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

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

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

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Chesterfield in the Archives: New Light on an Elusive Figure

by Richard Wendorf

Given the amount of scholarly attention that has been devoted to Philip Dormer Stanhope, the 4th Earl of Chesterfield (1694-1773) – and particularly given the publication of his collected (but by no means complete) letters in six volumes almost a century ago – it might be thought that the mine shaft of Chesterfieldiana had finally run dry. But Chesterfield, who has left his footprints firmly planted in so many scholarly arenas (literature, history of the language, cultural politics, political and diplomatic history), remains far from being fully excavated. Two repositories of his unpublished manuscripts contain a number of intriguing surprises, helping us to flesh out somewhat more extensively the life and career of a figure whom William Hayley nicely described as "an eel too slippery to be held."[1]

The bulk of Chesterfield's manuscripts are held at the Kent History and Library Centre in Maidstone and at the Lilly Library in Bloomington, Indiana.[2] The paper trails that lead to these two institutions overlap each other and are more than a little convoluted, especially in the case of the Chevening Estate, whose manuscripts are in Maidstone. The posthumous printing of Chesterfield's letters to his illegitimate son, also called Philip Stanhope, by James Dodsley in 1774, was the publishing sensation of the final quarter of the eighteenth century. Philip died in 1768 and his widow, Eugenia Stanhope, offered to return the letters to the Earl, who is said to have declined to take them back. When Chesterfield died in 1773, he made generous provisions for Eugenia's two sons but none for her, and she therefore saw the publication of her cache of letters as a reasonable way to secure her financial livelihood. Dodsley printed his edition in two handsome quarto volume – followed by numerous reprints – using copies of the original manuscripts.[3]

The copies from which Dodsley printed do not survive, and Eugenia's original manuscripts disappeared from sight until the middle of the nineteenth century, when one of the Earl's collateral descendants, Viscount Mahon, edited a new edition of the letters. Mahon's four-volume edition appeared in 1845, at which point he was approached by a book dealer in London who offered to sell him the original manuscripts. Mahon was quick to purchase them, and, although he now owned three-quarters of the holograph letters (one of the four bound volumes was missing, and still is), he did not draw upon them when he issued a fifth volume in 1853. As Christopher Mayo has pointed out, there are consistent and sometimes significant differences between the manuscript letters and their first printing by Dodsley – and their second printing by Mahon – and these incongruities have persisted in all of our modern editions, including Bonamy Dobrée's six-volume collection of 1932.[4]

Having published his edition, Lord Mahon, who later succeeded to the title of Earl Stanhope, became a natural object of attention among those who had additional manuscripts in Chesterfield's hand, and he copied a good deal of this material, which he introduced into his fifth volume, including 'A Dialogue between Villiers, Duke of Buckingham[,] and Sr John Cutler,' 'A Dialogue between Horace and Dr Bentley,' and 'Some Thoughts on the Clergy' – all interesting pieces that have not been reprinted in over 175 years. They accompanied

fresh versions of the famous 'Characters' of Hanoverian monarchs and politicians that Chesterfield wrote later in his life, and they were copied, Mahon tells us, from manuscripts lent to him by Evelyn Philip Shirley, who inherited them from Lovell Stanhope, one of Chesterfield's two executors.[5] But this is not precisely what Shirley wrote in the front papers to these two bound volumes, now at the Lilly Library: the manuscripts were 'found at the House of my Grandfather, the late Arthur Stanhope Esq. at his death in 1836. & rebound as at present in 1851.'[6] Arthur Stanhope was the nephew of Lovell Stanhope, and Evelyn Shirley was Arthur's grandson. It is not clear why Mahon did not include everything that Shirley shared with him, but we do know that his high Victorian sensibility forbade the inclusion of two indecorous poems that had already been published, and that he included the proviso that the letters to Chesterfield's son should be read only by 'those persons whose principles are fixed, and whose understandings are matured.' Only they will profit from the knowledge and experience embodied in the letters 'without the danger of imbibing their laxity of moral.'[7]

What Mahon had the opportunity to include, but did not, is as interesting as what he decided to publish (this is predicated, of course, on the assumption that Shirley shared all of the material with him). Two of the manuscripts are of considerable interest and are described here for the first time. Chesterfield wrote a number of epigrams in the form of maxims for his son, and the ones that have been published focus on his son's future career as a diplomat on the Continent.[8] Evelyn Shirley's manuscript collection includes, however, a series of maxims that are quite different: clearly intended for his son to read, but fairly divorced from what he always called the 'business' of government. They include a number of entries devoted to women, and they are phrased in ways that support some of the most derogatory comments he made in his letters to Philip:

> Women have much more tenderness and constancy in Love than men; but less desire.
>
> It is plain that Love is the only great passion of Women; for in that, and in no other, they act consequentially.
>
> I have known many a witty woman but I never knew a sensible one.
>
> A woman when she first puts in to Court, thinks her self bound for business; but she carrys too much sail and too little ballast; for that voyage. If she leaves off coasting, she is overset.
>
> Women are blinder to their own persons, than Men are to their own understandings. I have known men conscious that they could not shine, and consequently not attempt it; but I never knew a woman, deform'd enough, to despair of pleasing.
>
> A woman's reputation depends upon her lover, not her love; she shares the reputation of the man who is suppos'd to enjoy her, and is as often a gainer, as a loser by an Affair.
>
> A Woman's Vanity is a Man's best friend.

> Fashion has whimsically made the honour of men to consist in doing what they have no mind to do; and that of women, in not doing what they have a mind to do. but they often appeal from this decree.
>
> There never was a woman who was not to be had, by some one Man, (I had almost said by any Man) with perseverance and frequent opportunitys.
>
> Men who don't know the world, either think all women whores, or all virtuous. They are much mistaken either way.
>
> Constitution [bodily pleasure] has the least share in a woman's first Gallantry, and the greatest in her second.[9]

At least two of these epigrams made their way into – or had already been included in – Chesterfield's letters to his son, and a longer passage on people of fashion either preceded his essay on that subject in *Common Sense* No. 4 (1737) or more likely summarized it. There is no date assigned to this collection, although it is clear from the varying tones of ink in the entries that it was a running commentary, with epigrams added when he had time to return to it. Given his successful career as an ambassador, the inclusion of two passages on national character at the end of the document is of particular interest. His remarks are characteristically epigrammatical, but nonetheless revealing:

> Good sense and justness of thought seem confin'd to England and France. The Spaniards and the Italians are above 'em, and extravagant. The Germans and the Northern Nations are below 'em, and Stupid. The Orientals are stark mad.
>
> There is a sameness of Character among the Dutch, that I never saw in any other Country. I never met with either a fool or a man of parts in Holland. Every Dutchman has industry, attention, and application; knows his interest thoroughly, and persues it steadily. There's no other difference between the States General, and the Fishermen at Schevening, than what their situations make.[10]

Of great interest to Parliamentary historians is Chesterfield's secret history of the abandonment of the Excise Bill, a scheme created and introduced in 1733 by the first minister, Sir Robert Walpole, who quickly saw it spark outrage throughout the kingdom. Because this was a financial bill, it was properly the business of the House of Commons; but the members of the Lords were, if anything, even more vehement in their opposition to the bill, and they had means to exert their views, as Clyve Jones has argued: 'individual members of the Lords, as well as the increasingly coherent body of the opposition in the House, had an immense impact upon the outcome of the crisis.' This was achieved, Jones writes, 'through three interrelated spheres of influence':

> first, the influence of peers over individual MPs to oppose the scheme in the Commons, many of whom owed their seats to aristocratic interest; second,

> their influence upon the court; and third, not to be underestimated, their influence upon public opinion through print, newsmongering and gossip, particularly amongst the political and social elite, which created a climate inimical to the excise and to Walpole's administration.[11]

Chesterfield was among the most adamant of the aristocrats in his opposition to the bill, and his intransigence soon led to his dismissal as Lord Steward.

Chesterfield begins his 'Anecdote,' which he dates 1761, by summarizing what was popularly understood about the motives behind the scheme at the time: the imposition of excises would require multiple officers whose powers 'to favour or distress whom they please' were essentially an extension of the power of the Crown over trading within the country; this, in turn, would exert influence on the election of members to the House of Commons.[12] The truth, however, was quite different, he wrote: fraud within the current system was 'enormous, and intolerable,' and the new act would only apply to tobacco and wine.[13] But that was not how the public understood it, for they feared that it was a general excise – a comprehensive tax – 'or at least . . . the sure fore-runner of one.' Chesterfield is persuaded, however, that Walpole only wished to increase the public revenue, which was part of his responsibility as First Lord of the Treasury. Walpole sold his plan to George II and Queen Caroline by showing them figures which suggested that the scheme would generate an additional £100,000 a year in the civil list, on which the Court depended. But the 'universal fear and fury' the scheme had excited convinced Walpole that he should withdraw it from consideration in the Commons. The Queen, however, was adamant in her refusal, and 'laughed at his apprehensions of popular clamours.' The first minister was therefore in a difficult predicament.

In the meantime Chesterfield's closest friend, the Earl of Scarbrough, who was Colonel of the Second Regiment of Foot Guards, learned that orders had secretly been given to the regiments of the army 'to load their pieces with ball, and be ready to march at a minute's warning.' Scarbrough immediately sought an audience with the Queen, telling her politely but firmly that 'the private men of his Regiment would not march against their Countrymen' and that he would not do so either. Caroline was in turn angry and cajoling, attempting to win him over to her views; but he persisted in his 'declaration,' took his leave, and the next day Walpole came to the House and, 'in a very able speech, dropped the Excise scheme, full as much I believe, to his own, as to the satisfaction of the Publick.' Chesterfield, meanwhile, learned of these 'particular circumstances' from his friend the very next day, was sworn to secrecy, and kept Scarbrough's secret for almost thirty years, until 'all the parties concerned are dead.' He now considered himself at liberty to 'put it down in writing, and leave it amongst my idle loose papers. They may perhaps inform some, and can hurt none.'

This 'Anecdote' and these caustic maxims, together with the 'Characters' and other manuscripts that Evelyn Shirley shared with Lord Mahon, descended (as we have seen) directly from Lovell Stanhope, one of the two executors in charge of the Earl's affairs after he died. Chesterfield referred to these manuscripts as his 'loose papers' and it remains unclear whether he wished to see them printed after his death. They were not included in the *Miscellaneous Works* that were authorized by Lady Chesterfield and issued in 1777 and 1778, and Lord Mahon was pleased to be able to publish some of the manuscripts for the first time in 1853. So even in the 1850s the 'Characters' and the other man-

uscripts were still safely within the extended Stanhope family. At a later date, however, possibly in the early twentieth century, the manuscripts were sold by the family, for in 1931 they belonged to Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, the great Philadelphia collector, and he presumably sold them in turn to Arthur A. Houghton, Jr., of New York, who owned them by 1953.[14]

Houghton then put them up at auction in 1979, and it is uncertain who owned them in the years that immediately followed, but we know that the London dealer Colin Franklin had taken possession of them sometime before 1993, when he published all eighteen of the 'Characters' for the first time without omissions or bowdlerization. There is an intriguing footnote to his *Lord Chesterfield: His Character and 'Characters*' which indicates that he was working among the Chesterfield papers in Maidstone, although he does not refer to the original letters to the Earl's son. He also mentions that the two volumes he owns 'contain all of Chesterfield's surviving manuscripts other than letters, and long drafts for certain letters he wanted to think out carefully.' Franklin sold the manuscripts to the Lilly Library in 1993, where they now rest cheek-by-jowl with (most of) Chesterfield's letters to his godson, which made their way to Indiana via an equally circuitous route. The Library also owns the original drawing of Chesterfield and Lord Scarbrough, which the Earl commissioned Thomas Wordlidge to draw, in graphite, after Scarbrough took his own life. The drawing commemorates the friendship that Chesterfield most valued. As he put it in the conclusion of his 'Character' of Scarbrough, 'I owed this small tribute of justice such as it is, to the memory of the best man I ever knew, and of the dearest friend I ever had.'[15]

In order to explore the unpublished material now in the Kent Archives, we need to return to Eugenia Stanhope and Lord Mahon. Eugenia gave or bequeathed the four volumes of Chesterfield's letters to Philip Stanhope, one of her two sons; they then descended to Philip's daughter, whose husband eventually sold them to the dealers in London, who in turn sold them to Mahon. In 1855 Mahon inherited the earldom, which was parallel to Chesterfield's, and moved to the family's grand estate at Chevening House in Kent. When modern scholars began their research on Chesterfield in the twentieth century, the original manuscript letters to his son had once again disappeared from public view. Bonamy Dobrée included a long list of the private collections to which he had been provided access – and a firm sentence about being denied access to Chesterfield's letters to Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, by the Duke of Marlborough in the 1920s – but he did not list Earl Stanhope or Chevening among his sources.[16] He should have done so, however, for in 1886 George Scharf had published a short note in which he drew attention to the three volumes of manuscripts at Chevening, which he had closely examined: 'these letters retain their directions and wax seals, and bear the postmarks of the period. They do not appear to have been used by the printers, and fair copies were probably taken from them for that purpose.'[17] Scharf, an art historian who was Director of the National Portrait Gallery, also mentions that Lord Mahon purchased Chesterfield's original letters to Solomon Dayrolles, one of his closest friends, from Messrs Bentley in 1846, Bentley having purchased them from Dayrolles's heirs. Sidney Gulick later discovered a number of previously unknown letters, but not those tantalizing three volumes still at Chevening, so he must also have missed seeing Scharf's note.[18] Cecil Price may have seen the manuscripts, but although he published several new letters, he never wrote about the Chevening

manuscripts themselves.[19] All of these scholarly dead ends finally led to research carried out by Christopher Mayo, who discovered (like Colin Franklin before him) that the archives at Chevening had been transferred to the Kent History and Library Centre in Maidstone when the house was bequeathed to the nation.[20] The three volumes and a great deal of other material related to Chesterfield had been sitting in Chevening from the 1850s until 1971 – and they then sat, only partially catalogued, in Maidstone for decades afterwards.

The miscellaneous letters and documents now in Kent are of considerable significance. We now have access, for instance, to a post-mortem examination carried out by Dr Richard Warren a day after Chesterfield died:

> Upon opening the body of the late Earl of Chesterfield, the following appearances were observed.
>
> The brain was remarkably sound but on the upper surface of the *Dura Mater* four or five small fleshy substances were found that he [had] grown with & had made themselves corresponding cavities in the skull, so as nearly to perforate it.
>
> The heart & lungs were perfectly sound. The lungs adhered in several places & the membrane which lines the cavities of the breast, & each cavity contained about four ounces of water.
>
> The contents of the *abdomen* were in a perfect state, excepting that the stomach, liver & spleen had strong adhesions to each other & to all the surrounding parts & that the coats of the bladder near its neck were preternaturally thickened – & that the prostate gland was treble its natural size, & schirrous.[21]

A day later an inventory was made of his bank balance, notes, silver, gold, and one 'note of hand'; the total was £966.8.6 (£122,000 in today's currency).[22]

Also revealing is a series of unpublished letters to Dr William Dodd, whom Chesterfield had appointed as his godson's tutor. Because the Earl's only son was illegitimate, he adopted the son of his cousin Arthur Stanhope to be groomed as his heir. (Like the Earl and the Earl's father, and like the Earl's son and grandson, the godson was also called Philip Stanhope.) Dodd was a learned divine, very much on the make within the ministry, and well known as a popular orator; years later he would be hanged at Tyburn for negotiating a bill of exchange after forging his former student's signature. Chesterfield felt comfortable confiding in Dodd for some time, although in the last year or two of his life he became increasingly concerned about the laxity of Dodd's stewardship and an emerging arrogance in his godson's behaviour. The twelve letters in Maidstone date from a slightly earlier period, the 1760s, and indicate how persistently Dodd was courting Chesterfield for assistance in finding preferment in the church. Could, for instance, his benefactor make an appeal to William Pitt, now the Earl of Chatham and serving as a senior minister? Chesterfield was kind but blunt in his reply:

> When he was a very young man & in the army we lived together in the strictest intimacy; I in a manner first discovered his great abilities; I admired them, & may say that I did him some service. Since that, the various charges & chances in the busy scenes in which we were

> engaged, brought on insensibly a coldness between us, but without the least quarrel, & from that time to this we have been only upon civil terms & have very seldom met. What I have told you is in the utmost confidence, & I desire that it may remain a secret between us.[23]

Although Chesterfield did not generally keep copies of his correspondence, he would later draw upon this letter when drafting his 'Character' of Chatham.

By 1770 the Earl's letters to Dodd begin to reveal his concern for his godson's education and social deportment, and in particular his previously unknown opinions about the boy's father. The published letters between Chesterfield and Arthur Stanhope are cordial and polite; the only issue that arises from them is the Earl's fear that Arthur is being too hard on the boy and should give him a little more freedom as a child. The unpublished letters, however, indicate that Chesterfield actually thought of Arthur as a fairly rough-and-tumble character. As he wrote to Dodd, he does not wish for Arthur's rough manners to 'break out upon [Philip]; his passion & ill-breeding were in some measure to be excused in consideration of his rustic, or rather no, education; but our boy, I am sure cannot have that excuse for the least roughness or illiberality of manners.' In a slightly later letter, he writes of his godson's 'present state of amendment,' but he would not be surprised if 'now & then some fits of his father should return.' And then, in an intriguing autobiographical confession, the Earl writes that:

> I will do him & myself the justice to say that at fifteen years old I was not so rational a creature as he is now & had not half the learning. I was extremely passionate, & continued so till I was three or four & twenty, when a fatal accident which had like to have been the result of that passion made me resolve, at any rate to smother that combustible temper. I did so, & I can say with strict truth that I have never been in a violent indecent passion since.

"I confess," he continues, that "I interest myself so much in him that I have in my own mind a point of perfection which I wish, though I cannot expect, he should arrive at, & I will willingly compound [settle] for less."[24]

And settle for less is what the aging Chesterfield had to do, for it is not clear that his godson ever profited from the strictures on polite, gentlemanly behaviour that the Earl was so strenuously emphasizing during the last two years of his life. We can be relatively certain of this because also in the Kent Archives are copies of forty unpublished letters from Chesterfield to young Philip that shed entirely fresh light on this period in the Earl's life – and that of his heir. Chesterfield famously 'fathered' at a distance – neither of his boys ever lived with him for more than a very short period – but the Earl kept an eagle eye on them at all times, and what he heard about his godson was deeply disturbing. Here is a late letter, probably from 1772, a year before Chesterfield's death, which I quote at length in order to provide a full sense of what we have previously been missing in his published correspondence:

> My dear Son,
>
> Whatever success and reputation I have had in the world, I owe chiefly, if not solely to my early desire and endeavour to please

> universally, from the highest to the very lowest of my fellow creatures. Before I had considered it as a moral duty I had sense enough to discover that it was [in] my interest, & I freely own that my Vanity prompted me strongly to it, a Vanity which I am not ashamed of, as it contributed to a good purpose. I was bred in Courts, where it is necessary to please, & where it is not only disadvantageous, but disgraceful not to please. Attentions, or rather in French *les attentions*, is essentially necessary to the great art of pleasing, for without attention to the singularities, the tastes, & even the whims of those you converse with, how can you know how to gratify them, and yet that is one of the most delicate parts of the art of pleasing. I will suppose that you desire to please me, but how is that possible if you please nobody else? Or do you think that I am of so singular a taste, as to like those whom nobody else likes? No, I tell you plainly that I shall like you, in the same proportion that other people do. Your pleasing universally is the great object that I have set my heart upon for your sake only, and can I possibly imagine that you love me, if nobody loves you? *Qui n'est pas amiâble ne será jamais aimé.* Your desire of pleasing must not be confined to your equals and superiors but must be extended in a proper manner to the lowest of your inferiors, where it becomes a duty of humanity. Some people who call themselves, *Men of Spirit*, but whom I call Bears, assert their superior dignity by giving the most brutal Epithets, to Servants, tradesmen & beggars. Their servants are scoundrels & Rascals, whom they never speak to, but in an authoritative tone to make them feel their great inferiority. Their tradesmen are *cheating dogs*, and deserve to be hanged, and the town beggars whom hunger forced to be importunate are cursed, & threatened to have their bones broken. These are Brutalities which I persuade myself you will never be guilty of; I can say with truth, I never was. I always ordered my own Servants in manner & style that made my orders seem partly requests – as *Prithee do so & so*, *Do* bring me this, and take away that. To other people's servants I say, pray Friend or Sir, give me a glass of wine, & all this not with a decisive, supercilious Countenance, but with an air of Cheerfulness & good humour. I do not insult Beggars in the street, but if I give them nothing, at least I never give them ill language, but tell them calmly that I have nothing for them. Such are the honest arts of pleasing, & such the sentiments of humanity, which if you practice you may in time with your Title & Fortune, & whatever you have a mind to be [have], but if you do not, you will be worse than [a] nobody, for you will be detested. You have learning sufficient for your age, and you have I think a good heart, but you want that *douceur*, that *suavitas mor---,* which I have so often, and so long recommended to you; & while you do want them, we shall never be very well together. God bless you.[25]

'You will be worse than [a] nobody, for you will be detested.' These are the harshest words to be found in any of the Earl's letters to his two protégés, and they clearly reveal the qualms he harboured as he contemplated his own demise and the integrity of the Chesterfield earldom. In his next letter to Philip, he repeats his admonitions and exhortations, and he also provides us with the most explicit statement we have on how he viewed the rigid class system into which he had been born and in which he had for so long thrived. It is a remarkable passage by any standards in the eighteenth century:

> For my part, I am so convinced of the natural equality of Mankind, and pity so sincerely the lot of those who from the Malice of their fortune only, are obliged to serve me, that I feel ashamed when I order them to do any of those mean offices, to which their unhappy situation condemns them, & I always give them those orders, with the utmost tenderness and Good humour.[26]

Chesterfield was a complicated figure, and he could easily contradict himself. He could write to his godson about 'the herd of mankind' that populated the lower stations in what he called the 'great theatre of the world,'[27] and in his will he could be fairly chary in the legacies he left his servants, even those who had worked for him for several decades. But in this long sentence we can nevertheless gauge his core belief in what he called the natural equality of humankind, a tenet that had already been suggested in several of his essays in *Common Sense* and *The World* much earlier in his career. Those passages, however, are contained within articles that are often satirical and ironic – even whimsical – whereas here, in one of the last letters he would write, we can see him narrowly focus his lens on the essential, 'genteel' behaviour that he wished to form part of his family's legacy.

The Earl's letters to Dodd and the copies of the letters to his godson are eye-opening, but the greatest surprise within the cache of papers from the Chevening Estate now at Maidstone is the survival of thirty-three letters that Chesterfield wrote, in French, to Elizabeth du Bouchet, the mother of his son. No other letters to du Bouchet are known to have survived, so this collection presents an opportunity to assess their relationship after Chesterfield's mistress had followed him from The Hague to London in 1732. Philip was born the next year, and it is therefore natural that the Earl's letters are centred on their son's health and education, especially as he reached the age of five, by which time Chesterfield was writing to him directly. Of more interest in the letters, however, are the Earl's efforts to provide for his former lover and their child as he, apparently by mutual consent, went in search of a suitable wife, someone who could help support him financially while also appropriately fitting into his social and political circles. He chose the Countess of Walsingham, Petronilla Melusina von der Schulenberg, the illegitimate daughter of George I – which made George II his brother-in-law. It appears to have been in many ways a marriage of convenience, but it was a respectful and cordial one, and Melusina accommodated young Philip and his mother as presences within her husband's life, just as she did his decision to take a new mistress, Lady Frances Shirley, not long after their wedding in 1733. Chesterfield fell out with Sir Robert Walpole's ministry that same year, thus making him a long-term enemy of the King, whom at one point he attempted to sue on his wife's behalf (which was, of course, also his own). The Earl therefore faced a number of serious complications – all of his own making – at this crucial moment in his career, and his correspondence with du Bouchet adds to our sense of those complexities.

I have written about these letters at some length elsewhere; what needs to be emphasized here is the fact that no matter how far the distance between Chesterfield and du Bouchet became, he was invariably respectful as well as solicitous on her behalf.[28] He continued to support her throughout his lifetime, and he left her a legacy of £500, which she refused (perhaps with a sense of indignation, for in his will he tied the bequest to 'the injury I did her').[29] He

was always solicitous of her well-being, recommending 'the waters' in Bristol and reassuring her about the welfare of their child. But he could, at times, be somewhat exasperated as well, as in this letter of 1761:

> For some time, my dear, you have given vent to the vapours, and you see everything in black. If a giddy young twenty-year-old doesn't write to you regularly, you think he is dead or dying, and I refuse ever to see you again because I avoid doing so when I won't be able to hear a single word you were saying to me. It is rather for me to imagine the bad side of things, I who finds himself deprived of the delights of society, and no longer hearing human speech. But I try not to complain.[30]

In an earlier letter, he refutes her suggestion that Philip is suffering because of the climate in Dresden, where he was the British Resident, explaining to her – as he does nowhere else – the serious physical afflictions that have haunted his family:

> I will tell you what it is, and that it is incurable. It is in my blood and my father's, which he inherited, infected with all the evils of Pandora's box. He [Philip] is strong at present, I was too at his age but he carries, as I do, the germ of all the ills that have developed since to weigh me down.

Chesterfield's frankness is worth noting here, but what his letters to du Bouchet also provide is a glimpse into the life of someone who has always remained in the shadows, making her way in London with her former lover's support but very much on her own.

Revealing as they are, we might well ask why so many of these manuscripts and documents have not already been scrutinised and published. Some are simply buried in the archives: not just the record of Chesterfield's post-mortem examination and the summary of his liquid assets in Maidstone, but also his last will and testament – a controversial document in itself – which is tightly rolled in a mass of dusty legal papers in the National Archives at Kew. But deliberate decisions also appear to have been made about much of this material, including the maxims now at the Lilly Library and the letters to Dr Dodd, Elizabeth du Bouchet, and Chesterfield's godson in the Kent Archives. The Earl's descendants, both direct and collateral, had seen just how vituperative the response was to the original publication of the letters to his son in the 1770s, and I think it likely that decisions were made – almost certainly by Lord Mahon and possibly by Lord Carnarvon in his edition of the letters to Chesterfield's godson – to exclude material that would reignite a cultural bonfire that had begun to subside in Victorian England. But as with so many questions that arise when we exhume historical documents, we may (as Chesterfield put it) have to 'compound' for intelligent conjectures rather than demand final answers.

Notes

1. Hayley, *Two Dialogues; Containing a Comparative View of the Lives, Characters, and Writings, of Philip, the Late Earl of Chesterfield, and Dr. Samuel Johnson* (London, 1777), 235.

2. The manuscripts at the Lilly Library are Chesterfield mss. I, 1740-1777 (letters to his godson and heir) and Chesterfield mss. II, 1745-1770 ('Characters,' dialogues, short essays, and other fragments), which I quote with the kind permission of the Lilly Library, Indiana University. No more detailed cataloguing information is available; I will cite the passages quoted as "Lilly II." The manuscripts at the Kent History & Library Centre in Maidstone (cited as "KHLC") have different call numbers, and I will cite them individually. I quote from them with the kind permission of the Board of Trustees of the Chevening Estate.

3. The history of the publication of Chesterfield's letters to his son has been told many times; see, for instance, Sidney L. Gulick, *A Chesterfield Bibliography to 1800*, 2nd ed. (Charlottesville, 1979), esp. 3-7.

4. Mayo, 'Manners and Manuscripts: The Editorial Manufacture of Lord Chesterfield in *Letters to His Son*,' *Publications of the Bibliographical Society of America,* 99 (2005), 37-69, which is based on his '*Lord Chesterfield's Letters to His Son*: A Critical Edition' (doctoral dissertation, Brandeis University, 2004)). I am greatly indebted to Mayo's pioneering work, particularly the introduction to and the notes following his edition of the letters.

5. *The Letters of Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield*, Mahon (ed.), 5 vols (1845, 1853), 5. 3.

6. Lilly II.

7. *The Letters of . . . Chesterfield*, Mahon (ed.), 1. xxx.

8. *The Letters of Philip Dormer Stanhope 4th Earl of Chesterfield*, Bonamy Dobrée (ed.), 6 vols (London, 1932), 5. 2004.

9. Lilly II.

10. Lilly II.

11. Jones, 'The House of Lords and the Excise Crisis: The Storm and the Aftermath, 1733-5,' *Parliamentary History,* 33:1 (2014), 168.

12. Lilly II. For a more extensive analysis of Chesterfield's 'Anecdote,' see my article 'Chesterfield, Scarbrough, and the Excise Bill: A New Manuscript Source,' forthcoming in *Parliamentary History*.

13. Walpole withdrew the excise on wine when introducing the bill in Parliament, but it was his original intention to include it, which was prominently reflected in the paper wars.

14. See Gulick, *A Chesterfield Bibliography*, 5 n., and Chesterfield, *Characters* (1778, 1845), Alan T. McKenzie (ed.) (Los Angeles, 1990), xii n.

15. Franklin, *Lord Chesterfield: His Character and 'Characters'* (London, 1993), 120.

16. Chesterfield, *Letters*, Dobrée (ed.), 1. xix-xxii..

17. Scharf, "Lord Chesterfield's Letters," *Notes and Queries*, s7- II:48 (27 Nov. 1886), 425.

18. Gulick, *Some Unpublished Letters to Lord Chesterfield* (Berkeley, 1937).

19. Price, 'Five Unpublished Letters by Chesterfield,' *Life and Letters,* 59:134 (1948), 3-10.

20. Mayo, 'Manners and Manuscripts.'

21. KHLC, U1590/C412A/12.

22. KHLC, U1590/C412A/12.

23. KHLC, U1590/C412A/3.

24. KHLC, U1590/C412A/3.

25. KHLC, U1590/C412A/1. Christopher Mayo published another of these late letters; see his 'The Publication History of Lord Chesterfield's Letters to his Godson,' *The Eighteenth-Century Intelligencer* (January 2008), 6-7.

26. KHLC, U1590/C412A/1.

27. Chesterfield, *Letters*, Dobrée (ed.), 6. 2805; cf. his remarks to his son, 3. 1109.

28. See 'Lord Chesterfield and Elizabeth du Bouchet: New Light on a Historical Puzzle' (forthcoming).

29. Chesterfield's will is in the National Archives, Kew, NA 12/71/37**.**

30. The letters to du Bouchet are KHLC, U1590/C5/5.

Editor's note: Professor Richard Wendorf, FSA, has recently completed *Chesterfield: The Perils of Politeness*, a book-length study similar to his Sir Joshua Reynolds: The Painter in Society, which won ASECS's Annibel Jenkins Biography Prize. He published an excellent general character and biographical sketch of Chesterfield, "The Elusive Earl of Chesterfield," in *The Critical Review* (posted 20 April 2024). Oxford University Press published his *Printing History and Cultural Change* in 2022. He can be reached at richardwendorf @btinternet.com.

James Logan, Early Pennsylvania's Quaker Mover and Shaker

By Jack Brubaker

Philadelphia's Logan Square neighborhood boasts multiple sites referring to its namesake, James Logan (1674-1751). They include the elaborately landscaped Logan Circle, the Logan hotel, and the James Restaurant & Bar. Promotions for these locations proclaim that they are named for the statesman who served as Philadelphia's mayor from 1722-1723. That is a bit like claiming the Lincoln Memorial is named for a lawyer who served a term in Congress from 1847 to 1849. The offices and accomplishments of James Logan are considerably more extensive than serving as Philadelphia's 14th mayor. He was undoubtedly one of the most significant political figures in early Pennsylvania. [Our cover offers the oil portrait of Logan by Thomas Sully commissioned by the Directors of the Library Company of Philadelphia in 1831.]

As secretary to William Penn from 1699 until Penn's death in 1718 and the Penn family's representative thereafter, Logan administered the proprietors' interests in the colony. He has been called a "subtle schemer" because, while carefully arranging business deals to benefit the Penns and himself, he also served as their persistent and calculating political supporter. He was the Penns' land distributor, controller of immigration, and chief financial officer. He was the colony's primary diplomatic connection with American Indians; the three Lower Counties that eventually became Delaware; and Lord Baltimore, who aggressively disputed the Maryland-Pennsylvania boundary.

As for the offices he held, before becoming mayor, Logan served as clerk and then a member of the Provincial Council, secretary of the province, commissioner of property, and receiver general (tax collector). Following his service as mayor, he was appointed a Philadelphia judge and then chief justice

of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court. For a time, as president of the Provincial Council, he acted essentially as deputy governor of the province.

Meanwhile, he amassed a fortune as the colony's chief fur trader and merchant. He organized the exchange of goods between Pennsylvania and England and the West Indies. During his personal time, he turned to academic pursuits: he assembled the most impressive library in America, educated himself as a scholar and translator of Greek and Latin, became a first-rate scientist, and mentored younger men such as Benjamin Franklin and John Bartram.

James Logan was born on October 20, 1674, the son of Scots-Irish Quakers Patrick and Isabel Hume Logan. Persecuted for their pacifistic religion in Scotland, the Logans fled to Ireland. As a schoolmaster at Lurgan, Ireland, Patrick Logan earned a meager wage, and so his two sons who survived childhood grew up relatively impoverished and continually oppressed for their Quaker beliefs. Young James sought relief among his father's books.

Eventually, the Logan family moved to Bristol, England. In 1689 Patrick Logan opened a new school. James took charge of the students when his parents returned to Ireland in 1693. The handsome young man taught for several years—effectively, by his own account—before becoming a linen merchant. Although he had little success in that trade, linen proved to be his material connection to William Penn (1644–1718). Penn had married Hannah Callowhill (1671-1726), daughter of a Bristol linen merchant, and had served on the oversight committee for Logan's school. Penn had observed Logan's abilities in the classroom. In 1699 he asked the young Quaker to serve as his secretary in Pennsylvania.

In 1681, King Charles II had granted Penn a charter for a new colony, which Penn first visited the next year. A devout member of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) who believed religion and politics should not be separated, Penn viewed Pennsylvania as a "holy place" that should be governed as such. From a religious perspective, his philosophy succeeded: Pennsylvania attracted the most religiously diverse group of settlers in the colonies. Politically and financially, however, Penn's plan faltered: The colony's government was in turmoil regularly, and Penn himself would be imprisoned on suspicion of treason and later serve time in debtors' prison.

Logan was turning 25 when he made the three-month journey to America with Penn and other Quakers in the autumn of 1699. After the party arrived in Philadelphia, Logan assisted William and Hannah Penn with practically anything they requested—from writing provincial proclamations to providing mops to clean the floors of the proprietor's home at Pennsbury. He soon became familiar with the leaders of the 17-year-old city of 5,000 residents.

When Penn returned to England in October 1701, he left his young secretary with detailed instructions. He told Logan to collect taxes and rents, pay his' bills, oversee the completion of two mills, and resurvey the province. Penn gave Logan many of the formal titles that would authorize him to carry out these tasks, but he provided a meager salary of £100 a year. Much responsibility for little compensation was a pattern that would continue throughout Logan's service to the Penn family.

Logan found collecting land payments not only tedious but often unfruitful and immensely unpopular. "Returns are my care," Logan wrote Penn, "and if they yield me nothing proportionable to my trouble, I lose the bloom of

my youth in vain." Initially, trade was more to Logan's liking and more lucrative. He began investing in the purchase of furs and deer skins from Indians. He traded Pennsylvania wheat, flour and beer for products manufactured by other colonies and countries. He slowly began making money to help the retired Penn's debts.

Logan's other essential responsibility was to defend the proprietor politically. That meant resisting colonists who opposed proprietary claims and wanted to bring Pennsylvania under the direct control of the British crown. This contest would occupy Logan for much of his life. He regularly expressed exasperation and despair. He raged at Penn's opponents' "credulity to serve a dishonest cause." In this struggle, he worked closely with a succession of deputy governors ("deputies," that is, to the Penn family) who displayed various levels of competence.

Andrew Hamilton, the first deputy governor during Logan's tenure, fully backed the proprietor, and he and Logan kept Penn's enemies at bay. But John Evans, who took over after Hamilton's death in 1703, eventually turned against Penn and Logan. In 1706, in order to put the province on defense and so distress pacifist Quakers, Evans fabricated news of an imminent French attack up the Delaware River. In addition, rumors circulated that Evans was keeping a mistress in Philadelphia and had raped Indian women when he visited their frontier village at Conestoga Indian Town. Penn eventually rebuked and removed Evans from office.

Logan also came into conflict with the Pennsylvania Assembly, the elected legislative body that ruled the colony in a frequently hostile relationship with appointed members of the Provincial Council. Quakers often dominated both chambers during Logan's lifetime. Though Logan remained a Quaker throughout his life, he rarely attended Quaker meetings and was convinced that a government of pacifists was impractical. He also was outraged by Evans' effort to force the colony to adopt a wartime posture. His position was awkward. In 1707 the Assembly voted to remove Logan from all public offices and impeach him for "high crimes, misdemeanors and offenses." This conflict continued until Charles Gookin replaced Evans in 1709. Gookin sided with Logan and put an end to talk of impeachment.

Logan's biting personality certainly was in part responsible for his periodic clashes with Evans, other government officials, and the general populace. Dr. Griffith Owen, a respected Quaker minister and physician, told William Penn that Logan "has not a pleasing way to gain the love of the people" and criticized Logan's "slighting and provoking way of expression." Many thought Logan was arrogant and conceited; he was satirized as such.

In December 1709 Logan left his home on Second Street in Philadelphia and sailed for London, where he continued his efforts to mend Penn's financial affairs. He spent as much of his free time as possible in bookshops and talking with scholars about classical literature, astronomy and other subjects.

Meanwhile, he mulled over rejections from two women he had seriously courted—Anne Shippen, daughter of Edward Shippen, in Philadelphia, and Judith Crowley, a young woman from a substantial family in England. Anne Shippen's parents and Judith Crowley's brother objected to these proposed unions because Logan had few financial prospects and was not a devout Quaker. Despondent, Logan vowed he would earn a fortune and bedazzle the next woman he proposed to.

In December 1710 Logan returned to Pennsylvania with money on his mind. He took control of the Pennsylvania fur trade, eventually dealing with every important trader in Pennsylvania. He provided the English and Caribbean goods that traders exchanged for Indian furs and skins. By 1715 he was shipping furs worth £1,000 a year to England. He also made money by selling land in Lancaster County and elsewhere.

In October 1717 Logan told surveyors to lay out 500 acres of land for himself and 500 acres on a neighboring tract for the fur trader George Cartlidge along the Conestoga River in what would become Manor Township, Lancaster County. Logan also owned 100 acres across the river in Conestoga Township. These lands, close to the Little Conestoga Creek's confluence with the Conestoga River and the Conestoga's outlet to the Susquehanna River, lay within easy walking distance of Conestoga Indian Town. Logan believed the area would be a perfect location for a store that would become the focal point for trade with Indians from a large region.

Logan began keeping account and ledger books of that store's transactions in 1712. These records, along with archaeological excavations, suggest that Indians primarily traded furs that were incorporated into warm clothing in London in exchange for English wool that was adapted for native dress. Wagons conveyed these materials, as well as weapons, tools and other hardware, between Logan's store and Philadelphia. On December 31, 1717, Logan recorded in his account book that he had purchased a "Conestogoe Waggon." This is the first written reference to the unique conveyance designed for carrying heavy loads.

Logan sold his store and contents to Cartlidge in 1720 but remained an active trader. He eventually would find the fur business "a nauseous drudgery, to which nothing but the profit could reconcile a man of any spirit." He also earned money by selling land, enticing traders to purchase large tracts that he foreclosed on if they could not pay their mortgages. He found this pursuit more tedious than fur trading but equally lucrative.

A financial success at last, Logan wooed Sarah Reed, a woman less than half his age when they married in 1714. She was a devoted Quaker without standing in society, but Logan was ready to "sit down and be content with ease and happiness instead of show and greatness." The Logans had seven children (four survived infancy), and Logan went searching for a property outside Philadelphia where he could build a house and raise a family. He located a site five miles north of the city near Germantown. There he eventually would build Stenton, his gentleman's house in the country.

Stenton stands today as a stunning architectural and horticultural oasis in the densely populated Logan section of North Philadelphia. The estate has been preserved since 1899 by The National Society of Colonial Dames of America in The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Completed in the 1720s, the two-and-a-half story brick house with Early Georgian facade sheltered Logan and his family and treasured library until his death in 1750. Enslaved Africans and indentured servants built Stenton and maintained the home and its grounds.

Logan had attended treaty sessions and other meetings with Indians on the Pennsylvania frontier since 1705. During the years following Penn's death, he became the province's chief go-between with the Indians. He knew that maintaining good relationships with the Haudenosaunee Confederacy (Iroquois) and their wards, the Conestogas, was crucial to Pennsylvania's security. He

recognized the origin of Indian concerns. “Most of the Indian wars on this main,” he wrote, “have generally been owing to their being wronged in their lands.” When white settlers and their animals began encroaching on the Conestogas' land, Logan fenced the Indians' fields.

Logan worked with Deputy Governor William Keith (1669-1749), who had replaced Gookin in 1717, to convince the Conestogas and representatives of the Haudenosaunee who gathered at Indian Town that Pennsylvania remained friendly to native people. With the aid of abundant gifts and ceremonial flourishes, Logan continually sought Haudenosaunee favor for the English over the French.

Meanwhile, Logan reluctantly maneuvered his way through Pennsylvania’s complex politics. As the primary representatives of the proprietor, Logan and the Provincial Council found themselves opposing Keith and the Assembly on a variety of financial and other issues in the early 1720s. Even as Logan was elected mayor of Philadelphia with the backing of city merchants, he was losing his power in the colony at large. In the spring of 1723 Keith stripped Logan of most of his provincial duties. Believing he could do nothing to alter the situation, Logan again departed for London and sought solace among the city’s intellectuals and book dealers. He also worked with Penn's widow Hannah Penn on the proprietors’ business. As a result, Hannah Penn reined in Keith’s power and reinstated Logan in his roles as secretary of the province and clerk of Council.

After Logan returned to Philadelphia in May 1724, Keith and the Assembly continued to smear him, prompting Logan to write to Hannah Penn’s son, John, that he was weary of “standing the public butt” to all of the proprietary family’s enemies. Each side in this dispute issued vitriolic pamphlets, but the proprietors had seen enough. They ordered Patrick Gordon, an older but steadier man, to replace Keith.

Logan gladly turned over his duties as provincial secretary and clerk of Council to Gordon’s secretary, but he continued to spend much of his time on public business. After Hannah Penn died in 1726, Logan expected her sons to take over his duties, but the sons sent him a power of attorney to receive all debts due the Penn estate. Logan was incredulous, wondering in response whether the proprietors expected him to serve them “for life, without redemption."

That winter, Logan slipped on ice and fractured his left leg, crippling him for life. His Stoic philosophy encouraged him to ignore physical infirmities and cultivate his mind. To do that, he wanted more free time. Surely, he told the Penns, they would let him end his service now that he could barely walk. The Penns ignored his request.

Logan’s Philadelphia enemies continued to skewer him in pamphlets as the prime representative of “the most tyrannical aristocracy in the world.” He did not deny that he operated by the aristocratic principle—that is, men of wealth and learning had certain privileges as well as duties—even though that stance often came across as arrogant.

Logan never declined to do what he believed was his duty. In 1731, when Chief Justice David Lloyd died, Logan agreed to replace him on the Supreme Court. He served for the next five years, studying law as he went along. In 1736 the Penns tapped Logan to take on the duties of deputy governor for two years after Patrick Gordon died and before George Thomas arrived to replace him.

Nearly 63 and physically disabled, Logan, still serving as president of the Council, was not enthralled by the new appointment.

While serving as chief justice and acting deputy governor, Logan also took a leading role in managing provincial disputes with white settlers seeking land; Indians who hoped to maintain their territory; Maryland, which was still trying to push its boundary north; and the French, who were working with Indian allies to move south from Canada. Logan attended virtually every treaty session and other meeting with Indians in the province through 1742. He did what he could to ensure that the interests of both settlers and Indians were honored, although the Indians almost always lost land in the process. Logan and the great negotiator and interpreter Conrad Weiser repeatedly met with Haudenosaunee and Lenape (Delaware) leaders to resolve disputes.

Logan's reputation among the Haudenosaunee remained solid throughout this time, but his dealings with the Lenape spawned a bitterness that lasts to this day. Lenape chiefs disputed William Penn's 1696 purchase of land at the forks of the Delaware River. In 1735 Logan and Thomas Penn, one of William Penn's sons, persuaded the Indians to revise the boundary of this deed in exchange for trade goods. The Lenapes agreed to cede all the land a man could "walk" in 36 hours. The infamous "walking purchase" resulted. Logan and Penn hired three young athletes as "walkers" and cleared a path for them through the woods. The three men ran instead of walked, the fastest covering about 60 miles. Logan made the situation worse by adding more land to encompass a total of 1,200 square miles. Logan and the government ignored Lenape protests and successfully persuaded the Haudenosaunee to support Pennsylvania's position.

In the late 1730s, fighting erupted between the Maryland-backed forces of Thomas Cresap on the west bank of the Susquehanna River and Pennsylvanians on the east side in Lancaster County. The result was that Cresap, a "vile fellow" as Logan thought, was captured and imprisoned. Logan and the Provincial Council bargained with Maryland commissioners for a year before a royal order directed the governments of Pennsylvania and Maryland to stop fighting in the spring of 1738. The Mason-Dixon survey of 1763–67 finally resolved the boundary dispute.

The French threat remained. Logan was more aware of it than most of Pennsylvania's leadership. He periodically warned that the French and their Indian allies, particularly the Shawnee, would one day fight for control of the colony. He argued that Pennsylvania's government should be "founded on force" and that, if Quakers could not abide that idea, they should get out of government. English-French friction and cultivation of the allegiance of various groups of Indians continued until all-out war began in 1756—five years after Logan's death.

In 1747 Logan had resigned from the Council and at last could devote most of his time to books and research at Stenton. Logan owned a mixed labor force of about 10 to 12 enslaved and indentured workers. Their daily work enabled him to lead a life of the mind. He had established one of the largest collections of books and the premier classical library in early America. Regularly consulting those books and his notes, he corresponded with English and American scholars. He translated the classics and entertained fellow intellectuals who discussed botany, astronomy and mathematics.

"Books are my disease," Logan once said, and for decades he kept booksellers in England busy sending him volumes to feed his bibliomania. He

assembled more than 2,600 books, including multiple editions of Greek and Roman classics, mathematical and scientific texts, works of human and natural history, oriental studies, and other writings. He made notes in the margins of many of these books, sometimes correcting errors, sometimes adding information. His was a working scholar's library.

Logan translated and published several classical works. Benjamin Franklin printed Logan's translation of *M.T. Cicero's Cato Major; or, His Discourse of Old-Age.* Franklin considered the book to be his masterpiece as a printer, but he praised the translation itself as "equal, if not far preferable to any other Translation of the same Piece extant in our Language."

Beyond the classics, Logan's favored fields of study were botany and mathematics; his library reflects these interests. He studied books not only for scholarly pleasure but for practical application. He used his skill with transit and quadrant to examine the controversial Pennsylvania-Maryland boundary. He shared his interest in botany with John Bartram, the budding Philadelphia horticulturist. In the mid-1730s, Logan experimented with maize, proving that pollen was the male element necessary for the production of seed. The Swedish naturalist Carl Linnaeus congratulated Logan on his achievement. Logan published other critically acclaimed works in botany and optics. Recognizing that none of his children were inclined toward scholarship, Logan designed a small building on Philadelphia's Sixth Street to hold his library after his death. The Library Company of Philadelphia acquired the intact Loganian Library in 1792.

In February 1739 Logan had suffered a stroke that left his right side partially paralyzed and his one good leg disabled. He struggled on for another decade, leaving his house only when necessary, as he did in 1749 to attend a meeting as one of the first trustees of the College of Philadelphia, now the University of Pennsylvania. Attacks of palsy left him feeble and unable to speak. He died on October 31, 1751, shortly after his 77th birthday. Besides his treasured books, he left an ample estate of 8,500 pounds and 18,000 acres on tracts throughout eastern Pennsylvania and western New Jersey. The *Pennsylvania Gazette* noted upon his passing that "his life was for the most part a life of business, though he had always been passionately fond of study."

Logan's legacy is mixed. He was a powerful political operative and chief protector of proprietary interests. He was a successful merchant and trader, enriching himself while reducing William Penn's debt. He was a masterful negotiator with colonists and Indians alike. As a brilliant scholar, he helped the next generation expand on his work. He donated his library for public use. Logan's good works are offset by his prickly personality. A man who grew up poor seems to have been intent on making others pay the price. He exploited the Lenapes. He enslaved Africans at a time when progressive Quakers were beginning to question the morality of slavery. In sum, James Logan was a brilliant, complex, flawed man who worked overtime to maintain William Penn's "holy place" in the early 18th century.

Manor Township, Pennsylvania

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Editor's note: Jack Brubaker, of Lancaster, PA, writes *The Scribbler*, a weekly column for Lancaster Newspapers (*LNP*), which for many years has explored Lancaster County's history and culture. He is the author of many articles and books, including *Massacre of the Conestogas* (History Press) and *Down the Susquehanna to the Chesapeake* (Penn State UP).

Reading Tristram Shandy Slowly[1]

by Martha F. Bowden

In my twenty-five years as a faculty member at Kennesaw State University in the northwestern suburbs of Atlanta, I had many opportunities to teach Laurence Sterne's *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy*, beginning in my first year of full-time teaching, in 1993-1994, and ending in my last semester before retirement, Spring 2017. In that time my approach to presenting the novel to my students evolved as a result of my own growth as a teacher, changes in the English Major, and the University System of Georgia's (USG) switch from the quarter system to semesters. I taught first-year writing classes throughout my teaching career, and in the early years they made up most of my teaching load; those classes really taught me how to teach. I began to incorporate writing instruction into my upper level courses to assist student writing, an effort that was at least in part an act of self-preservation. When Kennesaw State initiated its Writing Across the Curriculum program (WAC), my participation in it taught me how to do more intentionally what I had been doing intuitively in my literature courses. Finally, with the advent of the Writing Intensive Program in the English department, an initiative that I coordinated, my upper-level courses became sites of instruction in both literature and writing about literature.

What has all this history to do with teaching *Tristram Shandy*? My experience as a teacher has had everything to with teaching this one text, which replicates in miniature the changes at my university and my evolution as a university instructor. In the beginning, I made the usual novice-instructor mistake: assuming my students were like me. So I simply assigned the whole novel, to be met, on the day we were to discuss it, by blank stares and one student asking, "Could you give us, like, a plot summary?" Well, no, and that is the point. Bear in mind that at this time USG was on the quarter system, and I had exactly ten weeks to instill in my students a full and deep understanding of the eighteenth-century novel, much of which knowledge I had acquired in the twenty years since I had been an undergraduate myself. Obviously I had to do better, and over the years I have; I have given students more time by assigning two volumes a class period, thus covering the novel in three weeks, for example. I also began to require a response paper once a week all semester, not just for *Tristram*, on the first day we were due to discuss a given text, because students read differently when they know they are going to have to write something. At the very least, they do read. Two students read their responses at the beginning of the class on which they were due.[2] The extra five weeks of class time resulting from the USG's conversion to the semester system certainly helped as well; even I couldn't justify taking up a third of a quarter reading an entire novel, but the stretched semester term offered me more space. It was also immensely helpful that the eighteenth-century holdings of Kennesaw State's Rare Books Library include a near-first edition of *Tristram Shandy*: Volumes 1 and 2 are the third edition, and Volumes 3 and 4 are the second, but Volumes 5-9 are first editions. In the small foolscap duodecimo volumes, with their wide margins, generous line spacing, and clear font, the graphic elements, like Trim's cane inscribing liberty, become more dominant on the page. The marbled page is in vivid color, not a muddy grey. As a row of small volumes, the novel ceases to be a single doorstop of a book peppered with annotations, and becomes something closer to a toy, a jest, a tale of a

cock and a bull. The author's signature at the top of the title pages creates a sense of immediacy and connection with a text that, for twentieth- and twenty-first century students, verges on antiquity.

A decade or so into my teaching career, I decided on a more radical change. I began thinking about it when I read Tom Keymer's *Sterne, the Moderns, and the Novel*[3] and became intrigued by the writing of the 1750s. Before I hadn't really thought about the decade at all, partly because I hadn't been paying attention to the dates of books like *Rasselas* and *The Female Quixote*. In my early years teaching eighteenth-century fiction, I was more concerned about finding texts by the many women writers of the 1720s. But what really nudged me into this new approach were the conversations I had with one of my colleagues, Katarina Gephardt, who is a nineteenth-century specialist, and who ran into trouble trying to teach Dickens' *Little Dorrit*. The students were prepared to like it but found that ploughing through it from start to finish in the time she had allotted was, in the words of one student, like eating an entire cheesecake at one go: delicious but over-whelming, and ultimately indigestible. Her solution was to present the novel as its earliest readers experienced it: as a serial publication. She reorganized the class as a hybrid of online and face-to-face teaching; one day a week they met online through discussion boards and other tools to comment on and investigate that week's portion of *Little Dorrit*, and on the other they met in their classroom to discuss the other works on the reading list.[4]

I did not turn my class into a hybrid, but I did approach *Tristram Shandy* as a serial publication, which in a sense it was, although not in the way that many nineteenth-century novels and Charlotte Lennox's "Harriot and Sophia" were.[5] To replicate, however artificially, the experiences of the earliest readers of the text, I had students read two volumes one week, then move on to something else for a couple of weeks, and then come back to another two volumes, and so on throughout the semester, until we got to Volume 9 at the end. I deliberately chose texts that were being written and read in the same decades as *Tristram Shandy*: *The Female Quixote* (1752), *Rasselas* (1759), and *The Castle of Otranto* (1765); I also included Boswell's *London Journal 1762-1763* because, while it was not being published as it was being written, it represents a nonfictional approach to writing and shaping a life at the same time as Tristram's life and opinions were rolling off the press. *London Journal* worked very well in a way I had not anticipated: those of my students who were not paying attention and did not read the introduction wrote about it initially as if it were actually a novel. They thought it was the one most like *Tristram Shandy*, although one student complained that the protagonist was completely over the top as a rake, and the Louisa incident was simply not realistic.[6]

In most cases I used the Broadview Literary Texts editions because of their rich apparatus. The appendices to *Rasselas*, for example, provide a portion of Johnson's translation of Lobo's *Voyage to Abyssinia*, all of *The Vanity of Human Wishes*, *Ramblers* 4, 204, and 205, reviews, Boswell's discussion in the *Life*, portions of Ellis Cornelia Knight's and Elizabeth Pope Whately's continuations of *Rasselas*, and two examples of eighteenth-century orientalism: one of Addison's *Spectator* papers and a portion of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's *Turkish Embassy Letters*. We did not necessarily cover all of this material in class, but it was available for students when they were researching their essays. The syllabus contains a warning that if students didn't buy the editions I re-

quired, they would find themselves without the benefit of the supplementary material, to the detriment of their reading, not to mention their response writing. Needless to say, some students sought out less expensive editions, and, unfortunately, or inevitably, they were precisely those students in particular need of good introductions and rich background materials. *Novel Definitions*, edited by Cheryl L. Nixon, the other text on the reading list, is a collection of primary sources, and I highly recommend it to those of you who have not yet investigated it. The vast array of materials in it, the prefaces, periodical essays, reviews, and so on, provides a literary historical context to the course. I used the Penguin edition of *Tristram Shandy*, because it is based on the authoritative Florida Edition of the Works of Laurence Sterne.

The reading assignments were aimed at presenting a concentrated look at the world from which *Tristram Shandy* emerged, not necessarily Sterne's world, but the world of his readers. It allowed us to entertain the essential question, what did readers expect when they picked up a novel? In my early implementation of the slow-reading approach, I began with Christopher Flint's essay, "The Eighteenth-Century Novel and Print Culture: A Proposed Modesty," from the *Blackwell Companion to the Eighteenth-Century Novel and Culture*.[7] This essay directed students towards a triple approach to texts, because he offers three views of the novel: from the point of view of readers, authors, and the book itself as a material object. In a revision of the course, I drew almost exclusively from the library's online collection of many volumes in the Cambridge Companion series. Because the syllabus was posted to the course management system, I was able to provide direct links to each article when the students were to read it. In 2017, our first reading was J. Paul Hunter's "The Novel and Social/Cultural History" in *The Cambridge Companion to the Eighteenth-Century Novel*.[8] Combined with a field trip to special collections, where, in addition to *Tristram Shandy*, students were able to see and hold first editions of the two versions of *The Castle of Otranto*, of *Rasselas*, and of issues of *The Rambler*; the concentration on a few texts created a critical framework that looked beyond the text-centered reading to a greater awareness of the cultural moment.

When the English Department at Kennesaw State redesigned the English Major to accommodate the new semester system, upper-level courses ceased to be surveys, allowing faculty to choose material based on a historical moment or a genre. When it comes to long or complex texts, slow is better, and a few always preferable to a brisk trot through many representative novels. As you can see from the assignment schedule, this course encourages deep reading. By the time we got to *Tristram Shandy* we had read the Flint or Hunter essay and Section 1B in the Nixon Anthology, "The Novel's Definition as a Romance, History, Biography, or Other Form," which contains prefaces by Congreve, Barker, Davys, both Fieldings, and others; along with the first volume of *Tristram Shandy*, they read Orhan Pamuk's introduction to the Turkish edition as it was published in *The Shandean*. This last is ideal for undergraduates, with its suggestion that we just have to sit back and let the story unfold on its own terms. They enjoyed Pamuk's explanation of digressions, accomplished by falling into one, and the concept of the story-telling uncle is familiar as well. Generally, we spent a week on *Tristram* and two weeks away, until the end of the semester when time inevitably pressed in on us, as it does on Tristram himself, and we had to jump into Volume 9 after a week with Walpole. And of course the true artificiality of the approach appears here, because we know when we begin reading Volume 9 that

we are at the end, whereas the original readers did not, although they may have suspected as much by the last pages.

The weekly reading responses provided me with a good idea of how the class was working; they evolved from the "Lord, what is all this story about" dismay at the beginning to a real understanding of the text at the end. One student noted, to his own surprise, that while he found the book profoundly irritating at the beginning of the term, he was rather sad to realize that it was coming to an end. Many students in my Spring 2012 class, the first time I used this syllabus, commented on how much easier they found the seventh volume to read than the previous ones. That tended to be a frequent observation each time they returned to the novel because it became familiar; they began to look for each volume's gimmick, for example. A number of students discovered that they had become very fond of Walter, Toby, Trim, and Yorick and missed them in the seventh volume, where they are relatively absent. And they noted the changes in the text; students found volume 7 more "Tristram focused," which it is, and believed that they were at last hearing his own opinions, not other people's. Because they were beginning to recognize repetitions and patterns, they could also spot changes.

Another benefit of regular writing with slow reading is that students really do digest the material; they are not desperately trying to cover the pages, but are reflecting backwards as they read forwards. One student commented that in Volume 7, Tristram, who in the previous volume seems to have been just born, now is old and dying; maybe, she wrote, life really does go by at the drop of a hat. Another confessed that she laughed right out loud at the story of the Abbess and Margarita, and that she continued to laugh every time she thought of it. A third commented on that wonderful moment when Tristram finds himself in three different places and times of his life at once: "… I am this moment walking across the market-place of Auxerre with my father and my uncle Toby, in our way back to dinner---and I am this moment also entering Lyons with my post-chaise broke into a thousand pieces---and I am moreover this moment in a handsome pavillion built by Pringello, on the banks of the Garonne..."[9] But perhaps the greatest moment of vindication came when a student began her second paragraph with the words, "after reading the volume a second time…" because that of course is what we all need to do, but a fifteen-week semester does not always allow time for it. The conversations were substantial and rich, and, while the resistance to the novel's oddity continued, much of it was overcome as the semester went on.

The conversation about Volume 9 was especially rewarding. Students were able to think about it as "ending," to wonder how Sterne might be bringing it all to a close, and the ways in which that final volume reflects the previous ones. For example, we were able to analyze Sterne's choice of a conversation between Toby and Trim as a means of keeping his promise to Ignatius Sancho. They had learned enough about the characters to realize that these two were most likely, despite their hobby-horsical obsessions, to express humane concern about their fellow creatures, and one student drew a connection between the Negro girl sweeping away flies and Toby's releasing the fly through the window.

While I had gradually been adding more writing experiences to all my syllabi, incorporating peer review, requiring an annotated bibliography, and so on, the Writing Intensive Program meant that I had to add workshops and expand the development sequence. As a result, I had to cut out one reading, and I

decided reluctantly that James Boswell had to go. I also replaced *The Female Quixote* with Sarah Fielding's *Ophelia*, in part because of its fraught authorial history. In the long run, I was confident that the shorter reading list was less important than the increased emphasis on writing. My experience in WAC workshops undergirded this commitment to deep reading over what John C. Bean, in *Engaging Ideas*, calls "surface reading." After listing eleven reasons why students resist, or have difficulty, reading complex texts for any purpose other than facts and information, including lack of cultural and disciplinary knowledge, he recommends that the design of the course reward the deep reading we strive for: "Increasing the homework demands does not necessarily mean adding more readings to a course (indeed, perhaps we'll need to assign fewer), but to develop homework tasks that require deep rather than surface processing." As he tells his readers reassuringly, "Much of the literature on best pedagogical practices suggests that less is more."[10]

So my students learned to read and enjoy a book that is conventionally considered complex and difficult. And what did I, who had been reading *Tristram Shandy* over and over again for about forty years, learn? Two things, really. One of them is that, if Ian Watt's concept of formal realism has any validity at all, it certainly doesn't work in the period from 1756-1767, especially if formal realism is the default or defined as the norm.[11] In that case, there simply is nothing normal about this period. After all, there is nothing particularly radical about this reading list; most of the other novels, like *Tristram Shandy* itself, have been continuously in print and included in collections of British novels since their first publication. *Ophelia* is the outlier of course, but Sarah Fielding's oeuvre has benefited by second-wave feminists' recovery of texts; the availability of much of her work combined with Christopher D. Johnson's recent biography[12] means that she is hardly an obscure writer. Nonetheless, they are a motley crew in many ways, and set among them even *Tristram Shandy* looks less extreme, despite our tendency to think about it as a novel that is ahead of its time. The second epiphany is that a critical framework that focuses on the ongoing tension between romance and realism in the supposedly modern world of the eighteenth-century novel is a much more fruitful space in which to read the obsessions of Arabella, the wanderings of Rasselas, the supernatural events at the Castle of Otranto, and the trials and tribulations of Ophelia, not to mention the over-the-top romance combined with heroic tragedy and seasoned with farce that is Boswell's Louisa episode. With the luxury of time and the support of low-stakes assignments like response writing, students can grasp the world of possibilities in which *Tristram Shandy* was conceived and born, and perhaps even remember the books they read long after the semester is over.

Kennesaw State University

Notes

1. This essay began life as a presentation at the Sterne Tercentenary Conference at Royal Holloway University, July 8-11, 2013.

2. The Guidelines for response writing are in an appendix below.

3. Thomas Keymer, *Sterne, the Moderns, and the Novel* (Oxford; Oxford University Press, 2002).

4. A full description of this strategy can be found in Katarina Gephardt, "Digesting Dickens: Serial Reading of *Little Dorrit* in an Online Community," in *Teachers as Avatars: English Studies in the Digital Age*, ed. Laura Davis and Linda Stewart (New York: Hampton Press, 2011), 101-114.

5. Charlotte Lennox's novel was serialized as "The History of Harriot and Sophia" in her periodical, *The Lady's Museum* (1760-1761), and then as a stand-alone novel, *Sophia*, in 1762.

6. See Appendix I for the reading lists and the schedules of reading and writing assignments for two versions of the class, 2013 and 2017, which also represent my syllabi before and after the Writing Intensive Initiative.

7. Christopher Flint, "The Eighteenth-Century Novel and Print Culture: A Proposed Modesty," in *A Companion to the Eighteenth-Century Novel and Culture*, edited by Paula Backscheider and Catherine Ingrassia. *Blackwell Companions to Literature and Culture* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2005), 343-364.

8. J. Paul Hunter, "The Novel and Social/Cultural History," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Eighteenth-Century Novel*, edited by John Richetti (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 9-40.

9. Laurence Sterne, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*, edited by Melvyn New and Joan New, Introductory Essay by Christopher Ricks, Introduction and Notes by Melvyn New (London: Penguin Books, 1997), VII.xxviii.426.

10. John C. Bean, *Engaging Ideas: The Professor's Guide to Integrating Writing, Critical Thinking, and Active Learning in the Classroom*. 2nd Edition. The Jossey-Bass Higher and Adult Education Series (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2011), 167, 11.

11. Ian Watt, *The Rise of the Novel* (London: The Hogarth Press, 1987). First published by Chatto & Windus, 1957.

12. Christopher D. Johnson, *A Political Biography of Sarah Fielding* (London: Routledge, 2017).

Syllabus 1: Reading Tristram Shandy Slowly, original version

ENGL 4374: Studies in Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Literature
Tristram Shandy among Its Contemporaries, Spring 2013

Required Texts:

Boswell, James. *London Journal 1762-17,* edited by Gordon Turnbull. New York: Penguin Books, 2010.

Johnson, Samuel. *The History of Rasselas, Prince of Abissinia*, edited by Jessica Richard. Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2008.

Lennox, Charlotte. *The Female Quixote*, edited by Margaret Dalziel, Margaret Anne Doody, and Duncan Isles. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Nixon, Cheryl L., ed. *Novel Definitions: An Anthology of Commentary on the Novel, 1688-1815*. Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2008.

Sterne, Laurence. *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy*, edited by Melvyn New and Joan New, and Christopher Ricks. New York: Penguin, 1997.

Walpole, Horace. *The Castle of Otranto and The Mysterious Mother*, edited by Frederick S. Frank. Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2003.

Some articles available in the "Readings" module on the course website
MLA Handbook, 7th Edition (blue).

Class Schedule:
January 10: Introduction to the Course and the Syllabus
January 15-17: Beginning definitions: T[uesday]: Article by Christopher Flint; **Begin Responses;** TH: Nixon I.B., items 11-18 (77-92). **Information about Article Review**
January 22-24: *Tristram Shandy*, pt.1: T: *Tristram Shandy*, vol. 1 and article by Orhan Pamuk; TH: *Tristram Shandy*, vol. 2
January 29-31: Charlotte Lennox and a Tour: T: *The Female Quixote*, Books 1-4; and TH: A Visit to the Rare Books Room.
February 5-7: Charlotte Lennox again: T: *Quixote*, Books 5-9. No response to reading; and TH: Nixon III.D. 258-276. **Article Review Due**
February12- 14: Tristram Shandy, pt.2: T: *TS*, vol. 3; TH: *TS*, vol. 4, and Nixon IV.A. items 103-104 (285-287)
February 19- 21: Orientalist Fiction: T-TH: *Rasselas* and Appendix B
February 26: The Novel in the World: T: Nixon II.A, all items (142-164)
March 3-9: No classes—Spring Break!
March 12-14, Tristram Shandy Pt. 3: T: *TS.* Vol. 5; **Information on Proposal;** TH: *TS.* Vol. 6.
March 19-21: Boswell: T: *The London Journal* 1762 (3-71); and
TH: *The London Journal* 72-187. **Proposal Pt. 1 Due.**
March 26-28: Boswell, still, and then back to Tristram
T: *The London Journal* 187-304 **No response to reading**
TH: *TS*, vol.7
April 2-4, Tristram Shandy pt.4, vol. 8
April 9-11, Gothic Fiction: T-TH: *Castle of Otranto;* and appendices A (1 & 3), B (1, 3, & 4), and D. **Proposal Pt. 2 due**
April 16-18, Tristram Shandy, pt. 5, and conclusions: T-TH: *TS*, vol. 9
April 23-25; Research Essay: T: Nixon, V.A., all items; and TH: **Peer Review;** Info about presentations
April 30: **Research Essay Due;** Presentations begin
Final Meeting: May 7, 10:30-12:30 (note time). Presentations

Syllabus 2, Reading Tristram Shandy Slowly in a Writing-Intensive Course

ENGL 4374: Studies in Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Literature
Tristram Shandy among Its Contemporaries, Spring 2017

Reading List:
Fielding, Sarah. *The History of Ophelia*, edited by Peter Sabor, Broadview, 2014.
Johnson, Samuel. *The History of Rasselas, Prince of Abissinia,* edited by Jessica Richard, Broadview, 2008.
Nixon, Cheryl L., editor. *Novel Definitions: An Anthology of Commentary on the Novel, 1688-1815*, Broadview, 2008.
Sterne, Laurence. *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy*, edited by Melvyn

New and Joan New, and Christopher Ricks. Penguin,1997.
Walpole, Horace. *The Castle of Otranto and The Mysterious Mother*, edited by Frederick S. Frank, Broadview, 2003.
Current MLA handbook
We will also read several essays from various Cambridge Companions, available in the LION (Literature Online) database in the KSU library collection. I have provided durable links to the specific essays in the schedule of readings and assignments. I recommend the entire series for research purposes. Print the essays so that you can annotate them while you are reading.

Class Schedule:
January 10, T: Introductions, including discussion of the syllabus. Bring a copy to class so that you can make notes on it.
January 12, TH: Paul Hunter, "The novel and social/cultural history," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Eighteenth-Century Novel*. We will do our first **response** to this piece as an in-class writing assignment with a prompt. Bring a hard copy of the essay.
January 17 and 19: No classes—read and write a **response** to Nixon, items 11-18 (77-92) and upload to Dropbox folder by 8 p.m. Tuesday.
January 24, T: *Tristram Shandy* vol. 1& 2. **Response**
January 26, TH: Judith Hawley, "*Tristram Shandy*, Learned Wit, and Enlightenment Knowledge," in *Cambridge Companion to Laurence Sterne*, **Information about the Article Review.**
January 31, T: Presentation by the Rare Books department, in our own classroom—the Bentley Gallery space is under renovation.
February 2, TH: *Rasselas*, Introduction and full text, 11-137. **Response.**
February 7, T: *Rasselas,* Appendix B-C and Nixon, II. A&B. (139-182). **Response**
Feb. 9, TH: Robert Folkenflik, "*Tristram Shandy* and eighteenth-century narrative" from *Cambridge Companion to Laurence Sterne*, **Response.**
February 14, T: *TS*, vol. 3 **Response**
February 16, TH: *TS*, vol. 4, and Nixon IV. A, items 103-104 (285-287)
February 21, T: *Ophelia* (read 100 pages or more). **Response**
February 23, 28: TH and T: continuing *Ophelia,* including appendices A, C, and D.
March 2, TH: No class--Read Nixon III.D, (258-276) **and upload a response to the Dropbox folder by 5 pm in lieu of class**
March 7, T: *TS*, vol. 5 and 6. **Response.**
March 9**,** TH: **I-Search Info and Workshop on developing the research question (required for I- search essay)**
March 14, T: *TS,* vol. 7&8
March 16, TH: *The Castle of Otranto*. **Response**.
March 21, T: *TS*, vol. 9. **Response.**
March 23, TH: I**-search Peer review; Info about Proposal**
March 28, T: Argumentation Workshop (required for final project.)
March 30, TH: No class—**I-Search due to Dropbox folder by 5 pm.**
April 4 and 6: Spring Break! Look for feedback on the I-Search through the week, through the D2L email.
April 11, T: Sources workshop; **Proposal Due**
April 13, TH: Title Workshop. **Information about Peer Review**

April 18, T: Revising your work in progress: you will need a minimum of 7 pages + WorksCited in hard copy; pens, pencils, post-it notes, a notebook, a highlighter, or whatever you use in your revision process. Bring two copies, one for you to work on and one for me to read. My comments on this draft are a required part of your final project packet.
April 20, TH: Peer Review: you will need a full draft (minimum 10 pages + works cited) (required component of final project grade)
April 25, T: Final work on essay: bring current draft in hard copy, peer review comments, copies of sources, and MLA handbook
April 27, TH: Presentations begin. **Information about reflective letter. Final Project due.**
Final Meeting: Thursday, May 4, 10:30-12:30 (note time). Presentations
Reflective memo due in Dropbox folder by 5 pm.

Guidelines for Responses to Reading

There are three ways to respond to a text: text-to-self (where you reflect on the connections you find between your life experience and the text); text-to-text (connections between the text and other texts you have read, or within the text itself); and text-to-world (connections between the text and events, people, and places, either historically or in the world today, close to you and far away). In this class, I am most interested in text-to-text connections. In other words, I want you to engage in close readings of the texts, connecting them to other texts you have read and, especially, other texts we read in this class. As the course goes on, you should find yourself making more and more of these connections. I am secondarily interested in text-to-world connections, between, for example, the plays and novels we read and current politics and popular culture.

Think of these assignments as the components of a reading journal, a place to work out what you are learning. Watch the syllabus for days on which you must write a response to reading. Some tips:
--1. Stay close to the text--quote it, puzzle over it, and see how it works.
--2. Ask questions. Two of these responses are going to be read to the class; it is useful for us all if you leave us with a question to answer.
--3. Look things up. There is no need to read secondary sources, such as critical articles, and it is a waste of time reading other people's summaries of the text--you should figure that out for yourself--but do look up words you don't understand and historical references that are a complete mystery. *The Oxford English Dictionary* is the best source for historically specific definitions (available via Galileo). Cite any sources used.
--4. Grown ups don't use Wikipedia in academic writing, but, if they do, they admit to it. I have found Wikipedia to be quite unreliable when it comes to Restoration history.
--5. No plot summary. We have all read the material, and summary is neither response nor reflection.

The responses will be graded out of 10 on the following criteria, in order of increasing importance:

Grammar and spelling
Engagement with the text
Depth of inquiry and response

There are 12 responses during the semester and the grade is cumulative; you can receive a total of 100 pts for this component of the grade. I don't average the scores or drop the lowest one. The responses must be handed in at the end of the class in which they are due. No late submissions; no electronic submissions without prior arrangement.

Anthony W. Lee (editor). ***A Clubbable Man: Essays on Eighteenth-Century Literature and Culture in Honor of Greg Clingham.*** Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2022. Pp. (frt+) [*x*] + 309; bibliographies (including of Clingham's publications); index. ISBN: 978-1-68448-350-1; paperback: $42.95.

What *is* a *Festschrift*? Yes, it is a festival of writings, a celebration in print of the achievements of a distinguished scholar. But what distinguishes a *Festschrift* from a collection of essays? Is a hodgepodge of the celebrants' current work enough to satisfy the expectations of readers? What attributes qualify someone to propose a *Festschrift* in the first place, and on what grounds should such a person choose contributors? Should contributors be prominent scholars working in the same field and perhaps at the honoree's home department or university? Or should the net be cast further afield, to include former students and other beneficiaries of the honoree's kindnesses? How ought an editor of a *Festschrift* choose a publisher, and what do publishers think of *Festschriften*? In *Communicating Ideas: The Politics of Scholarly Publishing* (Routledge, revised second edition, 1991), Irving Louis Horowitz, a former publisher, notes that a *Festschrift*, an "intellectual unicorn" and "publishing albatross," "can be utterly dismaying, representing … a discharge of unavoidable and costly obligation to famous authors, presented in the category of non-book, a vehicle which sometimes is only slightly above a primary reader for freshmen, and substantially below vanity books for failed authors" (234). Who reads *Festschriften* today, and why? And as Samuel Johnson might ask, who reads *Festschriften* "through"?

If the *Festschrift* began mainly in German universities in the early twentieth century as a way for scholars to honor their mentors by exhibiting the influence of their mentors in examples of their work, then what has the *Festschrift* become more than a century later? The publication of *A Clubbable Man: Essays on Eighteenth-Century Literature and Culture in Honor of Greg Clingham* provides an occasion to identify a few of the elements of a successful *Festschrift* and to explain why this particular tribute to a true hero of our field is one of the very best of its kind.

Readers of this journal should be familiar with the significance of *Festschriften* about eighteenth-century literature. Since the mid-1940s, a handful of leading academic presses have ponied up to celebrate many of the giants of the field, including Chauncey Brewster Tinker, David Nichol Smith, George Sherburn, Alan Dugald McKillop, Lawrence Fitzroy Powell, Donald F. Hyde, James M. Osborn, W. K. Wimsatt, Samuel Holt Monk, Louis M. Landa, W. J. Bate, Donald Greene, Patricia Meyer Spacks, Philip Harth, J. Paul Hunter, O M Brack, Jr., Jerry Beasley, and Melvyn New. Published by Yale, Clarendon, and a few other academic presses, most of these works are minor masterpieces of the bookmaker's art. Most feature a revealing photograph of the honoree. (The photo-frontispiece of the *Festschrift* "Presented to Lawrence Fitzroy Powell in

Honour of his Eighty-Fourth Birthday," features an aged, smiling "L. F." in suit and tie, lighting the tobacco in his pipe while working in the library of Donald and Mary Hyde at Four Oaks Farm [Clarendon Press, 1965].) Each of these volumes includes at least one highly influential essay. Louis Bredvold's "The Gloom of the Tory Satirists," to cite only one example, first appeared in *Pope and His Contemporaries: Essays Presented to George Sherburn* (Clarendon Press, 1949). Tthis list of eighteen books is only a partial list: the *Festschrift* has been an influential genre in our field for more than half a century.

So what elements of *A Clubbable Man* mark this book as a distinguished enactment of the *Festschrift*? Perhaps first and foremost, a number of essays address a subject near and dear to the heart of Greg Clingham: the writings of Johnson and Boswell. And this endows the book with both a thematic core as well as a tip of the cap to the honoree. Philip Smallwood, who has known Clingham well for decades, contributes the first essay, "Mirrored Minds: Johnson and Shakespeare." He aligns some of Johnson's literary principles with some of Shakespeare's—no easy task, since to compare Shakespeare to anyone is to court critical disaster. Johnson and Shakespeare, argues Smallwood, were skeptical of "intellectual systems" (11). And they both emphasized "general nature" when writing about people, an inclination Johnson exhibits long before his memorable words on the issue in the Preface of *Shakespeare* (1765), as the "Life of Boerhaave," the "Life of Savage," and other early works prove. If these and other similarities Smallwood identifies have the Johnsonian virtue of reminding us of the importance of what we already know, then the supplemental comments on the contemporary writers David Ferry and Christopher Ricks—two of Clingham's favorites—supply the essay with a fresh, personal touch.

David Hopkins's essay on the general and the particular in Pope, Johnson, and Reynolds also addresses long considered subject matter in a new way. In challenging the standard charge that eighteenth-century criticism adhered to a "supposedly elite, classicizing emphasis" on generality (23), Hopkins highlights the interplay of the general and particular, citing examples of the importance of curious, minute particulars in Johnson's writing and conversation. "Johnson's 'General Nature,' like that of Pope and Reynolds, is manifested *in* the particularities of existence (34)," writes Hopkins. And like Smallwood, Hopkins refers in passing to F. R. Leavis, William Empson, Christopher Ricks, and others who populate the critical world Clingham knows so well. The first two essays in the book set the tone: they concern both Johnson and Clingham, and such an opening marks the book as a *Festschrift* rather than a collection of essays.

Other aspects of the book address some of Clingham's longstanding interests. Bärbel Czennia, for example, embraces Clingham's high regard for the intellectual and cultural exchanges between eighteenth-century Europe and Asia. In a remarkably learned and original essay on "Eastern responses to Western greenscapes" (186), Czennia shifts readers' usual perspective: she focuses not on garden design but on garden reception; and she emphasizes not the vast landscapes of gentlemen's country houses, but large and small greenscapes pretty much everywhere else. Asians, as visitors wholly unaccustomed to understanding gardening as "nation-builders or aesthetic connoisseurs," experienced parks and gardens as "amateur garden users" (188), Czennia writes. They observed a loosening of tight, social conventions, and they commented on the relation between the greenscapes and the conversations of those experiencing them. Mizra Abu Taleb Khan, an Indo-Persian poet, scholar, and member of the

Bengali educated class, is drawn to a private garden near London "solely appropriated for the use of *Freemasons*." And while there, he's intrigued by the challenges put to him "to replenish his glass" and the socially leveling effects such challenges brought out in everyone, including himself. The primary appeal of the essay is obvious: Czennia delivers the views of Asians rather than the British on that most British of cultural stigmata—the garden. A secondary appeal is the absence of well-known commentaries on gardening by Alexander Pope, Launcelot "Capability" Brown, Humphry Repton, and the other usual suspects. Even more important, Czennia's work pays respect to Clingham's writing on China, strengthening the connections between the book's subject matter and the honoree's writing.

Any good *Festschrift* must have an accurate and detailed list of the honoree's publications, and the small-font list of "Greg Clingham's Publications," which fills five pages, reminds Clingham's friends and admirers of the capaciousness of his expertise. In tribute to his commanding, field-specific learning, a fair number of essays in *A Clubbable Man* aspire to adjust prevailing scholarly opinion on various topics. For example, in a learned essay with a snappy title, "What else did Pope Borrow from Dryden?," Cederic Reverand III compares how we tend to teach Dryden today to how Dryden was known during his own time. We recklessly diminish his significance, Reverand argues, when we concentrate on Dryden in introductory or historical "period" courses as the author of *Absalom and Achitophel* and *Mac Flecknoe*. In such pedagogical situations, these two anonymous works inevitably become largely precursors to the richer satires of Alexander Pope, a classroom reality that has the effect of minimizing Dryden's importance. Dryden wrote many popular plays and "many, many translations—of Juvenal, Persius, Lucretius, Theocritus, Horace, Ovid, Boccaccio, Virgil—all of Virgil—Homer, Chaucer," as Reverand writes. "the 'Dryden' who was known and admired in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was the Dryden of occasional poems and translations." Reverand defers to and quotes Joseph Warton: "it is to his [*Fables Ancient and Modern*], though wrote in old age, that Dryden will owe his immortality….The warmth and melody of these pieces, has never been excelled in our language" (140).

Gordon Turnbull similarly adjusts prevailing, and perhaps seductive, interpretation in a forceful essay in which he challenges easy associations of the young Boswell with the character of Macheath in John Gay's *Beggar's Opera.* Such thinking "sells short" Boswell's reactions to the theater. "As a young man, Boswell had as much social conformity on his mind as he did fantasies of rakish libertinism and gallows-cheating banditry (103)," writes Turnbull with verve. Clement Hawes also directs our attention to the Enlightenment's fascination with "the measurable and the calculable" and shows that Jonathan Swift's reaction to it all extends far beyond *A Modest Proposal* and *Gulliver's Travels*—the usual areas of focus. In Hawes's view, critics have not sufficiently recognized that Swift "had a lifelong interest in the phenomena of scale specifically as they relate to the legitimation of power" (170). And Robert G. Walker extends our understanding of Johnson's friendships—a crucial aspect of his intellectual and psychological bearing—in an essay on Thomas Cumming, the "Fighting Quaker." Walker presents a range of arresting facts on Cumming's colorful life in politics, commerce, and the military. Walker's lively essay reads like a *précis* for a biography of Cumming. And because of his immersion in the details of the sources, as well his obvious enthusiasm for his subject, Walker is surely the

ideal scholar to write that biography. All these essays are notable for the precision of their scholarship and the care with which their authors present their findings. As such, they constitute an oblique panegyric on Clingham's own exacting scholarly writing.

Clingham is also a wide-ranging, sensitive reader of works—and especially poems—about which he's never written, and this admirable, infectious aspect of his life is amply reflected *passim*, but perhaps with a special acuteness in John Richetti's elegant essay on Alexander Pope's *Essay on Man,* a work whose "raison d'étre" was "a conversation with a friend that serves as a prologue to the discussion about our experience of the world" (156). The close attention Richetti pays to Pope's diction in the first epistle, "with each noun enforced by its proper adjective ('hound sagacious,' 'the mole's dim curtain,' 'the spider's touch')," offers readers not only an explanation of Pope's "concise brilliance" (158), but also an enactment of Clingham's own love for poetry. One of Clingham's earliest publications, written when he was at Tonbridge School in Kent, addresses Johnson's detailed knowledge of John Oldham's poetic lament on the death of Rochester, which Johnson relied on when he came to translate Horace's famous ode on death in relation to the seasons ("Diffugere nives," IV, vii). In that essay, Clingham concentrates on specific words and phrases in Oldham's poetry—"meanest flowers," "vilest Weeds"—to show how Johnson transformed Oldham in the act of translating and transforming Horace. Though vastly different scholars and writers, Clingham and Richetti share a rich appreciation of poetic craftsmanship, which both have championed throughout their careers.

Clingham has always been a cheerleader for strong, bracing critical prose, too, and two essays in the collection stand out for their deft blending of an important, learned argument with a fitting, memorable style. In "Publishers Can Cause Earthquakes: Explanations and Enigmas of the Seismic Enlightenment," Kevin Cope explores the stunning variety of literary and sub-literary reactions to "at least forty-four measurable, damage-inflicting earthquakes" that took place during the eighteenth century in Britain (207). Cope sees writers' and publishers' interest in this "shaky phenomenon" (209) as "an early form of disaster infotainment." More important, his excavations of these largely unknown materials underscore the inquisitive, experimental, and interdisciplinary nature of the long eighteenth century. "Thin boundaries between journalism, science-based speculation, religiosity, compassion, charity, entertainment, and, occasionally, amusement opened up . . . new topics, new sciences, and new attitudes" (208), writes Cope. In illustrating his points, he introduces us to a range of fascinating writings, among them C. Hallywell's commentary on a group of philosophizing Dominican Friars from "ever-rumbling Greenland," as well as "what might be called *colloquial* quake accounts," which employ a "mom-and-pop approach" to the havoc earthquakes create in domestic settings, including "the unsettling of pottery" (209). We learn of a satirist "known only as 'L. H." who speculates on various legal actions in property law as a result of earthquakes—"recovery, ejectment, trespassing, and a dozen other technical violations" (215). As these quotations suggest, Cope deployed the perfect comic-erudite style to match his captivating research.

Adam Rounce is equally deft in blending a penetrating thesis with an apt phraseology. In his immensely learned essay on the prevalence of failure in Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*, Rounce identifies a thematic foundation for the entire collection in the failures of the less significant poets. "One moral of the

Lives," perceives Rounce, is that "the more an author tries to assert his stature and importance, the more likely he is to fail." Rounce looks closely at Johnson's writing on poets who have been "steadily forgotten," whose works are "marooned from the present," and he notes that in the seemingly less significant lives Johnson deploys "a familiar deadpan comedy" (60). The lives of Sheffield, Hammond, Dorset, Otway, Roscommon, Blackmore, and others display Johnson's sensitivity to the "balloon of pomposity" and "how inapt, contingent, and askew many literary judgments are" (65). The last biography in the collection, the life of Lyttleton, provides a fitting close the collection, Rounce suggests. It "contains an inspired sideways mockery of a particular type of self-important fastidiousness, itself suggestive of failure" (67). Johnson's clear-eyed focus on the failures of most poets helps establish his praise of Milton, Dryden, and Pope as believable and meaningful—whose biographies, we should recall, are hardly "honeysuckle." In the Life of Milton, for example, Johnson the former schoolteacher challenges the supposed achievements of Milton at his "wonder-working academy," where only one person emerged "very eminent for knowledge," Milton's "nephew Philips, of which perhaps none of my readers has ever heard" (*The Lives of the Poets*, ed. *Lonsdale*, 1: 249 [Clarendon Press, 2006]). We find similar touches of "deadpan humor" in *The Rambler* and elsewhere in Johnson's writing and conversation. In short, Rounce's capacious approach to failure deserves to serve as a guide not only to perhaps Johnson's greatest work of criticism but to his thought about the life of writing. And Rounce obviously buttresses his argument by crafting a structure and style for his essay completely sympathetic to Johnson's comic-grim presentation of authorial miscarriage. In cataloguing many, many instances of failure in the *Lives,* Rounce's essay itself is structured similarly to the *Lives*, which has no small effect. And if Johnson has a special talent in offering a kind of comic punch line at the end of a paragraph of critical assessment, then Rounce has a special talent for a memorable turn of phrase. He writes of "empty puffery" and "the fringes of absurdity." He finds "Johnson's description of the fate of [some of Blackmore's poems]" a "perfect diminuendo" (64).

A Clubbable Man closes with a collection of brief reminiscences by no less than fourteen of Greg Clingham's admirers. There's very little repetition among the short essays; all are thoughtful. Many are heartfelt panegyrics on how Clingham changed lives for the better. Some authors are former students; others worked with Clingham at the Bucknell's Press, which he directed for many years; and a few are administrators—including a former department chair and a former president of Bucknell, both of whom write readable, amusing reflections. In my reading of *Festschriften,* this is a first!

But even more notable is one remembrance by Patrick Thomas Henry, of Grand Forks, North Dakota, who recalls meeting Clingham for the first time. Henry taps sheepishly on Clingham's office door, and after Clingham immediately makes him feel comfortable, Clingham asks, "Tell me, who do you most enjoy reading?" In time, Henry comes to believe that "we can imagine novelists of all generations seated together and speaking with one another, as if at a roundtable in a British Museum reading-room." Coming near the end of the volume, what Henry writes of novelists at a roundtable may well be said of the writers of this *Festschrift.* The contributors to this volume have created a kind of conversation among themselves about Greg Clingham and his achievements—a literary conversation that Clingham's friends know he enjoys.

In the early years of the German *Festschrift,* some believed a good *Festschrift* should include a written response from the honoree on the contributors' essays. That idea has long fallen by the wayside. But I can't help imagining that this book is somehow Clingham's book, although he didn't write a word in it. In my copy of *The Age of Johnson: Essays Presented to Chauncey Brewster Tinker* (1949), beautifully conceived by Wilmarth Sheldon Lewis, Tinker inscribes a note on the flyleaf to his colleague A. Whitney Griswold, who a year later would become Yale's President. "How can *I* sign this book? I didn't write it, and yet, I suppose, in a sense it's mine. So here you are, dear Whit. Griswold…. March 1949."

Beautifully conceived by Anthony Lee, this volume suggests that Clingham has had an influence on his students and on the literary world in general similar in importance to the influence of Tinker and others leaders of our field. On almost every page, this book radiates Clingham's literary interests and values, making the book seem, in a sense, Clingham's book. This is what makes it a first class *Festschrift* rather than only a first class collection essays. For this reason, I like to imagine Clingham, though by nature modest, may consent to sign a few copies.

J. T. Scanlan
Providence College

John A. Dussinger. ***Samuel Richardson as Anonymous Editor and Printer: Recycling Texts for the Book Market.*** London/New York: Anthem Press, 2024. Pp. [*vi*] + 140; bibliography; index. ISBN 978-1-78527-353-7: hardcover, $110.

Students of Samuel Richardson owe a large debt to John Dussinger, whose many publications on the novelist and printer include incisive articles and book chapters, as well as major critical editions. His first monograph, *The Discourse of the Mind in Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, published fifty years ago in 1974, contains chapters on *Pamela* and *Clarissa* that offer Foucauldian close readings of Richardson's best-selling first novel and his masterpiece, *Clarissa*. More recently, he contributed two fine volumes to the Cambridge Edition of the Correspondence of Samuel Richardson: *Correspondence with Thomas Edwards* (2013) and *Correspondence with Sarah Wescomb, Frances Grainger and Laetitia Pilkington* (2015). In addition, for over two decades Dussinger has published a series of articles and essays designed to expand the Richardson canon. These include "Samuel Richardson's 'Elegant Disquisitions': Anonymous Writing in the *True Briton* and Other Journals" (*Studies in Bibliography*, 2000); "'Stealing in the Great Doctrines of Christianity': Samuel Richardson as Journalist" (*Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, 2003); "Fabrications from Samuel Richardson's Press" (*Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 2006); "Another Anonymous Compilation from Samuel Richardson's Press: *A Select Manual of Devotions for Sick Persons* (1733)" (*Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 2008); and "The Oxford Methodists (1733, 1738): The Purloined Letter of John Wesley at Samuel Richardson's Press," in *Theology and Literature in the Age of Johnson*, edited by Melvyn New and Gerard Reedy (University of Delaware Press, 2012).

Each of these items contains extensive arguments supporting the new at-

tributions to Richardson, and several print all or part of the texts in question. In *Samuel Richardson as Anonymous Editor and Printer*, Dussinger, perhaps too modestly, makes only brief references to his previous work on the Richardson canon; for a full understanding of his monograph, readers would be well advised to consult his earlier studies. In his book, Dussinger is concerned with two periodicals printed in whole or part by Richardson: *The True Briton* (1723-24) and *The Weekly Miscellany* (1733-41). The first part contains seven essays, with explanatory notes, from *The True Briton*, prefixed by a brief introduction. The second part contains a more substantial introduction, followed by twenty annotated essays from *The Weekly Miscellany*. There is also a short conclusion, entitled "Richardson's Press and Women's Entry into Public Life," but no general introduction—in which an overview of Dussinger's prior attributions to Richardson and remarks on his methodology could usefully have been provided.

All of the *True Briton* essays assigned to Richardson in this volume take the form of pseudonymous letters to the editor, the Duke of Wharton, and are either signed with a woman's name—"Athaliah Dormant," "Conscientia," "Misericordia," and "Violette"—or (those by "A.Z." and "Old Batchelor) are concerned with women's issues. Several of the attributions are tentative. In the case of the essay by A.Z., for instance (*True Briton*, no. 21, 12 August 1723), which objects to the newly passed Oaths Act, requiring Oaths of Allegiance to the King for both men and women, Dussinger states only that "whether [Richardson] actually wrote the letter, he at least printed it and could scarcely oppose the views of A.Z." (p. 5). Of the piece by "Old Batchelor," Dussinger contends that it is "stylistically similar" to those signed with women's names and is "probably by Richardson," while the letters supposedly by women "were likely his own contributions," appearing to reveal Richardson's hand" (p. 3). Some of Dussinger annotations make further attempts at attribution; a passage in the letter by A.Z., for instance, is compared to one of Richardson's footnotes in *Clarissa* (p. 10, n. 17).

The *Weekly Miscellany* essays in the volume also take the form of pseudonymous letters to the editor, William Webster, himself writing under the pseudonym of Richard Hooker: Dussinger suggests that Richardson "had a share in choosing the pen name . . . to give some comic distance to the editorial narrative" (p. 31). Most of the letters attributed here to Richardson are signed by "Belinda," whom Dussinger depicts as an "ironic contrast" to the Belinda of Pope's *Rape of the Lock*, designed as a "means of attracting female readers to the journal" (p. 32). Dussinger also contends that several letters in Webster's journal were written by Sarah Chapone, author of *The Hardships of the English Laws in Relation to Wives* (1735), using three different pseudonyms: "Delia," "Somebody," and "Agricola." To support these attributions, Dussinger notes parallels between distinctive turns of phrase in these printed letters and those in writings known to be by Chapone, such as *The Hardships* and some of her later letters to Richardson. In addition, Dussinger assigns one of the letters reprinted here to Mary Granville (later Delany), signed with the pseudonym "Aspasia."

Both the main title and the subtitle of Dussinger's volume are puzzling; there is little discussion here of Richardson as either editor or printer, nor of his "recycling texts for the book market." And there are other shortcomings. Dussinger makes surprisingly little use of the Cambridge Edition of the Works and Correspondence of Samuel Richardson: the two volumes of correspondence that he edited himself are listed in his bibliography, but most of the other corre-

spondence volumes are missing. For Richardson's works, he lists the Cambridge *Pamela* and *Pamela in her Exalted Condition*, but not *Sir Charles Grandison* (published in 2022). The most surprising omission is Alexander Pettit's edition, *Early Works* (2012), which contains a valuable discussion of Dussinger's previous writings on the Richardson canon. While acknowledging that Richardson may well have contributed material to *The True Briton*, *The Weekly Miscellany*, and other periodicals that he printed in the 1720s and 1730s, Pettit contends that "the limitations of stylistic evidence and the lack of hard data mean that while Dussinger's argument is faultless, it is also suppositious" (p. xxxiv). I would have welcomed a response in Dussinger's volume. A copy-editor should have caught small slips, such as misnaming Athaliah Dormant as "Athalia" Dormant (pp. 3-4, 13, 14), *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* as "*Papers for the Bibliographical Society*," William Slattery as William "Slatterly," and Henry Brooke as Henry "Brook" (pp. 136, 137). And the two-page index is inadequate: Richardson himself, oddly, is given a mere three lines, listing only his correspondence with Sarah Chapone, Sarah Wescomb, and Thomas Edwards—of whom only Chapone figures substantially in the volume.

The texts reprinted in *Samuel Richardson as Anonymous Editor* would be more enjoyable to read without the redundant insertions of "sic," usually following conventional eighteenth-century spellings, and without bolded indications such as "right column," "middle column," and "next page" that interrupt the flow of the text. It is, however, useful to have these periodical writings gathered together. In the absence of hard external evidence, we might never know with any certainty if Richardson, Chapone and Granville wrote the pieces that Dussinger assigns to them here, but interested readers can now examine the documents for themselves.

Peter Sabor
McGill University

Richard J. Jones (editor). ***Tobias Smollett after 300 Years: Life, Writing, Reputation.*** (Eighteenth-Century Moments.) Clemson: Clemson University Press, 2023. Pp. 368; index. ISBN: 978-1-63804-081-1: hardback: $130.00. (Also available as an eBook for $130.)

Tobias Smollett After 300 Years was published in 2023, the same year Clemson also published *Abraham Cowley (1618-1667): A Seventeenth-Century English Poet Recovered,* edited by Michael Edson and Cedric D. Reverand II. Both writers of the long eighteenth century wrote poetry and prose, but with opposing emphases: Cowley was known primarily for his poetry (and still is, among those who continue to "know" him), but his prose essays remained popular well into the twentieth century; in his day, Smollett was a successful novelist whose poetry suited those of a contemporary particular taste, but no longer. Even Byron Gassman in his 1993 edition for Georgia UP described the verse as "properly labeled 'minor.'" The most significant thread linking the two books is the effort to restore the authors' critical standing. Cowley's has been low for some time now, while Smollett has been more challenged by the expansion of the canon to include numerous female novelists, from Aphra Behn to Maria Edgeworth. Today, one is perhaps as likely to find Burney's *Evelina* replacing

Humphrey Clinker on university and college syllabi. Both volumes initiate reclamation projects in similar ways, as we shall see.

Editor Richard J. Jones's winsome Introduction establishes the sense of ambiguity attending Smollett the man and the writer through exploring the varying death dates assigned to him by conflicting late eighteenth-century sources. The ambiguity further extends to the existence (or, more frequently, the absence) of the monuments and epitaphs devoted to him as well as the fluctuating authorial roles that posterity used to identify him. While he was ultimately celebrated as one of the five major novelists of the eighteenth century, this critical posture overlooks the wealth of literary occupations that preoccupied him as he pursued his prolific career and bustling life. *Tobias Smollett After 300 Years* claims one of its key accomplishments is a deep dive into the many facets Smollett explored in his all too brief fifty years, "both obscure and prominent."

After the Introduction, this fine book comprises sixteen chapters designated under seven rubrics (plus endnotes and index):

Life and Letters: Frank Felsenstein, "Was Smollett into Body-Snatching? Deciphering a Hitherto Unpublished Letter"; and Matthew Lee, "Broiling on the Coast of Guinea: Tobias Smollett and Atlantic Slavery." The title of Felsenstein's piece is pretty much self-explanatory. He prints one of the three letters he has discovered after the publication of Lewis M. Knapp's *The Letters of Tobias Smollett* (Clarendon, 1970). The letter, to Smollett's friend and former anatomy teacher, Dr. William Hunter (1718-83), which Felsenstein dates July 25, 1749, requests a recommendation for an upcoming trip to Paris. In the process of tracing the background to the missive, the author eliminates the possibility that the French trip was *not* an expedition to procure dead bodies for Hunter's school; indeed, we may rest assured that Smollett, despite his multifarious activities, never resorted to the calling of a "resurrection man"—despite its prevalence in mid to late Hanoverian Britain. (The reader might recall the character of Jerry in Dickens's *A Tale of Two Cities*.) Matthew Lee's chapter makes the case for a quite different yet equally repulsive career—Smollett as a slave owner or participant in slave trafficking. He assembles some persuasive evidence, based upon both *Roderick Random* and Smollett's own life, but the case is speculative.

Making Books: M. A. Katritzky "*Don Quixote* in Eighteenth-Century British Book Culture: Tobias Smollett and Francis Hayman"; and Urmi Bhowmik, "Justness of Distinction": Class and Taste in the *Monthly* and *Critical Reviews*." Katritzky contextualizes the book illustration practice from early in the century to that found in Smollett's early works, *Roderick Random* and the Quixote translation, where a Hogarth-influenced Francis Hayman (1708-76) proved—especially in the latter—a highly effective partner. I found Bhowmik's essay compelling, both for its rich content and lucid exposition. She marks the development of Ralph Griffiths' *Monthly Magazine* and its rival, Smollett's *Critical Review* as midcentury peaks in journalistic excellence. After an initial period of hostility, the two journals eventually eased into an uneasy amity: each borrowed from the other in such practices as foregrounded major articles in the first half of their space, saving the second half for a books-received list with only nominal comment. Like *The Spectator* before them, the writers and editors sought to reform the taste of their readerships. One strategy used to attain this end involved the use of copious extracts from the books reviewed, framed with suggestions on how to properly "read" the work at hand and thus internalize the

standards of taste currently recommended. Hence, the common editorial policy of merely summarizing or completely deleting the extracts often found in modern critical editions does a real disservice to the modern reader, by inadvertently, perhaps, imposing editorial standards that suppress the original intent of the journalists and critics.

The Work of Medicine: Laurence Sullivan, "'Such a domestic plague'? The Silent Stewardship of Tabitha Bramble in Smollett's *Humphry Clinker*"; and Erin Severson, "'Be not solitary, be not idle': Smollett's Epistolary Travel Narrative as Burtonian Cure." Sullivan's chapter identifies a subversive strand in Smollett's most famous novel. Matthew Bramble's sister, "Tabby," is ridiculed by most of the other characters, and her female voice is seemingly mocked by Smollett's artful construction of her malapropistic and often scatological letters. Despite these overt reproaches, Sullivan discerns a covert valorization of Tabitha as a domestic nurse and pharmaceutical expert whose quiet but steady applications keep Matthew and others in good health, even as she maintains a complex and often trying domestic household. Severson draws upon Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* and its central maxim for mental health is to stay busy and seek out congenial company. He sees in this influence the key to a unifying structure in *Humphrey Clinker*: the episodic travel narrative in fact operates as "Burtonian medicine," by diverting the reader and the major characters such as Matthew into good health.

Making History: Spartaco Pupo, "Smollett, Hume, and the Project of a Politically Skeptical National History"; and Phineas Dowling, "'This united kingdom': Tobias Smollett and the Writing of Anglo-Scottish Union after the Forty-Five." Pupo closely examines both Hume's *History of England* and Smollett's *History* and *Continuation*. Despite the common saw that the two were antagonistic, Pupos showed that the two Scots shared an amicable relationship and had much in common. Neither was motivated by party; both sought to attain narrative objectivity, and they enjoyed deep respect for one another. Dowling examines Smollett's writing—particularly *The Tears of Scotland* and *Roderick Random*—in light of the '45. Despite compelling accounts of English brutality after Culloden, such as raping women, murdering innocents, maiming or killing children, Smollett sought to maintain his poise and promote English-Scottish reconciliation, even as he depicted anti-Scot violence and verbal abuse in his best-known poem and first novel.

Storytelling: Phillip M. Cortes, "Assimilation and Anti-assimilation: Malapropic Forms in Smollett's *Humphry Clinker*"; Mihaela Mudure, "Metalepsis and the Fringe of Reality in Smollett's *Humphry Clinker*"; Hanne Roth, "Avuncular Developments: Smollett's *Peregrine Pickle*"; and Richard J. Jones, "The Life and Adventures of Tobias Smollett." As might be expected in a collection of this sort, *Humphrey Clinker* takes the lion's share of attention; *Roderick Random* comes in second. Not only are these two Smollett's most best-known novels, but they also conveniently bookend his career, the latter witnessing the energetic fervor of a young, aspiring writer, the former, still energetic, but closing with the wisdom of hard-won serenity. However, Smollett's second novel—and his longest—is very worthy of any critical attention bestowed upon it. So, I was delighted to find Roth's essay present in this book. She uses insights drawn from psychoanalytic and queer theory to analyze the role of the uncle figure, Trunnion, as well as Sterne's Uncle Toby. Both are eccentric characters who live with male companions; both can be read as psychologically undeveloped;

both eventually have encounters with female characters that emphasize their failure to grow up into mature adulthood. Cortes and Mudure each apply rhetorical devices to their readings of *Humphrey Clinker*. Cortes studies one named after the character in Sheridan's 1775 play, *The Rivals*, which falls under the umbrella of the trope of catachresis. Closely following Gayatri Spivak, Cortes's postcolonial paper finds that the novel wavers, without ultimate resolution, between Smollett's conservative posture and his ambivalence toward British imperialism. This essay crams into its spatial margins too much content; a book might be written to produce a fuller exposition of Cortes's interpretation. Mudure shifts our attention to "metalepsis," that is, "substitution of an idea distantly related … a form of metonymy: substitution in which the original word would be figurative" (*Dictionary of World Literature*, ed. by Joseph T. Shipley, 1968). Mudure expands the term to include episodes when the author intrudes into the book—a tactic she associates with literary modernism. The editor of *Tobias Smollett After 300 Years* places his contribution in this cluster. Like in an Alfred Hitchcock movie, such as *Strangers on a Train* or *To Catch a Thief*, Jones finds Smollett frequently popping up in cameo appearances—sometimes trapped by his narrative apparatus.

New Receptions: Artem Serebrennikov, "'This is a laugh riot": Reading Smollett in Tsarist Russia"; and Peter Budrin, "'Inferior to Engels': Publishing Smollett in Stalinist Russia." These two essays share a surprising common bond: Smollett's attraction for intellectuals residing in the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union. This interest eventually sputtered and died. However, Budrin offers a counter-narrative as he traces Smollett's presence in the efforts of brave editors and publishers who dared to foment our author's presence among the intellectuals of that day. Some of the "Smollett-philes" disappeared and were never seen again. Perhaps, at this moment, at least, we living in the West might enjoy our blue jeans, our Led Zeppelin *Physical Graffiti* albums, and our freedom to read our friend Smollett at our leisure.

Afterthoughts: Leslie A. Chilton, "The Best of Smollett, the Worst of Smollett: Reflections on Twenty Years of Editing"; and Daniel H. Ferris, "'Classless and unconfined': Tobias Smollett and the Human Condition." The book concludes with a chapter looking back and another forward. Chilton reflects on her participation in the Georgia project. Serving as an editor for many of the volumes, Chilton pauses to reflect upon her editorial life and adventures. Ferris is given the place at the end, affording him the last word. And I shall give him the last word in our survey, as he describes Smollett's "Eternal Voice for Humanity":

> I concur with [John] Gray's [author of *Straw Dog's: Thoughts on Humans and Other Animals*, 2007] assessment of humanity's predicament. … In such a place, the past is irrelevant because people rely on it to fuel delusions of fictional golden ages…. All we have is what we can do now. Smollett knew that one's time is best spent seeking "the betterment of humanity's physical condition." He modeled that behavior in his art, wading straight into the depths of human suffering. … We ignore him at our peril.

For some, Smollett is not just an angry polemicist, a fierce satirist of contemporary institutions and corruption, nor a Grub Street hack. Rather, he is a humanist whose positive wisdom, won with great difficulty, enables a glowing core of

nurture and optimism that survives unto today. This is why he is a "classic."

And so, to return to where we began, with the reconstitution of Cowley and Smollett as eminent men of letters. As we have seen, Smollett is not simply a major novelist; he is also a poet, playwright, pamphleteer, translator, historian, journalist, editor, book reviewer, literary critic, medical writer, and travel writer. And Cowley is not just a major poet, he is a historian (in verse), an essayist, a polemicist, a botanist, and a copious editor and annotator of his own poems. Smollett has profited from having his works presented in an authoritative critical edition by the University of Georgia Press. Recent whispers suggest that Cowley is perhaps on the cusp of receiving such treatment. Both Cowley and Smollett are very much in need of a modern biographer. Finally, both writers are likely to find a strong renewal of critical and scholarly interest as a result of these two timely volumes from Clemson. Jones's collection is a good introduction to Smollett for Johnson's "common reader," although the technical terms and theoretical methodologies in a handful of the chapters might prove a bit imposing for some such readers. Otherwise, full-steam ahead!

A. W. Lee
Editor, The Scriblerian and the Kit-Cats

Helen Craik. ***Poems by a Lady.*** **Edited from the Beinecke Manuscript by Rachel Mann and Patrick Scott**. Glasgow: Association for Scottish Literature, Number fifty-two, 2023.Pp.336; appendix ("Memoirs of her Family," letters 1810-11); bibliography; illustrations; indices. ISBN: 978-1-906841-56-0: paperback, £19.95; c. $33.15.

When Mary Anne Schofield and I wrote and edited *Eighteenth-Century Anglo-American Women Novelists: A Critical Reference Guide* in 1996, we were part of the generation of feminist scholars whose hope was to reclaim the lost tradition of women's writing. Therefore, it is particularly satisfying to see the work of reclamation continue as evidenced by the publication of Helen Craik *Poems by a Lady*, the result of a discovery of a Craik manuscript in the Beinecke. As Rachel Mann, one of the editors, notes "Craik's poetry demonstrates the breadth and talent of women writers, many of whom are lost in the archives."

Helen Craik (c. 1751–1825) is a little-known Scottish writer. As mentioned earlier, much of her fame came through her relationship to Robert Burns, both as friend and correspondent. According to Robert Low in *Robert Burns: The Critical Heritage*, Craik's poem on Burns appears on a 1787 copy of Burns's poetry:

> Here native Genius, gay, unique and strong,
> Shines through each page, and marks the tuneful song;
> Rapt Admiration her warm tribute pays,
> And Scotia proudly echoes all she says;
> Bold Independence, too, illumes the theme
> And claims a manly privilege to Fame.
> —Vainly, O Burns! wou'd rank and riches shine,
> Compar'd with in-bom merit great as thine,

> These Chance may take, as Chance has often giv'n,
> But Pow'rs like thine can only come from Heav'n.

In addition, Craik is remembered for her five Gothic novels published by the Minerva Press: *Julia de Saint Pierre: A Tale of the French Revolution* (3 vols, 1796*Henry of Northumberland, or The Hermit's Cell, A Tale of the Fifteenth Century* (3 vols, 1800) and *Adelaide de Narbonne, with Memoirs of Charlotte de Corday, A Tale* (4 vols, 1800). The scholarship on these novels is scanty: the most critical attention being focused on *Adelaide de Narbonne* through the work of Adriana Craciun on the portrayal of aspects of the French Revolution.

While the editors acknowledge the interest in the "rediscovery and critical assessment of the poetry written by eighteenth-century Scottish women" and note that this process has been part of the "resetting [of] the teaching canon and research agenda for British Romanticism and the long eighteenth century," Craik's poetry had not been part of these innovations because, until the discovery of this manuscript in the Beinecke by Scott, it was believed that her poetry was lost. This volume will expand the understanding of the scope of Scottish women's writing.

To understand the breadth of Scottish women's poetry, it is necessary to understand that, in eighteenth-century Scotland and provincial England, as Juliet Shields has suggested, "authorship was less closely tied to print . . .and the relationship between manuscript and print publication seems to have been fluid rather than oppositional" (xiv). A significant contribution of this volume is the illustration through Craik's biography of the circulation of manuscript works in a network of writers, men and women. The editors make us aware of the class nature of authorship: elite women circulated their poetry in manuscript and working-class women published by subscription. Mann remarks, "Today, we often think printed or published work must be superior, when really manuscript poetry, handwritten and unpublished, at that time was equally esteemed."

There are many wonderful things about this edition. First is the detective work done by Patrick Scott, Emeritus Professor at the University of South Carolina, a Burns scholar. Scott knew that Burns was known to have written four lines of verse in one of Helen Craik's notebooks and that looking for catalogued Burns material might lead him to the manuscript. His hunch was right and the result is this edition.

The editors imply that the volume's 39 poems are not typical of Scottish women's poetry. Craik does not write "explicitly religious poems," "descriptive poems about the Scottish landscape, love poetry or national or Jacobite song" nor does she draw "on an obviously vernacular tradition" (xvi). The editors describe the categories of the poems as friendship poems, verse epistles, poems written on request, charades, poems of real-life crime and intrigue, and Gothic poems. Scott and Mann avoid the temptation to claim that Craik, who never married, was staunchly opposed to marriage but suggest that she found the institution and its trappings oppressive. This idea is perhaps behind what is my favorite poem "To R: O: ESQ^{R}. It is the "humble petition" of Margaret and Helen that the wealthy recipient of the poem donate ten or twenty thousand of his "superfluous cash" to them because "Sans money we must also be sans Beau."

Finally, I was delighted to see that the editors took the time to correct the historical record by including the last discussion of Craik's poetry in 1919 by

the Scottish historian and lawyer George Neilson (he owned one of Craik's notebooks that seems no longer extant) and Samuel Arnott's "The Romance of Helen Craik of Arbigland" (1923). Scott and Mann make clear that Arnott's melodramatic reading of Craik's history is unsupported by fact. In my own research on eighteenth-century writers, I often find that the authors' reputations and therefore later scholarship are based on unsupported and fanciful early readings which are rarely challenged. This correction is indicative of the careful attention which the editors paid to the apparatus of the edition--including the helpful annotation of the poems themselves. One of the lessons I derived from working on *Eighteenth-Century Anglo-American Women Novelists* was that the most valuable scholarship was that giving solid facts and did not merely relying on the fashion of the age. This volume promises to be one of those enduring scholarly works.

Doreen Alvarez Saar
Drexel University

Editor's note: Yale Digital Collections has now made the full scans of Craik's notebook available at https:// collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/31902102.

Michael S. Martin. ***Appalachian Pastoral: Mountain Excursions, Aesthetic Visions, and The Antebellum Travel Narrative.*** (Eighteenth-Century Moments.) Clemson, SC: Clemson University Press, in association with Liverpool University Press, 2023. Pp. 208. ISBN 10: 1638040184; hardback: $130.

Travel writing, of course, often chronicles formative if not originary interactions between people and places. Carefully aggregated and interpreted, such writings collectively elaborate specific locations and times, and we can ascertain the extents to which travelers' perspectives hold—particularly in terms of how accurately and/or innovatively they describe places, of the advantages and limitations of their viewpoints, and of what they may mean for subsequent travelers and readers. Travel writing's rich descriptive nexes are well known in historical research and literary studies; a host of scholars such as Mary Louise Pratt (in 1993's *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*) and Elizabeth Bohls (in 1995's *Women Travel Writers and the Language of Aesthetics, 1716–1818)*—to name but two of many notable contributions to the field—have explored its various topographies in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Such scholarship reminds us that travel writing is so subjective, and so indebted to generic and aesthetic conventions, that it often says more about its writers than it does about what they see. Our challenge as their readers is to parse their words in order to characterize and contextualize the knowledge they create.

The eighteenth century figures prominently in studies of travel writing because people really were going places, writing about them, and disseminating these writings to an eager readership. Some of these places and perspectives are better documented than others in the annals of travel writing; for instance, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, North America's eastern coast was arguably better described than its midwestern interior. This is where Michael S. Martin's recent *Appalachian Pastoral: Mountain Excursions, Aesthetic Visions, and the Antebellum Travel Narrative* comes in. Martin calls our attention to oft-

overlooked nineteenth-century Anglo-American writers whose works responded to prevailing landscape aesthetics as the Appalachians came into focus for American and British readers. Its cover splashed with a detail from David Johnson's painting *Natural Bridge, Virginia* (1860), *Appalachian Pastoral* is a handsome hardbacked volume that features catalogic readings of representative texts and images. Of primary interest for Martin are early and mid-nineteenth-century American descriptions of the central and southern Appalachians that were written by Philip Pendleton Kennedy, David Hunter Strother, Henry Colton, Caroline Howard Gilman, Anne Newport Royall, and Charles Lanman, with "guest appearances" by William Gilmore Simms, James Kirke Paulding, Susan Fenimore Cooper, Archibald Alexander, and, of course, the inspiration for many of these writers, Thomas Jefferson (whose 1785 *Notes on the State of Virginia* is a touchstone throughout). Martin reminds us that many such writers were well-known among a contemporary northeastern American readership whose taste for tales of the interior's natural and scenic resources was growing. Attending to these descriptions plugs an important gap in scholarship of the era, and should help chart new approaches to the works of American writers who cast their visions further westward.

The bulk of *Appalachian Pastoral* is concerned with cataloging these writers' application of landscape aesthetics to what was the immediate American frontier. Martin dedicates most of the work to investigating his subjects' writings for the language of the pastoral, picturesque, and sublime—in that order over the course of his book—en route to identifying an enduring, preservation-minded, rural agrarian ideal whose advocates foresaw "no cities as the epicenter of planned, Appalachian communities, just a perpetual set of workable farmlands, balanced with crops best suited for that particular ecosystem" (159). Championing an approach he describes as being more literary than historical in nature, Martin traces the evolution of Appalachian landscape vision through snippets of applied aesthetic ideology, mostly as manifest in writers' adoption of key words and phrases from European traditions of landscape description. Three of the book's five chapters are thus devoted in turn to categories of landscape vision as evidenced in tropes frequently associated with the pastoral (Lanman, Kennedy, Strother), the picturesque (Colton, Strother), and the sublime (Gilman, Simms, Alexander). Martin's method is not so much to examine the implications of such terminology, but to log its appearance in writers' application of European landscape vision. Along the way we visit a handful of key places—the Allegheny Mountains, the Blue Ridge Mountains, Blackwater Falls, Bath County Hot Springs, Pilot Knob, Hickory Nut Falls, Harper's Ferry, and Natural Bridge—although these sites are merely mile markers in the book's overarching conceptual landscape. Martin shows us such places in a relatively fleeting manner, preferring instead to catalogue prevailing terminology and to remain primarily taxonomic in nature. Aesthetic language and concepts are at the focus of his inquiries.

Only in the book's final two chapters, once Martin has exhausted the labor of identifying landscape terminology in characteristic works, does the argument of *Appalachian Pastoral* truly come into its own. It begins to engage authors' innovations and visions, on their own terms and in greater context, as bases for an agrarian ideal in America's heartland. Following through on its stated promise of prioritizing "first-person accounts over what may be considered an overly historical angle of vision" (23), Martin begins to examine the implications of

more reflexive and self-aware writings for an Appalachian settler identity—one that arises from writers' rapture in response to landscape, the awe and respect that follow from grandeur, the familiarity with people and place that such writings cultivate, and consequently the idealization "of an intertwined, but independent, set of rural villages that span both the eastern and western sides of the Appalachian Mountains" (144). The historical course of this perspective, as Martin tracks it, is at first sublime and then pastoral (which inverts the historical progress of western aesthetics, albeit in a way that acknowledges writers' initial fear and acceptance of landscapes new to them). Such strong appreciative emotions as those associated with aesthetic experience, he says, encourage a spirit of "preservation, both of culture and nature, and a sustained 'wilderness'" (145). In this fashion, Martin surveys Kennedy's and Royall's writings to show that "landscape aesthetics such as the pastoral" were (1) "trying to freeze an idealized moment in time, a rural idyll for perpetuity," (2) "meant to further the wilderness ideal model" (145), and (3) designed to encourage Americans to "move forward with limited development" (148). The impulse, familiar to so much American landscape description and implicit in American national identity as it came to be, is thus at once holistic and paradoxical. Appalachian travel writers of this era wanted both wilderness and the entitlement to cultivate it—an apparent incongruity that yet informs the American environmental imagination.

Throughout the book, Martin stresses the overlap among the pastoral, picturesque, and sublime, to suggest that they are inclusive of one another and thus suitable for comprehending the place-making impulses of an early republic poised to expand into North America's hinterlands. This gesture is so holistic that it often blurs these categories of landscape vision and frequently overdetermines them. This effort to establish such apparent perspectival harmonies extends from the book's content to its form: The argument moves freely from author to author, irrespective of year or decade, sometimes without adequate context. In showing how much these authors have in common, *Appalachian Pastoral* begs questions about their differences—particularly as regards historical circumstances that are their backdrop. Curiously, in a study that ranges widely through nineteenth-century American texts describing the Appalachian region, there is little mention of indigenous populations and perspectives, and only one passing mention of the American Civil War and the occasions for it (even though concern with its circumstances is implied in the book's titular identification of the "antebellum travel narrative"). Also, one wishes there were more sustained, historicized, careful analysis of characteristic texts in context.

Appalachian Pastoral dramatizes the fluidity and dynamism of the field, encouraging us to explore the work of antebellum Appalachian travel writers in greater depth and detail. Martin situates the argument at the intersection of ecocriticism, rural studies, and Appalachian studies, in addition to more conventional literary, artistic, and aesthetic approaches that typically inform analyses of travel writing. Among Martin's more poignant observations is that, indeed, such contexts as these all inform each other, and any enquiry into early American Appalachian travel writing must entertain—if not intertwine—them all. Martin's readers may well be jostled about from time to time between such contexts, concerns, and writings that exemplify them. But the effect is perhaps not unlike the bumpy ride of coming into a new land and making sense of it. As the field's topography changes, *Appalachian Pastoral* should break new ground for the study of American travel writing, extending our sense of the environmental

imagination in the new republic.

Thomas Hothem
University of California--Merced

Ellen Malenas Ledoux. ***Laboring Mothers: Reproducing Women and Work in the Eighteenth Century***. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2023. Pp. 274; bibliography; index. ISBN: 978-0-8139-5028-0: paperback: $29.50. (Also available in hardcover and eBook.)

Ellen Malenas Ledoux, an Associate Professor at Rutgers, in 2013 published her previous book, *Social Reform in Gothic Writing: Fantastic Forms of Change, 1764-1834*. The gap between it and *Laboring Mothers* speaks to both professional and biological demands. As Ledoux notes in her explication *cum* personal response to William Marshall Craig's 1804 "Chairs to Mend," which foregrounds the "supermother" able to balance her maternal and vocational duties all at once—feeding the baby while working on the canes—that balance for working women at the lower end of the socio-economic spectrum is represented as an impossibility wrapped in a dilemma without a key. Chair mending is a two-person job. What if, Ledoux wonders, a customer approached? How could this mother mend the chair and nurse the baby at the same time? If she turned the customer away, then she risked her and the baby's well-being. If she took on the job, she would have to place the baby on the dirty street, endangering the child's life and drawing censorious comments from passers-by.

Ledoux gratefully acknowledges that she was not in the chair mender's position. She had a key in the form of paid leave, health insurance, and an employed spouse. However, a deeply personal feeling for other working mothers, evident in her response to the chair-mender's plight, led her to investigate how eighteenth-century English women managed the challenge of being a professional AND a mother. How did women then manage to work while pregnant, nursing and caring for children? How did motherhood affect their professional lives? More precisely, how did the emergent cult or ideology of motherhood, demanding that all mothers be assiduous nurturers and caregivers, critique working women?

The most famous bad nursing mother etching from the period, James Gillray's *The Fashionable Mamma* (1796) depicts, or to use Ledoux's mot juste, "skewers" (132), a mother of the *ton* nursing a child. The child is treated by the mother as a lifestyle encumbrance. The feeding is shown as a necessary but unwanted obligation that must be squeezed into the mother's schedule before she lives her busy life as a member of high society—the equivalent, for a female of the *ton*, to a job outside the house for a lower-class woman. Using both hands to hold the child around the waist, the servant presents the child to the mother, who leans slightly forward on a dainty chair. The child—she must have had super-strong core muscles—arches her back and extends herself to latch on to the mother's breast, which is exposed through a slit or pocket hole in the mother's fashionable dress. A painting on the wall shows that the perfect mother, the maternal mother, cradles her infant while nursing; nursing is her only occupation. In contrast, Gillray's fashionable mamma's life lies outside, symbolized by her elegant gown, the fan she carries, her tall plumed hat, the fan in

her gloved hand, and above all, the waiting carriage. Bottom line—you can't have it both ways.

But from a subversive perspective, it could be argued, first, the real heroine of the etching is the unknown dressmaker or milliner who figured out that pocket holes in the bodice would enable this nursing mamma to also be a fashionable mamma. Or if the pocket holes were, as The Lewis Walpole Library's commentary maintains, a fiction created by Gillray for satirizing the mother who wants to have it both ways, then Gillray is an enabler, the mamma's best helper**.*** Secondly, the print shows that although for this mother breastfeeding ranks second to attending social events, she is breastfeeding and the child's vigor suggests that she's doing well by the baby. Rousseau's *Emile* (1763) encouraged breastfeeding, and mothers who chose to transfer this function to a wet nurse were often castigated. (On the social history of breastfeeding, see Sarah Fox, *Giving Birth in Eighteenth-Century England, 2022* [79-117], and the Lewis Walpole Library note on the Gillray etching at www.jamesgillray.org/pop/fashionable-mamma.html.) In this admittedly subversive, women's-lib-inspired reading, the pressured-to-breastfeed mamma of the *ton* found a key in the figure of the brilliant dressmaker whose tailoring skills produced a wardrobe modification that allowed for a vital bodily function. The print was and is taken, as the Walpole Library's commentary maintains, as a satire. The mamma who wants it both ways is a subject of ridicule, deemed selfish and insensitive.

If a high status woman is satirized for attempting the impossible, how do women from the lower ranks fare? Ledoux examines six categories of working mothers in a sequence: actresses, midwives, gender-nonconforming women who served in the military, enslaved women, women in the itinerant trades, and prostitutes. The set includes women who chose their careers (actresses and women who served in the military) and those who had their work thrust upon them (enslaved women and prostitutes). The positioning of enslaved women above prostitutes suggests the sequence is somewhat determined by the value the group contributed to the economy at large. Ledoux's inclusion of gender-nonconforming women who rejected the ideology of motherhood (even though the signs of motherhood destroyed the career of Christian Davies) may be a nod in the direction of political correctness. Diversity inclusion may also lie behind the chapter on enslaved women racially distinct from the other women, those mostly English urban.

The categories themselves are large but the size of the sample within varies. Only Christian Davies and Hannah Snell are discussed in the chapter on the gender-nonconforming military women; whereas, thanks to the many illustrations by satirists (including William Hogarth, William Craig, Marcellus Laroon, and Thomas Rowlandson) of London-based women who plied itinerant trades such as chair-mender, gin-seller, milk-seller and beggar, the opposite is true for the penultimate chapter. That chapter is more meaty: eight illustrations are reproduced, seven courtesy of the Lewis Walpole Library and one courtesy of the National Gallery of Art.

The women themselves are drawn from the historical record and from fictional sources or artistic representations, what Ledoux refers to as literal and symbolic representations of motherhood. Ledoux admits that she tried to be "mindful about the distinction between representations of motherhood and historical mothers," but finding it difficult to "parse the real from the performative

mother" decided that her only option was to treat every working mother as a representation (10). I sympathize with Ledoux. Her dilemma and decision stem from the fact that, since historical lower-class mothers left no written records, all we have are representations. They are the subalterns, spoken about but not speaking, and Ledoux takes up cudgels for them, critiquing the way they were spoken about.

However, her necessary decision leads to a troubling valorization of the fictive. In her chapter on prostitute mothers, she concentrates on fictional histories that deny these women the cultural status conferred by motherhood. As she points out, Defoe's Moll Flanders and Roxana abandon roughly 26 children between them. In *The History of Emma; or the Victim of Depravity* (1800), the prostitute Emma transmits a venereal disease to her baby while nursing, suggesting that her profession is inimical to the baby's life. (We now know that syphilis is not transmitted through breast milk but can be through a breast or nipple lesion.)

The one paragraph Ledoux devotes to real prostitute mothers tells a different story. These women, she notes, worked in the industry for a couple of years and then returned to their communities, where they encountered little, if any, stigmatization. This suggests that in the eighteenth century England had something in common with north-eastern Scotland. There, where single motherhood was the new normal, an alternative and apparently satisfactory family structure, the key involved sending children back to maternal grandparents. The grandparents provided the emotional stability the children needed while the mothers supplied the income that supported this multigenerational household. I would have liked to know if this kind of arrangement, simultaneously practical and caring, in which the maternal nurturing was given over to the grandparents so that the mother could make a living existed then in England, but it is nowhere mentioned. Yet, when I was teaching at a CUNY two-year college whose population was overwhelmingly composed of single working mothers, I found that most of them had been raised by their maternal grandparents so that they would not be a hindrance at work sites. They bore their absent mothers no ill will, but they were more emotionally attached, it seemed to me, to their grandparents than their mothers.

Pictures speak a thousand words, and so Ledoux deconstructs female engraver Caroline Watson's *Maternal Tuition* (1793), one of the many illustrations reproduced in *Laboring Mothers*. The print is serene and classical. It embodies a maternal ideal, foregrounding a mother who is caring, attentive, and gently, quietly authoritative. Behind the mother and her well-behaved children is a round temple-like structure in perfect condition. Between the domestic scene and the backdrop, we understand that this is a world in balance. From image and accompanying verse Ledoux extrapolates that the print is not "just about an individual mother caring skillfully for her own children. It is about the sacred duty of mothers in service to a larger social context," fulfilling their obligation to society in raising future citizens." (153) Ledoux then asks us to consider whether this maternal ideal, represented as central to the functioning of society, made mothers feel validated or warned them of all that was demanded .

As mentioned above, the working mothers of *Laboring Mothers* are presented in descending socio-economic status or degree of deviation from the unattainable bar set by the cult of motherhood. The professional mothers Ledoux studies were judged not on how close they came to overcoming the bar

but how dismally they failed to clear it. Motherhood is a liability for women who wish to pursue careers. All the working child-bearing women in Ledoux's study were found wanting at some point in life, though, as she acknowledges, some suffered more than others for their dereliction of duty.

At the "lighter" end of the suffering continuum we find Sarah Siddons and Christian Davies. Saavy celebrity actress Sarah Siddons, who was almost always pregnant during her peak years, is the alpha female because she turned her real motherhood into a marketable asset. What Ledoux calls her maternal coup de théâtre was getting her own son to play the role of son in Thomas Southerne's *The Fatal Marriage* (1694). In this play, Siddons played a sentimental mother working tirelessly to support her children. Audiences were enraptured by her sentimental performance of maternal solicitude. Ledoux notes that Siddons was such a money-maker for the theater that management afforded her maternity leave, featured her in parts that required less physical exertion, and designed costumes for her pregnant body that awed audiences. As she aged, she stayed in the public eye, playing queens. Though she was revered as a British institution, she did not escape censure for displaying her post-menopausal body, as by John Williams, who, as "Anthony Pasquin," noted her body was past its "climacteric" (41).

Christian Davies served in the military dressed as a man and gave birth to several children. In her memoir, *The Life and Adventures of Mrs. Christian Davies (*1740), she comes across as model soldier in the woman-warrior mold, brave, adventurous and independent, but a poor mother since she deliberately, knowingly, rejects the ideals of motherhood. She farms her children out to professional caregivers. She regards pregnancy as a career-blighter. When reunited with her husband, she stipulates that her marital duties cover providing him shirts but not sex. When her large nipples reveal to the surgeons attending to her after a grievous wounding that she had nursed children, her military career ends; but she never reconnects with her children, finds satisfaction in working as military provisions supplier, takes a pension, and spends her last 25 years at the Royal Hospital, Chelsea.

Midwives were satirized in prints such as Rowlandson's 1811 *A Midwife Going to a Labour* as uneducated, inebriated, and incompetent, but those that worked in London and assisted at the births of the well-to-do were paid handsomely. Concerned that male midwives or accoucheurs, who had received surgical training, were taking business away from them, midwife Elizabath Nihell struck back. She argued in her 1760 *Treatise on the Art of Midwifery*, that a midwife's personal experience of giving birth gave her an authority that no male midwife could ever lay claim to. Motherhood is a professional credential, she maintained, positing that a female midwife will be a better choice, a kinder and more comforting presence at the birth. However, the appeal to motherhood as a higher credential failed. Among women who could afford an accoucheur, the use of midwives declined.

In his 2006 article, "Mortality in Eighteenth-Century London: A New Look at the Bills," and freely available online, Robert Woods, Professor of Geography at the University of Liverpool, shared the results of statistical analyses of mortality bills from various London hospitals. His research showed that overall 10% of the babies delivered at these hospitals died at birth (this figure excludes stillborn babies); he does not tabulate maternal deaths at childbed or from complications of childbirth. Since these were hospital births, the attending

practitioner was probably an accoucheur. There are no equivalent bills for midwives who performed home deliveries, so we don't know if they had a more satisfactory record. However, there might be in letters or diaries evidence that women who could afford an accoucheur thought that their and their unborn babies' chances for survival were higher.

At the "opprobrium" end of the continuum are Hogarth and Rowlandson's depictions of poor working mothers. As Ledoux notes, these engravings offer "an unsparing, misogynistic critic of poor, working women, suggesting that either through ignorance, incompetence, or inattention, they [the women] fail to meet their children's basic needs" (156). However, in the case of Thomas Rowlandson's *A Milk Sop* (ca. 1811), I believe this generalization is an oversimplification. The print shows a milk seller carrying but not selling her product. Inside one of her milk pails are her screaming infants; in the other there is milk, but it's a spaniel who is lapping up the milk that should either go to a customer or to the infants. Meanwhile, the woman is being held in an amorous embrace by a college student leaning out of a window. Ledoux reads the relationship between the student and the working mother as laden with shared sexual energy suggesting that "the mother's nourishing affection is wholly directing toward the wrong love object." (184) I'm not comfortable with this particular analysis. While it is true that the mother is not paying attention to her babies, she hasn't abandoned them, and she uses what she has to carry them. If they are not receiving the milk the dog is enjoying, it's not necessarily because she has chosen to neglect either her babies' cries or her wares. The milk seller's back-slanting, off-kilter posture indicates that she is being held against her will and the college student, shown leaning out of a window, literally higher than the mother on the pavement, is "milking" his dominant status. To my mind, in *A Milk Sop*, the woman is a victim of male violence rather than a willing participant in a consensual embrace, the babies are victims of an economy that makes it impossible for a poor woman to be a nourishing mother, and opprobrium is directed to a society accepting such inequity.

The most sobering chapter in *Laboring Mothers* treats enslaved women. Enslaved women rank higher than prostitutes because their collective labor in the fields yields profitable crops and their reproductive labor produces the bodies which work for free on the plantations, but as Ledoux notes, in the West Indies, fertility was low. What was asset for their owners was liability for the women themselves. They could never be caregivers to their own children as their attention was directed elsewhere. The legal doctrine of "partus sequitur ventrem," literally "offspring follows belly," which was followed in all the English colonies, meant that the status of children born to enslaved mothers was the same as their mothers' legal status, thus making racial slavery hereditary. Since women could and were asked to perform tasks inimical to mothering, like readying their children for sale, what inducement would there be to giving birth? As Ledoux points out, with the ending of the slave trade in 1807, West Indian planters introduced pronatalist policies to encourage women to give birth. Women were offered material rewards such as food, soap, and linens, the right to employ a midwife, plus up to six weeks of maternity leave before returning to the fields. Yet the birth rate did not increase, and, tellingly, in a book about the body fertile, this fact raises a question, outside Ledoux's scope but worth investigating: How did enslaved women in the Indies control their fertility?

As a narrative, *Laboring Mothers* suffers from predictability. We may not

know at the outset of each chapter how the working women will fail to reconcile the personal and the professional, but we know they will not be able to reconcile them or sustain a reconciliation. That weakness is also the book's strength. I began this review by noting that Ledoux had a key in the forms of perks that enabled her to have a baby and write a book. What we see through the many accounts which Ledoux relates is that (with the exception of women soldiers) all these women were using their intelligence to fashion a key to enable them to be good mothers and good professionals.

That said, being rather prone to happy endings, and granting that women who succeeded as mothers and as workers may be a book unto itself, I would have liked to learn their life stories. Might women who worked in shops, either as employers or employees—those in the tailoring trades come to mind—as opposed to plying a trade on the street—have been more successful in (vicariously?) meeting professional and maternal obligations and come under less censure? One survey of women's dress of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries mentions maternity garments and another describes the bodice construction of a nursing dress. Are there accounts of milliners and dressmakers, who could make a decent living running shops and making high-end clothing AND maternity wear, and were generally assumed to be single, finding fulfillment in motherhood as well, conceived in or out of wedlock,? The colonial Williamsburg website suggests that this category of women was not skewered. It describes women who owned shops, bought material, made garments, handled accounts, and were well-regarded. In a number of cases, their husbands were co-partners and their children did well. The pocket holes on the fashionable mamma's gown may have been figment of Gillray's imagination, but Sarah Fox's *Giving Birth in Eighteenth-Century England* establishes that well-to-do London women were interested and concerned about their clothing during pregnancy and lactation. In the 2019 volume of *Fashion Theory*, Catriona Fisk established that women were concerned with appearing fashionable while pregnant and nursing. Why should Gillray have the last word on the subject? The dressmakers who modified their nursing clients' dresses so that they could be both nurturing mothers and high society ladies deserve to be celebrated. What about wet nurses, whose profession lay in their biology? What about figures like "Moll" Davis (1648-1708), an actress and entertainer who became the mistress of Charles II? She left his service with a handsome pension and made a respectable marriage which allowed her to pursue her passion for music. Her daughter by the King married into royalty. Ledoux notes that brothel-keepers or madams, often called "Mothers," generally started their lives as prostitutes and, when they aged out of that profession, often moved up into management. In that environment, they raised children, who sometimes followed in their footsteps. What about domestics, the floor scrubbers, cooks and chambermaids who either had motherhood thrust upon them or made happily productive and reproductive marriages? This cohort is well-represented in literature and there are also substantial historical studies of servants, but the topic is not mined-out. From my own research, I know that in Scotland, some of these female servants were socially accepted, with their male children becoming factors on estates and having honorable military careers. In her memoir, Elizabeth Grant of Rothiemurchus (1797-1885) tells of Sandy Duncan, who was the son of a cook. The father's lawful wife was kind to the boy's biological mother and raised Sandy with her own children—to quote Grant, "as much as lay in her power [she] acted a

mother's part by him." Might there be many examples of a Mrs. Duncan figure, a mother in her own right who understood that motherhood continued long after pregnancy and lactation?

Here's hoping that Ellen Ledoux will both continue her investigation in the fertile area of the productive and reproductive female and inspire other researchers to do the same! It's a rich topic!

Frances B. Singh
Emerita, Hostos Community College

**Author's note:* Costume and textile historians have found evidence in print culture that women adapted their usual clothing to accommodate their pregnant and nursing bodies. Elite women exchanged information about new fashionable attire for maternity wear. Emily Fitzgerald, Countess of Kildare (1731-1814), gave birth to 22 children. Her London-based provider offered her details of the latest London fashions for women in the family way and executed commissions on her behalf. By 1814 a number of Belfast and Dublin retailers advertised that they carried a readymade, all-in-one nursing and morning dress. Such a dress may be the source of Gillray's caricature. See Emma O'Toole, "Dressing the Expectant Mother: Maternity Fashion in Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth-Century Ireland." *Women's History: The Journal of the Women's History Network,* 2, no. 5 (Summer 2016): 26-33.

Chelsea Phillips. ***Carrying All Before Her: Celebrity Pregnancy and the London Stage, 1689-1800***. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2022. Pp. ix + 287; 15 b/w illus.; bibliography; index. ISBN: 978-1-64453-248-5; paperback, $38.95.

Using case studies of six actresses who were celebrities of the British theaters, Chelsea Phillip's *Carrying All Before: Celebrity Pregnancy and the London Stage, 1689-1800,* offers significant new contributions to the cultural history of women's work, the constructs of the female body, non-monarchical female celebrity, and the British economy. Phillips ably combines previous studies by Nussbaum, Todd, Bowers, Helen Brooks and Milhous among others, of women in the theater, the gendering of labor, and the social significance and reading of the female body to explore how the actresses monetized their lives and influence the economics of theatrical entertainment across the late seventeenth through the eighteenth centuries. *Carrying All Before Her* focuses on the periods in which celebrity actresses Susanna Mountfort Verbruggen, Anne Oldfield, Susannah Cibber, George Anne Bellamy, Sarah Siddons, and Dorothy Jordan were pregnant while continuing to act. She also considers theater-goers' responses, and how the theater managers, particularly David Garrick and Richard Brinsley Sheridan, accommodated and retained their stars through adjustments to roles, numbers of performances, and compensation. This interesting study offers fresh insights and analysis that will appeal to readers new to the subject as well as to those familiar with previous studies of women on stage.

Framed by an Introduction and a Conclusion that connect contemporary celebrity pregnancies and popular culture, the case studies are arranged chronologically and follow a generally consistent internal organization, which makes

the book easy to follow. This is necessary and important in conveying the depth of each woman's life, career and reputations as associated with their periods of pregnancy and evolving motherhood. What is immediately striking about the study is the sheer number of children these women carried while working full time and sometimes as the primary financial support of their families. It is somewhat astounding to consider that Dorothy Jordan, subject of the last case study, was mother to 13 children, born between 1782 and 1807. Of the six actresses studied, Sarah Siddons, mother of seven, is probably the best known and most often studied, and among those who incorporated their own children into supporting acting roles when they were babies or young infants. To help readers "see" these female stage stars, Phillips includes 15 illustrations ranging from idealized formal portraiture to satirical engravings. A significant resource for *Carrying All Before Her* was the Folger Shakespeare Library which houses primary theater business records, play texts, early histories, correspondence and contemporary biographical and historical studies of the performers and the theater culture as well as visual arts and theatrical ephemera. Notes support each chapter. There is an appendix listing the actress, her children, their year of birth and christening date when known, extensive bibliography, and a general index.

The title of the book is a quote on Sarah Siddons by George, Viscount Deerhurst (later 7th Earl of Coventry and Lord Lt of Worcestershire from 1809) as rendered by Hester Thrale Piozzi in 1785. Piozzi relayed that in a discussion about Siddons' decision to play her signature Lady Macbeth while visibly pregnant, he said, 'She thinks I suppose to carry all before her' (153). Though Phillips does not interrogate Deerhurst as a commentator, but suggests that Piozzi may have been revisiting a common complaint about Siddons putting her career "before her" pregnancies, Deerhurst may have been sensitive to this public display of pregnancy for personal reasons his listeners would have known. His 1777 elopement with Lady Catherine Henley led to his estrangement with his father, over not just the wedding but also the probability Lady Henley was pregnant with their only child, a daughter, raised by fostering relatives. When Catherine died in 1779, Deerhurst remarried in 1783, and started his new family in 1784. From then until 1797, he and his wife had five children, so he was acquainted on multiple levels with the reputational impacts of female reproduction. Thus, the cleverness Piozzi praises in her retelling is multilayered and evocative of larger cultural interpretations of female celebrity and calling attention to the pregnant body.

Phillips begins her investigation with a summary of the experience of American theater performer, Audra McDonald's announcement of her pregnancy while starring in a Broadway play, for which she would eventually win a Tony Award. This anecdote shows that the connections between pregnancy, stardom, and the business of the theater have not changed much since the days that Susanna Mountfort Verbruggen took to the stage. McDonald, like her theatrical foremothers, performed in a demanding role in a musical that includes tap dancing while pregnant.

Phillips develops her analytical framework in the Introduction establishing the relationship between the personal impact of pregnancy on the public role of the actress, the complexities of the idea of pregnancy as an agent of change not just on the woman and her body and life, but also on the economics of her stardom and the work of others. Notably, because of changes to her physical body, theater managers were forced to change the acting companies' repertories, the

number of nights the celebrity actress could perform, and when plays could be revived or debuted. Additional expenses the pregnancy caused were the creation of new or altered costumes to accommodate the actresses' physical needs and management's decision to continue to pay the celebrity while on what we would call maternity leave, whether for a live birth, a miscarriage or bedrest/postpartum complications. If the managers did not seem to show sufficient compassion or awareness of the actresses' physical condition while pregnant, they could expect criticism in the popular press and conversations with husbands or lovers on how to improve working conditions. The press was a key voice for the audiences in suggesting what roles should be postponed or how soon after delivery their star should resume work.

Chapter 1 begins the analysis of the interwoven nature of the actress, her body, her pregnant body, and the economic and social capital of pregnancy and a professional career with the experiences of Susanna Mountfort Verbruggen (1666-1703) and Anne Oldfield (1683-1730). Verbruggen was married twice, first to William Mountfort in 1686 with whom she had four children. After his death in 1692 (though the text unfortunately reads "1792"), the actress remarried in 1694 to John Verbruggen. She died in 1703 after the birth of her likely only child with him. Both her husbands were colleagues in the acting companies where she was also employed. Because her daughter Susanna (known as Susan) Mountfort (b. 1690) became an actress, Phillips refers to Susanna the elder as Mountfort Verbruggen in the book.

Mountfort Verbruggen was a well-respected comic actress whose skill was notably praised in Colley Cibber's autobiography. Cibber records her use of her whole body as well as her gestures and voice in creating a range of female comic characters of different ages and backgrounds. She totaled 62 roles across her career, yet her marriage to Mountfort included one pregnancy per year from 1690 to 1693. Two daughters survived to be christened in 1690 and 1693. In the spring of 1703, she gave birth to a son by Verbruggen, and died in the summer from complications, followed by her son Lewis in October. She was 37 at the time of her death. Women then did not have reliable knowledge about how to manage healthy intervals between pregnancies, systematic access to good quality health care, and had no option to stop working or take a leave of absence to accommodate pregnancy.

Phillips establishes that the majority of the female celebrities stopped working at their third trimester, or, if they continued, took much less demanding roles such as reciting an afterpiece or playing an older character whose role required limited physicality. While Phillips does not draw this out, readers have to consider how uncomfortable it would be to perform two shows a night, acting in the traditional method of the period that required the use of the whole body for physical comedy and for tragedy the body and the emotions while standing on swollen feet with an aching back at the least. Dene Barnett's 1987 *The Art of the Gesture: The Practices and Principles of 18th Century Acting* is a helpful analysis of the expectations for the enlivening of dramatic characters that speaks to kinetics of acting in the period that required a mental and physical exertion to achieve the frisson audiences desired. For example, about Susannah Cibber, Philips remarks, "On stage she wept, trembled, blushed and sighed" which prefigured her engagement in a change in acting style that would focus on demonstrating "emotional and physical vulnerabilities" (74).

In this chapter, Phillips implements a pattern of using a prior critic's inter-

pretation or lack thereof about the actress's pregnant body as a way of adding layers to the inherent complexity associated with the play and the female player, such as when the actress was supposed to be a virgin, but was clearly not. Because Mountfort Verbruggen was a comedienne whose shape changing literally and in character lent itself to the grotesque (as in breeches roles), audiences had an easier time with tight costumes and double entendres in dialog, which they could not so easily embrace with the pregnant tragedienne, Anne Oldfield.

Oldfield and Mountfort Verbruggen were both members of the Drury Lane Company from 1699 to the latter's death in 1703. Cibber's autobiography is also a source for information on Oldfield's theatrical career. She began to flourish after her colleague's death and by 1712 was performing in tragedy as well as stock comic parts. Unlike her colleague, Oldfield was unmarried though in long-term relationships with Arthur Maynwaring, MP from 1703 to 1712, that resulted in two known children. When he died in 1712, she appears to have been pregnant with a child born in or stillborn in the spring of 1713. In 1714, Oldfield entered into another relationship with the Duke of Marlborough's nephew, Lieutenant-General Charles Churchill, which yielded one son born in 1720. Theater records show that this child, born when Oldfield was thirty-seven, required her to alter her performing and availability. Also, unlike Mountfort Verbruggen, Oldfield's economic independence allowed her to manage her own money, children and estate, which was significant at her death in 1730.

Phillips chooses for analysis Oldfield's 1712-13 season when she developed her theatrical identity as a tragic heroine. Theater audiences found themselves forced into accepting her private life in order to embrace the fervor of grief and penitence in her tragic roles. For this, Oldfield used her casting as Andromache in Ambrose Philip's *The Distressed Mother* (1712) as the primary vehicle for controlling her private and public reputations. Audiences found resonances in Oldfield's personal life and her leveraging of the Marlborough circle with the story of Andromache's efforts to assure her son's and her future at the close of the classical tale (as told by Edmund Curll in a 1731 memoir).

Phillips provides a thorough analysis of the solidification of Oldfield's private life as a single mother in her Andromache and how she used her roles to control the reception of her pregnancies by theater patrons. Similarly her casting as Marcia in Joseph Addison's *Cato* for the 1712-13 season furthered her ability to draw crowds to see her as a tragic virgin, thus rewriting her status as an unwed single mother who was both "stoic and devoted" to the well being of her children and the memory of her lover (66). Monetizing her body as a performer, Oldfield managed her reputation through associations with noble and heroic versions of nationalist motherhood using the power of her gestures to evoke grief and sympathy for herself and her character. Thus, the union of her on and off stage life minimized the grotesque in her personal narrative through her public versions of spousal-style loyalty and devoted motherhood from the stage to the pit.

Chapter 2 charts the impact of pregnancy as maternal labor on the material labor of the theater in the careers of Susannah Cibber (1714-1766) and George Anne Bellamy (ca. 1731-1788). Here Phillips shifts the focus from the construct of the grotesque to the relationship of their pregnancies and careers to the "culture of sensibility" which she describes as "open expression of emotion and receptivity and sympathy to the suffering of others as a sign of moral worth" (71). Cibber, as perceived by David Garrick, emerges as an advocate for her

professional career and her value to his theater. During her career, Cibber had four children born between 1725 and 1749/50 with two partners- first her husband, Theophilus Cibber and then her lover, William Sloper. Theophilus Cibber was an abusive gambler, always in debt, and he "encouraged the relationship, exchanging his wife's body and sexual labor for money to ease his gambling debts" (82). After suing Sloper for adultery, using his pregnant wife for evidence in 1738, Theophilus effectively forced Susannah Cibber into being seen as a commodity. She, in turn, asserted her reputation by leveraging her professional value to the entertainment industry and the strengths of her stardom, which the law supported as of higher value than her own self. As such, she carried before her affair with Sloper, their children, and the social construct of being "owned" for her reproductive and economic labor by her husband, for which Sloper paid the fines awarded by the court for adultery.

Phillips applies the artistic concept of tenebrism in her reading of Cibber's career, which included performing in Handel's *Messiah*, playing Desdemona in *Othello*, and Andromache in *The Distressed Mother*, roles where Oldfield displayed successfully a tragic but strategic version of motherhood. Through tenebrism, Phillips suggests Cibber was able to control the audience's gaze between the light and shadows of her personal life, using the darkness of her Cibber-Slope relationships to create the case for the heightened need for their understanding as evoked through her tragic theatrical roles (77).

The second part of Chapter 2 studies George Anne Bellamy (ca. 1731-1788), mother of four between 1749 and 1756. Bellamy worked at Drury Lane and Covent Garden, overlapping and competing with Cibber. Bellamy's performances made theatergoers "crumble" with emotion as she "transfigured sensibility to profit" (93). Because Bellamy was unmarried, she controlled her own body and her profitability making the decision to travel between theaters in London, Dublin, and Edinburgh, though she apparently did not earn enough as she was imprisoned for debt, an event that led to her publishing her celebrity memoir in 1785.

Among her better-known roles were Juliet in *Romeo and Juliet*, Imoinda in *Oroonoko*, Cordelia in *King Lear*, and the eponymous role of Cleone in the 1758 staging of Robert Dodsley's play (100, 106). Bellamy managed her pregnancies on the seasons model, retiring from the stage after her first and returning during her fourth. She was prized in her mother roles for her emotional excesses of floods of tears and grief racked recitations of her lines. Bellamy was not immune or able to separate her affairs with George Montgomery Metham and John Calcraft and the children they shared. The tenebrism of Cibber did not cross town to her rival, as the darkness of Bellamy's death in poverty, her time in prison, and the re-homing of her Metham children as she pursued her acting career cast more darkness on her theatrical gifts. Theatergoers demanded much of their stars.

The story of Sarah Siddons (1755-1831) as a pregnant performer is the focus of Chapter 3. This well-documented performer claimed Lady Macbeth as a signature role and challenged the way this character could be read as "unsexed" or when, played while pregnant, as doomed to miscarry or loose the child adding extra dimension to tragic status. Phillips narrows her analysis of Siddons to a period she calls Siddons' London pregnancies (115). She was the mother of seven, from 1774; the last two of her children, George and Cecilia were born in 1785 and 1794. Here Phillips does address the patronage of the

royal couple of the Queen of Tragedy to draw the connections between the Queen's validation of Siddons as a performer and a "respectable woman", sending her gifts to offer her comforts during pregnancy, and arranging five, highly valuable, command performances (120). Siddons's frisson was considered a "luxury" in the depth of feeling she produced in her tragic heroines to the extent that she was deemed an icon, a role model, and able to evoke the sublimity of emotion on an epic scale (123). By the time of her last pregnancies, Siddons's reputation as a mother and a wife created a different economic expectation for her stardom as well as for her working conditions. When she joined the Drury Lane company, in her first season of 1782-3, she generated twice as much in receipts per night than others, for a total of £10,000 net (about $400,000 today), the most since Sheridan took over the theater in 1776 (126).

Because this chapter is adapted from Phillips' prior monograph on Siddons as Lady Macbeth, it is focused on her valuable reading of how the pregnant actress changes the way the character of Lady Macbeth and her actions are interpreted, which was apparent to the playgoers who saw her in the 1780s and 1790s. Phillips uses the voice of Mary Tickell (1758-1787) through her manuscript letters from 1785-87 to her sister Elizabeth Sheridan (1754-1792), housed at the Folger Library to describe the impact of this highly charged refashioning of the language and narrative of the play. From a business perspective, the pregnant Siddons when she took maternity leave was a costly loss (144).

The 1794 staging of *Macbeth* was a "major new production" in the newly reopened Drury Lane Theater (151) to accommodate her addition of the roles of Katherine in *Henry VIII* and Volumina in *Coriolanus* in 1789, opposite John Philip Kemble, her brother, in the title role. This production of *Coriolanus* provided Siddons with the status of mother of the Britannia (147). First carrying then giving birth to Cecilia in July 1794 was draining on her despite that she had a well known and experienced accoucheur, a profession which was a key part of the birthing network that was increasingly formalized after 1775 when birth rates were rising after an extended period of child mortality (see Alexandra Shepherd, *'Working Mothers' in Eighteenth-Century London, History Workshop Journal*, v 96 Autumn 2023, 1-24 and Sarah Fox, *Giving Birth in Eighteenth-century England* (Royal Historical Society, 2023). In this climate, with awareness of how difficult the birth of Cecilia had been, audiences questioned whether Siddons was driven too much by the love of money when she resumed her signature role. Siddons's 1794 performance in the play was a resounding success, which emphasized both the power of an enduring theatrical character and the grittiness of the actress who portrayed her. In fact, in the larger theatrical space Drury Lane had become since its renovation with now 3600 seats to fill, Siddons's gestures were more statuesque, broader and stronger in their regal bearing, rendering it a palimpsestic experience (157).

The final case, the pregnancy narrative of Dorothy Jordan (1761-1816), makes up Chapter 4. Jordan was the mother of 13 children born between 1782 and 1807, the first three with Richard Ford, and the remaining 10 with William, Duke of Clarence. Her long-term relationship with Clarence made her the subject of satirical engravings that exaggerated the ethical tensions between her pregnancies and her profession in a way that mirrored Bellamy's reputation in her final years (190). Jordan's career happened in the tenebrism of Siddons, which further disadvantaged her ability to avoid sharp criticisms of her life despite the quality of her work as Ophelia opposite Kemble's *Hamlet* in 1796,

Cora in Sheridan's *Pizzaro* in 1799 and her comic character "Little Pickle," a breeches role in *The Spoiled Child* (1787) attributed to Isaac Bickerstaffe (1733-?). "Little Pickle" was used as her nickname in some engravings to suggest she was "spoiled." Jordan's pregnancy narrative shows how the structure of the theater business had adapted to the needs of their superstars with the earning of full salaries, as much time off before, during and after pregnancy and delivery as was needed, a reduced performance schedule, changes in roles regardless of who had been already cast in them, and new and better looking costumes to show no diminishment in talent or value by having given birth. Actresses were sometimes confident enough of their value to the industry to negotiate the careers they wanted, and, as such, exercised the privileges of nobility without needing it. However, because her pregnancies of the 1780s and 1790s were straining on her body, Jordan saw her best comic roles deleted from the Drury Lane season and she was advised at least once (after a carriage accident) to remain calm to safeguard her pregnancy.

Like Siddons, Jordan has a complicate relationship with her body, her characters and her career. The difference in their receptions and successes had much to do with their marital status. While being an unmarried female celebrity performer had been somewhat tolerated in the eighteenth century, by the early nineteenth, Jordan was at the start of another cultural reappropriating of the working female body signaled by the petition of women in support of Queen Caroline when George IV attempted to try her for adultery (205). In 1811 Jordan saw her relationship with Clarence end, discarded five years before her death in France, without status and alone.

Phillips returns in the Conclusion to the public and the commercial reaction to the pregnant celebrity body with a look at how Beyoncé Knowles Carter revealed her pregnancy and leveraged it to enhance her reputation. The bookending of McDonald and Carter stresses the consistencies over time in managing the transgressive nature of womanhood expressed in pregnancy. In summarizing her case studies, Phillips conjectures the responses of audiences when gazing on the performing bodies of pregnant celebrities.

My only critique of the study applies to the Introduction, and especially in the section headed "Pregnancy and Social Expectations." I would have liked an acknowledgment of the overarching significance of pregnancy to the monarchy as a whole. In the period, Queen Anne suffered seventeen miscarriages and successors had many children: George I (five), George II (eight), and George III (15). Pregnant female celebrities were often on the stage, whom the public treated as theatrical "royalty" and whose babies were sometimes delivered by the Queen's own male midwife. That royal and noble households, subject to broad cultural scrutiny, frequently mixed legitimate with illegitimate children like these theatrical families normalized the verisimilitude of pregnant celebrities and celebrity actresses. Just as the monarchy could not escape, and, in fact, depended on successful maternity, the careers of these celebrity actresses reinforced the monarchy of the theater in their stardom. Further, since the expertise of royal birthing was carried out in a confine with an audience of witnesses to the actual event, the monarchs and the celebrities shared the stage of pregnancy, which involved a community participating in the "season" of conception to delivery. This connection would have added to the picture she has so ably painted of the significance of pregnancy as a socio-political and economic construct, but my observations in no way detract from her successful work here.

Phillips' monograph is a valuable addition to theater and performance studies. The case studies approach makes it easy to follow each celebrity's life and career. She reiterates a core of key concepts about the courageous lives these actresses lived balancing motherhood with their professional careers. Her work inspires further consideration of how audiences articulated, through their participation in the theater and commentaries on the celebrity actresses' pregnancies and private lives, the desire to manage and to protect them from the impact of reproductive and productive acts within the economies of society.

Beverly Schneller,
Governors State University

***The Cambridge Edition of the Correspondence of Daniel Defoe*. Edited by Nicholas Seager, with Marc Microwsky and Andreas K. E. Mueller as Associate Editors**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, [December] 2022. Pp. xciii + 921 pp.; 11 illustrations; bibliography; chronology; index. ISBN: 978-1-107-13309-9: hardcover: $120.00.

Despite being a major author, Defoe is intriguingly mysterious, a shape-shifter hidden behind anonymity and pseudonyms. While he has been the subject of many good biographies, those who are curious can study his correspondence: its newest editor offers 245 letters by Defoe and 33 to him. The majority of the letters, 186 of them, are from Defoe to his employer and patron, the politician and minister Robert Harley (only three are from Harley to Defoe). These dating from 1703-14 with those to other politicians, especially Charles Delafaye, Undersecretary of State, from 1718-20, have been closely examined in arguments regarding Defoe's principles, both moral and political, as well as for insights into political divisions and developments. But there are a handful of letters late in his life that are touchingly personal, even pathetic, such as that to his beloved daughter Sophia 9 June 1729 and that addressed to her husband, Henry Baker (but surely to both as the plural "breasts" indicates--Defoe's letters were usually expected to be shared). These two and others written during his painful last years will touch all who have read Defoe with gratitude. Despite Defoe's huge correspondence, most of it lost, the letter to Sophia is the only extant letter to a woman--there are none to his wife (Mary) of nearly five decades. Defoe's letters tend to be forthright, but the headnotes and the endnotes' commentary by Nicholas Seager allow one to understand them whenever they are obscure or require biographical or political context. One can also compare one's own interpretations of Defoe's rhetorical intents and motivations to those of biographers like Paula Backscheider, Max Novak, and John Richetti (e.g., how did Defoe feel about his son-in-law?)

This edition has been praised by reviewers, such as in *TLS* and *Review of English Studies*, and, significantly, used copies are selling for more than the original list price. Barring the discovery of many letters, it will be the definitive edition for a lifetime, and any successor is unlikely to contain a better introduction. It is humbling to study such a magisterial and exemplary edition. Professor Nicholas Seager began the project with Andreas Mueller, who bowed out, and then Marc Microwsky signed on to help complete the edition. Seager's acknowledgement thanks many distinguished colleagues--textual scholars as

well as Defoe specialists--whom he turned to for assistance. Also, Seager thanks for support Keele University and several funders, which perhaps helps account for the low price for an essential hardbound volume of over a thousand pages. The edition offers fulsome statements of editorial principles, a chronology with columns for Defoe's life and writings and another for historical events and others' publications, the calendar of letters, and then the introduction to the edition, delving into such topics as "The Scope and Significance of Defoe's Correspondence," "Defoe's Epistolary Styles and Personality," "Missing Letters," and "Publication and Reception History," the last being a fascinating account of how Defoe's reputation changed as letters appeared shedding light on him. (Here and in his headnotes and comments to letters--as pp. 696-97,--Seager objectively offers both sides of the case against Defoe for servility and duplicity.) Those new to Defoe studies will want to closely examine the nine pages of abbreviations for a list of important sources on Defoe.

Much has been made of how Seager's edition improves upon the texts offered by the last edition, George Harris Healey's *The Letters of Daniel Defoe* (Clarendon, 1955). For instance, Margarette Lincoln in the *TLS* noted that "Seager scrupulously corrects mistranscriptions and supplies omissions in previous printings." This might suggest that Healey's edition is particularly faulty, but that first inclusive edition, containing over 90% of what is in the new edition, seems relatively accurate from my collations, and provided a good foundation for Seager's improved and more valuable edition. Seager has been too thorough in searching out relevant scholarship to neglect the edition his supersedes. Healey's edition was much praised for reproducing well traced holographs and finding four newly printed letters by Defoe and two to him; reviewers, as in *The English Historical Review*, found the notes informative and approved of Healey's "extending some of the contractions and altering the punctuation where clarity so required" (Mark A. Thomson, 71, no. 279 [April, 1956], 296). Since Healey, seven decades of scholarship have allowed better glosses and more refined conjectures about dates (e.g., Healey conjectures c. 6 Nov. 1705 and c. March-April 1706 for Seager's #44-45, which he dates c. 15 Nov. and c. Jan.-April). In all, Seager changes the proposed dates for 15 letters and offers the first dating for seven others. The biggest improvements in the texts arise from a more rigorous transcription and the addition of not only new letters but the use of holographs and manuscripts untraced by Healey. Seager boasts having transcribed 218 holographs of Defoe's 235 letters (93% of them). The fuller reproduction of Defoe's orthography, diacritical markings, abbreviations, spellings, and diverse handwriting practices allows insight into what compositors received and may figure in arguments about textual readings or authorship attributions. For instance, a downward accentual mark over Defoe's "c" in "Mencon" signifies "Mention," and the macron mark used usually over long vowels was put by Defoe over consonants to signal doubling. Healey understandably neglected such, but he also neglected to record crossouts and interlinear words. Healey placed commentary notes in the foot and had no sequence for textual notes. But Seager has a separate series of textual notes at the foot, besides commentary notes after the letter. The introduction indicates what are silently converted or regularized. Seager also laid out the letters to reflect Defoe's lineation and spacings. His introduction has a section on the "Material Letter" that addresses Defoe's presentation in letter (lxxiii-lxxx), one of several well developed topics rarely offered in editions of letters.

There are 24 additions to the Healey edition: first, Robert Harley to Defoe, 21 Nov 1706 (published by Backscheider in 1988); two letters probably from January 1707 to Rev. James Webster published in Defoe's 1707 tract *Passion and Prejudice;* a receipt, partly in Defoe's hand, for books purchased by the Duke of Queensbury, 2 April 1707; extracts from the Scottish Lord Belhaven's (John Hamilton's) letter to Defoe from April-May printed in Defoe's *Review* (10 July 1708) in a eulogy to the late Lord; letters to Sidney Godolphin, 1st Earl Godolphin, on 26 and 29 June and 3 July 1708 (untraced and based on "modern handwritten copy" in Lincolnshire County Archives); three letters--the 9th to 11th additions--from John Russell in Edinburgh to Defoe at his home in Newington on 8 June, 22 Aug, and 27 Sept 1710 (scribal copies at NLS); a cipher list, endorsed by Harley on 10 October 1710; nine scribal copies of Russell's letters to Defoe in 1711 (dated from 19 April to 13 December); a petition to Queen Anne for pardon from October-November 1713 (National Archives); and finally, the 23rd-24th additions, undated notes to Delafaye, regarding their meeting, from sometime in 1718-20, which Seager thinks most likely from Sept. 1719 (copies in Nat Archives). So, Seager adds two dozen letters, half of which are reports to Defoe from Russell in Scotland. Several by Defoe are taken from his publications; one is a list, and another is a receipt. Three are from modern transcripts of untraced originals. As in Healey, no letters are known from 1709, 1715-6, 1721-27, and possibly 1719. Still, this edition includes six letters by Defoe and two to him that have never been published.

The edition includes photographs of eight Defoe holographs (including two not traced by Healey), and six are reproduced crisply enough for comparison to Healey's and the Seager's texts, predictably confirming that Seager's are more faithful to the originals. (The reproductions of #16 and 43, though faint, are useful for illustrating points about physical layout of the letters.) Scholars who have been tortured 18C handwriting will be surprised on seeing Defoe's penmanship. Backscheider notes that his hand "remained remarkably small, firm, and clear" through his last letter (527; Novak says the same, 689). Defoe's handwriting has the correctness and regularity of a scribe's, which lent itself to the accuracy of the transcriptions (though his final "t," uncrossed, looks like an "e"). The photograph of Defoe's letter of 7 June 1720 to Delafaye shows that Healey--or George Aitken if he reprinted the earlier transcription--has transcribed it without blunders--unless there is no comma after "not" in the last paragraph, not seen in the photograph but also present in Seager's transcription. Poor Seager! Normally only the editor knows how to transcribe a holograph, relying on insight from puzzling over many examples of the author's hand; but, with Defoe, everybody can think they're literate! (Of course, it is reckless to rely on a photo to compare the transcriptions.) As noted, Seager has tried to see all extant originals, and he has transcribed holographs untraced by Healey.

There are few substantive variants between transcriptions of Healey and of Seager, but accidental variants are common. Most involve either spelling, caused by different editorial aims, or case, that is, decisions about whether initial letters are upper- or lowercase. Punctuation variants are rare. In the first letter, two-pages to Daniel Finch, second Earl of Nottingham and then Secretary of State for the South (9 January 1703)--illustrated in the CUP edition, Healey expands abbreviations and superscripts; his transcription differs in about a dozen instances of capitalization and a half dozen punctuation marks. Seager's transcription seems in these instances faithful to the holograph. My only ques-

tion here is whether Seager intentionally added a comma after "My Lord" (p. 4, up five lines) that seems not in the original. In Defoe's letter to Harley of 11 September 1707 (#121 of Seager) there is the substantive error "Ordr" in Healey for the plural in the original and roughly 20 punctuation variants (apostrophes included) and only half as many variants in capitalization. In this as in the last discussed, the two editors interpret differently letters that could be judged either way, especially "a," "s," and "w." Seager appears to need show a comma after "want" in the 14th line and to remove the apostrophe in "Appear'd" in l. 18. On rare occasions he silently emends punctuation, as when none occurs at the end of a paragraph.

Seager offers a photograph of Defoe's one-page letter to Harley on 26 August 1714, a letter previously published in HMC's Portland Papers. Healey's text has eight punctuation variants from the original; none apparently occur in Seager's. Oddly Seager has taken the liberty to create a new line after "I am" in the signature, where only a wide horizontal space occurs before the next word--perhaps supposing that Defoe had begun a new line if he had more paper below the signature (818-19). Another of my nitpicks involves a recurrent phrase in footnotes as that on p. 818: "may] *following illegible word cancelled*"--"may" doesn't follow the cancelled word but is followed by it. A photograph of the first page with nearly all Defoe's letter of 7 June 1720 to Charles Delafaye reveals no variants from the original in Seager's text unless he wrongly adds a comma after "not" (852.1). Incidentally, this is the letter where Defoe protests to the Undersecretary that he is not to blame for the seditious material in the *Weekly Journal* that Nathaniel Mist has been arrested for--Defoe remarks "my whole study was to keep [offensive] things Out of the [Tory] paper."

There is greater difference between editions in a few letters where Seager saw the holograph and Healey reprinted another's transcription. This is true for that to James Stanhope of 8 March 1710 (Seager's #140), which Healey took from a history by G. M. Trevelyan. Healey's text begins "As it is my misfortune not to have the honour . . . so at this time"; and Seager's, "As it is My missfortune Not to have The honor . . . So at This Time" in Seager. Seager avoids 11 substantive variants in Healey (in para. 3: "Made up" is rendered "made ^" in Healey; "the Rabble" is made "this rabble"'; and "you find" becomes "I find" (Healey 265 and Seager 476-77).

The last extant letter by Defoe, that to Henry Baker and Defoe's daughter on 12 August 1730, was untraced by Healey, who relied on its publication in Walter Wilson's *Memoirs of the Life* (1830), but Seager offers from the Bodleian "a traced copy in Defoe's hand" (#278, 875-881). Seager's text eliminates countless accidental variants, including the failure to honor paragraph indentations. In a short snippet from Healey quoted in Novak's biography occur three substantive variants: "dealings" for "Dealing"; "into his" for "unto his" and "but Suffers" for "and Suffres" (Seager, p. 876).

In short, all future references to Defoe's correspondence should refer to Seager, not Healey, and all institutions offering English or history degrees should have the edition in their libraries. I imagine not only Seager and his team but all engaged in Defoe studies are very proud of this edition.--J. E. May

Join Colleagues for the 2024 ECASECS in Lancaster, PA

Taking as its theme "Conflicts and Transitions in the Global Eighteenth Century," the 2024 ECASECS annual meeting is just around the corner. We hope that you will decide to join us if you do not already have it on your calendar. We will convene at the Holiday Inn Downtown Lancaster in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, from the evening of October 31st through late afternoon on Saturday November 2nd. Below are highlights and reminders, but see the conference website for full details:

https://ecasecs2024conference.wordpress.com/

If you will attend, we ask that you register as soon as possible using the link at the website. The registration fee ($130 and $25 for students and $40 for guests) includes the cost of the business lunch on Saturday. For your convenience, the registration form also contains information to renew or join ECASECS. All presenters must be members of ECASECS. Payment for the conference and, if also needed, the dues for membership, will be by check, payable to ECASECS and mailed to ECASECS Executive Secretary, Kevin Cope. His mailing address appears on the registration site after you submit the form and also on the conference website's registration page. The late registration fee ($160 regular, and $50 student) begins October 22nd.

You need to reserve your hotel room at the Holiday Inn Downtown Lancaster, 25 E. Chestnut Street, by September 30th to receive the conference rate. The Group Block Name is East Central American Society for 18th Century Studies, and the Group Block Code is ECA. The reservation phone number is 888-465-4329; you should mention the Block name and Block Code. The discounted cost for parking in the hotel garage directly across the street from the hotel is $8 a day, with in-and-out privileges for hotel guests and $5 per day for those not staying at the hotel.

The 2024 meeting will open Thursday evening, October 31st, with the Aural/Oral experience in a side room in the Holiday Inn Downtown Lancaster's bar. This event, organized and hosted by Dr. Peter Staffel, will feature a reading of Fielding's *Tom Thumb*. If you wish to play a part, please contact Peter directly at plstaffel@gmail.com. Later sessions are all within the hotel's conference center on the third floor, with registration on its second floor.

We are thrilled to have Carla Mulford, Professor of English and Women, Gender, and Sexuality Studies at Penn State University-University Park, deliver the 2024 ECASECS Keynote Address, "Benjamin Franklin's Electrical Diplomacy" on Friday, November 1st. On Saturday, November 2nd, we will have the society's business lunch and then ECASECS President Dr. Jane Wessel will deliver her presidential address, "Theater Fans and their Books." After a set of afternoon panels, the conference will close with a tribute to the legacy of the late Dr. Cal (Calhoun) Winton, chaired by Dr. Beth (Elizabeth) Lambert.

If you are a graduate student presenting a paper at the meeting, please consider applying for the Society's Sven Eric Molin Prize for the best paper presented by a student. ECASECS established the Molin Prize at our meeting in October 1989 to encourage the participation of graduate students in our society. The award amount is $250. The winner will also be recognized in the *Eighteenth-Century Intelligencer*. Please contact Dr. Linda Merians, Chair of the prize committee, linda.merians @gmail.com to have your paper considered for the Molin Prize.

We will have book displays by Bucknell University Press, Clemson University Press, Lehigh University Press, and University of Delaware Press on Friday and Saturday. We are grateful: please support them in return.

While the conference ends Saturday early evening, the Lancaster area has much to recommend, and attendees may well want to take advantage of the area's attractions before heading home on Sunday. (See the article below.)

If you have any questions about the conference, please contact the 2024 ECASECS committee, Eleanor Shevlin, Jim May, and Elena Deanda Camacho at ecasecs2024@gmail.com, or directly at eshevelin @wcupa.edu; jem4@psu.edu, or edeanda2@washcoll.edu. For details and regular updates, please see the conference website: https: //ecasecs2024.wordpress.com. We hope to see as many ECASECS members, new and longstanding, as possible and look forward to welcoming all. Please use this conference as an opportunity to introduce new colleagues and students to our very collegial organization.

Eleanor F. Shevlin,
Chair, 2024 Conference Committee

For Visitors to Lancaster

Lancaster County was cut from Chester in 1729, and the town was laid out in 1734 on land sold by James Hamilton; it was incorporated as a borough in 1742, when it had about 750 inhabitants and 270 homes. It was the site of an important treaty with the Iroquois in 1744, and from 1799-1812 was the state capital. The Holiday Inn is in its historic core. In a network of one-way streets, our hotel is on East Chestnut, which runs east (E), at a corner with N. Queen, a street running N and dividing streets like Chestnut into E and W halves. The parallel street S of Chestnut is Orange and that a block N is Walnut, both running W; two blocks S is King, running E. A block E of Queen is Duke and one W is Prince (Rt. 222/272) running S downtown (the city's center is a monument where Prince crosses King). South Duke has the 18C Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Trinity (1766-94). Many 18C homes are found on N Duke, E Orange, S Queen, and E King. Many 18C homes (mostly brick federal style) are identified with photos at Visit Historic Lancaster on the WWW.

Many restaurants are close by: a block south of the Holiday on Queen is Yorgos, a bar with Greek food (this corner has a Starbuck's too). Several blocks south on Queen on the right (W) is the Central Market, America's oldest continuous market; a block below that is the Southern Market, now an international food court. From the hotel turning to left off Queen on to E. Orange you'll find The Himalayan. Another block to the south, Queen is crossed by King, which has to the left good pubs for Friday night, such as Annie Bailey's Irish Pub or Bert & the Elephant with Belgium brews on tap, or Tellus360, almost certain to have live music on the weekend.. You can walk also to several microbreweries like Lancaster Brewing, some very good restaurants like C'est La Vie near the Market, the Horse Inn, and the Belvedere (N at 402 N. Queen). You'll need to drive to Lombardo's for Italian or the Cork Hotel's grill. On Friday (1 November) the first Friday is celebrated downtown until at least 9 p.m., with shops open, including over half dozen art galleries on the 100-block of N. Prince Street (walk west on Chestnut to the next big street parallel to Queen--i.e. Prince,--then turn left). If the weather's right, the downtown should have a car-

nival atmosphere, including music.

LancasterHistory is a museum exhibiting 18C objects, MSS, and print, with a store and library; it oversees the adjacent home of President James Buchanan and an arboretum (230 N. President about a 20-minute walk from the Holiday to the WNW, down Chestnut to Marietta Ave.). Like several other area institutions in town, it participates in "Museums for All," a national initiative led by the federal agency Institute of Museum and Library Services, that provides low cost or free entry to 1300 museums nation wide to anyone receiving food assistance (four discounted entries per SNAP card). The pass reduces the entry fee to $3 for adults and makes entry free for children 17 and younger.

The campus of Franklin and Marshall College, which holds an art gallery and other resources, is about two miles NNW of our conference site. On the downtown edge of the College is the North Museum, whose basement houses a 1330 mounted bird collection, including five extinct species (it has five examples of the passenger pigeon).

One 18C historical sites in Lancaster is Rock Ford, the estate of Revolutionary War General Edward Hand. Located at the SE reach of the city, near the Conestoga Creek, at 881 Rockford Rd. Rock Ford preserves a 33-acre farm, including bank barn, on which lived and works freemen and slaves. It offers tours and exhibits. Like LancasterHistory, its material exhibitions include a lot of 18C tall clocks! Diverse furniture, silver, guns, etc. are displayed, reflecting industries thriving in 18C Lancaster (the Pennsylvania rifle helped win the war).

Less than ten miles north of Lancaster, off 272N, an expressway headed toward Reading and I-76, is the Landis Valley Village and Farm Museum (on north side of Landis Valley Road, just west of 272). It is dedicated to preserving German History, Heritage, Lifeways, and Farming. It has barns for animals, textiles, and tractors; there are farmed gardens, blacksmith shop, tinshop, museum (with exhibits on Mennonite Religion), store, etc.; there are demonstrations of working with leather, tin, etc. The museum has for decades maintained an "Heirloom Seed Project," to preserve vegetables, flowers, flax, etc. grown by the Pennsylvania Dutch since the 1700s. The farm museum is open Wed.-Saturday 9-4 and on Sundays noon to 4 p.m. Admission costs $12 and $10 for seniors and $8 for children under 12 (kids under two are free).

Nine miles north of Lancaster is the town of Lititz, near which Mennonites settled in 1717, a year with a great migration from Germany. (As early as 1711 Hans Herr led 29 Mennonite families into the county south of the present city, in Willow Street, where his 1719 house and the first church still stand.) Lititz was founded in 1756, seven years after the building of the Lititz Moravian Church; the town was for decades exclusively Moravian, with the surrounding farms occupied by Mennonites, Brethren, Lutherans, etc. The Lititz Museum's website on the town's history notes that Count Zinzendorf, who had visited Lancaster's Moravians in 1742, "named the new settlement Lititz in honor of the place in Bohemia where the followers of John Hus--founder of the Moravian faith--had formed the Moravian Church" 300 years earlier. The museum downtown (on Main St.) in the 1793 Christian Schropp home, has exhibitions on the town and congregation; the museum's costumed docents show visitors the adjacent Mueller House (1792). Nearby are other old Moravian buildings.

Also half an hour NE of Lancaster is Ephrata Cloister (at 632 W. Main St., Ephrata--near the junction of Routes 322 and 222). Seventh-Day German Baptists led by Johann Conrad Beissel settle here in 1732 as a pietist, monastic

community for both celibate sexes, with family members inhabiting homes on the periphery (at one time there were about 80 Brothers, 80 Sisters, and 200 "Householders"). The Cloister has about half a dozen preserved mid-18C buildings, besides the admissions house/museum and the store. Fine fractur works hang on display in the Saal or large community house constructed c. 1740. It's open Wed-Sat. 9-4 and Sunday 12-4; admission is $10; $9 for those 65 or older; $6 for those 4-1. It is operated by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission and supported by an "Ephrata Cloister Associates.

To see Amish farmsteads, from the east, approach Lancaster on the Old Philadelphia Pike (Rt. 340), passing through Intercourse and Bird-in-Hand, take loops on roads to the north or south to escape commercialization. Other east-west roads with farm-country are, to the south, Routes 30 passing through Paradise, or to the north Rt. 23 passing through Blue Ball and New Holland.

Never Forget Calhoun Winton

Calhoun (Cal) Winton died on 5 April 2024, with a family member at his bedside. He is survived by sons Will and Jefferys (Jay), who on occasions fetched their dad from our meetings--Cal's late wife Elizabeth sometimes attended our meetings, as did his late second wife Cynthia Putnam. Born in 1927 at Fort Benning, Cal had his sights on being a centenarian and nearly made it.

Cal enlisted in the Navy in 1944 and rose to the rank of Captain, retiring from the reserves in 1967. He took his B.A. from the Univ. of the South (1948), then took M.A. degrees at Vanderbilt and Princeton, and then his PhD at Princeton (1955), studying with Louis Landa (whom he admired) and writing his dissertation on "Richard Steele: The Political Writer." He taught at Dartmouth, the U. of Virginia, the U. of Delaware, and the U. of South Carolina, before professing English at U. of Maryland, 1975-1997. At Maryland, Cal served as the President of the Faculty Guild, Director of the Research Center for the Humanities, and Director of the Board for the Maryland Federation of Teachers. He received fellowships from American Philosophical Society (1960) and the Guggenheim Foundation (1965-66), and both the Folger and, twice, the John Carter Brown libraries, and also a Fulbright to teach 1979-80 in Ankara, Turkey.

Winton's publications were focused on Richard Steele and John Gay, with the addition later of 18C theater and book history, especially printing in southern USA. Next after his dissertation, *MLAIB* lists Winton's "Steele, the Junto, and *The Tatler* No. 4" in *MLN* 1957; "Steele and the Fall of Harley in 1714" in *PQ* 1958; and "New Documents concerning Richard Steele's Father" in *JEGP* 1959. Other articles on Swift and Gay as well as Steele precede the two volumes of his biography of Steele (*Captain Steele* in 1964 and *Sir Richard Steele, MP*, in 1970, regularly praised by scholars--Ellen Moody's remarks on them will appear here in March). He edited Steele's *The Tender Husband* for the U. of Nebraska Press series of plays (1967). He continued to work on Steele, as in essays for *DLB* volumes in 1989 and 1991, and "*The Tatler*: From Half-Sheet to Book" in *Prose Studies* 1993, and, most recently, while working on Steele's grandfather for a final book project (Linda Merians will speak of that next issue). His articles often report the results of primary research, such as "Some Manuscripts Concerning Ambrose Philips" in *ELN* 1967; "Voltaire and Sir Robert Walpole: A New Document" in *PQ* 1967; and a MS report by the Attorney General toward censoring a profane play, which he asked me to annotate and

edit: "The 'Prodigal Son' at Bartholomew Fair" in *Theatre Survey*, 1980.

His theatrical research included such articles as "The London Stage Embattled: 1695-1710" in *Tennessee Studies in Literature* 1974, "Sentimentalism and Theater Reform in the Early 18C" in *Quick Springs of Sense*, ed. by Larry Champion, 1974; "The Roman Play in the 18C" in *Studies in the Literary Imagination*, 1977; and "Dramatic Censorship" in *The London Theatre World, 1660-1800*, ed. Robert Hume, 1980; and his book *John Gay and the London Theatre* (1993). His studies of book history range from "The Colonial South Carolina Book Trade" in *Proof*, 1972, to "The Southern Printer as Agent of Change in the American Revolution" in *Agent of Change*, eds. Eleanor Shevlin et al., 2007, with such studies in between as "The Southern Book Trade in the 18C" within *A History of the Book in America*, ed. by Hugh Amory, 2000. He had the honor of surveying 1973 studies for *SEL*, 1974. Winton also wrote on subjects outside the long 18C, such as on James Dickey and Václav Havel.

As his congenial and lucid prose would suggest, Cal was one of the most likeable people we've met--it helped that he was handsome and had a lovely voice. He was very clubbable, attached enough to his alma mater to be a fundraising for Princeton into his last decade. With colleagues, he owned a racehorse! He was an active member in ASECS, SAMLA, PMLA, and SHARP. During most of his retirement he lived close to Sewanee, near lakes and woods, but able to meet friends weekly in town. In recent decades, in part while conducting research on English traders, he travelled often overseas by ship, to South Africa and more often Britain, accompanied by his son Will, who lived with him in his last years.

Cal participated in ECASECS for over five decades, during which he attended most of our meetings. He served as our President in 1986, convincing the Executive Board to provide four graduate students with a $100 grant to assist attending our 1987 meeting. In 1988 he co-chaired with Gene Hammond and Beatrice Fink our meeting at College Park. On that occasion, Cal and Liz held an evening reception at their home, an unprecedented event only once repeated thereafter (by Irma Lustig). Cal contributed to the *Intelligencer* his presidential address, reviews of books by Bill Burling and Matt Kinservik, and a memorial to his Maryland colleague Dorothy Bilik.

Many of our members are proud to speak of him as their mentor. He directed many dissertations and served on many committees. He pushed students to join ECASECS and present at its meetings. He served on my dissertation committee, helped me get into print, and wrote a recommendation that led to Rob Hume's encouraging my Penn State campus to hire me. He provided me with confidence and guidance over decades, encouraging me to write book reviews, to specialize in analytical bibliography, etc. He warned me to quit smoking and to avoid crossing swords with Howard Weinbrot over remarks on Young's satires, etc. He kept in touch via several letters a year, thus making me, a freshman comp grader, feel like I had a toe-hold in 18C studies. And he had even closer relations with some others of his former students! He himself regularly taught a composition course at Maryland--and, as a superb writer, he gave writing seminars for judges. Not surprisingly he was once honored by many former students ponying up to recognize him as a superb teacher at ASECS's website. Saturday at the end of our Lancaster meeting, Elizabeth Lambert, also a Maryland PhD mentored by Cal, will chair a roundtable paying tribute to or offering recollections of Calhoun Winton, scholar and gentleman.--J. E. May

In Memory of Gloria Eive (1936-2024)

Gloria Eive passed away aged 87 years at her home on 15 May. Born in Los Angeles, she was mother to three children and stepmother to her husband Benjamin Warwick's three children (a distinguished lawyer, he died in 2019). Gloria, a pianist, taught courses in education, humanities, and music at St. Mary's College (Moraga, California). She researched 18C Italian and Spanish music (she contributed the *Grove's Dictionary*'s entry on Paolo Tommaso Alberghi and in 2013 and 2023 gave presentations on the zarzuela form). At St. Mary's, Gloria coordinated the Liberal and Civil Studies Program until at least 2006-07. The obituary in the *San Francisco Chronicle* (naming her Gloria Warwick) notes that she was an anti-war activist, an advocate for summer workshops and camps for children, an active member in San Francisco's Early Music Society, a season-ticket-holder to the San Francisco symphony and opera for six decades, a birder, and a talented chef and gardener. As "Gloria Eive," she long compiled music studies for the *ECCB* and wrote a fair number of reviews. She attended a few ECASECS meetings in recent decades and faithfully attended SCSEC meetings, including the past spring's in Portland. Kathryn Duncan, the South-Central SECS secretary, announced Gloria's passing on email: "Gloria was a kind and generous friend to the organization and all who attended our annual conference. She organized music panels that contributed to our interdisciplinary mission and several times put together graduate student mentoring events because she cared deeply about fostering those entering the profession." She shared her smile and listened closely.

News of Members

This is the last *Intelligencer* to be printed on paper and mailed via USPS. The decline in dues-paying members and the increase in costs, mainly postage, encouraged this decision, but other considerations were global warming and the need to replace the dinosaur editing it the past 38 years. I hope that my next issue's demonstration of a PDF newsletter will encourage others or another to replace me. The freely emailed PDF text can be illustrated and won't require days spent distributing an issue by post. Many have computer skills (or their employers do) and scholarly connections that would lead to a newsletter better serving ECASECS. The many contributors to recent issues should be reassuring.

In April, following **Eleanor Shevlin**'s registration of ECASECS as a non-profit in Virginia, **Kevin Cope,** our Treasurer/Secretary, obtained a federal tax-payer number for nonprofit status. Serving under Eleanor on the conference committee has been **Elena Deanda Camacho**, who will chair our 2025 meeting at Washington College. Elena was elected Second Vice President of ASECS--congratulations also to **Olivia Sabee**, elected to ASECS's Executive Board. Also active at Washington College in planning our 2025 meeting is **Victoria Barnett-Woods**, who has organized for Lancaster a panel on Saturday concerning "Place-Based Learning: Washington College and Kiplin Hall," with ten participants from the College speaking of this program involving study of and at an historic estate in North Yorkshire. Washington College is floating our meeting as the faculty of the College of William and Mary lifted 2023's.

James Ascher, working in a project on the history of mathematics & science and of publishing at the U. of Edinburgh, flew back to speak at ASECS.

Leah Benedict (English, Kennesaw State U.) spoke at the Williamsburg meeting on the panel treating medical humanities. She works on that field as well as disability studies, science and technology, children's literature, and race & empire. We look forward to seeing her in Lancaster. **Martha Bowden**, who retired about the time Leah arrived at Kennesaw, has been organizing for the SEASECS sessions on writing pedagogical articles for publication. Given that SEASECS has a good annual edited by Joe Johnson, we are lucky to publish above her essay and syllabus. The late **T. E. D. Braun**, former ECASECS President and ASECS Affiliate Societies Coordinator, left behind shelves of academic books that his family would like someone take gratis. His daughter, Jeanne Velonis, has written to me, "He felt strongly that he wanted the resources that he had to be used by other scholars." Jeanne photographed the books and journals on the shelves of Ted's library cubicle and posted them: https://www.dropbox.com/scl/ fo/hovoyf7qlmw4s6bdt/AEZ 92Add4k6upCd5kdTgo3s?rikey=tdrf6zard3ybcjzix2hrd0vyk&st=31mlb9tk&dl=0. Anyone interested should ask Jeanne for the link (sinolev@yahoo.com). Scholars of French culture might also want to ask her about research papers left in file cabinets. **Tatiana Cancel**, working on her doctorate in art history at Penn State, speaks at Lancaster on the Marriage and Commerce panel on "Products of the Empire: Child-reading in Casta Paintings" (these depict racial groupings or castes in New Spain). **Lorna Clarke** last fall drove about 11 hours to William & Mary to participate in the 2023 conference; this year her trip is four hours closer. She'll be speaking Saturday in the closely focused panel on Burney's *The Wanderer*, chaired by **Cathy Parisian** and including **Elizabeth Porter** and new members **Susan Wood** from Nebraska and **Renee Bluesking** from Georgia. Lorna is one of our Society's--or even field's--most accomplished researchers, who has edited and researched much primary material: younger scholars might want to tap her brain.

There's a good review above by **John Scanlan** of the festschrift honoring **Greg Clingham**, all the more interesting for examining the festschrift as a genre. Both colleagues speak at Lancaster on a roundtable on Samuel Johnson, also featuring **Jack Lynch, Adam Potkay**, and two British scholars, **Phil Jones** and **Philip Smallwood.** The 29th volume of **Kevin Cope**'s annual ***1650-1850***, with 352 pp. and 61 b/w illus., was published by Bucknell UP. It includes **Deborah Kennedy**'s "Samuel Johnson and the Education of Women." Its "special feature" is the collection of essays "The Cultural Ramifications of Water in Early Modern Texts and Images," ed. by Christina Ionescu and Leigh Dillard, with six essays including Tim Erwin's "Austen's Oceans: New Contexts for *Persuasion*." The book reviews, edited by **Samara Cahill**, include **Christopher Johnson**'s reviews of both **Catherine Ingrassia**'s *Domestic Captivity and the British Subject* and *Studies in 18C Culture* 49 ed. by **Eve T. Bannet** and Roxann Wheeler; **A. W. Lee**'s review of **Jack Lynch** and Celia Barnes's ed. of Johnson's *Journey to the Western Islands* and Boswell's *Journal of a Tour*; **Susan Spencer**'s review of Kathryn Duncan's *Jane Austen and the Buddha*; and **Paul J. deGategno**'s review of Penelope J. Corfield's *The Georgians: The Deeds and Misdeeds of 18C Britain*. Vol. 28 of ***1650-1850*** had the special feature "**Irwin Primer** and Bernard Mandeville," edited by Sir Malcolm Jack. A second special subsection involves "Adaptation and Digitization in the 18C: Sterneana and Beyond," ed. by M.-C. Newbould and Helen Williams, whose essays include **Devoney Looser**'s "Linking Austen's and Sterne's Reception Journeys." Vol. 30 of *1650-1850* will appear June 2025 with contributions by

Susan Spencer, Chris Johnson, A. W. Lee, Michael Mulryan, and **Victoria Barnett-Woods**.

J. Alan Downie in his contribution to *The Oxford Handbook of Daniel Defoe*, co-edited with Nick Seager, discusses Defoe's relations with the book-trade. He thinks "scholars have made too many assumptions about the money he made out of his books and periodicals without offering documentary evidence." At the Lancaster ECASECS there is joint presentation by **Anna Foy** with **Miles Foy** on an interdisciplinary panel on refugees, a panel also with **Kevin Cope** and **Elizabeth Powers**. **Mascha Hansen** will participate in the Burney Society's London meeting in June, talking about "male-female friends at the Court of Queen Charlotte (May Hamilton and the Prince of Wales, Frances Burney and Stephen Digby)," and last spring she was revising an essay on "Court Literacy" (on the importance of reading at court). This summer will be published an article Mascha wrote about Shakespeare's influence on Frances as well as Sarah Harriet Burney. She's trying to raise grant funds to put the letters of Queen Charlotte on the WWW. **Ian Higgins** retired recently from The Australian National University and is now an Honorary Reader there. He continues to work on The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Jonathan Swift and to publish essays on Swift. He has reviews forthcoming on Leith Davis, *Mediating Cultural Memory in Britain and Ireland* (2022) in *The Scriblerian* and on **Melvyn New** and **Anthony W. Lee** (eds), *Notes on Footnotes* (2023) in *The Shandean*. Co-editor **Melanie Holm** and her colleagues edited for Penn State UP a double issue of *The Scriblerian*, 56, nos. 1-2 (2023). It includes **Eve T. Bannet**'s review of *Morning Stars: Biography and Celebrity in 18C Britain*, ed. by **Nora Nachumi** and **Kristina Straub**; **Jacob Sider Jost**'s review of Spencer Jackson's *We are Kings: Political Theology and the Making of a Modern Individual*; **James May**'s of *One Thousand Books Famous in Typography* ("*Cartography*" in the heading is a typo); **Nora Nachumi**'s of *The World of Elizabeth Inchbald: Essays on Literature, Culture, and Theatre in the Long 18C*, ed. by Daniel J. Ennis and E. Joe Johnson; **Melvyn New**'s of Shane Herron's *Irony and Earnestness in 18C Literature: Dimensions of Satire and Solemnity*; **Adam Potkay**'s of Samuel Fleischacker's *Being Me Being You: Adam Smith and Empathy;* **Philip Smallwood**'s of Joseph Hone's *Alexander Pope in the Making*; **Robert Walker**'s three reviews: of **Ashley Marshall'**s *Political Journalism in London, 1695-1720*; of *The World as It Goes, A Comedy* by Hannah Cowley; and of E. Wesley Reynolds's *Coffeehouse Culture in the Atlantic World, 1650-1789*; **Jane Wessel**'s reviews of both *Charles Macklin and the Theatres of London* ed. by Ian Newman and David O'Shaughnessy, and of Daniel Gustafson's *Lothario's Corpse: Libertine Drama and the Long-Running Restoration, 1700-1832*. The issue also includes Neil Guthrie's review of **Catherine Ingrassia**'s *Domestic Captivity and the British Subject, 1660-1750*, reviewed here in March, and James May's recurrent "Scribleriana Transferred: Manuscripts and Printed Books, 2021-23." **A. W. Lee**--who reviewed *The Age of Johnson*, vol. 24 (2021), ed. by **Jack Lynch** and **J. T. Scanlan**--has since become editor of *Scriblerian*, preparing 57, no. 1 for the press. But I must return to Catherine's *Domestic Captivity* to note that it is reviewed by Dallin Lewis in the April issue of *Eighteenth-Century Life*, where also is reviewed **Jane Wessel**'s *Owning Performance, Performing Ownership: Literary Property on the 18C British Stage*. *ECL*, ed. by **Cedric Reverand**, gave its fall issue to papers from the 17th David Nichol Smith Seminar, focused on The Dark Enlightenment. Don-John Dugas, former

student of **Rob Hume**, replied to remarks in the last issue: Rob "was as fine a mentor as he was a scholar." And Rick Taylor returned the same sentiments.

Christopher Johnson, who is Book Review Editor for the SEASECS annual *New Perspectives*, has founded *Carolina Currents: Studies in South Carolina Culture*, an annual whose first volume appeared in March. The U. of South Carolina Press offers it as an ebook with open access or the paperback at $24.99. Supported by Chris's own Francis Marion U and the U of So. Carolina Libraries, it will run articles, stories, and reviews related to the state's past and present. Chris is preparing a critical edition of Philip Doddridge's *The Life of Colonel James Gardiner* (1747), which he thinks an interesting text for discussing the fusion of biography and fiction. We are happy to welcome **Philip Jones,** chair of the Johnson Society of Litchfield and author of *Reading Samuel Johnson: Reception and Reputation, 1750-1970* (Clemson UP, Dec. 2023; 320 pp.). Phil's book examines "how Samuel Johnson was assimilated by later writers, ranging from James Boswell to Samuel Beckett [including such as Austen and Byron]. . . showing how they found their own space, in part, through their response to Johnson, which helped shape their writing and view of contemporary literature." Phil shows how reading is part of the creative process. He participated last spring in ASECS. We are joined by **Thomas Lannon**, Librarian of The American Revolution Institute of the Society of Cincinnati in Washington. Thomas has also served as the head of Special Collections at Lafayette College and as a curator in MS and Special Collections of the NYPL. At Lancaster he presents "Officers of the Continental Army and their Books" on one of two bibliographical-textual panels organized by **Eleanor Shevlin** (that Friday p.m.).

Marie McAllister joins the ranks of retired faculty in ECASEC on June 1, leaving Mary Washington U., where she kindly hosted our annual meeting. She's not likely to regret the decision--that's what I gather from members who have retired. After I told her all I miss is the reading for classes, it occurred to me that my character suffered a loss when I stopped teaching, for in writing classes I directed inquiries into what is true and what we ought to do. This led to examinations of my shortcomings and prejudices--and modeling humanistic idealism in class fended off cynicism. We welcome **Julie Mitchener** from Tulsa and **Xin Yan** from Chicago, who speak on **Linda Troost**'s panel "Conflict and the Female Gaze," along with **Sharif Youssef** and **Kathryn Temple**. **Roger Maioli**, an Associate Professor of English at Gainesville and author of *Empiricism and the Early Theory of the Novel*, has the lead essay in the Spring 2024 *ECS*, his thesis assertion is in its title: "Relativism in the British and French Enlightenment" (it was there then). **Linda Merians**, enjoying retirement, is taking French lessons and working with the Amadou Diallo Foundation in NYC. She and **Beth Lambert** await the publication in November of **Mary Margaret Stewart**'s *The Life of William Collins, Poet*, which they edited for Clemson UP. **Laura Miller**, who at last year's ECASECS chaired a session and presented a paper on medicalization, teaches English at West Georgia U. Her book *Reading Popular Newtonianism: Print, the* Principia, *and the Dissemination of Newtonian Science* was published by Virginia in 2018. She is writing a book on links between readership, scientific experimentation, and conceptions of the early American government as experimental. Laura is co-investigator in an AHRC-funded project on Libraries, Reading Communities, and Cultural Formation in the 18C Atlantic. **Ellen Moody** suffered a stroke in 2023 and had to retrain herself to type, but by summer 2024 was once again teaching at Osher Lifelong

Learning and participating in conferences online. This winter she will teach one involving 18C women whose sexual assaults led to legal cases (Lanah Sawyer, Elizabeth Canning)--we will hear more about these cases from her in the March 2025 *Intelligencer*. Ellen still shares her investigations into literature, art, and society (esp. women in art) via her blog "Reveries under the Sign of Austen, Two." She is writing reviews for *Scriblerian*. **Michael J. Mulryan**, Professor of French on the Honors Faculty at Christopher Newport U, attended our 2023 conference. Last year he published *Louis Sébastien Mercier: Revolution and Reform in 18C Paris* (Bucknell UP, 2023). He is researching representations of urban spaces and marginalized people, and much of his work has been on non-canonical authors. **Maureen E. Mulvihill**, incoming Senior Editor for *Scriblerian*, has been working with journal editor A. W. Lee on new policies, protocols, review selection and submissions, and new sections of the journal. Her recent publications and commissioned work include a review for *Scriblerian* (vol. 56) of an essay on Swift by Pat Rogers in *Eighteenth-Century Ireland*; original research for Bruce McKinney's "The Curious Case of the Davis Collection (Detroit, 1890)," *Rare Book Hub* (1 July 2024), on the 'lost' library of George S. Davis, Parke-Davis Pharmaceuticals; and an illustrated webpage for the *Florida Bibliophile* newsletter (Oct., 2024) on coordinated exhibitions and events in Edinburgh and at the Folger Library on Esther Inglis, Renaissance virtuoso in calligraphy, book arts, and miniature books. Irish books recently added to her Collection include two Cuala Press imprints, on Irish paper, by Dublin printers Elizabeth and Susan Yeats: *Memories of John B. Yeats* (1923, with title-page Emer logo); and *Drawings by Jack B. Yeats*, 11 hand-colored plates (1971). Forthcoming are two reviews for *Scriblerian*: *Paratext* by Robert D. Hume (Cambridge UP, 2023); and *Bone & Marrow*, ed. by Samuel K. Fisher and Brian Ó Conchubhair, a bilingual anthology of Irish poetry (Wake Forest UP 2022)--and for MusicAir website (Royal Society of Musicians UK), "Eloquent Ear: Sonic Poetics by Early Women Writers." **Joanne Myers** is spending 2024 on sabbatical in Durham, UK, working in special collections on the writings of nuns of St. Clare (I believe one topic is their holy rule of 1711). **Melvyn New** has published *Apphia Peach, George Lord Lyttelton, and 'The Correspondents': An Annotated Edition of a Forgotten Gem* (1775)--it was published by Anthem Press in July. We'll be reviewing it in the next *Intelligencer*. Three doctoral students of **Steve Newman** at Temple will come to Lancaster as a panel on "18C Gothic Minds and Bodies": Jenna Sterling, Suzy Biever, and Madelyn E. Winkler; it was organized by Jenna and will be chaired by Steve. **Jessica Sheetz-Nguyen** (emerita, History, Central Oklahoma), who has moved on retirement to Lancaster County, will chair a session at the fall ECASECS on British women travelers of the long 19C "with Italy as their Muse."

Congratulations to **Dr. Xinyuan Qiu**, who finished up her dissertation this past spring and who was awarded a month-long research fellowship by the Lewis Walpole Library! Her dissertation, focusing on works by Austen, Burney, Edgeworth, and Richardson, is entitled "'Sentimental Disciplinarity' in British Sentimental Fiction of the Global 18C." At LWL this past summer she studied "caricature prints and fashion plates in their collections on women's hairdressing (especially the high-raised hairdresses) to finish an article on fashion in Frances Burney's *Evelina*." **David Palumbo** has organized for Saturday morning in Lancaster a strong panel on Swift with papers by himself, **Brett Wilson, Gene Hammond**, and **James Woolley**. We are delighted that **Mehl Penrose**, an

Associate Professor of Spanish at Maryland, has joined to participate in a session on masculinity at Lancaster with **Elena Deanda Camacho** and her colleagues at Washington College, **Karen Manna** and **Katie Charles.** **Luis Ramos** returns to ECASECS this fall to speak on "Indigenous Masculinity in the Age of Reason: Race and Gender in Clavijero's *Storia Antica del Messico*."

Hermann Real reported in June that the Trebuth-Stiftung zur Nachwuchsfördung in der Philosophie had given the Ehrenpreis Centre for Swift Studies another grant to obtain early editions--such as those in Swift's library--and that a generous American friend had donated ten thousand dollars to the Centre. In late August Hermann, Kirsten Juhas, and colleagues at the Centre published Vol. 39 of ***Swift Studies***, which begins with Corinna Readioff's long illustrated lecture on whales, or frontispieces, of *A Tale of a Tub*, and includes a revision of Hermann's essay on "Swift and the Redhead" which was read by David Palermo at our Winterthur meeting, as well as George P. Mayhew on Swift's annotations of *Paradise Lost* and D. W. Hayton on Swift's *Modest Proposal*. **Albert Rivero** and **George Justice** have edited *Daniel Defoe in Context* (CUP, 2023). A number of ECASECSers are among the distinguished contributors of its 42 essays: **John Richetti** ("Defoe the Writer"), **Max. Novak** ("Family Life and the Inner Life"); and **Barbara Benedict** (on *A Journal of the Plague Year*); **Laura Rosenthal** ("Theatre and the Novel"); **J. A. Downie** ("Professional Authorship"); **Toni Bowers** ("Defoe and the Monarchy"); and **Geoffrey Sill** ("Defoe and the Supernatural"). **Loren Rothschild** has built up an extensive, perhaps unrivaled, collection of the works of Samuel Johnson and his contemporaries. Skip Brack once assisted in its cataloguing; now the catalogue has gone forward and approaches "a final draft of 700 pages." **Doreen Alvarez Saar**, who contributed the review of Craik's *Poems* above, is the book review editor for American literature to 1865 of *The Rocky Mountain Review of Language and Literature*. To hear what **Peter Sabor** has been up to is to learn of important developments in our field. He continues to direct the Burney Centre at McGill U. and holds a Canada Research Chair. *The Cambridge Edition of the Correspondence of John Cleland*, which he co-edited with Helen Williams and the late Richard Terry, was to be published this past summer. Peter writes that "the OUP edition of *The Letters of Dr. Charles Burney*, now in six volumes, of which I'm the general editor, is making good progress: vol. 3 is out, vols. 2 and 4 are in the press, and my own volume 6 (covering 1810-14) is nearing completion. I'm also general editor of the Cambridge Edition of the Novels of Frances Burney, to be published by CUP in 7 volumes. The first two to be completed will be *Evelina,* which I'm editing, and *Cecilia,* ed. by Hilary Havens." Peter adds that he's retiring from McGill U. at the end of August as "Emeritus Distinguished James McGill Professor of English." At Lancaster we can congratulate **Leah Thomas** on her promotion to a tenured Associate Professor in Languages & Literature at Virginia State U. Leah speaks on road maps and postal routes. **Rosemary Wake** continues to research the life of Beatrice Grant and her family background and husband's ministerial career, fighting through lots of unrelated people with shared names. **Robert Walker** published "Who Really Wrote *The Origin of the Newcastle Burr*?" in the Society of Newcastle Antiquarians' *Archaeologia Aeliana*, ser. 6, vol. 2. He replaces the 19C misattribution to Richard Dawes with his candidate James Robertson, comic actor in York and forgotten poet. We welcome **Susan Wood** to the Society. She teaches British Literature (including Shakespeare), Plains Lit, Ethnic Lit, and World Lit at Luther

College of Liberal Arts at Midland U. in Nebraska. **James Woolley** is a co-author, with V. Biolcati, J. Lévêque, et al., of "Establishing the Original Order of the Poems in Hayward's Almanac Using Paleography, Codicology, X-ray Fluorescence Spectroscopy, and Statistical Analysis," in *Heritage Science*, 11.265 (2023), 1-14. Actually the article has an additional file, and James's contribution is mainly in that appended file. We are delighted over the appearance on our fall program of **Paul Young**, Asso. Prof. of French at Georgetown. Paul speaks on the guillotine in a panel Friday chaired by **Linda Troost** with other papers from **Susan Spencer,** returning from Oklahoma and new member **Roger Maioli** of the U. of Florida. **Sharif Youssef** returns to ECASECS this fall. He is a lecturer at Penn, with a PhD from Chicago and a JD from Toronto (he's taught law and literature). He's working on a book on "Actuarial Form"--about the "emergence of the concept of influence and the categories of risk and information as figured in mass casualty statistics in literature and political economy." Sharif coedited an issue of *Modern Language Quarterly* on risk.

Announcements of Conferences, Publications, Discoveries, etc.

The **South Central Society for 18C Studies** will meet in Shreveport, LA, at the Hilton Shreveport Convention Center Hotel, chaired by Martha Lawler, on 6-8 February. The theme is "Lost and Found in the Long 18C." Proposals for panels are due 1 Oct; paper proposals are due 1 December. Registration is $149. There will be a tour of the James Smith Noel Collection at LSU-Shreveport. See the SCSECS website for more or send questions to martha.lawler@lsus.edu. That same weekend the **SEASECS** holds its 50th annual in Savannah: "The Past Is Still Present: Reclaiming the 18C." Plenaries will be delivered by an underwater archaeologist and an architectural historian (CFP past due). The **Western ASECS** meets 14-15 February 2025 at Colorado Springs. **ASECS**'s 55th annual meeting will be held online on two weekends, 28-29 March and 4-5 April 2025 (the CFP ended 28 Sept.). The announcement of the event in May did not assign responsibility for organizing the event. The **ECASECS** will meet 9-11 October 2025 at Washington College in Maryland chaired by Elena Deanda Camacho (edeanda2@washcoll.edu).

The **Folger Shakespeare Library** has, besides exhibitions on Shakespeare, two temporary exhibitions: "Into the Vault: Books of the 1620s," with Folger holdings showcasing books from European presses (closing 13 Oct.) and "Imprints in Time: Rare Books and More from the Collection of Stuart and Mimi Rose," with books from the classic to the modern periods (to 5 Jan. 2025). The Library's Board of Governors announced that Dr. Farah Karim-Cooper would be its new director following a long search. "Farah is currently Professor of Shakespeare Studies at King's College London and Director of Education . . . at Shakespeare's Globe in London." She was President of the Shakespeare Asso. of America in 2021-22, after serving on its Board. She published *The Great White Bard: How to Love Shakespeare While Talking about Race* (2023).

The **American Philosophical Society** in Philadelphia has greatly increased its e-newsletter and promotions. It would like those who have received grants to shared info on the consequences of that funding, posting such on the APS blog and perhaps providing articles for its *Transactions*. It is attempting to create a community of alumni. In July 2023 it formed a partnership with Penn's press to distribute and market its books and journals it. Michelle Craig

McDonald, with a Ph.D. in History from Michigan, is now Director of the APS Library & Museum. Catherine Person, with a Ph.D. in Classics and Near Eastern Archaeology from Bryn Mawr, heads Educational Programs. The Society has live webcast meetings.

In February John Van Horne returned to the **Library Company of Philadelphia** as Interim Director (he was Director in 1985-2014). Also, Emily Guthrie in March left her position as its Librarian (after three years) to become Director of the Rockefeller Library of Colonial Williamsburg. In the *Library Company of Philadelphia Annual Report 2020*, published in April 2024, Erika Piola, Curator of Graphic Arts, reports on the Library's acquisition in Fall 2020 of "The Robert Staples Metamorphic Collection: Visual Materials to Engage the Hand, Eye, and Mind." Staples collected over 1300 metamorphic works from the 18-20th centuries: "works that are designed to be physically manipulated through flaps, pop ups, wheels, and other moving parts to change their imagery, shape, and/or message" (34). Piola discusses for an illustration a hand-drawn flap book *The Love of Columbine for Harlequin* (c. 1760s), in watercolor, ink, and graphite on paper with the British papermaker James Whatman's watermark. It contains four sections of each with multiple folds, with colored images of Columbine inside her home in one and Harlequin in others endeavoring to gain entrance. Other highlighted areas of acquisition in the report involve Black history and literature by women, particularly women translators.

Sidney Lapidus, graduate of Princeton in the class of 1959, over several decades beginning in 1991 donated to Princeton a collection of books on Liberty and the American Revolution. According to a university PR on 7 February 2023, the **Sid Lapidus '59 Collection on Liberty and the American Revolution** "includes more than 2,700 original books, atlases, pamphlets, newspapers and magazines relating to human and political rights, liberty, and independence around the time of the American Revolution." The new development is that, with Lapidus's donation for such, the collection has been digitized to make it "keyword-searchable" and openly available in "Digital PUL": "The online collection represents more than 10,000 pages of digitization by the PUL team. The physical books are also available for consultation" in Special Collections." There are search fields for author, publisher, printer, date, and subject (there are 79 books by Thomas Paine, 25 by Edmund Burke, 16 by Joseph Galloway, and 16 by Joseph Priestley). Lapidus, who took degrees in American history and then law, bought his first rare book in London for under five bucks: a 1792 edition of Paine's *Rights of Man*.

Maureen Mulvihill encourages us to notice the rising presence of the **COPE model of Publication Ethics**. Two examples from last winter were the Code of Ethics link placed in the homepage of *Restoration and 18C Theatre Research*, published now by Penn State UP, and another is the recognition of COPE standards in the homepage of *The Literary Encyclopedia*. Dr. Mulvihill wrote last December 27th, "This is what all (Humanities) print & digital publications should be including as initiated by MLA. Certainly, ASECS and related journals should be members of the COPE community. Disputes between writers and editors can be reasonably managed, even justly resolved, with recourse to COPE's ethical guidelines."

Nicholas Basbanes and others have begun a suit against ChatGPT chatpot's use of their writings to develop the text base that the AI uses to spit out text. I suppose I'm not alone in being irritated to have Microsoft et al. continu-

ally asking me to incorporate AI or to read the plagiarized stew produced by AI on browsers. I'm glad to be retired and not having to discern essays spit out by ChatGPT. What an imposition on composition teachers! Ten years ago we had to find sources for copied work on the WWW using browsers, but now AI paraphrased texts aren't largely copied but gathered with only bits of stolen words. And students can ask ChatGPT to revise work to remove plagiarized phrases, thus defeating Grammarly, Quetext, and other plagiarism checkers.

London-based **Anthem Press** was established in 1994; it's a "leading mid-sized independent academic, professional, and trade publisher in established and emerging social sciences, business/law, and humanities fields of study with a strong international and interdisciplinary focus." It welcomes MSS of monographs, research collections, intros, handbooks, reference works, upper-level texts, professional books and cross-over trade titles. It has published half a dozen works concerning the long 18C this year, two by our members.

In March 2023 Fine Books & Manuscriipts ran a short article by Alex Johnson on **Shandy Hall**'s receiving a grant from the Museum Estate and Development Fund of "£166,250 to carry out essential repairs." Sterne's former home (1760-68) in Coxwold, Yorkshire, has been owned by a Trust since 1967 and has been a museum for 50 years, opening from April to October. The house dates back to the 1400s and needs some essential repairs. There's also the hope of "extending public access to more rooms on the upper floor." Curator Patrick Wildgust told the reporter, "The north-facing and east-facing walls will be improved by removing all concrete and cement and replacing it with traditional lime mortar. Also a new porch will give easier access to the house."

Around 20 June 2024 the Associated Press's Matthew Barakat covered the recent announcement that excavations into the basement of Mt Vernon have discovered many **glass jars storing fruit** and fruit in concoctions, including gooseberries but esp. cherries, whose pits might be geminated and whose pulp is studied for DNA resemblance to heirlooms. Archaeologist Jason Burrough said they were mostly bottled to be "eaten simply as cherries." The bottles predate 1775, when an expansion by the Washingtons bricked over that part of the cellar; of 35 bottles found, 29 are intact. The finds were part of a $40 million Mansion Revitalization Project at Mount Vernon to be completed by 2026.

Around 20-26 September 2024 news media announced that a **new Mozart composition** was found in the Municipal Library at Leipzig during the ongoing first revision of the Köchel Catalogue of Mozart since 1964. Dating from the mid or late 1760s, when W. A. Mozart was a teen, for two violins and bass, it is entitled both "Ganz Kleine Nachtmusik" and Serenade in C (KV648). The head of the International Mozarteum Foundation, Ulrich Leisinger, stressed that it is complete and a rare survival: WAM "wrote many other chamber works in his youth, all of them unfortunately lost." (Mozart's sister may have saved it--it is not a holograph.) The Leipzig Opera performed it this past month.

In December 2023 UNESCO listed among "**Intangible Cultural Heritage**" Poland's stately polonaise dance developed from walking dances early in the 1700s and flourishing since, a form for which J.S. Bach and Mozart wrote compositions. Dr. Charles Burney noted its popularity in a 1773 book. It is said to be the simplest of Poland's national dances, one suited for folk and elegant events, both slow paced and expressive. At this same occasion, UNESCO honored Italian opera as a cultural treasure, which led to a huge celebration in

early June at Verona's Arena amphitheater, drawing on 170 musicians and 314 singers from Italy's 14 opera houses, conducted by Riccardo Muti.

As a footnote to earlier remarks here about the destruction of statues and historical tributes, we note that NPR's *Morning Edition* on 14 June 2024 carried a story about **historical markers related to African-Americans** that have been damaged and stolen in the South, such as that on lynching and "mob violence in Lithonia," DeKalb Co., GA, noting specifically the lynching of Reuben Hudson in 1887. We're reminded that in 2021 the Smithsonian Museum of History displayed the bullet-ridden, defaced historical marker from where Emmett Till's murdered body was found beside Mississippi's Tallahatchie River (that sign with 317 bullet punctures was the 2nd of four signs set up to commemorate Till).

And as a footnote to the observations about falling college enrollment in a recent *Intelligencer*, we note that some report that the Spring 2023 semester saw a rise of 2.5% in college enrollment due to a large increase in community college enrollment (which dropped the most during the pandemic) and an increase in dual-enrolled high school students. Also, as cited on *EdSource*, the National Student Clearinghouse Research Center reported in May that "Undergraduate enrollment ticked up 2.5% year over year in Spring 2024" (359,000+). But the Center's Director noted that "higher ed enrollment is still well below pre-pandemic metrics." The trend is reflected in a 3.4% rise in first-time students during fall 2023 at the campuses of Pennsylvania's State System of Higher Education (affordable schools with in-state tuitions from $8000-10,500 per year). The branch campuses of Penn State U. with higher tuition (c. $15,000) have suffered large declines in enrollment (while the main campus [c. $20,000] has grown slightly). Private schools with steep tuition are not doing as well, and even those with steady populations can have budget problems forcing cuts (as Elizabethtown Univ. in Lancaster Co.). Many problems in the form and procedures for FAFSA (Free Application for Federal Student Aid) reduced fall 2024 enrollment. On 7 May the Brookings Institute reported that in the class of 2024 24% fewer students filled out a FAFSA. Glitches in the new form by General Dynamics cause a high percentage to be returned for correction (e.g., all born in 2000 were blocked from applying). Schools made financial offers much later than usual. The Dept. of Education has "tapped" Jeremy Singer" to oversee a new version's rollout; Singer, long president of the College Board, oversaw the launch of the new digital SAT successfully.

Thomas McGeary, formerly in ECASECS and long employed by the U. of Illinois, has published ***The Cultural Politics of Opera 1720-1742: The Era of Walpole, Pope, and Handel*** (Boydell & Brewer). Anyone working on English opera will recognize his name and expect solid work. September's ***PBSA*** has two 18C studies: Richard C. Simmons's "William Temple Franklin and the Publication of Benjamin Franklin's Works" and Geoffrey Day's "Who Was 'A. Moore'? Waste Paper as a Means of Identification," which finds in early 18C London that sale catalogues can record lots with waste sheets from printing of pamphlets with false imprints in the stock of publishers (like Thomas Warner).

We would appreciate a review of Hampton Sides new nonfiction by a member who has read it: *The Wide Wide Sea: Imperial Ambition, First Contact, and the Fateful Final Voyage of* ***Captain James Cook*** (2024). Sides is a good story-telling historian, and Elizabeth Kolbert praised the book in *The New Yorker* on 8 April, but said, tho' not hagiography, the book would not "rattle tea-cups

at the Captain Cook Society." But she notes he remains toxic to some in Melbourne, who in January cut a bronze statue of Cook off at the ankles.

Nov 1 is the deadline for the UVA Press **2024 Walker Cowen Memorial Prize** in 18C studies. The annual prize offers $5000 and publication. MSS may be in history, literature, arts, etc. Contact Angie Hogan (arh3h@virginia.edu).

Fine Books & Collections issue of March 2024 carried the article "**Jane Austen Statue Controversy Continues**," illustrating the life-sized bronze statue's front and back, presenting Austen standing beside a small, round writing table: Some wish to place the £100,000 bronze, commissioned to sculptor Martin Jennings, in Winchester Cathedral's Inner Close next year on the 250th anniversary of the author's birth, but others object to secular monuments in the Cathedral: "The statue would be one of only around three percent in the UK that are of non-royal women including a recent one of Virginia Woolf." And there are plans for a state of Aphra Behn in Canterbury. The Very Reverend Catherine Ogle, Dean of the Cathedral, has published a letter in the local *Hampshire Chronicle* defending the placement on Cathedral grounds of the tribute to the local writer, noting "the Inner Close is close to the route she would have taken when visiting her nephew at the nearby Winchester College and her friends at No. 12 The Close." Since Austen is buried in the Cathedral's north aisle, the objection to the statue is hard to fathom. There are statues of Austen in Basingstoke and in Chawton. **Chawton House**, the heritage site once owned by Jane Austen's brother and now a research institute in England, initiated last year a campaign to raise £200,000 from grants and donations ahead of Austen's 250th birthday. Besides holding a research library used by visiting fellows and running conferences, the House, on 250 acres, is promoted for its garden, woods walk, and tea room, with over 20,000 visitors a year and around 80 dedicated volunteers. During February the Hallmark Channel brought out a version of Austen's *Sense and Sensibility* in which most of the cast except the servants and one principal male were played by British actors of African descent. Some blogs disputed whether the casting "counterbalanced prior erasure" or was a productive and creative retelling of the novel. Perhaps it gained Austen readers.

In May the Voltaire Foundation announced that a video of its first annual "Lecture on **Digital Enlightenment Studies**, given by Professor Glenn Roe on 2 May on the topic: 'The Poetics of Text Reuse: Digital Intertextuality in the 18C Archive.'" It was available at its website or on its "You Tube Channel."

Later this year Matthew Davis (mmd6w@virginia.edu) will take over the editing of ***Johnson News Letter*** from Bob DeMaria, continuing it as an e-text.

The summer issue of *Eighteenth-Century Studies* carries a roundtable on **Christopher Smart** with eight contributions by Clem Hawes, Min Wild, et al., edited by Fraser Easton and Ian Balfour. There are many good reviews of interesting books, as Carl Keyes on Jordan E. Taylor's *Misinformation Nation: Foreign News and the Politics of Truth in Revolutionary America*.

In June ASECS announced that George Boulukos would edit ***Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture***, replacing David Brewer and Crystal Lake in July 2024. Boulukos is Professor of English at Southern Illinois U, Carbondale, and also affiliated with its School of Africana Studies.

Cover illustration: oil portrait of James Logan by Thomas Sully (30" x 25") commissioned by the Directors of the Library Company of Philadelphia in 1831, reprinted with thanks to the Library Company of Philadelphia.

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