

The Eighteenth-Century Intelligencer



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

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My Journal of the Plague Year

EC/ASECS Presidential Address, October 2021

By Joanne E. Myers, Gettysburg College

I bought Defoe's *A Journal of the Plague Year* on 27 September 1999; the receipt from Chicago's Seminary Coop bookstore shows that I also bought, that day, Watt's *Rise of the Novel*, Armstrong's *Desire and Domestic Fiction*, and Bender's *The Rise of the Penitentiary* – all required for my first graduate seminar. In the weeks before classes started, trying to get a jump on the reading, alone in my studio apartment, I picked up the *Journal* and devoured it in just a couple of days. I have loved it ever since: the spare, matter of fact prose; the portrait of a city emptied, hollowed out by death, yet persisting, insisting on its own vitality; the way knowledge dissolves only to resolve on the figure of a man wandering the streets, taking us along with him. I wrote my Master's thesis on the novel, trying to think about what forms of connectedness survive the wreck of social life that H.F. unsparingly depicts. I teach the text regularly – taught it, in fact, in Autumn 2019, in a course on the way social life is refigured around the figure of the modern, urban individual. As you might expect, I did not anticipate writing my own journal of a plague year.

Prelude

In January 2020, I am in BWI to catch a flight to Florida to see an old friend, but I pause on my way to my gate to telephone Mary Margaret Stewart, my emerita colleague and EC/ASECS stalwart, one of the people at the very first EC/ASECS meeting in 1970. My travel is causing me to miss our Friday date to exchange campus gossip. Mary Margaret's voice on the other end of the line is attenuated, tinny: *My doctor says I have something called coronavirus*. I remember the word taking shape in my head, a new word to me, a disease plucked from thin air. *Get some good rest*, I say, *and take whatever drugs they'll give you*. It was a different coronavirus, of course. But trust Mary Margaret to get there first.

Spring 2020: Mistrust of Authority

The novel begins in rumour and implication: "We had no such thing as printed New Papers in those Days," H.F. recalls, "to spread Rumours and Reports of Things, and to improve them by Invention of Men, as I have liv'd to see practis'd since. But such things as these were gather'd from the Letters of Merchants, and others, who corresponded abroad, and from them was handed about by Word of Mouth only ... it seems that the Government had a true Account of it, and several Counsels were held about Ways to prevent its coming over; but all was kept very private."¹

Monday, 2 March 2020: Sitting in my book history class a few minutes before we get started, I glance ahead on the syllabus while student chit-chat washes over me. Just a few days until spring break. There's a lull in the chat, and I look up: *Have you heard about this coronavirus that's spreading in*

China? It's starting to make me nervous, just a little. A few nods. No one is sure what to say next. They have heard too, or caught headlines on their phones: *Wuhan, bats. A nursing home in Washington State is locked down.* A thin wire of anxiety in the air as we turn the talk to midterms, study guides, shuttles to the airport.

Friday, 13 March 2020: At four in the afternoon, I am in the supermarket shopping for a few groceries for my parents, who are getting back to town after ten days criss-crossing the south from Charleston, South Carolina, to Atlanta. That afternoon I got an automated phone call telling me that, after dismissal, my daughters' school will close for two weeks. I have no idea how I am going to juggle teaching and having them home for that long.

When I pulled into the supermarket carpark, I registered a large number of cars than usual. As I make my way up and down the aisles, I see people putting extra items into their carts. *This is silly*, I think to myself. *What's going to happen, are the grocery stores going to close?* I notice as I pass the toilet paper aisle that the shelves are bare. I decide to ignore this and keep going. At some point I heave a ten-pound bag of rice into my cart for my mother. *Just in case*, I think. In the bulk food aisle, a woman is methodically filling a large Ziploc bag with neon gummi worms.

In the *Journal*, rumour soon gives way to mistrust. "People began to be easy, the whole Bill also was very low, for the Week before," H.F. notes, "the Bill was but 347, and the Week above-mentioned but 343: We continued in these Hopes for a few Days. But it was but for a few; for the People were no more to be deceived thus; they search the Houses, and found that the Plague was really spread every way, and that many died of it every Day. ..." (9). Throughout the texts, numbers and sums come to typify the simultaneous compulsion to demystify the plague's spread and the novel's relentless undermining of any attempt to measure its spread.

Late Spring 2020: Like most institutions, mine extends spring break for a week. We are told to use the extra time to prepare to teach online. There is one in-person workshop in using Zoom before campus shuts down. I live two blocks away but am told I can't go to my office, can't retrieve any more books. For a few weeks, my husband is able to work from home, but soon he is declared an essential worker and has to report for work in person. Though he flexes his schedule as much as possible to be home by mid-afternoon, for the rest of spring, I juggle teaching my classes with supervising schooling for my daughters, ages six and four.

Most mornings, I get up early to squeeze in some work before the girls wake up: my husband leaves around 5.30, so that's when I wake, trying to push through as much of my reading as possible before anyone starts to stir. My older daughter knows she can't interrupt me before 7.30; sometimes, if she wakes earlier than that, I let her crawl in next to me with a copy of one of Raina Telgemeier's graphic novels, and we read silently together. After breakfast we assess what "homework" – a word now tinged with irony – their teachers have assigned. Second grade yields a reliable flow of assignments. The math folder bulges with worksheets: worksheets that are lessons, worksheets that are practice sheets, and still more worksheets that are review sheets, practice tests, or chapter tests, all labelled in an intricate binomial system my own higher education has not prepared me to decipher. In the

course of doing the research for a science project on an endangered species, we learn that male giant pandas do handstands while urinating. Meanwhile, my younger daughter's Pre-K teacher has gone to ground, telling us to "be in touch if you need anything." Intermittently, a few worksheets arrive for tracing letters and numbers. Lego cities and blanket forts start to proliferate in the living and dining rooms.

From the college I get a steady stream of emails that suggest the whole future of the institution hinges on my ability to make videos no longer than five minutes in length with engaging graphics that take into the nuances of something called cognitive load theory. I spend the afternoons in our study teaching or grading or reading promotion files, headphones on, the volume turned up to drown out the shrieks of laughter and outrage from elsewhere in the house. My students write me to tell me they are losing motivation, that they can't focus, that they are anxious all the time, that they or their parents have COVID. I write emails telling them we can reweight assignments on the syllabus, that there are worse things than not turning in a paper, that they need to be gentle with themselves. One evening at 11 p.m. after recording and rerecording a Screencast-o-Matic mini-lecture, I have to learn how to mirror the video so that the flashcards I made show up properly, a process that takes until midnight. The College president keeps reminding us how important our work is, that we need to do extra outreach to all our students, that regrettably our retirement contributions will have to be cut, and that our staff colleagues are being temporarily laid off. We are invited to contribute to a fund for their support until unemployment benefits kick in.

Throughout the *Journal*, H.F. often cites the Bills of Mortality, whose report of weekly deaths he uses first to chart the progress of the plague eastward across London's parishes towards Aldgate, where he lives just beyond the city wall in the east end. Borrowing an approach first used to track the plague in northern Italian city-states, English Bills were produced regularly from the early seventeenth century and were the provenance of the Worshipful Company of Parish Clerks, who had a monopoly on the data. In 1632, the clerks were paid £15 a year by the City of London for printing the Bills; individual weekly Bills sold for a penny, and annual subscriptions for four shillings.² H.F.'s use of data from the Bills seems at first intended to warrant his text's verisimilitude, but the transparency of their accounting is almost immediately called into question. In late May, 1665, H.F. observes, "the Number of the Plague was 17: But the Burials in *St. Giles's* were 53, a frightful Number! Of whom they set down but 9 of the Plague: But on an Examination ... it was found there were 20 more, who were really dead of the Plague in that Parish, but had been set down of the Spotted-Feaver of other Distempers, besides others concealed" (9).

When I teach the *Journal*, I always show my students an image of one of the actual Bills of Mortality. They are fascinated, in part by the different ways disease is described and imagined in the Bills. Some categories are self-explanatory – fever, consumption, small-pox – while others require explanation – strangury, or painful urination, usually evokes a wince, while quinsy, or tonsillitis, provokes appreciation for modern antibiotics. The pathos of some categories lies in what is left unsaid: "Grief, 3"; "Suddenly, 2." I had taught the Bills several times before I learned of the particular sadness

embedded in the categories of “Chrisomes,” infants who died within a month of their christening. Sometimes, a real life is glimpsed in the specificity of its passing: “Broke her skull by a fall in the street at St. Mary’s Wool-church, 1.”

At first, the “coronavirus trackers,” the COVID dashboards, seem to promise a way out: remember the exhortations to “flatten the curve”? We know, intimately, how reassuring it is to see “the data.” We know, intimately, how much relief we feel in brandishing numbers in the face of those who deny their power. We know also, also intimately, the suffocating sense of frustration when others dismiss those numbers as mere rhetoric. If the life and death of someone we love is inscribed in those statistics, we have felt the gap between numbers and truth. In plague-time, though, we want the numbers to mean. Heirs to the enlightenment, even if part of our professional lives entails questioning the logic of enlightenment, we want to believe that empirical reality will drive decision-making, that truth’s transparency will shine through all cobwebs of doubt. For most of the summer, I watch the charts. I have closed off my ability to think much about anything beyond the day or week at hand, but the graphs hint at a different future. It takes a long time before the truth begins to dawn: that almost nothing will be done “based on the numbers”; that my daughters’ school will not close at the local infection rate identified as a cut-off point by the state; that none of the charts I stare at in a summer of Zoom meetings organized by my institution’s well-paid COVID consultant will mean anything when the students get back to campus and the curve begins going up and up and up.

“I shall have frequent occasions,” H.F. says early in the *Journal*, “to speak of the prudence of the Magistrates, their Charity, the Vigilance for the Poor, and for preserving good Order, furnishing Provisions, and the like, when the Plague was increased, as it afterwards was” (35). H.F.’s relationship with authority is ambiguous: he both lauds and undercuts the work done by public officials to curtail the plague’s spread, seeming both to want to believe that the plague can be brought under control and to be compelled to record the failure of all order in the face of the plague’s insidiousness. Noting that the Lord Mayer “appointed Physicians and Surgeons for the Relief of the poor,” H.F. also records the physicians’ failure: “the Plague defied all Medicine,” he writes; “the very Physicians were seized with it, with their Preservatives in their Mouths; and men went about prescribing to others ... till the Tokens were upon them, and they dropt down dead, destroyed by that very Enemy, they directed others to oppose” (34). As the plague progresses, all forms of public order begin to dissolve. In one of the early discussions of the practice of shutting up of houses, H.F., though endorsing the practice, acknowledges it came with risks and costs. “[T]hey blow’d up a Watchman with Gunpowder,” he admits, “and burnt the poor Fellow dreadfully, and ... he made hideous Crys, and no Body would venture to come near to help him. ...” (48).

“Distancing” becomes our byword and our *modus operandi*. “Give people their distance,” I warn the girls when we are in public. Some forms of distance have a certain charm: the very first weekend of lockdown, my older daughter piles boxes of Girl Scout Cookies in a wagon and sets off to deliver them, leaving them on porches while neighbors tape envelopes with cash to their doors. A pianist colleague invites us for a “porch concert” and plays Dvorak for us through an open window. Some evenings, I cross town,

wineglass in hand, and sit in a friend's garden as dusk falls. Having gone years in childhood without seeing my own extended family, I scoff at hand-wringing *New York Times* pieces on the effects on children of a few months' separation from grandparents. Overall, I am extraordinarily lucky: the house sometimes feels too full, too loud, rather than empty. But eventually the charms wear thin and the sadness, feeling like another form of exhaustion, seeps in. My father asks me to meet him on the town square, and sitting at the other end of a bench, tells me he has been diagnosed with a highly treatable but highly virulent form of cancer. We don't hug. In May, I watch a friend of twenty years get married over YouTube. My cousin in London and I can exchange photos of our inflatable pandemic summer pools in real time, but I see friends only on Zoom, on half-second delay. It's not so different, after all, from those hurried transatlantic phone calls of long ago: *Everyone okay? Good, yes, this must be costing you a fortune, love you, yes, love you, good-bye.*

For longer than is reasonable, I hold onto the hope that someone is going to take the helm, provide leadership. The moment does not come. The U.S. President says that it would be "interesting to check" whether injecting disinfectants would kill the coronavirus. My daughters' principal closes school two weeks early "because everyone has worked so hard this year." My summer begins to fill with meetings about how to manage something called "hyflex teaching"; faculty are exhorted to attend a two day workshop on "Teaching in Uncertain Times." The girls and I pick strawberries and create a production line on our back patio washing, slicing, and crushing the fruit to make jam. In "these uncertain times," it seems reasonable to turn the ephemeral days into sweetness.

Every day the *Gettysburg Times* is delivered, and every day I find a way to snag two copies of the *New York Times* from the local grocery store – one for me, one for a neighbor who, being ninety, has sequestered herself completely from the outside world. The girls and I read the papers at breakfast. In early June, when it feels like the country is burning, the *Gettysburg Times* runs a picture of a kitchen fire: *A cooking fire on Confederate Drive extended from the stove to cabinets, according to the Gettysburg Fire Department ...* Apparently, attending crews put out the blaze within fifteen minutes. In the picture, the cabinets are scorched, and paint peels from the wall. My younger daughter, four years old, picks up the *New York Times* and studies the pictures from Minneapolis. *Mama*, she asks, *what did that policeman do to Mr. Floyd?* I think about things I could say. I say, *The policeman knelt on Mr. Floyd's neck until he died, sweetie.*

Summer 2020: Mistrust of Others

The *Journal* contains no account of state-sanctioned killing, even to defend against plague. Its meditations on the shutting up of houses seem to open the door to thinking about the violence that government edicts can inflict, but H.F.'s sympathies are ultimately complex, and he does not spend much time worrying that that any of his fellow citizens that may be especially vulnerable to the forcible application of the magistrates' orders. John Bender has suggested that H.F. rejects the shutting up of houses because he wants to install the law's panoptic eye within himself – that "to have a self" in the

Journal “is to take individual narrative account of the regulating discriminating forces that control the chaos of human nature just as they display and order the abstract grid of the metropolis.”³ Such an argument says something, perhaps, about the tendency of those with social capital to identify with the forces of order in a society, or more particularly about the *impulse* to do so. In the wake of George Floyd’s murder, we have cycled through the predictable round of assertions that his death may have been the result of an errant officer but not an erring system. Bender’s *Journal* is one in which the individual—a distinctively modern individual—is emerging as the locus of knowledge and authority, and hence also of responsibility and liability. I have always found H.F. more troubled by this emergence than Bender allows, more uncomfortable with the way guilt attaches to individuals caught up in a plague they cannot see but must evade if they are to be free of the charge of spreading infection. Questions of harm and liability are knotted through the novel. Still, Bender’s argument may be useful for thinking about our cultural unease with miasmatic responsibility, systemic injustice. How much simpler to devolve everything on the individual, as if the individual can bear that weight. How easy, if one aligns oneself with the authority one also internalizes, to avoid noticing power’s unequal distribution.

In the first week of July, Gettysburg is usually abuzz with visitors who flock to town to celebrate the anniversary of the battle, fought from 1-3 July 1863. This year, the annual reenactment is canceled: no banners in town proclaim DAY 1 PLUS PICKETT’S CHARGE, no men belted into Union general uniforms queue up at the grocery store to buy Gatorade and cupcakes. Instead, rumors that Antifa is planning a rally, a flag-burning, and perhaps a toppling of the Lee statue on Seminary Ridge bring hordes of gun-toting friends of law, order, and white supremacy to town. On Sunday, 4 July, I head home from dropping groceries at my parents’ house on the west side of Gettysburg and idly turn south at the Seminary to see what I can see. Traffic is slowed to a crawl. As I approach the Virginia Monument, a couple of men with automatic rifles slung across their backs amble along the shoulder past my car. Heat shimmers off the road. Though I have heard that there will be mounted state troopers and agents from Homeland Security, all I see are guys with guns. Enveloped in the presumptive innocence of my whiteness, I inch along past the huddled bikers, the women in hoop skirts arm in arm with top-hatted men, the militiamen in hunting fatigues with Confederate flags on their shoulders. Later I learn that a Black colleague from the College who arrived early in the day to place Black Lives Matter flags at several Confederate monuments got heckled: “Go get your welfare check!” he was told.

The newspaper will report that the day ended without violence, by which I suppose they mean without the discharge of firearms – a better showing than a similar event in 2017, in which a twenty-three-year-old man protesting at the battlefield on behalf of the Confederate flag shot himself in the thigh with an old handgun. But violence comes in different forms. The air along Seminary Ridge is threaded with violence, and also, perhaps unsurprisingly, with fear. On this hot Sunday, the Fourth of July, the 244th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, 261 Americans will die of coronavirus. The seven-day average of deaths is 591. At this rate, it will take less than four more weeks for as many Americans to die as the number of soldiers, Union and

Confederate, killed at Gettysburg. It is 122 days before Election Day. You could say that some consensus about what defines America has been strained to the breaking point; you might also say that a fiction about the nation's nature has been exposed as no longer tenable. "America is a farce, isn't it," my father will say a few weeks later of the nation for which he left his own. It is a privilege to let go of illusions: if we are thus privileged, the pandemic summer has us in its grip and will not let us go.

Trapped in this all-American moment, I squint up at Lee, astride Traveller high on a granite plinth, looking inscrutably across the fields. I can see it, the pleasure in the fantasy the statue embodies: that the historical man can be lifted free from his context and endure in a cast-bronze fantasy of valor. The men with the guns traipsing along in the heat seem merely terrified by the lack of an enemy at which to take aim and seized by the desire to invent one. The virus's stealthy approach must to them seem scandalously trivial, yet it has paralyzed the whole country. Lee's statue represents for them a time when their power was unchallenged, or more properly, when any challenges to their power could be met with violence. I would like to believe that that time has passed, but this Fourth of July challenges such optimism.

H.F. does not prepare us for this moment, but he allows us some insight into the desire to identify with power, to internalize it so as to move unchallenged through its landscape. If you can just pass as powerful – if you can strap on a gun, perhaps – you may be able to ignore the words, found in a letter by Lee in 1856, that could be cut into the base of the monument to make it one for our time: "The blacks are immeasurably better off here than in Africa, morally, socially & physically. The painful discipline they are undergoing, is necessary for their instruction as a race."⁴ Incredibly, it is one of his less morally degraded statements.

In fourteen months, another Lee statue, on Monument Avenue in Richmond, Virginia, will first be lifted down from its base, then sawed in two along the erstwhile general's waistline so that it can fit under highway overpasses as it is hauled away to an undisclosed location. By that point, over half a million Americans will have died in the pandemic. As we meet now, today, we are closing in on a death tally that seems likely to equal that of the Civil War itself. As H.F. prepares us to understand, the numbers are imprecise. If H.F. spends some of his time discussing the shutting up of houses justifying the conduct of the authorities, he is ultimately deeply ambivalent about the practice. This method, he concedes, "was in no wise to be depended upon; neither did it answer the End at all; serving more to make the People desperate, and drive them to such Extremities, as that, they would break out at all Adventures" (48). H.F. admits that the prospect of confinement makes people duplicitous: "all that could conceal their Distempers," he observes, "did it to prevent their Neighbours shunning and refusing to converse with them; and also to prevent Authority shutting up their Houses" (10).

H.F.'s narrative preoccupation with crafting a truthful narrative feeds his preoccupation with the problem that in plague time, people can know themselves only imperfectly. The problem of involuntary contamination is at once epistemological and ethical, and H.F. plays both sides of the argument as he oscillates between attributing blame and denying that people should be held liable for unwittingly infecting others: describing how some "had endeavoured

to conceal their Condition” when they knew they were infected, he says that they “have been thereby Instrumental involuntarily to infect others who have been ignorant and unwary” (71). How much wariness do we need to exercise for others’ good, and how much wariness should we expect others to exercise to safeguard their own well-being?

When it comes to the intimate space of the family, this concern about “involuntary” infection becomes even more pressing. Even the most loving parent, H.F. laments, “had been a walking Destroyer” and “had ruind those, that he would have hazarded his Life to save, and been breathing Death upon them, even perhaps in his tender Kissings and Embracings of his own Children” (159). The trajectory of harm goes both ways: H.F. recalls not only an infected mother whose milk “poison’d” her nursing child, but a “tender Mother [who] would not refuse to take in her Child” after its nurse died of the plague, but who was thus infected “and dy’d with the Child in her Arms dead also” (98). Repeatedly in the *Journal*, the body whose need for or compulsion to intimacy trumps rational hesitation becomes the dead body.

In the week before my daughters’ school shut down, I had them wash their hands each day when they got home. I stood in the cleaning products aisle of the supermarket, staring at what I did not then appreciate as a bounty of options, and went home with a bottle of lemon-scented Lysol disinfectant. In the evenings I took a rag and applied Lysol to door handles and light switches. The first bottle of hand sanitizer appeared on the front hall table, but in just a couple of days all our hands were raw and cracked; applying the hand sanitizer was like rolling your hands in a bin of nails. It all seemed preposterous anyway: bursting through the front door on one of her last days of school, my four year-old called out for me: *Mama, mama, I’m a puppy, can I lick you?* She crawled into my arms, pulled my face close with both hands, her breath humid on my cheek.

In summer Zoom meetings about reopening the College for the autumn semester, anxiety is rife. People talk a lot about plastic shields and ventilation, about pooled testing. The College starts erecting tents on some of the playing fields to house temporary classrooms. Many people do not think we should bring the students back at all. Petitions circulate to allow faculty the right to teach remotely if they wish. The realities are shifting and complicated; so many vulnerabilities, many of them invisible, are in play. Sometimes after one of these Zoom meetings I walk to the supermarket for the day’s installment of *The New York Times* and wonder why I have so many more choices than the woman who looks to be in her sixties who’s working at the checkout. There are so many reasons, I know: we could get all fancy and call the situation *overdetermined*. I know that from the beginning, having the girls made me feel that I would never be able to shut out risk. As autumn races towards us, I know I need them to be in school if I am going to do my job, and that I am profoundly lucky that their school plans to open, but both these facts also induce a kind of nauseating vertigo. I switch all my teaching to Tuesdays and Thursdays, rescheduling one as an evening class, the first I have ever taught, just in case the local schools shut down again and I have to balance teaching with parenting and home schooling. In early September, for the first time in exactly six months, I drop my daughters off at school. My heart thumps when

the door shuts behind them. I drive home and sit in the stillness. It is exactly what I wanted and not at all what I want.

Autumn 2020: Care

Despite everything he says about the importance of containment, H.F. wanders. Repeatedly, he cannot refrain from wandering: “Terrified by those frightful Objects, I would retire Home sometimes, and resolve to go out no more,” he remembers, “and perhaps, I would keep those Resolutions for three or four Days.” (67). Later, he says that he “kept within Doors, for about a Fortnight, and never stirr’d out: But I cou’d not hold it” (90). His peregrinations have tended to be read as a way to emphasize the text’s commitment to an empirical epistemology. In a chapter entitled “Walking in the City” that I sometimes teach alongside the *Journal*, Michel de Certeau offers another way to think about H.F.’s movements: responding to Foucault’s account of how power can organize public space, Certeau suggests that everyday practices such as walking can resist and disrupt such ordering. Interested in the “surreptitious creativities” of those who use space, Certeau writes that the “long poem of walking manipulates spatial organizations, no matter how panoptic they may be: it is neither foreign to them ... nor in conformity with them. ... It creates shadows and ambiguities within them.”⁵ Rather than seeking to bring order to what he sees, I think, H.F. tries to do justice to what it is like to live in and through disorder, to survive terror’s dislocations. In one curious episode, H.F. recalls those who died alone, in the fields: “The Number of these miserable Objects were many,” he admits, “and I know so many that perish’d thus, and so exactly where, that I believe I could go to the very Place and dig their Bones up still” (83). Peter DeG Gabriele has written of H.F.’s strong need to deny that the dead were ever left unburied: this moment conjures *ex nihilo* a form of care, and from it a certainty that is ethical rather than epistemological.⁶ “[T]hus great Numbers went out of the World, who were never known or any Account of them taken,” H.F. writes, but then just a few sentences later he pivots: “yet I believe the Account is exactly true” (84). From the wreck of knowledge he salvages the truth: “I could go to the very Place and dig their Bones up still.”

I sign up to be a poll worker on Election Day because I worry that, if all the retirees who usually work the polls stay home, the resulting short-staffing might support later claims of voter fraud. My polling place is a windowless fire hall just a block from my house. When the polls open at 7, the first person through the door is Glenn, a man I’ve known in passing for several years. We first met during the time I had a buzz cut, when Glenn stopped me on the street to reminisce about his former drill instructor’s haircut and how short hair looks so unfeminine on women, *But not on you, hon, on you it looks okay*. Since then, seeming to think we have a bond of sorts, he stops to chat with me, honks and waves when he drives by, tapes Christmas cards to my front door. Glenn is a former Marine, a good six inches shorter than I am, and a champion weightlifter. On Election Day, he sees me and lopes over, unmasked, grinning. He gives me the thumbs up and gestures to the voting booths. *We ready to get this thing done?*

Amongst my tasks is helping people who require assistance to vote. One woman who is visually impaired flags me over and holds up her ballot, squinting at it. *I have to vote for him*, she says urgently. *The President?* I clarify, and she nods. I point to the appropriate oval on the ballot, but she shakes her head impatiently. *You do it for me, sweetie*. I fill in the ballot for the President's reelection. Later in the day, helping another voter, I do it again. When I leave the hall after counting and recounting the ballot forms, I have no idea of anything that may have happened in the outside world that day. The air is bluish purple, the color of a bruise. I do not look at the news but fall into bed, exhausted. In the morning, I get up and take my daily pre-dawn walk up past the College's playing fields to the northern flank of the battlefield. I still haven't checked the news; I don't know who's won the election, or if a winner has been declared. The Peace Light flares against the navy blue sky. Honoring the fiftieth anniversary of the battle, an anniversary that saw former Union and Confederate soldiers reunited, the memorial is inscribed with the motto *Peace Eternal in a Nation United*. I head home, not knowing what comes next.

In one of the *Journal's* most moving episodes, H.F. recalls how he "saw a poor Man walking on the Bank" of the Thames and talks to him at a distance, learning that he has isolated himself from his family: "my Wife and one of the Children are visited," the man tells H.F., "but I do not come at them" (88). We learn that the man's name is Robert, and that he is a waterman who supplies necessities to those who have isolated themselves from plague aboard ships anchored in the Thames. Though at first H.F. believes he has abandoned his family, Robert describes how, rather, he carefully preserves himself from contact with others in the city while earning money to support his family. "I seldom come on Shore here," he tells H.F., "and I come now only to call to my Wife, and hear how my little Family do, and give them a little Money" (89). H.F. watches as Robert's wife emerges and he leaves "the Provisions he had brought from the Ships" on a stone that lies in between them. At the sight of this family, strained almost to breaking by the epidemic, H.F. weeps. It is one of the *Journal's* strangest episodes: an extended moment of interpersonal intimacy whose success – whose failure to turn deadly – is premised on the rigorous preservation of distance. "I never go into any House on Shore, or touch any Body, no, not of my own Family," Robert assures H.F. (89). The sequence reaches a climax when H.F., against all odds, gets into Robert's boat for a journey down to Greenwich. "He told me if I would assure him [...] that I had not the Distemper, he would: I assur'd him, that I had not" (91) – and, improbably, the moment works: mistrust is magically suspended for a moment, creating a loop in the plot that leads nowhere. Perhaps, thinking of Certeau, we might see their trust as a form of "surreptitious creativity" – bringing something into being that exceeds its own material constraints.

Three weeks into the academic year, my institution, facing a sharp rise in COVID cases, sends all but the first-year and some upper-class students home. I cobble together as much in-person teaching as I can; twice a week, I stay late on campus to teach my evening class, microwaving meals that I eat in my darkening office. When I get home my girls are already in bed. The weeks are long and tiring. One afternoon, during a Zoom class, a student arrives late and breaks into the conversation: she's just come back from the hospital, where she's been diagnosed with COVID. The Zoom room falls silent. I know this

woman is living in a big city away from home, but I don't know anything else about her situation. I sit in my office staring at neat little rows of boxes, at my students' childhood bedrooms or kitchens or back porches or basement office-slash-guest rooms. We are far apart. *Sweetheart*, I say, not knowing what to say, *I'm glad you came to class, but you have to go rest now*. I ask her if there are people there with her who can help her if she needs help. She tells me there are, and I repeat that she needs to go and take care of herself. When her black box disappears, I find myself – for the first time in a classroom – on the verge of tears. No one says anything for a long moment. Then, without knowing exactly how, we go on. After class, I write her, and she writes back, and we keep writing in the weeks that follow. There is only so much I can do, so I do it, not knowing if it feels like care, if it makes any difference at all.

Some forms of care are simpler. My days are punctuated by *Mama, mama, come here*. Never particularly good at living in the moment, I find myself pinioned there by the pandemic. It is a more habitable space than I expected. Every day is a strain and a gift. I stack the basement full of jam, learn the difference between a French and a Dutch braid, organize dance parties and painting contests and science experiments that involve shining flashlights on compact discs in a darkened room. *Look*, I tell the girls, *all light has rainbows in it*.

Circular Time: 2020-

The ending of the *Journal* has always felt anti-climactic to me, or slightly formless, as if H.F. does not quite know how to narrate his and London's emergence from the plague. In the novel's final pages, after marshalling all his resources to generate a truthful portrait of what happened, H.F. concedes "that it was extraordinary, and ... no Account could be given of it" (191). This formlessness seems much more understandable now. Plague time, we have learned, is circular time. Moments, conversations, anxieties, frustrations recur and circle after one another. The seasons change and then the year and we get up each morning and do it again. Each day you can open *The New York Times* and watch the lines on the graph go up and down.

At the very beginning of lockdown, but only very briefly, I let myself imagine the future – *when this is over* – a hope for familiarity and safety that it soon became too painful to entertain. In the ubiquitous 'new normal,' some of H.F.'s pronouncements, emphatic and diffident as they are, resonate in a new way: "This may serve a little to describe the dreadful Condition of that Day," he writes, "tho' it is impossible to say any Thing that is able to give a true Idea of it to those who did not see it, other than this; that it was indeed *very, very, very* dreadful, and such as no Tongue can express" (54). For those of us who have seen it, perhaps it is impossible to say more.

Notes

1. Daniel Defoe, *A Journal of the Plague Year*, ed. Paula R. Backscheider (New York: Norton, 1992), p. 5. Subsequent references will be noted in the text.

2. Niall Boyce, “Bills of Mortality: Tracking disease in early modern London,” *The Lancet* 395 (11-17 April 2020), pp. 1886-7.
3. John Bender, *Imagining the Penitentiary* (Chicago: U of Chicago Press, 1987), p. 80.
4. Quoted in Adam Serwer, “The Myth of the Kindly General Lee,” *The Atlantic Monthly* 4 June 2017. [https:// www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2017/06/the-myth-of-the-kindly-general-lee/ 529038/](https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2017/06/the-myth-of-the-kindly-general-lee/529038/).
5. Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: U of California Press, 1984), 96, 101.
6. See Peter DeGabriele, “Intimacy, Survival, and Resistance: Daniel Defoe’s *A Journal of the Plague Year*,” *ELH* 77, no. 1 (2010), pp. 1-23.

Epidemics and Pandemics: Love, Loss, and Revolution

By Leah M. Thomas, Virginia State University

Course Overview: A Better-Informed Citizenry

In her letter from Adrianople, Turkey, to her sister Sarah Chiswell, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu attempts to comfort her sister by stating that the dangers her sister had heard about smallpox were untrue. She writes, “The Small Pox so fatal and so general amongst us [in England] is here [in Turkey] entirely harmless by the invention of engrafting [vaccination] (which is the term they give it)” (158-59). Montagu describes the disease as “little more in it than a fever” and “a great cold,” though she discloses that she had been “deceived” regarding some of the reports (158). Her letter reveals the fear of smallpox, the effectiveness of vaccination, her having learned about vaccination, and her awareness of both the benefits and challenges of introducing vaccination in England. My students in *ENGL 201: Introduction to Literature* at Virginia State University, a historically black college and university in Petersburg, recognized these same ideas and issues in the rhetoric and ideology surrounding the Coronavirus (COVID) pandemic, though Montagu’s intention was not to mislead her reader. As Montagu describes her perceptions of smallpox in Turkey, she explains that engrafting renders the disease less contagious and lethal. However, the rhetoric surrounding COVID has been that it is a mere “cold,” that it is a government conspiracy, and that the vaccine itself is part of this conspiracy. Including 18th-century literature in an introductory literature course themed “Epidemics and Pandemics: Love, Loss, and Revolution” demonstrates the period’s historical and literary connections to the present-day pandemic, revealing that many people’s perceptions regarding past epidemics and pandemics have remained unchanged. Such period literature offers perceptive insights into human nature for a better-informed citizenry.

The COVID pandemic offered an opportunity for thinking about epidemics and pandemics in literature to learn how others had experienced these phenomena and to obtain perspectives for understanding and coping with the ongoing COVID pandemic. Compiling various texts around this theme

also provided further insight for our current time during the experiences of climate change with its resultant natural disasters along with conquest, war, and revolution that mirror the present-day United States with the storming of the capitol, the war in Afghanistan, and protests of Black Lives Matter (BLM). Literature from the long eighteenth century in a required lower-level undergraduate course like *Introduction to Literature* not only introduces students to an influential literary period during which smallpox and yellow fever epidemics raged but also is from the time when Montague wrote letters about smallpox vaccination and introduced the West to vaccination. Of course, Daniel Defoe published his novel *A Journal of the Plague Year* (1722) about the bubonic plague, which I did not include in this iteration of the course because I organized the course around three diseases other than the bubonic plague that prevailed in literature: smallpox, yellow fever, and cholera. Smallpox, yellow fever, and cholera are generally situated within distinctive time periods: smallpox during the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries, the yellow fever epidemic in Philadelphia in 1793, and cholera during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The focus of the course was the Americas except for Thomas Mann's *Death in Venice* (German 1912; English 1924, 1925). Students were able to compare their own experiences with the COVID pandemic with the experiences of others in the literary texts during previous epidemics and pandemics to realize the difficulties people either survived or did not, the suffering people endured, and the misinformation that surrounded these circumstances.

The course relied heavily on eighteenth-century literature because of the intersection of smallpox and yellow fever and because nineteenth- and twentieth-century literary texts included in the course were set in or alluded to the eighteenth century. The purpose was to span a range of centuries, which fulfills another program objective, listed on the course syllabus: "To develop students' knowledge about language, the literature of various periods and peoples" The course accomplishes this range with texts from the conquest of the Americas as portrayed in an Aztec account in sixteenth-century Bernardino de Sahagún's *Codex Florentino* translated in Miguel León-Portilla's *The Broken Spears: The Aztec Account of the Conquest of Mexico* (1962, 2006) to the twenty-first century: Lin-Manuel Miranda's *Hamilton: The Revolution* remediated into Miranda's and Jeremy McCarter's book *Hamilton: The Revolution, Being the Complete Libretto of the Broadway Musical, with a True Account of Its Creation, and Concise Remarks on Hip-Hop, the Power of Stories, and the New America* (2016).

The brief early literature that I included from before 1700 informed the eighteenth-century literature, and the later literature was informed by the study of eighteenth-century literature and events. For example, conquest and slavery were instrumental in spreading diseases like smallpox in the Americas and were ongoing and written about during the period as in Montagu's letters and Helen Maria Williams's *Peru* (1786). Diseases such as yellow fever were endemic to the Caribbean, South America, and Africa and thus were spread through the commerce of port cities and the slave trade as demonstrated in Mathew Carey's *A Short Account of the Malignant Fever, Lately Prevalent in Philadelphia* (1793); Absalom Jones's and Richard Allen's *A Narrative of the Proceedings of the Black People, during the Late Awful Calamity in*

Philadelphia, in the Year 1793 (1794); Charles Brockden Brown's *Ormond* (1799); and Leonora Sansay's *Laura* (1809). Discussion of Aaron Burr and Alexander Hamilton in relation to the author Sansay and the characters Laura, Belfield, and Melwood in *Laura* segued the class to *Hamilton: The Revolution* (2016), which was set in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and bridged discussions of smallpox, yellow fever, natural disaster, love, loss, and revolution, though disease is not mentioned in the musical.

The course concluded with the influence of this period echoed in Gabriel García Márquez's *Love in the Time of Cholera* (1988) and in Mann's *Death in Venice*, where cholera flourished in the port cities of Cartagena and Venice. The novels reveal that governments denied these epidemics for the sake of continuing commerce, especially that of the tourist industry. The course also integrated eighteenth-century sources maps, paintings, Hamilton's writings, and Antonio Vivaldi's music to contextualize these later literary texts. Thus, students ascertained from the course the universal human themes of enduring love and suffering. They realized the advances in and advantages of twenty-first-century technologies—whether medicine, Zoom, or DoorDash—that allowed people to continue to interact, living their lives in ways that would have been challenging even during the twentieth century.

Selected Course Readings: The Eighteenth Century as Locus

One of the many benefits of including literature from the long 18th century is that it is out of copyright and can be a way to include digital texts and digital humanities projects readily accessible online and free. Thus, the readings I selected for this course did not require purchase, though I recommended that students purchase them. For the theme, pandemics and epidemics, Montagu's 1717 letter to her sister discussed above proved crucial. I chose this one because it introduces readers to concerns surrounding smallpox as mentioned above and delineates the inoculation process and people's superstitions. Though Williams's *Peru* is an 18th-century account of Francisco Pizarro's 16th-century conquest of Peru only alludes to smallpox as "pale disease" in the fifth canto, line 235, Paula Feldman's helpful footnote explains the pervasiveness and devastation of this disease (83n1). This reference provided a discussion point for the ravages of smallpox on the indigenous peoples of the Americas. Furthermore, biographical information about the author's imprisonment in France and her antislavery discourse along with the historical contexts of the well-known American, French, and Haitian Revolutions, in addition to the lesser-known Incan revolt—the 1781 Cuzco Rebellion of Túpac Amaru II—to which Williams alludes in the sixth canto, line 323-26 (96n2), initiated discussions of the BLM protests during the COVID pandemic. The name Túpac Amaru resonated with students familiar with the popular hip-hop artist Tupac Amaru Shakur. In addition to epidemics, pandemics, and revolution, other course themes of love and loss emerged in our discussion of this text and later texts. Concluding this segment of the course, we discussed smallpox as a metaphor for colonization and colonialism, as much as it was a consequence of these phenomena, and the resilience later generations of the indigenous to survive and revolt despite such devastation.

In the next phase of the course, love and loss continued as prominent themes as we discussed the yellow fever epidemic in Philadelphia in 1793, beginning with the novel *Ormond*, in which students recognized the association of yellow fever with business and corruption. This post-revolutionary American setting led to discussions of travel, commerce, revolution, and government as we segued from *Peru* to *Ormond*, both published in London. Thus, the approach to these readings was transatlantic and hemispheric. This approach continued as we discussed the novella *Laura*, which is a transatlantic text with initial settings in Portugal and Ireland though mostly set in Philadelphia. While the yellow fever epidemic is the focus of the beginning of *Ormond*, it is central to *Laura* when Laura's lover Belfield contracts the disease, and she walks to Philadelphia to find him. Before he contracts the disease, he is skeptical of it: "Laura heard of the desolation it [yellow fever in Philadelphia] spread, and though the accounts of it were exaggerated by Belfield, who laughed at all idea of personal danger, they filled her with uneasiness" (177). When she arrives where he has been staying, she finds that his friends have fled Philadelphia and that he is attended by an African American: "His friends, as was too generally the case, abandoned him to the care of a negro on the first appearance of the disorder, and left the city" (177). Michael Drexler notes the frequency and severity of the yellow fever epidemics in Philadelphia along with misconceptions of blacks' immunity to the disease (177n1-2). Sansay demonstrates both the devastation and misconception of the disease through Laura's witness of and encounter with the flight of the people on the road to Philadelphia—flight and destitution that reflect circumstances of the Inca in Peru and likewise people in Haiti.

Readings that followed were the insightful narrative accounts of the 1793 Philadelphia yellow fever epidemic by Philadelphia publisher Mathew Carey and by black Philadelphian clergy and abolitionists Absalom Jones and Richard Allen. Carey's account reiterates information already explored in *Ormond* and *Laura*, while also identifying etiologies of the disease in the city. Jones's and Allen's account describes black presence and contributions about which students read in *Ormond* and *Laura* and refuted accusations, censures, and assumptions that Carey reports in his narrative. These nonfiction texts demonstrate the narrative genre to provide accounts of the epidemic from points of view of prominent Philadelphians to accentuate the primacy of one's voice and the power of writing as well as to offer nonfictional accounts of this epidemic that features eighteenth-century African American literature.

The musical *Hamilton* provided a respite from the reading about epidemics and pandemics, though we discussed it within this context as well as others such as revolution and natural disasters, comparing the hurricane in *Hamilton* with the earthquake in *Peru*. This comparison contributed to discussions of recent natural disasters and, relatedly, climate change. We also discussed the parallels between Alexander Hamilton and Aaron Burr and Belfield and Melwood. The influence of the eighteenth century was apparent in *Hamilton* along with changing forms or popular poetry as in the eighteenth-century heroic couplets of Alexander Pope, Phillis Wheatley Peters, and Helen Maria Williams to the twentieth- and twenty-first-century hip-hop rhymes of Mobb Deep, Biggie Smalls, and Lin-Manuel Miranda. Scenes and the libretto from the musical were available online in addition to the recently released

Disney film along with the book that includes the libretto and information about the musical composition and performance. The libretto offers a text for reading in the genre of drama. Though this musical is set during late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, it reverberates with the continuity of struggle for equality and the realities of inner-city life, particularly for African Americans and other people of color. Miranda and McCarter interweave this context within their book thereby revealing the musical's symbolic and even allegorical rendering of New York City. Miranda's homage to 1990s east-coast hip-hop artists from the influences of Mobb Deep and Biggie Small resound with the circumstances of the drug wars with their street battles and gun violence. The realities of drug addiction and gun violence are ongoing epidemics. As *Hamilton's* eighteenth-century New York setting invokes the drug wars of the 1980s and the after-effects present in the 1990s, it also evokes the HIV/AIDS pandemic that was occurring.

“words get darker and less innocent”: Engagement, Reflection, Analysis

During the Zoom sessions at the beginning of the semester, I discussed the purposes of literary study with students and the reason I chose the theme, which was because of the continuing COVID pandemic and, thus, incorporated the relatability approach regarding students' experiences during the COVID pandemic as an invitation for discussion. I also placed students in breakout rooms for introductions at the beginning of the semester and later in and throughout the semester for focused discussion and group work so they could build relationships and share ideas with each other. After the breakout session, students would rejoin the class and share what they had discussed in their groups with the entire class. This discussion would generally be continued during the next class meeting or two, so everyone could participate. For students in the course, most of their college experience had been online because of the pandemic.

In addition to class discussion, student assignments consisted of weekly reading journals of 250 words in which they responded to or analyzed the reading for that week; no summaries were allowed. Students also had to complete brief online weekly quizzes—five multiple-choice questions—on the reading, which were easily created and automatically graded in the Learning Management System (LMS) Blackboard. Instead of short formal papers, which I usually assign, students had short-answer and essay midterm and final examinations that were “take home.” The short-answer and essay questions had required word counts so that students met the overall twenty- to twenty-five-page writing requirement through the reading journals and examinations. In the weekly reading journals, students described their experiences reading the texts and included their interpretations. Responses ranged from difficulties with the language of the texts, though that is one of the reasons for assigning this literature as stated in a program objective, to their own life experiences and comparisons with themes and characters in films. Some students wrote in stream-of-consciousness-style entries on their interpretations of the texts as they read them. One student wrote of Peru in Williams's *Peru* as “a place of innocence, a place untouched by darkness or death. But as I continue to read the words get darker and less innocent.” Writing of the yellow fever in

Brown's *Ormond*, a student observed, "The way the fever started in Philadelphia is similar to how Covid started in not just America, but the entire world." Pertaining to Carey's *A Short Account*, another student commented on other similarities between the yellow fever epidemic and the COVID pandemic: "The way both governments responded to the disease and the actions taken against the disease were very similar. . . . I just feel for the people and families back then that did not have the technology we have today to fight the virus." The circumstances of blacks that Jones and Allen describe reminded a student of the film *Get Out*, while another student inquired, "If black and white both shed the same blood and are humans, why would they [whites] think they [blacks] couldn't catch the same illness as white people?" Sansay's *Laura* and Pope's "Eloisa to Abelard," the latter provided as supplemental reading, recalled *Romeo and Juliet* for a student writing about clandestine love. Another student wrote of Miranda's *Hamilton*, "As we end *Hamilton* and head on to new literature, I just want to thank you for putting this in the course. This was greatly appreciated and highly unexpected and will definitely be remembered." Though some students were initially jaded about the musical, they came to appreciate it more as we discussed its historical context and especially its resonance with the 1980s and 1990s.

The midterm and final examinations reviewed a spectrum of questions regarding knowledge to creation from identifying genres and quotations to analyzing and scanning lines of poetry to writing short-answer and essay questions. Midterm essay questions required students to analyze disease as a metaphor in readings such as "The Plague Ravages the City," *Peru*, and *Ormond*, or students could discuss sensibility in *Peru* and *Ormond*. In the final examination, the essay question addressed the themes of the course. For example, a student wrote of love as disease—lovesickness—in *Death in Venice* and *Love in the Time of Cholera*. In another question, a student wrote about colonialism and colonization as disease in "The Plague Ravages the City" and *Peru*, in the way a disease overtakes the body as colonialism and colonization overtakes the people and the land.

Students' engagement with eighteenth-century literature in this general introductory course was with the themes of COVID pandemic and love. The readings for the course elicited the realization that the pandemic could have been much worse without modern medicine and digital technology. The readings for the course humanized past epidemics of which students had no prior knowledge and provided students with new perspectives on COVID—from their learning about vaccination in Montagu's letter, quarantining during yellow fever in Carey's account, wearing of facemasks doused in vinegar in *Ormond*, to the swift nature of contagion and death during these epidemics and pandemics. A student stated in her journal regarding the readings on the yellow fever epidemic in Philadelphia, "Even the way that the sick were taken to the hospital or even taken out of homes reminds me of a picture I saw in the news about New York, and bodies were piled outside of hospitals wrapped in a white sheet to be claimed by families." These readings along with students' recollections of the COVID pandemic countered the misinformation of COVID as a "cold" and gave students helpful insights into government and vaccination during this pandemic.

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Syllabus English 201: Introduction to Literature

Course Description: A course in reading, thinking critically about, and discussing literature from a variety of genres and cultures, through the study of significant texts and authors. Writing intensive. Prerequisites: ENGL 110 Composition I and ENGL 111 Composition II

Theme: Love, Loss, and Revolution during Epidemics and Pandemics

Because we have been undergoing a pandemic since 2019, this course will provide insights into our own time about past epidemics, pandemics, and vaccinations, which also intersected with revolution.

Course Objectives

- knowledge of genres in literature. Familiarity with genres will be demonstrated through class discussion, response journals, and exams and/or analytical essays.
- analytical skills through genre, theme, and narrative through course readings, class discussions, response journals, and exams and/or analytical essays.
- knowledge about intersections among literature, culture, and society demonstrated through students' engagement in class discussions, response journals, and exams and/or analytical essays based upon students' reading of various literary texts.
- understanding of foundations of literary traditions evidenced in themes, allusions, and archetypes necessary for literary analysis as demonstrated through class discussion, response journals, and exams and/or analytical essays.

Program Objectives

- Students will develop competence in language skills, especially writing and speaking effectively.

- Students will develop knowledge about language, the literature of various periods and peoples, and the processes of critical thinking and writing.
- Students will be prepared for teaching, further study and research, and other careers involving analytical, critical, and communicative proficiencies.
- Students will be provided with the broad intellectual background necessary for personal enrichment and engaged citizenship.

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Course Requirements

Attendance and Participation 10%

Quizzes 10%

Reading Journals (12 are due, one every week but 7 and 14-15) 30%

Midterm Examination 25%

Final Examination 25%

Course Schedule

Week 1 Smallpox. Quiz 1

Introduction

Léon-Portilla, "The Plague Ravages the City," *Broken Spears*, pp. 92-93 (Bb)

Carolina Miranda, "How a Vital Record of Mexican Indigenous Life Was Created Under Quarantine," *Los Angeles Times*, 26 March 2020 (Bb)

Reading Journal 1 due [notices for other weeks left understood]

Week 2 Smallpox. Quiz 2

Montagu, "Smallpox Vaccination in Turkey" (Bb)

Williams, "Dedication" and "Advertisement," *Peru* (Bb or book)

Williams, "Canto the First," *Peru* (Bb or book)

Week 3 Smallpox. Quiz 3

Williams, "Canto the Second," *Peru* (Bb or book)

Williams, "Canto the Third," *Peru* (Bb or book)

Week 4 Smallpox. Quiz 4

Williams, "Canto the Fourth," *Peru* (Bb or book)

Williams, "Canto the Fifth," *Peru* (Bb or book)

Williams, "Canto the Sixth" *Peru* (Bb or book)

Week 5 Yellow Fever. Quiz 5

Synthesis discussion

Brown, *Ormond*, chs. 1-5 (Bb or book)

Brown, *Ormond*, chs. 6-10 (Bb or book)

Week 6 Yellow Fever. Quiz 6

Brown, *Ormond*, chs. 11-15 (Bb or book)

Brown, *Ormond*, chs. 16-20 (Bb or book)

Brown, *Ormond*, chs. 21-25 (Bb or book)

Week 7 Yellow Fever continued and examination.
Midterm examination will be available from Mon.-Fri.
Brown, *Ormond*, chs. 26-29 (end) (Bb or book)
Synthesis discussion. Also Review for examination
Midterm examination is due by midnight.

Week 8 Yellow Fever
Sansay, *Laura*, chs. 1-11 (Bb or book)
Sansay, *Laura*, chs. 12-21 (Bb or book)

Week 9 Yellow Fever. Quiz 7
Sansay, *Laura*, chs. 22-32 (end) (Bb or book)
Carey, *A Short Account of the Malignant Fever*, pp. 1-25 (Bb)
Carey, *A Short Account of the Malignant Fever*, pp. 26-51 (Bb)

Week 10 Yellow Fever. Quiz 8
Carey, *A Short Account of the Malignant Fever*, pp. 52-93 (end) (Bb)
Jones and Allen, *A Narrative of the Proceedings*, pp. 1-14 (Bb)
Jones and Allen, *A Narrative of the Proceedings*, pp. 15-28 (end) (Bb)

Week 11
Miranda, *Hamilton: The Revolution*, chs. 1-10 (Bb or book)
Miranda, *Hamilton*, chs. 11-21 (Bb or book)
Miranda, *Hamilton*, chs. 22-32 (end) (Bb or book)

Week 12 Cholera. Quiz 9
García Márquez, *Love in the Time of Cholera*, pp. 1-103 (Bb or book)
García Márquez, *Love in the Time of Cholera*, pp. 104-163 (Bb or book)
García Márquez, *Love in the Time of Cholera*, pp. 164-278 (Bb or book)

Week 13 Cholera. Quiz 10
García Márquez, *Love in the Time of Cholera*, pp. 279-348 (end) (Bb or book)
Mann, *Death in Venice*, chs. 1-2 (Bb or book)
Mann, *Death in Venice*, ch. 3-4 (Bb or book)
Reading Journal 12 due

Week 14 Cholera.
Mann, *Death in Venice*, ch. 5; Killingsworth, “Mapping Public Health” (Bb)

Week 15 Final exam will be made available from Monday-Friday
Review for final exam.
Final examination is due Friday by midnight.

Was Dr. Currie an “Entire Stranger”? A Burns Manuscript Gift and a New Currie Letter

In January 1787, a few months after Burns died, his friend and trustee John Syme sent (most of) his manuscripts from Burns’s house in Dumfries down to Liverpool, to Dr James Currie, to use in the planned edition and biography. Famously, Currie wrote back to Syme in dismay that “the manuscripts of a man of genius, unarranged by himself, and unperused by his family or friends” had been “sent with all their sins on their head, to meet the eye of an entire stranger.”¹ Currie’s four volumes (1800) remain an essential source for Burns’s life and poetry, used in all subsequent Burns scholarship. However, his memorable phrase disclaiming his suitability as editor lived on, and even his strongest defender, Robert D. Thornton, still chose “Entire Stranger” as the title for his readable account of Currie’s dramatic life (1963).²

To some extent, Currie only became Burns’s first editor and biographer by default; the trustees didn’t want to do it themselves, Dugald Stewart and Henry Mackenzie refused to bite, and no one wanted Maria Riddell to take it over, as she seemed to expect.³ The edition, one volume including a short life, had been advertised within days of Burns’s death to raise funds for his widow and children. Currie had been gathering subscriptions in Liverpool, and once he started asking about progress on the book, the trustees gratefully pushed their problem off on him, as a prominent expatriate Scot, who was politically and religiously sympathetic to Burns. Currie saw his role in the biography as explaining Burns’s Scotland to readers elsewhere, finessing Burns’s political views lest they damage sales, and countering, or mitigating, the critical stories about Burns in the obituaries and in Robert Heron’s instant biography (1797). Inevitably this ended up with keeping the stories in circulation.⁴

Currie was no biographical carpetbagger, and he was certainly no stranger to the places and people of southwest Scotland. He knew a lot of the people Burns also knew. His father had been a minister in parishes in the Dumfries area, and he had been educated at Dumfries Academy (where he knew Burns’s Ellisland friend and patron Robert Riddell). Then, after several years in Virginia, he studied medicine at Edinburgh, renewing and extending Scottish friendships (including with William Miller, a relative of Burns’s landlord at Ellisland). In Liverpool, he befriended a young naval officer, Graham Moore, whose father, Dr John Moore sent him a copy of the Kilmarnock edition in the fall of 1786, and he kept up with Burns’s later books and moves. Currie’s wife was a Wallace, and like Dr. Moore and Burns he corresponded with the redoubtable Mrs Frances Dunlop. In February 1789, he was writing⁵ to Graham Moore about two Burns poems he’d seen in manuscript.⁵ Intending to retire to the Dumfries area, Currie bought two properties there in 1792, for which John Syme (yes, the same Burns trustee) became his factor or local manager, and for which he used another Burns acquaintance, Alexander Young, as law agent.⁶

But when Currie was in Dumfries arranging the purchases, he also arranged to meet Burns. His own later mention of this, in a letter to Syme soon after Burns had died, is rather dismissive: “I never saw this original genius but for a few minutes, in 1792, in the streets of Dumfries,” adding, however: “Even in the little conversation I had with him, which was begun rather

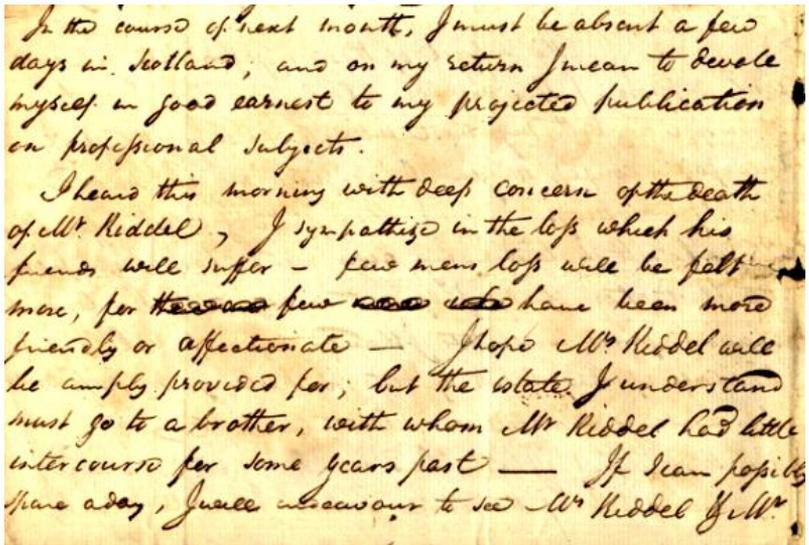
abruptly on my part, I could easily distinguish that bold, powerful, and ardent mind, which, in different circumstances, such as the present state of the world renders familiar to the imagination, might have influenced the history of nations.”⁷ This reaction is not to be brushed off: 18th century physicians (like successors well into the 20th century) prided themselves on being able to make a diagnosis, not from batteries of tests, but from a rapid scrutiny of the patient’s face and bearing.

But there is a contemporary manuscript related to that meeting that has been overlooked by Burns’s editors. The two men must have hit it off to a greater extent than Currie later implied, and Burns must have trusted Currie on first sight. In the Mitchell Library’s Cowie collection, there is an autograph manuscript of Burns’s song, “Yestreen I had a pint o’ wine,” about his affair with Anna Park, the barmaid at the Globe Inn, Dumfries, annotated by Currie “Song given me by Robt. Burns 3rd June 1792.”⁸

Yestreen I had a pint o’ wine,
 A Place where body saw na,
 Yestreen lay on this breast o’ mine
 The gowden locks of Anna....
 Ye Monarchs take the East and West,
 Frae Indus to Savannah!
 Gie me within my straining grasp
 The melting form of Anna.⁹

This seems a very personal, even risky, poem for Burns to share with someone he’d just met, and certainly not something one could imagine Burns sharing with the Dr. Currie of later caricature. When Burns sent a (bowdlerized) version to the song-editor George Thomson, in April 1793, he said it was “the best love-song I ever composed in my life,” though “in its *original* state, is not quite a lady’s song.”¹⁰ Thomson did not include it in his *Select Collection of Original Scottish Airs*, and when he edited his own correspondence with Burns for the fourth volume of Currie’s *Works*, he kept Burns’s comment “the best love-song I ever composed,” but omitted the song itself; it was Currie, adding a footnote and quoting the first quatrain, who ensured that Burns’s self-appraisal would be given to the right song, incidentally ensuring also that the full but anonymous version just printed in *The Merry Muses of Caledonia* (1799) would be attributable to Burns.¹¹

Additional light is cast on Currie’s Dumfriesshire contacts by a letter recently added to the Roy Collection, dated 23 April 1794, which Currie wrote to Dr. Thomas Percival (1740-1804), public health reformer, and president of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society. While Currie plays his cards close to the chest, the first part of the letter concerns Currie’s own political vulnerability, as the pseudonymous author (“Jasper Wilson”) of an anti-government pamphlet, *A Letter Commercial and Political Addressed to the Rt. Hon. William Pitt* (1793), assessing the risks he would face if he defended the pamphlet against a recent pro-government attack that had unmasked his identity. In fact (though he doesn’t tell Dr. Percival) he was about to borrow money against his Dumfries properties (with a deed signed on 20 May 1794), so that if necessary he could escape to America.



In the course of next month, I must be absent a few days in Scotland; and on my return I mean to devote myself in good earnest to my projected publication on professional subjects.

I heard this morning with deep concern of the death of Mr. Riddell, I sympathize in the loss which his friends will suffer - few mens loss will be felt more, for ~~there are few~~ ~~who~~ ~~have~~ ~~been~~ ~~more~~ friendly or affectionate - I hope Mr. Riddell will be amply provided for; but the whole I understand must go to a brother, with whom Mr. Riddell had little intercourse for some years past - If I can possibly spare a day, I will endeavour to see Mr. Riddell's Will.

Fig. 1: James Currie to Thomas Percival, 23 April, 1794.
 Courtesy of the Roy Collection, University of South Carolina Libraries.

The more important part of the letter reveals that Currie was about to make another visit to Dumfries, about the properties, and to visit old friends:

In the course of the next month, I must be absent a few days in Scotland, and on my return I mean to devote myself in good earnest to my projected publication on professional subjects.

I heard this morning with deep concern of the death of Mr. Riddell, I sympathize in the loss which his friends must suffer—... I hope Mrs. Riddell will be amply provided for, but the whole estate I understand must go to a brother, with whom Mr. Riddell had little intercourse for some years past—if I can possibly spare a day, I will endeavour to see Mrs. Riddell & Mr. & Mrs. Kennedy, and Miss Percival if she is with them, on the 10th or 12th of May.¹²

The “projected publication” was Currie’s influential book *Medical Reports: On the Effects of Water, Cold and Warm, as a Remedy in Fever* (2 vols, 1797). Mrs Robert Riddell, nee Kennedy, had been brought up in Manchester, the Kennedys were her parents, and Mrs Riddell was close enough friends with Dr Percival’s daughter for “Miss Percival” to visit Friar’s Carse after Robert died. In January 1794, reportedly at Mrs. Riddell’s insistence, Robert Riddell had banished Burns from Friar’s Carse. If Currie indeed visited Riddell’s widow, he would have got an earful.

Of course, we don’t know that Dr. Currie visited with Burns in May 1794. By then Burns like Currie had been under political suspicion; neither made much secret of their views, but either might have thought tongues would

wag if they were known to have met. But the letter makes clear that Currie's circle overlapped at many points with Burns's, just as the manuscript poem makes clear Burns liked and trusted him. Currie's minimizing to Syme of his 1792 meeting tactfully disclaimed knowing Burns as well as Syme did. Describing himself as an "entire stranger," again to Syme, in January 1797, was a shrewd self-deprecatory gesture, giving him wiggle-room to back out of doing the biography if he needed to, and indicating that in any case he would need Syme's help to sort the sweepings of Burns's desk-drawer. It is time to stop using it as a shorthand assessment of Currie's readiness to edit Burns, or as a reason to dismiss what Currie accomplished.

Patrick Scott
University of South Carolina

Notes

1. Currie to Syme, Feb. 8, 1787, in William Wallace Currie, *Memoir of the Life, Writings and Correspondence of James Currie, M.D., F.R.S.*, 2 vols (London: Longman, 1831), I: 271.

2. James Currie, ed., *The Works of Robert Burns, with a Life*, 4 vols (London: Cadell and Davies, 1800); Robert Donald Thornton, *James Currie The Entire Stranger and Robert Burns* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1963).

3. Thornton's monograph on the history of Currie's edition remains unpublished, but see his articles in *Burns Chronicle*, 3rd ser., 20-24 (1971-75), or Patrick Scott, *Robert Burns: A Documentary Volume* [DLB 383] (Bloomfield Hills: Gale, 2018), 345-352.

4. Modern discussions (most critical of Currie) include: Carol McGuirk, "James Currie and the Making of the Burns Myth," in Steven McKenna, ed., *Selected Essays in Scottish Language and Literature* (Lewiston, NY: Mellen, 1992): 149-162; Leith Davis, "James Currie's *Works of Robert Burns*: The Politics of Hypochondriasis," *Studies in Romanticism*, 36:1 (1997): 43-60; Rhona Brown, "Making Robert Burns: The Correspondence of James Currie," *Burns Chronicle* (Winter 2005): 4-9; Nigel Leask, "'The Shadow Line': James Currie's 'Life of Burns' and British Romanticism," in Claire Lamont and Michael Rossington, eds., *Romanticism's Debateable Lands* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007): 64-79; Jane Darcy, "The Medical Background to Currie's Account of the Life of Burns," *European Romantic Review*, 20:4 (2009): 513-527; Corey Andrews, "The Genius of Scotland: Robert Burns and His Critics, 1796-1828," and Leith Davis, "Negotiating Cultural Memory: James Currie's *Works of Robert Burns*," both in *International Journal of Scottish Literature*, 6 (Spring/Summer 2010), online only, at: <http://www.ijsl.stir.ac.uk/issue6/index.htm>; and Gerard Carruthers and Pauline Mackay, "Re-reading James Currie: Robert Burns's First Editor," *John Clare Society Journal*, 32 (2013): 73-84.

5. Currie to Graham Moore, Feb. 1, 1789, in Gerard Carruthers, Kenneth Simpson; Pauline A. Mackay, assoc. ed., *The Letters of James Currie (1756-1805): A Digital Edition* (Glasgow: Centre for Robert Burns Studies, 2012):

<https://jamescurrie.gla.ac.uk/details.php?id=82>. Note also Currie to G. Moore, June 11, 1787, and G. Moore to Currie, Feb. 21, 1789.

6. Thornton, *Entire Stranger*, pp. 247-254. For Young's account of Currie and Burns, see Robert T. Fitzhugh, *Robert Burns, His Associates and Contemporaries* (Chapel Hill, NC: U. of North Carolina Press, 1943), pp. 63-93.

7. Currie to Syme, July 26 1796, in W.W. Currie, *Memoir* (1831), I: 247.

8. MS. 50/8, Cowie MSS, Mitchell Library, Glasgow: this MS is not noted by Kinsley, as in n. 9 below, but see *Index of English Literary Manuscripts*, III: 1 (1986), p. 170 (BuR 975). Dr Craig Lamont kindly checked the inscription for me in 2018, and I was able to check it for myself in January 2019; the "J.C." is now faint, but still readable.

9. James Kinsley, ed., *Poems and Songs of Robert Burns*, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), II: 556; Patrick Scott, "What Colour was Anna's Hair?," *Burns Chronicle*, 129 (2020), 46-50.

10. G. Ross Roy, ed., *Letters of Robert Burns*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985), II: 206.

11. Currie, *Works*, IV: 60; *The Merry Muses of Caledonia* ([Edinburgh: Alexander Smellie], 1799; repr. ed. G. Ross Roy, Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1999), 9-10.

12. ALS, James Currie to Thomas Percival, 23 April 1794, G. Ross Roy Collection, University of South Carolina Libraries.

Janine Barchas. *The Lost Books of Jane Austen*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2019. Pp. xv + 284; bibliography of selected works cited [269-73]; illustrations including c. 95 colored photographs. ISBN 10: 1-4214-3159-9: hardcover, large format (9 ¾" x 8 ¾"): \$35.00.

In *The Lost Books of Jane Austen*, Janine Barchas focuses on inexpensive post-copyright editions of Jane Austen's novels to demonstrate the value of these books in understanding Austen's reputation and readers from the nineteenth century through the present day. In her preface, she makes an appeal to "democratize Austen's reception history" by including these editions that were marketed to and read by ordinary readers (x). As her methodology, she claims to mix "hardcore bibliography with the tactics of the *Antique Roadshow*" (xi). While Barchas concentrates on Austen, she rightly asserts that her study may serve as a model for the knowledge that can be gained from studying similar editions from other authors. In order to understand these editions and their readers, she demonstrates the importance of attending to their physical details, not just those in their text blocks, such as typography and paper, but to paratextual matter in their bindings, wrappers, and advertisements—both those bound into the books and those published elsewhere. Barchas notes that standard bibliographies often leave out binding and wrapper descriptions. She also points out the many bibliographies contain very few if any images. These elements of the book, she argues, often provide valuable clues to marketing and readership. She therefore includes an abundance of full-color images to help demonstrate her points. Of course, it helps that many of books for which she provides images reside in her own

collection; this eliminates permission fees that can often limit the number of illustrations an author includes. While Barchas's book falls short in the area of "hard core bibliography," it admirably makes a case for collecting and studying these inexpensive editions and offers a rich cultural history of Austen's reputation.

In between the five chapters of her book, Barchas inserts short "vignettes" that tell the story of particular copies of individual books. These vignettes fall at the "Antique Roadshow" end of the methodological continuum. They often focus on provenance and stories of the book's owner or owners. Where the research stops as sources of information about former owners run dry, conjecture kicks in, and Barchas imagines, based on what her research has revealed, what the book may have meant to that particular owner. These narratives offer interesting mental respites between the much weightier chapters.

She divides her work into five chapters with the first one "Paperback Fighter: Austen for the People" focusing on mass market paperback editions of Austen's novels that began to appear in 1847. She includes yellowbacks, Tauchnitz editions, dime novels, serializations, schoolbook editions and popular twentieth-century paperbacks such as Penguin editions. In the course of this chapter, the history of the paperback develops through Barchas's examination of softcover Austens. Her research into the history of these publishers provides much useful information. So also does her research into their marketing methods, right down to display stands provided to retail outlets.

In her second chapter, "Sense, Sensibility and Soap," Barchas focuses on a little-known marketing campaign from the soap manufacturer Lever Brothers. In the 1890s, they held contests for "consumers" under the age of 17. The one who could send in the most soap wrappers would receive a prize. Although Lever Brothers offered an array of prizes at different levels, one was a book from its Sunlight Library series that included *Pride and Prejudice* and *Sense and Sensibility* among a selection of other standard fare similar to that included in other reprint series of the era. Barchas provides a research narrative describing her quest to date Austen's Sunlight Library editions in which she analyzes advertisements and bindings. She also usefully presents a complete list of the authors and titles advertised for the series in 1897.

Barchas identified the stereotype plates used for the Lever Austens (published under the imprint Miles & Miles and Lever) as those used for the 1883 Routledge edition. She follows the plates forward in time to their use in reprints by Miles & Miles without Lever. Later in chapter four, Barchas follows the movement of another set of stereotype plates in America that remained in use from at least 1855 to 1904. While following sets of plates as they were used by different publishers is very interesting, distinguishing between edition, printing, issue, and state would be helpful when referring to copies of these various books. Barchas leaves this for future bibliographers.

Chapter three "Looking Divine," examines editions of Austen's novels sold or distributed with certain religious connotations. She begins with those bound and/or ornamented in styles similar to medieval devotional books. These books may feature title-pages printed in gothic font and/or ornamented to look like pages from an illuminated prayer book. They may also sport bright

leather bindings tooled in gilt, a decoration frequently used on Bibles. Barchas notes in this chapter copies of Austen's novels used as Sunday school prizes as indicated by printed book plates pasted inside. She also discusses a copy of *Mansfield Park* with the imprint "McIlroy's Pleasant Sunday Afternoon Dépôt, Hanley" (England). The Pleasant Sunday Afternoon (PSA) group was a reading society for the working-class men of Hanley affiliated with the Congregationalist Church. McIlroy's, a department store in Hanley, apparently sponsored this issue and the PSA reading society. It provided a non-alcoholic alternative to a Sunday afternoon at the pub. Barchas provides a brief history of the society and shows how *Mansfield Park* in particular may have had special appeal to this audience. Barchas turns to copies of Austens from the early twentieth century whose publishers borrow some features usually reserved for Bibles, yapp bindings and India paper. She concludes this chapter discussing an edition of *Pride and Prejudice* ca. (1930) published in the small series Tarry at the Taft. The Hotel Taft—the largest hotel in Times Square at that time—gave these books away to guests. Barchas draws an analogy between these and Gideon Bibles, also given away in hotels, a movement that began in the same era.

Chapter four "Selling with Paintings" begins with a discussion of the Acorn Series published by Henry T. Coates and Company in Philadelphia (ca. 1904). Advertisements for this series drew attention to "elaborate and effective cover designs" that referred to a colored reproduction of an old master painting glued to the front cover (161). Interestingly the artwork was not necessarily tied to the title, i.e. one copy of *Emma* may have one illustration and another a different illustration. Barchas notes that Coates could print and market this series so inexpensively because he used old and worn stereotype plates acquired from an earlier publisher. As mentioned earlier, Barchas traces the use of these plates through almost fifty years by seven different publishers! This fascinating history leads her astray from marketing books with paintings, but she returns to this topic with the Penguin illustrated classic series. She then turns to movie tie-in editions featuring scenes from the movie on the cover. Here she includes Spanish and Italian editions that present scenes from movies other than those based on Austen novels like *Wuthering Heights* and *War and Peace*. She points out that rather than mistakes, these images may have been chosen intentionally to evoke a mood—as in the case of Heathcliff to evoke the gothic for a Spanish edition of *Northanger Abbey*. From the movie tie-in editions, Barchas moves to the Bantam series, the forerunner of familiar paperback student editions with illustrated covers such as Oxford World Classics and Norton Critical Editions.

In her final chapter "Pinking Jane Austen," Barchas traces the history of marketing Austen's novels as "chick lit," reading specifically for female readers. She dates the beginning of this phenomenon to the 1940s, providing sufficient evidence that literature had been gender neutral in earlier times. As a prehistory to the gendering of Austen's novels, she discusses Austen's inclusion in the "War Service Library" for British soldiers in WWI and in Penguin's Forces Book Club series during WWII. She then chronicles the postwar gendering of Austen's novels, analyzing the ways that paratextual matter such as cover art and introductions, targeted female readers.

Janeites will most certainly want to add this very attractive and informative book to their collections. It is hardbound with a two-tone cloth binding featuring a color illustration of a Jane Austen book sculpture by Mike Stilkey. Scholars of Austen and book historians will also find it of interest. It contains a plethora of information and evidence related to the marketing of Austen's novels to "common readers" and historical details related to the printers and publishers of these books that will appeal to those working on printing and publishing history of the period. Bibliographers will wish for more precision in Barchas's bibliographical terminology. For example, she defines an octavo as "one-eighth of a printing sheet" (61). Barchas also refrains from distinguishing between editions, reprints, issues, and states of the books she discusses. While she often points out that a book is not in David Gilson's *Bibliography of Jane Austen*, she leaves readers wondering whether the book to which she refers is a separate edition, a reprinting, or a reissue. Of course, making these distinctions takes time, and Barchas clearly devoted much time to her research of this book. A supplement to Gilson remains for another time.

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1650-1850: Ideas, Aesthetics, and Inquiries in the Early Modern Era.
Volume 26. Kevin L. Cope, Editor, with Book Review Editor Samara Anne Cahill. Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2021. Pp. vii + 306; illus. ISBN: 978-1-68448-321-1: hardcover: \$150. (Also offered in e-formats.)

Under Kevin L. Cope's leadership, this annual continues to display the wide-range not only of subject matter but also of critical approach that is suggested by its subtitle. The heart of this year's volume comprises six essays edited by Cope, followed by a "Special Feature: Metaphor in the Poetry and Criticism of the Long Eighteenth Century," that is, five essays and an introduction by section editor Mark A. Pedreira. The always fulsome book review section, under the direction of Samara Anne Cahill, completes the volume—14 individual book reviews (three written by Christopher D. Johnson), in which, for example, three different reviewers discuss three collections edited by Anthony W. Lee.

In "These Kings of Me: The Provenance and Significance of an Allusion in Johnson's *Taxation No Tyranny*," Matthew M. Davis under-promises and over-delivers. In *Notes & Queries* (1977) Bruce King had identified the source of Johnson's phrase in words spoken by Dryden's warrior-hero Almanzor, but since then no one has expanded in any meaningful way on King's identification, which is "unfortunate because Johnson's allusion to *The Conquest of Granada* is actually quite revealing. If we want to understand what Johnson was up to in *Taxation No Tyranny*, it is helpful to understand what he was doing with this allusion and also what other writers had done with the same allusion previously" (42-43). Although Dryden's narrative eventually socializes the fiercely independent warrior, Johnson uses this early remark to associate the American colonists with an illogical, in fact

downright foolish, political position—the criticism is deepened when one recalls how the bombastic Almanzor was often viewed in the century. Davis speculates that Johnson may be following the line of criticism of Charles Leslie, who was probably “the first to use Almanzor and Dryden and [Bayles’] *The Rehearsal* to criticize Whig theories of the social contract and the state of nature” (52). This essay builds carefully and usefully on previous scholarship to offer new and valuable insights, especially in understanding the fusion of the literary and the political in Johnson’s tract. Would that Davis, however, had used as his text for Johnson’s *Lives of the Poets* one of the two standard and recent scholarly editions (Oxford 2006, Yale 2010). If he had, I probably would not have pulled down from my bookshelf G. H. Hill’s 1905 edition, from which he quotes too often erroneously. The errors are not heinous—adding ellipsis where none is needed; omission of a single word; changing punctuation and capitalization; omitting italics—but they are very frequent, in quotations not just from Johnson’s *Lives* but also from *Taxation No Tyranny*. I pass over O M Brack Jr. being renamed O. M. Brack in note 24, since this same error occurs in other places in the annual; perhaps it is a proof-reader’s overly zealous “correction.”

The topic Andrew Connell surveys in his essay is now at least partially familiar to contemporary students of eighteenth-century literature. “The Woman, the Politician, and the Will: Charlotte Smith’s Literary Assaults on John Robinson, ‘The Lowest Rank of Human Degradation’” moves back and forth between the author and the secretary of the Treasury, who was known (apart from Charlotte’s characterizations) by the unendearing nickname, “the Ratcatcher.” (See, for example, Rowlandson’s satiric print.) Some of us will be familiar with Smith’s story of penury and legal wrangling, although even here Connell makes some valuable discoveries. He has read closely all ten Smith novels, produced in rapid succession from 1788 to 1798, and successfully argues that Smith frequently based minor, remarkably evil fictional characters on Robinson. By providing a thumbnail sketch of Robinson’s life in advance of these arguments, he enables the reader to follow and sometimes even to anticipate the points of conjunction between characters in the novels and the man serving as one of the trustees of the Smith family trust. Connell’s essay is finely crafted, full of insights like these: “Charlotte’s sense of injustice only matured with time” (97); and “Without what she perceived as the baleful influence of the man variously described as an ‘old Mule,’ an ‘old Hog,’ an ‘old wretch,’ and an ‘old brute,’ Charlotte Smith’s novels—their literary stock again rising after two centuries of fluctuation—would never have been written” (88).

Even Connell’s asides are fascinating. He points out that Smith and Robinson both owe a posthumous debt to North American scholarship for being known at all. In 2003 Judith Phillips Stanton, building on the work of scholars at Lycoming College and the University of Southern California, published Smith’s collected letters; Stanton’s manuscript “was turned down by the Oxford University Press, but accepted, to its eternal credit, by the University of Indiana” (105). Another aside, handled as always with deftness and care, concerns the relationships between Robinson and his cousin, the poet William Wordsworth, on the one hand, and Smith and Wordsworth, on the other. It seems to me that Connell has completely achieved his goal, stated in

his concluding sentence: “As between John Robinson and Charlotte Smith, so between political history and literary appreciation, it is too easy for a gulf of incomprehension to be fixed; this we have sought to bridge” (106).

Robin Runia’s “Prostitutes or Proselytes: Eighteenth-Century Female Enthusiasts” traces “a history of enthusiasm’s relationship to the gendered body” and then “focuses on representations of enthusiastic women in midcentury satiric texts that expose the real power of women’s relationships” (3). Trying to sort out what is new in this essay is difficult. The association of religious enthusiasm and sexual passion is certainly not undiscovered, nor new in the century. Witness, for a relatively recent visual example, Bernini’s *Ecstasy of Saint Teresa* (c. 1650). It has long been one of the arrows in the quiver of the establishment’s satiric attack on Johnny-come-lately religions. Methodists, conspicuously, but also other non-established sects would be targeted for including women followers (or, [gracious!], women preachers), who were mentally inferior (“silly women”) and perhaps carried away by entirely unheavenly desires. Runia tends to push some examples too far as she attempts to narrow her aim. For example, she quotes from Swift’s “Mechanical Operation of the Spirit” and properly notes that Swift prefaces his observation that it is a wonder “how unaccountably all females are attracted by visionary or enthusiastic preachers” with this rather balanced, “persons of visionary devotion, either men or women, are in their complexion, of all others the most amorous.” Runia’s conclusion—“The problem of religious enthusiasm is thus female lust” (6)—seems much too sweeping, both for Swift and for the century in general. In an attempt to sharpen her thesis, Runia points out a pattern of older, more mature female enthusiasts, often mothers, leading younger women into a combination of sexual and religious error. This seems to work quite well with her reading of Samuel Foote’s *The Minor* (1766) and Francis Coventry’s *History of Pompey the Little* (1751), where one character protests, “I am afraid your mama will debauch the girl with religion” (9), but less so with Smollett’s *Humphry Clinker* (1771). Perhaps Tabitha Bramble strikes most readers as more an obviously comic figure than an ominous threat to young Lydia, despite their both being discovered, along with Win Jenkins, at a Methodist meeting. Put another way, Tabitha just can’t carry the weight of being a bawd.

Runia misses an opportunity to shore up her position when she turns to *A Love Feast* (1778), a poem attributed to William Combe. This would seem grist for her mill, especially after she cites a prefatory remark by the poet that describes Methodist worship as lewd, lustful, and debauched. But when I read the poem, I discovered, first of all, that it was not carefully quoted: for example, five lines of poetry contain nine transcription errors, including an obvious typo and the unspecified omission of an entire line (16). More important, although it is true that the person mentioned in the passage, Prisca, is an lecherous old woman who “[c]onducts her *Virgin-Lambs* [note: “Her *Daughters*] to [Wesley’s] *chaste Fold*,” and that Corinna (mistakenly given as Corinne) has strayed from Magdalen, there is no evidence that the former led the latter astray (“with her example to guide her” [16]). Rather, the poem makes clear that Corinna has “broke[n] away” quite of her own volition from the “hospital” for penitent prostitutes and is now plying her former trade at Methodist meetings, where “she finds *Salvation* and *old Friends*” (*Love Feast*,

14-15). Indeed the poem does cite additional examples of mothers betraying their daughters into depravity via religious rites—"To load *Perfection's* Altar *Matrons* bring / Their tender Brood, which never yet took Wing" and "*Those* [victims] a mad *Mother* had to Frenzy wrought, / And, as *First-Fruits*, to *Murcia's* Altar brought" (*Love Feast*, 25, 26)—but these passages are not cited. Nor is the following passage, which implies that the poem is hardly as narrowly focused on older female / maternal lust as is implied: at the "*Midnight-Feast*":

Together wanton Pairs promiscuous run,
Brothers with *Sisters*, *Mothers* with a *Son*:
Fathers, perhaps, with yielding *Daughters* meet,
 And *Converts* find their *Pastor's* Doctrines sweet. (*Love Feast*, 28)

The essay includes two illustrations, both helpful: *Enthusiasm Displayed* (1739) and Hogarth's rather well known *Enthusiasm Delineated* (1760-62). There is nice analysis of the frontispiece of Foote's *The Minor*, but its image is not included.

Norbert Col's "Edmund Burke on Monarchy: Keystone and Trials of Strength" offers "a more rigorous, doctrinal understanding of his ideas about kings" (20). Col is well aware that the consistency one expects from a rigorous understanding of anything may not be present in Burke's writings: he recognizes reasons, ranging from Burke's points being "occasionally hurried" (22) to his self-positioning as "a paradoxical umpire whose successive standpoints may be disorienting" (24), to his writings being "on the whole ad hoc responses to specific situations" (25). Of course, the subject of monarchy is even more complex, since Burke attempted to square the circle of his support for the Glorious Revolution, which replaced a lawful king, with his opposition to the French Revolution, which replaced another. Col (who is French) writes well—always a virtue but especially when quoting Burke—and never gives the sense of defending Burke so much as explaining him. The insights are numerous, including these: "Monarchy and some form of pragmatic conservatism were not distant bedfellows with Burke, but at issue is whether monarchy as such should be regarded as a positive feature of this combination" (21); "Practice . . . ran against theory and raised the issue of emergencies that Burke, in keeping with his general views on the perils of casuistry, balked at defining very precisely" (29). This essay sweeps widely throughout various topics important to Burke (the treatment of Ireland, the George III ascension and the Regency Crisis, and the variance caused by whether Burke was participating in the "muddy middle ground of politics" (32) or employing the more theoretical aesthetic framework of *Sublime and Beautiful*). Even though Col admits in closing that "Burke merely touched, here and there, on the issue of monarchy" (34), we know much more about Burke's view of the topic, and about Burke in general, after reading this essay.

"In Quotes: Annotating Maria Edgeworth's *Belinda*" combines the style of a personal essay with the intellectual rigor one would expect from someone who has successfully produced scholarly editions of important literary works for half a century. Here is a highly oversimplified and somewhat inaccurate précis: Melvyn New discusses numerous instances where the editors of recent

“student” editions of Maria Edgeworth’s *Belinda* fail to annotate allusions in the text, especially those that are set off by the author as allusions and that will not be easily identified by modern readers. Even though New does not find *Belinda* of especial high quality (“I had not read *Belinda* in my fifty years in the profession and, despite its turning out to be of some interest, I would almost certainly not reread it” [112]), his main thrust is to attempt to refocus what contemporary scholars are doing as they produce classroom editions for works new to the expanding canon. He concentrates on passages Edgeworth quoted from other writers, not to embarrass recent editors, but “because Edgeworth’s signaling of such passages indicates they had importance to her: she is alerting us . . . to her sense of belonging to a literary community, one that she honored and expected the most literate of her audience to recognize” (113). Most of the essay contains specific identifications and explications of allusions that Edgeworth conspicuously made but that are probably passed over by modern readers, as they have been by modern editors. One might criticize New for offering a slew of specific examples and thus “spoiling” the territory for young scholars eager for a publication or three in order to continue on the tenure path, but it is worthwhile if “before we . . . canonize a Behn, a Manley, a Haywood, or an Edgeworth (dare I add: or write about them as literary scholars rather than as sociologists or anthropologists, psychologists, or even historians); we need to examine their texts with scholarly care and base our interpretations—and evaluations—on . . . texts about which we have precisely informed ourselves” (126).

Samara Anne Cahill’s “Localizing Women? Mary Wollstonecraft, *Burka Avenger*, and the Adaptable Heroine” is a challenging essay, much better than a hasty first reading might reveal. To say it is extensive is an understatement. Here is Cahill’s summary of the ground to be covered:

This essay discusses the imagined geography that enabled Wollstonecraft to distance Islam from women’s education before turning to Wollstonecraft’s characterization of her exemplary heroine (Mrs. Mason), continuing with an analysis of how Wollstonecraft’s modeling of popular culture (the novel, the ballad) could help women to adapt, and concluding with a reading of *Burka Avenger* as an adaptive intervention in the Wollstonecraftian tradition of the adaptable heroine. (68)

I found entirely convincing the argument that Wollstonecraft’s embracing of the novel was motivated by her aim to provide models of women, and to women, that were more coincident with her philosophy: “This desire to adapt available models of femininity explains Wollstonecraft’s choice to write in a genre that she otherwise deeply distrusted. . . . It would make sense for her to encourage young women to think beyond the cultural scripts available to them by working creatively with conventions, rather than entirely rejecting a popular pastime simply because it was frivolous” (72-73). Similarly convincing are observations from close readings of *Original Stories from Real Life* (1787), *Mary, A Fiction* (1788), and *The Wrongs of Woman; or, Maria* (1798). For instance, Maria’s friend Jemima “may be a ‘fallen woman,’ but pleasure had nothing to do with her fall. Sentimental novels do not speak for her—she does not recognize herself in them. What gives her pleasure are

the popular street ballads that she experienced in her childhood” (78). And, “clearly Wollstonecraft was foundationally invested in the use of pop culture to achieve feminist ends” (80).

Much less convincing is the link with *Burka Avenger* (2013-2016), the contemporary Urdu-language cartoon whose hero, a young Pakistani teacher, dons “the full-body covering of the burqa, often associated in the West with the subordination of women in Muslim contexts, as a superheroine costume” (67). Some of the links are strained, as when we are told that “positioning students to model themselves on the superhuman, Mrs. Mason in *Original Stories* (and Wollstonecraft herself) anticipates *Burka Avenger*’s use of superheroine conventions to model exemplary behavior” (71). Mrs. Mason indeed believes “the ultimate aim of education is to imitate superhuman virtue” and instructs her student that “The Supreme being . . . is recognized as the Universal Father, the author and Centre of Good” and that a child must be led “to comprehend that dignity and happiness must arise from imitating Him” (71). But this looks backward to *Imitatio Christi* more than forward to *Burka*. I will make a final point to counter a potential objection that I am an intellectual snob in rejecting pop culture. At times Cahill’s analysis of *Burka* seems too rooted in the present and recent past. Cahill calls up *Star Wars* and *The Empire Strikes Back*, but when she quotes the Avenger’s fight “for justice, peace and education for all” (81), I am reminded of Superman’s being “in a never-ending battle for Truth and Justice,” which became “Truth, Justice, and the American Way” during and after WW II, and in 2021 “Truth, Justice, and a Better Tomorrow.” It’s just what all superheroes do. As Connell (see above) sought to build a bridge between two seemingly disparate areas, so Cahill hopes that “[t]he adaptability of popular genres . . . can bridge the distance created by cultural bias” (68), but in this particular case it seems a bridge too far.

After Mark Pedreira’s brief introduction to the special feature section, Adam Rounce’s “Organizing Poetry in the Eighteenth Century: Anthologies and Metaphor” tackles the difficult task of looking “at the ways in which some well-known anthologies use categories of metaphor to organize themselves, and the results and effects of this” (141). The difficulties begin, Rounce explains, with “somewhat slippery” terminology—anthologies are often referred to as commonplace books and do they properly have “editors” or “compilers”? Might those editors / compilers even be literary critics? It depends. Rounce imposes “a provisional four-part pattern to represent “loose editorial principles, which are not of course mutually exclusive” (142-143; my emphases). Whew! Still, he is able to cite examples to justify his conclusions: “how much the available poetic canon widened between 1700 and 1761, but also how diversely, if not always coherently it was anthologized . . . how reading poetry could operate on different levels—author-centered, the relation of an image or idea, the pleasure of the expression rather than the sense of the cohesive whole” (160). Left without comment, probably because it is unknowable, is the possibility that for some readers anthologies functioned, via citation of a short passage, to call to mind the entire context or even the entire work.

“Curvilinear Thinking in the Long Eighteenth Century” is a highly enjoyable survey of how William Hogarth’s serpentine line (*Analysis of Beauty*, 1753) reflects an aesthetic that “infuses a great deal of [the period’s]

poetry, prose fiction, criticism, and political philosophy” (174). Hogarth, of course, juxtaposed the curving and waving to the regular and uniform, stressing how the former led to diversity and concomitant beauty in the visual arts. Taylor Corse’s survey begins with the mid-seventeenth-century poet Robert Herrick, and proceeds through Milton, Dryden, Pope, Fielding, Sterne, Reynolds, and Austen, each treated briefly but deftly in terms of his thesis. To illustrate his procedure, upon Hogarth’s observation that the “the art of composing well is the art of varying well” he builds a convincing contrast between the “lifeless symmetry and uniformity” (165) of Timon’s Villa (Pope) with the Eden-like diversity of Paradise Hall in Fielding’s *Tom Jones*, with its S-shaped, meandering river. There Tom had freedom, indeed, freedom to err (as in Milton’s Eden) but a highly desirable freedom none the less: “As a young man, Tom makes a number of decisions, for good and ill, but these choices are prompted by [the] curvilinear world in which he grows up, a world that is curbed by the rectilinear thinking of Thwackum [and] Square” (167). While this dialectic (curvilinear versus rectilinear) is rather obvious in the contrast between Austen’s Pemberley House and Rosings (*Pride and Prejudice*), it seems new to me, and certainly correct, to find it also in Burke’s *Reflections*, where messy British freedom is contrasted with the imposed regularity championed by the French revolutionaries: “Burke stresses the inequality of the human condition in order to make his case for a system of governance that respects ‘the many diversities amongst men’” (170).

In “Coleridge and Metaphor: Crossing Thresholds” Linda L. Reesman examines a few of Coleridge’s poems (including “The Ancient Mariner,” “Dejection: An Ode,” “The Eolian Harp,” “France: An Ode,” and “Sonnet to the River Otter”) through two lens: his own poetic theory and a modern anthropologist’s theory of “liminality.” “Applying this basic concept of ‘interstructural situations’ to poetic theory, several of Coleridge’s poems can be analyzed in relationship to the margins of human states of mind and the passages that occur between life’s stages as illustrated through poetic metaphor” (222). In addition to Victor Turner’s “theory of liminality as the basis of the transformative nature of ritual in agrarian societies” (221), Reesman depends heavily on modern literary critics, including Abrams, Kessler, and Marks. If all this sounds complicated, it is. Maybe it can be offered as a truism that some critics fail in interpreting “Augustan” poetry by making it too simple, while other critics fail in interpreting Romantic poetry by making it too complicated. Reesman has some interesting things to say about Coleridge’s poetry (especially “France: An Ode”) and its relationship to his biography, but on a non-theoretician like me, much of this essay is wasted.

As it did with Cahill’s essay (above), the word “challenging” come to mind for several reasons when considering Michael Edson’s “Feeling Allegory: Affect, Metaphor, and Milton’s Eighteenth-Century Reception.” The topic is somewhat abstract, although Edson does an excellent job of making it as concrete as can be by building his excellent argument with bite-sized pieces. There is so much of interest here that I cannot help wishing it had monograph-length development. He begins with Addison’s and Johnson’s dislike for Milton’s Sin and Death, and “offer[s] an explanation beyond representational inconsistency for [their] objections to Sin and Death, one based on the feelings attending allegory” (178). He encourages us to “take

seriously the physical aspects of figural language” (179), suggesting that instead of assuming the objections were based on an overly-rigorous application of some type of classical unity, they may well have sprung from “gut reactions In short, critics felt faulty figures before they could name the formal or logical problem—hence objections often carried a language of bodily discomfort” (185).

Edson is especially convincing as he assembles a large sample of the words frequently appearing in criticism of faulty figures—words like “disgust,” “nausea” (and its variations), and “fatigue.” This leads his argument, smoothly, into a section on the proper length of allegories, which puts into a more meaningful context remarks like Addison’s (“the Resemblance does not, perhaps, last above a Line or two, but the Poet runs on”) and Johnson’s (“Fame [can] tell a tale, and Victory [can] hover over a general . . . but Fame and Victory can do no more”) (189, 192). Edson concludes with a suggestion that contemporary Reception Histories begin to include Histories of Emotion, or, more specifically, refer to the affective nature of literary figures on the reader: “In building a cosmic causeway to Hell, Sin and Death therefore promise to help link reception study with the theory and history of affect, another kind of bridge of which we can imagine even Johnson may have approved” (199).

Jacob Sider Jost knows how to write an appealing essay. “The Wordliness of Edward Young and the Metaphorics of Georgian Patronage” begins where, as he tells us, many an essay on Young has begun, with George Eliot’s “Worldliness and Otherworldliness” (1857), which “immolate[d] Young’s achievement as a poet and his character as a human being” (204), but Sider Jost’s is not a typical defense. He proposes “a new critical assessment of Young that embraces Eliot’s premise. Young was indeed worldly. . . . But I reject Eliot’s conclusion. Far from compromising his achievement as a poet, Young’s worldliness is central to it” (205). The essay is filled with sound assessments, including the obvious one—for *worldly* one should not read *secular*. Young was to the manor born in a world where, at least in his early days, success in poetry “depended not primarily on the print market but rather on personal relationships” (207). The reading of *Epistle to Lord Lansdowne* argues that there Young depicts via metaphor the picture of “the hermaphroditic poet . . . at once feminine, an alluring muse, and assertive, pressing her claims under the eyes and through the bodies of the crowd in hopes that the patron will welcome her” (209).

Such sensitive explication of metaphor continues when Sider Jost turns to the *Love of Fame*. If for nothing else, he deserves credit for rescuing from books of famous quotations, by providing a fuller context, the second line of this couplet: “All other trades demand, verse-makers beg / A dedication is a wooden leg” (215). Similarly, he draws a useful contrast between Milton and Young: “A century before, Milton had seen the love of fame as elite, exclusive, ‘That last infirmity of Noble mind’; for Young it is *The Universal Passion*,” as we all depend on the approval of others (211, 205). Sider Jost’s conclusion, “The Extravagance of Edward Young,” looks back to one of his two epigraphs. The first, we recall, was to George Eliot, the second to Boswell quoting Johnson’s opinion that “there were very fine things in his Night Thoughts, though you could not find twenty lines together without some

extravagance” (204). Sider Jost's final sentences deserve to be quoted in full: “Young’s achievement does not lie in the economy of his metaphors or his career. Instead, it lies in his extravagant synthesis of the two, by which he imagines the poet on the periphery of the Hanoverian elite as the emblem of humanity’s place in the Newtonian cosmos and the chain of being” (216).

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Stephanie Insley Hershinow. *Born Yesterday: Inexperience and the Early Realist Novel*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2020.. Pp. xv + 176; index. ISBN: 1-4214-2967-5. Hardcover: \$49.95. (Available in e-book.)

This thought-provoking work covers a lot of ground in 176 pages. Hershinow analyzes characters in three well-known British novels and two Gothic subgenres, reflects on the literary theories of Samuel Johnson and Ian Watt, and mixes in bits of modern popular culture along the way. Her clearly stated purpose is creating a “model of inexperience” manifested in early realist characters to establish the “novice as a character type.” Furthermore, she analyzes how the novice functions in the dynamics between character and plot in these early novels.

Throughout, she sets her model of inexperience in opposition to the *bildungsroman* model of novel development in 18th-century studies, which she considers overly dependent on methodologies of historicism and cultural studies. In particular, she hones in on the still influential work of Ian Watt on the importance of the *experience* of characters in early novels. At the same time, she argues that the *assessment* of characters’ experience as a driver of change/plot has been understudied, and that is the gap she steps in to fill here.

Hershinow begins with the character of Clarissa in Samuel Richardson’s much-studied novel. She sees Clarissa as an innocent novice, consistently describing herself as detached from the world. The novel is primarily composed of Clarissa narrating her own unchanging inexperience, even when drugged and raped. Hershinow observes there is little active plot and no *bildungsroman* moment of change in the character of Clarissa. Interestingly, Hershinow argues that Lovelace, the rapist, is the only character that experiences change in the novel.

Turning to Henry Fielding’s *Tom Jones*, Hershinow surprisingly argues that Tom is a model inexperienced character as judged by his lack of self-awareness, despite his rakish actions. Comparing Tom’s character with that of Sophia Weston, Hershinow points out that Sophia changes more and takes the greatest risk by marrying Tom. Happily, in this chapter Hershinow shows that her model of inexperience is not limited to novice female characters. Nodding to the complexity of Tom’s unchanging character, Hershinow ends this chapter by citing Albert Finney’s ostentatious wink at the camera in the final scene of the popular 1963 film.

Hershinow’s final chapter examines Frances Burney--for her *Camilla*--as a prime example of a novelist who often wrote about the life of young people. Like Clarissa, Camilla is a “picture of youth,” but the novel even more entirely

focuses on her as an inexperienced character. Hershinoew sees Burney as “prying character and plot apart” to create this novel about a novice character with almost no plot. Thus, *Camilla* serves as Hershinoew’s final blow to the *bildungsromans* model as all-inclusive in an overarching theory of the development of the early realist novel.

Born Yesterday is a fresh look at the early British novel as emergent and contested, still in “the growing pains” stage of integrating character and plot. Hershinoew introduces interesting new readings of much analyzed novels. For example, she notes that reading the almost plotless narrations of inexperience in *Clarissa* elicits groans from current college students as it did for Samuel Johnson. *Born Yesterday* is an important new analysis of early realist novels, yet suffers, in my opinion, from disdaining historical contextualization. Perhaps literary historians have oversubscribed to the *bildungsroman* model, yet theorizing about the characters and plots of early novels without any consideration of changing historical experiences seems incomplete.

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Dipti Khera, *The Place of Many Moods Udaipur’s Painted Lands and India’s Eighteenth Century*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2020. Pp. xiv + 218; Appendices, notes, bibliography, index, 159 images, mostly in color. LCCN: 20220002331; ISBN: 97806931201849. Price not stated; \$ 57.69 on Amazon.com; \$ 45.99 on Kindle.

Splendidly got up and containing 159 illustrations, most in color, several occupying whole pages and quite a few spread over both the verso and recto, thoroughly researched, with a detailed bibliography, and written with sophistication and insight, this book by Dipti Khera an associate professor of art history at NYU, is a veritable *tour de force*. Originally presented as a dissertation for a Columbia Ph.D., and winner of the Edward Cameron Dimock Jr, Prize in the Indian Humanities of the American Institute of Indian Studies, it makes a major contribution to studies of Indian art.

Khera exhibits many strengths. She has examined in detail just about every extant painting, big or small, produced in Udaipur in the long eighteenth century, for which purpose she has scoured collections from nearly forty museums and libraries from Udaipur to Melbourne, plus a few in private hands. Recognizing the close ties between painting and poetry, and being a gifted linguist, she has read several 18th century poems in Brajbhasha, the language that was generally used in northern India in this period, including some that are very hard to come by, and in the Appendix has provided transliterations and translations of three that she discusses in some detail. In discussing the work of the artist Ghasi who, after he had been painting in the Udaipur court accompanied the first British political agent James Tod and then, on Tod’s departure, returned to Udaipur’s patronage, she provides an excellent and original account of the fraught relationships between Indian court and British artistic aims and traditions. And she is particularly good at “reading” multi-focused and complex paintings. She says herself at one point

that she has stared at them long and hard. In larger paintings there are very many details, and sometimes the artist hides in a corner a detail of some significance with a particular purpose in view. Khera identifies several such, provides enlarged views in her book, and offers insightful commentary on them, even as she keeps the whole picture in sight and brings out, step by step, its complex and hidden meanings. She has a developed sense, in other words, of the same kind of connoisseurship that court nobility must have displayed when they saw these works time after time, and gradually came to understand what the artist was trying to do. A few such paintings may be mentioned: *The Mood of Kota Palace* (c. 1700), *Maharana Amar Singh II in Udaipur during a Monsoon Downpour* (c. 1700), *Maharana Sangram Singh II at the Gangaur Boat Festival* (1715-20), and the remarkable scroll consisting of paintings and text, 72 feet long and only 11 inches wide, which king Jawan Singh and the merchants of Udaipur sent to the Jain monk Shri Jinharsh Suri in 1830, inviting him to spend the monsoon months of the following year in Udaipur.

Udaipur artists mined portrayals of ideal kingship from Mughal imperial painting, which in turn had borrowed from painted images of kings in Hindu epics. In turn, the Udaipur painters Sahib Din and Manohar adapted these Mughal pictures in the seven-volume *Mewar Ramayana*, also known as the *Jagat Singh Ramayana* (1649-53), to portray idealized locations which the Hindu god Ram and his consort Sita visited during their exile. Their flat, two dimensional compositions and bright colors were their way of showing places as otherworldly, what Yeats called "out of Nature." And because part of their intention was to identify the kingly ideal embodied in Ram with Udaipur's rulers, in painting Ayodhya, Ram's capital city, they drew on the domes, towers and turrets of Udaipur. Between this work and *Maharana Sangram Singh II at the Gangaur Boat Festival* (c. 1715-20) Udaipur painters created works ranging in size from one to ten feet, and scrolls several feet in length, in which they developed images as well as techniques for depicting beautiful places, lush forests, enchanting gardens, palaces with wonderful architectural details, bazaars, crowds of people, and images of kingship.

By the end of the seventeenth century they began to experiment with the sensorial experience of space and with how feelings or moods or emotions (*bhava*) could be painted or conveyed. To show how, Khera analyzes in some detail *Maharana Sangram Singh II at the Gangaur Boat Festival*. Gangaur, a festival celebrated every year by women in Rajasthan, is dedicated to Gauri, Shiva's consort, who is associated with good harvests and fruitful marriages. The painting, just over two and a half feet square, depicts the king and his companions, who are named on the back, viewing the celebrations from a boat on lake Pichola. The boat is pictured three times, showing that it is in motion and moving from place to place. The upper side of the painting depicts the city with its several architectural features in dark colors because it is night, but lit up with fireworks, while on the lower side there is a vast crowd of people, individualized, representing the population of the city. In the right hand corner are ladies performing rituals associated with Gauri worship. The king is simultaneously paying homage to the goddess, enjoying the boat ride, admiring the city's buildings, and admiring the nobles while they admire him.

The painting achieves a number of purposes which Khera points out. By presenting an idealized view of Udaipur as a city of many beautiful vistas

capable of providing great pleasure and promising plenitude, this work and others like it reiterated these themes in the minds of the courtly viewers and encourage greater commitment to the city and its ruler. This was important, for the ruler's power depended on the loyalty and support of his nobles or *thakurs*. The *thakurs* belonged to the king's clan, but they lived in their own villages or *thikanas* which they owned and where they ruled over villagers. To maintain his authority the ruler needed to get these *thakurs* to move to the city, build their *havelis* or palaces and spend time there. That is why Sangram Singh is shown in their company: by making them enamored of the beauty of the city when viewed from boats, a sense of belonging could be instilled into them.

Nor is the presence of the king fortuitous. He is taking part in a religious ritual; as such, he is establishing his credentials as a good Hindu. And because he is the king, his worship becomes analogous to that offered by a minor deity to the Supreme Being. For this reason the painter paints him with a halo round his head: he is a divine personage, a higher being.

Like other Udaipur paintings, that of Sangram Singh celebrating the Gauri festival on the lake has a multiplicity of foci. The anonymous painter idealizes architecture, describes city scenes and its people, portrays royalty, celebrates aquatic pleasures, music and singing, and shows fireworks and illuminations. He emphasizes sociability between the king, the *thakurs* and the citizens, brings in the theme of religious celebration, and presents the image of an ideal life as a transformational moment that can be realized. Thus politics is allied to the idea of perfection, whether sensuous, aesthetic or spiritual.

Khera attributes the multiple foci in 18th-century Udaipur paintings to a period in history when developments in measurement and mapping led to a clearer sense of location in people's minds, resulting in a feeling that there was a unified city with a common culture that could be shared between different individuals and depicted by artists. However, this sharing did not impose a uniformity of vision. In cities it left people free to move from place to place focusing on different buildings or different features of a given building, on different city vistas or localities to savor their unique flavors, or even from city to city to admire different views even as they took in different political landscapes. So paintings, too, lent themselves to different viewers extracting different meanings from them at different times. The sense that a painting had a stable or fixed meaning or purpose never existed with Udaipur artists.

The lakes of Udaipur not only provided beautiful vistas, entertainment for the senses, and made possible the joys of royal gardens in palaces like Baadi Mahal (palace of gardens) built in 1699. but by assuring a year-round source of water, were vital to the lives of the people. And because they were rain-fed, the annual monsoon was a matter of concern to all. Since the artists were living in a city of beautiful lakes as well as palaces, they also associated the rains with images of aquatic and architectural beauty.

This is typical of many small paintings of the period, but is perhaps best seen in a large cloth painting 6 feet by 4 feet showing *Maharana Amar Singh II in Udaipur during a Monsoon Downpour*. The king is shown sitting in a public hall in the palace with his nobles watching an elephant running amok, depicted nine times in the painting to convey his movements and speed. We not only see the king but also the mountains, the rain, bursting clouds, temples, gates, buildings, horsemen, courtyards, and scenes outside the palace walls. In

the painting *Amar Singh II during a Monsoon Shower*, where the king is shown riding in the rain, the anonymous artist links the king to the legends of Krishna disporting himself in the monsoon season and also associates him with the promise of good crops and hence prosperity. The evocation of the moods of the monsoon is not just that but also indirectly a praise of the king and of the city's attractiveness and a sense of plenitude and fulfillment.

On January 20, 1746 was inaugurated the Jagnivas Palace, a superb piece of architecture built in lake Pichola by Jagat Singh II. (Today it has been converted into a luxury hotel). The palace was intended to be the last word in pleasure. When the British arrived in Udaipur a hundred years later, they saw this and other palaces as hotbeds of Oriental luxury and decadence, not understanding that the concept of pleasure had totally different connotations. In Mughal times it went hand in hand with the ideas of a balanced political order, government of the self, a cultivated sensibility, an appreciation of finer things, and harmonious social relationships of friendship.

As Chapter 3 makes clear, these were the values that Jagat Singh sought to foster among those who were invited to the three-day inaugural celebrations of the palace, and sung in a poem of Nandram entitled *Jagvilas*. The first part of this word, *Jag*, refers to Jagat Singh but also means the world, and *vilas* or *vilasa* is a courtly aesthetic and ethic. The pleasure conjured by this word combines luxury, connoisseurship, and joyful experiences. As various paintings hint, *vilasa* in Jagat Singh's lake palace performed an important political function as well. Since the king's power depended in large measure on the support of his *thakurs* and the city elite, by involving them in ceremonies that emphasized *vilasa*, Jagat Singh was able to enjoy theirs.

Chapter 4 of Khera's book entitled "Modes of Knowing and Skills of Drawing" examines the impact of the British presence on the art of Udaipur. The British occupied Delhi in 1803, though Mughal rule was to continue till 1857, and Col. James Tod was appointed their agent in Rajasthan in 1818. He traveled through most of Rajasthan collecting the histories and legends of different places, and had two artists with him, the British Patrick Waugh and Udaipur's Ghasi, who made many paintings and architectural drawings, several of which Tod used in his two-volume *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, published after he returned to England between 1829 and 1832. He thought poorly of Ghasi as an artist, and subsequent British commentators have criticized Ghasi's work for stiffness. He has also been accused of not embodying the older Udaipur style enough in his paintings and also of not being able to meet European standards of painting because he lacked mastery of either style. But Khera studies him as an artist who worked both *between* and *within* the two cultural forms and practices. Ghasi and Waugh often painted side by side, and there are almost as many works by one as by the other in Tod's collection, yet Tod used far more by Waugh than by Ghasi in his book. One reason may have been that Waugh painted landscapes offering distant views of objects and showing everything pervaded by a sense of decay, thus indirectly implying the need for foreign intervention, which is what Tod too wanted to see. However Ghasi was interested much more in picturing sculptural details and other architectural features of buildings, and making bold use of pencil and outlines. This fact itself disproves a British contention that Ghasi had received no knowledge of portraying architecture from the

Udaipur court, and what he learned he owed to Tod, a trained engineer. As Khera points out, at least since 1700 Udaipur painters had focused both on architectural drafting and on portraying moods and emotions, so Ghasi cannot be dismissed as “a figure of lack” or as an artist marking a decline (p. 118).

Note the frontispiece of Vol. 1 of Tod’s *Annals and Antiquities*. It shows Maharana Bhim Singh of Udaipur on horseback smoking a hookah. Tod says that the portrait was drawn by Waugh and engraved for the book by E. Finden. But Khera points out that the portrait was drawn by artist Thomas Strothard, basing it upon a painting by Ghasi made around 1820 and owned by Tod.

Apart from this, there are few pictures in Volume 1 of *Annals* that are either made by or owe to Ghasi, though there are many landscapes by Waugh. However, in Volume 2 Tod includes many of Ghasi’s drawings which show great attention to detail, no error in proportions, and a fine use of pencil. Ghasi is not here using lessons taught by Tod but rather putting into practice what earlier Udaipur artists had also done; the only difference is that he excels them, knowing what Tod valued. So Khera argues that to see this as a European influence would be wrong. He simply deployed the skills he had learned for “transcultural spaces” (p. 129).

After Tod’s return to England in 1823 Ghasi re-entered the service of the Udaipur court. In 1833 the British held a *darbar* in Ajmer where the Udaipur ruler Jawan Singh went to meet the Governor General Lord William Bentinck. *Durbars* or grand public receptions were a Mughal tradition which the British adopted, complete with elaborate costumes, much panoply, processions, and gift giving as a way of demonstrating political power. There was a lot of correspondence preceding the *darbar* between the British and Udaipur regarding seating arrangements. Jawan Singh wanted both sides to sit on the cushioned floor, with Bentinck and he raised a little bit above their followers, but the British insisted that everyone should sit at the same level on chairs. Udaipur did not want this kind of equality but the British finally won out, and Jawan Singh and Bentinck sat on chairs on the same level. Ghasi portrayed the scene in 1832 in a painting measuring nearly 6 feet by 4 feet. Maybe because Jawan Singh felt that he had lost, he undertook a pilgrimage the following year hoping that it would reassert his power among other Rajasthan rulers and re-establish his primacy as a Hindu king. Ghasi accompanied him, and made several pictures of the king at temples in Kashi and Varanasi. Jawan Singh is invariably placed at the center of things, and by evoking a religious *bhava* or mood with which he invests the king, Ghasi asserts the king’s authority in both the secular and religious sphere. In depicting the architecture of these temples he draws on his knowledge of making vertical drawings of other temples for Tod. Thus his paintings of Jawan Singh are “complex translations *between* idioms” (pp. 135-36). He used “the vocabulary of drawing architecture within the idioms of praise” to create an image of power and stability for Udaipur’s rulers (p. 118); by combining the *bhava* or mood of a place (*pace* earlier painters) with the architecture of temples that Jawan Singh visited, he sought to assert the king’s power in the face of British colonization.

In Chapter 5, “Charismatic Places and Colonial Spaces,” Khera makes a brief reference to *firman* or a decree that emperor Jahangir issued, and with a discussion of which the book begins. In 1610, at the request of the leading Jain merchants of Agra, he decreed a ban on the slaughter of animals for the twelve

holy days of the Jain calendar. The artist Usta Salivahana painted the scene on a paper scroll that also contained a signed invitation from the merchants to a Jain monk Shri Vijaysena Suri to come and inaugurate a temple. This started a trend. Udaipur produced three such invitational scrolls, in 1742, 1774 and 1795, but the most significant, which Khera discusses in detail, was dated 1830, when Jawan Singh and the city's merchants sent one of 72 feet by 11 inches to Shri Jinharsh Suri in Bikaner to spend the monsoon of the following year in Udaipur. Though royalty is mentioned, this work is essentially the product of the mercantile class. We do not know whether it was painted by a single artist working his way down section after section, or whether the whole was sketched out by one artist and the colors and details filled in by his assistants, or whether it was the work of several hands. The first 65 feet present a map of the leading street of Udaipur with its palaces and other important buildings, bazaars, and temples devoted to various Hindu deities. The bazaar scenes show different tradesmen and artisans engaged in their occupations, like tailors, dyers, barbers, cloth sellers, money lenders, and makers of utensils and arms. They are identified with the different kinds of head dresses proper to their professions. In the middle of the street is depicted a procession with both king Jawan Singh and Capt. Alexander Cobbe, the British Agent who had replaced Tod, on elephants. It is moving towards where the Jain holy man will hold his *darbar* once he arrives—It is not known whether he came—and a proleptic view of what the *darbar* will look like is provided. It is significant that the *darbar* site is opposite Alexander Cobbe's residence, which is also portrayed. By showing the two opposite each other, and of equal size, as well as Cobbe as part of the procession, the artist establishes an equality between the Indian and the British and between the political and the spiritual. Thus the scroll presents an idealized view of Udaipur where the regal, the mercantile, the political, the local, the foreigner, and the spiritual exist equally and harmoniously.

Towards the bottom of the scroll two scribes, Rukhabdas and Kushalchand, wrote a four-foot long letter of invitation, and the last three feet are taken up with the signatures of more than twenty five prominent merchants. The letter mentions several times how Udaipur will prosper with Shri Vijaysena Suri's arrival. This is not just a conventional trope, for by 1830 the city's economy had begun to decline, partly because the *thakurs* whom Jawan Singh and his predecessors had entertained lavishly had become a burden on the exchequer and partly also because the demands of the British had begun to deplete the treasury. Therefore the hope that the holy man's advent would turn fortunes round was real.

Udaipur continued to produce art through the 19th century and into the 20th, but with a weakened royal patronage and drastically changed socio-political and economic conditions major changes occurred in artistic aims, themes, and quality. The high achievement of Udaipur paintings ended with the end of the long eighteenth century. Dipti Khera has given us a magnificent study of this achievement and a love song to Udaipur.

W.G. Miller. *British Traders in the East Indies, 1770-1820: 'At Home in the Eastern Seas.'* Woodbridge, Suffolk, England: Boydell Press, 2020. Pp. xxiii + 220; notes on orthography, unit conversion, and sources; illus.; bibliography; index. ISBN 978-1-78327-553-3: Hardcover, \$115. ISBN 9781787449305: epdf, \$24.99/£19.99. ISBN 9781800100060: epub, \$24.99/£19.99.

Scholars of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century British imperial history have for some time studied the British Empire's infiltration into and around Asia through the vehicle of the East India Company, Britain's rivalry with the Dutch there, and Britons' consumption and enjoyment of the various products from Asia that changed British culture for good after the 1750s. A number of studies published from the 1960s through the early part of this century have shown how the success of the British East India Company resulted in large part from the success of the so-called country traders. Country trade, the term given the work and goods moved by privately owned ships that sailed with and for the Company, formed – from the late seventeenth century onward – a significant part of the British East India Company's success. Many country traders sailing from Bombay and Calcutta (in India) and from Bencoolen (in Sumatra) developed a thriving inter-coastal trade first with western areas (India and the Middle East) and then in eastern ones (China). After the conquest of Bengal, the country trade increased. The outlines of this much deeper story have been laid out well by scholars such as C. Northcote Parkinson, Holden Furber, Ian Watson, P.J. Marshall, Anne Bulley, and Eric Tagliacozzo, among others. These scholars have shown how the trade operated, what goods were brought from which locations, and how the traders managed their careers as country traders who sailed through the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea.

Ports of the Malay Archipelago and their intercultural, intracultural, and political significance form the preoccupation of Miller's project. These ports lay along the routes between China and India. Scholars typically speak about how Company ships sailed through the waterways and left the country trade to individual shipowners and traders. The ports within the Malay Archipelago absorbed commodities (such as opium, porcelain, silk, and textiles) from the outlying regions and supplied country traders with block tin, along with what Miller characterizes (following Tagliacozzo) as a "pharmacopoeia" of goods, including "trepan, betel, gum benjamin, birds' nests, bird of paradise feathers, bezoar stones, cloves, camphor, . . . dragon's blood gum, ivory, gold dust, nutmeg, mace, pearls, pepper, tortoise shells, and beeswax" (13).

Miller's contribution lies in the excavation of a different kind of history beyond the goods bartered or purchased. By sleuthing through the scant records by and about country traders, Miller has managed to construct for us a picture of the traders' social and political impact in numerous Malay principalities while providing evidence to support a contention made by Anne Bulley that country traders were crucial to European expansion in Southeast Asia in the later eighteenth century. Miller's study also touches on the difficulties country traders faced when attempting to work in areas that had been part of the Dutch East India Company's trading network, thus showing the British country traders' impact on Dutch practices. It would be difficult to overstate the scarcity of evidence available for Miller's study. Miller explains

that the absence of evidence results from the country traders' practices, which were independent from any of the large trading companies. In Miller's words, "the operations of the country traders only came into official records when there was some misadventure, when they were allotted an official task or when they fell foul of Company procedure" (xiii). Miller's goal in this book is thus to "fill in this vacuum" of information related to the country traders in the Malay areas. His central argument – a significant one – is that country traders helped reshape Malay societies that adapted to their presence, helped foster British trade, and proved "an irritant to the Dutch administration" (xiv). Working from relevant documents, Miller is able to provide new information about a number of less well-known country traders while also speaking about those better known in the scholarship.

In the opening chapters, Miller reveals the significant inter- and intracultural exchanges and competitions that took place in the region for the country traders and the Malays, first as merchants (chapter 1) and then as political allies (chapter 2). In the Malay world of the eighteenth century, Malay speakers lived in coastal regions and in the "hinterlands" of Borneo, Sumatra, and the Malay Peninsula, in addition to clustering along the shores along the eastern side of the archipelago. The peoples living here were organized under the leadership of the numerous sultans or subordinate rulers over the many independent Malay states and principalities.

Country traders benefitted from the loose structural organization, which Miller describes as "a rather loose system of statehood based on loyalty and mutual interests, which allowed room for manoeuvre and divergence" (21). The social dynamic was fluid, Miller contends, quite unlike polities associated with centralized control, providing both difficulties and opportunities for country traders to the region and for local rulers to gain wealth and prestige. Intercoastal trade provided resources to the local people whose livelihoods depended on overseas (identified as foreign) trade in "tropical and marine products" (21). Malay traders and their partners existed alongside the trading network of the Dutch East India Company established at Batavia, with forts (Fort Rotterdam, Fort Victoria, and Fort Orange) protecting trade at Makassar, Amboyna, Ternate, and related areas. As a result of foreign trade and shifting economic circumstances, local rulers grew wealthy, which shifted social and trading allegiances. The region was volatile both socially and politically. While historians of this region typically speak about the country trade in the wider context of the international trade that provided products from the Archipelago to the China market, Miller's work features the relationships built up between the country traders and local communities. They engaged in provisioning, commerce, socializing, and political activities together.

Malay rulers managed relationships with the country traders in order to improve their personal status, but they also helped country traders learn more about local politics, knowledge they shared with British back home. A good case (among several Miller speaks about) is offered by the well-known story of Thomas Forrest, whose purpose for voyaging to New Guinea and the Moluccas was to identify Spice Islands outside Dutch control. Forrest assisted the British by sending information, but he assisted local rulers in their assays against each other by sharing information and, as a result, power. Forrest was known by one leader for his "sweet" prose. Prince Nuku remarked in 1785 that

“the words in Forrest’s letter were very beautiful,” adding that the letter, in Miller’s words, “enchanted and impressed Nuku’s father” (64). Miller concludes that “the presence of the country traders . . . enhanced Nuku’s position commercially and militarily, as it did his standing among his people” (67). From an imperial standpoint, the country traders’ infiltration into local societies made it possible for the English to take over Dutch trading locales, but from the local standpoint, their infiltration also enabled local rulers to change the shape and direction of local polities. The internal dynamics resulting from the presence of the country traders who were part of the operations of the British East India Company are evidence of the changing cultural practices of groups associated with the European trade.

Miller’s key findings relate to Malay rulers and changing local circumstances they manipulated as a result of country traders and to the strengthening of the British East India Company through the vehicle of the country trade. In a chapter titled “Inadvertant imperialists” (chapter 3), Miller follows several case studies revealing the “unintended” and even “reluctant” role of British country traders in imperial expansion. Because country traders worked to establish trading posts and gain goods away from the Dutch, British officials depended on the activities and information provided by country traders to assist the empire. Miller’s several case studies reveal how country traders assisted the growth in British power in the region and its control of trade. Country traders provided geographical surveys, and they created a wide network of contacts in the region that made it possible for the British imperial project to take shape in the Malay world between 1770 and 1820. Contact with Nuku, for example, provides a significant instance of country traders’ impact on the indigenous population and of the indigenous populations’ growing local power as a result of trade. William Jones, the British Resident at Amboyna whose domain was the protection of the spice trade, reported in 1798 that “Nuku has it in his power, by collecting a piratical party, to disturb these islands, particularly if the natives should have any inclination to rebel” (122). Jones advised that it was “impolitic to disgust him” (123). Nuku had successfully played off the Dutch against the British and consolidated support among the British and his own people. About the traders’ influence, Miller concludes: “The local knowledge they [country traders] were able to impart, the native contacts they could provide, the military and maritime support they could render were essential components” of British infiltration and takeover of the region. The country traders occupied “inferior social position . . . within British colonial society,” and this likely contributed to the paucity of records about their activities and successful communications with local peoples. But (as Miller shows) “they were undoubtedly a cornerstone of British expansion and consolidation of power in the Malay Archipelago” (150).

But the success of the country traders did not occur without the notice of the British East India Company, which wanted to take over the country traders’ gains. The growth of Singapore did not work to help the country traders; instead, it assisted the Company. Country traders’ lives were not easy. In addition to facing a dynamic cultural situation locally in the Malay Archipelago, they also found their activities buffeted around by shifting international alliances and operations in Europe, particularly in Britain and the Netherlands, as Miller illuminates in a chapter (chapter 4) on Captain Walter

Dawes, a country trader sailing the *Lucy Maria*. The ship ran into difficulty and took refuge in the Dutch port at Ternate. As hostilities were breaking out in Europe, the Dutch claimed the *Lucy Maria* as a prize, and they removed its cargo and ordnance. Typically, when this happened, seamen taken would be sent home on neutral vessels. But in this case, the ship's crew had taken sick by "a contagious malady," and an absence of medicine created significant complications and loss of life. They evidently received little assistance from an aggressive Dutch governor at the port. The case provides an excellent example of how traders could be caught up in both local and international problems all at once in such a "volatile, shifting political situation" as that in the Malay Archipelago between the 1770s and 1820.

In the final content chapter (chapter 5), Miller treats the decline of the country trade, largely as a result of the Treaty of London of 1824, which formally settled disputes between the British and Dutch over territory, trade, and authority in the Malay Archipelago. The Dutch recognized British control of Singapore, and both the Dutch and British agreed not to interfere with each other's sea trade nor to create treaties with indigenous powers that excluded the trade of the other nation. The situation might seem to favor country traders, because it called for peace between the imperial powers, but it also "confirmed the principle of free trade and in so doing, made possible the blossoming of native trade" (179). Business in the Archipelago changed as Singapore became the center for the flow of local products after British mercantile houses established themselves there. Miller casts the situation as the unravelling of opportunities for country traders to take part in local social and political activity, but Miller's evidence highlights how local indigenous peoples were given opportunities for self-rule and social, political, and cultural autonomy.

Miller's book establishes its positions by employing fascinating case studies that, taken together, provide a general picture of the changing worlds of sea trade in the Malay Archipelago. His study recuperates scholarship from earlier decades while also offering a significant amount of detail drawn from an archive of print and manuscript records. For obvious reasons—the British East India Company wrote sparingly of its country traders—the resources are scant. But Miller's study illuminates local Malay life and provides a balance to top-down imperial history. It offers a version of "history from below" in its interest in Malay locales and the impact of independent overseas trade there. That said, this is a scholar's study. One ought to have a working knowledge of the major lines of argument about the British East India Company and its trading partners in the Malay Archipelago, because Miller's approach by way of case study seems to assume proficiency with existing resources. The volume is an informative, archivally based, and important contribution to Boydell & Brewer's "Worlds of the East India Company" series.

Monographs like this one result from the painstaking effort of librarians, many of whom know multiple languages, possessing the foresight to concern themselves with collections-building for future generations. These archival sleuths discover collections in public and private hands, assess their significance, and figure out how to procure the materials for institutions interested in or willing to host the collections. The author of this study, W.G. Miller, was among the first to enter into the process of identifying and gathering print and manuscript materials for libraries in Australia. As Miller

has explained it, "Interest in research material for Southeast Asian studies was of growing world-wide concern at that time, and fortuitously, a high-level international conference was held at Puncak, Indonesia, in April 1969, hosted by the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI) and sponsored by The East-West Center, Hawaii, and the Committee on Research Materials on Southeast Asia (CORMOSEA) of the Association for Asian Studies (AAS). . . . Not only did the conference give impetus to the improved collection and preservation of research material internationally, and to closer cooperation between libraries within Southeast Asia, through the presence of Australia's National Librarian [Mr., later Sir Harold White], it meant Australia was seen as a concerned and responsible partner in these initiatives and would continue to be involved in future developments." (See Miller's modest account, "personal recollection," <<https://seasiainstitute.anu.edu.au/sites/default/files/uploads/2019-05/George-Miller-recollection.pdf>> and look for additional articles on Southeast Asia by the same author published under the name George Miller.) For those of us whose work depends on archival research, such efforts as Miller's to uncover materials and make them available to us is essential to our scholarly historical and cultural interpretation. Scholars only now are beginning to understand the significance of engaging in imperial studies that account for the perspective of indigenous peoples. We owe such work to librarians like W.G. Miller, who had the ethical perspective and concern for knowledge-building (in addition to the tenacity) to make such significant collections possible.

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Beverly Jerold, *Disinformation in Mass Media: Gluck, Piccinni, and the "Journal de Paris."* (Royal Musical Association Monographs, 36.) New York: Routledge, 2020. Pp. 144; 7 illus. ISBN: 978-0-367-35017-8: hardcover. Published as an e-book by Taylor & Francis, 2021, and on Kindle for \$16.15.

In her monograph *Disinformation in Mass Media*, Beverly Jerold examines a disinformation campaign among 18th-century French literary, political, cultural, and commercial elite actors surrounding the operas of Christoph Willibald Gluck (1714-1787) and Niccolò Piccinni (1728-1800). The study of the *Querelle* over these two important figures developed at a decisive period when "journalism underwent an abrupt change in 1777 with the founding of the *Journal de Paris*," a daily paper with a large audience.

The author acknowledges that modern writers have tended to regard Piccinni's Italian inspired music less favorably than Gluck's operatic reforms that were to herald future glory for the Paris Opéra in the most serious musical genre, performed before monarchical figures in well-funded theaters. Compared to the sources and methods used by past scholars to study the two composers, Jerold brings knowledge of events impacting interpretation and explaining the resulting lengthy, heated discord. Knowledge of music is not necessary to appreciate the lines of debate and the interaction of different actors and groups. Jerold provides sufficient background and explains the complicated arguments and motives of individuals and partisans. As stated in

the introduction, this book is about a political drama driven by the pursuit of power and profit and enabled by disinformation in a new medium, a daily newspaper reaching a larger readership than previous periodicals

The book is divided into an introduction and eight chapters, plus the timeline of events in 1772 to 1784, references, and index. Many references are to prominent periodicals, six of them French (on literature and politics) and one German (on music). Jerold records four and a half pages of primary sources in special collections and online. Each chapter analyzes a complicated episode in the struggle for power, influence, favor, and profit between the Gluckists and Piccinist's coteries. There are discussions about named and anonymously published music, theatrical reviews, and commentaries on the reviews. Jerold has investigated private verbal exchanges recorded in memoirs, notes, letters, dedications, bawdy jokes, religious provocation, and lascivious sexual liaisons with satirical or scandalous references made to certain parties in the opposition, whether or not the persons in question succeeded in artistic triumphs or were caught in compromising situations.

Three chapters should be noted. Chapter 1 ("The Cast and Setting") gives an excellent history of the contention and conflict between the Gluckists, who were affiliated with the *dévots* religious members of the Académie Française, and the reforms proposed for the Paris Opéra by the famous composer, on the one hand, and the Piccinnists, who were considered *tolérants* for their humanistic values and affiliated with *philosophes* and Italian influences in musical theater. Chapter 3 ("*The Journal of Paris* on the Offensive") concerns attacks against the Piccinnists for their Neapolitan musical influences and the support the Gluckists received from the launch of the *Journal* in January 1777. Chapter 8 ("Profit and Power") sums up the motives and the methods of the Gluckists and the Piccinnists and examines the *Journal de Paris's* remarkable impact on the musicians, aficionados, and Republic of Letters.

The Gluckists triumphed over the Piccinnists to maintain that the Italian style of music was only suitable for and should be restricted to concerts and should not be performed on the dramatic stage. In the process, they broke societal norms, publishing lies, deception, and innuendo and stirring up controversy for commerce and corrupting journalism for a political cause.

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Michael John Franklin, *Hester Lynch Thrale Piozzi*. (Writers of Wales.)
Cardiff: University of Wales Press (distributed by the University of Chicago Press), 2020. Pp. xii + 195; 8 color plates; index. ISBN 9781786835406: paperback, \$24.00.

Michael John Franklin's slim *Hester Lynch Thrale Piozzi* is a brisk, refreshingly partisan, and accessible biography. It does not aspire to replace James L. Clifford's *Hester Lynch Piozzi (Mrs Thrale)*, which after 80 years remains the most comprehensive life of our heroine. Nor can it challenge William McCarthy's critical biography *Hester Thrale Piozzi* from 1985, an essential source thanks to its detailed assessment of Piozzi's strengths and

weaknesses as a writer. (Quotations from McCarthy's work appear not infrequently in Franklin's book; Franklin seems to have relied less on Clifford.) Nevertheless, to a novice interested in learning more about Hester Piozzi, or for that matter to a more informed reader seeking a new perspective, *Hester Lynch Thrale Piozzi* can be heartily recommended.

It is not inconsequential that *Hester Lynch Thrale Piozzi* appears in the series "Writers of Wales" published by the University of Wales Press. Uncritical Welsh partisanship, consistent and not always subtle, persists throughout the biography: Franklin references his subject's "Celtic courage" upon being directed to marry Henry Thrale (24); he defends her comparisons of Welsh and Italian scenery in his summary of her travel book *Observations and Reflections*; and he uses for the title of a chapter on Hester and Gabriel's life in Wales during the 1790s a quotation from one of Piozzi's patriotic ballads that asserts "Each bold Cambrio Briton's a Stranger to Fear" (144). This is in refreshing, if occasionally tendentious, contrast to accounts that have downplayed Piozzi's national origins or treated her Welshness as an ornamental self-indulgence of her later years, after she and her second husband returned to Wales and built their home Brynbellla.

What I find especially appealing about Franklin's biography is that he is unequivocally on Piozzi's side. Clifford was to go on to write two biographical volumes about Piozzi's most famous friend; reading his *Hester Lynch Piozzi*, one sometimes feels that Clifford wishes he were already writing a life of Johnson. McCarthy, despite his advocacy of Piozzi as a writer, cannot conceal his disappointment in her failure to accomplish the literary and feminist goals that he believes were within her reach. By contrast, Franklin is Piozzi's partisan; her various failures are simply reported, rather than treated as opportunities for reproach.

Perhaps because of the volume's brevity, Franklin tends to assert baldly what other biographers present more obliquely. The biography breaks no new ground in terms of the facts of Piozzi's life; its value lies in its shift in tone and emphasis. In particular, Franklin is interested in how youthful experiences shaped her character. Discussing Hester Salusbury's submission to the arranged marriage with Henry Thrale, Franklin writes: "She was totally mastered by two despotic personalities, her mother and her husband, and she dared not cross either. With Thrale she soon learned how to avoid being thwarted or refused: self-abnegation she found preferable to the prospect of facing the depressing reality of her own powerlessness. It is profoundly saddening to read of her self-censorship" (26). Of her approach to her children's education, Franklin comments that "Hester could never quite free herself from the notion that the mother's performance would be judged upon that of the child...she was always examining her own progress alongside that of her child, and in this her own mother was both a role model and a constant reproach." (41) The lively, witty hostess of contemporary accounts strongly contrasts to the anxious, self-censoring young woman Franklin describes here.

In a particularly insightful passage, Franklin draws our attention to the rigid control that Mrs. Thrale exercised over herself amid circumstances that she describes in *Anecdotes of the late Samuel Johnson* as a "yoke" and "terrifying." Quoting an entry in *Thraliana* in which Mrs. Thrale records Johnson saying that he "had never seen her in distress," Franklin observes:

Even taking into consideration Johnson's obtuseness and self-obsessed neurosis, this must imply that Hester was concealing her distress. Those who do so are often more distressed than those who reveal their pain secure in the hope of receiving caring support. If Hester had no such recourse in Johnson the emotional reciprocity of their relationship must have been sadly incomplete. Hester had the key to Johnson's padlock but no key to her own. Streatham had become a salon, but it was also a nursing home and an asylum. (49-40)

Furthermore, I have never read a more effective description of the 25 years that Hester Thrale served as mother, daughter, wife, hostess, nursemaid, muse, correspondent, campaigner, business manager, and, not least, mourner, for her mother, eight of her twelve children, and finally for her first husband.

The account given in *Hester Lynch Thrale Piozzi* emphasizes different points from those of earlier biographers. Franklin privileges Piozzi's poetical and political writings, spending about the same amount of space analyzing the *Florentine Miscellany* or the anti-Jacobin ballads as he does on each of Piozzi's major prose works. He spends almost no time on her relations with members of the Streatham Circle such as Giuseppe Baretti, James Boswell, and Frances Burney, and little more on the Bluestockings, although he does locate Piozzi among the ranks of contemporary women writers. Speculation about a sadomasochistic relationship with Johnson is refreshingly absent, and Johnson's fury at her second marriage is addressed in a single sentence. (While this treatment is perhaps too terse, yet arguably in dismissing Johnson's anger thus Franklin merely echoes Piozzi's own eagerness to leave him behind and begin her life anew.)

More regrettably, Franklin discusses the period of Piozzi's second widowhood (1809-1821) in a mere three paragraphs (he devotes 28 pages to her first twenty years). A self-described "Bath cat," Piozzi was physically as well as financially limited in her seventh decade, but her intellectual and social energies were boundless. She continued to write copious, entertaining letters; made important friendships, particularly with young men who became key to preserving her literary legacy; and continued her lifelong practice of annotating books written by herself, Johnson, and others. Franklin's failure to examine Piozzi in old age renders the volume's conclusion abrupt and unsatisfying. Otherwise, this is a fine book, featuring a judicious balance of narrative and analysis, supported by expertly selected quotations. Moreover, it is an attractive, well-made paperback with good-sized type, decent margins, and a beautiful cover featuring the Joshua Reynolds double portrait of Mrs. Thrale and her daughter Hester Maria (Queeney) Thrale.*

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* NB: Two other biographies of Piozzi have been published in recent years: Ian McIntyre, *Hester: The Remarkable Life of Dr Johnson's 'Dear Mistress'* (Constable, 2008) and Marianna d'Ezio, *Hester Lynch Thrale Piozzi: A Taste for Eccentricity* (Cambridge Scholars, 2010). I cannot recommend either.

Andreas K. E. Mueller and Glynis Ridley, editors. *Robinson Crusoe after 300 Years*. (Transits: Literature, Thought & Culture, 1650-1850.) Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press (distributed by Rutgers University Press), 2021. Pp. 234; 29 illustrations (7 in color); index. ISBN: 9781684482870: cloth, \$150; 9781684482863: paperback, \$42.50 (available as a PDF, \$42.50).

This is a highly entertaining and enlightening collection of contemporary essays, including several from EC-ASECSers conference presenters. And I have to start with the cover—a photo of a very small section of sandy beach taken from directly above—maybe a few feet—apparently by someone standing just out of the snap. A wide, off-road tire track runs beside and almost touches a Friday-esque left footprint. That would have been sufficient, right? BUT then just below/behind the footprint is its mate, a right, and it is on top of the tire track. Brilliant metaphor for what follows inside the covers.

The collection of ten essays divides into three parts: "Generic Revisions," "Mind and Matter," and "Character and Form." The editors write a remarkably thorough summary of each essay in their introduction, which makes my "job" here almost superfluous: I could cut-and-paste them in and actually feel almost like I should, for they are a wonderful guide to the reader trying to decide which essays are useful for his or her particular research project. To a certain extent, all engage with the "almost meeting" represented on the cover—Crusoe then and now. A significant part of the "now" reckoning is the act of reading novels itself. The demographic who did undergraduate study in the sixties/seventies and graduate study in the seventies/eighties almost certainly read not only *Crusoe* (and other Defoe titles) but a stack of 18C novels penned by the likes of Fielding, Smollett, Richardson, and Sterne, which expanded almost exponentially when the "Mothers of the Novel" series hit the book shelves. Of course, it could be much worse, especially for 19C specialists (OMG!!! Doorstops!). However, my point is that we were daunted but got on with it. Now those of us who have taught in the field know just how difficult it is to ask students to read more than one novel in an 18C course, much less teach a course devoted to reading a bunch of them—technology has worked adversely on our attention span.

Recognizing that barrier, the theme constantly repeated in these wonderful essays is that everyone "knows" *Crusoe*, but fewer and fewer have read the novel. He has become a trope for the desert island castaway—forget about all the other adventures alluded to in the titles of the first two volumes of the *Crusoe* trilogy. Critics have categorized this adventure genre eponymously as "Robinsonades." In fact, the collection's first selection, "*The Martian*: Crusoe at the Final Frontier," by co-editor Glynis Ridley, analyzes the phenomenon that began as Andy Weir's personal blog, then morphed into a self-published novel that morphed into a commercially published hardback that morphed almost inevitably into a well-reviewed film starring Matt Damon that, then, at the urging of high school science teachers, led to the issuing of a redacted classroom edition of his "original" novel for STEM courses. The punchline is that Weir claims no inspiration from *Crusoe*! And it is pretty clear that he means it, the point being, right up front in this collection, that *Crusoe* is embedded in our cultural DNA in a very reduced form (as several of the essays call attention to). In other words, "nobody" reads *The Strange Surprising*

Adventures of Robinson Crusoe and *The Further Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* anymore (except for us 18C nerds, of course), but “everybody” knows about the castaway motif Defoe created as part (PART) of the novels.

I found the first section—“Generic Revisions”—the most enjoyable. [Is it okay to say that about scholarly work?] Ridley’s essay made me want to move *The Martian* higher up my films-I’ve-gotta-get-around-to-watching-someday list, and also reminded me that the island isolation living, albeit the longest sequence (temporally and page-wise), was just one of RC’s amazing adventures, so maybe I should move that up on my list of classics-to-get-around-to-rereading-during-retirement--both volumes of adventures, often combined as a single one, if I remember correctly. In the second essay, past EC-ASECS President and my personal and much admired friend Geoffrey Sill chronicles a fascinating century (late 18C to late 19C) of *Robinson Crusoe* on the stage, but in the particular form[s] of pantomime, burlesque, and melodrama in both America and Britain. Not surprisingly the work was reduced to the castaway plot, of course. What IS surprising is that Crusoe was often acted BY a woman and AS a woman, thus “women . . . transgressed gender boundaries to present a Crusoe never seen before.” In his extensive research of these many productions, Sill found and the editors wisely chose to include a remarkable number of excellent quality photographs of the actors and play bills/advertisements, as well as classic illustrations that some of the actors mimicked in their poses. The final essay in Part I (“Generic Revisions”), by Amy Hicks and Scott Pyrz, examines another unexpected area and one close to my own (father’s and Opa’s) heart—children’s Robinsonades using anthropomorphized animal characters. The authors’ interesting discovery is that adults get it wrong here, i.e., thinking that “pets and zoos and animal stories are ‘natural’ steps on the child’s way up to adult,” the stories fall victim to “Maria Nikolajeva[’s] . . . ‘identification fallacy’ between the reader and the animal castaway in the Robinsonades.” Like Sill they call on a century of examples, from 1903 to 2002--some I already knew and was glad to revisit. [I plan to recommend the essay to a colleague teaching children’s literature for its focus on how adults impose ideas on already wildly imaginative children.]

In the second section—“Mind & Matter”—Laura Brown’s “Defoe and Newton: Modern Matter” begins with a catalogue of diverse perspectives on “new materialism,” summing up with “the singular defining quality of these things then becomes movement; things may be extraordinarily diverse, but their common denominator is exchangeability or circulation.” However, the richness and diversity of these numerous accounts “mutes new materialism’s impact on literary study.” Thus, the present objective for our scholars is to “develop a methodology by activating these [various] meanings in relation both to the material world [of the ‘thing’] . . . and the imaginative realms of representation, texts, and literary traditions.” Brown walks the reader through a range of critics engaging with Defoe’s *RC*, including Hume, Smith, Marx, Watt, Wolfe, Locke, and finally Newton, “whose formidable contribution to the contemporary engagements with matter and experienced things matches up with *Robinson Crusoe*’s imaginative world in a way that suggests a connection between literature and experimental philosophy.” Brown’s argument is rich, complex, and convincing. The second essay in the section comes from a recent EC-ASECS presenter, Daniel Yu: “Crusoe’s Ecstasies: Passivity, Resignation,

and Tobacco Rites.” As the title cryptically suggests, the essay examines “Crusoe’s treatment of tobacco as a sacred substance, his attachment to this smoking pipe, and his propensity for engaging in long bouts of passive contemplation” (later attributed to tedium). Yu’s critique of the writing on Crusoe as prototype of the modern capitalist, i.e., modern economic man, is that “he undergoes an incomplete apprenticeship in asceticism [following his religious conversion] and the rational organization of work while he is on the island. . . . [In fact] Crusoe’s actions resist the utilitarian interpretation. His ritual use of tobacco and penchant for inactive contemplation are not the exception but the rule of his behavior.”

Jeremy Chow, a promising new member of EC-ASECS, presents an extraordinarily creative theoretical reading of *RC* in “Taken by Storm: *Robinson Crusoe* and Aqueous Violence” as an investigation that “complements the emerging field of blue humanities.” After several pages of introducing readers to his own and others’ theoretical readings of natural phenomena, Chow begins his exploration of Defoe with the 1703 category 3 hurricane that ravished London, now considered by climate scholars a seminal event of the “Little Ice Age”—a fascinating subject in itself. Tracing various strains of oceanic violence and the fear that they embed in Crusoe, often related as metaphorically cannibalistic—the sea as devouring agent of ships and men—as well as metonymic violence emanating from sea travelers, like the cannibals and later the mutineers, Chow concludes that the “sea frightens Crusoe because it can do damage, both immediately and gradually, and such immersive processes are truly transformative.” If this conclusion seems obvious, I would recommend reading the entire essay and being led through the complex web of Defoe’s narrative and Chow’s theorizing that get us there. The finale of the second section is presented by Pat Rogers, a stalwart of 18th-century studies for several decades, like Brown and Novak (still to come), “Life Gets Tedious: Crusoe and the Threat of Boredom.” I loved this essay because it tells us what we should have known all along, right? And Rogers quickly points out the irony embedded in the narrative itself: *RC* has fled the tedium of the life espoused by his father for the thrilling life of a seafarer, “an adventurer and slave trader,” only to end up in an island existence “more restrictive, rule-bound, and unvaried socially than the one he would have experienced” staying at home. Rogers notes how Defoe disguises the obvious by, at least initially, focusing on all the necessary activity *RC* throws himself into merely to survive. However, soon enough *RC* must resort to the “d” word: diversion. He finds ways to fill his endless time, since escape appears impossible and his expected life to fill decades yet. As *RC* himself admits, “But what need I ha’ been concern’d at the Tediousness of any thing I had to do, seeing I had time enough to do it in, nor had I any other Employment if that had been over.” As Rogers notes, as the need to do something for survival or even comfort (once survival seemed assured) decreased, so Defoe skips over years of . . . the tedium of a life with virtually nothing to do. How boring—but not the essay. Spoiler alert: stuff DOES happen, eventually, lots of it, remember the titles?

The third section—“Character and Form”—begins with Benjamin F. Pauley’s “Crusoe’s Ramblings.” This excellent essay focuses on the second of the two “adventure” novels of *RC*, published in the same year and often seen

as a single large, connected narrative, especially by modern readers who generally don't even bother with the second set of adventures. But Pauley emphasizes up front how "systematically different" the two are: the first a study in fixity, the second in "perpetual motion." Pauley reminds us that RC is both protagonist and narrator of these two works and agrees with W.R. Owens in suggesting that reading only the first book gives the false impression "that the island episode is the imaginative core of the work." But the narrator of the second volume reminds us of RC's "mere wandering Inclination," "rambling designs," and "native Propensity to Rambling," as he chronicles a not terribly happy, veritable world-tour in *The Farther Adventures*, shifting the imaginative core to seemingly pointless rambling. Pauley ends by wondering, I think with good cause, whether RC's declaring his end to rambling is suspect and rather than "exorcised is merely curtailed." Following Pauley and also focusing on *The Farther Adventures* is EC-ASECS member Maximillian Novak's "Crusoe's Encounters with World and the Problem of Justice in *The Farther Adventures*." The two encounters of his title highlight that this essay (and Crusoe's adventures as a whole) remind us that Crusoe AND Defoe are primarily interested in travel (rambling, dare I say?) not life on a desert island. The territory that RC's travels cover reminds me of the recent PBS *Around the World in 80 Days*, starting and ending in England, although taking years and running into problems in general and ones in particular that question the idea of "justice and ethics" virtually everywhere, discovering its "relativity" in country after country, as well as in his own personal experiences.

The third essay in the third Part brings the reader and this collection full circle and book-ends this text by the editors themselves: "To Us the Mere Name Is Enough: Robinson Crusoe, Myth, and Iconicity," by co-editor Andreas K. E. Mueller. As Mueller and the essayists in this volume and throughout the Defoe literature make perfectly clear, RC attained iconic status quite early "in his literary life" and has entered Western mythology firmly in his 300 years in print. This status has almost from the beginning relied on the image as well as the words, probably more so for the image in the last century or so. Mueller "explore[s] how the name, that is, the linguistic sign 'Robinson Crusoe,' has assumed iconic status in modern Western culture as well as the connotative range of this name." More interestingly, to me, is the examination of seven examples "used in a manner entirely detached from Defoe's story and the Crusoe myth: the word functions as a stand-alone cultural myth without an apparent intention to connote any specific connotations." In other words this is, I suppose, the inverse of Andy Weir's *The Martian*, which blasts RC's narrative into space without mentioning his name or the author's even being aware of novel; here Mueller gives examples of the name used without necessarily acknowledging the novel. Such is the power evoked by "Robinson Crusoe" after 300 hundred years—pretty amazing, right? How about the 2006 Sony PlayStation video game *Robinson: The Journey*, "a futuristic/prehistoric take on—surprise!—RC. Or the travel company Robinson that offers luxury holidays using the metonymic association with a desert-island life to market its product. Or the British manufacturer of "Crusoe Garden Rooms," cedar-clad timber additions to a house in various styles—The Crusoe, The Crusoe Classic, or The Crusoe Retreat. How about the ultra-21C product: the Crusoe software application that "gives you the ability to recall everything you've

ever wanted to recall"? And, finally, not one but two Crusoe restaurants in St. Louis! One is "The Original Crusoe's Restaurant" founded way back in 1979; the other is a Johnny-come-lately Crusoe's Restaurant and Bar. Go figure.

This is a well-conceived and executed examination of the staying power of Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*. The essays are all readable and relevant, well-documented, and often cross-referenced. The book makes a useful addition to any college library as well as a Defoe scholar's.

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Ashley Marshall. *Political Journalism in London, 1695-1720: Defoe, Swift, Steele, and their Contemporaries*. (Studies in the Eighteenth Century.)

Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, in Association with the British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies, 2020. Pp. xi + 313; bibliographies; index; Appendix "London Political Newspapers and Periodicals, 1695-1720: A Tabular Representation" [257-292]. ISBN: 978-1-78327-545-8: hardcover, \$115.

The title and subtitle of Ashley Marshall's *Political Journalism in London, 1695-1720* provide a just overview of her book. Although the coverage is well grounded in political history and tracks clashes in Whig and Tory ideology, half of the book or more might suggest the title "The Rhetoric of" that "Political Journalism." Most of the material examined is dated 1704-1720, from the start of Defoe's *The Review* through Steele's periodical efforts in 1720. Given that Marshall's previous book was *Swift and History: Politics and the English Past* (2015), one might suppose Swift would receive the most coverage, but Swift did not write nearly as much for periodicals as Defoe and Steele, who properly receive more attention. The "contemporaries" treated at greatest length include the longest-serving Tory author of *The Examiner* (December 1711-1715), William Oldisworth, and the Whig journalist Arthur Mainwaring. Others treated at length include Addison, Abel Boyer, George Flint, Charles Leslie, John Oldmixon, George Ridpath, Abel Roper, Henry St. John, John Trenchard, and John Tutchin (some are discussed that are not indexed, as William Hurt and Jacobites Robert Mawson and Nathaniel Mist). What Marshall adds all derives from the close reading of the periodicals, whose contents she finds have been neglected: "[previous] characterizations do not do justice to the range of rhetorical relationships between journalists and their readers . . . partly because so few exemplars tend to be represented: Swift and Defoe are scarcely mentioned, Charles Leslie and Arthur Mainwaring virtually never. . . . I attempt to read the ideological implications of rhetorical and formal choices, and to consider how those choices reflect writers' attitudes toward public politics. Few of the newspapers . . . covered in this book have previously been read closely . . . the rhetoric of early English journalism continues to be a surprisingly understudied subject" (200-01).

Marshall has a clear, direct style--one would probably read her account of manufacturing plastic cups with pleasure. This is an easy book to follow, for Marshall often previews what is to come and summarizes later well. Furthermore, most important points about rhetorical strategies are covered

more than once: the rhetorical triad requires covering the personae, or eidolons, and their ethical appeals, and then attending to the changing events and audience with attention again to the speaker's postures and appeals. In addition, points made about the major journalists are offered with comparison to the others, such that a comparative point in the Defoe section will dovetail with a related point in the Swift or Steele sections. The rigorous completion of the comparative scheme--of both generalization and significant quotations for support--helped me master the material and Marshall's positions.

In her "Introduction" Marshall's focused investigations of the varying roles of journalism are well summarized as follows: "was it [journalism] meant to help cultivate a rational populace, or merely to convey the official message to be consumed by obedient subjects? At least in Anne's reign, Tory journalists often register discomfort with the notion that mere citizens could reflect upon the government's doings; they contest not only the ideology of their rivals but also the rhetorical relationships in Whig papers." Thus, "the job of journalism is itself being debated." In this narrative Steele wins the civics award for urging readers "to be critically engaged" (7). Defoe comes in a second, but wins praise for his lengthy effort to provide informed argument on major issues; both Defoe and Steele participated in an empowerment of journalism "inculcating political literacy and offering a model of public commentary" (8) and thus influencing events. As outlined on pp. 5-6, the book surveys newspapers, their agents, and ideologies in 1695-1714 in Chapter 1 and then in the early Hanoverian period of Whig hegemony in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 focuses on Defoe's influential *Review*, examining Defoe's adaptation to political changes while insisting that he is less a ministerial tool than some have supposed. Chapter 4 analyzes the full run of the Tory *Examiner*, attending to the often neglected William Oldisworth, who edited the periodical longer than Swift, after Mrs. Manley's short run; also Marshall digs into disputes about Swift's relations with moderate Robert Harley and high-Tory Henry St. John, arguing that, though Swift adopted a more conciliatory posture than that in earlier *Examiners*, "he was *always* doing St. John's bidding" (141) and was not forced out by Harley for moving toward St. John's principles, but left to write other publications (130). Chapter 5, perhaps the most valuable chapter, examines Steele's journalism over more than a decade and through many periodicals with varying personae and rhetorical strategies. And Chapter 6 turns more comprehensibly to journalists' rhetorical constructions of their audiences and themselves as journalists. Journalists of the period were "directly and indirectly working out their ideas about [what] the role of journalism should be, and attempting--often on the basis of their status as . . . establishment or oppositional writers--either to limit or to foster an unprecedented degree of popular political participation and enfranchisement" (255). Marshall shows how Whigs and Tories out of power were all for political dissent but, when in power, for loyalty. Thus, in 1714, "Tories who preached obedience and submission under Anne now defend subjects' rights to critique and act against the government under George I" (229).

In her discussions of major authors (Swift, Defoe, and Steele), Marshall introduces a wealth of scholarship and endeavors to build upon and then thread between others' positions. Especially noteworthy are her efforts to qualify and add to what has been written by J. A. Downie, Frank Ellis, and W. A. Speck

on Swift and by Maximillian Novak, Nicholas Seager, and especially P. N. Furbank & W. R. Owens on Defoe (103). Much of her discussion of Defoe's essays in *The Review* over many years involves his evolving response to political change and his relation with his patron Harley. Marshall believes insufficient attention has been given to such developments as the treatment of Dissenters in December 1711 (104). She argues that Defoe's arguments about the Spanish succession are not the full reversal some claim, for he was consistently concerned with a balancing of powers in Europe, allowing him to support Philip of Anjou's ascendancy in Spain if Spain's and France's interests could be separated (101). She finds evidence of tepid support for Harley at times and ambivalence in Defoe's discussion of the administration's peace policy (110-11). Marshall's Defoe supported paymaster Harley when "he could do so without totally abandoning his principal commitments, [but] he was not simply a grovelling hack dutifully endorsing the government line" (112). She offers a good comparison of Defoe's and Swift's journalism when both defended the Harley administration (112ff), detailing differences, such as Defoe's support for naturalizing Protestant immigrants. Although for Defoe and Swift preventing Philip's rise in Spain was impractical, she identifies "differences between Swift's arguments and Mr. Review's" (105)--such as, that Defoe did not share Swift's anti-Dutch and anti-war positions in *The Conduct of the Allies*,--thus distinguishing her position from that of J. A. Downie.

On Steele's political journalism, few have written extensively except biographers Calhoun Winton and Charles A. Knight, whose characterizations her expansive reading tends to reinforce. She also blasts the image usually offered of Steele in survey courses, a good-humored cultural commentator, not the partisan "committed to peddling Whig propaganda," as his contemporaries viewed him (158-59). She adds many fresh observations about his "evolving" strategies in such serials as *The Englishman* (both runs), *The Reader*, and *The Theatre* and raises Steele's star high, surely breaking ground for other scholars. She argues that Steele's creation of multiple journals/voices helped the Whig cause by creating the sense that many were voicing Whig positions, as did his inclusion of many letters from readers (on his idolons and epistolary material, see, e.g., 189-90, 208-11). More generally, in relation to Steele and Addison's *Tatler*, etc., she surveys a wealth of scholarship on 18C periodicals, the public sphere and political culture, introducing us to studies like Kathleen Wilson's *The Sense of the People* (I went from her book directly to ABE to buy this and other books often cited). Marshall often notes what is of use or value in scholarly works on which she builds.

For some, the most valuable part of this book will be the appendix, "London Political Newspapers and Periodicals, 1695-1720: A Tabular Representation" (257-92), providing an alphabetical list of titles, with dates for their duration, their prices and frequency, their editors, publishers, and a few pithy "characterizations" of their party affiliation and principal topics or agendas. Although the book does not address newspapers that are overwhelmingly given to news with notices and advertisements, which is the bulk of what was then published serially, this appendix is of great assistance to those who want an overview of those publications. My repeated checks against Burney and ESTC testify to its accuracy. Presumably worked up as preparation for the study, this appended table functions much like a

bibliography for the text. The bibliography itself has primary and then secondary sources. The index is a bit thin, with many references left out, such as figures like George Dormer and Robert Mawson or topics like particular bills--but the Peerage Bill is included--or the Church of England--but "Jacobitism" is well indexed. Periodical titles are listed under authors, where some might miss them. To find discussions of George Flint's Jacobite *Robin's Last Shift* and its successors, one must know to look under Flint or of *The Medley*, to look under Mainwaring. Exceptions are Mist's *Weekly Journal* and Read's *Weekly Journal*, listed without Nathaniel Mist and James Read.

While reading Marshall's account of how the rise of newspapers contributed to the polarization of public opinion (especially in Chapter 6, "The Journalists on Popular Politics and Public Engagement"), one frequently draws comparison with how the internet with its social media has had a similar impact during this century. The chapter concludes with an explicit comparison to our period while quoting a January 1720 lament about problems created by "False News" (255). The journalists are trying to sway public opinion and frequently are dismayed by it (Marshall notes Defoe's vexation). One finds the same band-wagon pronouncements offered as feeble arguments by our TV pundits about which party has the public on its side (252). Swift in *The Examiner* tries to finish off the Whigs as a "ruined" party, and Marshall remarks that around 1715 "the Whig press is, among other things, the cultivation of the myth of Hanoverian Popularity, a fiction of majority loyalism" in the face of the Tory street mobs (58).

Subsequent studies might attend more to the extent and importance of party subsidy, and certainly more needs to be said of censorship. To anyone antagonistic toward King George's administration, Marshall's extolling Steele and Whig journalists for encouraging popular participation is irritatingly ironic in view of how printers, publishers, and hawkers were imprisoned and fined for opposing the government or established church in a pamphlet or a paragraph or two in a weekly. Until opposition newspapers were tamed c. 1720-22, many printers were jailed: John Applebee, Lucy Beardwell, Isaac Dalton, William Heathcoate, George James, Nathaniel Mist, Elizabeth Powell-plus staff and family. People hawking or even possessing copies of opposition newspapers were jailed at length. The 17-year-old apprentice John Matthews was executed for printing *Vox Populi, Vox Dei*. William Redmayne, an established bi-partisan printer, on 14 September 1717 was sentenced to serve in prison "five Years, to pay a Fine of 500l. and to find Sureties for his good Behaviour during Life" for printing Laurence Howell's *The Case of Schism in the Church of England Truly Stated*--and Howell, a Nonjuring minister with a record of pious publications, was stripped of his gown in the Old Bailey and sentenced to three years imprisonment and fined 500£. Both died in prison. The suppressed went beyond Jacobites and Papists: Nonjuring presbyters of the Church of England were often arrested--frequently if one counts those offending in the pulpit,--but especially those publishing, such as Thomas Lewis, editor of *The Scourge, Designed as a Modest Vindication of the Church of England*, and Matthias Earbery, for historical writings. Outside Marshall's focus are such topics as role of subsidies and advertisements, allowing others to pursue to what extent a high proportion of space devoted to ads reflects the market health of the paper or the need for support and copy. And, there are

minor "contemporaries" (like James Read) who have yet to receive attention. The online resources and the dearth of detailed scholarship on periodicals call out to scholars looking for untapped primary materials.--James E. May

Reply to a Review in the October 2021 *Intelligencer*

In response to the review of my book (P. A. Elliott, *Erasmus Darwin's Gardens: Medicine, Agriculture and the Enlightenment Sciences* [Boydell; Woodbridge, 2021]), by Peter Perreten of Ursinus College in the *Intelligencer* of October 2021, I am grateful for the constructive critical comments. Can I just add, however, that I take full responsibility for typographical errors in the text as author and that the publishers, The Boydell Press, have, in fact, been very patient and supportive during the whole process, especially given that the book was much delayed because I could only work on it each summer. My copy editor spent a great deal of time and effort working on the typescript, including helping to check 18th-century botanical names and identify plants. Immediately they realised my name was spelt incorrectly on the spine, the publishers corrected the ebook version and printed new covers with the correct spelling. The typographical errors in the reproduction of Darwin's poem on the Swilcar Oak are indeed unfortunate and will be corrected for the ebook and any future reprinting. With regards to *Phytologia* (1800), I used both the London and Dublin editions during my research over a period of years, which have the same text but different pagination. I meant to standardise the references in this book which are almost all in fact to the Dublin edition even though the London edition is listed. These too will be amended in the ebook and any future reprinting along with the other typos mentioned.

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Four Colleagues Remember Mary Margaret Stewart (1931-2021)

I have sought in vain for a good way to begin a memorial for Mary Margaret Stewart. William Collins' poetry did not yield an appropriate homage, but Samuel Johnson comes close in his tribute to Anna Williams: "She is much missed, for her acquisitions were many, and her curiosity universal." Johnson's tribute hits the mark, but these are cold words when it comes to describing a person so full of life and zest for things great and small as was Mary Margaret. To me, she was a mentor, a role model, and a dear friend. She was many things to many people, but there are two essentials in her life for which she would want to be remembered: as a teacher and as a scholar.

Mary Margaret's scholarly life spanned five decades and began in a professional culture dramatically different from today's. Although she had a doctorate and a tenured position at Gettysburg College, she was, more than once, professionally referred to as Miss Stewart. Most people today identify her as a William Collins scholar, yet she began her research life as a Boswellian. Her doctoral dissertation was on the subject of James Boswell's

religious thought, and she was encouraged by Frederick Pottle, editor of the Yale Boswell Papers, to develop the dissertation into a book. However, Pottle asked her not to submit her work to publishers until after he published the first volume of his Boswell biography. As I said, it was a different world.

It was this foray into biographical research, as well as her love for William Collins' poetry, that led Mary Margaret into biographical work on the elusive poet. When she began her work, the best Collins biography in print was written in 1935, the 1979 Richard Wendorf and Charles Ryskamp edition of his poetry was the standard one, and Samuel Johnson's portrayal of Collins as an impoverished genius in *Lives of the Poets* was, for many, the starting point for a first-hand account of the poet. Few biographers have had to deal with such a paucity of material, but Mary Margaret followed each piece of information where it led and gave us important, unknown details about Collins' life. She had a talent for spotting a fact that had multiple implications or led to another original subject altogether. The Collins research led to her consulting primary materials in the U.S. as well in England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland. Among other things, she dismantles the portrayal of Johnson's "poor Collins" with her discovery of the ways property transactions and parish records financially benefited the poet, and she demonstrates the ways Johnson's fondness for Collins influenced his selection and presentation of details in *Lives of the Poets*. Mary Margaret also contributed biographical information to the Wendorf and Ryskamp edition of Collins' poetry. Moreover, all of this research had to be done during summer breaks from teaching and sabbatical leaves given every six years. As she quipped in 1991, "I have now been working on his life almost as long as the poor man lived."

While her work on Collins never flagged, Mary Margaret's forays into record offices, libraries, and collections yielded unsuspected biographical riches that she published in prestigious journals. For example, she wrote about the novelist Henry Fielding's work as a magistrate, the poet Christopher Smart, and the economist Adam Smith, among others. She wrote on parent-child relationships as detailed in the letters of diplomat and writer Charles Hanbury Williams. Using material from the Fox Family papers in the British Library, she told the story of parliamentarian Henry Fox and Caroline Lennox's secret marriage, a social scandal for which Caroline, the daughter of the Duke and Duchess of Richmond, paid throughout her life. In later years, her work in various archives resulted in groundbreaking research on madness and venereal disease, two aspects of eighteenth-century women's lives for which they suffered in silence and isolation.

Furthermore, when it came to putting her meticulously researched and detailed scholarship into an article or a paper presentation at a professional meeting, Mary Margaret demonstrated her talent for crafting pale facts into a good story. Thus, she begins the account of the Henry Fox, Caroline Lennox elopement with a vivid scene of Caroline's slipping out of her parent's home in the early dawn, and she invoked lines from William Blake's *London*—"And blights with plagues the marriage hearse"—in her heart-rendering account of the price Frances Williams, wife of Charles Hanbury Williams, paid for her husband's infecting her with a venereal disease. Her students were also the beneficiaries of Mary Margaret's research, for she enriched her eighteenth literature and "life writing" courses by introducing students to

primary materials not found in standard texts. She was as distinguished a teacher as she was a scholar.

In 1959 Gettysburg College hired Mary Margaret as an English instructor; she was given tenure in 1966 and made full professor in 1968. During the summer of 1967 she was visiting professor at Indiana University, teaching graduate courses in Restoration and 18th-Century literature. In 1978 she became an Assistant Dean of the College in charge of the January term, and in 1987 was given an endowed chair, Graeff Professor of English. From 1981-86 she chaired the English Department, and by the time of her retirement in 1996, had served on almost every committee in the College, except the Faculty Personnel Committee. This last she avoided like the plague.

When Mary Margaret retired in 1996 the then-English Department chair, Bob Fredrickson, gave a valedictory in which he identified her as “one of the monumental figures of Gettysburg College.” He noted that in 1989 she won the College’s Lindback award for excellent teaching “because she is simply one of the College’s finest teachers ever.” Bob continued: “She has been our strictest grader; she has also always been the professor who provided the most prodigious commentary on student papers. She could be a tough judge, yet she was also a tender counselor.” Moreover, she formed life-long relationships with some of her students and even the children of former students. One of the former attended the memorial service in Gettysburg, and gave us a wonderful account of the paper on Thomas Tickell she had written for Mary Margaret’s class some forty years before.

I came to Gettysburg College in September 1984, and for some twenty years I was fortunate to be Mary Margaret’s travel companion and fellow 18th-century researcher on her trips to the UK. Edmund Burke and his wife Jane, my subjects, were certainly much more available than her Collins. It seemed as though all I had to do was to find and open a file marked “unimportant” by an early Burke scholar to discover all sorts of interesting things. Mary Margaret was an ideal traveling companion, giving needed personal space and equally needed professional sharing. And she was fun! One adventure in Ireland was a Sunday foray to find Edmund Spenser’s castle where the poet once lived and where Edmund Burke is said to have gone to a hedge school. As we traveled through Irish villages outside the city of Cork, Mary Margaret optimistically asked directions that usually sent us the wrong way. After we finally parked the car in someone’s field, we had to climb over several styles to get to the castle. Our forward progress came to a sudden halt when we came to a field of curious cows blocking access to, but not the sight of, Spenser’s Castle. Although Mary Margaret assured me that cows are benevolent creatures, I sensed that she was not quite sure of this fact, and so we came away with a photo of a distant ruined castle.

Such are my many and rich memories of twenty years sharing the researcher’s life with Mary Margaret. And it goes without saying, that her teaching methods were an inspiration for my own, as was her career as a dedicated faculty member of Gettysburg College. My life, as well as the lives of many others, was enriched by Mary Margaret’s wisdom, her enthusiasm, her many talents, and her ideals. Like Johnson’s Anna Williams, she is, and will be, much missed.--Beth Lambert

Celebrating Mary Margaret Stewart's Service to EC/ASECS

The testimonials to Mary Margaret Stewart presented below will prompt many smiles and personal memories. Like many of her friends and colleagues, I recall her warmth and sincere interest in conversing at the receptions of our annual EC/ASECS meetings; her ability to stand seemingly for hours with a glass of white wine in her hand; her quiet, sly, and fierce sense of humor; and her deep passion for studying the eighteenth century. Since I followed in her footsteps as EC/ASECS Executive Secretary, I have a special appreciation for the role she played in our Society. Therefore, I here want to celebrate her service to our organization: it was deep and, also, deeply important to EC/ASECS's evolution and ethos. It is not an overstatement to say that Mary Margaret's DNA is baked into who "we" are as a group.

Mary Margaret did not eschew service, she welcomed it. She understood it as a worthy pursuit, giving meaning to her professional career. For EC/ASECS, she was a fastidious administrator, tireless worker bee, mentor, scholarly collaborator, and friend throughout the year. She believed in the crucial role regional societies can and should play in our profession, and she dedicated a good amount of time and energy to ensure that our Society thrived.

Mary Margaret attended the inaugural meeting of EC/ASECS in 1970, and she did not miss many annual gatherings during the next five decades. Yes, five decades. The earliest gatherings often had only three or slightly more panel discussions. These conferences were small, often with less than 30 attendees, and Mary Margaret was one of a very small group of women scholars who participated in them. From the stories she told me about these early years, she felt comfortable in the gatherings, and was often amused by some of the personalities! As the group evolved, it needed more administrative attention. There was no formal Executive Secretary until Leland Peterson (Old Dominion University) took on the role in 1977. After he served four years, Van Baker (York College) served in 1982-1986. After serving as the Program Chair for the 1985 meeting, which was the first Gettysburg College hosted, Mary Margaret agreed to serve as Executive Secretary from fall 1986. She served for close to ten years, passing responsibilities over to me in 1995-96.

Mary Margaret gave EC/ASECS much-needed consistency, sound organizational processes, and administrative order. No other regional ASECS society found its groove the way EC/ASECS did, and that was largely due to her. By the 1980's, EC/ASECS was regarded as the friendliest of the regional groups, and Mary Margaret played a major role in setting that tone. Because she herself was humble and not a grandstander, she did not privilege or enable pretentiousness, and I think this is why our Society began to attract members from other American regions and from overseas. Indeed, many young scholars joined to read their first papers at EC/ASECS, and they returned year after year. As importantly, students of EC/ASECS members joined while still in graduate school and became career-long participants themselves! As you know, annual program chairs change on a yearly basis, but Mary Margaret was the consistent welcoming presence at so many of our annual meetings, especially to new or recent members, thanks to her long service as Secretary.

Leading EC/ASECS sometimes pushed Mary Margaret out of her comfort zone. She had a level of personal shyness, but she challenged herself

to be more extroverted because she did not want any member to feel slighted or intimidated. She had a great ability to connect every face to the right name, and she was brilliant at bringing someone into a conversation be it through a glance, a joke, or a question. In so doing, Mary Margaret helped to give our Society the collective heart and clubby character we cherish. The friendships forged through EC/ASECS have sustained many of us throughout our careers, both personally and professionally. Perhaps this is the greatest gift of her long service and membership.--Linda Merians

A Colleague's Appreciation of Mary Margaret Stewart

I was very sorry to hear from Jim May today of the death of Mary Margaret Stewart. She was a lady full of grace and genuine concern for others, and I admired her greatly. She was also a rigorous scholar who cultivated the virtues of clear, controlled and elegant writing, thorough scholarship, total attention to detail, precision, and a wide range of knowledge. She had varied interests and could talk as knowledgeably about painting as she could about all sorts of books. She once gifted me a picture from an early 19th-century book of the painting of a banyan tree near Bombay, done by an artist whose name meant nothing to me, and asked me to find out what I could about him. All I could discover was that the painter was on his way from the UK to reside in Australia, and along the way he stopped in several countries, including India. Wherever he stopped, he painted the local scenery, and after reaching Australia published a collection. He continued his career there, winning minor renown. I think Mary Margaret was disappointed, for she had hoped that I'd find out more about the artist. That's the kind of scholar she was: never content with what had been achieved, but always exploring, always seeking more.

She was my first introduction to EC/ASECS. When I joined and sent in my subscription, I got a very nice letter in her perfect handwriting welcoming me to the Society. Thereafter, every year during her term as our Executive Secretary, I'd get a personal, handwritten letter asking about my welfare, or the work I was doing, or congratulating me on a paper I had presented. This personal touch was not the least important trait of her character. She related on an individual level to most members of the Society, knew of their interests, and contributed to their goals and achievements in whatever way she could. .

She was a graduate student at a time when women were not particularly welcomed in university circles. One had to be better than all the men around in order to win grudging acknowledgement. Therefore it was a singular achievement on her part to be not only accepted by her colleagues but to win their regard and plaudits. She presented papers frequently on women writers at our annual EC/ASECS meetings. I heard quite a few. They were always beautifully argued, elegantly articulated, and I always came away having learned something new and interesting. It was always a pleasure hearing her.

I knew that she had been in indifferent health for some time. At one of the last conferences where I met her—perhaps at Penn State?—we walked back together from the place we had dinner to where we were staying, a distance of just under half a mile. We walked slowly and kept up an animated conversation till after a few hundred yards she suddenly stopped. She said she needed to rest for a bit as her heart was giving up, and suggested that I leave

her there and continue on my way. But I said I'd stay with her, and so she leaned on my arm and rested for a bit before continuing. A little further on we had to walk over a slight elevation, and again she had to stop and rest. When we got to the hotel, she thanked me profusely for having kept her company, though I did not deserve any thanks since it had been a privilege talking to her. But I knew then she was not well at all, and I would not be at all surprised if her heart failed at the end. She will be sorely missed.--Brijraj Singh

Mary Margaret Stewart as Feminist Activist

"Much is taken, much abides." So wrote Tennyson in "Ulysses". Luckily we have many memories of Mary Margaret Stewart. We not only have her meticulous research into not often visited spaces in the eighteenth-century world and her vibrant teaching which influenced both her students and colleagues, but there is a third side of hers that is less well known.

Mary Margaret Stewart was an activist, as busy changing her world as Ruth Bader Ginsburg, who once famously said, "My mother told me to be a lady. And for her, that meant be your own person, be independent." Both Ginsburg and Stewart were just that – strong-minded and fiercely independent ladies. Both worked long and hard to change the worlds they confronted as vanguards in a first wave of academic and professional women.

Mary Margaret was always independent. When we would meet for dinner, she would often recall getting on her bike and riding for miles at a very young age with her brother and his friends, the only girl in the group. Her parents never treated her differently than her brother; she could do what he could do. Throughout her life in school (even in graduate school) the ratio of males to females was balanced, but when she came to Gettysburg, she was surprised by its gender disparities and over the years she worked to change them, in the process becoming a relentless advocate for change.

One of the most important changes Mary Margaret brought to Gettysburg was J-term, a one-month term in January when students took only one course. Started in 1969 and ended in 1984, J-term became a place to experiment with new courses and served as the birthing place for Women's Studies, African-American Studies, and other interdisciplinary programs. She contributed two courses to the program: "Women Writers" and "Women and Madness"

When Florence Howe led an MLA panel in 1969 on (the absence of) women in the profession and in the curriculum Mary Margaret was there. She also attended highly-charged special sessions that weren't on the program, and joined a meeting convened by Howe to discuss the representation of women in the MLA, the lack of women presenters at conferences, and other topics of concern to the women at the meeting. The decision was made to present a motion at the general business meeting to form a Woman's Caucus for the Modern Languages. Mary Margaret volunteered to be a member of this group. "I was different when I came back," she told Michael Birkner, who interviewed her in December 2013 and March 2014.

Not long after the inauguration of J-term and the creation of the Woman's (now Women's) Caucus of the Modern Languages, Mary Margaret met Ruth Bader Ginsburg. In the Fall of 1972, a colleague sent around a notice looking for volunteers to invite the law professor and women's rights advocate

(who was coming to campus as the Phi Beta Kappa scholar) to visit their classes. Mary Margaret wrote a note saying her course had nothing to do with law or justice, but she would love to have Ginsburg come to her class. And, as I am sure many of my readers will agree, in helping to bring about change, Mary Margaret was deeply engaged in issues of law and justice and equality.

At about the same time Mary Margaret welcomed Joan Ruth [i.e., RBG] to her class, the College's AAUP chapter, of which she was a member, decided to examine gender issues at the College. A committee was organized to gather statistics and explore attitudes. Based on distribution of a carefully prepared questionnaire, their report is a fascinating window into the history of gender discrimination. They noted that one third of the faculty did not return questionnaires, that women's responses often "fail to show awareness of discrimination," and that the number of women faculty remained constant from 1960-61 (19) to 1971-72 (17). Other discouraging statistics: of 133 faculty: 115 men / 18 women; of 79 faculty with tenure: 71 men / 8 women; 2 women professors, 1 woman associate professor, 9 women assistant professors, 6 women instructors; of 23 department chairs: 22 men / 1 woman; of 37 members of the Board of Trustees: 36 men / 1 woman; and of 1,878 students: 1,293 men / 585 women.

The AAUP report led to much change in gender dynamics at the College. But Mary Margaret wanted more. At a March 1980 Women's Studies Conference of the Pennsylvania Consortium (which includes Dickinson and Franklin & Marshall along with Gettysburg), she spread the word. In her letter to Dean David Potts, Beverley Eddy (Director of the Consortium as well as a professor in German at Dickinson), praised Mary Margaret's feminism: "Mary Margaret not only varied the format of the annual conference by making us all look inward to our own assumptions about sex roles and academic programming: she also determined the broadest range of campus issues, studied Consortium resources for individuals best able to speak to these issues, and spent hours persuading them of the necessity to do so. None of the Women's Studies programs in the past have had this breadth of participation by all segments of the college communities, nor have they been so relevant – and necessary." Eddy provides an eloquent testament to Mary Margaret's history as an activist. Were it not that Beth Lambert generously sent me a photograph she had taken of this letter, I would not have been able to cite it.

Mary Margaret was also proud of her work as a member of the Title IX Committee. Nancy Locher, her co-teacher in "Women and Madness," chaired the committee working to give women more opportunities in sports but they also worked for fairness in dorm hours and eating privileges, addressing inequities too easy to ignore. Mary Margaret also served on the Women's Commission, which began in 1985/86, the year I arrived at the College.

Mary Margaret was chair when I was hired. I owe her much. As part of my research for this tribute, I reread Mary Margaret's letters to me before and after I applied for the job. She was her usual self: congenial, inquisitive about my interests, and forthcoming about her own. One exchange that I had completely forgotten about embodies for me her wise subversiveness. During the interview Mary Margaret and I must have discussed articles she had read about autoeroticism and 18th-century attitudes to theory (the job for which I applied was in Literary Theory). She offered to send me the articles, and I

gratefully accepted (hoping this was a sign that I might get the job). When I thanked her for sending them, she pertly responded, “Autoeroticism and eighteenth century make a good combination.” When I first reread these words 35 years later, I had no idea to what she was referring. But once I found the articles in my files (like Mary Margaret I too am a saver), and read them I realized the full extent of her playfulness. The 18th-century article was indeed unhappy about theory but also optimistic: “At times it may seem to some of us as if our more radically deconstructed students may never again be put together, but then there are always those who have reconstructed themselves in interesting new ways” (*Johnsonian News Letter*, March to December 1984). I hope that over the course of my many years at Gettysburg, I reconstructed myself in ways that Mary Margaret approved. And I will always be grateful that she pushed for theory (and a theorist) even as so many pushed it away.

I will end by noting that the first assignment Mary Margaret gave me was to submit a paper that I had mentioned about linguistic patterns in *Humphry Clinker* to the upcoming EC/ASECS Conference at Gettysburg.--Temma Berg

Author's Note: This tribute would not have been possible without the help of Michael Birkner's two exhaustive and enlightening interviews with Mary Margaret, which can be found at <https://cupola.gettysburg.edu/oralhistall/>. A Gettysburg alum, class of '72, and Professor of History since 1989, Michael serves as College historian. I would also like to thank Karen Drickamer, Archivist of the College, for help in finding the AAUP documents.

A Memorial Tribute to William C. Edinger

Long-time member of EC/ASECS, William C. Edinger, died unexpectedly on June 19, 2021, at the age of 79. He is survived by his wife Sara, daughters Elizabeth Edinger and Anne Reddy (and his son-in-law Ben) and three grandchildren. He graduated from Stanford (BA, 1963) and the University of Wisconsin, Madison (MS, 1964; PhD, 1968). In his early years, Bill Edinger was an assistant professor at UCLA and a Mellon Faculty Fellowship at Harvard. In 1978 he joined the English Department at the University of Maryland, Baltimore County, from where he retired as an Associate Professor in 2008. Bill Edinger's main scholarly interests were Samuel Johnson, 18th-century poetry, and literary theory from Plato to the Romantics. He was a founder of the UMBC English Honors Program, which he directed for 17 years. In addition to his scholarly and professional interests, he was a jazz pianist and a jazz and classical music aficionado and a keen fly fisherman who enjoyed backpacking in the Sierra Nevada. The affection with which Bill's former colleagues at UMBC remember him is evident in a fuller obituary in the *Baltimore Sun* (<https://www.baltimoresun.com/obituaries/bs-md-ob-william-edinger-20210701-3r4mdvk2wrelvbr5olebdra7ey-story.html>).

Bill Edinger was the author of numerous scholarly articles and reviews and two monographs, *Samuel Johnson and Poetic Style* (Chicago, 1977) and *Johnson and Detailed Representation: The Significance of the Classical Sources* (Victoria BC, ELS, 1997). I first heard of Bill Edinger when I read *Johnson and Poetic Style* as an undergraduate at Cambridge, a book whose

philological focus and unfastidious approach to Johnson's verbal textures helped me make my way through the minefield. My first personal communication with him occurred in the summer of 2018 when he offered Bucknell UP a 200,000-word manuscript on the history of eighteenth-century criticism and taste, a massive undertaking on which he had been working for years.

A lengthy, friendly correspondence ensued that led in due course to Bill breaking down the immense manuscript into three separate but related monographs, the first of which, *Genial Perception: Wordsworth, Coleridge and the Myth of Genius in the Long Eighteenth Century* will appear in March 2022 in Clemson University Press' series *Eighteenth-Century Moments*. In recommending the manuscript to Clemson I wrote: "*Genial Perception* is more than a literary history of the period 1660-1830: it traces a series of intricate intertextual links and relationships between Wordsworth and Coleridge and many 18th-century critics and poets that have become largely invisible except in the most specialized of discussions. In addition to Classical critics (Longinus and Quintilian), and prominent 18th-century figures (e.g., Addison, Shaftesbury, Pope and Johnson), *Genial Perception* engages with and discusses many lesser-known critics who were integral to 18th-century letters, including Dennis, Hume (as critic), Hurd, Spence, Blair, Lowth, Duff, Kames, Priestley, Daniel Webb, and William Gilpin. Edinger thereby produces an intricate map or—to vary the metaphor—a deeper vertical botanical delving into the roots of some of the most prominent critical and poetic ideas usually identified with Romanticism. They turn out to have a long history, reaching right back into the origins of modern critical thought and aesthetics." The link to *Genial Perception* on Clemson's website is [https:// libraries.clemson.edu/press/books/genial-perception/](https://libraries.clemson.edu/press/books/genial-perception/). I am very sorry Bill Edinger did not live to see his book in print, or to complete his other two monographs, both of which I would probably also have published with Clemson.

Greg Clingham
Bucknell University

To the Memory of W. Bliss Carnochan (1930–2022)

Bliss Carnochan died of congestive heart failure on January 24th at his home in Portola Valley, CA. Bliss was raised in Manhattan when not at St. Paul's School in Concord, NH, or on his grandparents' farm in New Jersey. He received his B.A. (1953) and Ph.D. (1960) from Harvard and spent a year before graduate school at New College, Oxford, where he rowed crew. In 1960 he took an assistant professorship at Stanford, remaining there through retirement, serving as chair of the English Dept. and Dean of Graduate Studies and Vice-Provost; he also helped establish the Stanford Humanities Center, which he directed in 1985-1991 with great intellectual satisfaction. At Stanford he taught and wrote on 18C English literature, but after retirement he took up writing projects involving other interests, particularly problems involving education, social injustice as in the prison system and several topics involving Africa (where his zoologist uncle had studied snakes) and personal reminiscences (such as *Confessions of a Dodger Fan*). He served as a Trustee

of Mills College and the Berkeley Art Museum and chaired the board of the Athenian School in Danville. He sat on the advisory board of *Swift Studies*.

Aristocratic in the best sense, Bliss was tall, handsome, and charismatic, making everyone about him at a conference or in a class feel recognized and welcome. Through notes and donations, he was a supportive reader of this newsletter and other 18C journals. He liked to play tennis and ride horses; he collected folk art; for several decades he spent summers on Martha's Vineyard at the home built by he and his wife Brigitte (a celebrated photographer). The obituary in *The San Francisco Chronicle* of 13 February 2022 remarks, "His friends remember many things: his generosity, wit, erudition, wide-ranging conversation, and humility, as well as his deep, rich, contagious laughter. His children remember that he was present: every graduation, athletic event, birthday party, grandparents day or theater performance: He Showed Up." He is survived by Brigitte Carnochan, his wife of 42 years, and four children from his first marriage to Nancy Carter Edebo and their seven grandchildren.

One of his earliest publications was the Regents Restoration Drama edition of Etherege's *The Man of Mode* (Nebraska, 1966). Of many important publications on Swift, his first book was *Lemuel Gulliver's Mirror for Man* (1968), reprinted this month by the University of California Press in its "Voices Revived" series. Growing out of such essays as "The Complexity of Swift: Gulliver's Fourth Voyage" (*SP*, 1963) and "*Gulliver's Travels*: An Essay on Human Understanding" (*MLQ*, 1964), it engages Swift's classic as the product of its times and as relevant to our own, with particular attention to Book IV as being within the tradition of satires on mankind, confronting the contradictory interpretations, ending with an epilogue looking forward to Joyce, Nabokov, et al. Thereafter came *Confinement and Flight: An Essay on English Literature of the 18C* (U. of Calif. Press, 1977), *Gibbon's Solitude: The Inward World of the Historian* (Stanford, 1987) and *Cultural Landscapes: Gilbert White and The Natural History of Selborne* (Stanford UP, 1989, 46pp.). His 18C grounding appears in *Golden Legends: Images of Abyssinia, Samuel Johnson to Bob Marley* (Stanford, 2008) and *Scotland the Brave: A Scottish-American Mosaic* (CreateSpace, 2013). Five essays of note among many in our field are his 1979 lecture in a Clark Library Seminar, printed with another by Patricia Spacks in *A Distant Prospect: 18C Views of Childhood*; his "Swift's Tale: On Satire, Negation and the Uses of Irony" (*ECS*, 1971); "The Comic Plot of Hume's *Dialogues*" in *Modern Philology* 1998; his Afterword to Ian Watt's *The Rise of the Novel* for a 2001 edition; and "Who Was Podofar? Swift in the *Journal to Stella*" in *Reading Swift: Papers from the Fifth Münster Symposium on Jonathan Swift* (2008), which is a close and insightful examination of Swift's self-presentation in the *Journal*, showing how a perceptive reader can produce good criticism without scholarly clutter. (He wrote on Swift's friendship with Charles Ford in the next *Reading Swift* volume [2013].) Many of his 20-some books written later in life reflect more varied concerns, such as *The Sad Story of Burton, Speke, and the Nile; or, Was John Hanning Speak a Cad: Looking at the Evidence* (Stanford, 2006).

The *SF Chronicle's* obit remarks that his "'The Death Penalty and Prison Reform' was the product of several visits to the Louisiana State Prison at Angola and a years-long correspondence with the editor of *The Angolite*, the inmate publication." In 2009 and 2011 he published articles on prisoners in

19C England. His writings on humanities education include *The Battleground of the Curriculum: Liberal Education and the American Experience* (Stanford UP, 1994, 174pp), with such chapters as "Ancients, Moderns, and the Rise of the Liberal Education" and "General Education 'in a Free Society': Harvard's *Redbook*, the '1960s,' and the Image of Democracy"--it is a response to Allan Bloom's *The Closing of the Modern Mind* (1987) and other heated polemics. Essays on the canon and pedagogy include "On the 'Purposes' of Liberal Education" (in *The Conditions of American Liberal Education*, edited by Bruce A. Kimball and R. Orrill, 1995), "Where Did Great Books Come From, Anyway?" (*Book Collector*, Autumn 1999), and "The English Curriculum: Past and Present" (*PMLA*, Dec. 2000). Bliss also reviewed a many books, including John Stubbs's biography *Jonathan Swift, for The Scriblerian* in 2017, which is an appreciative assessment with a good overview and some helpful advice to potential readers. In rereading it, I am reminded of how frequently the short reviews on Amazon for his books stress the ease and lucidity of his prose. His reflections at retirement are offered in *Momentary Bliss: An American Memoir* (Stanford UP, 1999, reprinted 2015), presenting himself as a "scion of an eclipsed world" renewed on the West coast, on his 40 years at Stanford, and on 20C America. A finding aid was prepared in 2010 to his papers in Stanford's Green Library. His obituary records what might be an epitaph, "It has been not just a fortunate life, but a rich one."--JEM

To the Memory of Edward V. Geist

The fall 2021 *Intelligencer* sent to **Edward V. Geist** was returned with notice of his death. Ed was a member of EC/ASECS for over three decades while residing in Flushing. He was an Associate Professor of English at the University of Bridgeport, where he directed its program in Literature and Civilization until at least 2019-2020. He took his B.A. from Columbia and his Ph.D. from UVA, writing his dissertation on "Temple, Dryden, and Saint-Evremond: A Study of Libertine Aesthetic and Moral Values" (1971). His students' comments on "Rate My Professor" often ranked him as "Awesome": "Prof. Geist is one of the best professors UB could have . . . his enthusiasm was contagious"; "He takes teaching very seriously. . . .He's a fair grader"; "Prof Geist's readings of Chaucer, etc. are worth the price of admission. He should have been an actor"; and "He is a kind, gentle older man. He was one of the nicest professors I had. He was very knowledgeable about his subjects and was helpful in anyway possible. I had him for senior seminar and he was also my advisor. He helped me be the best student possible." In March 2021 the Univ. of Bridgeport awarded Ed its "Celebration of Life" Service Award.

Jessica Banner Wins the 2021 Molin Prize

This year the Molin Prize Committee (Elizabeth Lambert, Jane Wessel, and Brett Wilson) faced a difficult decision in selecting a winner. Although the two runners-up, Xinyuan Qui's "Affection or Affectation: An Alternative Way of Reading: *Pamela* Provided by Hogarth's London Milkmaids" and Cassidy Holahan's "Actor Portraits, Costuming, and the Making of Theatrical

Character” were well presented and strongly argued, we have awarded the Molin Prize to Jessica Banner’s “Women Behind the Work: Re-Thinking the Representation of Female Garment Workers in Eighteenth-Century London.”

Noting that most accounts of female garment workers in our scholarship draw primarily from fictional characters, Banner aims to better understand the lived realities of women working in the garment industry by turning to archival records. By examining insurance registers and directories of tradespeople, Banner seeks to better understand how women’s participation in proto-industrial England compared to men’s involvement. Touching on gender, labor, and finance, Banner’s paper brought detailed analysis to a many-sided subject. Her smooth presentation and adroit handling of questions was notable as well. Shedding light on a complex network of personal and commercial relationships, Banner’s work on unpublished and even unlikely material stands out for its nature as well as its range and has the potential to make a significant contribution to eighteenth-century studies.

Jessica Banner took her B.A. at McGill and M.A. at York University, before beginning the PhD program in English Literature at the University of Ottawa in 2019, with hopes to take her doctorate in April 2022. She took her B.A. at McGill and M.A. at York University. Her dissertation, entitled “Women behind the Work: Identify Formation on and off the 18C Stage,” argues that clothing, as it was worn by actresses and made by working women, facilitated resistance against traditional restrictions on female bodies in the public sphere.” At our 2020 meeting, Jessica presented “Two Ends of the Same Thread: Re-Imagining the Boundaries of Personal and Professional Labour in 18C Needlework and 21C Crochet.” A revised version will appear in *Clothing Culture* in early 2022. (We learned from her presentation that she has much hands-on experience in fiber arts). Jess has an article forthcoming in *Literature Compass* in Fall 2022 on “18C Theatrical Costumes” and is working up a book chapter on “Female Garment Workers on the Restoration Stage.” She has recently published articles in *The Harbour Journal*, *Theory and Practice in English Studies*, and *Studies in Theatre and Performance*.

Elizabeth Lambert, Chair, for the Molin Prize Committee

Minutes of the Annual Business Meeting, 16 October 2021-- (Zoomed for the Second Year in a Row, alas!)

One of the problems with a virtual conference's business meeting is that we don't actually eat together; so, the general conviviality and chattiness is missing. But we were in general agreement that this virtual conference and business meeting went very well and had a more substantial feel to it than the previous (and our first) virtual conference—more panels, more comfort with the medium, and, perhaps, a touch less resignation (covering the obvious disappointment). However, Deborah Harper's virtual Winterthur presentation was excellent and certainly whetted our appetites for autumn 2022. Mind you, Joanne Myers' Presidential address—her personal rendition of a journal of the COVID plague year—benefited from being virtual because it was a reminder, if we needed one, that we were still in the plague's grip. Listening to her read

from her journal about how thoroughly she, her family, her college, and her community were immersed in the plague's forbidding shadow connected us all better than had she been presenting it to us in a common, live conference setting. In isolation she brought us together. It was absolutely riveting, in its mundanity and restraint. She is a master of the pause and emotional control.

Our principal business was to elect officers and to ask the membership to consider hosting a future conference. Anna Foy, the sitting Veep, was "elevated" to the presidency, and Greg Clingham accepted the nomination as Veep. Our three-person executive committee kept Jane Wessel and Brett Wilson, rotating Elizabeth Lambert off after her three-year term and ushering on none other than Linda Merians (yes!). We reminded the membership that my 2nd and final three-year term as x-sec would be coming to an end in 2022, and someone will need to fill the slot. We emphasized the need for volunteers and/or nominations. As my fabulous predecessor, Linda Merians (now retired: Congratulations!) helped me transition into the job, so I will my successor. Those interested or curious should email me [staffelp@westliberty.edu] or call [304-975-4225] if they want to chat about the tasks required. I look forward to hearing from a bunch of you.

Financial Report 2020-2021

This financial report is somewhat irregular in that our printer for the *ECI*, Action Graphics, was approximately six month behind in billing, which they were not in the least worried about. Therefore, having paid in late February for the autumn issue, I decided to include that transaction in fiscal year 2021.

We began the year with a balance of \$3,596.55 and ended it with a balance of \$3,436.62, which included the late billing from Action Graphics. Thus, we took in \$159.93 less than we spent, although \$150 of that is due to paying two Molin Prize winners in the same calendar year: Jacob Myers for 2020 and Jess Banner for 2021. Our expenses were much the same as usual:

Technology licensure--\$261.05

Mailing Labels (Avery)--\$213.86 [dues and conference letters and two issues of the *ECI*]

Postage--\$1,627.89 [\$286 dues and conference letters; \$1341.89 for *ECI*]

Printing--\$1,435.66 [\$95.48 envelopes & paper for x-sec letters; \$670.06 for two issues of *ECI*]

Conference registration--\$900 [\$25 x 36; grad students were free]

Banking expenses--\$35 [after July, the bank quit extorting \$5/month]

I transferred \$1,000 from the regular checking account to the Future Fund, that sum being made up primarily of donations in memory of Don Mell in addition to some member donations to the Fund. The Fund has \$19,095.63.

As far as dues, 5 graduate students x \$15 (\$75), 60 regular members x \$25 (\$1,500), and 5 couples x \$40 (\$200). We have 64 lifetime members, several of whom pay their dues anyway (thank you), which I put in the general fund unless they label it as a Future Fund donation. Also, several members donated with their dues, which I handle the same as with lifetime extra donors.

Respectfully submitted,

Peter Staffel, X-Sec'y, who is grateful for your participation in EC-ASECS

**Join EC/ASECS Colleagues This Fall for the 2022 Meeting:
The EC/ASECS Conference Report**

After two years of meeting virtually—a time when our 2020 “A Brief Intermission” meeting proved anything but and instead was followed by our 2021 Zoom-in “Prelude”—the 2022 conference organizers could not be more pleased to announce the return of the EC/ASECS in-person annual meeting. For our grand reunion, we have reserved Winterthur Museum, Garden, and Library, Winterthur, Delaware, from October 13 through the 15. In keeping with our 2022 conference theme, Material Matters in the Long Eighteenth Century, this year’s meeting will be a conference where eighteenth-century materiality can finally be experienced in person.

As has long been our tradition, the 2022 virtual meeting will open Thursday evening, October 13, with the Aural/Oral experience at a site adjacent to the conference hotel. EC/ASECS Executive Secretary Peter Staffel, the organizer and host of the Aural/Oral Experience, will be looking for volunteers to participate in this annual event.

Friday and Saturday, October 14-15, will be filled with panels, our annual business meeting and lunch, Professor Anna Foy’s presidential address, many catch-up conversations, new faces, the Molin competition, and more. These two days of events will all take place at Winterthur. University of Pennsylvania’s A. M. Rosenthal Professor of English Suvir Kaul will deliver the keynote. Plans are underway to arrange a musical performance for Friday evening—stay tuned! While the conference ends Saturday early evening, the Brandywine Valley and Wilmington area have much to recommend them, and attendees may want to take advantage of the sites before heading home.

We have reserved a block of rooms at the newly renovated Holiday Inn Express Brandywine, 300 Rocky Run Pkwy, Wilmington, that is a ten-minute drive from the Winterthur conference site. The conference rate of \$149 (plus tax) includes a hot breakfast, and a block of rooms is open for reservations and being held for us until September 13, 2022. The Holiday Inn features free parking, a fitness center, complimentary wifi, and a business center.

Proposals for panels should be submitted by April 30, 2022, and individual paper proposals and completed panels should be submitted by June 1, 2022, to ecasecs2022@gmail.com. As an organization, EC/ASECS is especially committed to increasing graduate student participation and has capped conference registration at \$25.00 to make our in-person meetings more affordable for students. The conference organizers urge graduate students to submit a proposal and compete for the prestigious Molin Award. The award comes with a monetary prize of \$150 and an announcement of the winning author and paper title in *The Intelligencer*. Faculty, we ask that you tell your students about this opportunity and urge them to propose a paper. EC/ASECS has long had a reputation for welcoming graduate students and providing an environment and network that advance their professional development and opportunities. Those who wish to be considered for the 2022 award must notify the chair of the Molin Committee, Professor Jane Wessel, of their interest. Please see the EC/ASECS’s and 2022 conference websites for full details about deadlines and the submission process.

Please mark your calendars now for our 2022 meeting at Winterthur. We look forward to welcoming you in person for our grand reunion at Winterthur this fall. If you have any questions about the conference, please contact the 2022 EC/ASECS co-chairs, Eleanor Shevlin and Sylvia Marks at ecasecs2022@gmail.com. For details and regular updates, please see the conference website, <https://ecasecs2022.wordpress.com>.

We do hope to see as many EC/ASECS members as possible and look forward to welcoming you all. Please use this conference as an opportunity to introduce new colleagues and students to our highly collegial organization.

Eleanor Shevlin and Sylvia Marks

Additions & Corrections to the Directory and News of Members

Clarke, Stephen. Correction to his postal code: it is: KT17 2AS (in the U.K.)
 Everdell, William. New email: wreverdell@gmail.com
 Holahan, Cassidy. cholahan@sas.upenn.edu (English / U. of Pennsylvania)
 106 Mercy St. / Philadelphia, PA 19148-2331
 Martin, Michael S. Michael.martin@nicholls.edu; English Dept. / Peltier Hall
 / Nicolls State U. / 906 E. First St. / Thibodaux, LA 70301
 Norton, Brian Michael. bnorton@fullerton.edu; English Dept. / California
 State Univ.--Fullerton / P.O. Box 6868 / Fullerton, CA 92834
 Novak, Maximillian E. 451 El Camino Dr. / Beverly Hills, CA 90212-4221
 Porter, Elizabeth. Eporter@hostos.cuny.edu; English Dept. / Hostos Com-
 munity College, CUNY / 500 Grand Concourse, B504 / Bronx, NY 10451
 Richmond-Moll, Jeffrey. jrichmondmoll@uga.edu; Curator of American Art,
 U. of Georgia's Museum of Art / 90 Carlton St. / Athens, GA 30602
 Schneller, Beverly. (Provost & VP for Academic Affairs, Governors State
 Univ.) new address: 13300 Callan Dr. / Orland Park, IL 60462
 Stewart, Kacey W. kstewart3@washcoll.edu; English Dept. / Washington
 College / 300 Washington Ave. / Chestertown, MD 21620
 Thomas, Leah (English, Virginia State U.): lmthomas@vsu.edu;
 4415 Bromley Lane / Richmond, VA 23221-1139
 Wilkins, Riley. 318 Windsor Place / Macungie, PA 18062

I would repeat with urgency **Peter Staffel's** appeals for his successor as Executive Sec'y and for hosts for future meetings. **Eve Tavor Bannet** has published *The Letters in the Story: Narrative-Epistolary Fiction from Aphra Behn to the Victorians* (Cambridge UP), which **Rob Hume** will review in our next issue. Eve is editing for Cambridge UP a short (30K words) series called "Eighteenth-Century Connections, digitally led monographs," offering original scholarship that is accessible to nonexperts (see www.cambridge-org.ezproxy.lib.ou.edu/core/what-we-publish/elements/eighteenth-century-connections). We lament the deaths of **W. Bliss Carnochan**, **William Edinger**, and **Edward Geist**, remembered in tributes above (67ff.). **Andrew Carpenter** offers an appreciative review of Valerie Rumbold's *Swift in Print* in the September issue of *The Library*. **Vincent Carretta** won Honorable Mention in the MLA's contest for Best Scholarly Edition for his *The Writings of Phillis*

Wheatley (OUP). Above **Robert Walker** reviews the 2021 volume of *1650-1850*, edited by **Kevin L. Cope** and book-review editor **Samara Anne Cahill**. Bucknell has posted Vol. 27's publication date as 15 April. Samara's efforts to host the SCSECS in College Station, TX, were thwarted by the Omicron variant, but she will welcome us next winter. She continues to post with open access *Studies in Religion and the Enlightenment*. Last year I should have noted the publication by Bucknell of *Hemispheres and Stratosphere's: The Idea and Experience of Distance in the International Enlightenment*, edited by Kevin Cope and including his "Orbiting Lambs: Enlightenment Cosmology and Conveniently Condensed Immensities." The other seven essays include **Bärbel Czennia's** "Change of Air, Change of Self: Long Distance and Human Adaptability in Imaginary Voyages of the Long 18C" and **Brijraj Singh's** "Connecting Hemispheres, Playing with Distance: Rammohun Roy, an Indian Transnationalist." We hear that Kevin is editing a festschrift honoring Howard Weinbrot with a long bib of Howard's publications compiled by **Steve Karian**. **Andrea Fabrizio** is the chair of English at Hostos Community College--her department has an admirable newsletter, welcoming **Elizabeth Porter** to the faculty and reporting on faculty & students, projects and curriculum. Elizabeth coordinates the Women's and Gender Studies Program at Hostos. The Winter *ECS* contains reviews by **Aparna Gollapudi** (of Marcie Frank's *The Novel Stage*) and by **Kristina Straub** (Bridget Orr's *British Enlightenment*); here too Malcolm Jack reviews **Jacob Sider Jost's** *Interest and Connection in the 18C*. **Melanie Holm** and fellow editors Neil Guthrie and E. Derek Taylor brought forth the first issue of *The Scriblerian* published by Penn State UP, vol. 53, no.2. **Brian Michael Norton** has replaced **Mel New** in the important role of Book Review Editor. Reviews were contributed by Norton himself, **Michael Edson** (several), **Kevin Cope**, **Paul J. deGategno**, **Anthony Lee** (two), **Robert Walker** (several), **Eve Bannet**, **Mel New** (two), **Lance Wilcox**, et al. Also, **Jim May** contributed "Scribleriana Transferred" on 2020 sales and **Bob Walker**, "Scholia to Volume 9--Subscription List" (on subscribers to Sterne's works). The journal has a new cover design and the TOC is moved to the front, but otherwise it's familiar. BTW, Penn State UP will now publish *Restoration & 18C Theatre Research*. Master-teacher in rhetoric & comp (and author of texts on writing), **Gene Hammond** is grading his last papers at Stony Brook this year. **Robert Hume**, besides completing by fall a book on historicist criticism, is co-writing with Claire Bowditch a study of Aphra Behn's finances ("forc'd to write for bread and not ashamed to own it"), certain to offer much insight into Behn's career and theatre history.

Anthony Lee has edited and sent to press a collection of essays honoring **Greg Clingham**, *Clubbable Man: Essays on 18C Literature and Culture*, due from Bucknell in June, with essays by **Cedric Reverand**, et al. (it's now listed on Amazon with Kindle and paperback copies at \$39.93). The essay collection *Notes on Footnotes* that Tony and **Mel New** edited (itemized in the last issue) is forthcoming from Penn State UP. Tony has been invited to come to London to give a plenary to the The Johnson Society (11 March 2023). Tony continues to push forward his edition "The Annotated *Rambler*." We're happy to welcome **Michael Martin** to the Society. Michael arrived as an Assistant Professor of English at Nicolls State U. in Louisiana in Fall 2017. He is the Chênrière faculty advisor and a member of the committee organizing lectures.

His department's newsletter also celebrates his taking students on field trips to historical sites. Michael's courses include a special topics survey of hunting literature. He has a forthcoming book on the exploration and settlement of the Appalachians, which we hope to review here. **Ashley Marshall** will be moving from Reno to Philadelphia this summer. Congratulations to **Linda Merians** on her retirement--and special thanks to her for returning all her expertise to EC/ASECS's Executive Board. **Maureen E. Mulvihill** sent her report: For the broadly publicized centennial of James Joyce's *Ulysses* (Paris, 1922), Maureen contributed to the February 1st upload of RareBookHub's Monthly Articles a 13-page tribute, *Ulysses 100: With a Joycean Gallery*, being commentary and several images with detailed notes. The *Ulysses* Centennial was celebrated in Paris, Dublin, etc., with lectures, exhibitions, videos, podcasts, roundtable readings, and three new editions of the novel, all mentioned with links & images in Maureen's article. The Florida Bibliophile Society's February newsletter ran a handsome webpage on her article. This fall's *Restoration* will summarize her essay "Writing Irish History" (RareBookHub, 1 May 2021) in its "Some Current Publications." Added to the Mulvihill Collection of Rare & Special Books & Images is the recent gift of a large-format, framed Hogarth print (1736), from Peter Scheuermann in memory of his wife, Mona Scheuermann, an ASECS colleague. Maureen is presently at work on a new policy document for the ASECS Advisory Board, being a first-ever *Ethical Guidelines & Procedures for ASECS Publication Editors*, coordinated by ASECS ombudsperson Attorney Nyree Gray and ASECS Executive Director, Mark Boonshoft; this proposal was officially welcomed at a Board meeting in December, 2021, and is the constructive outcome of a dispute between Maureen and outgoing ECS editors, Sean Moore & Jennifer Thorn. Also forthcoming, in *Scriblerian*, Autumn 2022, are reviews of three articles in the 2017 Swift Münster Symposium proceedings. Maureen is presently refining an upcoming essay on sonic arts in early women poets.

We are delighted to welcome **Mike Norton** to our group. EC/ASECS claims as members the authors of *The Story of Joy and Hope: A Literary History* (**Adam Potkay**), *The Language of the Heart, 1600-1750* (**Robert A. Erickson**), and there's much on love and ecstasy in **Bill Everdell's** *The Evangelical Enlightenment*, and now we're joined by Mike, Dr. Happiness, author of *Fiction and the Philosophy of Happiness* with Bucknell in 2012, released in paperback in 2015. He contributed an essay on "Happiness" to the *Oxford Handbook of Samuel Johnson*, ed. by **Jack Lynch**. In 2020 Mike published "Aesthetics, Science, and the Theater of the World" in *New Literary History*, and now is doing a great job of finding book reviewers for *The Scriblerian*. **Cathy Parisian** will be working at the Houghton Library on press figures in late 18C and early 19C books, aided by a fellowship. Cathy attended the Bibliographical Society of American meeting in NYC during January, and at this spring's ASECS she presented "Frances Burney, Her Publishers, Her Family, and Her Friends" at a panel on "Publishing Women in the Long 18C." **Xinyuan Qiu** is writing her dissertation at Binghamton on "women's bodies and sentimental truths conveyed thereby in novels by Richardson, Burney, and Edgeworth via Foucauldian lens." Her interdisciplinary approach connects fiction with paintings. She has a chapter on how Hogarth's milkmaid images influence readers' interpretation of Richardson's Pamela (who is dressed as a

milkmaid). **Cedric Reverend** and his asso. editor **Michael Edson** and book-review editor **Ashley Marshall** brought out the January 2022 issue of *Eighteenth-Century Life* in a timely fashion. Those who enjoyed **John Heins'** 2020 presidential address on the Dessau-Wörlitz gardens will find interesting the lead essay by Aaron Santessa, "The Narrative Garden," which productively searches for influences of narrative on garden design and vice versa (he concludes that this comparison "allows for new interpretation of certain gardens" and for the recognition of how narrative "enlivens and energizes . . . physical spaces"). The issue includes **Gene Hammond's** review of Valerie Rumbold's *Swift in Print*. **Hermann Real** is co-editing with **Kirsten Juhas** a lengthy 2022 *Swift Studies* as a tribute to **Hugh Ormsby-Lennon**, with essays by Hermann, **Jim May**, Dirk Passmann, Clive Probyn, **James Woolley**, et al. **Jeffrey Richmond-Moll** is chairing the Association of Historians of American Art. Last month died Roger Lonsdale, editor of Johnson's *Lives of the Poets* (2006) and *Poems of Gray, Collins, and Goldsmith* (1969), as did in September Eric Rothstein, who taught at Wisconsin (1961-) and wrote such books as *Restoration and 18C Poetry, 1660-1780* (1981). We wish **Beverly Schneller** success at Governors State Univ. in Illinois, where she is the new Provost and Vice President for Academic Affairs. We thank **Patrick Scott** for his illustrated note on Robert Burns and James Currie above (22-26). Patrick, a Distinguished English Professor at the Univ. of South Carolina (emeritus), edits *Studies in Scottish Literature*. **Carrie Shanafelt's** "'A World of Debt': Quobna Ottobah Cugoano, *The Wealth of Nations*, and the End of Finance" appears in the Fall 2021 issue of *ECS*. **Brijraj Singh** in December published *In Arden: A Memoir of Four Years in Shillong 1974-1978* (available on Kindle and in paperback), begun long ago. We know from Brij's memoir *Professing English on Two Continents* that he and **Frances** then taught in the wilds of Northeastern India, where tribal culture flourished and there were rebels in the bush. Brij's review above on 18C Udaipur painting (38-44) and **Carla Mulford's** on *British Traders in the East Indies* (44-48) have greatly stretched our global reach. **Kacey Stewart** defended his dissertation at the University of Delaware, "Sensing Place: Data Practices in Early America," and has joined the faculty of Washington College, where he is Asst. Director for Programs and Experiential Learning. **Mary Margaret Stewart** died last fall and was honored with a packed memorial service in Gettysburg. She is remembered by four colleagues above (60-67). **Robert Walker's** "Boswell's *The Cub* and the Shadow of Augustan Satire" appeared last fall in *Studies in Scottish Literature*; it is a solid re-evaluation of Boswell's poem (1762), correcting snarky criticism and arguing the likely influence of Swift et al. In December **Cal Winton** was in England to complete research for his book on the early 17C trade envoy Richard Steele (the celebrated author's grandfather). Cal will be moving from Sewanee to Franklin, TN, 20 miles south of Nashville.

We need a reviewer still for Sharon R. Harrow and Kirsten T. Saxton, *Adapting the Eighteenth Century: A Handbook of Pedagogies and Practices* (Rochester, 2020), pp. 315 (see "Harrow" in the news for March 2021).

Cover illustration: H. Numan (Dutch, 1728-1788), *A Book Peddler*, woodcut on laid paper, block, 2 7/16" x 2 3/8"; courtesy of the National Gallery of Art, Washington.

The Eighteenth-Century Intelligencer

The Newsletter of the EC/ASECS

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