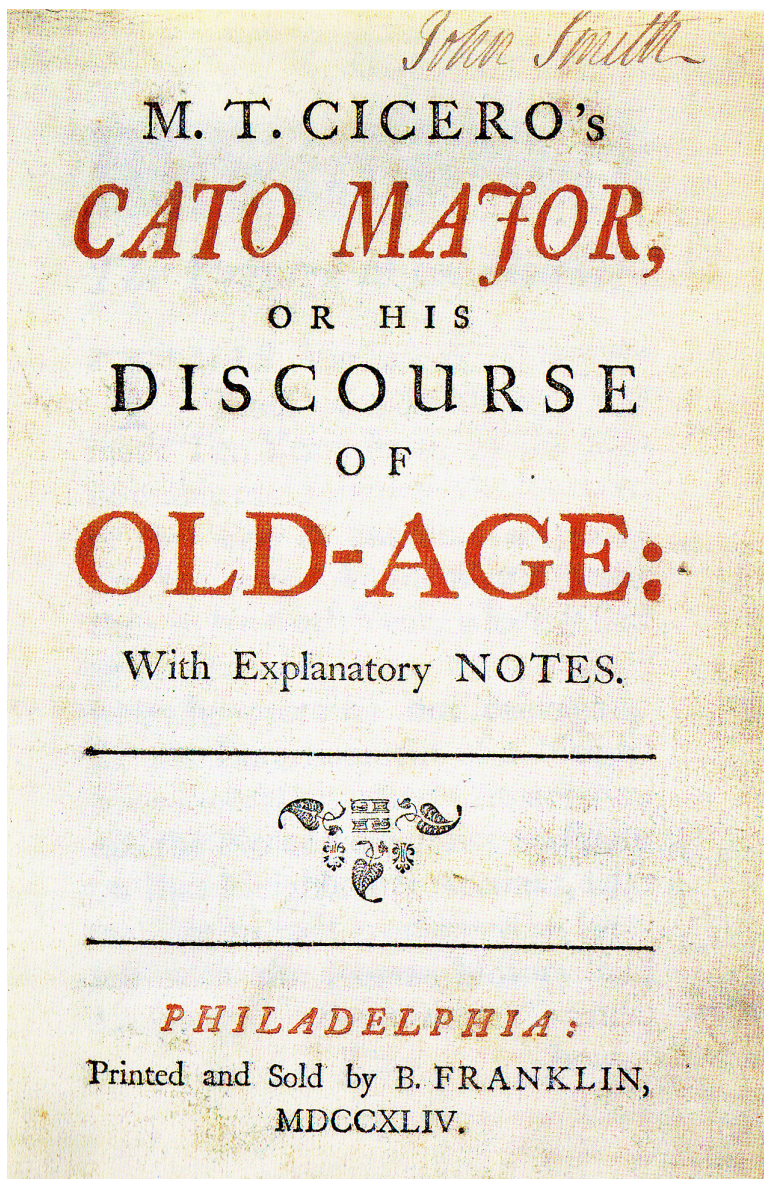


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## ***The Eighteenth-Century Intelligencer***

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# Benjamin Franklin and the *Querelle des Femmes*

by Carla J. Mulford

Benjamin Franklin's writings have long attracted the attention of literature scholars for their textual and rhetorical versatility. Franklin was an able rhetorician, singularly attentive to nuances of language and voice and attentive, too, to how irony creates an opportunity for both humor and instruction. Franklin always fashioned his written expression toward the different reading audiences he anticipated. In composing entries for *Poor Richard*, he sometimes crafted himself as homespun or as a cosmopolitan wit. In his political treatises – for instance, *The Interest of Great Britain Considered with Regard to Her Colonies* (1760) – he employed the tone and perspective of a member of Parliament or the British cabinet, using his understanding of the power of rhetoric to sway public opinion. In the scientific letters sent to friends, he adopted the perspective of the inquirer after demonstrable truth and wrote in a way that imitated the Newtonian scientific method. When these letters were published in one of the many editions of his *Experiments and Observations on Electricity*, readers remarked on Franklin's care in offering his hypotheses; he never stated his conclusions with stentorian firmness. Even if one is not well-read in Franklin's voluminous writings, one can still pick up Franklin's attention to rhetorical detail in the autobiography, in the second part, where Franklin speaks about how he learned not to be dogmatic but instead became one who offered suppositions. He models the method in the very writing of that section of the memoir. Franklin mastered rhetoric at a very early age, and he self-consciously employed rhetorical methods through his long writing career.

In more recent years, readers have lost sight of the sheer "literariness" of Franklin's writings. Those who have studied his writings have tended to address biographical questions rather than the literary antecedents of Franklin's work.<sup>1</sup> My effort is, by contrast, to examine one area of his oeuvre-- materials examining "the woman question"--to highlight this rhetorical craft and the sheer literariness and humor in this work. Franklin participated in the noted literary tradition of the early modern era called the *querelle des femmes*. No one has ever situated Franklin's belletristic writings in this rich tradition he repeatedly returned to.<sup>2</sup>

This seems surprising given the amount of commentary on Franklin's presumed fascination with women in real life. Such a study is especially worthwhile because of the accumulation of politicized fables about Franklin's supposedly having taken advantage of women. In fact, this situation – that readers have been more preoccupied by the stories about Franklin and women than in his efforts to illuminate the condition of women by participating in the *querelle des femmes* – illuminates my point made earlier: readers still tend to seek information about Franklin's life rather than attending to his literary skill. As far as the biography goes, the fables about Franklin's being too attracted to women began during his lifetime, when some malcontent made much of Franklin's having an illegitimate son during a difficult election period in Philadelphia in 1764.<sup>3</sup> Whether in Quaker Philadelphia or Puritan New England, such situations were looked at much differently than they were, evidently, in

England and Europe, the Caribbean, or even the American South, where numerous offspring born outside marriage were well-known. Franklin has been held to a significantly different standard, and a cult of masculinity that emerged around him in the nineteenth-century still has prominence in the public imagination, as I noted in the *New England Quarterly* long ago.

In this essay, rather than re-viewing the old stories, my goal is to shed some light on Franklin as litterateur in the longstanding tradition of the *querelle des femmes*. Across his life, but especially as he entered the literary scene, Franklin developed several characters who discussed women's issues, employing the personae (or character roles) frequently used as mouthpieces of the different positions in his day. Franklin's personae served as vehicles for examining particular issues or questions relating to the social situation of women, but they were cast so as to reveal and indeed underscore Franklin's ongoing literary conversations with authors participating in the *querelle des femmes* tradition. By looking into Franklin's participation in the *querelle*, we witness the self-conscious verbal and social constructions of which Franklin was fond and thus come to understand better the belletristic corpus of a much-discussed figure whose well-established scientific and political significance has outshone his literary accomplishment and erudition.

Franklin was well versed in literary culture of the early modern era.<sup>4</sup> Largely self-taught, he studied classical writings in modern translation and learned rhetoric from modern authors. His first readings were in standard classical and modern literature of his day – e.g., Aesop's *Fables*, Plutarch's *Lives*, Ariosto's *Satyres*, Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, Defoe's writings, including the *Essay on Projects* – in addition to a huge corpus of books and whatever London newspapers showed up in Boston and in his brother's printshop. He borrowed books (including novels) where he could, and he quickly understood that the way out of his father's tallow chandlery would be the route of education, especially education about Britain, its literary traditions, and its imperial relations with the other major European powers. Franklin studied mathematics, geometry, navigation, logic, grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy. From his youth, he read popular, erudite, and arcane literature.

As his earliest writings suggest, Franklin was deeply read in the literature arising in Italy, France, and Britain related to the debate about womankind, the *querelle des femmes*. Franklin's autobiography mentions an incident from his Boston youth, when Franklin started talking and writing about women's natural talent. He spoke about his extended debate with his friend, John Collins, regarding women's potential for education. "A Question," he said, "was once some how or other started between Collins & me, of the Propriety of educating the Female Sex in Learning, & their Abilities for Study. He was of Opinion that it was improper; & that they were naturally unequal to it. I took the contrary Side, perhaps a little for Dispute sake."<sup>5</sup> Franklin couches the interchange as a debate with clear sides, and he identifies his interest in the discussion as a "Dispute" or an intellectual contest or game on this question of women's educational potential (or lack thereof). Collins (who was among Franklin's most erudite young friends) and he were taking up one of the traditional concerns of the *querelle*, whether women were capable of intellectual achievements equal to

men. Franklin understood this at the time, and thus he later called it a “Dispute.” Of the incident, Franklin reported, “we parted without settling the Point,” but the two corresponded about it back and forth for several letters. His father found those papers and suggested to Franklin that he improve his rhetorical method so as to frame his arguments more effectively. Franklin perfected his skills in rhetoric.

Themes and topoi associated with the *querelle* are common in Franklin’s belletristic writings, his *jeux d’esprits*, and even his personal letters. As a printer who filled out his pages with his own pithy writings, Franklin learned the *querelle* tradition and brought it to bear in his own published and unpublished writings. His first character, Silence Dogood, helped Franklin gain his brother James’s respect in a way that no other effort could do. Franklin created Silence’s character, slipped “her” first letter to the editor under the printshop door, and earned James’s approval. Franklin thus learned that the debate about women could sell newspapers. Franklin used the *querelle* to test the market for his own newspaper, the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, during the early part of his printing career in Philadelphia. He created Anthony Afterwit, Celia Single, and other characters for his paper. Realizing he had a marketable topic, Franklin wrote, borrowed, and printed several *querelle*-oriented sententiae and witticisms about womankind across several years of his almanac, *Poor Richard* (1732-1758). Franklin’s most famous *querelle* piece, “The Speech of Miss Polly Baker” (in a presumed court of appeals in Connecticut), circulated in manuscript before being printed in London. Polly Baker experienced a significant afterlife, first in England and then during Franklin’s diplomacy in France. Franklin clearly knew the tradition well, and he managed to capitalize on British and European rhetorical and cultural traditions throughout his life but especially when he entered into the British and French print marketplace.

### The *Querelle des Femmes* Tradition in Franklin’s Day

A significant body of writings available in Franklin’s library participated in the *querelle des femmes*. Franklin’s earliest reading of modern literature embraced a very wide scope of materials published originally in English or translated from other languages into English. He later taught himself French, Italian, and Spanish, so it is likely that during his sojourns in Britain and France – roughly twenty-seven years of his life – Franklin was able to read these materials in their original languages. In the context of the wide body of literature available, literature that Franklin was himself reading, we can see the extent to which he sought and found a voice on issues related to womankind by participating in the *querelle*.

The *querelle des femmes*, or the controversy (or debates) about womankind, existed during classical times, but the tradition Franklin would have known took shape during the medieval era and extended through to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Writers in the *querelle* tradition were numerous and the arguments about womankind pervasive in the literature of Italy, France, Spain, Britain, and even Poland.<sup>6</sup> Scholars have studied the particular contributions made by Giovanni Boccaccio, Geoffrey Chaucer, Christine de Pizan (sometimes Pisan), Ludovico Ariosto, Baldassare

Castiglione, and John Milton, but recent scholarship attests to the wide range of *querelle* writings by lesser known and indeed unknown authors.<sup>7</sup> Two of Franklin's undated lists of books include Boccaccio, but we know from Edwin Wolf and Kevin Hayes's list of books in Franklin's library that he owned copies of Ariosto, Castiglione, Boccaccio, Milton, and many others whose writings affiliated with the *querelle*.<sup>8</sup> He also had access to the many titles owned by the Library Company of Philadelphia, the library he and members of the Junto founded in 1731.<sup>9</sup>

The tradition with which Franklin was familiar emerged as early as the eleventh and twelfth centuries in the school tradition (Blamires, 19-20). Arising in a culture fascinated with debate, the *querelle* was essentially a game or contest in the schools until it entered vernacular culture in the thirteenth century (Blamires, 26). The tradition relied on the articulation of two "sides" of the question of the importance of womankind. Yet there was also significant overlap in the "sides" articulated, along with conflict about the "truth," because women could at once be complained about as being too meek while also being overbearing and "man-like" and aggressive. When it emerged in the medieval era, the case against women hearkened back to classical sources yet cast the criticism in specifically Christian contexts, blaming women for their own condition, based on their emergence from Adam's rib and Eve's transgression in the garden of Eden. Women, thus accursed, were given a range of faults in *querelle* literature, including aggressiveness and stubbornness, drunkenness, lasciviousness and inconstancy, extravagance (with goods, apparel, and face-painting), greed, impiety, impatience, unreasonableness, garrulousness (and gossiping), among many other exaggerated, negative qualities.

The early literature's defense of women, according to Alcuin Blamires, "fixes women in reproductive, domestic, and mediatory functions without relaxing masculine prerogatives of toughness and judicial control" (Blamires, 237). Yet the defense of women involved identifying series of virtues that might otherwise have gone unexpressed. Women were praised for their beauty, softness, and meekness; their temperance, constancy, helpfulness, and magnanimity; their nurturance and patience; their piety and wisdom. The defense also included support of these qualities in womankind, especially in the face of the potential for idleness and wastrel behavior of bachelors and husbands. In some examples, women dutifully and cheerfully maintained the home while men were, in Blamires's words, "usually found boozing in taverns and cultivating idleness" (Blamires, 93). Because the *querelle* originated as a factor of men's culture of debate, defenses of women essentially articulate a male point of view about the positive attributes of womankind. As Blamires has pointed out, the defense arguments "could be interpreted as misogyny in disguise," because the qualities of womanhood praised were qualities associated with "their maternity and their 'softening' influence" on men (Blamires, 237). In Linda Woodbridge's words, the "position of Woman as 'the accused' placed severe limitations on constructive discussion of women and their role in society." By the era of the Renaissance, Woodbridge has noted, "The formal controversy was prevented by its own rhetoric from becoming more than a literary pastime."<sup>10</sup> This situation would change during the eighteenth century.

The question of women's intellectual capacities and physical and social capabilities was immensely popular during the 17th and 18th centuries, and it held profound importance for the literary debates taking place in newspapers, pamphlets, magazines, novels, and plays. In Franklin's day, an era marked by Enlightenment ideals, intellectuals, educators, and writers engaged afresh in discussions about human potential and the gender differences between men and women. While sexualized (and sometimes scandalous) content was still being written, writers tended to embrace broader questions about the role of education in forming human intellectual life and political commonwealths. They concerned themselves with questions about the origin, nature, and social implications of inequality among species. They tried to identify the role of private property in fostering divisions among people, including divisions between men and women. And they returned to the older question raised during the Renaissance about whether women ought to be educated and have a place within institutions designed to rule society. Finally, they wondered about the role of emotions in the creation of commonwealths.<sup>11</sup> One of the keys to grappling with new ideas about society lay in understanding better the relations between the sexes, the key focal point of the *querelle des femmes*.

#### Franklin's *Querelle* Writings

Franklin wrote in the *querelle* tradition across his lifetime, creating an archive of writings too numerous to discuss in a brief essay. This discussion thus treats Franklin's initial forays into the *querelle*, the characters Silence Dogood, Anthony Afterwit, and Celia Single; a selection of materials printed in his almanac, *Poor Richard*; and Polly Baker's speech. Alcuin Blamires has classified the "case for women" into groups, "formal" and "incidental" cases for womankind. The formal case employs a "quasi-judicial stance" that works like a court case (sometimes as if at court) to promote womankind, exonerating women from censure. In examples of formal cases, the case against womankind drives the rebuttal: motives and morals of misogynists are questioned; antagonistic generalizations are denounced; God's special favor to women (childbearing) is credited as a gift; and women's moral capacities are praised. Incidental cases are those in which unfavorable and favorable qualities of womankind are intermingled into writings that might have other distinct purposes than debating the capacities of women (Blamires, 9). Franklin's writings fall into both groups. The speech of Polly Baker is the most formal contribution; it presents a courtroom scene much like that found in Boccaccio's *Decameron*. The following chronological discussion offers both formal and incidental samples of Franklin's participation in the *querelle des femmes*.

The Silence Dogood series, published April to October, 1722, in James Franklin's *New-England Courant*, was Franklin's first published effort in the tradition of the *querelle des femmes*. Unsure about whether his brother James would publish his work in the newspaper, Franklin submitted the first Silence Dogood letter anonymously. Franklin likely anticipated that James's friends, whom Franklin biographer J.A. Leo Lemay dubbed "the Couranteers," would approve his Silence Dogood piece.<sup>12</sup> Nathaniel Gardner, perhaps the most prolific of James's contributors, was publishing in the *New-England Courant*

several articles in the *querelle* tradition, among them a spoof (as Zerubabel Tindal) about bachelors and love; a mock advertisement castigating women for frivolousness; an article by an “S.B.,” who complained about his scolding wife; another by Hortensia, an oppressed wife; and so forth.<sup>13</sup> James Franklin made his own contributions in the *querelle* tradition with a verse epistle, “Caution to Batchellors,” signed “Lucilius,” with a reply by “Amelia,” and a further reply by “Lucilius.”<sup>14</sup> Franklin likely enjoyed hearing his brother’s friends talking in the printshop about their writings. Indeed, he is likely the one who set the type on the pages offering these materials. After discovering to James and his friends that he had created the character of Silence Dogood, Franklin wrote fourteen separate letters for the newspaper. Silence Dogood wrote on issues of social culture (including gendered social relations), political philosophy, and governance (available in *PBF* 1:8-45). The opening numbers of the series work humorously to provide readers an understanding of Silence’s character, which resembles many women characters in the *querelle* tradition. Silence is at once a scold yet full of wisdom. Her faulty logic and manner of expression add humor and occasional double entendre. As it turned out, Franklin’s Silence Dogood series helped James Franklin sell his paper, and she served as filler during the period when James was incarcerated for insubordination against the General Court.<sup>15</sup>

In letter No. 4, Silence takes up education at Harvard under the guise of a discussion with her boarder, Clericus, about whether she should send her son to college. Franklin’s critique, in Silence’s voice, targets both the young men being sent to Harvard (whom Silence labels “Dunces and Blockheads”) and the kind of training they received (the “*Antique Figures . . . Latin, Greek, Hebrew, . . . [who] were very much reserv’d*”) (Blamires, 9). Silence considers Clericus an idler who prefers walking “with a Book in his Hand . . . under the Trees.”<sup>16</sup> In the hall called “*The Temple of Theology*,” Silence “spy’d *Pecunia* behind a Curtain, beckoning” to the students, along with “Plagius, who (notwithstanding he had been severely reprehended for such Practices before) was diligently transcribing some eloquent Paragraphs out of Tillotson’s *Works*” (*PBF* 1:17). Thus, poverty, gendered female, and plagiarism, gendered male, contend for the spirits of the young men who study theology. Silence ultimately concludes that the young men thus trained become idle and useless; they are “Blockheads,” “only more proud and self-conceited.”

Silence remarks in No. 6 that women too can be conceited. Silence complained about people’s notions about women’s dressing well, their “pride in apparel”: “This Sort of Pride has been growing upon us ever since we parted with our Homespun Cloaths for *Fourteen Penny Stuffs, &c.* And the *Pride of Apparel* has begot and nourish’d in us a *Pride of Heart*, which portends the Ruin of Church and State.”<sup>17</sup> Her humorous faulty logic (that pride in dress will undermine religious and social order) glances at the *querelle* tradition’s use of vanity as a theme in the case against womankind. She seems particularly upset that women themselves have embraced a silly fashion. Calling hoop petticoats “the most immodest and inconvenient of any the Art of Woman has invented,” Silence rails against those who wear such gear:



By these they [i.e., women] are incommoded in their General and Particular Calling, and therefore they cannot answer the Ends of either necessary or ornamental Apparel. These monstrous topsy-turvy *Mortar-Pieces*, are neither fit for the Church, the Hall, or the Kitchen; and if a Number of them were well mounted on Noddles-Island, they would look more like Engines of War for bombarding the Town, than Ornaments of the Fair Sex. (*PBF* 1:22)

By equating hoop petticoats with battlements, Silence draws attention to the lengths women go to adorn themselves as the “Fair Sex” preparing for sexual combat. Her expressed annoyance is twofold: she complains that women are “incommoded” by such dress, even as she acknowledges that women are likely scaring men off rather than attracting their favorable notice. Her neighbor has reported to her that he thinks that seeing four women lined up on a balcony, the local militia “might attribute their irregular Volleys to the formidable Appearance of the Ladies Petticoats” (*PBF* 1:22-23). This remark can be interpreted in a number of ways. First, the women might seem like they are ensconced in a fortress of hoops, and they are scaring men away. But the phrasing also offers sexual innuendo, that the hoop petticoats, when seen from beneath, reveal too much (too great a sexualized vision) to young men. Silence complains about women’s dress and then turns the tables and complains about the effects of that dress on men. Silence’s position thus ventriloquizes a misogynist position (railing against women’s dress) typical in the *querelle* while making anti-misogynist arguments about the cultural situation of women, arguments that make men seem weak and embattled.

Beginning with No. 8, Franklin occasionally employed the Silence persona for more serious ends. Franklin took over the newspaper during the summer of 1722, because James Franklin was jailed for using the *Courant* of June 11 to criticize Boston authorities. Both James and Benjamin challenged the muzzling of the press. In James’s absence, Benjamin used the paper to continue tackling the social and political issues that James had embraced.<sup>18</sup> Silence’s No. 8 quotes John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon’s essay on liberty originally published in the *London Journal*. Speaking quite seriously about her times, Silence addresses the question of personal and political liberty, employing the moral probity common to *querelle* writings favoring women and sometimes attributed to women writers in that tradition. Silence (quoting Trenchard and Gordon) in effect berates Boston leaders for incarcerating James Franklin for supposed scandalous statements in the newspaper:

Without Freedom of Thought, there can be no such Thing as Wisdom; and no such Thing as publick Liberty, without Freedom of Speech; which is the Right of every Man, as far as by it, he does not hurt or controul the Right of another: And this is the only Check it ought to suffer, and the only Bounds it ought to know. (Printed in *New England Courant*, July 9, 1722; *PBF* 1:27)

Discussion of personal liberties, the liberties of speech and press, is particularly modern. Here, Silence expresses herself in a language of rights. That the number frames this as *Silence* talking about these rights imputes a sense that women might aspire to such rights, too. Some of Silence’s later numbers were equally

serious. Silence Dogood No. 9 takes up hypocrisy in leaders of both church and state; No. 10 quotes Daniel Defoe on the usefulness of offering insurance against widowhood; Nos. 12 and 13 embrace serious social issues. Using themes of drunkenness and idleness (including men's wastrelly behavior), Silence castigates those who drink alcohol in excess (No. 12) along with the strange busy-ness on the streets during evening hours (No. 13). In the later issues, Silence also speaks to serious problems, some of them working in the *querelle des femmes* tradition (especially the assistance for widows number, No. 10, and the commentaries on drunkenness and wastrel behavior) and all of them working toward larger political and social problems that the *querelle des femmes* deemed women fit to discuss.

One later Silence Dogood letter fits well into the *querelle* tradition, this time a satire against women's frivolous conduct in love. With her "Humble Petition of Margaret Aftercast" in Silence Dogood No. 11, Margaret asks Silence whether aged virgins who appropriately repent their youthful flirtatious behavior might get a share of the insurance designed for widows, which Silence proposed in No. 10. Admitting her "Vanity," Margaret petitions that she, "being puff'd up in her younger Years with a numerous Train of Humble Servants," now found herself destitute of suitable lovers, because of her miscalculation: "as soon as it came to be publicly known that any Gentleman address'd her, he was immediately discarded." (PBF 1:37-38). Women's fickleness and pride, their contrariness and coyness in love, common features of the *querelle*, are featured in Margaret Aftercast, an exemplum of the heartless jilt who capriciously rejects her suitors. Margaret, now "disappointed in and neglected by her former Adorers," has "no new Offers" (PBF 1:37). Margaret's appeal concludes with sexual innuendo. She asks Silence whether she "would be pleased to form a Project for the Relief of all those penitent Mortals of the fair Sex, that are like to be punish'd with their Virginity until old Age, for the Pride and Insolence of their Youth" (PBF 1:38). The suggestive wordplay – that Margaret Aftercast is seeking "Relief" lest she be "punish'd with" virginity – is reminiscent of Chaucer and others (including eighteenth-century novelists) who wrote bawdily in the *querelle* tradition. Is Margaret asking for sexual gratification or financial relief? It's not clear. Silence's reply underscores the double entendre: saying that her "extream Modesty and Taciturnity, forbids an Attempt" at "Match-making," Silence presents a mock-quasi-legal plan for a "Friendly Society" that would provide virgins with "£500 in ready Cash" (PBF 1:38).

An earlier Silence Dogood number similarly employed a bawdy double entendre. In Silence Dogood No. 5, "Ephraim Censorious" writes a letter of rebuke to Silence for her case against men. Ephraim remarks to Silence, "Let the first Volley of your Resentments be directed against *Female Vice*; let Female Idleness, Ignorance and Folly, (which are Vices more peculiar to your Sex than to our's) be the Subject of your Satyrs, but more especially Female Pride, which I think is intolerable" (PBF 1:18-19). Ephraim adds, "when you have once reformed the Women, you will find it a much easier Task to reform the Men." He concludes, "Women are the prime Cause of a great many Male Enormities." The complaint by Ephraim Censorious begins typically enough in the *querelle* tradition, following the method of blame common to the literature. The bawdy conclusion, a double entendre accusing women for causing "Male Enormities,"

features a sexual jest. The jest works, in effect, to encapsulate the real problem: men's sexualization of women. Ultimately, the issue is that men are unable and unwilling to control their own sexual behavior. This example is misogynist in its jest but critical of misogyny.

In Philadelphia, Franklin continued participating in the *querelle des femmes* with several different characters. Two of the earliest instances, Anthony Afterwit and Celia Single, appeared in his own newspaper, the *Pennsylvania Gazette*.<sup>19</sup> Anthony Afterwit is a weak and ineffective husband, a figure common in the *querelle* literature. Linda Woodbridge characterizes such figures as "milksoop husbands" and finds them with some frequency in fifteenth-century examples.<sup>20</sup> Calling himself "a Tradesman" (without mentioning his trade), Afterwit complains that his wife has spent a significant amount of money to furnish a fashionable home. The power in the household is, in effect, Afterwit's wife's power. Afterwit rails against his wife while speaking to readers, yet he is unable to speak to his wife. In his wife's care, the home has acquired a large looking-glass, tea table with china and silver, and other expensive and fashionable furnishings, in addition to servants and equipage. Afterwit complains that "this way of living was utterly inconsistent with my Circumstances." Yet Afterwit "had not Resolution enough to help it." Afterwit waits until his wife goes away to sell the fine household goods, get rid of the pacing mare, and dismiss the servant. He buys her knitting needles, a spinning wheel and milking cow, and more suitable (because utilitarian) furnishings (*PBF* 1:239). This piece offers a double negation in the *querelle* tradition, offering the case against women but also the case against men. Afterwit reveals himself to be weak, foolish, and inarticulate with his life companion. Mrs. Afterwit is represented (by him) as greedy, anxious to seem fashionable, and overpowering, something like the man-woman featured in misogynist *querelle* literature. Both humorously depict the *querelle*'s extreme cases of dispraise of men and women.

Franklin returned to Anthony Afterwit's story two weeks later by creating Celia Single, who responds to Afterwit's long letter. Celia Single complains to the newspaper editor (Franklin) "that some of the Things you print do more Harm than Good; particularly . . . my Neighbour the Tradesman's Letter in one of your late Papers, which has broken the Peace of several Families, by causing Difference between Men and their Wives" (*PBF* 1:241). Celia Single notes that she had, "several times in your Paper," read

severe Reflections upon us Women, for Idleness and Extravagance, but I do not remember to have once seen any such Animadversions upon the Men. If I were dispos'd to be censorious, I could furnish you with Instances enough: I might mention Mr. Billiard, who spends more than he earns, at the Green Table; and would have been in Jail long since, were it not for his industrious Wife: Mr. Husselcap, who often all day long leaves his Business for the rattling of Halfpence in a certain Alley: Mr. Finikin, who has seven different Suits of fine Cloaths, and wears a Change every Day, while his Wife and Children sit at home half naked . . . . (*PBF* 1:242-43)

She continues her diatribe by complaining about men who play games, frequent taverns, and spend (or waste) their daytimes merely reading books rather than

working. She adds into her bundle, “Mr. Tweedledum, Mr. Toot-a-toot, and several others, who are mighty diligent at any thing beside their Business. I say, if I were dispos’d to be censorious, I might mention all these, and more; but I hate to be thought a Scandalizer of my Neighbours, and therefore forbear” (*PBF* 1:243). Here, Franklin creates the topsy-turvy world common in the complaint literature about men – that while women are dutifully maintaining their homes, men are off being wastrels. This letter points clearly to the double standard women face: women are characterized as frivolous, their purchases unnecessary, by men, yet men’s behaviors and purchases deprive the family of care and sustenance. Like Silence Dogood (who is anything but silent), Celia Single does not, in effect, forbear to be censorious. Her response to Anthony Afterwit forms the other side of the debate on the woman question, a side that, in Celia Single’s view, was going unspoken. Like the Afterwit storyline, Celia Single’s storyline is based on the double negative cases against women (Celia is a scold) but especially against men (the men she describes are irresponsible wastrels).

Throughout his life, Franklin was fond of creating sententiae, sometimes ludicrous, sometimes bawdy, sometimes full of wisdom. Such witty material in poetry and prose, borrowed and embellished or else of Franklin’s own devising, appeared perhaps nowhere so frequently as in his almanac published across many years, *Poor Richard* (1732-1758).<sup>21</sup> As Robert Newcomb showed long ago, Franklin relied on several different books for many of his aphorisms in *Poor Richard*. He would use one book for awhile and then shift to some other – while borrowing but changing (typically improving) most of the material he used.<sup>22</sup> According to Newcomb, Franklin likely wrote about one fourth of the aphorisms he used in *Poor Richard*. He borrowed the rest from literature, collections of proverbs, and titles well-liked in his own day, including John Gay’s *Fables* (1727-1738), George Savile, Lord Halifax’s *Thoughts and Reflections* (1750), and La Rochefoucauld’s *Maxims* (in different translations).<sup>23</sup> For the purposes of our comprehending Franklin’s fondness for *querelle* material, the issue of authorship is much less important than the frequency of the presence of the *querelle* in the almanac.

Franklin’s *Poor Richard* almanac was a printer’s gamble that paid off well for him. The first issue was produced in a very competitive market. But even though Franklin’s very first almanac (for 1733) was very hastily produced in late December 1732 (whereas almanacs typically came out in October or November), it sold sufficiently well that he continued the project into 1734 and for twenty-five more years. Franklin’s first almanac offered the usual fare offered in the colonies – astrological data, court dates, lists of fairs in local regions, and lists of the British monarchs. Innovations in useful standard fare would not have been welcomed by the reading audience. Franklin’s innovations arose in the materials he used to convey information about the months. The fare he called the “wisdom of the ages” made his almanac successful. That is to say, the *querelle* paid well.

Franklin’s use of the *querelle* was fairly consistent across his volumes, with examples too numerous to offer here. Appendix 1 provides a list of the *querelle*-oriented materials from the first two volumes of *Poor Richard*. Four examples here will suffice to show Franklin’s strategies during the first two years of almanac production. One example reveals the *querelle* literature’s case

against men (especially bachelors). For January 1733, the opening month in the opening issue of the almanac, *Poor Richard* offered a commentary about fussy bachelors:

Old Batchelor would have a Wife that's wise,  
Fair, rich, and young, a Maiden for his Bed;  
Not proud, nor churlish, but of faultless size;  
A Country Houswife in the City bred.  
He's a nice Fool, and long in vain hath staid;  
He should bespeak her, there's none ready made. (PBF 1:312)

This example is noteworthy, because while it castigates men who are too particular about the women they seek to marry, it also suggests the human problem of anxiety about a perfect world, reminding readers that no partner will be perfect, an observation that also pertains to Margaret Aftercast in the Silence Dogood letters.

In the vein of proto-feminism are several sententiae, such as “A good Wife lost is God's gift lost” (April 1733), and poems like this one from January 1734:

Good Women sure are Angels on the Earth,  
Of those good Angels we have had a Dearth;  
And therefore all you Men that have good Wives,  
Respect their Virtues equal with your Lives.<sup>24</sup>

Yet more of the material in *Poor Richard* tends toward misogyny, such as a fear-of-cuckoldry saying from January 1734 that reads: “You cannot pluck roses without fear of thorns, / Nor enjoy a fair wife without danger of horns” (PBF 1:352).

Much of the *Poor Richard* material is equivocally framed and full of jesting that gives women an upper hand in courtship and marriage matters. Take, for example, this poem from June 1734, which plays on how men take advantage of women. By turning the tables on the man, the poem reveals a woman able to think for herself on these matters. If this is a joke, the joke is on the man:

When Robin now three Days had married been,  
And all his Friends and Neighbours gave him Joy;  
This Question of his Wife he asked then,  
Why till her Marriage Day she prov'd so coy?  
Indeed (said he) 'twas well thou didst not yield,  
For doubtless then my Purpose was to leave thee:  
*O Sir, I once before was so beguil'd,*  
*And was resolv'd the next should not deceive me.* (PBF 1:354)

Franklin would return to this theme of the “beguiling” of women in the Polly Baker's speech. Tables are often turned like this in *querelle* literature, the question of deception (especially men's anxiety about cuckolding) a prominent one. Franklin understood the reading market for his almanacs in Philadelphia,

and within five years' time, Franklin's was the almanac most popular in and around Philadelphia.

Polly Baker, Franklin's most famous female character in the *querelle des femmes* tradition and his best example of the formal case for women, emerged from Franklin's pen sometime before 1747. Her fictional speech was originally published in London's *General Advertiser*, April 15, that year.<sup>25</sup> How Henry Woodfall obtained the manuscript has long been a subject of speculation. Franklin likely sent the manuscript to one of his frequent correspondents, perhaps William Strahan (his printer friend) or Peter Collinson (who in 1745 had sent Franklin the glass tube and some pamphlets on electricity, thus sparking Franklin's interest in the field).<sup>26</sup> The manuscript was likely read among members of Franklin's extended network until, finally, someone decided to place the manuscript into Woodfall's hands.<sup>27</sup>

The topic of injustice against women was popular in London (as in British North America) in pieces both humorous (in the *querelle des femmes* tradition) or serious (as in sermons preached and printed about women's virtues and their moral failings). Many writers successfully used the *querelle* tradition to reach a diverse reading audience during the early eighteenth century. Across several issues of the *Spectator*, for instance, Addison and Steele wrote sympathetically about "women of the town" and the "loose Tribe of Men" who took advantage of them. *Roxana* and *Moll Flanders* feature women whose intricate relationships with men hint at the difficulties women face; indeed, *Roxana* is characterized as a Man-Woman in the novel. Pope's *The Rape of the Lock* offered in mock-heroic lines the differences of opinion about the invasion of women's personal space. John Gay's *Beggar's Opera*, Samuel Richardson's *Pamela*, Henry Fielding's *Shamela* and *Joseph Andrews*—all speak to difficult relations between the sexes as greater social freedoms were becoming available (Hall 3-15).

Further, Robert Dodsley published in 1741 a translation of Boccaccio's *Decameron*, a book squarely in the *querelle* tradition. When he started publishing from Tully's Head, Dodsley was interested in capturing the market in belletristic writings. At something of a financial risk, Dodsley undertook some expensive editions like the "new translation" (by Charles Balguy but published anonymously) of Boccaccio. Published in April, 1741, Dodsley's *Decameron* was advertised as so "delicate and decent . . . that even the Ladies need not be afraid of reading or having these ingenious Novels." Hawking the historical importance of the *Decameron*, another of Dodsley's notices pointed out, "It is now upwards of 100 Years since a new Translation of these excellent Novels was attempted in English"<sup>28</sup> (even though a "new" translation had been published by John Nicholson in 1702 and 1727). Dodsley was ready to see how his Boccaccio would perform in the market.

Franklin's Polly Baker story has ties with Boccaccio, as A. Owen Aldridge once suggested (see n. 25). Polly's storyline, made a bit familiar to readers with Dodsley's publication of the Balguy translation of the *Decameron*, has rough similarities to a moment on the sixth day. That is when Philostratus tells the story of Filippa de Pugliese, who (charged with adultery) appears in court to defend herself against what she argues are unjust laws. Filippa acknowledges that she has had a lover outside wedlock, and she complains that the laws for such things do not apply equally to men as to women. It seems that the then-

recent popularity of Boccaccio worked to seed the market for Franklin's story. London readers evidently enjoyed the new curiosity of an American-born woman who was appearing in a Connecticut court to defend herself for bearing children.<sup>29</sup>

Polly Baker's speech picks up the theme Franklin employed in *Poor Richard* of June, 1734, about Robin's conversation with his new wife. If, prior to marriage, Robin's beloved had given in to intercourse, he would have jilted her. Instead, as the two last lines reveal, Robin's wife *had* once been jilted, and she wanted to be sure this did not happen again. Polly's story is similar to Robin's wife's: Polly became pregnant by a man who had promised to marry her. But he failed her. She has been called to court, because she has had five children without being married. She has refused to name the father(s) of her children. In her own defense, Polly points out that she has taken care of her children by herself, and she is thus not a burden on the commonwealth. She pleads her case, basing her argument that she has done as God enjoined – she has gone out and multiplied – and she thinks the law unjust. In Polly's words,

I have brought Five fine Children into the World, at the Risque of my Life; I have maintain'd them well by my own Industry, without burthening the Township, and would have done it better, if it had not been for the heavy Charges and Fines I have paid. Can it be a Crime (in the Nature of Things I mean) to add to the Number of the King's Subjects, in a new Country that really wants People? (*PBF* 3:124)

Polly never reveals the names of the fathers of her children, although everyone, she says, knows them. Her first intimate lover betrayed her trust by promising marriage but not marrying her after their intimacies. Instead, he left her. Of him, she says:

That very Person you all know; he is now become a Magistrate of this Country; and I had Hopes he would have appeared this Day on the Bench, and have endeavoured to moderate the Court in my Favour; then I should have scorn'd to have mention'd it; but I must now complain of it, as unjust and unequal, That my Betrayer and Undoer, the first Cause of all my Faults and Miscarriages (if they must be deemed such) should be advanc'd to Honour and Power in the Government, that punishes my Misfortunes with Stripes and Infamy. (*PBF* 3:124-25).

As in Boccaccio, the storyline is a defense of womankind, told by a woman whose position argues that the laws are being applied unjustly, and women are bearing the burden of infamy while men are never charged with criminality. Polly Baker's speech thus indicts the structural injustices regulating women's conduct, even as it speaks to the hypocrisy of people who, pretending to be religious, let civil order substitute for Christian charity (*PBF* 3:125). It is a *tour de force* in the *querelle* line, with its provocative challenge to the court raised in full dress as classical oratory (with *exordium*, *narratio*, secondary and primary *partitios*, modified by *amplificatio*s, *refutatio*s, and *digressio*s, and *peroratio*).<sup>30</sup>

Polly Baker's hilarious fictional court speech ended up gaining a new life of its own in England, North America, and Europe. From its original London publication, Polly's story was reproduced in ten different English newspapers and the three most influential magazines – *The Gentleman's Magazine*, the *London Magazine*, and *Scots Magazine* – within the first month after its (anonymous) publication in the *General Advertiser*.<sup>31</sup> The version published in *The Gentleman's Magazine* embellished the story with a new ending – that the guilty magistrate, convinced by the justice of Polly's remarks and with remorse for his actions, married her on the spot. Polly went on to bear fifteen more children, according to this story (Hall 21-22). By July and August that year, the story crossed back over the Atlantic to North America, where it was front-page news in *The Boston Weekly Post-Boy*, *New-York Gazette*, and the (Annapolis) *Maryland Gazette* (Hall 37-43). The story's humor did not translate across language and cultural barriers. In France, Polly's story was taken as a report of an actual court appeal and read with high seriousness. In the 1770s, the Abbé Raynal published the story in his *Histoire Philosophique*, and Brissot de Warville and Denis Diderot used the story to criticize the courts of the *ancien regime* (Hall 126-36). Franklin himself had to convince Raynal and Diderot that the story was fiction, meant to poke fun. Even so, the European gazettes cited Polly's story as an authentic situation in Connecticut. The story gained additional popularity when a version of it reached theatre audiences in the character of Marceline in Beaumarchais's *The Marriage of Figaro*. As Agnes Raymond once pointed out, Beaumarchais might easily have drawn his characters from Boccaccio, as Franklin did. Perhaps so, but Franklin's circulation in France among the writers in the *querelle* tradition makes it equally as likely that Beaumarchais was seeking to capitalize on Franklin's success with the story.<sup>32</sup> It is also very likely that Beaumarchais was ingratiating himself with Franklin. They had an extended relationship during Franklin's last years in France, when Beaumarchais assisted the American commissioners by arranging for supplies and munitions for the troops in North America.

The distracting diversity of Franklin's writings and his reputation as an American scientist and founder have prevented our making reasoned assessments about his contributions to the *querelle des femmes* tradition during the eighteenth century. The small selection of writings discussed represent Franklin's clear participation in the contemporary debates about womankind, debates he returned to across his life. From his youthful foray into publication through to the end of his life, Franklin immensely enjoyed writing *jeux d'esprits* and serious pieces that signal his significant knowledge of and participation in the tradition of the *querelle des femmes*. By examining just a few of his many delightful belletristic writings in this tradition, we begin to understand the capaciousness of Franklin's literary knowledge and the facility of his rhetorical method. He took up issues widely discussed in his day, adapted them to his situation as a colonial American, and fabricated personae who could speak to women's lives – all revealing that American experience did not differ much from that of British and European readers.

To be sure, Franklin's writings are both misogynist at times and proto-feminist at times – indeed, his writings can be quite equivocal regarding the praise and dispraise of both men and women. Such equivocality might seem



particularly modern of Franklin, yet as Anne E. B. Coldiron has said about fifteenth- and sixteenth-century writings, “alternative strands” in the *querelle* tradition were quite common. Coldiron reports that “The print record reveals that competing and even contradictory strands of discourse about women found a robust and enduring readership” (Coldiron 9). Coldiron’s remark applies equally as well to eighteenth-century literature and its readers.

Literary analysis of Franklin has fallen off. I have argued elsewhere that this work has been occluded by the gendered and nationalist paradigms that have driven literary study and the study of Franklin since the mid 1800s. By approaching significant historical figures in terms of how “exceptionally American” they were, scholars have limited the potential for reading American writings in the transoceanic context in which they were conceived. Franklin thought of himself as a Briton. He read widely and deeply in British literary, social, and political cultures, and he firmly believed British North Americans to be one part of an extended British human family. Indeed, he spent a good part of his mature years trying to make this point to Britons in England. He finally admitted that his own idealism conflicted with social and political reality, and he gave up trying to convince the British that Americans were Britons. But he by no means gave up his intellectual and cultural heritage nor his love of Britain and its peoples. As I have attempted to show, Franklin knew a good deal about the *querelle des femmes* tradition and relied on its durability and resilience for both profit and entertainment.

Pennsylvania State University, University Park

## Appendix 1: Some *Querelle*-Related Observations from Poor Richard, 1733-34

### 1733

#### JANUARY

Old Batchelor would have a Wife that’s wise,  
Fair, rich, and young, a Maiden for his Bed;  
Not proud, nor churlish, but of faultless size;  
A Country Houswife in the City bred.  
He’s a nice Fool, and long in vain hath staid;  
He should bespeak her, there’s none ready made. (*PBF* 312)

A house without woman and Firelight, is like a body without soul or sprite.  
(*PBF* 312)

#### FEBRUARY

Ne’er take a wife till thou hast a house (and a fire) to put her in. (*PBF* 312)

#### MARCH

My Love and I for Kisses play’d,  
She would keep stakes, I was content,

But when I won she would be paid;  
This made me ask her what she meant:  
Quoth she, since you are in this wrangling vein,  
Here take your Kisses, give me mine again. (*PBF* 313)

## APRIL

Kind Katharine to her husband kiss'd these words,  
"Mine own sweet Will, how dearly I love thee!"  
If true (quoth Will) the World no such affords.  
And that its true I durst his warrant be;  
For ne'er heard I of Woman good or ill,  
But always loved best, her own sweet Will. (*PBF* 313)

## JUNE

After 3 days men grow weary, of a wench, a guest, and weather rainy. . . .  
The proof of gold is fire, the proof of woman, gold; the proof of man, a woman.  
(*PBF* 314)

## JULY

Many estates are spent in the getting,  
Since women for tea forsook spinning and knitting. (*PBF* 315)

## AUGUST

A good Wife lost is God's gift lost. (*PBF* 315)

## OCTOBER

Time was my spouse and I could not agree,  
Striving about superiority:  
The text which saith that man and wife are one,  
Was the chief argument we stood upon:  
She held, they both one woman should become;  
I held they should be man, and both but one.  
Thus we contended daily, but the strife  
Could not be ended, till both were one Wife. (*PBF* 316)

## NOVEMBER

My neighbour H---y by his pleasing tongue,  
Hath won a Girl that's rich, wise, fair and young;  
The Match (he saith) is half concluded, he  
Indeed is wondrous willing; but not she.  
And reason good, for he has run thro' all  
Almost the story of the Prodigal;  
Yet swears he never with the hogs did dine;  
That's true, for none would trust him with their swine. (*PBF* 317)

## DECEMBER

She that will eat her breakfast in her bed,  
And spend the morn in dressing of her head,

And sit at dinner like a maiden bride,  
And talk of nothing all day but of pride;  
God in his mercy may do much to save her,  
But what a case is he in that shall have her. . . .  
Never mind it, she'll be sober after the holidays. (PBF 317)

**1734**

[Richard Saunders's opening message to readers includes the following commentary] Your kind and charitable Assistance last Year, in purchasing so large an Impression of my Almanacks, has made my Circumstances much more easy in the World, and requires my grateful Acknowledgment. My Wife has been enabled to get a Pot of her own, and is no longer oblig'd to borrow one from a Neighbour; nor have we ever since been without something of our own to put in it. She has also got a pair of Shoes, two new Shifts, and a new warm Petticoat; and for my part, I have bought a second-hand Coat, so good, that I am now not ashamed to go to Town or be seen there. These Things have render'd her Temper so much more pacifick than it us'd to be, that I may say, I have slept more, and more quietly within this last Year, than in the three foregoing Years put together. Accept my hearty Thanks therefor, and my sincere Wishes for your Health and Prosperity. . . . (PBF 349-50)

[opening message is followed with two poems, one of which follows]

Good Women are like stars in darkest Night,  
Their Virtuous Actions shining as a Light  
To guide their ignorant Sex, which oft times fall,  
And falling oft, turns diabolical.  
Good Women sure are Angels on the Earth,  
Of those good Angels we have had a Dearth;  
And therefore all you Men that have good Wives,  
Respect their Virtues equal with your Lives. (PBF 351)

**JANUARY**

From a cross Neighbour, and a sullen Wife,  
A pointless Needle, and a broken Knife;  
From Suretyship, and from an empty Purse,  
A Smoaky Chimney and a jolting Horse;  
From a dull Razor, and an aking Head,  
From a bad Conscience and a buggy Bed;  
A Blow upon the Elbow and the Knee,  
From each of these, *Good L--d deliver me.* (PBF 351)

You cannot pluck roses without fear of thorns,  
Nor enjoy a fair wife without danger of horns. (PBF 352)

**FEBRUARY**

Be temperate in wine, in eating, girls, and sloth;

Or the Gout will seize you and plague you both. (*PBF* 352)

MAY

Wedlock, as old Men note, hath likened been,  
 Unto a publick Crowd or common Rout;  
 Where those that are without would fain get in,  
 And those that are within would fain get out.  
 Grief often treads upon the Heels of Pleasure,  
 Marry'd in Haste, we oft repent at Leisure;  
 Some by Experience find these Words misplac'd,  
 Marry'd at Leisure, they repent in Haste. . . .  
 Where there's Marriage without Love, there will be Love without Marriage. . . .  
 Neither a Fortress nor a Maidenhead will hold out long after they begin to  
 parley. (*PBF* 354)

JUNE

When Robin now three Days had married been,  
 And all his Friends and Neighbours gave him Joy;  
 This Question of his Wife he asked then,  
 Why till her Marriage Day she prov'd so coy?  
 Indeed (said he) 'twas well thou didst not yield,  
 For doubtless then my Purpose was to leave thee:  
*O Sir, I once before was so beguil'd,*  
*And was resolv'd the next should not deceive me.* (*PBF* 354)

Happy's the Wooing, that's not long a doing. (*PBF* 355)

AUGUST

Ill thrives that hapless Family that shows  
 A Cock that's silent, and a Hen that crows:  
 I know not which lives more unnatural Lives,  
 Obeying Husbands, or commanding Wives. . . .  
 He that cannot obey, cannot command. . . .  
 Grief for a dead Wife, and a troublesome Guest,  
 Continues to the *threshold*, and there is at rest;  
 But I mean such wives as are none of the best. (*PBF* 356)

NOVEMBER

Marry your Son when you will, but your Daughter when you can. (*PBF* 357)

DECEMBER

By Mrs. Bridget Saunders, my Dutchess, in Answer to the December Verses of  
 last Year.

He that for sake of Drink neglects his Trade,  
 And spends each Night in Taverns till 'tis late,  
 And rises when the Sun is four hours high,  
 And ne'er regards his starving Family;  
 God in his Mercy may do much to save him,

But, woe to the poor Wife, whose Lot it is to have him. (PBF 358)

Famine, Plague, War, and an unnumber'd throng  
Of Guilt-avenging Ills, to Man belong;  
Is't not enough Plagues, Wars, and Famines rise  
To lash our crimes, but must our Wives be wise? (PBF 358)

## Appendix 2: A Selection of Franklin's Writings in the *Querelle* Tradition

Hugo Grim on Silence Dogood, Dec. 3, 1722  
Timothy Wagstaff, Apr 15, 1723  
Abigail Twitterfield, July 8, 1723  
Busy-Body: 1, Feb 4, 1728/9; 2, Feb 11; 3, Feb 18; 4, Feb 25; 5, Mar 4; 6, 27  
One Piles a Fiddler, Oct 16, 1729  
Anthony Afterwit, July 10, 1732  
Celia Single, July 24, 1732  
Alice Addertongue, Sept 12, 1732  
On Drunkenness, Feb. 1, 1732  
Reply to a Piece of Advice, Mar 4, 1734/5  
Women's Court, Apr 17, 1735  
Advice to a Pretty Creature, and Replies, Nov 20 and 27, 1735  
I Sing My Plain Country Joan, c. 1742  
Old Mistress's Apologue, June 25, 1745  
The Speech of Miss Polly Baker, Apr 14, 1747  
Articles for a Treaty of Peace with Mme Brillon, July 27, 1762  
The Ephemera, Sept 20, 1778  
The Elysian Fields (to Madame Helvétius), Dec 7, 1778  
Bilked for Breakfast, c. 1778  
The Flies (to Madame Helvétius), 1784?

## Notes

1. See Gary E. Baker's assessments of Franklin's Anthony Afterwit essays, designed to date a particular moment when Franklin comments on his life with Deborah Read Franklin in the memoir: "He That Would Thrive Must Ask His Wife: Franklin's Anthony Afterwit Letter," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 109 (1985), 27-41. A more complicated example of the situation occurs in J. A. Leo Lemay's multivolume biography of Franklin, *The Life of Benjamin Franklin*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: U. of Pennsylvania Press, 2005-2008). Lemay is attentive to Franklin's literary skill, but his analyses often feature biographical information rather than literary history.

2. J.A. Leo Lemay does speak to Franklin's interest in what Lemay calls the "battle of the sexes" literature of the eighteenth century, but he is preoccupied by Franklin's life and his American exceptionalism argument. See, for example, Lemay, *The Life of Benjamin Franklin, Volume 2: Printer and Publisher, 1730-1747* (2006), chapter 5.

3. See my "Franklin, Women, and American Cultural Myths," in *Benjamin Franklin and Women*, ed. Larry E. Tise (University Park: Pennsylvania State U. Press, 2000), 104-28 (notes at 161-66), and "Figuring Benjamin Franklin in American Cultural Memory," *New England Quarterly* 71 (1999), 415-43.

4. For background about Franklin's reading as a youth, see my book, *Benjamin Franklin and the Ends of Empire* (New York: Oxford U. Press, 2015), 3-17, 39-74. But see also Edwin Wolfe and Kevin J. Hayes, "Introduction," *The Library of Benjamin Franklin* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society and The Library Company of Philadelphia, 2006) and J. A. Leo Lemay, *The Life of Benjamin Franklin, Volume 1: Journalist, 1706-1730* (2006), 62, 68-78.

5. Franklin, *Autobiography*, in *Benjamin Franklin: Writings*, ed. J. A. Leo Lemay (New York: Library of America, 1987), 1305-1469, quoting 1319.

6. Poland is added by Vanda Anastácio, "Notes on the *Querelle des Femmes* in Eighteenth-Century Portugal," *Portuguese Studies* 31 (2015): 50-63.

7. For a survey of the scholarship on Renaissance-era writings, see Linda Woodbridge, *Women and the English Renaissance: Literature and the Nature of Womankind, 1540-1620* (Urbana: U. of Illinois Press, 1984), 1-17; hereafter cited as "Woodbridge." The discussion that follows is also based on the following, arranged chronologically: Ian Maclean, *The Renaissance Notion of Woman: A Study in the Fortunes of Scholasticism and Medical Science in European Intellectual Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 1980); Katherine Usher Henderson and Barbara F. McManus, *Half Humankind: Contexts and Texts of the Controversy about Women in England, 1540-1640* (Urbana: U. of Illinois Press, 1985), 3-130; Pamela Joseph Benson, *The Invention of the Renaissance Woman: The Challenge of Female Independence in the Literature and Thought of Italy and England* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State U. Press, 1992); Alcuin Blamires, *The Case for Women in Medieval Culture* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997); cited parenthetically as "Blamires"; Anne E. B. Coldiron, *English Printing, Verse Translation, and the Battle of the Sexes, 1476-1557* (Surrey, UK: Ashgate, 2009); hereafter cited as "Coldiron."

8. For one of the lists of books that contains Boccaccio, see *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin* (hereafter cited as "PBF"), 44 vols. to date, ed. Leonard W. Labaree et al. (New Haven, CT: Yale U. Press, 1959-), PBF 36:330-43, Boccaccio at 36:337. Franklin was fond of Boccaccio.

9. Franklin was proud of the holdings the Library Company accumulated, and he printed a catalogue of the Library's holdings in 1741. By publishing a list of holdings at the Library Company, Franklin demonstrated the group's interest in all areas of natural history, ancient and modern history, and contemporary culture. See *A Catalogue of Books belonging to the Library Company of Philadelphia: A Facsimile of the Edition Printed by Benjamin Franklin*, ed. Edwin Wolf II (1741; Philadelphia: Library Company of Philadelphia, 1956).

10. Woodbridge, 64-65.

11. On the *querelle's* reach into the eighteenth century, see Anastácio, who offers a shorter catalogue of eighteenth-century concerns at 54.

12. See Lemay, *The Life of Benjamin Franklin, Vol. 1*, 87-142, especially 88-94, 105-106.

13. These items were printed in the *New-England Courant* on September 4, 1721; September 25, 1721; January 1, 1721/22; January 29, 1721/22..

14. These appear in the *New-England Courant* for September 25, 1721; October 2, 1721; and October 9, 1721, respectively.

15. During this period, the management of the paper fell to Benjamin Franklin, and he used the paper to launch his first essays about freedom of the press. See Mulford, *Benjamin Franklin and the Ends of Empire*, 11-13.

16. Printed in the *New-England Courant*, May 14, 1722; *PBF* 1:14-18.

17. Printed in the *New-England Courant*, June 11, 1722; *PBF* 1:21-23.

18. For a fuller understanding of Benjamin Franklin's ideas about liberty and for background on Franklin's use of early modern liberalism, see Mulford, *Benjamin Franklin and the Ends of Empire*, 1-74. For background on James Franklin's incarceration, see *PBF* 1:27.

19. Anthony Afterwit was printed in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 10, and Celia Single, July 24, 1732. Both are available in *PBF* 1:237-43.

20. Woodbridge, 188-198.

21. On Franklin's development of *Poor Richard*, see *PBF* 1:280-283.

22. Robert Newcomb, "The Sources of Benjamin Franklin's Sayings of Poor Richard," Diss. University of Maryland, 1957. See Appendix I.

23. See Newcomb, 257-258, for books Franklin cited with frequency.

24. April 1733, *PBF* 1:315; January 1734, *PBF* 1:351.

25. "The Speech of Miss Polly Baker" was likely written sometime in 1746. It was published in London's *General Advertiser* on April 15, 1747. For the text, see *PBF* 3:120-25. For complete background on this satire, see the following: Max Hall, *Benjamin Franklin and Polly Baker: The History of Literary Deception* (Chapel Hill: U. of North Carolina Press, 1960); hereafter cited as "Hall"; A. Owen Aldridge, "Polly Baker and Boccaccio," 5-18; and J.A. Leo Lemay, "The Text, Rhetorical Strategies, and Themes of 'The Speech of Miss Polly Baker,'" in *The Oldest Revolutionary: Essays on Benjamin Franklin*, ed. J. A. Leo Lemay (Philadelphia: U. of Pennsylvania Press, 1976), 91-120.

26. For additional background about this, see Hall, 114-125, and Lemay, *The Life of Benjamin Franklin, Volume 2*, 532.

27. Franklin would later develop a lasting relationship with Woodfall's son, Henry Sampson Woodfall, who printed several of Franklin's letters to the press about British policies.

28. For information about Dodsley and the Boccaccio publication, see *The Correspondence of Robert Dodsley, 1733-1764*, ed. James E. Tierney (1998; Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 2004), 40, 70, and Henry M. Solomon, *The Rise of Robert Dodsley: Creating the New Age of Print* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois U. Press, 1996), 98. Solomon quotes the advertisements.

29. Bagluy translation 1741 (tp at gmail cjmulford address).

30. Lemay was the first to point that Franklin's model was classical oratory. See Lemay, *The Life of Benjamin Franklin, Volume 2*, 538.

31. Lemay, *The Life of Benjamin Franklin, Volume 2*, 532; Hall, 17-21.

32. See Agnes G. Raymond, "Figaro, fils naturel de Polly Baker? ou la Réhabilitation de Marceline," *Comparative Literature Studies* 12 (1975): 32-44. Another study of the impact of Polly Baker on the French is David L. Anderson's "The Polly Baker Digression in Diderot's 'Supplément au voyage de Bougainville,'" *Diderot Studies* 26 (1995): 15-27.

## Irish News in Swift's Poems: Underexploited Resources<sup>1</sup>

by James Woolley

One challenge in historical research, particularly in Irish history and particularly given the destruction of the Public Record Office of Ireland in 1922, is to replace what has been lost with other sources. Another challenge is to resist the temptation to imagine that the evidence available to us—in the case of Swift research, the editions of his writings, which are extensive, and the letters and the biographical testimony, also extensive—is complete. Putting this less rosily, the challenge is to imagine how much we do not learn from that documentation. A further interesting challenge is to resist the temptation to imagine that Swift's knowledge, interests, and biases reflect the knowledge, interests, and biases of his culture. To be sure, a Swift scholar needs to look at his poems, essays, and letters with empathy, needs to try to see through his eyes, but at the same time we not must suppose that Swift's viewpoint was the best or the most important one, even in his circle.

One useful corrective is found in newspapers, where one can go for weeks or months without finding any reference to Swift. Even so, the information that is available in newspapers provides, on hundreds of small points and a few large ones, a valuable adjunct to what scholars have previously reported.

I'll be talking today about research on Swift's Dublin career, which is nearly all of his life, including events to which he alluded, and publications in which his work appeared, and especially I'll be talking about under-exploited newspaper resources for that research. I'll end with ideas for further Swift research. When I speak about resources for Swift's Dublin career, you'll expect that I refer to Dublin newspapers, but first I want to talk about London newspapers and tell you a little of what I have learned from looking at both Dublin and London newspapers for more than 40 years.

Though London newspapers are now more easily accessible than Dublin newspapers, thanks to the online Burney Newspapers and Nichols Newspapers, they are less exploited for studying Swift's Dublin career. Yet the Dublin news picked up by London papers was sometimes taken from Dublin papers not now extant or from unpublished manuscript newsletters. Sometimes references to features of the London ethos mentioned in Swift's poems can be documented from London newspapers: Swift's charming birthday poem to Charles Ford from January 1723 disparages London for its "swarms of bugs." How do we confirm that London had swarms of bugs in 1722? From bug-control advertisements in London newspapers. In the Burney Newspapers, there are 28 advertisements for bug-control products in 1721 and 14 in 1722; by contrast, the average annual number of bug-control advertisements in pre-1723 London newspapers is 2. It's also true that the reprinting of a Dublin poem in a London newspaper can be an emphatic testament to the poem's London popularity. In October 1724, Swift's *A Serious Poem upon William Wood* was reprinted twice in the *British Journal*, the pressrun of the first time "not being near sufficient to answer the Demand."

Did Swift read London newspapers? At least occasionally yes, it seems. In Swift's excellent poem *On the Words, Brother Protestants and Fellow Christians*, written in late 1733, Swift refers to "Lamb, renown'd for cutting



corns.” Who was this corn-cutter named Lamb, and how did Swift know about him? The only reference I have found is to David Lamb, who was the nominal author of the London newspaper called the *Corn-Cutter’s Journal*, first published on 2 October 1733. This Lamb was identified, I suppose facetiously, as having been for 43 years “Corn-Cutter in Ordinary to the Nobility and Gentry.” If Swift was alluding to this newspaper, and I think he must have been, he couldn’t have finished his poem *On the Words, Brother Protestants and Fellow Christians* earlier than the second week of October 1733, about the time it would have taken for the first issue of the *Corn-Cutter’s Journal* to get from London to Dublin and into Swift’s hands.

In 1736, the agistment controversy in the Irish House of Commons, when a majority of the MPs voted to limit the access of Church of Ireland clergy to tithe income, was what provoked Swift’s great poem *The Legion Club* and its abuse of numerous members of the Commons by name. Remarkably, the division list for the fateful vote against the agistment tithe, and more generally against the Church of Ireland clergy’s rights, was first published in a London newspaper, the *General Evening Post*, in May 1736. Why was the list first published in a London newspaper? Because the privilege of parliament, so called, prevented its publication in Dublin.

Turning now to Dublin newspapers. In the early eighteenth century, a Dublin newspaper served mostly to present London news, lifted from London newspapers. When this London news didn’t fill most of a Dublin paper, that was commonly because weather had prevented English ships from sailing to Dublin. Then the newspaper space would be filled, most usefully for our purposes, with Dublin news and sometimes with Dublin poetry.

A key mission of this paper today is to encourage those interested in Swift’s Irish career, or in other eighteenth century Irish topics, to pay a lot more attention to newspapers as research sources. The greatest barrier to research in eighteenth-century Irish newspapers has been the difficulty of finding out which papers cover which years. This paper and, in particular, its appendix aim to knock down that barrier.

Most surviving Dublin newspapers are microfilmed in the series Irish Newspapers in Dublin Libraries, or INDL for short, which brings together holdings of the National Library of Ireland, the Gilbert Collection, the Royal Irish Academy, and Trinity College Dublin. We can be certain that some issues of Dublin papers no longer survive, since in the serial numbering of issues, there are distressing gaps. The INDL series, published 1950 to 1958, was one of the earliest large-scale microfilming projects, impressive in its ambition but crude in its lighting and sometimes in contrast and focus.

You may wonder whether it wouldn’t be simpler just to get a travel grant and read the newspapers on paper in Dublin libraries. No, it wouldn’t, because the films interleave the holdings of the various libraries. And because the newspaper volumes themselves are fragile as well as rare, libraries are reluctant to bring them to the reading room. The one online resource I’m aware of is called Irish Newspaper Archives ([irishnewsarchive.com](http://irishnewsarchive.com)), a subscription service that for Swift’s lifetime offers only George Faulkner’s *Dublin Journal* from 1733 on and the *Belfast Newsletter* from 1738 on. The *Dublin Journal* seems to be scanned in from the INDL films and must be used with caution in the Irish

Newspaper Archives version, particularly in its constant mishandling of issue dates. Even so, since George Faulkner was by 1733 Swift's publisher, we can't ignore the accessibility of the *Dublin Journal* in this online resource. Faulkner's *Dublin Journal* gave attention to Swift and to publications by Swift, and this attention continued up through Faulkner's last edition of Swift, published in 1772 in 20 volumes. Faulkner wasn't shy about featuring his Swift editions in his newspaper announcements and advertisements.

Of what value, then, might Dublin newspapers be for the study of Swift? Some examples I've discovered:

1. Edward Waters, the printer of Swift's stunning 1720 Dublin pamphlet *A Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture*, was tried for sedition. The grand jury presentment, which gives the background of Swift's poem *An Excellent New Song on a Seditious Pamphlet*, is quoted in the *Dublin Courant*. The poem itself was as inflammatory as the pamphlet and remained unpublished for 15 years.
2. Bishop Atterbury's prosecution in the British House of Lords for aiding and abetting a Jacobite invasion in 1723 was the subject of Swift's poem *Upon the Horrid Plot Discovered by Harlequin*. How did Swift learn details of the Atterbury prosecution? A Dublin newspaper advertisement shows that Swift might have gotten much of his information about the Atterbury prosecution from a now little-known pamphlet reprinted in Dublin.
3. There is plenty of newspaper information about the 1730 St. Cecilia's Day concert, the subject of Swift's poem *The Dean to Himself on St. Cecilia's Day*, jotted in the cathedral while Swift listened to the concert.
4. Swift's amusing *Advertisement for the Honour of the Kingdom of Ireland*, published in 1739 along with Faulkner's edition of *Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift*, had been first published in the *Dublin Journal* in 1732 while Swift was writing footnotes for the *Verses*.
5. Swift's false claim that he did *not* write *The Life and Genuine Character of Doctor Swift* was published in the *Dublin Journal* in May 1733.
6. The best text of Swift's touching poem *On Deafness*, written in 1734, was published in the *Dublin Journal*.

In many similar cases, Dublin newspapers, most commonly Faulkner's *Dublin Journal*, elucidate Swift's poems. The *Dublin Journal* advertisements are the best source for the publication dates of Faulkner's many editions of Swift's works, both singly and in volume form, including the very important volumes published in 1746 and 1762, and for his competition with other Dublin booksellers, particularly Samuel Fairbrother and George and Alexander Ewing, father and son, over the rights to publish Swift.

Unlike most other Dublin newspapers, not all of the *Dublin Journal*'s very scarce issues are found, or only found, in the *INDL* microfilms. Others are available only on paper, in the Linen Hall Library, Belfast. A good source of information about which libraries have which issues of Irish papers is *Newsplan*.<sup>2</sup> A complete refilming of eighteenth-century Irish newspapers in well-lit, well-focused color images mounted online, like those in the Nichols Newspapers from the Bodleian, is much to be desired.

Finally, I'll list seven Swift research problems that could be tackled with the help of Dublin newspapers:

1. Which books published by subscription did Swift subscribe for?
2. Which of Swift's various departures from Dublin and returns to Dublin were reported in newspapers, and which were apparently passed over in silence?
3. Which occasions of Dublin unrest did Swift comment on in his essays or poems, and which did he leave unremarked?
4. In Swift's essays and poems, which Dublin commodities did he comment on, and was he well informed about their prices?
5. Which preferments to posts in the Irish government or in the Church of Ireland did Swift mention in his essays or poems, and which did he bypass?
6. Which other topics of Dublin news—hangings, drownings, street crimes—or events advertised—plays, concerts, performances, sermons supporting charitable causes, or campaigns for seats in parliament—did Swift respond to in his writings or otherwise? What about international news concerning wars, diplomacy, and Continental travel?
7. Did Swift read Dublin newspapers? if so, which ones and at which periods? This is the toughest question of the seven, but any of them would familiarize you with Dublin newspapers and if researched could easily lead to discoveries and a publishable article.

I'm sure that is enough to keep anyone busy who's looking for a good project.

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### Appendix

*Irish Newspapers in Dublin Libraries* (University Microfilms, 1950-58).<sup>3</sup>

Major INDL runs (most incomplete), 1700-50

- 1710-43 *Dublin Gazette*: INDL reels 4 (1710-14), 5 (1729-30, 1732-33), 6 (1734-39), 7 (1739-43)
- 1711-12 *Examiner*: INDL reel 8
- 1718-43 *Pue's Occurrences*: INDL reels 9 (1718, 1731-33), 10 (1733-38), 11 (1739-43), 23 (1746-48)
- 1724-50 *Dublin Courant*: INDL reels 3 (1724), 22 (1747-50)
- 1725-50 *Dublin Weekly Journal*: INDL reel 14 (1725-31; 1748-50)
- 1727-50 *Dublin Journal* (Faulkner): INDL reels 15 (1727), (1729-33), 16 (1733-36, 1740-42), 17 (1742-45), 18 (1745-50)
- 1732-36 *Dublin Evening-Post*: INDL reel 19
- 1737-43 *Dublin News Letter*: INDL reel 20 (1737-38, 1740-43)
- 1739-40 *Dublin Daily Post*: INDL reel 21
- 1749-50 *Censor, or The Citizen's Journal*: INDL reel 21

### Notes

1. Presented at the East-Central American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies conference, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 2 November 2024.

2. *Newsplan: Report of the Newsplan Project in Ireland*, ed. James O'Toole; 2nd edition, rev. Sara Smyth (London: British Library, and Dublin: National Library of Ireland, 1998).

3. All these newspapers can be ordered by title or INDL reel via inter-library loan from the Center for Research Libraries and other sites listed in WorldCat, under "Irish Newspapers in Dublin Libraries" and individual titles.

A full chronological INDL table of contents including all titles, 27 pages (1680-1799), compiled for the Swift Poems Project by Arch Elias, is available as a PDF upon request to woolleyj@lafayette.edu.

## Defoe's Correspondence: Healey–Seager Substantive Variants

by Nicholas Seager

*The Cambridge Edition of the Correspondence of Daniel Defoe*, edited by Nicholas Seager and published in 2022, adopts a different editorial approach than did *The Letters of Daniel Defoe*, edited by G. H. Healey and published in 1955.<sup>1</sup> Whereas Healey expanded contractions and abbreviations, omitted diacritics, and tended to standardize the paragraphing and layouts of Defoe's letters, *The Cambridge Edition* attempted to replicate manuscript features to a greater extent, though the intention was never to produce a photofacsimile-type edition and therefore many pragmatic decisions were taken. Beyond readily apparent differences between the two editions – such as "wch" versus "w<sup>ch</sup>," "my" versus "m<sup>y</sup>," "Sence" versus "Sen<sup>ce</sup>," and the like – readers may notice some substantive variations, where different words appear in the respective presentations ("place" versus "share," "I find" versus "you find," "Readyness" versus "Steddyness," "Discomposed" versus "Disstempered," and the like).<sup>2</sup> Without having to consult copytexts themselves, students of Defoe's letters may desire reassurance that the 2022 editor has not merely blundered. Therefore, this note lists the substantive variants between Healey and Seager.

It was not thought fit to list corrections to Healey's transcriptions in the edition itself. A reviewer of a recent edition of Oliver Goldsmith's letters lamented that the editors included "no textual apparatus accounting for different readings in [Katherine] Balderston [who edited Goldsmith's letters in 1932] or any other previous printing. Often the editors are looking at the same copy-text but we cannot tell if the variance is deliberate or accidental." The reviewer, Melvyn New, opines that, "if an author's letters are worth preserving, they are worth preserving with a full textual history of past presentations."<sup>3</sup> The response of the editors, Michael Griffin and David O'Shaughnessy, accurately points out that to have produced such a collation would have been unusual for a modern scholarly edition.<sup>4</sup> I similarly reasoned that in the case of Defoe it would have seemed churlish towards Healey.<sup>5</sup>

James May's generous review of *The Cambridge Edition* in last September's issue of this journal praises Healey as a mostly accurate text.<sup>6</sup> I agree with that assessment. This is commendable given the circumstances in

which Healey was working in the wake of World War II, first on his doctorate (a partial edition) and then his published edition.<sup>7</sup> *The Cambridge Edition* sought to build on and improve rather than to denigrate Healey's achievement. May comments that in compared passes there were "few substantive variants between transcriptions of Healey and of Seager" (60). This statement is based on spot checks of some of the illustrations of manuscripts in *The Cambridge Edition* and the corresponding printed text in both editions. However, it stands at the start of a paragraph as a broader generalization. Whether the list of 170 variants below is regarded as a *few* or as *quite a few*, the list will give scholars confidence that, if they see variance, the editor of *The Cambridge Edition* intended to diverge from Healey. The most significant variation is the list's first, involving Defoe's letter to William Penn on 12 July 1703: Healey missed a full page of the manuscript (a copy), which *The Cambridge Edition* restores.

An additional hope is that drawing attention to the corrections will help further to dispel the lingering notion that Defoe was a careless or incompetent prose stylist, as the accurate reading usually improves and never mars the sense. The third and fourth variations in the list offer small-scale examples. Defoe writes to Robert Harley in 1704, "I beg heartily y<sup>r</sup> Pardon," rather than "heartly," as Healey has it. Next, when alleging that the enemy English and French admirals connived to avoid a naval battle, Defoe actually suggested that "They Understood One Another," rather than "Understand," as Healey renders it (the shift to present tense would be jarring within the sentence). In another example, the correct rendering of Defoe's letter of 19 November 1706 makes perfect sense of what in Healey is a dreadful construction, as "the Enemy Insults To, thus, The Commisr was Run away" becomes "y<sup>e</sup> Enemy Insults Told us The Co<sup>m</sup>mis<sup>s</sup>e<sup>r</sup> was Run away." (The Lord High Commissioner of Scotland, the Duke of Queensberry, was threatened with assassination during the Union debates in Edinburgh, but Defoe was eager to reassure English politicians that Queensberry was steadfast.) In another example, Defoe wrote to the Earl of Sunderland on 25 May 1708 about his concern "That My L<sup>d</sup> T . . . r Supposing yo<sup>r</sup> L<sup>d</sup> Supports me, should Decline what otherwise his L<sup>d</sup> may Design to Do for me": Defoe was worried that Godolphin thought Defoe well enough compensated by Sunderland. But Healey erroneously made this say "I should Decline," which fundamentally changes the sense, making it seem Defoe is rejecting remuneration rather than fretting that Godolphin will withhold it. Amid the credit crisis of 1710–11 Defoe writes of his knowledge of the Whig party's "Design ... to bauk y<sup>e</sup> funds": Whig financiers were undermining the government's capability to borrow. But Healey renders this "bank the funds," implying some kind of embezzlement that makes no sense. Elsewhere, when Defoe in his best secret agent mode writes, "I kno' it would be hard to press Gent<sup>n</sup> to betray Conversa<sup>c</sup>on," Healey gives "said" for "hard," which produces tortuous text (and perhaps makes it sound like Defoe was expressing compunction for wheedling information out of people, which would have been as alien to him as declining government payment). On another occasion, Defoe wrote, "I am bold to Importune yo<sup>r</sup> L<sup>d</sup>," not to "Importunate" him, as Healey renders it. Some strange features in Healey's edition, such as the non-word "Allijs," are made readily explicable in *The Cambridge Edition*, as Defoe actually wrote "Allÿs": Defoe's use of dieresis is not reproduced by Healey, and

in this instance Healey misreads it as two microdots over joined up “ij.” Very aware of how money worked, Defoe did not write “2d 6d” but “2<sup>s</sup> 6<sup>d</sup>.” Correcting “leav” to “leave” and “probbable” to “probable” will neither change the sense nor negate some scholars’ view that Defoe’s spelling is erratic, but users of the edition will prefer the correct spellings because they produce a more accurate text. So, a few corrected spellings, though not strictly substantives, are listed below.

I have not listed substantive variants between *The Cambridge Edition* and earlier printings of letters not in Healey, because these letters are not numerous. The most substantial batch is the letters from John Russell to Defoe, discovered as copies in Russell’s letterbook and published by Paula R. Backscheider.<sup>8</sup> Several mistranscriptions of those letters are corrected in *The Cambridge Edition*. For example, the 8 August 1710 letter is addressed “To Daniel Defoe Esq | at his house at Newingtoūn” rather than “at his home”; the 21 September 1710 letter is dated at the head “Ed<sup>b</sup> 21 7ber 1710” (Edinburgh 21 September 1710) whereas the previous printing missed “21.”

In the following concordance, the Healey reading is offered in the left-hand column, keyed to the page and line number in his edition in the format 8.33 = page 18, thirty-third line from the top. The corresponding Seager reading is given keyed in the same way to *The Cambridge Edition*. Asterisked entries indicate cases where Seager uses a different copytext to Healey, usually because the autograph letter was found. This list of variants is I hope comprehensive, though my focus in preparing *The Cambridge Edition* was primarily to create a correct text based on transcription of the specified copytext, not to check every aspect of it against its predecessor.

<i>Healey</i>	<i>Seager</i>
8.33 Tenderly. I am Ready	18.26–38 Tenderly and ... So I am Ready [ <i>additional page of MS</i> ]
14.1 Ordrs	32.27 Ord <sup>r</sup>
18.1 heartly	38.7 heartily
21.32 Understand	44.2 Understood
23.12 in the Road	45.16 on y <sup>e</sup> Road
32.25	60.8 <i>paragraph break after</i> “Enough”
33.8 Proof	60.30 Proofs
34.22–26	62.13–23 <i>three paragraphs are a numbered list</i>
37.31 Intelligence	63.29 Intelligēces
39.24 place	67.18 share
40.9 Allijs	68.3 Allÿs
56.12 advantage	92.13 advantages
58.6 Of the Royston Club	97.34 List of the Royston Club
*63.3 you	106.20 y <sup>m</sup>
*63.11 Faithfull Servt	106.28 Faithfull Fr <sup>d</sup> & Serv <sup>t</sup>
67.7 it Call’d	113.7 it be Call’d
70.20 I read	118.36 I had read
76.28 Seamen	126.22 Seaman
90.6 I hope	148.26 p[er]haps <sup>9</sup>
102.28 the Informers	169.10 y <sup>r</sup> Informers <sup>10</sup>

105.18 joyn	174.17 joyn [w <sup>th</sup> ] <sup>11</sup>
110.9 Launceton	182.4 Launceston
110.13 stop	182.8 stay
119.12 and Entreat	201.30 and I Entreat <sup>12</sup>
120.35 upon	203.22 on
121.29 County	204.12 Country
125.16 hands	211.20 hand
125.32 Conferences	214.26 Conferen <sup>ce</sup>
129.7 Waye	219.17 Ways
139.11 players	238.26 playes
143.13 assure	245.13 assist
144.21 Draw them for them	248.32 Draw them out for them
146.8 Equallity with England	252.4 Equallity in Trade w <sup>th</sup> England
146.12 Bounty	252.8 Bountyes
148.22 joke	256.21 jest
151.24 To, thus, The	261.18 Told us The
154.28 after the	268.12 after all the
155.7 protest	268.25 profess
156.22 This Bounty	271.33 The Bounty
157.1 2d 6d	272.14 2 <sup>s</sup> 6 <sup>d</sup>
159.22 about	276.9 above
159.26 Then	276.13 There
162.13 G——	280.10 I <sup>13</sup>
167.22 Sollicitations	289.17 Sollicita <sup>cion</sup>
171.9 Commons	294.29 Commoners
175.39 Foll'	175.9 Foll <sup>s</sup>
181.1 Itinerant	310.22 Itinerate
181.26 had my	311.13 had of my
186.37 had	317.31 have
188.4 displeased	320.4–5 ill pleased
189.29 <i>True spy</i>	322.29–30 True <u>spy</u>
194.20 They	331.11 on That Day They <sup>14</sup>
194.26 Thus	331.20 This
195.17 pamphletts	332.3 pamphlett
195.30 Say on	332.13 Say to
197.13 Circumstances	338.27 Circumstan <sup>ce</sup>
197.20 Representation	339.1 Representative
199.4 persons	341.32 p[ar]sons <sup>15</sup>
201.22 folls	346.20 foll
209.23 of	360.20 to
211.12 Discourses	362.2 Discourse
211.32 Judgement, that	362.21 Judgement, s <sup>r</sup> that
214.2 the Occasion	369.12 this Occasion
218.10 25	377.27 26 <sup>16</sup>
219.4 and to the	378.21 and y <sup>e</sup>
230.8 show	397.28 Shore
237.36 scotch	410.14 Scots
242.4 Ordr	416.34 Ord <sup>rs</sup>

243.33 Clamor	421.16 Clamo <sup>rs</sup>
244.6 Disgust	421.27 Disgusts
245.16 Resolv'd	424.19 Resolved
251.33 when	438.5 where
260.36 Ever	457.1 here
260.39 me, I should	457.3 me, Should
263.8 boys	471.32 boye
*265.19 this	477.1 the
*265.20 I find	477.2 you find
*266.2 said	477.12 hard
*266.6 Then	477.17 <i>paragraph break</i>
*266.6 drunk	477.18 Drank
*266.9 oath	477.20 Oaths
*266.12 oath	477.23 Oaths
*266.12 oath	477.24 Oaths
*266.20 would	477.31 should
*266.22 that	477.34 the
*266 tooth	477.34 Teeth
274.3 place	499.35 placés
274.33 Intelligence	503.9 Intelligenées
283.4 doors	513.9 door <sup>17</sup>
284.25 But	514.1 4. But [ <i>a numbered list continues here</i> ] <sup>18</sup>
286.12 Greatest	518.21 Grosset
287.19 Service	521.5 Serviées
288.24 Absurd	524.17 Abhorrd
289.3 fully	524.33 falsly
294.20 Impudence	542.24 Imprudence
294.26 Impudence	542.29 Imprudence
298.7 Uneasiness	548.18 Uneasinesses
299.8 2nd	549.26 2 <sup>dly</sup>
301.21 Now	553.20 How
302.9 Obliged	554.14 Obliged Obedient
309.2 <i>by loans</i>	564.26 <u>by loan</u>
309.7 bank	565.1 bauk
315.16 Stair	575.2 Staires
318.21 Rest	581.26 Heat
318.28 to the Magistracy	581.32 to Magistrácy
324.30 whole	590.25 whose <sup>19</sup>
325.20 For	591.21 From
325.20 promised	591.21 premised
330.6 leav	603.25 leave
336.14 by Union	615.7–8 by the Union
336.18 Expected	615.11 Excepted
337.2 it Self	616.8 its Self
341.16–17 probbable	621.27 probable
342.19 will give	624.28 will all give
342.23	624.31 <i>closing parenthesis present</i> <sup>20</sup>
344.5 The Spanish	628.21 A Spanish



347.11 Country	633.4 Countrys
350.8 State	643.7 Scots
353.30 is	648.2 Are
355.22 Jacobites	650.26 Jacobite
355.26 these	650.30 them
365.7 to your	670.21 to all yo <sup>r</sup>
368.9 Readyness	677.11 Steadyness
368.12 most	677.14 more
369.30 man of	680.17 man and of
379.31 Never So	698.14 Never yet So
379.36 have	698.19 ha'
380.18 Intrests	699.4 Intrest
380.21 Principles	699.7 Princíple
381.34 Augt 18.	700.17 Aug <sup>t</sup> 19.
383.2 on	703.11 in
383.8 Mr	703.15 M <sup>c</sup>
393.9 Intrests	721.26 Intrest
393.19 Should	722.2 Shall
393.35 Depend [to] Deliver	722.18–19 Depend Deliver <sup>21</sup>
397.25 reasonable	728.9 seasonable
398.3 attempt	729.18 attempts
399.10 letter	730.24 letters
399.16 hands	730.30 hand
399.30 Endeavours	731.6 Endeavour
408.11 bands	744.17 bonds <sup>22</sup>
409.23 and	747.22 or
410.15 was	748.11 were
418.11 Evening to	764.12 Evening According to
418.23 Importunity	764.25 Importunities
420.16 Lay On any	767.6 Lay any <sup>23</sup>
427.15 Importunate	782.3 Importune
433.6 Vizt	794.27 Viz
434.3 praised False	795.19 praised is False
436.15 Self.'	798.10 Self
436.18 Glory.'	798.13 Glory
439.19 Ldpps	806.20 Ldpp
440.13 not Recommend	809.7 not but Recommend
440.22 Abjuration Oath act	809.16 Abjuration act <sup>24</sup>
443.28 Surprising	815.17 Surpriseing
449.21 no	829.18 not
455. <i>misses address</i>	840.13 <i>address supplied</i>
468. [and has]	865.3 (viz) to <sup>25</sup>
468. it) and I	865.11 it) I <sup>26</sup>
469.18 be	866.13 rest
469.26 Difficultys	868.3 Difficulty
470.27 Disscomposed	870.10 Disstempered
471.2 alterations	870.17 alteracon
471.36 Exalted and sublime	871.31 Exalted sublime

*475.1 the	876.16 yo <sup>r</sup>
*475.4 into	876.19 unto
*475.5 but	876.20 and
*475.21 Lodging	877.2 a Lodging
*476.8 torments	877.26 Tortures
*476.10 a forcing wind	877.28 <u>a' fore y<sup>e</sup> wind</u>

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### Notes

1. *The Cambridge Edition of the Correspondence of Daniel Defoe*, ed. Nicholas Seager (Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 2022); *The Letters of Daniel Defoe*, ed. G. H. Healey (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955).
2. *Cambridge Edition*, ed. Seager also includes details of significant manuscript amendments, such as interlineated insertions and cancellations, which Healey deliberately did not record.
3. New, review of *The Letters of Oliver Goldsmith*, ed. Michael Griffin and David O'Shaughnessy, *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 52 (2019), 263–70.
4. Michael Griffin and David O'Shaughnessy, response to review, *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 52:4 (2019), 431–35.
5. I wrote: “Aside from differences of policy and copytext, this edition corrects mistranscriptions and supplies omissions in previous printings. These are not recorded” (*Cambridge Edition*, ed. Seager, xii).
6. May, review of *The Cambridge Edition of the Correspondence of Daniel Defoe*, ed. N. Seager, *Eighteenth-Century Intelligencer*, 38:2 (2024), 58–61.
7. George Harris Healey, “The Earlier Correspondence of Daniel Defoe (1703–1707)” (Cornell University PhD, 1947). Healey acquired photostat copies of the majority of Defoe’s letters, copies now deposited at Cornell (Cornell University Library Archives 4630). Healey’s letters to John Robert Moore during the 1940s and ’50s chart the progress of his edition (Indiana University Archives, H140).
8. Paula R. Backscheider, “John Russell to Daniel Defoe: Fifteen Unpublished Letters from Scotland,” *Philological Quarterly*, 61 (1982), 161–77; *Cambridge Edition*, ed. Seager, 498, 522.
9. Defoe uses a “special p” (“*p*haps”), which explains how Healey mistook this for “I hope.”
10. “the” is written “y<sup>e</sup>” by Defoe, making it easy for Healey to have mistaken “y<sup>r</sup>” for “y<sup>e</sup>.”
11. Manuscript damage here.
12. The word “I” is an interlinear insertion in MS.
13. Healey misreads a catchword “I” for a signature “G” (for “Goldsmith,” one of Defoe’s pseudonyms).
14. The words “on That Day” is an interlinear insertion in MS.
15. This is a different interpretation of the “special p” rather than strictly speaking an error by Healey.
16. This is an erroneous dating of the letter.
17. MS amended, so Healey perhaps interpreted it as the plural.

18. The MS gives “3.” whereas it should be “4.” in the numbered list; *The Cambridge Edition* makes the correction and notes it.
19. The word “whose” is an interlinear above an illegible cancelled word.
20. Healey includes a footnote that states the closing parenthesis is omitted in MS, which is incorrect.
21. Not an error in Healey’s transcription, but rather what I regarded as a needless editorial emendation in inserting “to.”
22. Corrected from “bands” by Defoe in MS.
23. The word “On” is cancelled by Defoe in MS.
24. The word “Oath” is cancelled by Defoe in MS.
25. Manuscript damage here.
26. The word “and” is cancelled by Defoe in MS.

### ***The Wanderer* by Frances Burney and Shakespeare’s Late Romances**

by Susan H. Wood

Shakespeare’s Late Romances, thought to have been written from about 1607 to the end of his career, resolve some of the dark themes brought up in the tragedies with some elements of a new popular genre, the tragicomedy. Shakespeare is thought to have written some of these works at Stratford, after retiring from the stage (Packer 256). Of the four works, *The Tempest* is by far the best known and beloved; *Cymbeline* is called a tragedy in the First Folio; *The Winter’s Tale* is a play with an extremely unlikely ending, and *Pericles* is seen as a curious collaboration of Shakespeare and George Wilkins (Xing Chen 1-6). In some sense, the plays correspond to the position of *The Wanderer* in Burney’s own career. Of course, this depends upon a particular definition of “late career” periods and the supposition that authors have a cogent direction within their corpus, which might be faulty; I am going to assume that Shakespeare and Burney did manipulate genres in a systematic way, though this might be a controversial assertion (see both McCrea for discussions of Burney and McMullan for same of Shakespeare). After 1814, it would appear Burney had said all she planned to within the form of the novel, as she did not publish any more of them. Frances Burney’s *The Wanderer* employs elements of Shakespeare’s late plays in creation of a historical romance that resolves the domestic love plot for once and for all in Burney’s works.

It is unclear the extent to which Burney would have known plays like *Pericles* or *Cymbeline*. *Pericles* was very popular in Shakespeare’s own time and in the seventeenth century, evidenced by many reprintings (Orgel 609). *Cymbeline*, disdained by Samuel Johnson, was at least well-known and written about (Parrot 962). Burney was quite familiar with actors and with Dr. Johnson, people who were quite well versed in Shakespeare for that time (Johnson 307; Saggini 223). Burney never alludes to any late comedies in *The Wanderer* except for *The Tempest*; however, Margaret Anne Doody has made a good case for allusion to *The Winter’s Tale* occurring in “Love and Fashion,” a comedy by

Burney (304-310). It is likely Burney had knowledge of other Shakespeare plays; a catalog of productions she saw and alluded to is provided by Saggini in *Backstage in the Novel: Frances Burney and the Theatre Arts* (223-243).

Burney, as a person, is far more knowable than Shakespeare through her wonderful journals and letters (*Burney Diaries and Letters* and *Burney The Early Journals and Letters*). Her creativity plays itself out, however, in a public way through the four novels that she wrote. The book *Evelina* (1778) works very much in the mode of comedy. Burney, however, had serious questions in her mind, and it is clear that *Cecelia* (1782) is a tragedy in which a woman is duped and used for the purpose of taking her fortune away from her. The requirement of *Cecelia's* participation in her own entanglement is the problem of every woman in an inequitable society. *Camilla* (1796) appears to return to comedy, but with a much less confident heroine. *Camilla* approximates, to my mind, many of the problem plays, and some might put *The Wanderer* in this category as well. In fact, problem plays and tragicomedies (late romances) are quite similar, and we could have a whole essay about just that generic puzzle. *The Wanderer* (1814) takes a potentially tragic situation with a backdrop of the Reign of Terror, and turns it, through some interesting comic devices, into a story that ends happily through coincidence. This set of devices resembles Shakespeare's work throughout his career, first in comedy, then in tragedy, and finally in the late romances. Some critics feel this interpretation of Shakespeare's career is not warranted, but I ally myself with Packer, Hughes, and others who see an emerging pattern in Shakespeare's use of genre.

Burney's search for an appropriate genre did continue throughout her career. The subtitle of *The Wanderer* is "Female Difficulties"--truly the theme of the work, and the primary problem raised in all Burney's fiction. How can a woman be a subject, when all her actions, choices, motives, are prone to critique, change, or cancellation by people with more authority due to money, family, personal ties, or simply because women are not trusted, at any level to have, much less know, their own minds? Many Burney scholars have engaged in this discussion for the past thirty years (Doody, Epstein, Straub, Gemmeke). Shakespeare similarly addresses problems of universal human weakness and error in his tragedies, and the resultant thesis would be "people are awful, and will do anything," which was ultimately not a very cheery realization, and may have prompted his exploration of the tragicomedy. Neither was Burney able to solve her problems through the domestic novel plot she was using. If a main female problem was "identity," Burney's *Evelina*, by "entering the world," only becomes what the world expects. She has an identity as Orville's wife. Whatever she was before turns out not to matter. If we look at the wealthy *Cecelia*, the only way she can retain independence is denying her need for caretaking by any man, which is so unthinkable, even to her, that she sells herself and her happiness in a disadvantageous marriage. It has been a tragedy enacted by millions of women over time. *Cecelia* accepts that society has decided women are to be treated thus. There is no way out. This trap is investigated at length in *Camilla*--that a woman's lot is truly a gilded cage. Proper women must be pleased and relieved to no longer have agency of any kind. But the "happy" ending is not happy, really. *Camilla's* marriage to Edgar, a man most likely to believe every misogynist remark of his mentor, seems an unworthy end

for such a heroine. What is needed is to emphasize the real DIFFICULTY for females that requires something approaching a miracle for a happy ending to be reached. This is the mode of the romance, which Robert Uphaus defines as “beyond tragedy” in his 1981 book about Shakespeare. Shakespeare’s romances employ the traditional romance plot (including supernatural events), capitalize upon coincidence, and depend upon what some think of as “vague” or emblematic characters (Uphaus 1-11; 38). Shakespeare also employs a different use of language, more elusive and less limpid and beautiful than earlier in his career (Xing Chen 6-15; 64-72; 101-113; 145-150). In *The Wanderer*, Burney deploys these techniques to similar effects.

Uphaus discusses how Shakespeare’s romances all employ reversible time, or that, while in a tragedy one may expect the end to be an end, the romances place the end in a continuum which connects it back to its starting place, like the restoration of a whole (Uphaus 13). All the romances of Shakespeare share this element. Uphaus lists the conventions of romance as an “alternative to the Roman tragic view of life” (35). Uphaus asserts that the view of time must be changed; a state of “beyond tragedy” only comes with waiting and patience (35). Furthermore, he applies an idea of a cycle of death with life, and backwards trending time to characterize the romance outlook, which resolves rather than moves to the dire closure of a tragedy (40). A similar structure may be seen in *The Wanderer*. In her novels, Burney never continued much beyond the marriage of the heroine, for that was the major plot-making moment of a woman’s life at the time. However, Burney may see her own happy ending (marriage to General d’Arblay) as so unlikely and impossible as to be something people WOULD regard as a romance. According to contemporary norms, a married woman as a character was no longer in society, and thus not of interest—at least, not with the interest a proper lady should receive. This was the situation that made Burney finish her career by writing her father’s biography. Burney realized the marriage plot was pointless to her, and *The Wanderer* did not get good reviews or make money, so she gave it up (Croker, Macaulay qtd in McCrea 18).

Let us first address the plot of a romance as it is used by Burney. A traditional comedy moves from increasing complication and mayhem towards chaos, followed by marriage. A “romance” often includes more potentially tragic material and potential death which is forestalled by time as it recreates the roles and configuration of the characters for a spiritually renewing end. In *The Wanderer*, despite frequent brushes with bad outcomes, Ellis/ Juliet is able to leave France and evade the Commissary, travel the New Forest alone without being murdered,—and regardless of the endless re-encounters with her fellow ship passengers and their curiosity,—retain her distance and reserve. Surprisingly, everything in the plot turns out well for Juliet/ Ellis, possibly due to three potentially supernatural forces: Christian Providence, the sylphs and fairies of Sir Jaspar’s fancy, and the deus ex machina arrival of the Admiral at the end of the story. While the plot seems to be resolved for Juliet by the intervention of powerful men: Sir Jaspar, Harleigh, Lord Melbury, and the Admiral, in fact, coincidence solves all Juliet’s problems by the sudden word of the trial and execution of her French husband, the Commissary, who had been requiring his wife to return to him with her £6,000 marriage settlement in order

to release Juliet's guardian, the Bishop, from incarceration by the revolutionaries. Of course, the book does not end in a theophany or literal presentation of a goddess, so it may not follow the romance design Uphaus mentioned. On the other hand, it is definitely not a tragedy, nor is it a traditional comedy (though perhaps some might argue in favor of that).

Coincidence is used extremely often in the second half of *The Wanderer*. If one is using the romance genre, one has basically become, like Shakespeare, disenchanted with realism itself. This would be the situation with both authors; thus, Ellis' happy ending occurs due to a string of unlikely developments, such as the Commissary being deported, the Granvilles' accepting Juliet/ Ellis into the family, the exit of Elinor from the scene, and the intervention of the Admiral, who is also related to Ellis! In a tragedy, none of this would work out. In seeing the universe from a broader perspective, tragedy is just a set of unhappy coincidences.

Vague characterization is another typical trait of Shakespeare's late plays (Uphaus 38). Pericles is a character who collapses, rather than "develops"; Marina, introduced so late in the play *Pericles*, serves a purpose to the theme and plot, but is disposed of quickly in the end --though Hughes would say it is because she is a double of Thaisa, who takes over for her in the last scenes (408). Characters like Imogen (*Cymbeline*) seem to be developed a little more, but they are required to endure various plot machinations, rather than express much in the way of feeling or autonomy. In *The Winter's Tale*, the situation develops, rather than the characters. In *The Tempest*, which Hughes sees as the crowning achievement, Shakespeare has made all the characters functional in the master scheme, which is shown both in the way Prospero controls them in his plot and how Shakespeare uses them in his own for symbolic reasons (379). The principal characters both reflect the genre, as well as echo a core-myth behind many of the plays (Hughes 513-517). Clearly, the protagonist Juliet/ Ellis (The Wanderer/ Incognita) is both a symbol and a character. She cannot fill one identity as her whole role is to be a cipher, or a blank. She in a way doubles herself. She has many experiences without the reader's being able to know or see her development. We are required to see her externally, as the other characters must. Burney uses this type of characterization to emphasize the role of Ellis/ Juliet in her plot. Forcing the reader to be like the Wanderer's persecutors, and to be stuck observing her only externally, emphasizes the problems Juliet and all women must face in society (Wood, "Indignant Gypsy"). Of the other characters in *The Wanderer*, perhaps only two have any character development—Elinor Joddrel, who is sort of the Pericles of this text, and Sir Jasper Herrington. Elinor becomes a tragic double—this woman's hope and happiness are dashed because Harleigh happens not to love her. Sir Jasper is kind of her comic opposite—he wants to be the hero, but Juliet cannot love him, so he accepts becoming a kind of good fairy, eventually being allowed to act as a pseudo grandfather to Juliet and Harleigh's children (Burney, *The Wanderer* 870). I have not evaluated *The Wanderer* from a larger archetypal perspective as Ted Hughes has applied to the plays of Shakespeare, but I at least feel like the roles might have symbolic functions beyond what I can easily describe; in an earlier paper, I spoke at length about Camilla as a "warrior" like her namesake

in *The Aeneid* (Wood, "The Prison-House of Propriety"). Several characters in Burney can be assigned symbolic functions.

Another element that is used in Late Romances involves language. Xing Chen is quite adept at describing and locating aspects of Shakespeare's late language that causes more interpretive problems for the listener. In the course of one chapter, she talks about repeating sounds, enjambment, elliptical constructions, inverted word order, and convoluted syntax (Xing Chen 6-22). The effect of Shakespeare's new language would appear to be to challenge the listener to truly listen, or perhaps even to embed more ambiguity within the text. The late Burney also has a different style from earlier Burney. Sample passages of *Evelina* (1778) and *The Wanderer* (1814) seem to me representative of differences in their dominant styles:

[*Evelina*:] The curtain then drew up, and our conversation ceased. Mr. Lovel, finding we chose to attend to the players, left the box. How strange it is, Sir, that this man, not contented with the large share of foppery and nonsense which he has from nature, should think proper to affect yet more! for what he said of Tattle and of Miss Prue, convinced me that he really had listened to the play, though he was so ridiculous and foolish as to pretend ignorance. (91).

[*The Wanderer*:] The horror of the new debt, incurred under circumstances thus delicate, made the idea even of performing at the public benefit, present itself to her in colours less formidable, if such a measure, by restoring her to the patronage of Miss Arbe, would obviate the return of similar evils, while she was thus hanging in solitary obscurity, upon herself. Vainly she would have turned her thoughts to other plans, and objects yet untried; she had no means to form any independent scheme; no friends to promote her interest; no counsellors to point out any pursuit, or direct any measures. (332).

According to Xing Chen, the language of Shakespeare becomes more elliptical and complex, less glib or pat (7-15). Burney also has been critiqued for departing from her earlier style (Macauley qtd in McCrea 18). As suggested, the switch involves point of view, word choice, sentence structure and tone. In fact, we see a shift from the prattling observations of the youthful *Evelina* to the somewhat opaque reflector-type characters such as Ellis/ Juliet. Passage 1 includes a compound sentence, a simple sentence interrupted by a phrase, and an exclamation followed by various comments. Passage 2 features a very disjunctive complex sentence—in fact, I would have a student rewrite such a sentence due to the confusion in subordination. The second sentence is an oddly organized compound sentence, but it is distinguished by starting with an adverb, and the second part is actually a clause with compound objects to add detail in an emphatic way (though not punctuated well). The passage from *The Wanderer* might be used to suggest Burney had stopped knowing how to write, or was affected negatively by the French language, but it suggests to me that she is indicating this is not to be seen as simple or easy or clear (see Croker in McCrea 18). Everything is convoluted and hidden because that is the sphere in which women reside. I would love to see how Burney would have chosen to

reflect that internal monologue had she continued in other books with different characters, for her drama is not her best genre. In the theatre, everything has to be expressed, stated, acted out. The whole point of the novel for Burney is to express what is required to remain hidden—what female difficulties really are.

Shakespeare thought of his poetic gift as a kind of magic, as the play *The Tempest* shows. It has influence, but maybe not much in comparison to world historical events. His final play is a kind of wish-fulfillment for the playwright. For Burney, her gifts, her “magic” if you will, was forever upended, controlled and bent by others—her father, Samuel Crisp, Dr. Johnson, even Mrs. Thrale. The Late Romances of Shakespeare may be the only genre model that Burney found that allowed her to compose a new plot. I look forward to exploring more connections between Shakespeare and Burney—I expect there will be many.

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**Mary Margaret Stewart. *The Life of William Collins, Poet*. Edited with an introduction by Elizabeth Lambert and Linda E. Merians. Clemson, SC: Clemson University Press (distributed by Liverpool University Press), 2024. Pp. 270. ISBN: 9781638041368: hardback: \$150. (Also in an ebook: \$150.)**

Mary Margaret Stewart's choice for a lifelong project could not have been more appropriate. In essence, the story of the writing of her biography of Williams Collins is as full of dramatic moments, joyful celebrations, and extraordinary friendships as the story of his life.

Over the years Mary Margaret amassed much information about the poet, so much that she experienced difficulties shaping it into a narrative that would be biographically correct as well as attentive to his qualities and failures as a poet and a person. She hoped Sandro Jung, who was familiar with the many biographies of Collins, would complete her biography but he was unable to do so. Two friends of hers, Elizabeth Lambert and Linda Merians, each a scholar in her own right, volunteered to fill the breach. As Elizabeth and Linda explain in their introduction, they did not make many changes: "this biographical study of William Collins is Mary Margaret Stewart's in every way. We believe that it takes us much closer to the poet himself who was often hiding in and hidden by his poetry" (5). As I read the biography of Collins, I wondered if the same could be said of Mary Margaret. It seemed to me that just as Collins hid himself in his

poetry, Mary Margaret hid herself in Collins. Is that one of the reasons she was drawn to him? And, did she, as she struggled to finish her project, begin to wonder if she, like Collins, might never complete the task she assigned herself?

Although Mary Margaret may have doubted that she accomplished all that she had hoped she would, the work we now have before us is indisputably rich and deep. It draws on a long history of engagement with Collins. In 1970, Mary Margaret's first publication about Collins — "Further Notes on William Collins" — appeared in *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, three years after P. L. Carver published his biography of Collins, which was reviewed that same year (1967) by Thomas Lask in the *New York Times*. The article opens with a brief critique of Carver: "In 1939, P. L. Carver published a series of notes concerning William Collins in *Notes and Queries*. These notes form the basis of his recently published biography of Collins — *The Life of a Poet: A Biographical Sketch of William Collins*. As significant as his study was in indicating to us that careful investigation could uncover more information about the background and life of Collins, Mr. Carver drew some untenable conclusions in his notes, and he repeats these conclusions in his biographical sketch" (569). When she explains "that careful investigation could uncover more information" about Collins, Mary Margaret Stewart seems to be telling her readers as well as herself that here's a project worth pursuing.

Later in the same article, she suggests that Carver was too hard on John Ragsdale, an earlier Collins biographer, when he [Carver] complained that [Ragsdale's] "veracity is not in doubt, but he had never learnt to distinguish between what he knew to be true and what he thought a probable conjecture. He tells Hymers of his belief that he is the only one of Collins's intimates who has lived to be able to 'give a true account of his family and connexions', and that belief, in a man unaccustomed to being consulted as an authority, and conscious of his importance, is not conducive to scrupulous accuracy" (573). Ultimately, Mary Margaret believed Ragsdale's account was accurate and should be taken seriously. As a person interested in writing about biography, and perhaps already thinking about writing a biography of Collins herself, she wanted to be as generous as possible toward other biographers. She was already familiar with the difficulties of a genre which could be at once both fascinating and perilous.

Mary Margaret eventually wrote her biography of Collins not only to correct errors in earlier biographies but also to correct the *New York Times* reviewer Thomas Lask, who, in his review of Carver, insisted that Collins was not a victim of extreme melancholy; whereas, she believed that Collins's melancholy posed a persistent problem for him. Lask also asserted that all Collins's projects "died-aborning." And, in his final paragraph, Lask pointed out the basic problem of Carver's biography: "For the poems Mr. Carver finds parallels, sources, borrowers and the like. He is lynx-eyed . . . The result of all these labors, however, is that Collins remains a shadowy figure. The facts are there, but the man is never in focus. The poet is as indistinct on the last page as on the first. Perhaps that is the way Collins would have wanted it" (*New York Times*, November 24, 1967, p. 41).

Is this difficulty of balancing attention to the works and to the person inseparable from biography as a genre? Is it possible to focus both on the person who wrote the works and on the works themselves? And when is it appropriate

to stop combing the archives and amassing information and time to start composing the biography with its uncomfortable juxtaposition of data verifiable in records and of impressions based on one's understanding of words on a page?

In his essay "In Quest of Mistaken Beauties": Samuel Johnson's 'Life of Collins' Reconsidered," Sandro Jung touched on Mary Margaret's critique of Johnson's biography of Collins: "By deciding not to select [specific] ... biographical detail and by also avoiding mention of debts or loans and yet without straying from 'the truth,' Johnson lets his reader believe that Collins was a poor struggling poet" (478). In her biography of Collins, Mary Margaret comes down on the side of biographical detail. But still, as she researched the archives to garner more details about Collins's life, she must have thought much about this impossible balance. Some readers will find the details of one or the other sort too much. As she examined Collins's personal history and considered his works, their antecedents, their construction, their reception, and their influence on later writers, she might have wondered if it was possible for a biographer to escape the danger of obscuring either the writer or his works

But, as I read Mary Margaret's biography, the eighteenth century came alive for me. I was intrigued by her suspicion that William Collins might have been a spoiled child. As she tells her readers, he was born when his father was 49 and his mother 39 and they were already parents of two girls 16 and 14: "he was virtually an only child whose two sisters could serve as surrogate mothers." She saw this superfluity of mothers as a potential problem for William. Also, because William's father, a hat merchant, wanted his son to be a clergyman, Mary Margaret suspects that William was thus relieved of family responsibilities and "lacked the incentive or necessity of developing self-discipline" (31). Later she notes that going to Queen's College rather than New College at Oxford contributed to Collins's "habits of indolence and extravagance" (66).

At 12 years of age, four months after his father's death, William left home for Winchester College, 30 miles away. After describing the classical curriculum William would have pursued, Mary Margaret suspects such a curriculum might not have led to "an exciting school day for most students" (40). But, in the end, she believed that such a curriculum had its advantages for Collins and fostered his facility with language as well as nourished his metaphoric allusiveness.

Collins wrote his first major work, *Persian Eclogues*, in his 17<sup>th</sup> year. Mary Margaret describes it as "at once daring and very conventional." She praises the young poet for his "skill in creating visual images, in narrating brief accounts, and in organizing material," for his knowledge of "the tradition of pastoral poetry as well as the taste and criticism of contemporary audience and critics," and for his recognition "that the pastoral needs a new dimension if it is to survive as a dynamic poetic form" (62). This seems quite a lot for a 17-year-old to have learned in a few years. In general, Mary Margaret is interested in the contradictions in Collins's life and habits and poetry. At one moment he is the critic-scholar-poet par excellence; and the next moment he is careless. He was not always able to finish his projects, and he did not always pay his debts. When writing a biography, neither praise nor critique can dominate for too long. Good judgment requires a mix of both.

Collins's final years were troubled. His melancholy increased. By March, 1753, he was committed to a madhouse. The treatment of patients in eighteenth-

century madhouses was abysmal: straitjackets, confinement, beatings, bleeding, blisters, caustics, cathartics, opium, mineral waters, cold bathing, and vomits. Luckily, by summer 1754, his sister Ann removed him from Macdonald's Madhouse and took him back to Chichester (242). Perhaps the saddest loss in the last years of his life was his ability to write to friends, who assumed he died in 1756 and stopped writing and visiting.

William Collins died on June 12, 1759. According to an obituary written by Ann, he died in her arms. And, true to her dependence on and trust in the accuracy provided by historical records, Mary Margaret concludes her book with a description of Collins's burial drawn from parish records: "Three days later, June 15, 1759, he was buried alongside his father, mother, and uncle under a pew in the parish church of his childhood: St. Andrew. The ceremony was conducted by Revd Richard Shenton, who registered the burial in the parish records: '1759-June 15. William Collins. Gent'" (255). In her study of a man who was born in 1721, more than 300 years ago, Mary Margaret Stewart gives us much information. It is, at times overwhelming. One must read slowly to absorb all the details, but that is not a bad thing. Reading slowly allows for thickness of texture, which gives us a deeper understanding of the complexity of time past, of the intricacies of relationships, and of the ways in which all of us are shaped by the worlds we live in.

Mary Margaret is praising Collins for inspiring others to carry out projects he was unable to complete: "His projected history of the Revival of Learning, his translation of and commentary upon Aristotle's *Poetics*, his *Clarendon Review* and *Friendly Examiner* all anticipate work which is done by others many years later. And each, if Collins had been able to complete his plan, should have been a commercial success, since each would have filled a need and have had no immediate competitor" (191). He may not have accomplished all he set out to do, but his learning and his sense of what was needed to promote the love of literature were on target. It struck me as I revised this paragraph for the umpteenth time that this failure to finish a project despite expert knowledge of what was needed is another characteristic that Mary Margaret Stewart and William Collins shared. Just as he had to wait for others to finish what he had started so did Mary Margaret, and, fortunately for her and us, Elizabeth Lambert and Linda Merians were willing and eminently able to complete the lifelong task Mary Margaret left behind.

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**Larry Carver.** *Rochester and the Pursuit of Pleasure*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2024. Pp. xi + 259; bibliography; index. ISBN 978-1-5261-7367-6; hardcover, £85.

In a brief introduction Carver gracefully lays out what might be called "The Rochester Problem/s." The book contains four portraits of John Wilmot, 2nd Earl of Rochester, and Carver comments, "I once thought there might be as many as eight authentic portraits in oil of Rochester, but that number may be as

few as five . . . . As with the portraits so with John Wilmot's poetry, dramatic works, and letters" (2-3). Getting a true picture of what Rochester wrote, completely or partially, is even more difficult than ascertaining the truth of his physical images, and both pale in comparison with finding the "true meaning" of whatever writings are really his. Scholars had studied the canon intensely in the second half of the twentieth century, and still we are left with "disputed works," "poems less securely attributed," "problematic" authorship—all phrases taken from different endnotes on a single page (233). Carver straightforwardly tells us,

This book makes three claims. The first is that Rochester's work, despite well-grounded arguments to the contrary, should be read in a biographical context, the works in many cases crafted to be read that way. . . . The second claim is that reading the works as doing something for the poet and for his audience reveals that Rochester's work clusters about a central theme, the pursuit of pleasure. . . . [T]he book's third claim [is] that Rochester's work everywhere reflects his Christian and God-fearing upbringing and provides evidence of an excessive preoccupation with and, at the end of his life, acceptance of Christianity. (3-4)

These claims are probably designed to raise critical hackles, the third most of all. The first claim will cause less controversy when one realizes that this is not a book of bad biographical criticism, which certainly exists and in which Rochester's texts are subordinated to and interpreted by the life of the writer. With the exception of a slight flirtation with Freudianism (Rochester's search for approval from a father lost early in his life), Carver never allows the life to affect adversely his readings of the texts themselves, typically close and subtle examinations. The second claim about the pursuit of pleasure seems at first almost too obvious, especially if one thinks of all the various forms of physical and psychological pleasure that the poet pursued (a marketing ploy might even be suspected in the title)—until, that is, we arrive at the third claim. Rochester is not a Christian poet in the sense of Milton or Donne, or even Shakespeare and Chaucer, but Carver is arguing no such thing. Rather he advances the idea that the bedrock Christian assumptions about human life affected the poet and his work despite the negative example of his behavior. The emphasis, then, is just as much on "pursuit" as "pleasure" in the key phrase, or, to quote Alexander Pope,

Hope springs eternal in the human breast;  
Man never Is, but always To be blest.  
The soul, uneasy, and confin'd from home,  
Rests and expatiates in a life to come.

A good example of Carver's close reading is exercised on "Rochester's best-known poem," "A Satyre against Reason and Mankind." Making the speaker of the poem also the object of satire is his common practice, but certainly confusing to critics who see too great similarities between the speaker and the poet himself: "The hedonistic, libertine spokesman is himself the object of satire, the poem being Rochester's fullest exploration and criticism of efforts to find in nature the basis of an ethical hedonism" (127):

Were I (who to my cost already am  
 One of those strange prodigious Creatures Man)  
 A spirit free to choose for my own share,  
 What case of flesh and blood I pleas'd to wear;  
 I'de be a Dog, a Monky, or a Bear.  
 Or any thing but that vain Animal  
 Who is so proud of being Rational.  
 The senses are too gross, and he'll contrive  
 A sixth, to contradict the other five.

The sixth sense, of course, is Reason, which becomes “an Ignis fatuus of the Mind.” Carver explains, “‘Contrive’ . . . is the key word here . . . . The word, as verb and noun (‘contrivance’) is used fifteen times in the poems Vieth attributes to Rochester, and with one exception, has bad connotations. It belongs to a family of words [that] Rochester used to indict man as either a fool or dupe, for being by his own devising or that of others caught up in the false, the artificial, or learned, metaphysical speculations,” and thus falling headlong “into doubts boundless Sea” (127-128). Man’s position, then, is one of “bitter paradox”: “When man really does follow his nature, he finds not the Edenic world of pleasure, . . . of appetite and will united, but rather a Hobbesian world of man, driven by fear, pitted in perpetual war against his fellow man” (130-131). Pope, quoted above, said it more succinctly.

Carver continues in this vein when discussing a lesser-known poem, “A Letter from Artemiza in the Towne to Chloe in the Countrey,” appropriately adding specific analysis that the form of this poem demands. The two young women correspond about intimate subjects, especially love, and the poem “takes its structure from the drama, the play within the play, and gives rise to all the ambiguities that form induces” (136). After Chloe requests that her friend write in verse, Artemiza answers, “Poetry’s a snare: / Bedlam has many Mansions: have a Care,” the first of several scriptural allusions Carver explicates as he argues that “from the beginning, Artemiza has attempted to interpret her experience through the framework of Christianity” (143). The madness that often springs from the poet’s attempt to comprehend the fallen world is the subject of the dialogue, but the heavenly ideal, conjured via allusion, the *mise en scène*. “The poet in this fallen world will write stories ‘more infamous, then Hell.’ . . . The would-be heroic poet in such a world must perforce become a satirist” (144).

There is not space to do justice to Carver’s treatment of two of Rochester’s contemporaries, his arch enemy John Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave, and John Dryden, with whom he fell out. Of Mulgrave’s “An Essay on Satyr” Carver comments, it “contains the most vicious satire on Rochester not penned by Rochester himself” (20). The greater Augustans Swift and Pope came to mind frequently as I read this book, but never more than in the discussion of lines from “An Allusion to Horace” where Rochester foreshadows Swift in calling attention to Dryden’s regular morning writing schedule:

Yet having this allow'd, the heavy masse,

That stuffs up his loose Volumns must not pass. . . .  
If those gross faults, his Choyce Pen does Commit  
Proceed from want of Judgment, or of Witt.  
Or if his Lumpish fancy does refuse  
Spirit and grace to his loose slattern Muse?  
Five Hundred Verses every morning writt,  
Proves you noe more a Poet, than a Witt.

“Dryden’s ‘masse’ ‘stuffs up his loose Volumns’ and ‘must not pass.’ . . . Such ‘masse’ is owing to his ‘loose slattern Muse’ who inspires him to ‘Five hundred Verses every morning writt’ which ‘Proves you no more a Poet than a Witt.’ Carver concludes, “Another rhyme [for writt] comes to mind and was meant to; Dryden produces both in the morning and they resemble one another” (162).

The final chapter, the longest in the book, takes its title from a phrase Rochester applied to himself: “The principal Disputant against God and Piety.” We are told, “the place of Christianity in Rochester’s life and work remains moot” (187), and, ever the honest broker, Carver promptly cites “two editors of Rochester’s work, Paddy Lyons [1993] and Frank Ellis [1994] [who concluded] that ‘Rochester is a poet of unbelief’ and that ‘Rochester himself was not a closet Puritan, as some of his biographers have made out. He was an atheist” (187). Carver prefers instead the view expressed by Warren Chernaik (1995) when he commented on lines in the “Satyr”: “These lines are self-evidently the work of a religious poet, who presents man’s life, here and in other poems, as an endless yearning after a satisfaction he can never find” (187). Paradox creates good writing: hence, Germaine Greer: “Like the devil, Rochester could cite scripture to his purpose, and, like the devil, he was a believer” (188). It also creates good manners; hence, Carver’s handling of other critics is masterly. It is comprehensive, yet purposeful, and the purpose is always specific. Previous scholarship is not cited merely to reveal that the author is aware of it. And equally important, Carver knows how to treat scholars with whom he disagrees, who will be legion, given the Rochester Problem/s. His treatment of others is so respectful, in fact, that it brought a smile to my face when I read this demur in an endnote after the summary of a contrary view: “This is not my experience of reading the play” (179n14). Most if not all pertinent previous scholarship seems to be represented, with the eleven-page bibliography including items as late as 2018. Traditional giants in their fields are also cited in the text when relevant, including Kenneth Burke, Erich Auerbach, Wayne Booth, Arthur O. Lovejoy, and Richard H. Popkin.

To say that in his final chapter Carver gets another bite at the apple is probably a too facetious way of suggesting what he is about here, but the chapter does continue and enrich the previous argument with an ever-widening focus. Courtship takes center stage for a bit, with the Rochester’s letters demonstrating that his seeking favor in the court of Charles II was reflected in his courtship of women, including his wife, and even in the wooing of an audience for his poetry. Insights abound: “Rochester’s tone in the letters ranges from the submissive and pleading to the imperious, cold, and sometimes mean, when one will not play the courtship game with him as he envisions it. . . . I would stress that around the edges of Rochester’s letters, even those and perhaps most of all

those which are perverse and paradoxical, hovers a yearning for the ideal" (199). I found it interesting that "it may well be that during his lifetime Rochester was admired as much for his lyrical as for his satirical skill. . . . [T]he exquisite 'My dear Mistris has a heart' [became] arguably the poem most widely associated with Rochester and the Restoration period" (200). Brilliantly, Carver uses grammatical mood to highlight his thesis about the Rochesterian dilemma of "being a creature of desire in a material world that cannot satisfy desire" (208). Of course, exactly what the mood is of any of Rochester's speakers is always part of the problem. Carver writes, "Rochester's libertine idyll of an Elizabeth Malet, who loves pleasure as much as her suitor does, takes place in the conditional: 'How perfect Cloris, and how free / Would these enjoyments prove' . . . . This teases the same paradox with which 'A Satyre' opens: 'Were I . . . A spirit free to choose . . . .' In neither case are the speakers free, their versions of libertine pleasure taking place under the sign not of the indicative but of the conditional, the hortatory, and the optative" (204). Almost every page of the final chapter has a memorable observation, for example, "Paradise has no need for rhetoric, but man's fallen state makes persuasion possible by introducing the necessary interference. Persuasion perforce is based on the negative, but paradoxically, that negative becomes the means for developing positive values" (208); and "in employing his 'Wit and Study to support the other side' against Christianity, Rochester was courting a relationship with God that would transcend the credulity, corruption, and hypocrisy he saw about him, but one that would also ease his anxieties about God's judgment" (219); and "the Fall has made a greater love possible" (225). One need not believe, oneself, in the Fortunate Fall to be convinced by Carver that Rochester might well have so believed.

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**Melvyn New (editor). *Apphia Peach, George Lord Lyttelton, and 'The Correspondents': An Annotated Edition of a Forgotten Gem (1775)*. London and New York: Anthem Press, 2024. Pp. [x] + 198; 4 appendices; index. Hardcover: ISBN: 1839991518; \$110 (Available as a PDF and EPUB for \$35.)**

Melvyn New has edited the epistolary novel *The Correspondents, An Original Novel, in a Series of Letters* (London: T. Becket, 1775), containing roughly 80 letters between an older Lord and younger woman, usually in alternation with coherent development. He feels it is the "best imitation of Sterne's accomplishments in *A Sentimental Journey*," and "noteworthy in itself as a work of art." It deserves some attention from literary historians by virtue of republication: it was reprinted by Becket in 1775 and 1776, and in Dublin in 1775 and 1778, and again in London in 1784 and finally in Hamburg in translation in 1794. Its popularity was in part due to its being thought--as by the first reviewers and its Dublin publisher--as fictionalizing, or adapting, or even editing letters between Baron George Lyttelton and his daughter-in-law Apphia Witt Peach Lyttelton (1743-1840). Apphia Witt sailed to India in March 1769 to



marry a cousin who had died before she arrived, married in India the wealthy Col. Joseph Peach in January 1770, and returned a widow to England in 1771, purchasing poet William Shenstone's estate Leasowes near to Lyttelton's country home, Hagley. She then married Lyttelton's rogue of a son, Thomas, in June 1772 before separating from him in October. But Apphia, who would have edited the materials during the two years following Lyttelton's death in late August 1773, denied it was her correspondence and no certain case has been made for the attribution--until now by Professor New. *The St. James Chronicle*, among others, suggested the novel might be "the Manufacture of one of Mr. Becket's Authors," Becket being known for false attributions and imitations, such as the works of James Macpherson and various imitations of Sterne.

New's introduction and in-depth commentary gathers enough evidence to leave one convinced that the letters were written by Lyttelton and Apphia Peach. For starters, New refutes the likelihood that they were written by a Sterne' imitator such as William Combe, John Hall-Stevenson, or Elizabeth & Richard Griffith. The allusions and citations of Lyttelton's works strongly attribute the book to him. References to Lyttelton's works offered as flattery by the woman--particularly quotations from his *Dialogues of the Dead*--indicate that Lyttelton is the older man. Further evidence is in an extempore poem by the woman that the Lord finally gets her to send him; this poem was previously published in the November 1770 *Town and Country Magazine* addressed "To \*\*\* \*\*"; it then included reference to "L\*\*\*\*" as the poem's theme, but in the novel the "L" is deleted. The poem was very possibly submitted for publication by Lyttelton, Apphia then being in India. No other than Apphia could be the young, widowed beloved occupying Shenstone's former home and garden. Lyttelton addressed verses to her that were reprinted in the *London Magazine* of April 1773 (appended here), and friends and/or family attest that Apphia was with Lyttelton when guests were received at Hagley in 1773. Revelations by the young woman, such as her filial and connubial griefs, fit Apphia. Also New notes that the bluestockings like Elizabeth Montagu who knew Lyttelton well and knew of his socializing with Apphia never denied the two wrote the letters.

New further argues that the correspondence probably includes correspondence from before Apphia wed Lyttelton's son, and that all letters were adapted to set them in 1769, the year of Garrick's Shakespeare Jubilee, a year Apphia was in India and thus creating a deniability to the predictable attribution (13). But, notes New, "everything of substance . . . depends on the letters reflecting a reality between barely disguised persons who are also father-in-law and daughter-in-law in kinship," thus escaping the commonplace and creating a "fraught encounter" (14). The reader is teased with sentimental and romantic engagements as he is by Sterne in *A Sentimental Journey*. (She characterizes herself as sharing Rousseau's sentimentalism.) New's introduction examines for influence references to Sterne as in the letters discussing favorite sections of *A Sentimental Journey*; he even conjectures that Lyttelton and Apphia may have known via association with London's East India Company that Sterne and his Eliza Draper were an "item" (2-6 and later "contrived to shape their correspondence into a sentimental fiction in the wake of Eliza and Sterne" (23).

Rose Mary Davis in her 1939 biography of Apphia offered as evidence of Lyttelton's being "on friendly terms with Mrs. Peach for several years" her letter

on her wedding day to the Lord: "The greatness of your mind and the sweetness of your disposition give me confidence to rely upon your Lordship's favour. Nothing except my husband's love, is of such importance to me" (4, quoting Davis 381). And New quotes from Lyttelton's letter to his friend Lord Chatham the remark "My son stole a match upon me, which I shall not complain of, if he continues as sensible of the value of the prize he was in such haste to take . . . the more I see of the lady, the more I esteem and love her" (Davis 381-82). The lord writes the young woman that "Platonic love" is ridiculous and insists "That which attaches me to you could not perhaps be easily defined nor is a definition necessary," though friendship is his usual characterization (100). Thus, the work creates puzzles to solve regarding the correspondents' identities, their feelings, and the true dates of composition. New suspects the authors "enjoyed the puzzlements into which they were entrapping their readers" (16). He conjectures, "in its consistent play between sexuality and sensibility *The Correspondents* most resembles . . . Sterne's *A Sentimental Journey*."

I scented little sex (to my mind, the temptation was to become a dyad or couple), but New is right to stress the "authenticity" in its two voices. Both share their grief for lost loved ones. There is a progressive affection and candor in the letters, though often approaches are followed by retreats, especially her retreats. With his face out of shape, the Lord writes a jealous letter when crediting a false rumor that she accepted an engagement proposal, and, conversely, there is a romantic climax when he visits her on a moonlit night (followed by letters expressing delightful satisfaction, despite his mentioning how she "withdrew" from his touch). Towards the end he has a near-death illness with an explicit confession of love for her, and she thereafter retreats, returning to the formal distance at the start of the correspondence, falling back on chatter about literature (his dismay and anger at her "drawing back" is touchingly authentic [147-48]). The novel thereafter ends, bounded within a single year.

The correspondents are very concerned for her "reputation," extending even to her not visiting him when he seemed deathly ill. Their reticence is often explicitly addressed in remarks about keeping the correspondence secure and is played out in elongated dashes rather resembling some in Sterne, which contributes to the puzzling nature of the book but can also be annoyingly vague. The exchange is fraught with tension between his preference for extempore candid letters and her modesty both as a young woman and writing to a distinguished author. (Their discussions about the epistolary manner may seem too redundant.) The Lord says more than once that the correspondence is a compensation for not visiting; for instance, "The absurd and ridiculous customs of the world . . . make it necessary (in some degree) for us to live apart. Deprived of your conversation, I am solaced by your familiar correspondence. If you over-shadow *this* with unnecessary reserve, I will exchange it for the other . . . [becoming] your incessant visitor" (148).

This is a critical edition with possibly authoritative variants to the first edition discussed for their plausible authority and impact on meaning, as the change from "how lately we conversed" (54) to "how late we conversed" in the 2nd ed. Besides putting legs under several conjectures about the work's composition, the ample and erudite notes on the text (separate from those on the introduction) provide historical information and identify and gloss the frequent

quotations of Shakespeare and Milton, and those less frequent from Edward Young, James Thomson, and many mid-century poets, such as Mark Akenside, Thomas Gray, and William Whitehead. The four appendices include an account of the acts of Platonic love by the Bishop of Lucon for Madame de Rouvraie (partially quoted by Lyttelton), verses published in 1773 as by Lyttelton to Apphia, verses published in 1796 noting Apphia's association with Lyttelton, and the preface to the Dublin 1778 edition of *The Correspondents*, which is a panegyric on Lyttelton as a courteous, virtuous, and learned nobleman. The index of references in the notes and the text is very helpful, as for considering the evidence (one finds eight references to *Dialogues of the Dead*).--J. E. May

### Testimonials to Cal Winton

When I think about Cal Winton, I find myself smiling. For slightly more than 97 years, his was a life well lived. Since I'm talking to a room full of people [at ECASECS 2024] who knew him, I'm sure you'll nod in agreement as I salute him for his affability, his humor, his optimism, his humbleness, his kindness and generosity, and his absolute lack of pretension. Today I want to focus on his love of telling a good story, because he well understood that telling a story makes knowledge stick, and stories shape insights, enlarge visions, and land truths that speak to our humanity.

The first poem Cal taught in my first class with him was John Dryden's "To My Honor'd Friend, Dr. Charleton," written circa 1662 and included in Charleton's 1663 *Chorea Gigantum*, where the good doctor argues that Stonehenge was built by the Danes, not the Romans. Charleton was writing in response to Inigo Jones, who eight years earlier had published the case for the Romans in his *The Most Notable Antiquity of Great Britain* (1655). Cal read the poem aloud to us, and I remember not liking it very much at all. To my then un-informed ears, the heroic couplets seemed heavy, forced, and uninteresting--until we got to the section on Charleton:

Nor are You, learned friend, the least renown'd  
Whose fame, not circumscrib'd with English ground,  
Flies like the nimble journeys of the light;  
And is, like that unspent too in its flight.  
Whatever truth have been, by art or chance  
Redeem'd from error, or from ignorance,  
Thin in their authors, like rich veins of ore,  
Your works unite, and still discover more.  
Such is the healing virtue of your pen,  
To perfect cures on books, as well as men.  
Nor is this work the least: you well may give  
To men new vigor, who make *Stones* to live.

Cue Cal's chuckle. In *John Dryden and His World*, Jim Winn refers to this last couplet as "gently, even affectionately comic: a doctor who could make the "*Stones*" or testicles of men more lively would indeed be giving them "new

vigour.” Cal selected this poem because it captures so many eighteenth-century values: friendship, knowledge, teaching, and science----and it makes a funny, slightly risqué joke. The poem’s story becomes *interesting*. That’s what he wanted to show us, and in doing so we learned something about Dryden’s humanity as well as his poetics. Teaching was enjoyable to Cal because he knew how to communicate his version of the “eighteenth-century story.” As crucially, he wanted his students to find studying the eighteenth century to be both enjoyable and enlightening (bad pun, I know.)

Archival research thrilled Cal, and he loved talking about it. He had great stories to tell. I remember him recounting how he had to blow the compound, whatever it was, off the tax records because he was the first one to see them since they were rolled-up by the tax agent. Cal achieved academic fame for his work on Richard Steele. By the time I met him in the fall 1977, he had great experience working in the offices of Public Records in Chancery Lane and of the Historical Manuscript Commission (up the road), in the British Library, and in libraries and record offices across England and Ireland. Because he had such good detective-like instincts, because he was tireless, and because he always managed to befriend and thank librarians and archivists across the UK, Cal’s research always dug deeper. He made it a habit to have cups of tea and pints with the professionals he met in various repositories! The acknowledgements sections of his books and his footnotes, where he names them, prove how he benefited from these encounters which provided data and, crucially, context. This from a footnote in an early article about Richard Steele. Cal had been working in the Essex County Record Office: “The County Archivist, Mr. F. G. Emmison, discovered this document among other papers in a barn belonging to a descendant of the Mildmay family.” Telling the story: it wasn’t just a document; it was found in a barn, and it belonged to a descendant of the Mildmay family. The document and the Mildmays---all have histories.

Cal didn’t show off his knowledge in cocktail chatter or on the page. His clear and concise writing style mirrored his directness and authenticity as a person. But make no mistake about it: Cal was a bold researcher and scholar, and he believed in connecting all the dots. For him, archival research was a way to discover facts, of course, but also the contours and contexts of a person’s humanity. Cal had an instinct for Richard Steele, and his research and writing never failed to hit the mark. In his second volume on Steele, *Sir Richard Steele, M.P.: The Later Career* (1970), Cal explored what he called “the sadder” story. As a biographer, he did not shy away from making informed leaps as to Steele’s psychological “story.” Indeed, Cal believed that thorough archival research gave him the responsibility and obligation to tell the big story, as he does in the last long paragraph of the book:

Steele’s life was an untidy one, played out in those modes in which he excelled: the comic and the pathetic. He did not respond to tragedy. He was an Irish orphan who became an English knight. He left university without taking a degree. He was a trooper of horse who became a captain of foot. He married a rich widow who died, and at her funeral met the woman who would become his second wife. He loved this second wife and their children intensely and he lost most of them before his own death. He made

and squandered fortunes with aristocratic ease, pouring hard money into alchemi-cal furnaces and well fishing vessels and education academies, but at the end he retired to the country, settled his debts, and left his surviving daughters competencies, as if he were a London merchant. He was a founder and director of the academy of painters, though he never laid brush to canvas. He was expelled from one Parliament and elected to three. He wrote three of the most successful stage comedies of the century, he changed the course of literature by inventing the periodical essay. He was the benevolent man, in theory and practices, but the friendly face he showed to the world overlay a tough and resilient character, as his contemporaries realized. No one could have accomplished what Richard Steele accomplished without extraordinary resources of persistence and determination. As much as any man of his time, perhaps, he owed his success not to family connections or inherited wealth or even luck, but to himself. He bought his independence, and he paid for it.

The lines are moving and trustworthy, and sum up a consequential life of Steele.

“Yours ever” or “Much love and all that, as always” is how Cal signed his letters to me. He was sincere in his valediction and, of course, it made me feel valued. If you were lucky enough to be Cal’s student, when you showed him you were “all in,” so was he. In addition to being a vivid and unforgettable teacher, he taught me about how to negotiate the minefields of our profession; about how to have fun in my work; and about the very humanity of what we do as eighteenth-century scholars. For me, that’s the lasting story it is my privilege to relate--about my dear friend and mentor Cal Winton.--Linda Merians

### **Someone Who Looked Out for Me**

When I began doctoral studies at the University of Maryland in 1977, I had already come to love the eighteenth century for the sheer exuberance of the period and the focus on human nature that was so much a part of its literature. I had heard about Cal Winton from John Radner and Eric Molin, my professors at George Mason, and was delighted to meet him. I vividly remember my first 18th-century class, which Cal began by saying: “The eighteenth century is where I live when I don’t have to think about other things.” I could certainly identify with that sentiment and knew I had found the ideal mentor.

Fast forward to 2003 when the University of Delaware published my book *Edmund Burke of Beaconsfield*. My Acknowledgements featured Cal prominently in the section: “Cal Winton’s support through many years, his unfailing encouragement, and splendid scholarly example has been a source of strength and inspiration. In essential ways he has made this work possible.” Cal, of course, downplayed the last part. But Linda Merians’ comment in her tribute to Cal above leads directly into my experience: “If you were lucky enough to be Cal’s student, when you showed him were ‘all in,’ so was he.”

To make a very long and involved story short--and to protect the guilty parties--there was a nasty political fight then in Maryland’s English Department over the selection of the next department chair just at the same time I was writing my dissertation and taking comprehensive exams. Most department

members wanted someone from outside the University who would bring fresh ideas and an unbiased attitude toward departmental matters and members. The other faction, to be concise, wanted the acting chair to have the job.

Cal was on the search committee, and for some reason that I cannot remember, I was appointed the student representative to it. At the time, I needed to pass one more comprehensive exam and that was in the field of the “keep the current chair” faction. Things were not going well for them, and someone on the search committee was—to use that stale term—“leaking like the Titanic.” Yes, gentle readers, I failed the exam. Or, in Cal’s more specific terms: “You were bushwhacked!”

Cal might have been a Southern gentleman, but he knew how to wage a proper war when it was needed. He asked the department’s prominent Shakespeare scholar to create and grade a comprehensive exam in the field of eighteenth-century life writing, and he secured another department member to be the second reader. On the day of the test, I found myself secreted in a vacant office where I wrote the exam, after which Cal took it and delivered it into the hands of the graders. When it came to the dissertation defense a few months later, Cal, once again took no chances. It was held in a small seminar room on the top floor, and he bypassed the usual departmental niceties of a friendly invitation to department members to attend. It goes without saying that several of them were more than a little surprised when my name appeared on the list of December graduates.

Were it not for Cal’s unconventional intervention and his faith in me, I would not have been in the position to apply for a job opening that spring at Gettysburg College. I spent 25 happy, stimulating, and fruitful years at Gettysburg as a tenured faculty member. Indeed, the acknowledgement in my book that Cal, in an essential way, made my scholarly career possible was absolutely true. As Linda said, “If you were lucky enough to be Cal’s student, when you showed him were ‘all in,’ so was he.”--Beth Lambert

### **Calhoun Winton: A Personal Remembrance**

As Cal Winton’s last dissertation student, I kept his retirement from the University of Maryland at bay until he finally decided he could wait no longer and I, in turn, finally decided I must defend. Cal was the type of advisor I needed and wanted—and was so fortunate to have. Although I was not privileged to know him for as long as so many others did (especially those ECASECS members whose dissertations he had directed, on whose committees he had served, or whom alongside he had worked as a colleague), he quickly became an integral part of my academic life and forever a true friend.

Oddly, I am at a loss to pinpoint exactly when I first met Cal, but I do remember it was quite early in my time at College Park. When I had questions about the production and circulation of books in colonial America and the early Republic, my seminar professor urged me to meet with Dr. Winton who then held an interim position in the College of Arts and Humanities. The conversation that afternoon was lively, informative, and a relaxing delight—and lasted a long while. Many books were pulled, many stories exchanged, and many offprints given. Yet, it was not until a year or so later that we connected

again. By that time, I had completed my master's and had subsequently opted to focus on the 18C for my dissertation rather than spend more time with the Victorians and Modernists. I had formulated an interdisciplinary project focused on the novel but had not chosen a director. Notwithstanding other excellent potential choices, my mind kept reflecting on that afternoon more than a year and a half past and how much I had gained from our extended conversation. I soon approached Cal with my proposal, and he readily agreed to direct.

As is often the case, prolonging the dissertation process was my doing. Cal would nudge me along, but he also understood how I worked, provided excellent feedback and resources, and gave me reason to look forward to our meetings. When I surpassed 500 reviewed pages, we both agreed the argument was more than ready (no doubt past ready in Cal's eyes). My extended time on the dissertation afforded me not just guidance and intellectual satisfaction, but it enabled me to get know Cal beyond his scholarship on Steele, Gay, the London theater, Southern printers (particularly his attention to the role women played) and their newspapers during the American Revolution, and more. I respected him greatly as a scholar; I appreciated and admired him even more as a person.

Born at Fort Benning, Georgia, Cal had deep southern roots as did my own mother, and that heritage was something we both understood. He, like my mother's brother-in-law from Augusta, Georgia, was a captain in the US Navy, and we both found time to speak of family. Having lost my father (the source of my "Yankee" and academic proclivities) when I was 19, Cal unfailingly would ask me about my mother and sister—both of whom he met on several occasions including at a SEASECS conference in Atlanta, and they always inquired about him. He, in turn, would speak of his sons, and at department gatherings at his house, I met his smart, gracious, first wife, Liz who had studied at Bryn Mawr and, like, Cal, had graduated from Vanderbilt. (Liz, at one point, worked for Fredson Bowers, a six-degree of separation of sorts given my interest in bibliographic practices). I welcomed accounts of his ties to Vanderbilt (not only as a student but also through a family cemetery) as well as his friendship with troubled poet-novelist James Dickie.

When I was planning my first research trip to England, Cal offered invaluable advice from working in various archives to tracking expenses and tax deduction tips. Research in our eyes often hinged on mysteries we sought to untangle, and Cal was too often on the receiving end of hearing my puzzles and plans to solve them, later followed by accounts of both fruitless chases and unexpectedly rich discoveries. His guidance about the old British Library (remember the North Library) and the PRO on Chancery Lane (near the silver vaults) made my first visits seem familiar, while discussions of the new Library at St. Pancras, the National Archives at Kew, the new London Metropolitan Archives, the Guildhall, various city archives, and more enabled us to compare notes—as we did about favorite London bookshops. Cal reveled in walking the streets of London at all hours as did I. We discussed London neighborhoods and changes and theater experiences. We were never in London at the same time—though I wished we had. That Cal was still visiting and traipsing about London and elsewhere (including South Africa) well into his nineties—often with son Will by his side—never surprised me.

Beyond serving as my dissertation advisor, Cal supported me in so many ways. Along with numerous other titles from his library, he gave me his full run of the *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* and *The ECCB*. He encouraged me to join the Washington Rare Book Group, a group of book collectors and bibliophiles, in which he had been a member. And Cal was there from the start when I and two others founded the Washington Area Group for Print Culture Studies, a monthly seminar at the Library of Congress. The thoughtfulness and generosity that Cal showed me were replicated with so many others, from bestowing books to championing projects and creating opportunities.

After I took the position at West Chester, I saw Cal far less frequently and mainly at conferences—typically, those held by the Society of Authorship, Reading & Publishing and, of course, ECASECS and the ASECS, both societies that he helped to establish. Over meals and drinks, we caught up on research and family. Through these conversations I also learned more about his commitment to labor (while I was still at Maryland, faculty and graduate students did briefly strike, and Cal was right in the thick of it with us), his efforts at promoting desegregation at the U. of South Carolina, and similar actions that were in keeping with his commitment to justice, human decency, and fairness.

Several years after Liz's death, Cal married Cynthia; she accompanied Cal regularly to ECASECS conferences. Full of life like Cal, Cynthia seemed to already know many of us, responding with the fondness Cal had always shown. Between conferences and along with notes from Cal, I began receiving missives from Cynthia, often accompanied by photos of Cal—sometimes including me from the latest ECASECS conference. After Cal's death I learned that Cynthia was corresponding with others who had been receiving photos from her, too. She quickly became and remained another integral connection.

Cynthia died the same year as my husband. In a phone call, Cal and I arranged to meet in DC and then drive together to the 2019 ECASECS conference in Gettysburg. We spent the ride sharing our thoughts about loss, grief, the one left, and life. It was bittersweet but so meaningful and comforting to us both. After we arrived, during dinner at the hotel, Cal smiled and said that he was glad for our conversation, that we both needed it, and it did us good. And he was right. I saw Cal for the last time in October 2022 when we all gathered for ECASECS Winterthur in Delaware. In many ways, he was the same old Cal—though slightly less steady on his feet and the source of worry for Will, especially when he became briefly lost on the Winterthur trails only to emerge smiling and a bit sheepish about the concern he had caused. Yet, despite his advanced age, it did not occur to me that I might never see him again. And, when Cal wrote in December of 2023 that he hoped to be at ECASECS 2024, I willingly believed he would be.

Although I never had Cal as a classroom professor, I know others who did—some of whom became 18C converts because of the experience. That a twenty-something, year-long British exchange student declared him to be by far her favorite professor at Maryland attests to his staying power as a classroom presence. Charlotte, the exchange student with whom I became great friends, never forgot Cal, and his name comes up in our visits to this day. Cal Winton loved life and people and learning and experiences. He was warm with a wonderful sense of humor (and also a penchant for good mischief), ever-so kind



and generous and thoughtful. Able to navigate the waters of academia deftly, he eschewed power and trendiness but instead embraced the spirit of learning. He cared deeply about the individual and the collective. I miss him greatly and am honored that I knew him.--Eleanor Shevlin, Winton's last dissertation student

### **Above all, Cal Winton Was an "Excellent Mentor"**

Above all, Cal was an excellent mentor and promoter of young people's careers. He frequently invited notable 18C scholars, perhaps doing work at the Folger Library, to his house, and then invited all the younger professors and graduate students at Maryland over too for evening discussions. Our time there, thanks to Cal, were both hospitable and intellectually challenging.

I also worked with Cal for several years in a federal program offering writing workshops for judges in Colorado, Florida, and Louisiana. Cal was usually the life of the party when we were in between workshops or commenting on the judges' writing. In Colorado we went roller skating in downtown Boulder one evening and Cal in his early 50s was plenty agile. Another day, after we had finished our week of work, we bought used rubber inner tubes at a gas station and went "tubing" down some light rapids down the Colorado River. Cal was constantly teasing us to aim for the rapids rather than avoiding them. That evening, we stopped at a decidedly down-market diner for dinner and after we ordered, at least 45 minutes passed and we still hadn't been served our food. As it became more and more evident that the place was trying to track down a cook, Cal surprised everyone by standing up, snatching the tablecloth, slipping it deftly out from under the salt, pepper, and ketchup containers, and yelling "scorched earth," he carried the tablecloth out to the sidewalk before dropping it off at an outside sidewalk table. Being Cal, he was simultaneously angry and thoroughly enjoying the experience and his performance.

Finally, Cal wore his connections with the great lightly and deftly, always enjoying the stories he was able to tell. One I remember from just a couple years ago that left me open-mouthed was his story about being introduced to Albert Einstein by William Faulkner as he and Faulkner were walking through the Princeton campus. Part of Cal consistently lived in that world, though he always took it casually and never as a way of showing off.

Cal was consistently both a great and a good man.-- Eugene Hammond

### **On Winton's Two-Volume Biography of Steele**

I did not know Calhoun Winton well; we were friendly acquaintances who'd recognize and smile at one another at the fall ECASECS meetings. But I recently read his remarkable two-volume biography of Richard Steele: *Captain Steele, The Early Career of Richard Steele* and *Sir Richard Steele, M.P., The Later Career* (Johns Hopkins UP, 1964 and 1970). I was reviewing a book with a substantial section on Steele, and I decided to read more scholarship to understand today's assumptions about and attitudes toward him and his writing. I meant to read only what was germane to my topics, but was drawn in to read the volumes carefully, with enjoyment by Winton's felicitous style, civilized voice, and the quiet rolling out of much information amid subtle judicious conclusions.

It is not meant to be a study of the man in private life – one gets the feeling Steele did not have time to exist much apart from the public world until very late in life. Yet Winton creates a convincing portrait which partly explains Steele's choices by implied events from his childhood through young manhood. Steele's obsessions reminded me of his eventual arch-enemy Swift's (whose Tory side Winton seems to favor at times). We are let into the nature of Richard's complicated relationship with Prue, still-remembered because of their letters, what she might have been like (not easy to discern), an estrangement between them not noticed by most, and his responsible and affectionate relationship with all his children, including those from unions where he was not married to the mother. Yet the content that dominates is his political behavior and writing. I did miss close readings of the early journalism (which I read as a graduate student), and plays – the worlds of the theater here is a business Steele struggles to make money out of. I felt that I was in a not atypical 18th-century English world that shed light on lives of other writers I'm familiar and not so familiar with. Winton finds in the worsening relationship of Addison and Steele an instance of Johnson's melancholy analysis of the fragility of friendship. Above all, despite the very personal nature of what happened politically, and Steele's continual exploitation of a culture of continual indebtedness, and even retaliatory sordid maneuverings (usually by others), which Winton does not try to explain away, Winton manages to show us a literary man of stubborn courage, often not for sale, who held to humane Enlightenment goals and principles.--Ellen Moody

### **Insights from Winton's Correspondence**

To my remarks on Cal Winton in the September *Intelligencer*, I would add some biographical facts I relearned when rereading his correspondence since the early 1980s. As he did to colleagues contributing here, Cal wrote to help and encourage my scholarly career, and provide tips about publications and resources, as in 2000 to encourage me to explore the resources of the National Portrait Gallery, whose librarians proved helpful with his *ODNB* entry on Steele.

He also wrote amicably: to share common interests, news of mutual friends & colleagues, and to express anxiety or take satisfaction in family affairs. He enjoyed calling attention to the success of his former students and others in our Society, loyally embraced as team members. He tried to get Maryland to hire Judy Milhous in 1986 and Ashley Marshall around 2014. He wrote repeatedly of Eleanor Shevlin's Kluge fellowship and her Library of Congress lecture, and he marveled that James Woolley was such a productive scholar despite the "teaching and service demands of a liberal arts college." While living with Cynthia Putnam in Louisiana, Cal praised Kevin Cope's defense of the LSU faculty when Kevin was its President.

Cal and I have both lived near the woods, and Cal for a running source of humor delegated me as his "advisor on bears"--he wanted to know what the bears were up to in Pennsylvania. I'm reminded of how in one of Cal's favorite movies, *Local Hero*, Burt Lancaster as an oil executive wanted his agent in Scotland to let him know of what transpired in the night sky. Bear references became more frequent after I reported playing Simon Sez with a young black

bear near my camp. From his lake region Cal reported sightings of fox, coyote, rattlers, and the like, as how in the summer of 2006 beavers had mowed down saplings on a neighbor's property near Lake Eva. His wife Liz's family had known this lake in her childhood, when she knew the Eva residing there. Across the cove was the property belonging to Walker Percy's family--Walker had "courted Liz's older sister Rosamond."

Cal had known lakes and woods in the Cumberland from childhood. In August 1994 Cal and Liz vacationed in the Cumberland while pondering the construction of a retirement home: "We are thinking about building an all-weather house down here (our present cottage is strictly summer-only, and can't be winterized) and Liz'll need to be able to be on the spot to supervise, etc." That home, "Villa Venta," was completed by April 1997. He was justly proud of that house and grounds as a triumphant creation by Liz, Will, and himself. In old age Cal swam in a hilltop lake as he had when a boy scout. He had been a counselor at Camp Pellissippi on Lake Norris: "I lifeguarded, taught canoeing and in my last year was the camp bugler." During WW2, prior to enlisting in the Navy, Cal's father was "inspector general" for the Army air corps in the Southeast of the US, and was near Oak Ridge to assist the secret project there.

Cal frequently began his letters with a comment about what machine he was typing on or what paper writing on, reflecting his interest in the materiality of texts. Early letters and also postcards were pounded out on a portable typewriter. A letter in June 2004 began, "I'm trying [sic] this on our computerized electrical typewriter (which we detest) because son Will has made off with our printer. I may have to go back to the manual, which isn't feeling too well either. . . . one of the defects of this little jewel is that you can't see what you have written until you get to the next line." Cal had a small and squiggly hand and rarely wrote me longhand letters.

His letters usually included some humor. In March 1987, he wrote--on stationary from an Atlanta hotel: "I met your friend Bill Burling at SEASECS. Seems to be an affable guy, and he spoke well of you. I corrected him on that, of course, but otherwise he seemed on the ball." Cal went on to speak of summer travel plans after they left the lodgings they had in Charlottesville while a visiting professor. They were going to the ISECS Congress in Hungary by train from England and returning to the US in August. Cal added, "I don't want to check in too early at Maryland, lest they start thinking of committees to put me on. On the other hand, I do want to get back before they begin moving my books out of the office."

Cal loved books. He jumped at the chance to review for *ECCB* a book on the Wrenn Library that was a beauty he wanted to own. In a listing like *Who's Who* he gave his avocations as swimming and book collecting. In a letter in 2011, the increased use of Kindles led him to a memory connected to bibliophilia: "We got books on the GI Bill, and Monroe Spears, who was my advisor at Vanderbilt and director of my master's thesis, would approve anything I wanted. Jim Dickey and I would go over to the campus bookstore on payday and load up, all on the taxpayer! I remember Jim one day grabbing a copy of Wallace Stevens's *The Blue Guitar*, recently published, and reciting the title poem to me . . . I still have that copy."

He often reported on travels. He wrote in 1992 of Australia's birds and beasts and in 1993 of libraries in New England and staying at their in-law's in Hampshire. One recollection involved sailing into Pearl Harbor in 1946, shared when he encouraged me to get my dad Morrison's history of the Pacific naval war: "I saw the *Tuscaloosa* and other heavies when they came through Pearl Harbor in 1946, on their way back home: a whole flotilla of them. No-one had ever seen so much heavy seaborne metal together so close at sea--for obvious reasons they kept their distance from one another. I, a 19-year-old ensign, was impressed. They looked as if they were going to flush all the water out of Pearl just by their presence."

Cal was attentive to decorum or propriety within the scholarly world. For instance, after the Providence ASECS in 1993, he noted: "we had a pleasant round of drinks" with Linda Merians, Beth Lambert, and Betty and Ray Rizzo, at "the Art Gallery reception. The reception had a cash bar: I think that is shocking. You ought not to call it a 'reception' at ASECS if it has a cash bar. That kind of behavior is acceptable, I guess, at MLA meetings, which are devoid of any kind of civility anyway." A good party was a conference highlight--after the 2012 ASECS in San Antonio, he stressed the Mexican music performance and Don Mell's press party.

He often wrote of his sons' and daughter-in-law's achievements in life. Though politically engaged as a progressive (he had the *NYT* delivered daily), Cal virtually never wrote of national or international politics. Shared hopes were left understood. And he did not complain of others or failed efforts nor did he share anxieties or bad medical news. After Liz began failing in 2005, he mentioned most often how others helped care for her.. In recent decades, Cal traveled to conduct research on his "Two Captains" book, on Captain Richard Steele and Captain John Smith, trader-explorers working for the British East India Company. The project suited his love of travel and the sea, and allowed him to enjoy son Will's company frequently over the last decade as they cruised as far as Cape Town and annually to Britain.--Jim May

### Report from the Molin Committee

As chair of the Molin Prize Committee, it gives me great pleasure to report that we have two prize-winning papers from our gathering in Lancaster in early November 2024. We awarded first prize to Julie Mitchener (University of Tulsa) for her paper, "Constructed Destiny – Societally-Induced Fate in Mary Hays's *The Victim of Prejudice*." Her paper put forward a persuasive argument showing how Hays interrogates the social construction of destiny in her novel. This is an important topic, and she addressed the "why" of it as well as the how effectively. We especially appreciated her recognition of Hays's nuanced invitation to readers to examine for themselves their own notions of destiny: "Hays implores readers to examine their own role in the social order, and the ways in which willful obedience to oppressive constructs creates and reinforces unavoidable outcomes for those who disrupt said social order."

In addition to the paper's thought-provoking content, we were impressed by Julie's presentational style. She projected clearly, had a confident persona,

and was especially deft in answering questions. In fact, we noted that she posed rhetorical questions in the final section of the paper, thereby prompting questions and deeper discussion from the audience. That's the aim of scholarly gatherings like ours, and it is encouraging to know that someone at the start of her career understands so well what an ECASECS annual meeting is all about.

We decided to award an Honorable Mention prize to Triana Cancel (Penn State University) because she was so deserving of recognition. Triana's paper, "Products of Empire: Child-Rearing in Casta Paintings," carried the idea that José Joaquín Magón's paintings and, more broadly, the emerging genre of Casta paintings record an understanding of child-rearing within the complicated framework of the New Spain. We were impressed with Triana's ability to navigate relevant critical discourses related to primary texts to find the topic of childrearing through which she could offer a scholarly reading of art works. While presenting slides of the paintings, she shared her nuanced reading, pressing her point that they offered visual models for parents and others. The relationship between the pictorial and the didactic, especially in Casta paintings, is an exciting one, and undoubtedly one that could be further expanded as her scholarship evolves to consider how forms of family, sociality, affect, and acceptability are revealed through visuals.

Aware that sharing a power-point presentation has challenges different than reading from a prepared text, we noted that Triana's presentation showed confidence and generosity of spirit in how well she responded to the questions audience members asked. Only after we left Lancaster did I learn that this presentation marked Triana's first participation in a scholarly conference.

Serving along with me on the Molin Committee were David Palumbo, who assumes the chair for 2025, and Jeremy Chow. I thank them for their collegiality and participation; it is always a pleasure to work with fellow ECASECers on such an uplifting activity--uplifting because the graduate students we recognize here remind us that study of the 18th century is a worthy and instructive way to engage with the past as well as with the present and future.

Linda E. Merians

## **Minutes & Treasury Report from the ECASECS Business Meeting 2 November 2024, Lancaster, Pennsylvania**

Given that everyone attending relished the variety, vitality, vim, and vigor of the ECASECS Lancaster conference—given that the leadership of that event unveiled to us everything from the imaginative squash rings on the appetizer menu at Luca Italian cuisine to the stunning simplicities of Amish culture and on to all the intricacies of eighteenth-century studies—it might seem pedantic and otherwise party-pooping to present business information. However, and happily, fruitful transactions occurred during the annual business meeting. First, a full slate of officers was elected. That slate included Brett Wilson (William & Mary) rising to the President, Elena Deanda-Camacho for Vice-President, and Victoria Barnett-Woods for Executive Committee (both Elena and Victoria are at Washington College, in Chestertown, Maryland, where they will co-chair

with colleagues our 2025 fall meeting). Next, we heard reports from the Molin Prize Committee. Executive Secretary Kevin Cope offered a summary report on ECASECS finances. *Eighteenth-Century Intelligencer* Editor James May laid out an impressive plan for the future of this widely-read journal, a plan that includes both print and electronic issues. Finally, ECASECS President Jane Wessel delighted conferees with a richly illustrated plenary address on extra-illustrated books produced by theatre fans..

Since the meeting, ECASECS finances have (temporarily) settled, conference costs have been tabulated, and accounts have been reconciled. Taking into account membership dues that were paid for purposes of participating in the program, the Lancaster 2024 conference netted a profit of approximately \$1,825.00. That profit includes exhibitor and sponsorship fees offered by three university presses. The core account for ECASECS now holds \$6,723.02; the ECASECS Future Fund stands at \$17,116.72. The grand total of all resources is therefore \$23,839.74. Members of the Executive Board continue to debate the asymmetry in the holdings of these two accounts.

Respectfully submitted,

Kevin L. Cope, Executive Secretary and Treasurer

### **The Ebbs and Flows of the Eighteenth Century ECASECS 2025 Conference at Washington College 9-11 October**

We look forward to seeing ECASECS members at our 55th annual conference hosted on October 9-11 by Washington College, the first college chartered after the American Independence. This year's theme is "ebbs and flows," honoring the maritime legacy of Chestertown, Maryland, a leading royal ports in the 1700s. We seek panel and paper proposals that deal directly or indirectly with aspects of this theme broadly conceived. Proposals that:

- address the natural rhythms and fluctuations, the highs and lows, of aquatic realms, with focus on bodies of water, centering the Atlantic, the Chesapeake, etc.

- consider theoretical, empirical, or analytical approaches to contact zones where environmental and/or social bodies meet and collide, recede and advance, etc. These would consider markers such as coasts, rivers, bays, oceans, as well as coastal cities, beaches, archipelagos, and other types of sites of both contact and boundaries, be they geographic, political, interpersonal, or personal.

- metaphorically consider the theme of "ebbs and flows" as one that delineates an understanding of the rise and fall of trends, patterns, belief systems, ideologies, and social values of and around eighteenth-century studies.

- reflect on how mainstream trends belie the often messy and sometimes violent coexistence of countertrends, delays, drags, and outliers.

- consider the use/reuse of materials, and interdisciplinary approaches that challenge and expand the boundaries of traditional perspectives. We hope for a rich discussion on the many iterations of 18C studies, where the field has been, what has ceased to exist, what has remained, and what we envision for its future.

More generally, we seek papers on all aspects of our period in any geographic area. The deadline for individual papers is May 1st; the deadline for complete panels, May 15th. Email proposals or send queries to [ecasecs2025@gmail.com](mailto:ecasecs2025@gmail.com). Washington College is a fine location for an ECASECS meeting as it is a historic college located in the heart of the mid-Atlantic region in Chestertown, on Maryland's Eastern Shore. Considered during the mid 1700s as the second royal port of entry in the Chesapeake Bay, and nestled along the banks of the Chester River, Chestertown offers a distinctly eighteenth-century appeal and legacy, as well as an environmentally-centered community. For lodging, we have secured the Comfort Inn, a pet friendly hotel that offers free parking, WIFI, and hot breakfast, and that is a short walking distance to campus. Downtown, there are inns such as the White Swan Tavern, a small colonial-era guesthouse. Chestertown is a 90-minute car ride from Philadelphia's or Baltimore's airport; and a 60-minutes car ride from Amtrak train stations in Wilmington, DE, or New Carrollton in the DC area.

We are looking forward to welcoming many new and returning members to our campus and to Chestertown. We encourage undergraduate and graduate students to present and to graduate students to submit their papers to the Molin Prize. Students pay a reduced registration fee of only \$25.00. For more details see <https://ecasecs2025conference.wordpress.com>

Victoria Barnett Woods

### **Highlights of the 2024 Conference and News of Members**

With a help from **Elena Deanda Camacho** and **Jim May**, **Eleanor Shrevlin** organized another fine ECASECS conference: she chaired or co-chaired five of the past decade's. We met from Thursday night, Halloween, through Saturday's dinner hour (31 Oct-2 November) in downtown Lancaster's Holiday Inn. Several presenters were unable to come due to covid, but on the whole we seemed a healthy bunch. We had the Secret Service at the doorways since Kamala Harris's husband attended a rally in the hotel. On Friday, **Carla Mulford**, whose publications on Franklin include *The Cambridge Companion* and *Benjamin Franklin and the Ends of Empire*, presented the keynote "Benjamin Franklin's Electric Diplomacy." Carla discussed Franklin's work on electricity and how the French government employed him on scientific commissions, thus transferring to it some of Franklin's luster. Carla's book on Franklin's "electric diplomacy" is forthcoming, and she is now writing another, on "Franklin, Mediterranean Piracy and American Slavery." **Kevin Cope** conducted our business luncheon on Saturday, at which new officers were elected (his minutes are above), and Elena invited us to Washington College on Maryland's eastern shore for the 2025 meeting. Then **Jane Wessel** offered her presidential address "Theatre Fans and their Books" (their extra-illustrated books), a version of which will appear in our September issue. On Thursday night there was a reading of *Tom Thumb* organized by **Peter Staffel**, in the hotel bar--standouts among the dozen or so actors included **Adam Potkay**, **Sayre Greenfield**, **Phil Jones**, **Geof Sill**, **Linda Troost**, and **Rob Mayerovitch**.

The conference included an open discussion of how teaching (and students) have changed, chaired by **Doreen Alvarez Saar** (Drexel U.). Doreen brought some copies of an article in *The Atlantic's* November issue by Rose Horowitz, entitled "The Elite College Students Who Can't Read Books." It begins with the recognition that courses like Columbia's Humanities Lit survey assign much less reading now. Examples are given of required reading cut in half (over half for one Berkeley prof). All of *Moby Dick* or *The Iliad* isn't being assigned. A Columbia teacher of its humanities course for decades notes some students have never read a whole book. Among causes examined are the omnipresent phones and the dedication of high-school English classes to preparing students with selections for tests. Students appear to shut down when a whole class is spent on one text: our material is boring compared to the shifting flow on their smart phones. Those present suggested various books on the distractions and harm resulting from excessive digital life (beginning with Nicholas Carr's *The Shallows: What the Internet Is Doing to Our Brains* [2011], to Howard Gardner and Katie Davis's *The App Generation: How Today's Youth Navigate Identity, Intimacy, and Imagination in a Digital World* [2014], to Johann Hari's *Stolen Focus: Why You Can't Pay Attention . . .* [2023]). In addition, college students now do not value as much what humanities courses offer. Lecturing is less productive than ever. Some present, such as **Carla Mulford** and **Linda Troost**, shared strategies for keeping students attentive in class. Quizzes are needed more, and some distribute questions first as study guides (**Peter Staffel** has done so). **John Scanlan** encouraged us to adapt to students' interests, noting his sports literature classes are full and the materials read. We also discussed papers plagiarized with AI (**Cathy Parisian** had a painfully funny story on such). Some like **Matt Kinservik** note that other disciplines are teaching the use of AI in their assignments, and so comp courses need consider including some training, and Linda has had her students use the AI tool *Grammarly*. Several noted that their schools prefer no book purchases be required (they want students to access digital copies--nobody's being told to "underline that"). Carla has a dozen copies to loan to students who take her lit classes. We touched on the inability of most to read comments in cursive and on the requests by students and deans for trigger warnings, preparing students for what might make them feel too much, e.g., scenes of racism or sexual assault.

We are seeing a huge falling off in what students are expected to retain or know. I am reminded of the revolution that occurred in math classes when due to calculators applied math classes no longer expected students to know the math required to solve problems and why those solutions work. Surely we ourselves make less of an effort to keep up our memories, and most of us lack our predecessors' skills and knowledge, not only of Latin but of poetics.

Another pedagogical panel at the conference was focused on Washington College's "placed-based learning program" employing Kiplin Hall and surrounding Yorkshire. Professors **Katherine (Katie) Charles** and **Beth Choate** introduced us to Washington College itself in eastern Maryland, site of our 2025 conference, and to its emphasis on experiential learning (employing three Centers: for "the American Experience," literature, and also environment). Kiplin Hall was the ancestral home of the Calvert family, the first proprietors of Maryland. A retired English professor at the College and his wife long ran a



study tour of the Lake Country and Yorkshire, and recently other professors--such as **Victoria Barnett-Woods**, who suggested this session, and Katie Charles--have led students on a reconceived tour with a stay at Kiplin Hall, last time for a week and next time for longer. Five student panelists shared experiences and research topics undertaken, such as on wealth via slavery and on Emily Bronte. Katie participated in several sessions at Lancaster, chairing the panel on depictions and concepts of masculinity, subtitled "Alliances and Alienations." It included her colleague **Karen Manna's** "Gendered Apologetics and 18C Literature," with examinations of masculine types in François Garasse's poetic *La Doctrine Curieuse de beaux-esprits de ce temps ou prétendus tels* (condemning the *Parnasse Satyrique*, 1622) and in 18C novelists alluding to it. Also offered was **Elena Deanda's** "The Lascivious and the Pious: The Poetics of Censorship in 18C Spain," which found commonalities of masculinities in both the pornographers and their antagonists, inquisitorial censors; and **Mehl Penrose's** "Masculinities Redefined: Imitations of Virgil's *Second Eclogue* by Francisco J. Alegre and José Iglesias de la Casa." **Marilyn Button** and **Jessica Sheetz Nguyen** published *British Women Travellers in the Long Nineteenth Century with Italy as Their Muse*. Its case studies look at the motives of women's travels in Italy, what they sought out and how travel was often an escape from disappointments and limitations, an expanded freedom. Marilyn chaired a session with a related theme: "Reconfiguring the Grand Tour: English Women Travelers in the Long 18C"; on it Jessica read "Elizabeth, Duchess of Devonshire in Rome." Also, **Tom Prasch** spoke on Hester Piozzi's "regendering the Grand Tour," as by flirting with dangers and showing herself up for hardships; and **Dona Cady** spoke on "Mary Somerville's Italian Brush and Pen," with illustrations of fine paintings--which flickered due to problems at the hotel.

**Lorna Clark** drive down from Ottawa to bolster a panel on Frances Burney's *The Wanderer*--this was one of our most focused panels, offering Lorna's "Transition and *The Wanderer*: A New Edition for a New Era"; Elizabeth Porter's "The Wanderer's Conflict"; Susan Wood's relating the work to "Shakespeare's Late Romances" (offered above). The most distinguished assembly at the fall ECASECS was **Greg Clingham's** roundtable panel "Johnson at the Crossroads: Present and Future Prospects in Scholarship, Teaching, and the Wider World: A Conversation." There were not enough chairs in the room! Greg was joined by **Phil Jones** and **Philip Smallwood** from England along with **Jack Lynch**, **J. T. Scanlan**, and **Adam Potkay**. Phil Jones added much also to the opening night's reading of *Tom Thumb*, and Phillip Smallwood joined the discussion of teaching. We were delighted that **Anna Foy's** father **Miles Foy**, a Professor in Wake Forest's Law School, joined Anna to offer "The Scottish Court of Session as a Refuge for African Freedom Seekers? The Case of Joseph Knight, 1774-78." Others on the panel, organized by **Linda Merians**, also treated refugees: **Kevin Cope** presented "The Insistent Refugee: Philip Quarll, his Best Buddy Beaufidell, and their 'Unparalleled' Unsocial Successes"; and **Elizabeth Powers** spoke on "Refugees and Exiles in Goethe's Works during the French Revolution." One of the Lancaster meeting's most informative presentations was **Nancy Mace's** "What Archives Reveal: New Information about the Music Seller Peter Welcher and his Family," where we learned of such resources as insurance records in the London Metropolitan

Archive (formerly elsewhere and now searchable on line). Nancy's decades of research into music copyright and publishing--often presented at **Eleanor Shevlin's** bibliography sessions--will before long be wrestled into a monograph. A panel on "18C Gothic Minds and Bodies" brought Professor **Steve Newman** and three doctoral students from Temple U. for an 8:30-a.m. panel, which I missed while working registration: **Suzy Biever** spoke on "The Disembodiment of Anne Bannerman"; **Jenna Sterling** on "Trauma and Silence in the Gothic Novel"; and **Madelyn Winkler** on "Spectrality and Gender Nonconformity in Anne Bannerman's 'The Penitent's Confession.'" **David Palumbo** chaired "Swift and his Circle," speaking himself on "Satiric Violence in the *Journal to Stella*," examining Swift's recurrent humor over a pregnant friend's potential miscarriage. The session also offered **Brett Wilson's** talk on political themes in Book IV of *Gulliver's Travels*, and **James Woolley's** on Dublin newspapers, which we are happy to offer above in this issue (pp. 22-26).

If Lancaster had a panel suited to the weekend of Halloween, it must have been that on "Power and its (Bad) Transitions," chaired by **Sayre Greenfield**. It offered **Susan Spencer's** "King Yeongjo's Dilemma; or, Terror in the Palace," describing how King Yeongjo (reigned 1724-1776) had to find an innovative, "hands-off" means of eliminating his criminally insane son and heir, without executing him outright or admitting publicly that there was madness in Korea's royal family. Also on that panel, **Paul Young** delivered "A Simple Mechanism: The Guillotine in the Early 19C Imagination" and **Roger Maioli**, "Writing the History of Relativism: The Enlightenment." Roger addressed relativism in France and Britain during the 17C and 18C, claiming that "such a history needs to consider an expanded archive and look at both literary and philosophical sources." The talk was related to a book MS on "The Enlightenment Crisis of Values," aided by his fellowship at Princeton's University's Center for Human Values. **Leah Thomas** shared much of interest about the postal service in 18C England in "Road Maps, Postal Routes, and Epistolary Novels" (such as on government surveillance, actually opening and transcribing letters, etc.). Leah also chaired the session "Marriage (and) Commerce in the Long 18C," at which **Leah Benedict** read "Notes on the Energy of Love"; **Eleanor Shevlin** spoke on "The Newspaper Wedding" in "A Critique of Marriage as a Marketplace Entity"; and **Triana Cancel** delivered "Products of the Empire: Child-Rearing in Casta Paintings" (see pp. 59-50 above on her winning the Molin Prize).

**Ruthe Rootes Battestin** died on 27 May 2024. She and husband **Martin Battestin** were long members of ECASECS, and Ruthe served for a time as the engaging secretary of the Bibliographical Society of the U. of Virginia. In January, **David Vander Meulen** wrote of her passing, sending along an obituary. Ruthe graduated from Ohio Wesleyan in 1955 and married a classmate, Nolan Smith, who took them to Yale for his graduate studies. Smith began teaching at UVA in 1958; thereafter the couple divorced, and Ruthe married Martin in 1963. Ruthe investigated Fielding with Martin for *Henry Fielding: A Life* (1989); while in England she discovered 50 previously unpublished letters. She was a close colleague of Fredson Bowers and others at UVA. In 2012 its Bibliographical Society established the Battestin Fellowships in hers and Martin's honor. David added his own tribute to Ruthe, who "breathed" 18C air and who "cherished her role as an independent scholar not

beholden to the niceties of the academy, a freedom whose wonderful results included the discoveries reported by her and Martin in their Fielding biography. Ruthe was a vestige of the scholarly generation under whose tutelage you and I grew up, and which has largely left us. Reflection on that era evokes thanks."

**Susan Carlile** is working on women's roles in periodical writing and publishing through the 1760s. **Katie Charles** reviewed A. Hiner and E. Tasker Davis's *British Women Satirists in the long 18C* in *ECF*, 35.4 (2023), 544-46; and contributed an article on Edith Sitwell's 18C to *MLQ* in Sept 2022. She's writing a book called "Losing the Plot: Interpolated Tales and the 18C Novel" exploring how early novels experimented with stories within stories. **Greg Clingham** traveled to the U. of Cappadocia, Turkey, last spring, to give a plenary lecture ("Obscure Spectatorship: Lady Anne Lindsay Barnard at the Cape of Hope, 1797-1802") at the conference of Turkey's English Language & Literature Association. And he held some classes and consultations on publishing. In fall 2024, Greg gave the 29th Daniel G. Blum lecture, "Johnson and the Dream of Sleep," to the Johnson Society of the West, where he is the President this year. Greg's review essay "The East India Company and the Arts of the Orient" appears in *1650-1850*, 27 (2024). Last year saw published two short essays on Johnson for non-specialist readers: "Johnson, as I remember him," *The Johnson Society Transactions* (2023): 64-71; and "The Love of Anecdotes: Johnsonians, John Hardy, and Oxford in the 1960s," *Johnsonian News Letter*, 74:2 (Sept. 2023): 45- 49. Greg has also edited a collection of essays, forthcoming from Delaware: "The Enduring Work of Biography: Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, 1791-2020," with essays by eminent Boswell scholars (**Thomas Bonnell**, **Richard Sher**, **Jacob Sider Jost**, Paul Tankard, et al.). It toasts the 4th and final volume of the Yale Research Edition of the *Life of Johnson* by exploring some of the *Life's* continuing critical and historical interests, including its extraordinary publication history. **Stephen Clarke** has published an essay on new MS material from Thomas Gray's Grand Tour (which includes a previously unknown 12-line Latin poem) in *Thomas Gray among the Disciplines*, ed. by Ruth Abbott and Ephraim Levinson (Routledge, 2025). Stephen also published an essay detailing the reading by an obscure provincial from c. 1800 in a festschrift for Henry Woudhuysen (Oxford UP, 2024). His forthcoming articles include: in *The Library* one on 40 books from William Beckford's library, another on the correspondence of Charles Burney and William Mason in *ECLife*, and "Extra-Illustrating Horace Walpole's *Description of Strawberry Hill: Three Case Studies*" in *Studies in Bibliography*.

**Kevin L. Cope** edited *Howard Weinbrot and the Precincts of Enlightenment: The Genius of Every Place* (Lehigh UP, 2024; 390 pp.). Besides Kevin's introduction and a list of Weinbrot's publications, it includes **Greg Clingham's** "Diplomacy, Diversion, and Invention: Sir George Macartney at the Court of Catherine the Great"; **J. T. Scanlan's** "Swift's Lists"; **A. W. Lee's** "Johnson, Dodd, and the Concentrated Sententia"; **Stephen Karian's** "'Incipit': Pope's Beginnings, Original and Revised"; **Samara Anne Cahill's** "'Sublunary Particularity': Religion, Rhetoric, and Difference"; **Bärbel Czennia** on "Gardeners as Pioneers of Sustainability"; **Philip Smallwood** on "Johnson and Stendhal"; **Stephen Clarke's** "Samuel Johnson and the Sense of Place"; and **Maximillian E. Novak's** "Some Dreams in 18C Fiction." Kevin stepped up to

chair the South-Central SECS's 2025 conference in late winter. **Matthew Davis** brought out in March his first issue and the first digital issue of *The Johnsonian News Letter* (76.1), 86 pp. with a colorful cover illustration of Samuel Johnson in the manner of a stain-glass window. Of the four main articles, three are by ECASECSers: **Robert Walker's** "Using Used Books: Preserving Readerly Reactions by Preserving Books"; **Adam Potkay's** "'How like he was to Rousseau': Johnson on Social Evils and Future Happiness"; and **Philip Smallwood's** "After Guillory: Professing Johnson's Criticism." In addition there are notes by **Brian Grimes** ("An Afterlife of Rousseau") and three by Matt Davis ("Johnsonian Epistle to Sophy Thrale Sells for £38,460"; "The Noachian Mathematics of Bishop John Wilkins"; and Hezârfen Ahmed Çelebi and the Dissertation on Flying"). Bob Walker reviews *Samuel Johnson and the Powers of Friendship*, ed. A. D. Cousins, et al. Matt's email is jneditor3@gmail.com.

**John Dussinger's** edition of serial numbers printed by Samuel Richardson that probably received the assistance of his pen was reviewed here in September. One reader writes that our review insufficiently recognizes that "Richardson added a woman's voice to register dissent in these publications." The edition is reviewed favorably in *SHARP* by Sören Hammerschmidt, who praises the edition for insights into "the germination of Richardsonian attitudes towards women's self-determination and self-representation." He adds, "Dussinger opts for consistency and familiarity of textual presentation by using editorial and formatting conventions similar to those in the Cambridge" edition, "thus easing access to the new texts. (In fact . . . I kept wondering why it was not published by Cambridge . . . [as a] supplementary volume for *CECSR*." BTW, John, whose family settled in southeastern PA in 1904, called my attention to a very clear and informative website on the Fraktur folk art of 18C and 19C Pennsylvania Germans, explaining its origins, uses, styles: the Fraktur style developed in Northern Germany in the early 16C; the Schwabacher in South Germany; the Textura or gothic common in newspaper headlines (frakturweb.org, created by Joel Clemmer of Saint Paul, MN, with illustrations and a bibliography).

After a year's sabbatical, **Michael Edson** returned to Wyoming as department chair. This year he will write an essay for an OUP handbook on Aphra Behn and also an essay on Johnson's "Life of Cowley" for a volume from Routledge edited by **Philip Smallwood**, tentatively entitled "Johnson in Perspective: Poetry, Criticism, and Cultural Relations." **Sayre Greenfield** and **Linda Troost** are the exemplary couple in Ian Bogost's article in *The Atlantic* on couples working at the same institution or in the same field ("How to Marry into Academia: When You Get a Job as a Professor, your Partner may Get One Too," posted 8 December). The article begins by noting Linda and Sayre met when beginning graduate studies at Penn in 1978 and married four years later, and then, on graduation in 1985, Linda took her position at Washington & Jefferson College, while Sayre looked at length for a position in the area, which he found but after working here and there including Tulsa. Bogost, an academic, considers the advantages enjoyed by universities in hiring two partners (they become more engaged with campus life, interacting more with students and colleagues, also increased gender equity, etc.) and also the drawbacks (nepotism that could lead to less qualified hires and to resentment, also a lessening of diverse values, beliefs, expertise, etc.). Bogost notes a recent Stanford study that

found "36 percent of academics at research universities are married or partnered with another academic." A co-author of *The Two-Body Problem* (2024), Lisa Wolf Wendel claims universities are now more inclined to hire the secondary partner for non-tenure positions. **April London** has edited *The Cambridge Guide to the Eighteenth-Century Novel, 1660-1820*, which contains **Eleanor Shevlin's** articles on *The Woman of Fashion: Or, the History of Lady Diana Dormer* [by Phebe Gibbes] and Daniel Turner's *The Fashionable Daughter*. **Michael S. Martin** completed the monograph "Mythological Citizenship: Cherokee Orature, Cultural Memory, and Epistemology," under consideration by a press. He published an essay on southern captivity narratives in *Studies in American Culture* and also has an article in the new journal *Carolina Currents*, vol. 2, on Caroline Howard Gilman's ideas of order in Charleston. He has designed a new Native American Literature elective that he's teaching at Nicholls State U. And Michael is presenting a paper on secrets in Thoreau's *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers* at SAMLA in Jacksonville, where he's also chairing the pre-1865 American literature panel.

Thanks to **Linda Merians** for chairing the Molin Prize competition for the last meeting. Linda is actively engaged with the Diallo Foundation of the New York City area--and she takes French tutorials and is engaged in several research projects. **Maureen E. Mulvihill's** recent publications include an illustrated tribute on multimedia virtuosa Esther Inglis (*Rare Book Hub*, online, Nov., 2024), announcing coordinated 2024 Inglis events in Edinburgh and at the Folger Library. Maureen served as consultant to a 40-minute multimedia video, with subtitles and an illustrated script, *Unmasking Ephelia* (Jan., 2025), hosted by Julia Martins; this creatively assembled video is accessible on Martins' popular *Living History* website (4.7K+ subscribers). As former VP of Florida Bibliophile Society, Maureen assisted this March at the Society's booth at the Florida Antiquarian Book Fair, St Petersburg; the Fair's c. 80 book vendors included associates from the northeast. As a Senior Editor for *The Scriblerian*, Maureen has initiated and overseen new work on painters Mary Beale and Maria Cosway, and on London actresses Sarah Siddons et al. In development are an article on the Detroit Festival of Books (Eastern Market, July, 2025), previewed online by *Rare Book Hub*, June 2025 upload; reviews on Irish subjects for *Scriblerian*; and a consideration of sonic poetics by early women writers. (Maureen is recovering from "high-risk" eye surgery.) **Catherine Parisian** is President of the South-Central SECS and hosts its meeting in Pinehurst, N.C. on 20-21 February 2026. **Peter Perreten** volunteers at the Perkiomen Watershed Conservancy, recently giving talks on the commercial ice harvest in that region. Peter recommends as "very enjoyable": *Every Living Thing: The Great and Deadly Race to Know All Life*, on Linnaeus and de Buffon, by Jason Roberts.

**Elizabeth Powers** reviewed in the *TLS* of 26 April Charles Lewinsky's historical novel *Rauch und Schall*, depicting the lives of Goethe and his housemates during a period when the middle-aged Goethe suffered from writer's block. In an earlier *TLS* (14 July 2023) she reviewed very favorably David Waldstreicher's biography *The Odyssey of Phillis Wheatley: A Poet's Journey through American Slavery and Independence*, noting its attention to Wheatley's movement in Boston and London society and her revision of poems for a new edition while en route to England (re-presenting herself, making the poems less

"New England bound"). Though Elizabeth's usual field is German literature, she had written a lengthy article on Wheatley for the 2008 *Yale Review*. She published "The End of the Affair: Goethe's Gretchen 'Roman'" in *The Goethe Yearbook*, 31 (2024), 1-23. **Oliva Sabee** coedited for Oxford Studies in the Enlightenment *Cultural Transmission and the French Enlightenment*, with 11 essays on diverse arts and sciences, such as medicine. **Geoffrey Sill's** "Versions of Defoe: Frontispiece Portraits of the Author" is in the forthcoming (2025) issue of *Digital Defoe*. It is accompanied by 20 engraved portraits of Defoe. Also forthcoming is "'Grateful acknowledgements to Captain Burney': Poetry and History in Mary Russell Mitford's *Christina, the Maid of the South Seas*," which will appear in the next issue of *The Burney Journal* (2025). **Jack Lynch** and **John Scanlan** have secured **Susan Spencer's** editorial help with *The Age of Johnson* (she'll function as an associate or managing editor and also increase the journal's outreach). **David Vander Meulen's** newsletter as President of the Univ. of Virginia Bibliographical Society indicates that his next volume (v. 61) of *Studies in Bibliography* will appear this spring, with half a dozen articles on the 18C. **Robert Walker**, who reviews Larry Carver's book on Rochester above (42-46), had a cornucopia of coming publications to report: "Theatrical Figures (and Others) as Book Subscribers for Sterne and Derrick" in *PBSA*, 118.4 (Dec. 2024), 517-37, which besides the titular subject looks at annotations in a 1755 subscription list for Derrick that may link him to Samuel Johnson; "Newcastle Printers / Booksellers and Northern English Poets: Personal and Professional Ties between the Slacks and Poets Robertson and Cunningham" in *Scriblerian*, 57.2 (2025)--along with a review of **John Dussinger's** edition of serials printed by Samuel Richardson, reviewed here in September; "Henry Loving and Other East India Connections in Sterne's Subscribers' List" in *The Shandean*, 34 (2024), and "Three Celebrity References in Richardson's Early Writings" in *Notes & Queries* this winter.

### Announcements

**ASECS's** 55th annual meeting will be held online on two weekends, 28-29 March and 4-5 April 2025. The **Burney Society of North America** invites us to its biennial meeting on 12-13 June 2025 at Rutgers U. (New Brunswick). Its theme is "The Burneys: Revolutions, and Transformations." Registration costs members \$250, but is \$150 for students, with 1 May deadline. Lodging is at the Rutgers Inn and Conference Center. The **South-Central SECS** meets 20-21 February in Pinehurst, NC, a resort established in 1896 with designs by Frederick Law Olmstead. The theme is "Sports, Recreation, Leisure, and All Manners of Pleasure in the 18C"; proposals for panels are due by 1 May; those for individual papers, 25 Sept., sent to the organizer, Dr. Parisian: Catherine.parisian@uncp.edu. The Caribbean is this year's focus for programs at the **Clark Library**. The **Huntington Library** has fellowships with deadline of 15 November (2 for 4-5 months; 13 for 9-11 months, and many short-term grants). The 35th conference of **Irish Historians** occurs 12-13 Sept. at Maynooth U. with the theme "Inner Lives and Outer Realities." Proposals are due 31 March to ich2025@mu.ie. The **American Philosophical Society** mounts on 11 April: "Philadelphia: The Revolutionary City," on the experience of the

war, offering maps, prints, MSS, and objects. The Friends of the APS Lectures remain free, and receptions before them offer a tour of collection highlights

The **British Library** was hacked in October 2023 resulting in its taking down the ESTC database. We have previously noted that *The Grub Street Project* offers a searchable file of ESTC data from years back (with fields for author, title, etc., providing record numbers and pagination info but not copy locations). In the fall both Catherine Parisian and James Woolley recommended as a good workaround for the ESTC: [https:// estc.printprobability.org](https://estc.printprobability.org). Created by Nikolai Vogler, it has over 400,000 records captured as a decade or less ago and so lists most of what was in ESTC before it was taken down. The introduction (updated in June 2024) notes that "most of the ESTC records have also been further enriched with metadata derived from the Early Modern OCR Project (EMOP) at Texas A & M and Early English Books Online (EEBO)." In October the British Library announced, as part of its effort to reoffer former services, that its National Newspaper Library in Boston Spa (in the north) now offers access to all its holdings. One can preorder requests digitally. BTW, the British Library has installed 950 solar collection panels on its roof.

This month the Library of Congress began exhibiting "**The Two Georges**: Parallel Lives in an Age of Revolution," which emphasizes that Washington and George III "were surprisingly alike in temperament, interests, and, despite the obvious differences, experience." It draws on Washington's papers at the LC and George's at Windsor Castle; plus, "objects and images from London's Science Museum, Mount Vernon," etc. A companion exhibition will occur later at that London museum. For more, see the LC's blog by historian Julie Miller.

For early charges of copyright violations and discussions of copyright laws, Nancy Mace recommends **Primary Sources on Copyright** (1450-1900), which has materials related to many if not most European countries. There are national editors for records. I see that the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council "funded the initial phase" (completed in 2008), no doubt with Ronan Deazley contributing greatly at that time. Following a conference of national editors in Glasgow, Oct. 2023, Katie Scott and Amy Thomas were appointed editors for French & visual arts material, and for Scotland.

The **Blake Cottage Trust**, chaired by Doug Nicholls, is converting the cottage where William Blake and wife Catherine lived in 1800-1803 (Felpham, West Sussex) into a house museum with educational centre and building a print studio on the grounds. The Trust, which bought the property in 2015, has secured over \$70,000 to repair the old thatched roof; it hopes to restore the cottage in time for a celebration of Blake on the bicentenary of his death.

The **Rare Book School at the U. of Virginia** received a \$3.1 million donation from Glen and Cathy Miranker to fund a full-time curatorial position, for "Collections, Exhibitions, & Scholarly Initiatives." It has a 100,000-item collection supervised by Barbara Heritage, who's worked at the RBS since 2002. The school is now in the renovated Edgar Shannon Library's second floor. Its classes are offered at other locations than Charlottesville (and some online).

*Cover illustration:* Ben Franklin's printing of James Logan's edition is chosen for the cover to call attention to Jack Brubaker's article on Logan in the September 2024 issue and Carla Mulford's on Franklin at the front of this issue.

***The Eighteenth-Century Intelligencer***

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