Woods

News of Members and Announcements

As noted on the masthead page, we thank **Robert Walker** and **Mel New** for paying for printing this volume, and welcome from others help subventing next year's. Also, we'd love to have a member offer to host a future meeting at his or her institution or town. As for content, the Spring issue needs a syllabus or pedagogical essay, and the editor is collecting comments on the new ESTC and, as noted above, tributes to formative secondary studies by scholars who took degrees in the 21C. We are pleased to welcome **Fay Beauchamp**, who took her PhD in English from Penn in the 1970s, has retired from the Community College of Philadelphia, and has long studied Chinese and Japanese literature & culture. The Academic Studies Press will be publishing in 2026 or 2027 a Russian translation of **Barbara Benedict**'s *Making the Modern Reader: Cultural Mediation in Early Modern Literary Anthologies* (Princeton UP, 1996; rpt. 2020). Barbara has a forthcoming article on anthologies in the online German periodical *Connotations*. Her essay "The Satire of Learning: Voyage III" appears in *The Cambridge Companion to Jonathan Swift's* Gulliver's Travels, ed. by Nicholas Seager (CUP, 2023). She published "Toxic Love: Gender and Genre in Frances Sheridan's *Memoirs of Sidney Bidulph*" in *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* [*ECF*], 35.2 (April 2023), and "'Playing with her bracelet and Rings': Jewelry, Character and Objectification in Jane Austen's Novels" in *Persuasion*, 44 (Spring 2023). **Victoria Barnett-Woods**, who is organizing our fall conference, took students at Washington College on a study tour this past June to Yorkshire. Vicki co-authored "'My Chief Pleasure has been Books': On Teaching the *Letters of the Late Ignatius Sancho*" in *ECF*, Oct. 2024. **Lisa Berglund**, a department chair for about nine of the past twelve years at Buffalo State, also serves as president of the Dictionary Society of North America and chaired its biennial meeting this past May in Buffalo.

Samara Cahill has edited and posted vol. 3.1 of *Studies in Religion and Enlightenment*. Its six essays relate to themes discussed at the SCSECS conference "The Quixotic 18C," which Sam chaired in 2023, including **Susan Spencer**'s "An Impossible Dream and Nightly Quests: The Quixotic Impulse in Kim Man-jung's *Kuumong* and Nguyễn Du's *Truyên Kiêu*." Sam continues to edit the book reviews in *1650-1850*. **Kevin Cope**, its general editor, saw publication of his 30th volume in July 2025 (Bucknell UP, 274 pp.). ECASECS contributors include **Victoria Barnett-Woods, Christopher Johnson, A. W. Lee,** and **Susan Spencer**. In the recent issue of *Swift Studies* appears the lengthy resource by **Andrew Carpenter**: "Subscription Book Publishing in Dublin, 1700-1750; A Preliminary Annotated Checklist (List A), with a Checklist of Subscription Proposals Issued in Dublin, 1683-1750 (List B), and a Select List of Books Published in England, 1700-1750 which Attracted

Significant Attention from Irish Subscribers (List C)" (40 [2025], 11-178). The annual begins with **Hermann Real's** Preface full of news about the Ehrenpreis Center and the global Swift brotherhood. **Lorna Clark**--still editing the *Burney Letter* and contributing twice to this *Intelligencer*--has edited vol. 2: 1785-1793 of *The Letters of Dr. Charles Burney* (OUP), which **Stephen Clarke** will review for us. **Greg Clingham** is traveling this month to England and then to South Africa, in part to pursue his research on Lady Anne Barnard. We thank him for his efforts--as in the article above--to drum up persuasive opposition to Bucknell University's closing its press so valuable to us in literary & historical studies. We're relieved that contracted books for 2026 publication will be published.

Thomas M. Curley, a distinguished teacher and scholar of Samuel Johnson et al., died in his 81st year in early March. Tom presented at several EC-ASECS sessions on Johnson in the past decade. He was very direct and engaging, and the funeral home's comments pages after the obituary have many deeply affectionate remarks by his neighbors (e.g. "the warmest, kindest man I've ever known"). *The Boston Globe* carried an obituary on 7-8 March. Tom was valedictorian at Boston College in 1965 (with a major in English and minor in Latin) and took his PhD from Harvard University in 1970. He then taught at Bridgewater State University for fifty years. He was the author of *Samuel Johnson and the Age of Travel* (1976) and, more importantly, the biography *Sir Robert Chambers: Law, Literature and Empire in the Age of Johnson* (1998). His last book was *Samuel Johnson, the Ossian Fraud, and the Celtic Revival in Great Britain and Ireland* (2009). **A. W. Lee** has ensured that the forthcoming *Scriblerian* (58.1) carries a good obituary and tribute to Tom. **Matthew Davis** brought out in March his first issue and the first digital issue of ***The Johnsonian News Letter*** (76.1), 86 pp. with a colorful cover illustration of Samuel Johnson in the manner of a stain-glass window. As noted here in March, besides Matt in many short articles, four other members contributed articles to that March issue. The fall issue appeared this month. Matt's email is jnleditor3@gmail.com. One of the spring contributors, **Adam Potkay**, serving on the editorial board of *JNL*, notes that the issue is available with open access in an archive that has all back issues (reaching back 80 years): https://johnsoniannewsletter.org/archive/.

Marilyn Francus presented "Virginia Woolf and the Burneys" at the annual meeting of the Burney Society of North America, held in June at Rutgers' New Brunswick campus. **Susan Howard** will be finishing this fall her book MS entitled "Women Writing at Windsor: Self, Sociability, and Space, 1780-1848." The monograph focuses on Caroline Herschel, Frances Burney, Mary Delany, and Charlotte Papendiek. It is under contract with Clemson UP and will appear in the series "Eighteenth-Century Moments" edited by **Greg Clingham**. **Christine Jackson-Holzberg** has been editing the fourth volume of Shaftesbury's correspondence. Due to the death of her co-editor Friedrich A. Uehlein last year and her own medical travails, she imagines it will not appear until 2026. Christine has also done some research to assist an Italian scholar working on a book about Thomas Johnson, the infamous bookseller in Holland, who specialized in English-language knockoffs from The Hague and then Rotterdam (that publication is a year off). The Dec. 2024 issue of *Restoration and 18C Theater Research* has a tribute to Robert Hume by Derek Hughes. This

journal now published by Penn State UP and edited by Anne Greenfield offered me open web access at "Scholarly Publishing Collective"--it includes reviews of books and performances, as of the Royal Shakespeare Company's July 2024 production of Sheridan's *The School for Scandal*--and also Alexandra Huitquist's article on the "Restoring Aphra Behn" conference in Canterbury in July 2024.

Our member **Beverly Jerold Scheibert** passed away March 1, 2024, in Cranbury, NJ. Born in 1938 in Erie, PA, Beverly attended the Eastman School of Music and Syracuse U., taking her bachelor's in music in 1960 and an M.A. in 1961; in the 1970s she studied at Boston U. and the New England Conservatory of Music, where she took harpsichord. She was the organist and choir director at Christ Church, Cambridge, Mass., installing there a historic manual organ in 1976. Later she focused on research, publishing recently *Equal Temperament before 1800: The Ear versus Numbers* (Brebols, 2023), and *Disinformation in Mass Media: Gluck, Piccinni and the 'Journal of Paris'* in 2021 (Routledge, 2021)--the latter is reviewed here in March 2022 (36.1: 48-49). Beverly enjoyed playing historic organs while in Europe on her many trips to libraries. She is survived by son David Scheibert of Las Cruces and daughter Marie Scheibert of Grafton, MA, as well as grandchildren and siblings.

Congratulations to **Suvir Kaul** on his retirement from Penn and best wishes for his writing and research projects in the future. There are reflections on Suvir and his book *Poems of Nation, Anthems of Empire* (2001) by his former student Sal Nicolazzo in "On Radical Precision: Suvir Kaul's Lessons for a Time of Monsters" (summer *ECS*, v. 58.4). *The Scriblerian* for fall 2024 appeared (that for spring 2025 is at the press). Besides adding some new features, Editor **A. W. Lee** (Tony) secured reviews by very distinguished scholars for many of the books, such as Max Novak for Nick Seager's edition of Defoe's letters, Paul Baines for H. Erskine-Hill's biography of Pope, and and Pat Rogers for the CUP edition of Anne Finch. There are many reviews by members, including many by **Robert Walker**, one of the field's best reviewers as readers of the *Intelligencer* know (we are favored with another above). Bob is one of four "senior editors" who are longstanding members of ECASECS, others being **John Dussinger, Maureen Mulvihill**, and **Jessica Sheetz-Nguyen**. Other reviewers are Tony himself, Sabrina Baron, **John Dussinger, Ian Higgins, Linda Merians, Mel New, Leah Orr, Elizabeth Porter**, and, with more than one, **Martha Bowden** and **Samara A. Cahill**. **Mel New**'s edition of *The Correspondents* attributed to Lyttelton and Apphia Peach and his collection *Textual and Critical Intersections* are here reviewed, along with, by Nick Seager, Mel and Tony Lee's edited collection of essays *Notes on Footnotes*. Other members with work reviewed include **J. A. Downie** and N. Seager's *The Oxford Handbooks of Daniel Defoe*; **Jeremy Chow** and W.S. Johnson, eds., *Unsetting Sexuality: Queer Horizons in the Long 18C* (reviewed by Tony Lee), **Peter Sabor**'s co-edited CUP edition of John Cleland's *Correspondence*, and--reviewed by **Phil Jones--Philip Smallwood'**s *The Literary Criticism of Samuel Johnson*. **Ashley Marshall,** signing off as again at Nevada--Reno, has a lengthy tribute to the late Ronald Paulson, and **Jim May** added a survey of rare book & MSS sales in early 2024. **Thomas Manganaro** contributed "What Background Is and Is Not in Defoe and Richardson" to *ECF*, and immediately before it

appears **Leah Orr**'s "Plot, Fable, and the Novel: Intrigue and Early 18C Fiction" (37 [2025], 17-36 and 37-43). **Jack Lynch** and **J. T. Scanlan** saw publication of *The Age of Johnson* by Bucknell UP (210 pp.). It includes J.V. Hirschmann, M.D., "Samuel Johnson's Medical Ailments"; **Matthew M. Davis**, "Johnson, American Radicalism, and the Modes of Migration"; **Stephen Clarke**'s "Books from Samuel Johnson's Library in the Hyde Collection"; the late Mona Scheuermann on Boswell's *Account of Corsica*; **Mel New**'s review essay "The Coroner's Inquest on English Departments in 18C Scholarship; and such reviews as **Adam Potkay**'s of Denis Duncan's *Index: A History of the* and **Catherine Parisian**'s of Freya Johnston's *Jane Austen, Early and Late*.

Sylvia Kasey Marks published "Little People Matter in *David Copperfield* and *Barnaby Rudge*" in the summer 2024 issue of *Dickensian*--not entirely outside our century for the latter novel is set during the Gordon Riots of 1780. When **April London**'s *Cambridge Guide to the 18C Novel* appears, it will contain four of Sylvia's articles on Elizabeth Pinchard. **Maureen Mulvihill** contributed "Endnotes" at the back of this issue, being timely information on the Digital Humanities, Edmond Malone, trade cards, and Yale's new Mary Beale portrait. For the July 2025 *Rare Book Hub* (online), she published "2025 Detroit Book Fair," a feature essay with photos & quotations from event organizers. And for *Fine Books & Collections* (Summer, 2025), she contributed "New York Irish," illustrated, on the American-Irish Historical Society, Fifth Ave. To her collection of special books, she added three recent gifts. *Ulysses in Hand* (exhibition catalogue, Rosenbach Museum, 2000), Justin McCarthy's *Short History of Ireland* (1892); and the profusely illustrated edition of *Ireland: Its Scenery, Character, &c*. by Mr and Mrs S.C. Hall [Anna & Sam. Carter Hall], 3 vols (NY: R. Worthington; "A New Edition", undated; 1st ed., 1841-1843). After serving as a Senior Editor to *The Scriblerian* 57.1-58.1 (2024-25)--including writing reviews and developing content,--Maureen will be leaving to focus on the auction consignment or private sale of her rare book collection; she will prepare an illustrated catalogue for this "sad, serious task." The Princeton Research Forum newsletter will run an illustrated interview on the project. Her essay on sonic poetics by early women writers will be hosted on MusicAir website (2026) by UK soprano Georgina Colwell, Royal Society of Musicians. All working on Sterne will need to think through **Melvyn New**'s capstone essay "*The Shandean* and the Florida Edition: Toward a New Biography of Laurence Sterne" in *Philological Quarterly*, 103.1 (2024), 37-52. Mel notes that there are discoveries since Cash's biography 50 years ago (many by Kenneth Monkman in *The Shandean* and some in the letters Mel edited with Peter de Voogd), and new insights will come from the sermons and the subscribers to Sterne's works (on which **Robert Walker** has published many recent notes), but it becomes increasingly difficult to master the man, his influences, and the era. Congratulations to **Steve Newman** for winning ASECS's James L. Clifford Prize for best essay on 18C studies: "Late Smith and the African's War Dance: Contested Values and Temporalities in Liberal Aesthetics" (i.e. Adam Smith in 1795) published in *ELH*, 91.2 (summer 2024). BTW, ASECS's Gottschalk Prize for a book went to Asheesh Kapur Siddique for *The Archive of Empire: Knowledge, Conquest, and the Making of the Early Modern British World* (Yale

UP, 2024). **John O'Brien** published "William Congreve, *The Mourning Bride*, and the Modernity of Entertainment" in *Restoration*'s Fall 2024 issue (48.2). He reviewed Elizabeth Kraft's *A Cultural History of Comedy in the Age of Enlightenment* in the January *ECL*. **Catherine Parisian**, now President of the South-Central Society for 18C Studies, is organizing the 2026 SCSECS (see below). The most recent *ECS* contains **Chelsea Phillips**'s review of *Laboring Mothers* by Ellen Ledoux, reviewed in our Sept 2024 issue by **Frances Singh**. **Adam Potkay** has published in the most recent issue of *Modern Philology*, "*Concordia Discors* at World's End: Pope, Voltaire, Wordsworth" (123.1 [Aug. 2025], 67-86)--on the continuation of the cosmic principle into Voltaire and Wordsworth. **Elizabeth Powers** is writing a biographical-critical study of Goethe, now from the quiet Wertheim Room at the NYPL. The library's blog on researchers says her book MS is entitled "An Unmarried Man: How Goethe Became Goethe." Her inquiry in marriage as problematic in Goethe's early works began when her article on Goethe's play *Clavigo* called her attention to the resemblance between the protagonist who chooses not to marry in the play with Goethe's account of himself in his biographical *Poetry and Truth*.

John Scanlan worked in Edinburgh's libraries last March while studying the "legal-literary atmosphere of the Scottish Enlightenment, working with the papers of Boswell, David Dalrymple (later Lord Hailes), and a great range of legal tomes from the Advocates Library crucial to 18C legal education." John has a second project also under sail, on the intellectual lives of scholars who served in the military during WW2 and then joined academia as 18C specialists. **Jessica Sheetz-Nguyen** is compiling the first of several volumes providing a documentary chronicle of the "ornament of the Metropolis," titled *Foundling, Funding, and Locating the London Foundling Hospital* for Routledge. Vol. 2 will be titled "The Art of Caring" and will gather the works of 18C contributors to and critics of the Hospital. **Eleanor Shevlin** survived to retire this summer from West Chester U.--she worked so hard I feared the job or drive would kill her. She's Alive! to volunteer time to train student editors, and she'll continue to run the Washington Area Group on Print Culture Studies. It has usually met at the LC since 2000 on the first Friday of month (3:30-5:00), but begins this fall in Zoom. N. that November 7th offers Geoffrey Turnovsky, author of *Reading Typographically: Immersed in Print in Early Modern France* (Stanford 2024).

Jacob Sider Jost presented to the Columbia Seminar on the 18C in February "Paranoia, Diversion, and Semblance: Reading and Suffering in William Cowper." **Susan Spencer** co-published with Anh Dinh "Journeying to the West in *The Tale of Kiêu*: Landscape, Gardens, and the Directional Impulse in Vietnam's National Epic" in the spring *ECS*. We're happy to welcome to ECASECS **Karen Stolley**, Professor of Spanish at Emory U., who teaches colonial and 18C Spanish-American literature and transatlantic literary & cultural studies. Karen took her PhD from Yale in 1992 and has published such studies as *Domesticating Empire: Enlightenment in Spanish America*. Vol. 61 of *Studies in Bibliography*, edited by **David Vander Meulen**, offers six essays treating 18C works. Among them is **Stephen Clarke**'s "Extra-Illustrating Horace Walpole's *Description* of Strawberry Hill: Three Case Studies" (233-54). Illustrations are also at the heart of James McLaverty's "The Engravings of

Pope's *Works* II (1735): '*Envy* must own, I live among the Great." In addition to essays on Charles Dibdin and UVA's first library, there are John Bidwell's "The Sources of the Sussex Declaration: A Reconsideration" and John Considine's "Jonathan Richardson, Charles Chauncy, and the Manuscripts of Pope." We thank **Jane Wessel** for reworking her 2024 Presidential Address to provide our lead article. Jane's "Staging the London Charter Crisis and Policing Political Participation in John Crowne's *City Politique*" appears in the spring *Restoration* (49.1: 23-45). She examines how the Tory playwright in 1682 attempted to "limit the political participation . . . of non-elite classes" while showing "misunderstanding and abuse of the city charter." **James Woolley** and **Steve Karian** have submitted the finished typescript of their edition of Swift's poems to Cambridge UP. James writes, "In the fullness of time, as they say, the edition will be issued both on paper and electronically as Vols. 3-6 of the Cambridge Edition of the Works of Jonathan Swift." We're very proud of our colleagues!

Announcements

Western SECS meets 13-14 Feb. 2026 (on "18C Collaborations") at Allan Hancock College in Santa Maria, CA, chaired by Alina Romo and Kacie Wills.

Organized by Prof. Parisian, the **South-Central SECS** meets 19-21 February in Pinehurst, NC, with the theme "Sports, Recreation, Leisure, and All Manners of Pleasure in the 18C." She has secured British Olympian **Peter Radford** for a plenary (he is the author of *They Run with Surprising Swiftness: The Women Athletes of Earl y Modern Britain*, 2023, reviewed here by Yvonne Noble. Proposals are due 25 Sept. (Catherine.Parisian @uncp.edu).

Southeast ASECS meets 5-7 March at Cumberland U. in Lebanon, TN (on "the 18C in the Digital Age"). Martha Bowden gives a keynote. There'll be mask making and a masquerade ball. Contact Helen Hunt (hhunt @tntech.edu).

ASECS meets 9-11 April at the Sheraton Philadelphia Downtown (the program is still open); then 1-3 April 2027 ASECS is in Oregon, at Portland's Downtown Hilton (OR); and 6-8 April 2028, at the Richmond Marriott.

When I surveyed sites of interest in the Lancaster area prior to our 2024 conference, I should have noted the **National Watch and Clock Museum** in Columbia, PA (15 miles or so west of Lancaster on the Susquehanna): founded by a Society, it has the best collection in North America of horological devices.

Two recent publications acknowledge support from ASECS's **Irish-American** travel fellowship named for its founder, the late **A. C. Elias, Jr**., once an ECASECS regular. Those books are the Cambridge critical edition of Goldsmith's *The Vicar of Wakefield*, ed. by Aileen Douglas and Elias-prize fellow Ian Campbell Ross, and Amy Prendergast's *Mere Bagatelles: Women's Diaries from Ireland, 1760-1910* (Liverpool UP, 2024). This fellowship for research on 18C Ireland has a deadline of **1 Nov**. (see ASECS's webpages).

Liverpool U. Press is now the publisher of *Oxford University Studies on the Enlightenment* (formerly *SVEC*) from the Voltaire Foundation. In addition last October it began to publish ***The Bodleian Library Record*** (1914-).

The **London Rare Books School at the Institute of English Studies**, U of London, runs summer classes. From 16-20 June 2025 the six classes included A History of Maps & Mapping with Katherine Parker; English Bookbinding Styles with David Pearson, Bookshops & Booksellers: Five Centuries of Selling Books

with Rachel Calder & Andrew Nash, etc. The second round of classes, 23-27 June, included European Bookbinding, 1450-1820 with Nicholas Pickwoad, etc.

The **Library Company of Philadelphia** in April announced "the acquisition . . . from a longtime friend and shareholder: The William Woys Weaver Collection of **Culinary Ephemera,"** with more than 5,500 items representing Dr. Weaver's decades of collecting and studying culinary history & foodways, particularly of southeastern Pennsylvania (strongest for long 19C).

Chawton House in Hampshire has mounted an exhibition, through 21 April, on "**Mary Robinson**: Actress, Mistress, Writer, Radical," the first exhibition devoted to the actress (c. 1756 - 1800). She became mistress of the Prince of Wales after he saw her perform Perdita in *The Winter's Tale*. Besides being a fashion-setting celebrity, she wrote over a dozen works of poetry and seven novels. The exhibition offers the first public viewing of the manuscript memoir she was writing shortly before dying, on loan from the Chequers Trust. Robinson is ravishing in John Hoppner's 1782 oil portrait of her. **Chawton House** all this year is celebrating Jane Austen's 250th anniversary with the exhibit "Jane Austen and the Art of Writing" and various festivals as for *Pride and Prejudice* in January, *Sense and Sensibility* in May, *Emma* in July, and *Persuasion* in September.

This past 31 October was unveiled a bronze recasting of the **John Keats life-mask** mounted on a stone plinth in Moorgate near where Keats lived when his father was hostler at a livery stable where Moorhead metro station is today. The statue stands on a slate inscribed with lines from Keats' *Ode on Indolence* ("My sleep has been embroider'd with dim dreams . . . | With flowers"). The life mask was cast when the poet was 21; a plaster cast is owned by the Keats House Museum in Hampstead. The bronze face is larger than life: it was scanned and expanded with the aid of digital technology by British sculptor Martin Jennings. The monument was paid for by Alderman Bob Hall, who has funded other memorials, as of John Donne.

Beverly Schneller sent me an article posted by the *Financial Times* on 24 January, by John Gapper, on Blackstone's **Steve Schwarzman**'s paying record prices for paintings by Joshua Reynolds and Thomas Gainsborough, collection building that goes in hand with his restoring the 17C Conholt Park in Wiltshire. He bought Reynolds' "Portrait of Lady Worsley"--Seymour Fleming, who married the first Earl of Harewood--from the present Earl for £25mn and also Gainsborough's "Lady Bate-Dudley (1787), previously loaned to the Tate. He has collected also for his mansion in Newport, RI, which will become a private museum after he and his wife die.

We need reviewers for two books in Bucknell UP's transit series in 2025: *Revisiting Richardson*, edited by Rebecca Anne Barr and Bonnie Latimer, featuring nine essays that aim to update the critical debate on his works by looking at popular recent topics involving gender, sexuality, selfhood, and religion (200 pp.); and Kathleen Tamayo Alvarez's *Body Language: Medicine and the 18C Comic Novel*, on the intersection of comic fiction (Fielding, Smollett, Lennox, et al.) with medical discourse (John Friend, Thomas Sydenham, et al.), discovering male anxieties (as over unruled wives).

On the **cover illustration** of Elizabeth Canning, see p. 21 above.

Endnotes
~ occasional gleanings ~

By Maureen E. Mulvihill
Princeton Research Forum, NJ.

Digital Humanities ~ Old School / New School.
Traditionally, the single-author monograph from an established university press has been the gold standard in evaluating academic merit. But no more!

Emerging digital technologies have now challenged – if not reset –the entire evaluation process for academic hiring, promotion, tenure, and scholastic value.

Endnotes is pleased to alert colleagues to MLA's official new *Guidelines for Evaluating Digital Scholarship* (digital version, online). Colleagues may now educate chairpersons, deans, and committees on the legitimacy of their digital work with recourse to MLA's evaluation principles and protocols.

Welcoming your inquiries and suggestions is Project Director Alan Liu, Professor of English, UC-Santa Barbara <ayliu@english.ucsb.edu>.

Pope's *Dunciad* Logo: From Book Arts to 'Trademark.'
Centuries before the original *Scriblerian* journal adopted the amusing ass-and-owl logo from Pope's *Dunciad Variorum* (1729) -- one of the most articulate paratextual elements in 18th-century English poetry -- certain enterprising bookmen were capitalizing on the logo's authority by displaying it on trade cards and trade signs. Yes, this was savvy optics: immediate advertising. But this was also an early form of trademarking. And it illustrated an important cultural process: commercial repurposing of familiar literary iconography.

Robert Withy, at his Dunciad bookshop in Cornhill, London, selected the *Dunciad* logo and the title of Pope's masterwork, *c1*757, to 'brand' his business. He effectively trademarked the logo for his own purposes by displaying it on his trade card, and probably on his shop's signage, thereby attracting customers to satirical material in his inventory. (See images at P. Spedding, *Eighteenth-Century Trade Cards*, online; also four Withy records, Walpole Library, Yale.)

Withy may have been inspired by the earlier example, *c*1749, of Ralph Griffiths, successful editor/publisher of the *Monthly Review*, whose shop on Paternoster-Row was distinguished by its trade sign of the *Dunciad* logo. Griffiths' 'warning sign', so-called, told jobbing writers from the commercial

hackery of Grub Street, that Griffiths, as Pope before him, would not tolerate dullness. To date, Endnotes has not located a trade card for Griffiths, nor a rendering of his 'warning' sign, but it is mentioned by contemporaries and 19th-century writers; see E. Kent, *Goldsmith* (1933), 10-32; *Southey's Commonplace Book* (1850), 709, n.159. The author thanks *Dunciad* specialist, David Vander Meulen, a former Wisconsin classmate, for mentioning Ralph Griffiths.

Edmond Malone's *Tempest Theory* (1808) Enjoys A Second Life.

In addition to his contribution to Boswell's biography of Johnson, Edmond Malone (1741-1812) was a respected Shakespeare scholar. Malone's original work, *An Account of the Incidents from which the title and part of the story of Shakespeare's Tempest were derived : and its true date ascertained* (London: Baldwin, 1808; privately printed), argued that Shakespeare's play was inspired by a 1609 shipwreck of Jamestown colonists off the coast of Bermuda. Malone's work was published as a pamphlet (36 pp.; 22.3 x 14. x 1.2. cm), bound in marble paper wraps; print run 80 copies, each inscribed to a named recipient.

Malone's work has received fresh attention from American collector and Boswell scholar, Terry Seymour. In his newest book, *Edmond Malone's Tempest Theory: An Account of the Creation, Distribution, and Survival* (Gainesville, FL.: Sleepy Zebra Press, 2024), Mr Seymour provides a first-ever census of extant copies of Malone's 1808 '*Tempest* theory' pamphlet. Scouring library catalogues, auction records, and information on private collections, Seymour offers a procedural model of the destiny of a special work in modern times. An important, beautifully produced book in marble boards, designed by Charles Brown, Sleepy Zebra Press, FL. Orders: Amazon Books.

Women & the Visual Arts: Mary Beale at Yale / Art Herstory.

After extended renovations, the Yale Center for British Art has reopened with a festive program of events hosted by Paul Mellon Director, Martina Droth.

Summoning special attention was the Center's recent acquisition, *An Unknown Woman* (*c*1675). Though unsigned and undated, it has been identified as the work of Mary Beale (1633-1699), England's first professional woman painter. The portrait is included in a new installation "Five Centuries of British Art" (374 works, early 16th century-2025; Fourth Floor Gallery).

The Center acquired the painting in 2024 from Peter Harrison Fine Art, London, which made the Beale attribution. The pose Beale used is closely based on a model developed by Sir Peter Lely; and the sitter may have been Elizabeth Wriothesley, Countess of Northumberland (1646-1690). It is known that Beale copied, in miniature, Lely's portrait of her, and that Beale may have painted a full-size version, perhaps the present painting at Yale.

Keeping us current on women in the Visual Arts is *Art Herstory* newsletter from Erika Gaffney (online). Erika brings several decades of experience with the former Ashgate Publishing imprint (London, UK; Burlington, VT.) and is presently with Amsterdam UP, NL., where she is Senior Commissioning Editor.

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James E. May, editor
1423 Hillcrest Road
Lancaster, Pennsylvania 17603
U.S.A.