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

The *EC/ASECS Newsletter* was founded in January 1978 by Leland D. Peterson and later edited by W. R. McLeod (1981-1983) and Kevin Berland (1983-1986). This newsletter was entitled *The East-Central Intelligencer* from 1988 until February 2005. Indices for preceding volumes appear in the issues of May 1992, September 1996, September 2001, January 2005, January 2008, and October 2011; the January 2005 contains a register of EC/ASECS newsletters 1978-2004. Penn State University Library has archived n.s. Vols. 1-36; Old Dominion University has archived issues from 1987-2009. Issues for May 2007 through March 2022, the indices for 1992-2019, and a table of contents for issues since December 1986 are all available at the Newsletter Archive of the EC/ASECS website noted above. The *Intelligencer* has been printed by Action Graphics of Clearfield, PA, since 1986.

The Philological Foundations of Online.Swift [*]

By Hermann J. Real
with the assistance of Kirsten Juhas

The notes I could wish to be very large.
Swift to Pope, 16 July 1728

In several important respects, *Online.Swift* (<https:// www.online-swift.de>) is the logical outcome of a development initiated almost forty years ago.[1] In June 1984, two Münster *anglicistes*, Hermann J. Real and Heinz J. Vienken, invited some thirty of the leading Swift scholars of the time to gather for three days at a conference, which was to become known in the history of Swift criticism as the *First Münster Symposium on Jonathan Swift*. This Symposium was remarkable for at least three aspects:

first, it was the first conference after the tercentenary celebrations in 1967 which was dedicated to one author only, Dr Jonathan Swift, the Dean of St Patrick's, Dublin.[2]
Second, it was the first conference after 1967 which brought together an impressive variety of distinguished scholars who represented not only a broad spectrum of theoretical paradigms but also a multiplicity of hermeneutic and methodological approaches.
Third, in 1984, when with the publication of *Dean Swift: The Man, his Works, and the Age*, Volume Three of Ehrenpreis's magisterial biography, a watershed had been reached in Swift scholarship, the time was ripe, the Convenors felt, both for taking stock of what had been

[*] This essay was written at the kind invitation of the editor of the *Intelligencer*, who earlier this year suggested that we combine our efforts to write about the *Online.Swift* project for his journal. He called our proposal to select *A Discourse on the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit* "a very good choice," arguing that the Discourse does not get "as much attention as it deserves nowadays." "I am glad," Professor May continued, "that it offers a good text for showcasing what Team Ehrenpreis has brought to a Swift work … One of your goals should be to persuade people that there is valuable information on Swift texts in your edition. There is a huge amount of erudition in the commentaries you have produced, and I would like that showcased as well as the ongoing accumulation of knowledge at the Centre, through its library, journal, and symposia." We were only too happy to oblige and especially eager to demonstrate in its major section, the Commentary, the *modus operandi* of a principle which in our view would be a fruitful future guideline in annotating Swift's texts.

[1] For the technical aspects of Online.Swift and its functionality, see Janika Bischof, "*Online.Swift* Edition by Ehrenpreis Centre Newly Enhanced," *Eighteenth-Century Intelligencer*, 31, no 2 (2017), 16-18.

[2] See Roger McHugh and Philip Edwards, eds, *Jonathan Swift, 1667-1967: A Dublin Tercentenary Tribute* (Dublin: Dolmen Press, 1967).

achieved and for envisaging new ways of achieving what still remained to be done.

Thus, in Münster, in June 1984, biographers and historians were assembled in one room, textual critics and editors perhaps next to them, opposite historians of ideas or historians of the booktrade, not to ignore students of the canon, of genre, and of transmission, all ready for inspiring, challenging, impassioned debate.[3] By hindsight, the most notable omission was Deconstruction, in the mid-eighties very much avant-garde and on its way to academic triumph, however shortlived.[4] For this, the Convenors were to be taken to task in the years to come.

In their own presentation, Real and Vienken, both of whom were familiar with the tradition of German philology having trained in the classics, addressed an issue which had preoccupied philologists for centuries and which continued to fan out into the eighteenth century, and beyond. Editors, a distinguished student of the age lamented, had "no set of principles to guide them in the annotation" of their texts.[5] While scholars in the Humanities ever since the Renaissance had produced outstanding examples of commentary,[6] they would as a rule rest satisfied with simply amassing exegetical material, linguistic as well as thematic, which would show impressive learning but which was collected more or less indiscriminately as each annotator went along his, or her, business. In other words, there was, and there still is, no rationale of critical annotation, and as a result, the identification of ideas and themes as well as the recognition of allusions, echoes, and reminiscences tended to bog down in a swamp of accidental, even arbitrary 'parallels.' This may be tolerable, but one has to be clear about its consequences: at no time in its history has the practice of annotation been a coherent, methodical, and systematic, that is, 'scholarly,' venture. On this consensus, it is surprising to see that annotators should never have sought to exploit those mines of information from which authors most predictably drew, their libraries and their reading.[7]

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[3] In the following year, all papers, with the exception of one, were assembled in one volume: *Proceedings of the First Münster Symposium on Jonathan Swift*, eds Hermann J. Real and Heinz J. Vienken (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1985), pp. 5-7.

[4] See Christopher Norris, *Deconstruction: Theory and Practice*, rev. ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 1991 [1982]).

[5] For this, and some of the following, see Real and Vienken, "'Ex libris' J. S.: Annotating Swift," *Proceedings of the First Münster Symposium*, pp. 305-19 (307). See also the authors' *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Imprints from Swift's Library Held on the Occasion of the First Münster Symposium on Jonathan Swift*, 18 June to 13 July 1984, appended to *Proceedings*, pp. 353-88 (353-54).

[6] Rudolf Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship from 1300 to 1850* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976); Anthony Grafton, *The Footnote: A Curious History* (London: Faber and Faber, 1998).

[7] The pioneering study in the field is Harold Williams, *Dean Swift's Library: With a Facsimile of the Original Sale Catalogue* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932). As for the business of the interlopers, allegedly thirty-two new titles from the Dean's library, which suddenly

Real and Vienken proceeded to point out that annotators of the Dean of St Patrick's, unlike those of other eighteenth-century luminaries, were in a fortunate position, more fortunate by far than, say, students of Dryden and Pope.[8] There are no less than three extant inventories of Swift's library, dating from different stages of his life and career. The first, whose holograph is now in the possession of King's College, Cambridge, was drawn up by Swift himself in August 1715; the second, formerly at Abbotsford House, Sir Walter Scott's residence, Melrose, Scotland, dates from October 1742, its titles having been transcribed, and again "compared" in June 1744, by Dr John Lyon, Swift's guardian for the last three years of his life, after the Lunacy Commission had investigated the Dean's mental state in the summer of 1742; the third, which by and large is identical with the Lyon inventory, is the sale catalogue of Swift's library, which was printed by Faulkner early in 1746 for the auction sale of the Dean's books scheduled to begin on Monday, 3rd February.[9] Two facts are memorable about these events: for one thing, of the five copies that have survived of Faulkner's printed sale catalogue, the priced one owned by the Irish bibliophile and collector John Putland (1709-73) in the Victoria and Albert Museum's Forster Collection today is the most valuable one, registering the prices the Dean's books fetched at the sale;[10] for another, a gloss underneath the title declares that some asterisked items "*have Remarks or Observations on them in the Hand of Dr. *Swift*." Such information is pertinent not only to historians of the book trade, to bibliophiles and collectors, but also to prospective editors and annotators.

Following up their idea to utilize Swift's library as a quarry from which to recover 'the material,' or at least some 'stones,' of his works, Real and Vienken, later Vienken and Dirk F. Passmann, took the next logical step: they tried to identify the titles in all of the three inventories with a high degree of precision and accuracy. Their labours, in 2003, resulted in four volumes of an impressive bio-bibliographical handbook, *The Library and Reading of Jonathan Swift*.[11] In the first three volumes, the authors present a thorough and detailed description of all books known to have been sitting on the Dean's library shelves at one stage or another (1715, 1742/4, 1745/6); employing the methodology of analytical and descriptive bibliography, they provide a transcript of the title, followed by the collation of it as well as a

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surfaced in 1989, see David Woolley, "The Dean's Library and the Interlopers," *Swift Studies*, 4 (1989), 2-12.

[8] See Real and Vienken, "'Ex libris' J. S.: Annotating Swift," *Proceedings of the First Münster Symposium*, pp. 307-8.

[9] As for the precise dates of publication of Faulkner's printed catalogue and the subsequent sale of Swift's books, see Mary Stratton Ryan, "Jonathan Swift's Relics: A Preliminary Checklist," *Swift Studies*, 38 (2023), 6-34 (pp. 7-8).

[10] See E. J. W. McCann, "The Priced Copy of the Auction Catalogue of Swift's Library, and Some Other Dublin Catalogues," *Swift Studies*, 1 (1986), 64-66; for its owner, John Putland, see Woolley, "The Dean's Library and the Interlopers," pp. 9-10 and n33.

[11] *Part I: Swift's Library*, 4 vols (Frankfurt on Main: Peter Lang, 2003).

description of its contents, with notes on provenance and imprints inspected, plus, if known, the book's current location,[12] and in conclusion the bibliographical data of modern essays or monographs dealing with Swift's acquaintance or familiarity with the author under investigation. The last volume offers a reconstruction of Sir William Temple's library as well as a complete transcript of the titles in the library of Swift's buddy, Thomas Sheridan,[13] and it is supplemented by facsimile reproductions of the three inventories.

The authors realized from the start that their project entailed a host of awesome philosophical problems many of which may have been tackled but not solved.[14] However, our present more practical purpose is to test the principle of establishing guidance for Swift's commentators by going to his library. After all, provided something is not simply, unbookishly, 'in the air,' it is Swift's books that we should start with: they are nearest to his own biographical premises as well as his own intellectual matrices and contexts. In other words, we are simply putting forward a pragmatic proposal, not a full-blown theory of commentary; we are not implying that Swift's 'horizon' was exclusively 'determined' by his books; nor are we saying that he *only* read the books he owned or that he read *all* the books he possessed. We would be the first to admit that we have numerous unread books on our library shelves, that we read books almost daily which we never had in our study, with the upshot that 'sources,' of whatever kind, become impossible to trace or to retrieve. Last but not least, we had better remember at all times

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[12] It is important to bear in mind that all of the 657 lots in Faulkner's catalogue were dispersed at the auction beginning on 3 February 1746. How long it took for the Dean's books to be sold is unknown, but an advertisement in the *Dublin Journal* of 1 February announced that the sale will last "till all are sold." The upshot is that it will be impossible to reassemble Swift's library, the Dean's own personal copies, as a whole today; what is possible is to put together a replica of identical imprints, such as the reconstruction attempted at the Ehrenpreis Centre in Münster (<https://www.uni-muenster.de/Anglistik /Swift/Library/index.html>). Of the 657 lots known to have been in the possession of the Dean at the time of his death, the whereabouts of some 113 have currently been identified (Dirk F. Passmann, "Jonathan Swift as a Book Collector: With a Checklist of Swift Association Copies," *Swift Studies*, 27 [2012], 7-68). However, most of these figures will have to be taken with a pinch of salt since special problems require individual solutions, which have to be taken into account. See Real and Vienken, who in 1985 came up with a count of approximately 680 ("'Ex libris' J. S.: Annotating Swift," *Proceedings of the First Münster Symposium*, pp. 308). See also Hermann J. Real, "Swift as Bookman: Reader, Collector, and Donor," *Material Moments in Book Cultures: Essays in Honour of Gabriele Müller-Oberhäuser*, eds Simon Rosenberg and Sandra Simon (Frankfurt on Main: Peter Lang Edition, 2014), pp. 211-32.

[13] Transcribed from *A Catalogue of Books, the Library of the Rev. Dr. Thomas Sheridan, Deceased* (Dublin: printed by E. Rider for T. Thornton, 1739).

[14] See Real and Vienken, "'Ex libris' J. S.: Annotating Swift," *Proceedings of the First Münster Symposium*, pp. 307-8.

that Jonathan Swift is smarter than the majority of his readers, and that very occasionally he claimed to have read, gives the impression of having read, and even makes a show of having read, titles that were *not* in his library, which, in fact, he may not have seen at all.[15]

What we are saying, however, is that, in annotating Swift's works, one is wise to begin by utilizing his library, the one mine of information from which 'our man' is known to have drawn. From his days as Temple's secretary at Moor Park, Swift was a reader of books, avid and regular, consistent, comprehensive, and preoccupied with carefully chosen areas, such as poetry, ancient and modern, history and historiography, travel literature and medicine, to name but a few.[16] In a sense, the most recent study in the field concludes, "Swift was a physical manifestation of reading," a reader "who visualized himself as an interlocutor who engaged in surrogate dialogue with books."[17] If after the experience there are still gaps to be filled, we may feel encouraged to try other means, most notably Sir William Temple's library at Moor Park for the early years and Tom Sheridan's perhaps for the later ones, and in case of need or doubt, we could always 'accompany' the Dean across the street from the Deanery to Archbishop Marsh's Library opposite, of which he was *ex officio* governor, and from which he is known to have borrowed books.[18]

The proof of the pudding is in the eating.

Textual History. In what follows, we present, in addition to a historical introduction dealing with aspects of the text, composition, and publication, a select list of lemmata from the *Discourse concerning the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit*, all of which are underannotated so far and which require various kinds of commentary. This list is not complete nor is it intended to be complete, either; rather, it is intended to demonstrate an exemplary principle in operation. As reference text we use the edition of

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[15] Hermann J. Real, "Swift's Non-Reading," *That Woman! Studies in Irish Bibliography: A Festschrift for Mary 'Paul' Pollard*, eds Charles Benson and Siobhán Fitzpatrick (Dublin: The Lilliput Press, 2005), pp. 124-38 (125).

[16] See, among others, Dirk Friedrich Passmann, *"Full of Improbable Lies": "Gulliver's Travels" und die Reiseliteratur vor 1726* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1987); Sean Connolly, "Swift and History," *Reading Swift: Papers from the Fifth Münster Symposium on Jonathan Swift*, ed. Hermann J. Real (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2008), pp. 187-202; Hermann J. Real, "The Dean's Doctors: Swift and his Medical Friends," *Swift Studies*, 37 (2022), 88-109.

[17] Dirk F. Passmann and Hermann J. Real, "Annotating J. S.: Swift's Reading at Moor Park in 1697/8," *Reading Swift: Papers from the Seventh Münster Symposium on Jonathan Swift*, eds Janika Bischof, Kirsten Juhas, and Hermann J. Real (Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink, 2019), pp. 101-24 (101-2).

[18] Muriel McCarthy, *All Graduates and Gentlemen: Marsh's Library* (Dublin: O'Brien Press, 1980); E. J. W. McCann, "Jonathan Swift's Library," *The Book Collector*, 34 (1985), 323-41.

Online.Swift,[19] which is identical with the one definitively edited by Angus Ross and David Woolley in the World's Classics series.[20] The present text is taken from a copy of the first edition (May 1704) in Lambeth Palace Library (SR3724). It has been internally collated with another copy of the first edition, now at the Ehrenpreis Centre (EC 525), with all editions published during Swift's lifetime, the 10th, 11th, and 12th editions published posthumously, as well as the three Dublin editions of 1705, 1741, and 1756, and Hawkesworth's *Works*, in large octavo (I, 299-340). Moreover, the Editors have collated the small 12mo edition of 1711, presumably put out by Edmund Curll.[21] One of its four independent settings was used by Thomas Johnson, English bookseller at The Hague, in his Dutch-printed edition of Swift's *Miscellaneous Works, Comical & Diverting* of 1720, reprinted, probably again in Holland, in 1734. Although all three are outside the authorized series for *A Tale of a Tub* and *The Battle of the Books*, they need to be consulted for the text of *A Discourse concerning the Mechanical Operation* on account of the new "*Additions*."

Publication. *A Discourse concerning the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit* is the third and last piece printed in the 1704 volume containing *A Tale of a Tub* and *The Battle of the Books*, each with its own title page and a bookseller's address "To the Reader." Unlike the *Battle*, the *Discourse* is not mentioned on the general title page of the *Tale*, and possibly for this reason does not appear in the pre-publication and publication-day advertisements.[22] It is added, however, to the repeat advertisements in *The*

[19] *A Discourse concerning the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit*, ed. Hermann Josef Real, with the assistance of Janika Bischof, Kirsten Juhas, Dirk F. Passmann, Eva Schaten, and Sandra Simon (Online.Swift/Ehrenpreis Centre for Swift Studies, Münster, July 2016, updated July 2019, <https://www.online-swift.de/mechanical_operation.chapter.1.html>).

[20] Jonathan Swift, *A Tale of a Tub and Other Works*, eds Angus Ross and David Woolley (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 126-41, reprinted in 1999 in the Oxford World's Classics series. See also the complete survey of the *Tale*'s textual history by David Woolley, "The Textual History of *A Tale of a Tub*," *Swift Studies*, 21 (2006), 7-26. Originally bequeathed to Dr Dirk F. Passmann as part of the David Woolley collection, it is now on deposit at the Ehrenpreis Centre, Münster (p. 7n*).

[21] James E. May, "The Duodecimo Editions of Swift's *A Tale of a Tub* ('1711') and *A Complete Key to the Tale of a Tub* (1714)," *Reading Swift: Papers from the Sixth Münster Symposium on Jonathan Swift*, eds Kirsten Juhas, Hermann J. Real, and Sandra Simon (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2013), pp. 95-130.

[22] The entry of the first edition in *The Term Catalogues* for Easter Term (May) 1704 *does* list both companion pieces, though, as do the entries for the third and fourth editions (III, 401, 418, 459).

Daily Courant of 26 May 1704, prompted perhaps by preparations for the second "corrected" edition, which had come out the day before.[23]

Composition and Authorship. To some extent, the *Discourse* lies at the heart of the mystery surrounding the composition and the authorship of the three works. While by common consensus as well as customary editorial practice *The Battle of the Books* follows *A Tale of a Tub*, in the present edition *A Discourse concerning the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit* has been placed immediately after the *Tale*. This decision has been necessitated by the reconsideration of all the evidence, internal and external. The Editors believe that Thomas Swift's very specific claim to have written *A Discourse concerning the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit*,[24] taken with the related additional material from *Miscellaneous Works, Comical & Diverting* of 1720, has to be partially admitted, being substantiated by a close examination of the two numbered Sections of *A Discourse concerning the Mechanical Operation*, and of Section XI of *A Tale of a Tub*. The new element in this re-examination will be considered at length in the Commentary.

A Discourse was presented in an epistolary framework, "In a Letter to a Friend," and subtitled "*A Fragment*." While the epistolary form seems rather straightforward, with a virtuoso writing to a foreign correspondent about a 'discovery,' the fragmentary status was variously explained by different places upon publication and soon after. The formal authorized account is "The Bookseller's Advertisement," preceding the text:

> *THE following Discourse came into my Hands perfect and entire. But there being several Things in it, which the present Age would not very well bear, I kept it by me some Years resolving it should never see the Light. At length, by the Advice and Assistance of a judicious Friend, I retrench'd those Parts that might give most Offence, and have now ventured to publish the Remainder; Concerning the Author, I am wholly ignorant; neither can I conjecture, whether it be the same with That of the two foregoing Pieces, the Original having been sent me at a different Time, and in a different Hand. The Learned Reader will better determine; to whose Judgment I entirely submit it*.[25]

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[23] *The Daily Courant*, 26 May 1704: "Yesterday was publish'd, A Tale of a Tub."

[24] See his annotated copy, a first-edition copy of *A Tale of a Tub*, Cornell Univ. Library, sigs T4v, T5r-v. This is one of two copies known to have been annotated by Thomas Swift. The other, called the "Lady Betty Germain" copy, was auctioned at Sotheby's in May 1908 but has been lost to sight (see David Woolley, "Joint Authorship and *A Tale of a Tub*: Further Thoughts," *Monash Swift Papers*, no 1 [1988], 1-25 [pp. 8-10]).

[25] <https://www.online-swift.de/mechanical_operation. Chapter .1.html>). This Advertisement should be read in conjunction with those before *A Tale of a Tub* and *The Battle of the Books* (<https: //www. online-swift.de/taleofatub.chapter.4.html>; and <https: //www.online-swift.de/ battleofthebooks.chapter.2.html>).

Probably in 1708 or 1709, Swift commented on this Advertisement, and on the *Fragment* in general, in his Apology and Note.[26] A more particularized reminiscence was set down by Thomas Swift in his own hand in a first-edition copy of *A Tale of a Tub* (sig. T4v). Against the passage reading "*Concerning the Author ... in a different Hand*," Thomas drew two marginal pointing fingers and commented "<Mark y^{t}> in a *Different Hand*, because y^{e} One was my hand, & I suppose y^{e} other my cozens." The important deduction to be drawn from this is not that credence should be given to every detail of the Advertisement, but that Thomas knew that he composed and wrote out, and in some form made available to his cousin Jonathan, a text of this work. Had he known and recognized any division of labour between them, he would perhaps have demarcated it. Instead, he turned the leaf and on its blank verso wrote: "This Treatise concerning Enthusiasm should have been printed somewhere about pag. 195 as being an essentiall part <How> \of/ Jack's character, & I think much y^{e} best: it is intended for a Satyr upon Enthusiasm & <*obliteration*> needs no farther Explanation." Page 195 of the first edition of *A Tale of a Tub* bears the third paragraph and half the fourth of Section XI, and it is here that the final narrative about Jack commences. At the head of page 193, above the chapter heading, Thomas wrote: "The Discourse concerning Enthusiasm <*obliteration*> was designed to come in hereabouts, see pag. 283," that is, the text of *A Fragment*. Thomas did not, however, accuse his cousin by name, or in so many words, of converting the material to his own uses. On a blank interleaf clearly designed to *face* the Advertisement, he declared: "Whoever put this Book into y^{e} Press however He might have y^{e} Conscience to make a Penny of It, yet had withall y^{e} Modesty not to own It, as y^{e} Reader may well perceive by this Advertisem^{t} & by that to y^{e} Reader wh^{ch} follows y^{e} Dedication to L^{d} Somers." These are not the words of a wronged author consumed with burning indignation, nor indeed does this pallid, repetitive note suggest total recall of the plan of Section XI, let alone its wording.

Six years later, Thomas Swift's marginal notes were published in edited form by Edmund Curll in his *Complete Key to the Tale of a Tub*.[27] On

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[26] The "Apology for the &c" appears in the list, "Subjects for a Volume," which Swift jotted down on the back of a letter now lost and addressed to him at Lord Pembroke's in Leicester Fields in October 1708. John Lyon, who became the aging Dean's guardian in 1742, took a transcript of this list, which he inserted in his copy of Hawkesworth's *Life of the Revd Jonathan Swift, D. D., Dean of St Patrick's, Dublin* (*The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, D. D.*, ed. David Woolley, 5 vols [Frankfurt on Main, *et al.*: Peter Lang, 1999-2014], I, 208n5). It was first printed by John Nichols in his *Supplement* of 1779, and, most recently, by Ehrenpreis in Appendix B of *Dr Swift*, pp. 768-69. See also Jonathan Swift, *A Tale of a Tub, to which is added, The Battle of the Books, and the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit*, eds A. C. Guthkelch and D. Nichol Smith, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), p. xx.

[27] H. Teerink, *A Bibliography of the Writings of Jonathan Swift*, 2nd ed., rev. Arthur H. Scouten (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1963), 1004. The *Key* came out on 19 or 20 June 1710 (Stephen

page 24, the same information is disclosed in an indented sentence between the notes relating to pages 191 and 196, preceded by a pointing-hand symbol: "The Fragment concerning *Enthusiasm* was intended to be brought in hereabouts;" and on page 4, the assertion is made: "The *Tale of a Tub*, and the *Fragment* containing a Mechanical Account of the *Operation of the Spirit*, [are assign'd] to *Thomas Swift*." Presumably, the same claim had been made by Thomas within his family circle in 1704. His uncle Dr Charles Davenant (at whose address Jonathan had written to Thomas in 1693) commended Thomas five months after publication for "having had the Principal Hand in a Book lately published calld the Tale of a Tub."[28]

Ten years after the publication of Curll's *Complete Key*, a Dutch-printed volume of *Miscellaneous Works, Comical & Diverting* by Jonathan Swift appeared, Part I consisting of "The TALE *of a* TUB; with the *Fragment*, & the BATTEL *of the* BOOKS; with considerable *Additions*, & explanatory *Notes*, never before printed." Five paragraphs, quoted from *A Complete Key to the Tale of a Tub*, conclude its prefatory Advertisement (pp. vii-ix), while the main text of the *Tale*, the *Fragment*, and the *Battle* were reprinted from a 12mo edition of 1711. The following "*Additions*," however, including "A TABLE, or INDEX, or KEY, to the TALE *of a* TUB" (pp. 247-52), in which unprinted materials from a manuscript containing "a great deal more than what is printed" are embedded (p. iv), are all wholly new. These new materials, "*The History of* Martin" (pp. 253-58, 259-61), "*A Digression on the nature, usefulness & necessity of Wars & Quarels*" (pp. 258-59), and "A PROJECT, *For the universal benefit of Mankind*" (pp. 264-66), have many marks of being genuine in origin and are therefore here accepted into the canon.[29] Two significant features of these 1720 additions

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Karian, "Edmund Curll and the Circulation of Swift's Writings," *Reading Swift* [2008], pp. 99-129 [124]), shortly before the 'definitive' fifth edition of the *Tale*, which had presumably been published when Swift arrived in London on 7 September 1710 (*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, I, 282 and n2, 290). A facsimile of the text was published by Scolar Press, Menston, Yorkshire, in 1970. A copy of this facsimile, together with David Woolley's collation of the *Key*'s second "corrected" edition of 1713, is available at the Ehrenpreis Centre (EC 8075).

The argument that the *Key* was compiled from Thomas Swift's notes was first proposed by Robert Martin Adams ("Jonathan Swift, Thomas Swift, and the Authorship of *A Tale of a Tub*," *Modern Philology*, 64 [1967], 198-232 [pp. 200-2]) but has come under heavy fire since (Martin Maner, "The Authorship of Jonathan Swift's *A Tale of a Tub* – Once More," *Swift Studies*, 21 [2006], 27-38 [pp. 30-32]). Paul Baines and Pat Rogers, the authors of the most recent monograph on Curll are non-committal (*Edmund Curl, Bookseller* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007], p. 46).

[28] Charles to Henry Davenant, 22 September 1704, BL, MS Lans. 773, fol. 57; first printed by John Nichols in *A Select Collection of Poems: With Notes Biographical and Historical*, 8 vols (London: J. Nichols, 1780-86), IV, 357-58; see also *Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, I, 118 and n2.

[29] Additions to *A Tale of a Tub*, eds Kirsten Juhas and Hermann Josef Real, with the assistance of Eva Schaten and Sandra Simon (Online.

are the solid evidence of textual dislocation, as between the manuscript and the first edition of 1704 following Section IX of the *Tale*; and the deliberate removal of the *Fragment* from its terminal position in 1704[30] to one approximating that of Thomas Swift's recollection, admittedly not within Section XI but directly after The Conclusion (pp. 177-208), and before *The Battle of the Books*.[31] Moreover, the intrinsic qualities of the new additional material combined with Thomas Swift's repeated assertions encourage the Editors to believe that an element of truth is present which may not be wholly beyond recovery.

On receiving a copy of *A Complete Key to the Tale of a Tub*, fresh off the press, from his publisher, Benjamin Tooke, Jonathan reacted angrily. In a letter to Tooke of June 1710, he accused his cousin of "the foolish impudence of a dunce" and of having "affected to talk suspiciously, as if he had some share in [*A Tale of a Tub*]." The publisher was instructed to invite Thomas, should he meet him in London, "to tell him gravely, that, if he be the author, he should set his name to the *&c*."[32] Little did Swift and Tooke realize that the *Complete Key* had drawn extensively upon Thomas's marginal observations on the 1704 *Tale*. Swift added a truculent Postscript to his Apology, aiming at Thomas and publicly challenging his cousin to step forward and "*prove his Claim to three Lines in the whole Book.*"[33] This he dispatched to Tooke, who saw to their publication in the prelims to Nutt's

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Swift/Ehrenpreis Centre for Swift Studies, Münster, February 2013, updated July 2019, <http://www.online-swift.de/ additionstale.html>).

[30] Of course, if the rationale for re-arranging the original sequence holds, earlier accounts according to which the *Fragment* "occupies the place in the book most effective for achieving a climactic effect," the "shocking end of the volume," will be invalidated (James L. Clifford, "Swift's *Mechanical Operation of the Spirit*," *Pope and his Contemporaries: Essays Presented to George Sherburn*, eds James L. Clifford and Louis A. Landa [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949], pp. 135-46 [135, 142]; Edwin Honig, "Notes on Satire in Swift and Jonson," *New Mexico Quarterly*, 18 [1948], 155-63 [pp. 157-58]).

[31] The anonymous editor of *Miscellaneous Works* was followed in this practice by Swift's first French and German translators, Justus van Effen, *Le Conte du Tonneau ... traduit de l'Anglois*, 2 vols (in one) (The Hague: Henri Scheurleer, 1721), II, 236-52, and Georg Christian Wolf, *Des berühmten Herrn D. Schwifts Mährgen von der Tonne*, 2 vols (in one) (Altona: auf Kosten guter Freunde, 1729), I, 196-206, with this difference, though, that both translators, in line with the logic of their argument, placed the "*Additions*" not at the end of the *Discourse* but immediately after Section IX.

[32] Swift to Tooke, 29 June 1710, *Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, I, 282 and n2. As Woolley notes, Swift from this point resorts to semiotics to avoid naming his masterwork.

[33] *An Apology for the, &c*, ed. Hermann J. Real, with the assistance of Kirsten Juhas, Dirk F. Passmann, Eva Schaten, and Sandra Simon (Online.Swift/Ehrenpreis Centre for Swift Studies, Münster, February 2013, updated July 2019 (<https://www.online-swift.de/apology.note.apol_ 194. html>).

fifth edition in 1710. The Editors believe, however, that considerably more than "*three Lines*" can still be identified in the greater part of Section I of *A Discourse concerning the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit* – embarrassingly and brazenly inept in their superb surroundings, just as Thomas handed them to his cousin.

A Tale of a Tub is built of chapters resembling independent essays, named "Sections" after the conventional divisions employed in Temple's *Miscellanea*, Parts I and II of which were reprinted no less than four times in the 1690s,[34] when Part III was also written. The structural pattern of alternating *Digression* and *Tale*, being respectively odd- and even-numbered Sections, holds to the end of Section IX.[35] Then two Sections *both* headed *A Tale of Tub* follow, even though the substance of Section X, unexpectedly, is a Digression.[36] The suspicion of textual disturbance is borne out by an editorial description of the manuscript at this point, "Abstract of what follows after Sect. IX. in the Manuscript," as it was being utilized in the *Miscellaneous Works* of 1720 (p. 253). The Editors have accepted the testimony of this source, taking the sketch of "*The History of* Martin" to have been intended to occupy Section X (*Tale* in the original scheme), and leaving Section XI in theory for 'a farther Digression,' with the later history of Jack and Peter still to be concluded.

On the word of Thomas Swift, a satire on Enthusiasm, one of the abuses of religion, which had already been called for by Sir William Temple in "Of Poetry,"[37] was planned.[38] The Editors presume this to have been assigned to Thomas. However, Thomas's lame production (Section I), which reads more like a first draft of a piece on Enthusiasm and which is not the equal of Section II, failed to qualify for the Digression planned at

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[34] Homer E. Woodbridge, *Sir William Temple: The Man and his Work* (New York: The Modern Language Association of America, and London: Oxford University Press, 1940), p. 334.

[35] Miriam Kosh Starkman, *Swift's Satire on Learning in "A Tale of a Tub"* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1950), pp. 141-43; Adams, "Jonathan Swift, Thomas Swift, and the Authorship of *A Tale of a Tub*," p. 219.

[36] Hawkesworth consequently labels it, "A Further Digression," commenting, "The tale not being continued till Section XI and this being only a further digression, no apology can be thought necessary for making the title correspond with the contents" (*The Works of Jonathan Swift, D. D., Dean of St Patrick's, Dublin*, ed. John Hawkesworth, 12 vols [London: C. Bathurst, *et al.,* 1754-55], I, 199n*).

[37] First published as Essay IV in *Miscellanea: The Second Part* (London: by T. M. for Ri. and Ra. Simpson, 1690), and fully introduced and annotated in *Sir William Temples Essays "Upon Ancient and Modern Learning" und "Of Poetry": eine historisch-kritische Ausgabe mit Einleitung und Kommentar*, ed. Martin Kämper (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1995), pp. 44, 239 (*ad* 44.120-23). For Sir William's sources of 'inspiration,' see the note on "Wherein though it hath pass'd under the general Name of *Enthusiasm*" (<https://www.online-swift.de/mechanical_operation.note.mech_061.html>).

[38] *A Complete Key to the Tale of a Tub*, p. 24.

Section XI. At the same time, Jonathan triggered off two brilliant related pieces, Section II of the *Fragment* and Section XI rounding off the *Tale*. Themes and significant words are common to all three of these. In the course of composition, the nascent satire on Enthusiasm streamed in two directions. One became a continuation of Thomas's contribution, making too long for an instalment of *A Tale of a Tub*, and therefore ultimately part of an independent work with a title of its own. The other became fused with the later history of the brothers, "being an essentiall part toward/of Jack's Character," as Thomas conjectured.[39] To complete the larger work, Jonathan provided a new Digression for Section X, headed inappropriately *A Tale of a Tub* in print, and a balanced bipartite amalgam of some *Tale* and some Digression, namely his terminal account of Jack's insanity, becoming Section XI, and a coda called The Conclusion. The alternating pattern of chapters therefore collapsed, defeating Thomas's recollection of the cousins' discussions seven years before 1704. The related, reworked, and extended materials on Enthusiasm, on which Thomas Swift only had one word of comment to make – "Elevation" in the margin against the definition "*A lifting up ...*"[40] – were given the formal title *A Discourse concerning the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit: A Fragment*. This heading both afforded a clue to its origins and explained the brevity of its two sections.

Admittedly, this hypothesis does not square with the implication in Swift's public challenge to "*any Person [who] will prove his Claim to three Lines in the whole Book.*" But then, there is some genteel equivocation about authorship throughout. In the same Postscript, Swift asserts "*the whole Work [A Tale of a Tub] [to be] entirely of one Hand*," and the loophole perhaps rashly left open in the Bookseller's Advertisement to *A Discourse concerning the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit* in 1704 – "*neither can I conjecture, whether [the Author] be the same with That of the two foregoing Pieces*" – is only partly closed in An Apology.[41] He there concludes that he "*was sorry to observe the Materials so foolishly employ'd*" and "*wholly out of the Method and Scheme he had intended*."[42] As a result, Swift's neglect to rewrite most of Section I of *A Discourse concerning the Mechanical Operation* at the time he was extending it by an additional Section II, saddled him forever with the large claims made so insistently by his cousin Thomas from 1704 onwards.

Commentary (Selected Lemmata). An uncontested principle of annotation holds that commentary will never end, and all the more so when historians, editors, and philologists are confronted with an author like Swift, in whom nothing seems accidental yet everything enigmatic. At this stage, annotating

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[39] See his annotated copy, a first-edition copy of *A Tale of a Tub*, Cornell University Library, p. 282 (at the top of the blank verso facing the first page of *A Discourse*).

[40] <https://www.online-swift.de/mechanical_ operation.note.mech_ 062. html>.

[41] <https://www.online-swift.de/apology.note.apol_191.html>, and <https://www.online-swift.de/mechanical_operation.note .mech_006.html>.

[42] <https://www.online-swift.de/apology.note.apol_157.html>, and <https://www.online-swift.de/apology.note.apol_156.html>.

A Discourse concerning the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit has not (yet) resulted in a full-fledged theory of commentary the impressive wealth of its interpretative material notwithstanding. But then, it seems safe to say that it was possible to watch the commentary in *statu nascendi*, watching annotators, that is, piling up their material as they went along their business and in doing so modifying, and even altering, the text's meaning. In what follows, we present a (strictly limited) selection of lemmata, accompanied by a précis of deductions which may be drawn from the material assembled in them:

first, the guiding principle proposed to utilize Swift's library and reading as a starting point in the annotation of his texts seems valid. This confidence is bolstered by the high number of references to authors known to have been in Swift's library as well as titles read by him (Dirk F. Passmann and Heinz J. Vienken, *The Library and Reading of Jonathan Swift: A Bio-Bibliographical Handbook*, 4 vols [Frankfurt on Main: Peter Lang, 2003]).

One problem implicit in this assumption is that of 'the context of commonplaces,' in which single words, proverbs, formulae, metaphors, and themes have been so widely disseminated in intellectual history, so 'common' in fact, that references become unspecific and undistinguished, with the implication that statements about, say, intentions and provenance, the originality of a thought and its functions are no longer possible. A case in point is a celebrated anecdote about the fate of a Greek philosopher, "who, while his Thoughts and Eyes were fixed upon the Constellations, found himself seduced by his lower Parts into a Ditch":

> In line with his sexually fervent imagination, the virtuoso-persona recounts a famous anecdote about the pitfalls of a contemplative life with a uniquely bawdy twist, the ditch being "satirically contorted into a lower part of the female anatomy" (Beaumont 1965, p. 8; Williams 1994, I, 393-94). This anecdote is as old as the *Corpus Aesopicum* (L'Estrange 1704, pp. 88-89 [XCIV]), and in it the philosopher remains as nameless as in Swift's *Discourse* (Blumenberg 1976, pp. 11-64). The first to have identified Aesop's anonymous thinker with Thales of Miletus, the earliest Greek philosopher-scientist (fl. 600 BC), who "while he gazed vpwardes to the Starres, fell into the water: for if hee had looked down hee might haue seene the Starres in the water, but looking aloft hee coulde not see the water in the Starres" (Bacon 1974, p. 64 [Passmann and Vienken 2003, I, 126]), was Plato (Theaitetos, in Plato 1578, I, 174A-B [Passmann and Vienken 2003, II, 1439-40]). Diogenes Laertius (abstracted by Moréri 1694, s.v.) and numerous others after him, such as Montaigne and La Fontaine, repeated it. Although some of their variations are hermeneutically significant, they still retain the basic pattern (Diogenes Laertius 1692, I, 21 [I, 34]; Montaigne 1727, II, 446-48 [II, xii]; La Fontaine 1693, pp. 82-84 [II, xiii] [Passmann and Vienken 2003, I, 525-26; II, 1269-72, 1025-26]). By the time John Stobaeus came to compile his *Sententiæ ex thesauris Græcorum delectæ* (Stobaeus 1549, sig. 2Kr [Passmann and Vienken 2003, II, 977-78]), the anecdote had grown into a proverb: "To look at the Stars and fall into a ditch" (Tilley 1950, S827); echoed by More 1966, pp. 38-39, and

> Archbishop Tillotson in "The Wisdom of Being Religious" (Tillotson 1701, p. 6 [Passmann and Vienken 2003, III, 1858-60]; Guthkelch and Nichol Smith 1958 [EC 431], p. 298). Swift reverted to the story in his description of the Laputan sages, who were "always so wrapped up in Cogitation, that [they were] in manifest Danger of falling down every Precipice" (Davis 1939-68, XI, 159-60 [III, ii, 1]), and, earlier in the *Tale*, he had made the 'enthusiast' Jack, eyes shut, "fall into the Kennel" (p. 94). Geffrey Whitney's *A Choice of Emblemes* exhibits an amusing pictorial representation of the event (Whitney 1971, p. 157).[43]

Another example, which is more central to the meaning of the *Discourse*, is the virtuoso-persona's holding forth on Spirit and Enthusiasm. Here, the available evidence suggests that, while the commentator's guiding principle to make Swift's library the starting point of a fruitful activity is not invalidated, it would be misleading to rely *only* on books Swift is known to have owned and read. Here is some of the evidence:

> Any *mechanical* operation of the 'Spirit' presupposes, and also implies, corporeality, not immateriality. In the *Discourse*, 'Spirit' does not have any of the myriad meanings associated with it in theological and philosophical debate: neither self-manifestation of the Divine Light, nor breath of life, nor mind or intelligence, nor animating, or vital, principle, nor soul of the world, among others (OED). This does not come as a surprise, however. In fact, the material meaning of *pneuma*, or *spiritus*, was firmly rooted in Greek philosophy from the start, *pneuma* being at once *mind* (all-pervading, all-ruling creative 'world-reason') and *matter* from which all things originated: "[*Pneuma*] is matter and the power that creates it and the mind that is manifest in man" (Taylor 1953, pp. 248-50).
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> This view 'naturally' entailed the corollary that *semen*, the male generative principle, was formed in the head, or brain: "*Seed is a distillation from the Brain*," Pythagoras, for one, posited (Stanley 1975, p. 405), and Plato, for another, at some length followed suit (*Timaeus*, in Plato 1578, III, 90 E-91 D [Passmann and Vienken 2003, II, 1439-40]). After having been summed up, and endorsed, by the influential Galen in his comprehensive collection of Greek medicine – "Porrò animalis spiritus, à cerebro, veluti à fonte, nascitur" (Galen 1643, p. 452a [Passmann and Vienken 2003 I, 662-63]) – this pneumatology became the standard doctrine of Renaissance physiology, and beyond. Indeed, the evidence for the dissemination of this meaning in seventeenth-century intellectual history, and its predictable impact on Swift, is legion. It not only provided 'matter' for a plethora of bawdy puns in Elizabethan and Stuart drama and poetry, it also pervaded productions of the literary underworld, such as the *New Academy of Compliments* and

[43] <https://www.online-swift.de/mechanical_operation.note .mech_294.html>. Hereafter "<https://www." in webaddresses is understood. For full bibliographical information of the works referred to in the commentary, see Online.Swift (when users click on one of the short titles highlighted in blue, the complete entry will appear below the right-hand column).

> the *Drolleries*, to which Swift alluded in the *Tale* (p. 22) (Ormsby-Lennon 1988, pp. 23-37; Thorn-Drury 1928, pp. 29-30, 48; Farmer 1964, I, 133-34, 207; III, 75; IV, 74-75, 204, and *passim*; Wardroper 1969, pp. 18, 33, 64, 85, 226, and *passim*; Adlard 1975, pp. 28, 57, 59-60, and *passim*).
>
> 'Spirit' as *semen*, "male seed," is the coarsely physical meaning that has infiltrated the *Discourse*, too (with *membrum virile*, "penis," coming a close second [Williams 1994, III, 1286-88]). The title *Mechanical Operation of the Spirit*, thus, combines 'the mechanical philosophy' (see the note on "For T. H. *Esquire*," p. 2) with 'mechanic preaching' (see the note on "Ignorance," p. 12), the mechanic preachers advocating the mechanical philosophy: "If some proponents of the first visualized the world as mere matter-in-motion, then Swift's preachers gave physical embodiment to that vision since they were driven not by the Holy Spirit but by a 'conjur'd spirit,' matter in motion, connoting for them semen on the rise" (Ormsby-Lennon 1988, p. 42). Of course, the irony of it all unfolds a few lines later in the virtuoso-persona's effrontery 'to sell' these physiological truisms as medical novelties ... What is more, Swift profited from a theological debate on the corporeality of Spirit which by the 1690s was of long standing (see the gloss on "Wherein though it hath pass'd under the general Name of *Enthusiasm*," p. 5).[44]

Second, while the *Discourse* is frequently suffused with 'knowledge' culled from Swift's reading, some of his information was also 'in the air,' or, if you prefer, 'on the streets' (even if, paradoxically, transmitted by books), such as the uncounted street walkers, visual 'objects,' as it were, on the brink of destruction due to the ravages of venereal disease ("The Surgeon had now cured the Parts, primarily affected; but the Disease droven from its post, flew up into [the *Saint's*] Head"):

> The treatment of venereal disease seems to have been not the province of doctors but that of surgeons (Marten 1985, pp. 42, 119, 226). Swift confirms this assumption in his "The Progress of Love" of 1719: "Till Swains unwholesome spoyld the Trade, / For now the Surgeon must be paid" (Williams 1958, I, 225, ll. 91-92). Both Charles Peter and John Sintelaer, who wrote treatises on venereal disease around the turn of the century, were surgeons, too (see Peter 1686; Sintelaer 1709). See also Anselment 1955, pp. 38-41, 99-100.
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> The progress of the disease was graphically described by Charles Peter, among others: "Some have the Penis so stopped with carbuncles, that they cannot make Water, some have the uvula and the Palat of the Mouth eaten away by *Ulcers*, and many you see who loose their Noses by this violent Disease, some have the tip of the Nose and Nostril eaten away, some loose their Eyes, and many their hearing, and some their Mouths drawn away" (Peter 1686, pp. 15-16). See also the illustration in Scholz 2000, p. 120.[45]

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[44] <online-swift.de/mechanical_operation.note .mech_001.html>.

[45] <online-swift.de/mechanical_operation.note .mech_200.html>, and <online-swift.de/mechanical_ operation .note .mech_ 201.html>.

Third, in the *Discourse concerning the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit*, Swift draws on knowledge, or 'knowledge,' which he acquired chiefly from his studies in four interlocking fields of learning: History (or/and Historiography); Theology (religious history); Geography (geographical locations; anthropology); and Medicine (including Alchemy and other occultist lore). A case in point is "the Philosopher's Stone":

> The Philosopher's Stone has customarily been associated with the fermentation of gold, the transmutation of baser metals into the most perfect one. It is also known as the Universal Medicine which dispels all corruptions, heals all diseases and suffering, and bestows youth, longevity, and wisdom: "Lapis hîc Philosophorum cor purgat omniáque membra capitalia … Non permittit aliquem in corpore pullulare morbum, sed ab eo fugiunt Podagra, Hydropisis, Icteritia, Colica passio, nec non à quatuor humoribus ægritudines omnes prouenientes eiicit, corpora quoque repurgat, vt similia reddantur, ac si tùm primò nata essent. Refugit omne quod naturam destruere conatur. Non aliter quàm vermes ignem: ita infirmitates quæcunque renouationem hanc fugiunt," Paracelsus enthusiastically praised the panacea's qualities, though admittedly having to rely on reading and hearsay (Paracelsus 1658, II, 18b [Passmann and Vienken 2003, I, 259-62]). In *The Alchemist*, Ben Jonson makes Epicure Mammon engage in similar daydreaming (Jonson 1925-54, V, 315-16 [II, i, 37-65]; X, 69-70 [Passmann and Vienken 2003, II, 980-82]; see also Roberts 1994, pp. 54, 108; Abraham 2001, pp. 14, 123, 145-48; and Haeffner 1994, pp. 30, 87-89). Paracelsus and Jonson notwithstanding, Moréri was probably Swift's most important source on either term: "Philosopher's-Stone, is a Powder so called, because they say there are none but true Philosopher's that have it: By virtue of this S[t]one imperfect Metals are changed by Projection (that is, by casting this powder upon them) into Gold or Silver … This Powder is also called by these Philosopher's or Wise-men, *An Universal Medicine*; because, as they pretend, it acts upon all the Empire of Nature" (Moréri 1694, s.v. "Philosopher's-Stone").

The note of skepticism noticeable in this entry had also been struck by Sir Thomas Browne some fifty years earlier (Browne 1981, I, 125-27, 208; II, 830), and by the time Swift was busy with his triad of satires, the skepticism had grown into pronounced sarcasm: "The barren country of the Philosopher's Stone [is] inhabited by none but cheats in the operation, beggars in the conclusion, and now is become almost desolate till another age of fools and knaves do people it," Tom Brown, of Facetious Memory, jeered (Brown 1927, pp. 59-69). In this rejection, Tom may have felt seconded by that Christian Virtuoso, the redoubtable Robert Boyle (Boyle 1965-66, IV, 280), who in turn would have confirmed Sir William Temple's critique of the search for the Philosopher's Stone and the Universal Medicine as "endless" as it was "useless" (Temple 1701, pp. 19-20; Sprat 1958, p. 318). For Swift's satiric purposes in the *Discourse*, this quest for the Philosopher's Stone turned out to be an ideal target for his criticism of Modernity inasmuch as one of Swifts favourite enemies, Sir Isaac Newton, that paragon of

scientific rationality and its "veritable poster-boy," is shown to be panting after arcane, obscurantist idols (Hawes 1996, pp. 135-48).

Swift was to pillory the inane and futile search in Gulliver's misguided macarism of the Struldbruggs (Davis 1939-68, XI, 210 [III, x, 9]); misguided because it never dawns on this 'mediocre' representative of Humankind that Philosopher's Stone and Universal Medicine (and any others of the "great Inventions brought to the utmost Perfection") are privileges of Eden, not of Paradise Lost: "That stone, or like to that which here below / Philosophers in vain so long have sought / … What wonder then if fields and regions here / Breathe forth elixir pure, and rivers run / Potable gold" (Milton 1971, p. 181 [III, 601-8] [Passmann and Vienken 2003, II, 1247]).[46]

Swift's reading in History, to which he had turned as a student at Trinity College, Dublin, to relieve the academic tedium there, was equally impressive. His knowledge of Greek historians, for example, becomes evident in a reference to Herodotus, the Father of History ("The *Saints* owe their Empire to the *Snuffling* of one *Animal*, as *Darius* did his, to the *Neighing* of another … for we read, how the **Persian Beast* acquired his Faculty, by *covering a Mare* the Day before"):

A marginal note correctly refers readers to "**Herodot*" (Herodotus 1679, pp. 197-98 [III, lxxxv-lxxxvi] [Passmann and Vienken 2003, II, 841-42]; van Effen 1721, II, 37n*; Ross and Woolley 1999, p. 225; Ellis 2006, p. 224). The story told there is of a Persian nobleman, Darius, who agrees with his fellow conspirators that he is to become king whose horse neighs first after sunrise. Darius wins the deal because it is his stallion that covered a mare the night before and that neighed first on encountering the mare the following morning: "Where Bulls do chuse the Boldest King / And Ruler, o're the men of string; / (As once in *Persia*, 'tis said, / Kings were proclaim'd by a Horse that neigh'd)," Butler rhymed in *Hudibras* (Butler 1967, pp. 33, 344 [I, ii, 135-38]).[47]

By contrast, Swift's far-ranging reading in Latin historiography, even in most remote authors, may be demonstrated in a slur on the character of the Egyptians, the earliest "Fanaticks, in antient Story":

In his Life of Julius Saturninus Augustus, contributed to the *Historia Augusta*, a collection of biographies of the Roman emperors modelled on Suetonius' better-known *Lives of the Caesars*, which Swift owned and annotated (Real 2009), Flavius Vopiscus, echoing the Emperor Hadrian's equally devastating judgement, described the Egyptian character as near enough that of "*Fanaticks*": "sunt enim Aegyptii … viri ventosi, furibundi, iactantes, iniuriosi, atque adeo vani, liberi, novarum rerum …cupientes [For the Egyptians … are puffed up, madmen, boastful, doers of injury, and, in fact, liars and without

[46] <online-swift.de/mechanical_operation.note. mech_053.html>.
[47] <online-swift.de/mechanical_operation.note.mech_212.html>.

> restraint, always craving something new]" (Salmasius 1620, pp. [VII, 4; VIII, 5] [Passmann and Vienken 2003, I, 107-11]).[48]

We supplement these specimens with two entries illustrating the religious radicalism of the Sects, particularly of Anabaptists and Quakers, both from Sect. II of the *Discourse*, which is commonly attributed to Jonathan and usually considered the more brilliant of the two; these specimens are methodological amalgams, the results, that is, of Swift reading books he owned, of titles he read, of volumes he excerpted and annotated, of topical books that he may merely have heard about, and that he may have come across on the bookshelves of his patron, Sir William Temple, and, finally, of titles such as the encyclopedic Louis Moréri's *Great Historical, Geographical and Poetical Dictionary* (London: Henry Rhodes, *et al.,* 1694), which he only used to look things up, notably on "John of Leyden":

> A footnote added to the fifth edition of the *Tale* in 1710 explains that John of Leyden is "Dutch Jack," "*who gave Rise to the* Anabaptists" (p. 66). Moréri provides two lengthy entries on both "Anabaptists" and the Dutch tailor "*John of Leyden* … a crafty, eloquent, subtil, confident, changeable and seditious Fellow," which are packed with (at times biased) information and from which Swift would have culled any facets he needed to know: the rise and subsequent history of the Anabaptists, their ringleaders, their seizure and occupation of Münster and setting up a theocracy, the Heavenly Jerusalem, with John of Leyden being "exalted to Royal Dignity," their political organization, cruel social practice, and religious doctrines, their eventual collapse, final defeat, torture and execution by the Bishop of Münster, whom they had previously expelled, after the population had been "at last reduced to Famine" (Moréri 1694, s.v. "Buckhold," "Anabaptists"; see also Bacon 1985, pp. 15, 185-86 [Passmann and Vienken 2003, I, 125-26]; Butler 1967, pp. 240 [III, ii, 237-50], 424; Burnet 1681, II, 110-11; and Herbert 1649, p. 176 [Passmann and Vienken 2003, II, 824-30]).
>
> Swift also knew from William Camden that Queen Elizabeth had published a proclamation against the Anabaptists which commanded this "heretical" sect, "which had flocked to the Coast-Towns of *England* from the parts beyond the Seas, under colour of shunning Persecution, and had spread [their] Poison in *England*," to leave the country within twenty days [Anabaptistas … hæreticos qui in maritima Angli oppida ex transmarinis regionibus specie declinandæ persecutionis convolarunt, & sectarium virus in Anglia sparserant è regno intra viginti dies excedere imperavit]" (Camden 1639, pp. 49-59 [Passmann and Vienken 2003, I, 336]; Poole 169, p. 48). What Swift would have found of particular moment for the *Discourse* is that, in addition to their communist principles, the Münster Anabaptists practised polygamy (see, in addition to Sleidanus 1610, pp. 246-66 [247, 252]; "abstracted" by Swift at Moor Park in 1697/8 [Passmann and Real 2019, p. 106], More's *Enthusiasmus Triumphatus*, [More 1966, p. 17], Sir Roger L'Estrange, *The Dissenter's Sayings … Published in their Own Words for the Information of the*

[48] <online-swift.de/mechanical_operation.note.mech_225.html>.

People [L'Estrange 1681, pp. 5-7, 10] [Passmann and Vienken 2003, II, 1069-70]; and Heylyn, *Cosmographie in Four Books*, probably in Sir William Temple's library [Heylyn 1657, p. 476]), always evocative of sexual debauchery … and sneeringly referred to in the widely disseminated seventeenth-century ballad literature (Rollins 1923, pp. 171-78) as well as Jonson's *The Alchemist*: "I'll … but dispatch my brace of little IOHN LEYDENS, / And come again my selfe" (Jonson 1925-54, V, 348 [III, iii, 23]; X, 95n24 [Passmann and Vienken 2003, II, 980-82]). Reportedly, John of Leyden had 16 wives (Crider 1978, pp. 499-501).[49]

Swift satisfied his interest in geography, particularly in the recently discovered exotic countries of the New World, their peoples, tribes, and habitats, their religion, lifestyle, and culture, by immersing himself in seventeenth-century travel accounts, which were frequently made available to readers in the anthologies of Grynaeus, Hakluyt, and Purchas, but not exclusively so. A case in point is "New Holland":

"*Nova Holandia*, la nouvelle Holande, *pars ampla terræ Australis recens detecta à Batavis, nempe à quadraginta annis, & ab eis tantùm versùs oram littoralem lustrata, jacet ad austrum maris Indici & Moluccarum. Sed an sit insula aut continens non constat*" (Ferrarius 1677, I, 528 [Passmann and Vienken 2003 I, 615]). Similar information is provided by Moréri 1694 (s.v. "Holland, or New-Holland"), and Jean Martiny (Martiny 1693, p. 172 [Passmann and Vienken 2003, II, 1207]). In his *Essay upon the Ancient and Modern Learning* (1690), Sir William Temple deprecated "the Defect or Negligence" of modern geographers by underscoring their ignorance about this *Terra Australis incognita*, of which New Holland was thought to be a part (see Heylyn 1657, probably in Sir William Temple's library). Remarkably, this ignorance had been admitted by propagandists of the Moderns themselves (Fontenelle 1698, p. 98 [Passmann and Vienken 2003, II, 1058]): "A Continent has been long since found out, within Fifteen Degrees to *South*, and about the Length of *Java*, which is Marked by the Name of *New Holland* in the Maps, and to what Extent, none knows." To be sure, Sir William (and Fontenelle) were somewhat harsh in this judgement since Abel Tasman had explored the west coast of Australia from 1642 to 1644 (Kämper 1995, pp. 27, 195 [ad 27.976-80], with maps), and about the time the *Discourse* was written, William Dampier, the English navigator and famous buccaneer, who was also in Swift's library (Dampier 1698 [Passmann and Vienken 2003, I, 489-90]), had added to the information in *A New Voyage round the World* (Dampier 1998, Chapter XIII, pp. 159-77, with map on p. 130) and *A Voyage to New Holland* (Dampier 1981). See also, for the history of these discoveries, with maps, Schilder 1976. <online-swift.de/mechanical_operation.note. mech_010.html>.

[49] <online-swift.de/mechanical_operation.note. mech_265.html>.

A final note again demonstrates the validity of the guideline that set this essay in motion and that is dependent on rare information only afforded by Swift's library:

> A footnote, "**Dionysia Brauronia*," refers readers to a festival, *Brauronia*, held annually chiefly for women at Brauron in Attica in honour of Artemis, who had a temple there, "vbi Dianæ Brauroniæ templum est" (Strabo 1620, p. 399A [Passmann and Vienken 2003, III, 1755-56]). Its association with the orgiastic cult of Dionysos is less well-known, however. There is an allusion to it in Aristophanes' *Peace*, with a scholiast commenting on Brauron: "Brauron vrbs Attica vbi Dionysia fiebant, & vnde multa scorta vino madidi deducebant … Erant autem illa Dionysia quinto quoque anno [Brauron is a town in Attica in which the feast of Dionysos was held, and on which many drunken prostitutes descended … This feast took place every fifth year]" (Aristophanes 1607, p. 689 [v. 874] [Passmann and Vienken 2003, I, 80-82]). The reference to Pausanias suggested by one annotator is misleading (Ellis 2006, p. 225).
>
> <online-swift.de/mechanical_operation.note. mech_254.html>

University of Münster

Dr. Johnson's House in Gough Square

By Stephen Clarke and Celine Luppo McDaid

Before Johnson

Hidden away among the courts and alleys just north of Fleet Street in the heart of London is number 17 Gough Square—Dr Johnson's House. It was built by Sir Richard Gough at the same time as the whole of Gough Square as part of a redevelopment following the Great Fire of London. Gough (1655-1728), the son of a wool merchant from Staffordshire, had made his fortune by trading with the Far East, and rose to become a director of the East India Company. He was also the MP for Bramber in Sussex and was aligned with the Whig faction of Sir Robert Walpole.[1] Gough settled in Chelsea, although the Gough family is thought to have lived in 17 Gough Square until Sir Richard Gough died in 1728. It was sold to an unknown purchaser and leased out to tenants, and by 1749 leased to Samuel Johnson, who moved in with the intention of completing his *Dictionary of the English Language* there.

17 Gough Square is a Grade I listed building. The house is of five stories and has a red brick façade with rubbed trim to the sash windows and platbands of red brick between the stories, under a tiled roof. It is one room deep and two rooms wide, the rear wall being a windowless party wall shared with the adjoining building. There is a central open-well staircase, late-eighteenth century from the ground to the first floor, but above that the original construction. The roof was reconstructed in 1941 following damage

in the Second World War, and a change in brickwork is visible at the top of the house. The house retains much of the original wooden paneling and brass door furniture and many original floorboards. Even the "powder closet" in the Parlor survives, where Johnson would have stored his wigs. It is also the only one of the seventeen sets of lodgings that Johnson is known to have occupied in London between 1737 and his death that still survives.[2]

The Johnson Decade

On 12 July 1749, Johnson wrote a letter to his stepdaughter Lucy Porter addressed from "Goff Square." The standard account of the circumstances of his move to 17 Gough Square was provided by Sir John Hawkins, whose acquaintance with Johnson went back to about 1740. Hawkins recounted how Johnson's reputation as a scholar and philologist had encouraged a consortium of leading London booksellers to engage him to compile a dictionary after the model of those of the Académie Française and the Academia della Crusca. He then explained:

> Johnson, who before this time, together with his wife, had lived in obscurity, lodging at different houses in the courts and alleys in and about the Strand and Fleet Street, had, for the purpose of carrying on this arduous work, and being near the printers employed in it, taken a handsome house in Gough square, and fitted up a room in it with desks and other accommodations for amanuenses, who, to the number of five or six, he kept constantly under his eye.[3]

Arthur Murphy provided a similar, derivative account, adding only that Johnson's motivation was partly to be near his printer and friend William Strahan.[4] As explained by Boswell, "While the Dictionary was going forward, Johnson lived part of the time in Holborn, part in Gough-square, Fleet-street; and he had an upper room fitted up like a counting-house for the purpose, in which he gave to the copyists their several tasks."[5] The contract for the Dictionary had been signed on 18 June 1746 with a fee of 1,500 guineas payable in instalments, but there was in fact a delay of up to three years between Johnson securing the contract which provided his commission, and committing himself to pay the rent on Gough Square. It is possible that Johnson agreed to take the house while still relying on his original system in preparing the work of having his amanuenses transcribe into a manuscript volume passages from the printed books that Johnson had read; but as Allan Reddick has explained, that system made the manuscript increasingly dense and confusing and unreadable, while Johnson's criteria for multiple definitions of words proved inadequate.[6] Reddick suggests that the collapse of that system and the abandonment of the first manuscript took place in late 1749 or early 1750, probably within a year of the move to Gough Square.

Johnson lived at Gough Square until early 1759, and in that period shared the house with a miscellany of dependents. His wife Tetty apparently joined him, having been staying in a lodging in Hampstead, where she enjoyed the clearer air, but she died in March 1752, leaving Johnson distraught. The poet Anna Williams (1706–83), who had been

Tetty's companion in her last days, joined Johnson's household as housekeeper and companion after an unsuccessful cataract operation failed to save her sight and she and her father, the unsuccessful inventor Zachariah Williams, had been thrown out of the Charterhouse. About a fortnight after Tetty's death the ten-year-old Frank Barber came into Johnson's service. This was at the instigation of Johnson's friend Dr Bathurst, to whose father Colonel Bathurst the young Frank had been enslaved, it being intended that the child would provide some diversion for Johnson in his grief.[7] The household was later joined on a more occasional basis by Robert Levett (1705–82), in Boswell's phrase "an obscure practitioner of physick amongst the lower people."[8] Levett is understood to have arrived by July 1756. There may well have been other occupants: Michael Bundock, in his fine biography of Barber, notes that, when the future Bishop Percy called on Johnson in 1756, the door was opened by a maidservant whose nose had been eaten away by venereal disease (Bundock, 55).

What bound together this disparate group was poverty, and their dependence on Johnson, though it was a poverty that Johnson shared. Barber told Boswell that, when he joined Johnson's household, Johnson "used to be disturbed by people calling frequently for money which he could not pay," and in March 1756 Johnson was himself arrested for debt.[9] It was a dysfunctional household. Williams was ill-tempered and domineering, and Barber sufficiently challenged to run away in 1756, when he went to work for an apothecary on Cheapside. Two years later, having restored some contact with Johnson and been kindly received, he left the apothecary not to return to Gough Square, but to join the navy. Johnson secured his discharge in 1760, after he had left Gough Square, but Bundock makes the point that the discharge was not necessarily a further act of charity on Johnson's part—Barber had not been pressed but had volunteered for the navy and the suggestion is that Johnson, who had recently failed to stir himself to visit his dying mother in Lichfield, needed Barber as much as Barber needed him (Bundock, 93-97)

What this means is that Barber was only living at the house for four of the eleven years of Johnson's residence and Levett for perhaps three, though Levett may not have been a permanent resident. The cast of warring dependents at Gough Square is accordingly smaller than those Johnson was able to support in later life, once he had received his pension from the Government and moved to houses in Johnson's Court (1765–76) and then Bolt Court (1776–84). Hawkins wrote with typical asperity of Johnson returning home from an evening's conversation abroad, "with the dread of finding it a scene of discord, and of having his ears filled with the complaints of Mrs. Williams of Frank's neglect of his duty and inattention to the interests of his master, and of Frank against Mrs. Williams, for the authority she assumed over him, and exercised with an unwarrantable severity." Hawkins even suggested that Levett would sometimes insult Johnson and that "Mrs. Williams, in her paroxysms of rage, has been known to drive him from her presence."[10] But the discord must have been less widespread than in later years when Johnson was supporting in addition Elizabeth Desmoulins (the daughter of his godfather) and her daughter; Poll Carmichael (possibly a former prostitute); and Barber and his wife and offspring. As Johnson was to write to Hester Thrale in 1778 in a much-

quoted passage, "Williams hates everybody. Levet hates Desmoulins and does not love Williams. Desmoulins hates them both. Poll loves none of them."[11]

Lyle Larsen's study *Dr. Johnson's Household* provides the best overview of this fractious community at 17 Gough Square and at Johnson's subsequent lodgings.[12] Some dependents came and went, but the constant of Johnson's charity for his dependents, many of whose chief recommendation was their indigence, applied as much in the decade spent at Gough Square as in later years. And notwithstanding the frictions and jealousies and resentments, it is generally acknowledged that the decade in Gough Square was the most productive of Johnson's life, years in which in addition to his lexicographical labors he produced *The Rambler* (1750–52), contributions to *The Adventurer* (1752–54) and *The Literary Magazine* (1756–58), the *Proposals* for his edition of Shakespeare (1756), the earlier issues of *The Idler*, (1758–60), and *Rasselas* (1759).

The house being only one room deep with two rooms to a floor, divided by the hall and successive landings, it is tempting to speculate as to the configuration and use of its spaces, but information is sparse. Because of its architectural features the first floor is presumed to have been used as a parlor to the right of the entrance, and a dining room to the left. The second floor, now a light and airy space, has a pair of rare and ingenious hinged eighteenth-century floor-to-ceiling panels at the head of and facing the stairs that could have been swung in opposite directions through 90° to divide the open space into two rooms and a landing. The third floor has two more rooms, and above that is the Dictionary Garret. Exactly how the four rooms on the second and third floors were used is a matter of surmise. Although the building is an extraordinary survival, with original interiors that Johnson would have known, we can only guess at which room might have been Johnson's bedroom, which Williams's, and which Levett's. Barber is presumed to have slept in the basement. Across the top floor of the house, however, was the garret where Johnson worked with his amanuenses on the *Dictionary*, up to six of them (though not all at the same time), all but one of them Scots.[13]

The most revealing account of Johnson at Gough Square was provided by Dr Charles Burney to Boswell, describing a visit in 1758. He dined and drank tea with Johnson, and was introduced to Anna Williams:

> After dinner, Mr. Johnson proposed to Mr. Burney to go up with him into his garret, which being accepted, he there found about five or six Greek folios, a deal writing-desk, and a chair and a half. Johnson giving to his guest the entire seat, tottered himself on one with only three legs and one arm. Here he gave Mr. Burney Mrs. Williams's history, and shewed him some volumes of his Shakespeare already printed, to prove that he was in earnest.[14]

There is a similar anecdote in Northcote's *Memoirs of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, recounting how the sculptor Louis François Roubiliac asked Reynolds to introduce him to Johnson so he could request Johnson to provide an epitaph for a monument in Westminster Abbey on which Roubiliac was engaged:

> Johnson received him with much civility, and took them up into a garret, which he considered as his library; in which, besides his books, all covered with dust, there was an old crazy deal table, and a still worse and older elbow chair, having only three legs. In this chair Johnson seated himself, after having, with considerable dexterity and evident practice, first drawn it up against the wall, which served to support it on that side on which the leg was deficient.[15]

Johnson was fond of conducting chemical experiments, and Murphy provided one other insight into life at Gough Square. He recounted that on his first meeting Johnson in the summer of 1754 he found him at Gough Square "covered with soot, like a chimney-sweeper, in a little room, as if he had been acting Lungs in *The Alchemist*, *making æther*."[16] (Which was the "little room" is not known.)

The days of what were still, by Johnson's admittedly modest standards, comparative comfort came to an end in 1759. The booksellers' advance on the *Dictionary* having long been spent, Johnson had to retrench his expenses. Anna Williams went into lodgings at a nearby boarding school. On 9 January 1759 Johnson wrote to Bennet Langton "I have left off housekeeping" and two months later on 23 March informed Lucy Porter that "I have this day moved my things, and you are now to direct to me at Staple Inn London."[17] After a few months there and then at lodgings in Gray's Inn, Johnson moved in the summer of 1760 to rooms at 1 Inner Temple Lane, rooms where, in Murphy's memorable phrase, "he lived in poverty, total idleness, and the pride of literature", and where on 24 May 1763 he was first visited by the 22-year-old James Boswell.[18]

After Johnson

The history of the house following Johnson's departure in 1759 is in places obscure. Gough Square itself was home to various lawyers' offices and to merchant warehouses, and in the 1780s was also headquarters to the grandiosely titled "Guardians of the Society for Protection of Trade against Swindlers and Sharpers." There is evidence that in 1770 the house was occupied by the Irish dramatist Hugh Kelly (1739-1777), who paid £35 p.a. in rent for it and is thought to have died in the house. Johnson had once apparently made a disparaging comment on Kelly's fondness for showing off his silver plate.[19]

By 1815 the house was used by J Eddison & Co, as a fur manufacturer's warehouse. Shortly after, a first-floor room was "fitted out with its own side entrance" and used by a solicitor; the house was then let to lodgers, as indicated by a notice of 1822 which sought a single gentleman for an apartment "genteelly furnished, in a respectable family."[20] By 1837 an advertisement was placed for a servant for "a commercial board and lodging house" there. This use of the house tallies with the description given by Thomas Carlyle, who visited the house with his wife Jane in 1832.[21] It was also used as a printer's workshop.

There are various references to the house in the mid-nineteenth century. In 1846 for example, a M. de Beavoisin was offering French

classes there, and in 1862 a manufacturer of optical instruments sought "a London agent – applications to Proctors, at 17 Gough Square."[22]

Cecil Harmsworth and the Creation of the House Museum

17 Gough Square came up for sale in 1910, at which point the house was occupied by printers who advertised it for sale as 'a possible warehouse, with potential for demolishing and building a modern printers' office in its place.[23] The opportunity to save the building was seized by Cecil Harmsworth (1869–1948), businessman and Liberal politician and brother of the newspaper proprietors Lords Northcliffe and Rothermere. Harmsworth was a great admirer of Johnson's work and a long-standing member of the Johnson Club, a dining club that had been formed on the centenary of Johnson's death (and still flourishes). Determined to save the house from redevelopment, in February 1911 Harmsworth signed the contract for the purchase of 16 and 17 Gough Square, for a total price of £4,000 (comprising £3,500 for No. 17 and £500 for No.16). No. 16 would be rebuilt as a custodian's lodge, to ensure on on-site resident, which functions to this day as the Curator's Cottage.

When Harmsworth went to view 17 Gough Square to 'see what was to be done', he took with him the Johnson collector and former Liberal Prime Minister, Earl Rosebery, for advice, and then turned to the architect Alfred Burr. In May 1913, Burr submitted his specification of the works needed to restore the house. The majority of the structure and interior fittings had survived the years of benign neglect, leaving a great deal of the original building, exterior and interior, intact. The works cost just under £2,000 and the house opened to the public.

In 1929, Harmsworth formed a Trust to take over the running of the house. Members listed in the Trust Deed read like a roll-call of the great and good of literary London and the wider world of Johnsoniana, and included Max Beerbohm, Augustine Birrell, R.W. Chapman, A.E. Newton, Sir William Orpen, J.C. Squire, the publisher Thomas Fisher Unwin, Sir Lawrence Weaver, and the Lord Chief Justice of the day. Harmsworth's view, as expressed at a dedication dinner at the house on 11 December 1929, was that the house would be much better cared for by Johnsonians than by a "faceless public body."

At that dinner twenty-one governors and seven trustees were formally appointed, including three members of the Harmsworth family. One of them, Harmsworth's son Desmond, would become the second Chairman of the Trust on the death of his father in 1948. Cecil's grandson, Thomas Harmsworth, the third Lord Harmsworth, took over when Desmond retired in 1988, until his own retirement in 2018. The post has since been chaired - for the first time by someone outside of the Harmsworth family – by Stephen Clarke, a trustee since 2006.

A Family of Custodians

In parallel to the three generations of Harmsworth men leading the governance of Dr Johnson's House were three generations of women living on site and responsible for the day-to-day management of the building and

its collections, and for welcoming visitors to the house. Isabella Dyble and her husband were appointed in late 1913, having previously been the custodians of a building at the Tower of London, thus beginning a familial connection with the house extending over three generations.

Dyble was on site through the various attacks by German Air Forces during World War One which brought damage and destruction to the streets of London. One such night of devastation occurred during a dinner of the Johnson Club at the house on 13 December 1915. The members had just finished dinner, proposed the customary toasts, and were about to settle down to their debate when they heard a series of loud, dull explosions and leant out of the windows to see a Zeppelin sailing overheard. The house fortunately remained unscathed.**24**

In 1919, Dyble was joined by her recently widowed daughter, Phyllis Rowell, and young granddaughter, Bertha, known as "Betty." Dyble remained in post until she died of a heart attack during an evacuation from the house in 1940. Her daughter took over her role after her mother's death. She had already made her mark on the community by offering the house as a canteen, shelter and retreat for local volunteer firefighters, who repaid her generosity by contributing to the maintenance and repairs of the house and by helping save the building when it was set alight several times during the blitz.

During the 1940s, Rowell and her daughter Betty hosted musical evenings and lectures at the house, which became known as the "Firemen's Arts Club." In July 1942 Betty Rowell married Edward Gathergood, one of the firefighters welcomed into the house. After the war considerable repairs were required. Lord Harmsworth, the War Damage Commission, and the Pilgrim Trust provided funds to support the two years' worth of work that enabled it to reopen. Rowell retired in 1963, but her daughter Betty Gathergood returned to the house thirty years later when the intervening custodian retired. Betty's death in 1996 ended nearly a century of involvement by the Dyble family women.

Lord Harmsworth's Policy for the House and its Collection

On acquiring 17 Gough Square in 1911, Harmsworth gave careful thought to the purpose of the house museum, and how it should be presented to the public. He also honored Johnson's 'conviviality' by hosting private gatherings and welcoming literary and debating societies. He was adamant that 17 Gough Square should not be dressed as a "lived in" home with period furniture, unless it had direct provenance to Johnson himself, or a member of his close circle of friends. It was to be "a Johnson house, not a Georgian house", and as such he declared that nothing old should be removed and nothing new brought in, unless absolutely necessary – entirely out of step with the approach taken in the burgeoning historic house preservation movement at that time, where historic homes were being restored to their imagined "original" appearance.

In 1944 Harmsworth formally laid down his principles for collecting and display:

> The decoration and furnishing of the House presented difficulties. How was the House decorated in Dr Johnson's time?... Nobody knew… A resort to durability, simplicity, and CHEERFULNESS was plainly indicated. This was the motive adapted… No Johnson furniture, such as it may have been, was known to exist otherwise than at the birthplace at Lichfield and at Pembroke College. It was decided that the simplest rush-bottomed farmhouse chairs should be secured, with gate-leg tables of the "Cromwellian" type. These would be old enough and simple enough for the purpose. Of later, and more elegant examples, it was considered that they would have been beyond Dr Johnson's reach….
>
> Some pictures must be displayed on the walls, but never so numerously as to obscure the architectural features of the House. Here, there could be no doubt that, with such few paintings and colour prints as might be forthcoming, mezzotints could be the only choice – with a stiff resistance to steel engraving, framed photographs or other odds and ends in frames…
>
> From the first, the intention was that the House should never come to be regarded as a Museum or as an emporium of irrelevant 18th-century bric-a-brac. It was to be a Johnson House open wide to his admirers and available for occasional tea parties and more robust festivities. A house without fun and laughter and good talk could never be regarded, it was felt, as a suitable memorial to the man who shook laughter out of you whether you willed it or not and who lived to stretch his legs under the table and have his talk out.[25]

It is a clear statement of intent that the house has honored ever since.

However, the house has acquired a varied and interesting collection. In 1933 the Johnson Club gave the trustees all its books and manuscripts, and other donors have included Max Beerbohm and the Johnson collector A. Edward Newton.[26] Many early acquisitions were funded by Harmsworth himself, including a nineteenth-century picture of Johnson with Oliver Goldsmith by Edward Ward, acquired for £52. 10s in 1914, but an offer of the original publishers' agreement for the *Lives of the Poets* and Reynolds's portrait of Boswell were both declined as too expensive at £300.[27] However, the house has built up a notable library, with highlights including two copies of Johnson's *Dictionary*, one of only two manuscript copies of the "Round Robin" that was reproduced in the first edition of Boswell's *Life*, two books from Johnson's library, the rare sale catalogue of his books by Christie after his death, and the remains of Elizabeth Carter's library. There is also a fine collection of nineteenth-century Johnsonian genre paintings, Hester Thrale's tea set, Boswell's and Reynold's china sets, Garrick's walking stick, and much else.

The House Today

It is over one hundred years since the house opened its doors to the public, and in that period almost everything has changed except the fabric of the house itself. All the other buildings of Gough Square were rebuilt after war damage, and the extensive re-building across the City of London has long blocked out the views from the upper floors of the house towards St.

Paul's. Yet the maze of ancient alleys and courts north of Fleet Street remain, even though the buildings fronting them are of various later dates, making the unchanged 17 Gough Square all the more remarkable.

The public that the house seeks to serve has also been transformed. In 1911, Lord Harmsworth perhaps envisaged an audience already familiar with Johnson and his works, no doubt very largely British and representatives of that defunct species, the intelligent general reader: visitors who could be relied on to know their Boswell, if not their *Rambler*. All this has changed. Taking figures from immediately before covid, 35% per cent of visitors to the house were foreign tourists, and of the 25,000 a year who came, about 15% per cent came as participants in its educational programs, which extend from pre-school to post-graduate. The education programs draw on the house collections and are broad, covering subjects ranging from English Language and Linguistics, eighteenth-century literature and neo-classicism, Female Intellectualism and Literature, to British Black History, Citizenship studies, and Historic House Practice and Management as some of the most popular classes. Despite a very small staff we are now busily engaged in re-building our educational and events and private hire business to pre-covid levels, when we were running an active lecture program of about fifty events a year, and the house was hired out for events about twenty times a year. The configuration of the second floor, with its hinged moveable paneling held open to leave the entire interior of the house at that level as one well-lit open space, has always lent itself particularly well to receptions and social gatherings.

Another aspect of our activities is our exhibitions program. Recent exhibitions include '"Curious Travellers': Dr Johnson and Thomas Pennant on Tour," a survey of their respective journeys through Scotland and North Wales, held in conjunction with the University of Wales at Aberystwyth and the University of Glasgow; "Johnson and Garrick: a Friendship in Constant Repair" (co-curated with the Samuel Johnson Birthplace Museum at Lichfield); and "Collecting Johnson," a selection of fifty rare books and related items from collections across the world. A particularly interesting initiative was "London's Theatre of the East," a joint project with our neighbors The Arab British Centre, when we invited artists, researchers and the public to re-examine the historical connections between the Middle East and North Africa and London, working through the lens of Johnson's *Irene*, of which there was an abridged open-book performance by drama students of Queen Mary's University, London. Looking to the future, there are plans for an exhibition on Johnson's servant, friend and heir Francis Barber—17 Gough Square being the only surviving building in London in which a formerly enslaved person is known to have lived as a free person.

An essential issue is to address the expectations of our audience, how we can increase their numbers and broaden their diversity, and how best we can serve them. This revolves around the motivation of tourists to writers' houses, a topic on which useful work has been undertaken. As Harald Hendrix has summarized it, "Writers' Houses… are a medium of expression and remembrance."[28] The informed visitor looks for a personal link to the writer, a sense of association through walking through the rooms in which the writer lived, treading the same floorboards. In her illuminating recent study, *The Author's Effects: on Writer's House Museums*, Nicola Watson

explains that "the fiction is that the reader-tourist enters and experiences domestic space as the guest of the author," replacing the experience of reading with feigned acquaintance with the writer. The object of the writer's house museum is "to put the reader into the imagined presence of the author, to bring about an illusion of intimacy."[29]

Watson considers some of the issues lurking beneath this indulgent fantasy: how much of what the visitor sees is original and was known to the author, and how much is sympathetic re-creation of an interior that may well in reality have been thoroughly stripped and re-purposed since they occupied it? At Dr Johnson's House the visitor is greeted by an imposing Georgian doorcase to the front door—but we know that dates from about 1775, some sixteen years after Johnson departed. In terms of literary history unquestionably the most important interior is the Dictionary Garret, but it is something of a blank canvas: the roof was repaired after the incendiary damage in the Second World War, though it retains its walls and eaves, somewhat charred beams and most of its original wide floorboards. So how can we most productively display what was the engine-room for the creation of the *Dictionary*? To address this issue Professor Lynda Mugglestone of Pembroke College, Oxford, and Celine Luppo McDaid, Director of Dr Johnson's House, have recently been awarded a grant from the Oxford University Knowledge Exchange Fellowship program. The project will facilitate collaboration between the two institutions and will reunite physical space and lexicographical practice, drawing on McDaid's expertise in historic house interpretation and Mugglestone's knowledge of the history of the English language. The intention is to rethink where, why and how Johnson's *Dictionary* was compiled, and will result in a permanent exhibition which reinterprets the space for visitors, both in-person and virtually. As part of this project, Johnson's 'dictionary desk', which is currently at Pembroke College, Oxford, will be returned to the house later in the Fall of 2023.

The final chapter of Watson's book is knowingly titled "Exit through the Gift Shop," a salutary reminder of the harsh economic realities with which writers' house museums are faced. Their prospects are conditioned by the current status or celebrity of their author, by their physical accessibility and location, and by the level of support they can claim from their local community: Lord Harmsworth might perhaps be surprised by the extent to which over the last century the fame of Johnson as an essential part of an Englishman's heritage has been surpassed by the film-star status of Austen. Charges for admission can only ever be a contribution to running costs, and any house museum needs effective advertising to appeal to visiting tourists as well as an active exhibitions and events program to encourage return visits, and commercial hires of their space. In the absence of a substantial endowment—that ultimate panacea for any cultural institution—it will need active fund-raising, time devoted to building relationships and trust, identifying sources of potential charitable funds and diligently following them up.

At Dr Johnson's House we have since covid secured grants that have enabled us to redecorate and refurbish the exterior of the building and have given much thought as to how best to present the house to a wider public. We are sited in the heart of London, but more precisely the house is hidden

away behind Fleet Street, separate from the major attractions of St Paul's to the east and Covent Garden to the west. The concept we are using, intended to capitalize on its association with the *Dictionary* in particular and writing more generally, is The House of Words, stressing our fundamental ties to the joys and complexities and potentiality of language and linguistics, spoken and written, and the issues of literacy and functional literacy. This will not only inform our presentation of the house and its collection, but also feed directly into a much-extended educational program, with increased engagement with local schools, and the possibility of summer schools with international reach, using digital programming which would include building relationships with schools and universities abroad. Another much-needed initiative will be the renewal of the existing website.

In the last two years we have been thrilled to secure Stephen Fry as our Patron. Another key development has been the formation of the American Friends of Dr Johnson's House, most impressively led by the energetic figure of Bryan Garner, lexicographer, law professor, and book collector. The American Friends are a tax compliant not-for-profit organization, so that American donors can obtain tax relief on gifts (any US tax-paying reader of this article is encouraged to google https: //www .afdjh.org which will enable them to access the Friends' very informative website). There is even the most exciting possibility of our extending beyond our existing four walls into the adjoining building, a possibility that requires major fundraising but which would utterly transform our offering, the scale of our operation, our accessibility and our cultural impact.

These are exciting times at Dr Johnson's House. Any members of EC-ASECS travelling to London are warmly invited to visit, and we would welcome anyone seeking further information to contact us at drjohnsonshouse @googlemail.com.

Stephen Clarke, Chair of Trustees
Celine Luppo McDaid, Director of Dr Johnson's House.

Notes

1. Parliamentaryhistoryonline.org. Gough also owned Edgbaston Hall in Birmingham: see historicengland.org/listings.

2. Stephen Clarke, *Samuel Johnson's London Lodgings* (London: Dr Johnson's House, 2022)

3. O M Brack, Jr., ed, *The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* by Sir John Hawkins, Knt. (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2009), 108.

4. George Birkbeck Hill ed., *Johnsonian Miscellanies* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1897), 2, 382–83.

5. George Birkbeck Hill and L.F. Powell eds., *Boswell's Life of Johnson* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934–50), 1, 188.

6. Allen Reddick, *The Making of Johnson's Dictionary 1746–1773* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 25–54, at 43.

7. *Life*, 1, 241 and 239; and Michael Bundock, *The Fortunes of Francis Barber: The True Story of the Jamaican Slave Who Became Samuel Johnson's Heir* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015); hereafter

cited in the text as "Bundock." Johnson was of course famously opposed to slavery and Barber was to become his friend and ultimately heir.

8. *Life*, 1, 243.

9. Marshall Waingrow ed., *The Correspondence and other Papers of James Boswell relating to the Making of the Life of Johnson* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1969), 169.

10. Hawkins, 245–46.

11. Bruce Redford ed., *The Letters of Samuel Johnson* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992–94), 3, 140, letter of 14 November 1778. See also *Life*, 3, 462–64, Appendix D, for an account of the inmates of Johnson's house and their disputes.

12. Lyle Larsen, *Dr. Johnson's Household* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1985). Pages 23–34 deal principally with the Gough Square years.

13. Reddick, 63–65.

14. Slava Klima, Garry Bowers and Kerry S. Grant eds., *Memoirs of Dr. Charles Burney 1726–1769* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1988), 129–30.

15. James Northcote, *Memoirs of Sir Joshua Reynolds, Knt.* (London, 1813), 43–4. See also the Recollections of Frances Reynolds, which similarly mention Johnson's three-legged chair and his dexterity in managing it: *Johnsonian Miscellanies*, 2, 259.

16. *Ibid*, 1, 408.

17. *The Letters of Samuel Johnson*, 1, 173 and 184. In a rare error Hill Powell's edition of the *Life* at page 327 of volume 1 dates the letter to Langton 9 January 1758 rather than 1759.

18. *Johnsonian Miscellanies*, 1, 416; *Life*, 1, 396.

19. Phyllis Rowell to Lord Harmsworth, 5 January 1928, Dr Johnson's House archive. Mrs Rowell had been researching the archives at the Guildhall and at St Dunstan's Church. Also, see 'Dr Johnson's House', H Clifford Smith, articles appearing in *Apollo*, November and December 1950), 136.

20. Press cuttings, 12 January 1820 and 4 October 1822, Guildhall Library - The Library of London History collection, London Metropolitan Archives.

21. As recounted in *Dr Johnson's House: A History of the House*, Cecil Harmsworth (1924, revised 1996).

22. *The Times*, 18 May 1846 and 1 May 1862.

23. Undated and unidentified newspaper cutting, sent by Charles Moore (former landlord of Ye Olde Cheshire Cheese) to Lord Harmsworth, 5 August 1913.

24. The full account is given in McLure's *Men I Have Painted* (London: Fisher Unwin, 1921) but an extract is reproduced as an appendix to George Whale, *The Forty Years of the Johnson Club* (London: privately printed, 1925).

25. Memorandum on Policy, Lord Harmsworth, May 1944, Dr Johnson's House archive.

26. Letter R.W. Chapman to Lord Harmsworth, 10 July 1933, Dr Johnson's House archive.

27. Letter Lord Harmsworth to Michelmore & Co., 11 August 1930, and Lady Randolph Churchill to H. Clifford Smith, both Dr Johnson's House archive.

28. Harald Hendrix ed., *Writers' Houses and the Making of Memory* (Routledge, 2007), 1.

29. Nicola J. Watson, *The Author's Effects: on Writer's House Museums* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 14, 228.

Wit. An Upper-Level English Course

By Melanie D. Holm, Indiana University of Pennsylvania

Some Prefatory Remarks for Readers of the *Intelligencer*

One of the great pleasures of reading eighteenth-century literature is the witty wordplay of its best authors. Like many instructors, I have struggled to get students to understand why something is funny, like the winding of Walter Shandy's clock, and the distinction between wit and humor more broadly construed (as well as why this mattered to writers like Joseph Addison). My frustration led me to develop a course on wit in the long eighteenth century for mid-to-upper-level majors called, simply, "Wit." I designed the course to survey the witty landscape of the period while attempting to cultivate an atmosphere of wit in the classroom via assignments and activities that encouraged students to sharpen their own wit in public presentations. Among the most successful of these were "The Critic's Report," an individual assignment, and "The Bathetic Poetry Festival," a group activity leading to individual writing.

The "Critic's Report" (full description below) is a Addisonian twist on the role of note-taker that asks one student to act as a critical observer of the course meeting in the spirit of the *Mr. Tatler* and *Mr. Spectator*, and then to deliver their report aloud to open the next meeting. In cases where students felt uncomfortable reading in front of a large group, they were allowed to nominate a spokesperson to share the work. These performances often incorporated fictional events, comical diversions, and imaginative reflections that set a playful tone for each class, encouraging student to deploy wit while studying it.

I had feared that this could backfire spectacularly with students either being afraid to be critical or inventive, or, alternatively, with students writing reports that fell flat or were offensive. To the latter concern, I established guidance in-line with the university civility code and its academic integrity policies. In a less official capacity, I impressed the difference between wit and vulgar mean-spiritedness upon them and warned of the likely visitation of poetic justice upon those who imperiled the dignity of our tasteful public sphere. Students relished this assignment. I had the luck of having a few extroverted and especially talented humorists in the course who were willing to deliver the initial reports. Their embodying an imagined 18C critical identity led others writing beyond their usual comfort zone to embrace the play of the assignment with warm support and

encouragement from their classmates. The repetition of the activity gave the class a clubby feeling of mutual "good humor and good cheer" as Henry Fielding might say while also serving the ostensible purpose of supplying notes for each class session and increasing the likelihood that at least one student per class was paying attention.

The Critic's Report focused on the development of individual wit while the Bathetic Poetry Festival (full description below), functioned as something like wit by committee. Divided into groups of no more than four, students were asked to write two sets of verses embracing the tenets of *Peri Bathous*. They were to select two tenets of bad poetry for each "poem" from chapters 8-12, and write, at minimum, a couplet. These were submitted via a GoogleForm and posted anonymously on a Tumblr. to enable a vote on the best, worst poem. Students had to vote for three poems to ensure that they didn't merely vote for their own.

After reviewing all the poems on a large screen in class, the winner (by a large margin) was announced:

You are as charming as Immanuel Kant
And you have curves like an eggplant.

In the tradition of contrapasso, the prizes awarded were headbands with donkey ears attached (made by the instructor from construction paper, paste, as staples), which winners wore for the remainder of the class meeting. Students were then assigned a response paper asking them to repeat the exercise individually, developing two more poems and explaining how they fulfilled their chosen bathetic criteria.

In total, this activity spanned three class sessions: one day for the group activity, one day for the festival and voting, and one last day for turning in individual work. Over what was therefore a week and a half, more or less, the assignment gained momentum as the students came up with increasingly absurd ideas in order to impress each other. In turn, they thoroughly plumbed the depths of *Peri Bathous*, spending considerable time thinking through the possibilities of each of Pope's designations. It successfully combined small- and large-group activities with individual writing, which made the students participants in the humor of their assigned readings by emulation and application.

When I taught "Wit," it was before the pandemic and before the current incarnation of the crisis in the humanities. As eighteenth-centuryists dedicated to our discipline, we struggle to engage our students and help them develop the patience and the discipline to approach complex texts from an historically distant period. I have used both activities and assignments in other courses with favorable results: the critic's report seems to work especially well in graduate courses, while the Bathetic Poetry Festival became an occasion for comic sociability in a poetry class when my university went completely online in 2020. I have yet to re-experience a class which bonded as well together through wit as the course that was devoted to it. I am currently revising Wit as an advanced elective for English majors, and as I do so I feel the limitations of my readings and am eager to involve more women writers (Margaret Cavendish, Aphra Behn, and Mary Astell, for example) and to incorporate restoration comedy to broaden the circle of wits.

Wit [Course Description and Syllabus].

The greatest wits of the 1700s struggled to define the nature of wit itself. Yet, in a pleasant irony, the elusiveness of a definition corresponds to the work that wit does throughout the period as a destabilizing tool of critique and a source of pleasure in novelty. In this course, we will explore witty works of the age, differentiating "wit" from categories like humor, comedy, irony, satire, and cleverness while also investigating how they function together in literary works. We will begin with a look back to the psychology of universals and contraries that inform the wit of Renaissance metaphysical poets and then track the different manifestations and conceptualizations of literary wit from the satirical cartoons and periodical essays of the Augustans to Laurence Sterne's comic omnibus *Tristram Shandy*, as well as the virtuoso wits of France, like Voltaire and Diderot.

Together, we will

- explore the enigmatic roles of wit in an age of enlightenment;
- ask questions about the instrumentalization of wit for the opposing ends of toleration and social discipline;
- examine how changes in social structure and cognitive science across the period influence how wit is understood and deployed;
- and have several good laughs.

This course has three overlapping objectives:

- To improve your critical writing skills
- To improve your critical thinking/reading skills
- To expose you to various ideas, theories, and literary texts concerned with the complexities of wit in literature of the long eighteenth century.

Graded work includes:

- Two Longer Papers (50%)
- Critic's Report (10%)
- Nine Short Writing Assignments, called "Response Papers" (40%)

Attendance is important. Class is where the action happens, where you can test your ideas, and where you benefit from conversation with others. Missing class will limit your ability to engage with the course texts and hinder your progress as a critical writer and reader. You are allowed four excused absences by university policy. Late work will only be accepted for excused absences;—or with a penalty of a Page to be read aloud for the class's delectation at the next meeting. The penalty Page can be employed no more than twice per semester. Upon five or more absences— excused, unexcused, or be-paged —you cannot pass the class! If you find yourself in this regrettable situation, you will need to appeal directly to your dean.

The Page is a one-page creative and wholly fictional—but hopefully entertaining—narrative of what happened that prevented you from coming to class. It is helpful to conceive of the page as an exercise in the genre of "I was on my way to class and…" To receive credit, the page is to be read in front of the class at the beginning of the class meeting directly following your absence. As you will directly benefit from the experience of your

classmates who were in class during your absence, you owe them a debt, one that you will pay with laughter.

READING SCHEDULE

1/17: **Introduction, prehistory, and cognitive theories of wit**.
Poetry Packet: John Donne and Andrew Marvell.
A. J. Smith Metaphysical Wit, "Mirror of Creation," p.7-19.

1/20: Roger Lund, "Misprisions of Similitude"; and Martin Kallich, "The Association of Ideas and Critical Theory: Hobbes, Locke, Addison."

1/24-2/10: Periodical Wit
1/24: *The Tatler:* No.1 Steele on Coffeehouses, No.144: Steele as Isaac Bickerstaff, "Censor of Great Britain," No. 155: Addison on the Political Upholsterer Addicted to News.
The Spectator: No.1: Addison Introduces the Character of Mr. Spectator, No. 10: Addison on the Popularity of the Papers, No. 10: Steele on Coffeehouse Society. No. 367: Addison on the Benefits of the Paper, No. 435 Addison and Pope on the Popular Taste for News, No. 568: Addison on the Political Misreading of *The Spectator*

1/27: *Female Tatler* No.1, 98: "A Lady That Knows Everything."
London Spy: Edward Ward, "A Visit to a Coffee-House."
John Gay, *The Present State of Wit*.

1/31: *The Tatler*: No. 25, Steele on the Worthy Businessman versus the Mere Cit; No. 249, Addison on the History of a Shilling.
The Spectator: No.3, Addison on the Bank of England and the Allegory of Lady Credit; No. 11, Steele on Inkle and Yarico; No.55, Addison's Allegory of Luxury and Avarice.

2/3: *The London Spy*: Edward Ward, "The Royal Exchange."
The Review: Daniel Defoe, Vol. 3, No.5; Vol.7, No.134: "On Credit."
Bernard Mandeville, "The Grumbling Hive."
The Female Tatler: no.9, 67: "On Shopping."

2/7: *The Tatler*: ∫No. 12, Steele on the Barbaric Stet of "Public Diversions"; No. 62, Steele on Correct Taste Governed by the Principle of "Simplex Munditiis"; No. 108, Addison on a Contortionist Show; No. 163, Addison on Ned Softly's Poem.
The Spectator: No. 58, 63, Addison on True and False Wit.

2/10: *The Spectator*: No 291, Addison on Criticism, No. 409, Addison on Good Taste; No. 411-414, Addison on the Pleasures of the Imagination
"Taste Taste-testing event": does the percentage of cocoa in a chocolate bar really matter? Let's find out who has the most subtle, sensitive taste.

2/14-3/23: Swiftian Satire and the Scriblerian Sensibility

2/14: Jonathan Swift, *A Proposal for Correcting the English Tongue, Hints towards an Essay on Conversation*, *A Digression Concerning Critics, A Modest Proposal*.

2/17: "Cassinus and Peter," "The Lady's Dressing Room," "A Beautiful Young Nymph Going to Bed," and "Strephon and Chloe."

2/21-24: Alexander Pope, *The Dunciad*, 1-2, then 3-4

2/28: Alexander Pope, "Essay on Criticism."

3/2-6: Alexander Pope, "Essay on Man." Epistles 1-2, then 3-4

3/9: Alexander Pope, *Peri Bathous: or, Martinus Scriblerus His Treatise of the Art of Sinking in Poetry*.

3/13-3/16: Spring Break: Read Simon Dickie, *Laughter and Cruelty*, Chpt 1

3/20: Alexander Pope, "Rape of The Lock," and "To Belinda on the Rape of the Lock"
Bathetic Poetry Festival (Let's Vote on whose poetry [response papers 4-5] is the worst and find out why!)

3/23: Social Satire Set to Music
John Gay, *The Beggar's Opera*
Watch Youtube link on Blackboard
Listen to Opera on Spotify playlist.
Thomas D'Urfrey*, Pills to Purge Melancholy: Lewd Songs and Low Ballads* (selections)

3/27-30: A Continental Wit:
3/27-30: Voltaire, *A Pocket Philosophical Dictionary*: "Abraham"- "Hell.";
Team Competition: Irony Hunt; Voltaire's "States, Governments"- "Virtue."

4/3-27: Now Begins a Month of Shandying
4/3-27: Laurence Sterne, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*, Vol. 1. [e.g., Vol. 4 on 4/13, . . . Vol. 6 on 4/20, etc.]

5/1: Last Day Funnies: Slideshow: Hogarth and the satirical cartoons

COURSE WRITING ASSIGNMENTS

Two Longer Papers of 5-6 and 7-8 pages: These have assigned topics and ask you to draw together different texts and provide an original thesis that is supported by close-readings and other evidence from the texts. The length of these papers will allow you to inquire deeply into the texts as well as to represent your critical voice.
Paper 1 (5 full pages):
--1st Paragraph due: 02.16 Midnight by email/hardcopy in class
--Rough Draft due: 02.26 Midnight by email/hardcopy in class

--Final Paper due: 03.02 Hardcopy in class.

The eighteenth-century periodical collections and satiric complements that we have read for this first month have explored the role of wit in several humorous critiques of contemporary culture including issues of commerce, class, taste, information, and aesthetics, as well as in satires of self-certainty and enthusiasm. For this paper I ask that you examine how the authors approach any one of these topics (—or related categories like fashion, politics, manners, reading practice) in three different periodical pieces or short satirical works. Theorize the relationship the authors presume to have with their readers and explore how the authors use wit, humor, and comic effect to persuade, affirm, or shame their readers into agreement.

Consider the following:

The portrayal of the objects of critique
The tone with which the writers describe their objects and the details they employ
The form of the text
The anticipated audience
The types of comic, ironic, or unmasking moves
The response that the authors desire to elicit from the reader
Whether it is a universal, particular, or partisan critique
If these are moral critiques, and if so, what are the moral qualities put to question?

Each piece that you choose will engage different strategies: you will need to close-read these texts to uncover the authors' techniques and ambitions. Lastly, I want you to consider the humorous rhetoric of each piece: why were they thought to be a good fit? What does this indicate about the sensibility of the writers and imply about their audiences?

Final Paper (6-7 pages long--unacceptable if over 9 pages)
Prospectus: April 20
Introductory Paragraph: April 27
Full Draft: May 1/Peer review
Paper Due: Day of the Final
Office Hours by appointment after May 1.

Please view the following as prompts for motivating your thinking, not as questions that you must answer. Make these topics your own.

1. In *Tristram Shandy*, there are moments of coincidental and accidental wit; puns, naturally occurring and intentionally stylized; we encounter jokes, both by characters and by the narrator; and we see figures held up to ridicule, those who we laugh at (e.g.: "the Criticks," the Strausbourgians), and then we are given characters to laugh with (e.g., Trim, my uncle Toby). Both Addison and Pope offer opinions on the uses of wit, and use wit themselves with great diversity and facility. How does the status of wit as an object of inquiry and the role(s) of wit as a literary strategy in *The Spectator* and *The Tatler*, and *Peri Bathous* and "The Essay on Criticism" align with the narrative episodes, humorous incidents, and objects of value and of ridicule in Tristram Shandy? What relationships of laughter and wit does each text promote and/or discourage?

2. At various moments in *Tristram Shandy*, characters engage in discussions about or transactions of money, often in relation to the misfortunes they or others suffer, or misfortunes they should like to prevent, giving money a strange, but inconsistent value and meaning in the text. Both the periodical essays of The Tatler and The Spectator, as well as John Gay's The Beggar's Opera inquire into the values of people and the value of people, looking closely at how money operates as a metric of moral worth, use value, and social power. What moral and social questions do these works raise about capital, commerce, and commodification? What do they suggest money is good [or bad] for?

3. Voltaire's *The Pocket Philosophical Dictionary* ironizes the fundamental premises of a dictionary: for rather than giving definitions, it asks questions; rather than solidifying meaning, it dissolves certainties. Similarly, Sterne's Tristram Shandy raises questions about the clarity of language and the confidence we have in language use, subjective and objective interpretation, and the dubiety of enthusiasm, judgment, ambition, and social engagements. With stylized ironies, they together destabilize knowledge or "truths," directing readers towards alternative or complementary values, methods, or investments. What might these complements or values be? What relationship to knowledge, and what relationship between knowledge and humor do these authors promote?

Critic's Report: For every class meeting, one student will be responsible for taking notes and providing an independent, utterly subjective, yet nevertheless critical assessment of the proceedings, along with additional reflections on the textual materials discussed. You will choose a critique day at the beginning of the second week, and each critic must have his or her report posted ready to read for the next class and posted online within one week (minimum 3 pages).

Response Papers: Throughout the semester I will give short writing assignments that are intended to familiarize you with critical aspects of a course text and to sharpen your analytical skills. These assignments range from the diagnostic and technical to the creative and comical. Trust that each will have a hand in increasing your appreciation and enjoyment of a text, as well as your ability to write about it with discernment and style.

Response Paper 1: Pick one of the essays we've read together this week from *The Spectator*.
Summarize the narrative or exposition, paragraph by paragraph.
Closely read one section of text. To do this rigorously I want you to:
Copy the passage onto your paper.
Underline all adjectives, non-simple verbs, and adverbs.
Account for what these language choices add to the language and argument.
Distinguish the objects of the satire and explain with evidence from the text.
Finally: explain to me if this passage is witty? If there is humor employed, what kind of humor is it?

Response Paper 2: For this paper, let's consider Bernard Mandeville's "The Grumbling Hive" (pp 298-310). In two paragraphs (minimum), explain to

me the philosophical or commercial argument that Mandeville's poem proposes and support your argument with a close reading of one stanza that employs the same analytical strategies from last week's exploration of satire: explicate the language, words, and comic irony of the passage. Then pick one satire from either *The Spectator* or *The Tatler,* and explain the author's position on the issues of commerce raised by Mandeville, drawing on ample textual evidence (1-2 pp).

Response 3: Review *Spectator* nos. 58, 63, 409-412; and the excerpts from *The London Spy* and *The Female Tatler*. First give an Abstract of Addison's theory of the Imagination and Taste. Then go back to the previous two chapters: pick one essay/letter/or supplementary item (one which you have not already written on) and explicate the importance of taste in the passage in terms of morality, economics, sociability, or some other element of taste (or, all of the above.) in the piece.

Response Papers 4 and 5 [elided: "Bathetic Poets and Sublime Criticks": they involve writing bathetic verse and thinking about Pope's verses.]

Response Paper 6: For this response paper, please choose one of the four Swift poems from Monday and consider the relationship between affectation, artifice, and art. Decide what Swift isolates as the object(s) of his critique of affectation in the beginning of the poem and see if this changes by the end. When I say "affectation," I want you to think boldly and include things as intangible as ideology and material as cosmetics.
1. Summarize the events of the poem.
2. Choose at least two stanzas or sections of the poem, place them on your page, and then:
(a) Beneath each explain to me what you think the object(s) of the ridicule of art, affectation, and artifice is/are
(b) Defend your claim with a "close-reading" of the passage: (summary of stanza events; identification of imagery; allusions--if any; curious, complex, or non-trivial word choices as you have done for earlier exercises).
3. Based on the work above, explore the relationship(s) between art, artifice, and affectation in the poem, and explain what values, positive and/or negative, Swift gives to affectation.

This is due Friday, but if you are overwhelmed by *The Beggars Opera*, you can turn in on Tuesday....

Response Paper 7: The Digression Journal: As you read through Volume 1 of *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*, I want you to note any associations that you make to words, scenes, or allusions made by the narrator. When you feel that your attention has fled from the written word to something related, to something that the writing made you think about or recall, write it down with the page number. Then, when done, go back and pair the associations with the passages. Given the length of the reading there should be several spontaneous moments of this. Limit your paper to the top 8-10 and be prepared to share one in class.

Response Paper 8: Respond to any one of the following questions:

1. Perhaps the most initially apparent curiosity of Sterne's text are its peculiar typographical and physical characteristics: its dashes and exclamation marks, its changes in type, its black page, its marbled page, and the blank page which we asked to fill with a description of a delightful mistress. What do you make of all this? Does Sterne's manipulation of print contribute to or extend the meaning of the novel? What attitudes does it suggest about printing and the relationship of the novel to print?

2. Tristram refers to Locke rather significantly in the novel, and especially to notions of the subjective nature of time, the association of ideas, and the unstable nature of words. What are the uses he makes of Locke? What Lockean implication(s) does his novel trace? Is Tristram Shandy a celebration of Locke's views or a parody of them? (Though the last question presupposes substantial familiarity with Locke, readers unfamiliar with Locke might still pay attention to the occasions on which Locke is mentioned and the kinds of ideas Tristram associates with Locke.)

3. The author function is fragmented and manipulated throughout this text. Tristram multiply represents himself as a living, though perhaps not for long, man of flesh and blood who writes his history in real-time, a figure in the book who is subject to various accidents, emotions, and atrocities, and as a person influenced by family history, who inherits traits of both his father and his uncle, among others. At the same time, we know that "Tristram" is but a fiction, a character created by the "real" author, Sterne, who spoke to us in the Dedication—though even there the author wears a rhetorical mask. What do you make of this peculiarly fragmented display of authorship? In terms of mock autobiography, does the novel add up to nothing more than a burlesque of self-representation? What implications do issues of self-reflection and representation have for the possibilities of meaning in the text and for you as a reader of the text?

Response Paper 9: Adding Something to this Fragment of a Page.

My Digital Shandians! This is something of a novelty—but novelty, as I hope our journey together has impressed, provides its own pleasures.

In the "Preface" to *Tristram Shandy*, Sterne writes: "I am persuaded that every time a man smiles--but much more so when he laughs--it adds something to this fragment of life."

We have all become familiar with the convention of "the page"; however, one way of re-conceiving the opportunity of a page is as an attempt to share the history of that small fragment of your life, your absence from class, as well as the opinions, antecedents, and accidents that determined your adventure in a manner that both surprises and delights. One happy volunteer will both begin and end the exercise (thus writing two pages), and the rest of you will provide one link in a chain of responses, picking up where the last writer has left off in his or her attempt to explain the circumstances—"written up on high," as Jacques would say—that conspired to make him or her miss my class.

Any form of narrative, witticism, digression, theoretical excursus, importation of legal documents, sublime poesis, bathetic sinking, quotation/allusion, or invocation to muses and deities are most welcome. This project takes us into the digital sphere, so links to iTunes, Youtube,

Spotify, Vimeo, external web pages, and the *OED*, among others, are possible and encouraged, as are embedded images.

This is a digital project that makes use of the forums option on Blackboard. As soon as the first page is uploaded, it will be sent to your email. When it is your turn to post, under forums, you will find an option entitled, "Adding something to this fragment of a page." Read through previous posts, then, go for it! Segue in one way or another; explain some point of it, or transition to something antecedent, external, informative, or otherwise. Write your contribution first on Word then both paste it into the forum and email it to me. You will do this once in the next two weeks (between April 13 and April 26th). Each contribution should be, of course, at least a page. If you have any technology problems, email me.

I will assign small groups of you spots of time in which to accomplish this via email, to avoid congestion on the first and last nights, and to maintain order. So for example, perhaps everyone with last names beginning with letters A-F will have from the 13th to the 17th. Check your inbox for your dates. We will present the final product at the final (time wastes too fast my friends), and each of you will get to read your final page.

Devin J. Vartija. ***The Color of Equality: Race and Common Humanity in Enlightenment Thought***. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2021. Pp. 312; 1 table; index. ISBN: 978-0-8122-5319-1: hardcover, $65.00. (Available as ebook, $65.00.)

Devin Vartija's intellectual history, *The Color of Equality*, takes on the perplexing problem of Enlightenment's key contradictions: Enlightenment philosophers posited that human beings "shared rational and emotive capacities" and thus were fundamentally equal, yet these thinkers also sought to explain natural differences among humankind, "and thus laid the groundwork for postulating . . . natural inequalities" that separated human beings from one another (1-2). Vartija's project thus explores ideas about common humanity alongside discussions of racial hierarchies in order to illuminate – neither defending nor criticizing Enlightenment attitudes – the tensions faced by those seeking to better understand both race and equality as they evolved toward modern usage. Vartija situates the study between the two relatively common modes of inquiry common in the scholarship by noting those who favor the generalized and accepted tenets of Enlightenment's ideas about equality (e.g., Jonathan Israel) and those who cannot accept the misogyny and racist ideas emanating from the Enlightenment (e.g., Catherine Belsey). In Vartija's words, the work "remains committed to the promise of individual and collective emancipation through Enlightenment while . . . recognizing Enlightenment thinkers' exclusions and blind spots" (9). By refusing to take "sides" on the effects of Enlightenment, Vartija aligns the work with scholars such as Siep Stuurman, Sankar Muthu, and Andrew Curran.

In probing the tensions created in eighteenth-century philosophy of race by the increased attention to natural history, Vartija underscores what he conceives to be Enlightenment's "most important legacy": self-reflexivity, which lies neither "in a set of rationalist or moral premises that

must be defended" nor in its "complicity" with colonial processes (9-10). Indeed, Vartija asserts, "within Enlightenment philosophy, racial classification was not thinkable outside of the framework of natural history" (19). Philosophers conceived "the 'races' or the 'varieties' of humankind as dynamic entities," and their work is thus "distinct from the more static and fixed status of many nineteenth-century conceptualizations of race" (20).

Vartija examines Enlightenment ideas by way of three large encyclopedia projects from different parts of Europe, Ephraim Chambers's *Cyclopaedia* (early eighteenth-century England), Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie* (mid-century France), and Fortunato Bartolomeo de Felice and his circle's *Encyclopédie d'Yverdon* (mid- to late eighteenth-century Switzerland). Vartija says that these encyclopedias "capture three moments in the intellectual history of the Enlightenment" and thus reveal "not only the distinctiveness of particular national or regional political, philosophical, and religious debates but also the pan-European nature of the Enlightenment" (2). Before tending to these encyclopedic projects, Vartija provides a very useful summary of the early modern debates about human sameness and difference (chapter 1), concluding that while scholars have tended to present race as a response to or justification of the "creation and maintenance of inequality, whether inside or outside the system" of enslavement, such approaches undervalue the development in the eighteenth century of the secular human sciences and of the extent to which investigations of humankind emerged alongside "interest in the sentiments," which formed a significant part of natural science discussions (56-57). By undervaluing philosophical content associated with the emotions, Vartija argues, scholars have been inattentive to key contributions made by Enlightenment philosophers. The "language of fellow feeling underpins some of the more important defenses of equality one finds in eighteenth-century texts," including the encyclopedias under analysis, Vartija says. His goal is to "pay particular attention to the matrix of empathy, equality, and antislavery sentiments" so as to reveal the Enlightenment's "deeper empathic commitment to a new understanding of humanity as composed of sentient and autonomous moral agents" (15).

Chambers's *Cyclopaedia: Or, an Universal Dictionary of the Arts and Sciences* (2 vols., 1728) was quite successful in the print marketplace, suggesting that enthusiasm for works that challenged older authorities were welcome in the early eighteenth century. Vartija discerns an "egalitarian ethos" in Chambers's project, despite Chambers's embracing of then-contemporary notions of "savagism" versus civility. Chambers emphasized the idea that the arts and sciences had "progressed" in Europe, so the characterization of non-Europeans as uncivilized formed part of the agenda behind the project's scope (63). Chambers spoke about humankind's cultural differences, but Vartija argues that "powerful notions of common humanity and equality" permeate the work (63), especially in Chambers's defenses of religious toleration, where equality of rights among peoples suggested toleration was essential. In Chambers's remarks about skin color, readers can see how Chambers's defense of the unity of the human species supported his anti-enslavement principles (66). In the 1753 *Supplement* to the *Cyclopaedia*, the project increased its offerings related to natural history. Vartija says this signals that English readers and thinkers were attentive to

ongoing debates in natural history, especially as these related to the situation of Africans, Europeans, and the trade in humans. He argues that "there is a discernible and significant egalitarian subtext" undergirding the ethnographic information in the *Cyclopaedia*. In the *Supplement* (compiled after Chambers's death and primarily the work of the mathematician George Lewis Scott), Vartija notes an expansion of interest specifically related to African peoples. Changes between the original project and its supplement indicate significant "intellectual and political developments" afoot in the culture: "the inclusion of humanity in the study of natural history, the growing importance of African [enslaved] labor to the Atlantic economy, and the subsequent desire to understand the 'nature' of blackness" (79). Both publications are, Vartija concludes, "windows onto the culture from which each emerged" (83).

Like Chambers's *Cyclopaedia*, Diderot and d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie* was critical of established church doctrine and tended to promote ideas related to equality of all peoples, clarified by an emphasis on natural history. Vartija identifies the key difference between the French project and its English predecessor as a difference in how ideas about equality are managed. "Equality as a political concept" is a salient feature of the French production, Vartija says, as he points out that in mid-century France, the church's intolerance worsened and the government was becoming more absolutist (90). Vartija follows Keith Michael Baker's line of thinking (in *Inventing the French Revolution*), arguing that the *Encyclopédie* became "part of the political conflicts of the ancient régime" (90). While recognizing the Eurocentrism and racism evoked in the language of the project, Vartija nonetheless asserts that if we focus on the compilers' Eurocentrism, we miss "the innovativeness and diversity of Enlightenment thinkers' contributions to nascent physical and cultural anthropology" (88). The chapter (like the next, on Fortunato Bartolomeo de Felice's *Encyclopédie d'Yverdon*) speaks to the increased racialized study of indigenous peoples in the Americas, Africa (especially sub-Saharan Africa), and China. Vartija says that the French project represents "soft" Eurocentrism, where "Europe is theorized as the culmination of progress in history"; it is "soft" in that "this was not yet a racialized idea – other peoples were believed to possess the capabilities of becoming more like Europeans" (137). Vartija concludes that "the *Encyclopédie* advanced equality by asserting its role as the voice of public opinion and its service to the public good" (140).

As the final exemplar, Vartija focuses on de Felice's *Encyclopédie d'Yverdon*, a project pulled together by Swiss Protestants who sought to build on the French *Encyclopédie* but who created an even more modern project. He asserts that de Felice and his collaborators followed Diderot, Rousseau, and others in using words like "society" and "social" in their more modern senses, thus "contribut[ing] to establishing equality as a foundational concept in political philosophy" (159). Further, he argues, "we can find a measure of coherence in the commitment of nearly all" of the philosophers working with Diderot and de Felice "to a secular vision of an irenic society shaped by laws aimed at ameliorating the human condition" (159). Despite de Felice's clear preference for elective aristocracy, Vartija says, equality as an idea is investigated fully, and the project essentially

points out that "all human beings are fundamentally equal" (144). "Inequality is not something God-ordained," according to the circle, "but must fit within a political framework that aims to ensure the happiness of all" (144). Using a range of evidence, Vartija concludes that the project by de Felice's circle is "more forcefully antislavery than any of Diderot's contributors," revealing that a Christian Enlightenment "could serve radical political ends" (192).

This book is a valuable contribution to the study of Enlightenment thought, valuable partly because it refuses to take a side "for" or "against" the Enlightenment's approach to racializing of humans. Vartija has parsed out why the Enlightenment remains a significantly important era for examination. By examining facets of intellectuals' concerns, Vartija has shown us that any easy tendency to embrace or to dismiss Enlightenment philosophy misses a key point about legacies of Enlightenment: "The Enlightenment's most enduring legacy emphasizes the possibility and importance of human betterment in this world, a perspective founded on the recognition of individual rights, of freedom grounded in equality" (212). This phrasing captures Vartija's sense of the contribution made by the study.

If one were to have a reservation about the project, it might lie in the scope and intention of intellectual history itself. Two questions arise. How well can one capture the ideas of an era by looking at encyclopedias alone? How widely were ideas circulated, and whose lives were most influenced by these ideas? Encyclopedias were expensive projects. Chambers's book cost four guineas to subscribers, a large amount, "maybe two months' wages for an unskilled day laborer" (see Jack Lynch, *You Could Look It Up*, 186). Vartija is aware of this issue and uses Silvia Sebastiani to help support the method and design of the project: "Ideas might have a distinct trajectory from socioeconomic relations" (quoted, 17). The crux of the quandary is whether studying ideas can substitute for a fuller study of the lived relations between and among groups and whether such study helps us learn what we might most benefit from as we are moving forward in a world troubled by racial and ideological conflict born from material and political inequities. Vartija is to be commended for taking on such a project as this. The question is where we go from here.

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Peter Radford. ***They Run with Surprising Swiftness: The Woman Athletes of Early Modern Britain***. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2023. Pp. [viii] + 296 + [4, series bibliography]; 30 b/w illustrations; 2 graphs; 4 tables; primary and secondary bibliographies [275-88]; index. ISBN 9780813947921: hardcover; $130; ISBN 9780813947938: paperback: $35; ISBN 9780813947945: ebook: $35.

This study by a former Olympic medallist turned sports historian presents an astonishing dimension of the long eighteenth century than even most lifetime scholars of the period have probably never glimpsed. It is an admirable demonstration of how the historically marginalized and then

forgotten can be recovered by the patient accumulation of small details, closely scrutinized and carefully interpreted. In the course of research for another project, Radford began to notice and then to record items concerning women runners. Then years of reading small ads in issue after issue of 147 local newspapers from the seventeenth century up to the 1830s have yielded him a database of sportswomen and the details available about their events that includes nearly two thousand runners and one thousand cricketers as well as those in other sports—football, tennis, horseracing, boxing, even prize-fighting with swords and daggers! As most of the participants were not only female but working-class and poor, the recorders of what became history did not deem their activities worthy of notice, while for most British people the women's races were so customary as not to require mention. Radford has therefore been obliged to scour journals and correspondences of foreign visitors who were encountering the unfamiliar. He has scrutinized posters to extract the information they suggest. He has carefully considered many paintings and drawings purporting to illustrate women sportswomen of the period or their events, often finding the visual renditions inaccurate yet still informative. His analysis impressively combines the speculation needed to derive a wider narrative from sparse matter with the caution needed to avoid falling into unfounded assumptions—all written in a clear, graceful style.

The greater part of the book, following the bulk of evidence, is about foot racing, along with the related activity of endurance walking. Radford begins with the establishment in 1638 in a codicil to the will of Sir Dudley Digges of Chilham in Kent, near Canterbury, of £10 yearly for a head-to-head race between two "maidens" and the same for another between two young men. This event, located nearby at Old Wives Lees, became an annual festivity that ran well into the nineteenth century and spread to many of the villages of Kent in the form of head-to-head sprints of 165 to 440 yards, in which a winner would have had to run three times against various single opponents. Over these years, hundreds, perhaps thousands, of women ran in Kent alone. Women's races spread also throughout Britain, but the Kentish style remained distinctive to that county. Other places instead held long-distance events (averaging two miles). About 1730 best-of-three style was introduced and gradually became dominant throughout Britain: the race was run twice; if the same contestant won both times, she would run, or walk, the third event alone; if different contestants won, the two could conduct the third race. Radford brings his athletic experience to explain the different aptitudes and experience needed for sprinting or long-distance running under these repeated challenges. Carefully examining the methods of measurement, he found that an unnamed fifteen-year-old girl from Wrotham in Kent in 1795 ran a mile in 5 minutes 28 seconds, setting a record not beaten until 1932 and then by only half a second. The prize for many of these races was a smock, often embellished with ribbons and embroidery, which was carried to the event in a procession and hoisted high throughout the event, to be presented finally to the winner. He shows this prize's derivation from the misogynous display of a scolding wife in skimmington rides, corresponding in depictions to her husband's attribute of horns. [*Editor's note*: Dr. Noble explains the reference to "skimmington rides" further: "there was a folk practice of shaming couples where the

woman was thought to be too dominant; it involved having them ride on an ass with the husband behind the wife and, unlike the wife, facing backward; she beats him with a ladle; he wears or is otherwise associated with horns, and a smock is carried high above like a banner to symbolize the wife's (improper) superiority. Radford cites one described in *Hudibras* and illustrated by Hogarth and others, and other skimmington-ride depictions by Rowlandson and by Francis Philip Stephanoff (1816). He has lots of pictures of races showing smocks flying high above."] Radford argues that, while the symbol begins as one of opprobrium, it becomes a proud emblem of women's admirable authority and importance in festivities, where the smock races often became the featured event.

Most of the women runners would have been workers whose daily activities involved considerable physical exercise. Some of the long-distance walkers were destitute and participating in hope of contribution from spectators. Players of cricket, by contrast, extended to all classes, including the royal daughters of George III. and that women's sport developed almost professional status, sometimes even with country teams. All these contests attracted large crowds of spectators.

Later chapters present the French female tennis players who came to London to challenge—and beat—the best male players; the equestrienne, Alicia Thornton, who, riding side-saddle, beat a professional jockey who had won eleven "classic" races (Derby, Oakes, St. Leger) and who would win sixteen more; and the women professional prize-fighters and boxers.

What these sportswomen wore has always been a matter of interest, not only for modern readers, but for contemporary commentators. Radford decides that in general women runners raced barefoot in their usual working dress, discarding layers as necessary. For some more professional events, as with the prize-fighters, descriptions state that they wore waistcoats (which would give some support to the breasts) and drawers with a tunic. Misogynous objectors to such events and satirical artists who chose to depict women runners being tripped up by dogs or other animals concerned themselves with the exposure of private parts, but Radford finds little actual evidence of such mishaps. He does finds accounts of races run naked, perhaps a half-dozen by women, and so many by men that the sight often didn't receive comment as so normal.

Radford is careful to stress that women have always had to participate in a different context from men, as always subject to misogynous prejudices and the male gaze. Nevertheless, he is able to cite examples of women in sports from antiquity and the middle ages through the mid-seventeenth century, when for twenty years sport became officially banned. At the Restoration people were jubilant over the recovery of festivals and enthusiastic to recover the world of sports they had lost. Radford's study demonstrates the vibrancy of women's sport in Britain in the subsequent century and a half till again forces of suppression began effectively to take hold, eventually ensuring that its history was almost entirely forgotten. Most of it can never be recovered: a report in 1733 of a race by "the noted Pinwherie," for example, stated that he had won 102 matches since 1729—Radford was able to find record of only one. With most early modern sport similarly unrecorded, he judges that his database and therefore this history

covers only fifteen percent or fewer of the actual participants and events. Nevertheless, readers will find its contents amazing.

Yvonne Noble
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Stephen Clarke, *Lefty Lewis and the Waldegraves: Collecting, Obsession, Friendship*. Cheltenham, UK: The Book Collector, 2022. Pp. 95; 15 illustrations; appendix: "Sotheby & Co: Inventory and Valuation." ISBN: 97817399120-17. £16.50 (paperback).

Some thirty-five years ago, I found in a rather moldy junk shop in McIntosh, Florida (pop. 453), twenty-five volumes of the Yale *Walpole Correspondence* at $2 each—barely within our budget at the time, but since my wife saw my hands shaking, she gave me the nod and they have been with me ever since, with a few additional used volumes added when I could afford them. I have never read through a single volume (has anyone beside the editors?) but have often consulted their annotations for the exquisite details of eighteenth-century life, events, attitudes, and prejudices.

Clarke's homage to W. S. Lewis, the procurer and organizer of the Yale edition, is told by means of his half-century relationship with the Waldegrave family, Geoffrey and Mary. It will interest book collectors and economics majors more than 18th-century scholars; despite all Lewis's efforts, Walpole remains a minor literary figure, often mentioned, little read. Had Lewis become obsessed with Johnson rather than Walpole, the Yale Johnson would never have been given the false start it had, an edition geared for that rare bird, the "popular" reader, rather than for scholars.

Economists will find Clarke's account of interest because it will confirm their most basic premise: "money talks." This is a story of wealth, of upstairs and downstairs, the latter being noted primarily to dismiss it, for example, the treatment of that stellar Spenserian Rosemund Tuve (referred to throughout as Rosemary and ridiculed for her eccentric ways as a hired research assistant). Biographically, Lewis "at the age of twenty-nine . . . was a collector of private means, looking for a vocation. . . . He was a tall, urbane, handsome figure, and would in due course be distinguished by prematurely grey hair." One suspects Walpole would have been as enamored of Lewis as Lewis became of him. And Horace (and the economists) would certainly have approved of Lewis's marriage to Annie Burr Auchincloss, whose family wealth far surpassed his.

Within this setting, letters between the Lewises and the Waldegraves, the inheritors of an overwhelming number of Walpole manuscripts and letters, constitute the bulk of Clarke's account. One is a bit unhappy with the negotiations for purchase taking place while England is being bombed during WW II, relieved that Mary Waldegrave and her children (seven in all) were able to escape the war in Canada, and perhaps concerned that they lacked "adequate support." It is at this point that the Lewises step in: "in the dark days of 1940, with Europe in turmoil . . . the principle that the material would go to Lewis began to be established. . . . Lewis repeated his offer of

financial support for Mary if her existing elderly Canadian sponsor failed, and shared the Waldegraves' concern for the safety of their Walpoliana."

In this context a 1949 letter from Mary to Lewis, honestly provided by Clarke, is perhaps all we need to add to this account: "You have I'm afraid only too good reason to remember that this business of selling Walpoliana has caused a most painful conflict of emotions in Geoff's bosom! It is all part of his painful sensitiveness to the theme that people like ourselves are finished, their homes & possessions distributed or decayed, & their children as like as not bookblacks & barmaids." The next time you consult the Yale Walpole edition or, more fortunate than most, spend time at the Yale Walpole Library in Farmington, do take a moment to "sit upon the ground / And tell sad stories of the death of kings."

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Michael Edson and Bridget Keegan (editors), "William Falconer, Sailor Poet," Special Issue of *Eighteenth-Century Life* 47:2 (April 2023). Pp. 272. Paperback, $12.00 (single issue).

Including a brief introduction by Michael Edson and Bridget Keegan, eleven items make up this issue devoted to William Falconer (1732-70), "the most famous sailor poet and naval lexicographer of the era" (3). A Scot with a working-class background, he went to sea at fourteen, not unusually young at the time, and sailed first on merchant ships and later in the British Navy. In addition to a few short poems and his *Universal Dictionary of the Marine* (1769), he published one major work, *The Shipwreck* (1762, revised and expanded 1764 and 1769), which was inspired by the shipwreck he survived in 1749. He perished when the ship on which he was sailing as purser was lost in the Indian Ocean in late 1769 or early 1770. "Robert Burns and Lord Byron praised *The Shipwreck*" (3), and editions continued to appear throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. A revival of interest recently has been variously credited, including scholarly attention toward Georgic poetry and laboring-class writing as well as to representations of controversial issues in literature, such as attitudes toward imperialism, capitalism, and slavery. In my opinion, the previous work of one contributor, William Jones, is the most important factor. Jones, who travelled from Leicester to participate in a session on Falconer chaired by Edson at SCSEC in 2020, wrote the lead essay for this volume and also provided an annotated transcription of the only surviving draft of Falconer's poetry, from his logbook, never previously published. Without his critical edition of Falconer's poetry (2003), I doubt this special issue would exist.

Jones's "William Falconer: Sailor, Poet, Lexicographer" covers the waterfront regarding Falconer's life, making discoveries and reasonable conjectures, although many gaps still remain. In calling attention to the poet-sailor's logbook, Jones makes a good case that Falconer was serious about his poetry, while at the same time providing a physical artifact that illustrates his dual vocations. Details about the revisions to the three lifetime editions of *The Shipwreck*—1300 lines growing to over 2800—suggest, to

my mind, that Falconer was much more a poet capitalist than any of the contributors to this volume mention. For instance, as Jones writes, "the most striking new element in the poem is the creation of an elaborate subplot of a tragic love affair between Anna, the captain's daughter, and the ship owner's son" (30). In fact, it seems clear to me that Falconer was far from a Johnsonian blockhead, who wrote for anything except money. Several contributors note his position as a purser in the British Navy, but none glances toward the idea that such positions were lucrative to the extent that pursers at times acquired bad reputations for self-dealings with supply orders. Twice Jones mentions a friend of Falconer, the publisher John MacMurray (although he is perhaps better referred to in this context as John Murray, since he dropped the surname prefix as he began his publishing career in 1768): "MacMurray met Falconer when he was quartered at Chatham in 1763 as a lieutenant of marines. In 1768, he wrote to Falconer offering a partnership in a new venture in publishing" (45n60). In the event Murray got the entire £400 investment amount from his father, but the very offer suggests that Falconer was known as a person of business as well as a sailor-poet and that friends considered him a man of some means.

Jones has written what may be the most valuable article in a good collection, so with some hesitation I point out the following infelicities, which I suspect are the result of failed revisions. Note 7, page 15 refers to "Clarke," who is mysterious to a non-Falconer scholar until a page and a half later and note 20. "The writer William Hickey" (21) is referred to, but the accompanying note does not mention him or the source, which I assume to be his *Memoirs*. Also, "See note 44 below" (37) is an error for "note 42." Notes 45 and 46 repeat verbatim material from the text.

"*Britannia* and the Weight of Empires Past: The Instance of Falconer's *The Shipwreck*" by Suvir Kaul is a provocative essay, as are several others in this collection. Here Kaul nicely joins various of the most prominent aspects of Falconer's poem, including his use of classical allusions and references to the ruins passed by the voyaging ship, with "the poem's ambivalence about the costs of international oceanic trade" (51). The ambivalence that the century's writers felt toward the idea of living in the new *Augustan* Age has been discussed before, of course, but Kaul is convincing that classical figures "are deployed here toward a specific end, which is to note the potential for once-proud and prosperous territories, celebrated in epics and folklore, to sink into disrepair and poverty" (56). We have then "commercial cupidity vis-à-vis ruins" (61), but Kaul is careful not to overplay the Marxist card. I have two slight quibbles. First, Kaul writes about the prevalence of shipwrecks, as do other contributors, but without any citation of statistics, which surely exist. One would like to know exactly what kind of odds the seamen were facing. Second, Kaul speaks of "the gratuitous violence of the [crew's] dolphin's killing" (52), and it is vividly described, but again I wonder whether the event is more a realistic touch and less a reminder of aggressive violence. Given the limited diet the crew had from onboard supplies, the appearance of a pod of dolphins was probably viewed as an unexpected treat, to be seized upon with a quick slaughter.

Samuel Johnson famously said of non-juror Charles Leslie: "Leslie *was* a reasoner, and *a reasoner who was not to be reasoned against*." I imagine a similar reaction by him to Janet Sorensen. Her "Of Reef Tackles

and Halyards: 'Marine Language' and the Technologies of Immediacy in William Falconer's *The Shipwreck*" might seem to some too-clever-by-half, especially the concluding section that depends heavily on Kevis Goodman's work on sense immediacy, but I found the first half of the essay brilliant. Looking closely at the text, she ties together Falconer's use of technical nautical terms with the "uncouth" sounds of the working-class sailors (and working-class poets). That Falconer is alert to the sounds of what he describes shows up in his definition of *sounding* in his later *Dictionary of the Marine*, where he "explains how a seaman heaves a lead plummet into the ocean and 'the person sounding then proclaims the depth of the water in a kind of song resembling the cries of hawkers in a city'" (69). Sorensen deals head on with some of the poem's most conspicuous characteristics, resolving them into a consistent thematic harmony. As the ship nears being lost, "the noisier the technical items and commands get, [and] the noisier the footnotes get, so to speak. . . . [T]he more intricately technical the instructions get, the closer to the specific actions of this ship, and the more detailed their footnote explanation, the more distance they create between the ship and the land-based reader, as the reader descends from the action on the ship to the terrain of the footnote at the bottom of the page" (79).

Julia Banister's "William Falconer's 'Sons of Neptune': The Merchant Service, the Royal Navy, and *The Shipwreck*" is a deeper dive into the two types of marine service available in the century, and in both of which Falconer participated. She lays out the pecking order: "By the mid-eighteenth century, opinions about the dubious character of merchant sailors compared to the superior merits of Royal Naval sailors were well established" (88). Falconer may well have been disillusioned after he made the transition to the supposedly more respectable service. Banister finds suggestions of his "deepening skepticism" (90) both in his *Dictionary of the Marine* and in his major poem: "the revisions that he made to the poem in the years after he had been 'honored' by his appointment to the Royal Navy challenge long-standing prejudices against merchant sailors, and specifically the notions that merchant sailors value money over duty, safety over bravery" (91). Even if objections may come up to several of the readings advanced for parts of the poem, this essay remains valuable for providing information about topics that greatly inform *The Shipwreck*, including distinctions between master and captain, "letters of marque," impressment, and the manning debate (104, 93, 94, 95). And when Banister (following Marcus Rediker) writes that "the early eighteenth-century Anglo-American merchant seaman was one of the first free-wage laborers in what was still a nascent capitalist economy" (92), I suspect she reveals more about Falconer's character than she thinks.

The most challenging essay in the collection is Michael Edson's "Rescaling Falconer's *The Shipwreck*: Time, Labor, and the Problem of Immersion." He begins with the contemporary reception of the poem: in a nutshell it was criticized as "somewhat too long, & somewhat too technical" (106), a view that he reads as a proxy for the poem's resistance to immersion reading: "Falconer knew the difficulties of depicting sea travel for nonspecialists, and the expansions in [the two revisions] show his refusal to offer general readers the immersion they associated after 1750 with leisure reading. In this refusal, Falconer stayed true to the sailor's

perspective and conveyed the essential experiences of sea travel: both the feel of time's slow passage against an unvaried backdrop of sky and water, and the painful durations of ship labor" (109). Any summary cannot do justice to the sophisticated argument that follows, especially that employing the concept of reading-time requirements, and Edson's intellectual honesty causes him several times to question the degree of deliberation in the poet's product. For example, "Falconer was, *consciously or not*, swimming against the latest currents in popular thinking about reading as an escape from reality" (126, my emphasis). One wishes one had the reaction to Falconer of a notorious fast-reader, Samuel Johnson, but neither he nor Boswell seems to have mentioned *The Shipwreck*.

Sandro Jung's "The Visual Anatomy of Falconer's *The Shipwreck*, 1762-1818" is a different type of reception study. These inclusive dates indicate that Jung is primarily interested in what type of illustrations appeared in versions of the poem years after Falconer's death in 1769 / 1770, although he does show that "whereas the first edition had advanced a georgic version of maritime life, including the tragedy of shipwreck, Falconer's revision reoriented the genre, the poem becoming a modal hybrid incorporating both georgic and 'pathetic' elements" (135). Most of the essay concerns how illustrators and publishers interpreted and exhibited the posthumous work. Ten b/w illustrations, most from the author's personal library, well establish that the impulse that Falconer had obviously catered to when he added the sentimental lovers to his revised editions was emphasized and extended by publishers as the way to sell the poem well into the 19th century. None of this is surprising, but Jung's exercise in book history establishes in great detail that the poem had become "not so much a descriptive poem about ships as a pathetic poem about people" (162).

It is somewhat unfair, if not sophomoric, to suggest that the average reader of Jamie M. Bolker's "William Falconer and the Rhetoric of the Sea" will feel adrift, if not completely lost at sea. The essay makes several interesting points, including that the century "was awash [!] in diverse forms of maritime writing, including dictionaries, calendars, logbooks, ciphering books, journals, diaries, gazetteers, pilot books, sailing directions, atlases, charts, maps, almanacs, and navigational treatises or guidebooks" (167). Necessarily, the focus, when it is on Falconer at all, is on his *Dictionary of the Marine* more than his poems, and it is not surprising to be told that the *Dictionary* "enacts biases inherent in the wider Euro-American transatlantic culture" (180). Bolker, however, reveals confirmation bias as she analyzes "the British imperial mindset at play in his lexicographical work" (178). Here is her reading of Falconer's definition of *canoe*: his "praise of the dexterity of African and indigenous people to paddle a canoe is undercut by his decision to use the term 'American savages' interchangeably with 'Indians,' thereby reinforcing the perceived distance between indigenous 'savagery' and European 'civilization'" (179). Leaving aside that Falconer's using "Indians" exclusively would not have prevented some modern readers from being highly offended, one wonders whether the term *savage* here could not have the first of three meanings in Johnson's *Dictionary*, a neutral *wild*, *uncultivated*? Falconer is next described as "using the colonizing term 'Esquimaux' for the Innuit people" (179). Britain was indeed a colonizer, but does this mean that any word the British used was colonizing? The

commonplace *New Geographical Dictionary . . . of the World* (London, 1735) defines *Esquimaux* as "People of *N[ew] France* in *N[orth] America*." Bolker has plenty of company for her views; she quotes with approval a modern scholar who, having found two early 18th-century dictionaries defining canoe as an "*Indian* boat," concludes, "in English, defining a canoe as a kind of boat is curiously secondary to connoting the savagery of its maker" (180). But that is a hasty generalization to judge from Johnson's definition of *canoe* simply as "a boat made by cutting the trunk of a tree into a hollow vessel"; Johnson provides two illustrative quotations, the first by Raleigh associating the word with the Gauls who helped Hannibal and the second by Arbuthnot calling up the ancient Assyrian queen Semiramis.

Bridget Keegan casts a wide net in "*Britannia*'s 'Gallant Crew': Sailor Poets and the Legacy of William Falconer." She believes that Falconer "through his stylistically and thematically original work in *The Shipwreck*, established the expectations, and, eventually, the conventions, for poems on seafaring subjects" (188). Yet she recognizes precursors: "both Odysseus and Aeneas are shipwreck survivors" and Falconer's "most notable predecessor is the Portuguese poet Luis Vas de Camões" (189). Also, she repeatedly is forced to acknowledge the lack of definite evidence both for influences on Falconer and for his influences on others. Here is her accurate description of most her essay: "I focus primarily on longer narrative poems and conclude with a discussion of poets and poems, including shorter lyrics, specifically naming Falconer. Not all sailor poets pay direct homage Falconer [sic]—roughly a third of those in the period here surveyed mention him" (193). Keegan also contributes the volume's appendix, "Bibliography of Poems Written by Sailors, Those Who Served at Sea, or Ascribed to Sailors" (261-272). This allows her to omit documentation of sailor poems from the essay itself, but even though she describes the appendix as a work in progress—"I continued to make fortuitous discoveries even as I was finalizing what I had already" (262)—an error occurs that careful proofing would have detected: in the essay the publication date of the pseudonymous *Johnny Newcome in the Navy* is given as 1823 (211) but in the appendix as 1818 (269). Keegan tells us that her appendix lists only the first discoverable edition but for several of the items I found in other sources considerable disagreement about such dates. In any event, identifying which dates are speculative and which are from the title page would have been helpful. Finally, how distant from Falconer are many of the poems examined is suggested by the fact that one "is written not from the perspective of a sailor, but in the voices of the slaves" (198)—there is no evidence that Falconer sailed on a slave trader—and another is "populated by picturesque figures such as Oysterella, the female oyster fisher" (203).

This is a well-done and important volume, more important in fact than many collections of essays published in book form. It suffers only from the understandable lack of an index that one assumes a book publication would have had. As a curmudgeon, I lament the too-frequent appearance in several of the essays of the words *feature*, *privilege*, and *foreground* as verbs but over all the essays are well written and well argued.

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Devoney Looser. *Sister Novelists*. New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2022. Pp. xx + 576; [16] pp. illustrations; notes; index. ISBN: 978-1-63557-529-3: hardcover: $27; ebook ISBN 978-1-63557-530-9, $21.

Devoney Looser, Regents Professor of English at Arizona State University and author of *The Making of Jane Austen* (2017), has been studying the lives of the very talented and interesting sisters, Jane and Anna Maria Porter, and their family for twenty years. Looser's is the first full biography that considers Jane Porter since Robert Tate Irvine's 1942 MA thesis. "The Life of Jane Porter," which drew on a limited number of available documents. *Sister Novelists* brings to life the Porter family and the people they knew and, in particular, the Porter sisters, authors Jane and Anna Maria, who mostly published in the early nineteenth century.

Looser has created her chronologically organized biography from a thorough reading of letters, diaries, and other documents scattered in far-flung repositories, including the Pforzheimer Collection at the New York Public Library; Durham University Library in the UK; the National Library of Scotland; and the Folger Library in Washington, DC. But the most interesting and lively letters documented in the endnotes are housed at the Huntington Library in San Marino, and the Spencer Library at Kansas.

The Porter name is not exactly a household word today, but perhaps we remember Jane Porter from our youthful reading days as the author of *The Scottish Chiefs* (1810) in its abridged, American edition illustrated by N.C. Wyeth (1921). Today, the sisters' novels are available on Nineteenth-Century Collections Online. Jane Porter's *The Scottish Chiefs* is available in two scholarly editions, one edited by Gary Kelly (Routledge 2016) and another by Fiona Price (Broadview 2007). *Thaddeus of Warsaw* (1803) has been edited by Thomas McLean and Ruth Knezevich (Edinburgh 2019).

Looser draws a compelling picture from the basic outlines of the Porter family. Jane (1775-1850); Anna Maria (1778-1832), known as Maria; and their brothers John (d. 1811); Robert Ker (1777-1842); and William Ogilvie, (1774-1842) were the surviving children of William Porter (d. 1779), a military surgeon, and Jane Blenkinsop Porter (1745-1831), daughter of a Durham innkeeper. Jane and Maria, both unmarried, wrote twenty-six books between them, including historical novels, poetry, anonymous reviews, as well as brochures to accompany their artist brother Robert Ker's panoramic historical paintings and touring exhibits. Jane edited Robert Ker's account of his three years in Persia and brother William's *Sir Edward Seaward's Narrative*. The sisters' efforts at writing drama and an opera were unsuccessful. In 1801 Jane published a book for children, *The Two Princes of Persia*. Two short-lived magazines, in 1797 *The Quiz* and in 1804 *The Sentinel*, must be added to the roster of their publications. Jane, Robert Ker, and Maria claimed Walter Scott had been their "playmate" in Edinburgh. As novelists, Jane and Maria never forgave Scott for failing to recognize publicly their claim as the originators of historical fiction. Scott's response was that he had begun, but not finished, *Waverley* (1814) before Jane's *Scottish Chiefs* was published.

The lives of the Porters are at once fascinating and troubled. Robert Ker, the artist, married a Russian princess, Maria Federovna Shcherbatov (d. 1826), and represented British interests in Caracas, Venezuela. William

Ogilvie, unhappy in his two marriages, was a Bristol physician, and a third brother, John, spent time in the West Indies as a "mercantile apprentice" (13); creditors hounded the family even after brother John's death in a debtor's prison on the Island of Man. *Sister Novelists* suggests that everyone in the Porter family seems to have been continually in debt. Robert Ker once planned to avoid creditors by moving to Scotland under a false name. His marriage to the Russian princess did not result in the financial security the family hoped for. On the contrary, debt dogged this marriage. Jane managed the household affairs of Robert Ker and the difficult and extravagant princess when they lived in London. Jane had a good business head, but even after negotiating and renegotiating loans, Robert Ker, too, was in debt after his death.

After the death of their father William Porter, the family was supported by Mrs. Porter's widow's pension and by the earnings from Jane's and Maria's publications; the sisters took turns doing historical research and writing to pay off creditors. Mrs. Porter took in lodgers for a time, and the family moved to more modest homes to save money but still needed the wherewithal to entertain the prominent visitors they hoped would further their careers and financial fortunes. They engineered complicated schemes to save postage and transportation costs when they were invited to visit more prosperous friends and acquaintances, where they hoped to enhance their reputations, cultivate new friends, and even to seek loans. Sometimes Jane and Maria were companions to wealthy benefactors. Sometimes they were invited as house guests to improve their health. This meant having a roof over their heads, but it often meant long hours visiting and socializing, leaving little time for writing.

Looser enriches her story about the Porters with vivid accounts of the people they knew, their hosts, and their romantic interests and by what she calls their "covertly audacious lives" (xi). Skillfully narrated by Looser, these exploits read almost like a novel, complete with digressions detailing the unpleasant and seamier sides of those connected with and cultivated by the Porters. The entire chapter devoted to the marriages, adult children, and the grandchildren of Lady Elizabeth Berkeley Craven, later Margravine of Anspach (1750-1828), is a case in point.

Among Maria's romantic interests was her "'strange, unwise infatuation'" (212) with Frederick Cowell, a soldier she literally pursued, we might say stalked, after catching sight of him through her window during a visit to the Isle of Wight for her health. There is much melodrama in their exchange of letters, including the use of invisible ink and receiving of letters through a third party. A secret engagement was eventually broken after the two finally met in person. Frederick felt inferior to author Maria, and she learned he hadn't read the books she had recommended. Jane wrote Maria's letter breaking the engagement, "the conclusion to Maria's love story with the sighing soldier" (229).

The Porters moved in theatrical, literary, and social circles with people of varying reputations. Looser details the sisters' connections with Mary Clarke Champion de Crespigny (1749-1812); Mary Darby Robinson (1758-1800); and Charles Kemble (1775-1854) and his daughter Fanny (1809-1893). Jane had met Sarah Siddons (1775-1893) at a party given by Madame de Staël (1766-1817) and had on other occasions been introduced

to William Wordsworth (1770-1850), Maria Edgeworth (1768-1849), and Anna Letitia [sic] Barbauld (1743-1825). For many years Jane greatly admired the naval war hero Sir Sidney Smith (1764-1840) and dedicated her novel *Thaddeus of Warsaw* to him. But even after his wife's death, he wasn't romantically interested in Jane. Jane's attraction to Henry Caulfield, (1779-1808), a military man and a budding actor, resembles Maria's "strange, unwise infatuation." Caulfield was living with a married woman, Jane Rodney Chambers, whose husband brought a legal suit against Henry. Debts and threats of a duel were part of the drama. Henry Caulfield succumbed to the effects of an "abscessed lung" and died with his sister, his lover, and Jane Porter at his side His burial was secret and bizarre, complicated as it was by his legal woes.

Both sisters achieved international recognition as authors, but in the end, none of their connections proved to be substantially fruitful personally or financially. Anna Maria died in 1832 and did not benefit from Queen Victoria's gift of £100 to Jane in 1839, some of which was lost because Wright's House, the family bank, had failed. Grants eventually were awarded by prime ministers Sir Robert Peel in 1845 and Lord John Russell in 1848. American publishers profited from Jane Porter's works, but she received no royalties because there were no copyright protections at the time. They sent her a rocking chair as a token of their respect.

The "covertly audacious lives" dramatized by Looser definitely counter several images of Jane Porter as prim and proper. Kate Douglas Wiggen's introduction to her 1921 abridgment of *The Scottish Chiefs* describes Jane Porter as a "carefully-sheltered young English spinster" (vii). *Sister Novelists* includes a generous set of illustrations of the major characters and places in the Porters' lives. One drawing depicts Jane serenely clothed in the habit of a nun, rosary in hand. Jane Porter was not a Roman Catholic, and the outfit is the garb of the ecumenical Order of St. Joachim. Looser does not tell us why she was so honored by this European group—and if there was any financial gain from the honour But the image stands. Even the heroes of the sisters' novels are Grandisonian figures of integrity and exemplary models of conduct. The reader wonders if there is another side to the Porters' "covertly audacious lives" evident in Looser's sources that simply couldn't fit into a book of over 500 pages. Are there other stories to be told? A bibliography would help place this book in the context of current scholarship. For example, Thomas McLean, another Porter scholar and student of Eastern European politics of the period, has also studied the Porter letters and Jane's later writings; his research reveals a political and more scholarly side to Jane Porter, one that bears further study.

There is still plenty of work to be done on the Porters. What do the Porters, particularly Jane, say about writing as a craft? Looser demonstrates from a practical point of view that the sisters wrote under extreme pressure to pay off creditors. The sisters declare that some of their characters take their origins from people they knew and from their own experiences. We also learn both sisters did research for their historical works; whose or which libraries did they use, and how did they gain permission to use those libraries? Memories alone of the books they read as youngsters in Bishop Cosin's library in Durham would not furnish enough material for their historical romances. What do Jane's many revised editions of her novels tell

us about her views of the novel and about writing? Or were these revised editions simply meant to tantalize and to bolster sales to former readers and to new readers? What can be learned about the Porters' approach to writing from the several Prefaces Jane wrote for *Thaddeus of Warsaw* and *The Scottish Chiefs*? Were the footnotes added to subsequent editions of *Thaddeus of Warsaw* meant to imitate the method of Walter Scott's historical romances? Looser describes an anonymous review of Maria's novel *The Recluse of Norway* (1814) in which Jane, the probable reviewer, attributes the growth of the novel to women writers. Does Jane continue her discussion of authorship and the history of the novel elsewhere?

In 1831 Jane Porter had proposed a three-volume book of selected family letters that would be "'an ultimate record of us!'" (393). In 1836 she had considered historical writer and poet Agnes Strickland (1796-1874) as a possible biographer. And in the same year, Jane had mused, "'What a historian I might be, of the various interesting times in which I have lived—and the still greater variety of interesting persons I have known or seen, if I could ever have energy to sit down to the recollection and pen it down!'" (442). These projects never materialized. But now, the Porters have incurred a debt to Devoney Looser, who has finally done the job for them with energy and enthusiasm.

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Allan Ramsay, ***The Gentle Shepherd***. **(The Edinburgh Edition of The Collected Works of Allan Ramsay, vol. 1.) Edited by Steve Newman and David McGuinness**. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2022. Pp. xxiii + 601; bibliography; biographical sketch [xix-xxiii, by Rhona Brown]; glossary [561-82]; facs. illustrations of title-pages, MS drafts, and portrait; preface by General Editor [vii-xvi, by Murray Pittock]; music; collation of variants in MSS and editions before 1725 and 1729 copy-texts. ISBN: 978-1-4744-7907-3: hardcover: $125.00. (Available as an e-text.)

This volume includes the first version of *The Gentle Shepherd* (1725) and its revision as a ballad opera (1729), the most sustained poetic accomplishment by Allan Ramsay, a Scottish poet, editor, publisher, founder of a lending library and theatre, and "cultural entrepreneur" and promoter of arts and letters in Edinburgh (1684-1758). He has a foundational role in establishing the Scots poetic tradition employed by Burns and others. The accomplishments of this advocate of Enlightenment who came to Edinburgh as an apprentice wig-maker are thrilling. The edition is part of a larger project, receiving contributions from many besides Steve Newman (English, Temple Univ.) and David McGuinness (Music, Univ. of Glasgow). The editors' acknowledgements states that "Drs Craig Lamont and Brianna Robertson-Kirkland have been tireless in identifying and locating sources, preparing transcriptions, and often traveling to photograph the originals themselves," and they are credited with organizing and storing the important textual data (p. i). The editors have also properly acknowledged the important and difficult preparatory work performed by John Goodridge's survey on Ramsay in the *Index of English Literary Manuscripts*, Vol. 3, Pt. 3 (1998). In the March 2021 *Intelligencer* we reviewed an issue of *Studies in Scottish Literature* (46.2 [Fall 2020]) entitled *Allan Ramsay's Future,* edited by Murray Pittock and Craig Lamont, which offered essays preparatory to--and related as commentary to--a *Collected Works of Allan Ramsay*, centered at the University of Glasgow's Burns Centre and to be published by Edinburgh University Press. That review introduces this larger editorial project funded by a one million pound grant from the Arts & Humanities Research Council. As its website reveals, the project involves more than the printed edition: the "Collected Edition" website includes files about Enlightenment Edinburgh, Allan Ramsay and his publications, music related to his compositions, and the poet's son, the famous painter; and it includes two sites encouraging tourism. (The posted and potential resources at the website will several times impact my review.)

The 2020 *SSL* special issue introduced us to many of the participating scholars and important results of their research. General Editor Murray Pittock, seated at the University of Glasgow, was previously involved in the Burns Centre's Collected Edition of Robert Burns, and besides his £1M 2018-23 AHRC grant, he is also Principal Investigator for an EPSRC-AHRC Scottish National Heritage Partnership on "Immersive Technology Design." Pittock wrote a General Editor's Preface for all volumes, and each also includes a biographical sketch by Rhona Brown, the editor of *The Poems of Allan Ramsay* (vols 2-3 of this edition, with uncertain attributions, "Dubia," treated in vol. 3). Presumably each volume also includes a glossary like that in this volume. Three volumes are forthcoming: *The Tea-Table*

Miscellany, Ramsay's collection of Scottish songs first published in 1723 and expanded to four volumes by 1737, edited by Pittock and music specialists Brianna E. Robertson-Kirkland and David McGuinness; *The Prose of Allan Ramsay*, edited by Rhona Brown and Craig Lamont; and *The Ever-Green*, Ramsay's anthology of Scots poems from before 1600 first published in 1724, edited by Pittock and James J. Caudle.

This volume has a critical and textual introduction by Newman (1-54), followed by the 1725 edition of *The Gentle Shepherd: A Scots Pastoral Comedy,* and then the 1729 edition with the insertion of added songs catering to the appetite for ballad operas created by Gay's *The Beggar's Opera* (58-218); notes on the two texts (221-29); variant readings in manuscript drafts preceding the 1725 edition; variant reading in manuscripts and printed editions prior to the 1729 edition; then a lengthy music section contributed by McGuinness, with his introduction (385-89); a bibliographical survey of sources for the music (390-424); the music, with "printed and MS sources prior to 1734, when Ramsay first printed the songs in the . . . main text" (425-559)--useful to those who can sit at the piano and profit from the notation; and then the glossary and a rather modest or selective bibliography of editions of the pastoral comedy and primary and secondary sources related to the commentary. I was surprised at the absence of bibliographical descriptions of the two editions transcribed, especially as the "Textual Policy" offered at the Collected Edition's website contains a description of the 1725 edition, apparently offered as a guide for those to appear in the printed EUP volumes. The printed bibliography's list of 27 editions consulted to 1808 (583-86) offers nothing but title-page transcriptions, with no reference to the ESTC, ECCO, or the like. The ESTC has two records for the first edition, apparently uncorrected by the EUP editors (sending in corrections to ESTC should be a duty of editors). We are not told what copies of the copy-text editions were compared or just consulted in a search for internal variants (two are noted at the website, NLS and Bodley, but not the BL copy offered on ECCO; that BL copy is mentioned on p. 232 as "the copy used for the copy-text"). We learn that the variant "Courch" for "Church" on the title-page of the BL copy is not shared by copies at Harvard, Huntington, and NLS (232).

A couple of my points may be downplayed in this double edition. Apart from Newman's discussion of Ramsay's drafts in the introduction, there is not much discussion of alterations. Newman notes only "a couple of significant textual changes" in the second edition (1726), and no major changes but only altered accidentals to accommodate the work to *Poems* in 1728 (p. 11). Of 1729, Newman observes: "there are no major changes, except the engraving by Richard Cooper, and . . . the addition of 17 songs." But these 17 songs added to the EUP text are not within the 1729 text but only referenced in footnotes therein to the *Tea-Table Miscellany*, thus encouraging readers to buy that work. Faced with the full reprinting of the 1729 edition, one would expect a justification defining the 1729 as sufficiently different to deserve a separate edition. Some will wonder if there were more revisions than are discussed. Others may say the 1725 and 1729 texts are not edited so much as copied and object that both editions are available on ECCO. I hano idea--given the large grant subsidy--if the volume would have been much lower in price if only the 1729 edition were

offered with a single collation covering all before it. Also, I wished the editors have declared which edition ought to receive our principal attention.

Nonetheless, the volume provides a complete record of textual variants between the 1725 and 1729 editions and their predecessors. The first edition is compared to three increasingly lengthy drafts bound together at Edinburgh U. Library, called D1, D2 and D3; and also a fair copy of the entire poem. I found the collations a very accurate record of all substantive and accidental changes. It is a great resource to have recorded all phrasings advanced in early drafts. For instance, D2 has a canceled line (before what became line 763) that read "and view my Boy in Rustick Manners Bred." The collation for the 1725 line 763 reads: "with (D2, D3 EUL, NLS [not 'With']; view (D2 D3 EUL) [not 'View']; each delightful plain (D2 EUL), ev'ry fertile plain (NLS) [not every fertile Plain']" (p. 274). This unconventional method has all the variants to a line in an entry for that line, with the copy-text readings following "not." One might expect "not" to precede what is excluded and not in the copy-text. But this method does arrange the variants chronologically, with a reading in, say, Draft 2 prior to another in Draft 3 or the fair copy and then with the 1725 copy-text reading. The variants are overwhelmingly accidents of punctuation and spelling, and many might have been excluded with a fuller list of silent omissions. "With" in the quotation above, for instance, is lowercase in the MS, where capitalization is rare, and the printed text capitalizes it as it does all first letters in lines. Including too much in one's collation of variants hides what is important, deterring readers from consulting the list. An exhaustive list of accidental variants could have been posted at the website.

Newman proclaims that *The Gentle Shepherd* passed through over 100 18C editions, but he insufficiently recognizes the lack of London editions. While Ruddiman's printings were also sold in London, the only London printings before that for A. Millar (1752, 1758, 1763) are piracies by J. Watson in 1730 and 1743 (Watson was also involved in pirating *The Beggar's Opera*). ESTC records 21 editions published in London (vs. 27 in Edinburgh). Newman admits that the work's popularity greatly increased later as a result of a new theatrical adaptation (1780).

To my mind, Newman finds sufficient merit in the work to praise it without reliance on its popularity. Aided by placing the story in 1660, Ramsay's themes of cultural and economic improvements are rightly celebrated by Newman here (as earlier in his *SLL* article). This is an important and interesting dramatic poem that should have had more English readers. It remains enjoyable. The Scots dialect employed does not have that many obscure words--changing vowels often allows one rightly to construe the English cognate. Indeed, for some the words and pronunciations peculiar to the dialect ought to have made the poem the more interesting.

Newman's well conceived and phrased "Introduction to the Text" begins by noting *The Gentle Shepherd*'s many appearances from the press and on stage in 1791 and the division of opinion late in the century--as also occurred soon after publication--over whether the Scots dialect impairs or strengthens the work and whether Ramsay's more realistic model of the pastoral is superior to that golden model advanced by Alexander Pope et al.; Newman argues the need for a new edition to supply textual information lacking from the Scottish Text Society's edition in the mid 20C (it neglects

to record many changes and neglects music, including MS drafts of added songs); he examines Ramsay's evolving intentions aided by an examination of the manuscripts; he argues the importance of Ramsay's setting the action in 1660 with a royalist father returning from exile to reclaim his abandoned lands and the son raised by shepherds (this son Patie and a niece, Peggy, raised as shepherds, receive their birthrights or true identities, thus assisting the theme of improving the land and its people after the Cromwellian devastation as via education and dismissing superstitions as regarding witchcraft); Newman comments on how levelers in the Scottish countryside during the 1720s are similarly glanced at in the text; he considers too how Ramsay treats lovers, like the "gentle shepherd" Pattie and his first-cousin Peggy, with a robust candor; and he attends well to the evolving text as it is adapted for the stage. Unlike Theophilus Cibber's one-act adaptation (*Patie and Peggy*, 1730), the two-act afterpiece adapted by Richard Tickell with music by Thomas Linley, including many different songs from those in 1729, greatly stimulated interest in the work. A great many of the 200 18C performances involved the Tickell-Linley version. But that version reduced its thematic content, muting "the play's politics of improvement" (38). As Murray Pittock has observed, *The Gentle Shepherd* and other productions of Ramsay prepared for and profited from the shift to romantic sensibilities.

The introduction offers excellent commentary, yet still readers might appreciate more remarks on obscurities, allusions and parallels, and Newman's principal critical focuses on Ramsay's vernacular revival and his cultural program. There are no footnotes and but eight pages of endnotes for both editions. Many of the notes are long and admirable. The modest annotation is striking to me after reviewing the Stokes Newington edition of Defoe's *Farther Adventures* in March. Some notes might have been added to show the utility of the collation of variants.

I lack the expertise to comment further on McGuinness's investigation into the 1729 edition's 21 songs and their tunes other than to say, "Wow." I was disappointed to find that Carol McGuirk's review in *Eighteenth-Century Scotland* said little about McGuinness's 170-page contribution. This substantial survey must surely have value to those interested in Scottish and British song without reference to *The Gentle Shepherd.* The uncertainty about the possible songs and tunes encouraged a wide survey of possibilities, including "all available printed and MS sources prior to 1724, when Ramsay first printed the songs in the body of the main text," and an account of sources to 1758, when musical notation first was included, offering descriptions of tonality and harmonic structures. Note too that the collation for the 1729 edition includes variant readings in MS drafts of songs referenced in the printed text; as noted above, in 1729 readers were sent to Ramsay's *Tea-Table Miscellany* for lyrics. Those lyrics are now inserted into the EUP edition, with the collation recording variant readings from them in MS drafts at the Huntington or the John Rylands libraries. The Collected Edition's website contains a music and song section that offers a 17-song sampling *Shepherds & Tea Tables: Songs of Allan Ramsay* by McGuinness and the Concerto Caledonia (a group with other DVDs for sale). The website is a good tool for supplementing the volume with sound recordings for some of the music notation offered in the edition.--J. E. May

Barbara Crosbie, ***Age Relations and Cultural Change in Eighteenth-Century England*** (Studies in Early Modern Cultural, Political and Social History, 36.) Woodbridge, U.K.: Boydell Press, 2020), pp. ix + 279; bibliography (245-68); illustrations; 15 tables/graphs; index.

Barbara Crosbie's *Age Relations and Cultural Change in Eighteenth-Century England* provides a wealth of new material across a wide range of sources to give the reader a rare depth of insight into a pivotal time in Early Modern England. This text considers works by established scholars in a number of fields, reinforcing, extending or challenging their findings as needed with references to rarely cited personal and ephemeral primary sources including family letters, private journals, newspapers, periodicals, textbooks, legal documents, ballads, and advertisements. It is clear that Dr. Crosbie has spent countless hours immersed in the cultural artifacts of the period and has emerged from the archives with a deep understanding of the cultural milieu and a keen ear for the social nuances of the day.

The book opens with a discussion of the population of Newcastle throughout the eighteenth century, and then moves on to consider the "generational nature of familial relationships," focusing on the emerging concepts of childhood and parenting in the 1740s as depicted in children's literature, personal writing, and periodical texts. The first section progresses to discuss successive generations of teachers and features a useful overview of the range of schools available during the time, as well as some fascinating material on the way that new grammar texts reflected a growing focus on "practical" education less rooted in the Classics.

The second section discusses mid-century changes made in the apprenticeship system, drawing on diary records to consider the impact that they had on the behavior, expectations, and religious orientation of contemporary adolescents. These themes are further explored in the next chapter, "The Hubris of Youth," which considers how these changes would, in turn, affect the way these rising adults would choose to parent. The final section looks at the way that youthful fashions were viewed by the larger society, with particular attention given to the "macaroni" style of dress in the mid-century, and accompanying trends in food and entertainment. The final chapter looks at the impact that the shifting generational attitudes had on political power, striving to "expose a complex process of generational change, in which attitudes towards age, rank, and place are transformed alongside perceptions of authenticity, nationhood, patriarchy, domesticity, individuality, and progress" (15). This declaration gives some sense of the sweeping nature of the text, and its ambitious goals; while I'm not sure that it entirely succeeds on every count, I did feel that the text was successful in its presentation of new material in a logical framework that highlighted how an individual's formative influences led to their subsequent life choices and consequently, to their parenting of the next generation.

It is refreshing to read a book on eighteenth-century Britain that is not centered on London; the glimpses Crosbie provides of Newcastle life and culture offer a long-lacking corrective to our tendency to view (to paraphrase Dr. Johnson) "London as life." Scholars from a wide variety of disciplines will find intriguing new information on demographics, employment, local and national politics, fashion and education. I found the

section "From Periwigs to Ponytails" on the rise of "natural" hair and the impact that it has on social practices and perceptions to be fascinating. This section of the book is rich with contemporary illustrations—some of which will be familiar to scholars of the period, and some that will be new. In all cases, Crosbie skillfully guides us through the prints, pointing out the cues that would be obvious to an eighteenth-century reader, but are frequently missed—or mystifying—to an audience from another era.

Although I found much to admire in this text, I was less than convinced by Crosbie's overarching thesis of a wholesale shifting in the perception and valuing of youth. Her arguments that the late 1700s saw a change in educational practices and the literary/ephemeral framing of childhood are indisputable—these elements are often cited as part of the shift from Enlightenment to Romantic thought and are seen as part of the cultural groundwork for the eventual Victorian codification of childhood as a separate form of existence. However, her larger argument about the emerging late-century admiration of youthful adults, is less clear-cut. The lampooning of spinsters and matrons for attempting to hide their age is hardly a phenomenon unique to the mid-to-late eighteenth century; after all, Swift's "A Beautiful Young Nymph Going to Bed" dates from 1731. The prejudice against older women and the denial of their physical potency and sexuality seems to be an intrinsic part of Western culture that stubbornly persists in spite of successive waves of revisionist thought and the regular presence of exceptional, high profile elder women flaunting their sexuality.

I also would have liked to have seen Crosbie's fascinating discussion about the rise of new grammar books (and the prominence of Anne Fisher in the practical education movement) placed in the larger context of didactic children's literature. Her failure to cite either Lissa Paul's *The Children's Book Business* (Routledge 2010) or Matthew Grenby's *The Child Reader* (Cambridge, 2011), may just be a sign of how long it takes to produce a work of this depth and scope, but I think it is also an indication of our larger need as scholars to break out of our "literature" and "history" siloes so that we can share information and enrich each other's vision of the past. I feel that I have a deeper and more extensive view of this era after reading Crosbie's book, and I urge other scholars of the period—regardless of their departmental designation, or preferred journals of publication—to take the time to read her book so that they can share in her discoveries of the significant, quirky, poignant and intriguing material that the Newcastle archives have to offer.

Katharine Kittredge
Ithaca College

***1650-1850: Ideas, Aesthetics, and Inquiries in the Early Modern Era*, Volume 27: 2022. Edited by Kevin L. Cope, with Book-Review Editor Samara Anne Cahill**. Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2022. Pp. 326; 28 b/w illustrations. ISBN: 9781684484102: Cloth, $160.00.

The editors of *1650-1850: Ideas, Aesthetics, and Inquiries in the Early Modern* (*1650*), Kevin L. Cope and Samara Anne Cahill, look favorably

upon special topics. Since the move from AMS Press to Bucknell University Press in 2020, they have emitted five such sections: "The Achievements of John Dennis" (in vol. 25), "Metaphor in the Poetry and Criticism of the Long Eighteenth Century" (in vol. 26), "Adaptation and Digitization in the Long Eighteenth Century: Sterneana and Beyond" and "Irwin Primer and Bernard Mandeville" (both in vol. 28). Volume 27 devotes the entire book (apart from its thirteen reviews) to a special topic: "Worldmaking and Other Worlds: Restoration to Romantic" (parenthetically referred to below as "Worldmaking").

Betty Joseph and Elizabeth Sauer's Introduction is a puzzling whirl of abbreviated "world," "worlding," and de-worlding" statements. Such phrases as "world picture," "a world is only a world for those who inhabit it," "world-versions," "to cathect the space of the Other," and "a force that subtends and exceeds all human calculations" require more contextualization than found in the brief excursus offered here. For example, the latter statement seems to contradict the notion that "a world is only a world for those who inhabit it": if a world is defined as existing only because deemed to exist by its collective inhabitants, then how can it simultaneously exist if it exceeds the finite calculations of its inhabitants? To "cathect" the rich and complicated thought of Heidegger, Cassirer, Spivak, and Pheng Cheah (among others) within the space of three pages places exorbitant demands upon the reader. To quote the editors:

> [W]orlding processes allow us to generalize about imaginative works as creations that invoke hetero-temporalities, not only in daily life, utopias, or oral traditions that have survived slavery and colonialism, but also in spiritual practices, vibrant matter (like atoms), cosmopolitanism, collections of things, microcosms, rituals of survival, the natural world ethics and empathy, and storytelling. (10)

Many of the theoretical underpinnings to "Worldmaking" derive from Pheng Cheah's *What is a World? On Postcolonial Literature as World Literature* (2016). That book is dense with theorists and philosophers, such as Hegel, Marx, Heidegger, Derrida, and Arendt. Cutting from the cloth of "possible worlds" emerging from analytic philosophy in the sixties, Cheah premises a utopian portal peering out of the grid of global capitalism, illiberal nationalistic nativism, and surging neoliberalism. Literary critics find it valuable because of its investment in literature (particularly post-colonial world literature) as its principal mode of escaping hegemonic global tyranny. Homage to Cheah's book accounts for the fact that most essays in this collection refrain from focusing upon Western civilization.

In "'To serve them in the other world': Natural History, Worldmaking, and Funeral Song in Hans Sloane's *Voyage to…Jamaica* (1707-1725)," David S. Mazella usefully contextualizes the concept within our present historical moment: "worldmaking emerged as a key critical concept at a moment when global crises began to unfold, accelerate, and ramify. This raises the question whether worldmaking offers a fantasy recuperation and rebuilding, or some path forward toward such a goal" (197). Mazella doesn't develop this observation any further, but it might be productive food for future thinking.

I will be honest. This special section fails to clarify with theoretic specificity and clarity what is meant by "worlding." I did some legwork, and it seems to be, as yet, an inchoate cluster of ideas. Reading the essays in this collection does nothing to pin things down. However, this does not mean that the chapters here are not lacking in utility and interest. Most of them offer much to ponder.

Brandi R. Siegfried and Lisa Walters's "A New Science for a New World: Margaret Cavendish on the Question of Poverty" inaugurates the book proper and its first section. (It is fitting that this chapter enjoys pride of place, given that it was written while Siegfried battled breast cancer, a battle that she lost in 2021.) The reader quickly learns that Cavendish's dual interest in worldmaking and poverty stems in part from Epicurus. This third-century B.C.E. philosopher constructed a thought-world based upon the materialist theory that the universe is constructed of random collisions of hooked and smooth atoms, with the implication that no obstacle impedes "the unlimitedness of worlds" (22), and that unjust social and economic hierarchies devised by humans are artificial and indeed unnatural. The principal thesis developed here is that, despite her privileged aristocratic status, Cavendish sympathized with the poor and championed social justice. Indeed, the authors observe, "with the exception of More's *Utopia*, [Cavendish's …] *Orations* is one of the only early modern literary texts that attempts to understand the structural causes" (26) of the acceleration of the poor amongst the population of sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Daniel Vitkus's "'All the kingdoms of the world': Global Visions of Empire and War in Milton's *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*," drawing upon a considerable body of scholarly work, parses Milton's poetic commentary aligned with contemporary economic and political structures—the stifling of democratic possibilities under Cromwell, Ireton, and others, an emergent capitalism tracing back to the sixteenth century. The result is Vitkus's portrait of an anti-imperialist Milton whose poetic world-building in *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained* "clearly depicts empire building as an outgrowth of acquisitive sin and pride" (42).

Daniel O'Quinn presents an interesting case in Charlotte Smith's poetry as constituting "unworlding" and "worlding." His essay, "Charlotte Smith's Littoral Zones: Worldmaking in the *Elegiac Sonnets* and Beyond," reads as original, intriguing, and nearly persuasive, as he interprets the movement from Smith's poems of the 1780s to her late work (including the posthumously published "Beachy Head") as representing her abandonment of the national pre-Revolutionary (American) War identity, her repudiation of the older British literary tradition, her deep dive into poetry as "a *techne* or act of making that has epistemic connotations" (83), and her visionary imagining of a new world evolving out of the old--quite a bit of weight to place on these poems. O'Quinn's "poetical-critical diction" (if that's a neologism, I'll assume responsibility) works against rather than in favor of his ingenious readings. Tossing terms like "the Imaginary," "a problematic" (Lacanian and Althusserian lingo, respectively) without linking them concretely to his argument muddies rather than clarifies the analysis, while the irritating overuse of two words, "riparian" ("on the banks of a river," *OED*) and "littoral" ("shoreline," 71), runs the opposite risk of flattening any finer complexities into bland biscuit. Smith's personal life experiences

account for much of the melancholic, elegiac tone that runs throughout her poetry. But there is certainly something more than mere subjectivity going on, and this chapter offers some intriguing possibilities that Smith scholars will certainly wish to recognize, acknowledge, and perhaps adapt.

Chris Barrett, in "The Tree and The World," offers a much less flashy, deeply humane, humanly modest, approach to worldmaking. Bereft of the hyper-ego-inflation afflicting all too many critical projects, she checks at the door any personal pretentions she might be suspected of; rather, in an authorial voice that matches the firm commitment of her content matter, she champions "an affective practice that unfolds a transcendent, cosmic inclusivity" (97). The basis for these utopian claims subsists in botanical phenomenon—particularly trees. She discovers a worldmaking in older texts such as Cavendish's poetry, Ralph Austen's *A Dialogue ... between the Husbandman and Fruit-Trees* (1676), William Lawson's revised *A New Orchard and Garden* (1638), and Aemilia Lanyer's (founding country-house poem) "The Description of Cooke-ham"—while observing the nuanced difference amongst them—"a worldmaking poiesis that does not assume the inevitability of violence or the availability of beings to exploitation" (103). If her final postulate, "at the center of that made world is the tree" (103), may glance backward in time to the Trees of Life and Good and Evil in Genesis, I'd like to think that it simultaneously looks forward to a future, one not unreal and possibly attainable, worlding *Another Green World*.

Mita Choudhury's "Imperial Cosmopolitanism and the Structure of Global-Domestic Space in Enlightenment Britain" proclaims its thesis pretty early on: "I argue that the sustainability of high culture, its products and processes, its power to acquire objects and exhibit them, relies upon one consistently stable factor: the emergent imperial economy of cosmopolitanism in eighteenth-century Britain" (106). She endeavors to support this, somewhat incoherently, by appealing to evidence gathered from the British Museum, the National Portrait Gallery (UK), and Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill home (hence, "Domestic Space"). In "Indigeneity Overlooked: Indigenous Technologies and Criollo Worldmaking in *Infortunios de Alonso Ramírez* (1690)," Matthew Goldmark successfully uses *Infortunios*—an account of a round-the-world sea trip that rivals *Gulliver* and *Crusoe* in terms of exotic adventures—to elaborate upon two major claims: 1) a consideration of how a *criollo* (designating a Spaniard born in the New World: Ramirez was born in Puerto Rico) identity has traditionally shaped scholarly exegesis of *Infortunios*; and 2) a reconsideration of *Infortunios* as a more cosmopolitan context. That these distinctions pivot upon a plate of beans and corn tortillas exemplifies at once Greenblattian thickness and Levi-Straussian bricolage silently undergirding some of the components of this astute account.

Su Fang Nb's "William Dampier's 'Sagacious' Worldmaking" applies "Worldmaking's" theoretic compass to the adventurer/pirate/would-be naturalist's travelogue, *A New Voyage Round the World* (1697). Basing the chapter's argument upon the early groundwork of Nelson Goodman's *Ways of Worldmaking* (1978), Ng finds that Dampier's once famous book (parodied by Swift in *Gulliver*) demonstrates Goodman's contention that worldmaking "is a remaking" (183). In "Speaking in Voices: The South

African Poetry of Thomas Pringle," Jennifer L. Hargrave continues her (apparently ongoing) project of recuperating white Westerners' complicity "in perpetuating imperial ideology and supporting colonial governance" (238). Here she applies her revisionist oculars to William Pringle, a Scottish poet, abolitionist, writer and editor, finding that his writings had "a galvanizing effect on the anti-slavery movement" (254). (Compare her "Robert Morrison and the Dialogic Representation of Imperial China" in *Oriental Networks: Culture, Commerce, and Communication in the Long Eighteenth Century*, ed. by Bärbel Czennia and Greg Clingham [2021].)

Felicity Nussbaum's "Colonial Intimacies: Indian Ayahs, British Mothers" focuses upon the relationships between British women in India and their native female servants, or more specifically, nannies (ayahs), as examples of worlding (based upon Gyatri Spivak's typically obscurantist definitional deployment: "a making into art, a making into an object to be understood" [quoted 144]). Examining works of fiction and family portraits, Nussbaum claims that these members of the non-white underclass created their own "worlding," seizing personal identity and resisting erasure of their agency. In "Crusoe's Goat Umbrella," Chi-ming Yang places her critical gaze upon Defoe's most famous novel, examining archival records of goat lore and umbrella technologies. Identifying worlding in *Robinson Crusoe's* attentiveness to goat herding and the making of such commonplace objects as umbrellas, Yang memorably concludes with gnomic allegory: "Robinson Crusoe's accounting of animal-object lives is more than profit driven; the island media are testaments to the centuries-long impact of white fragility and its discontents. Goats chew through time, umbrellas equip resistance movements" (233).

"Worldmaking" is not untypical of a collection by various hands. Some chapters are quite good, others rather forgettable. Inevitably, some contents are shoved into sleeves that hardly admit their presence. Nevertheless, this is significant effort. Future deployments might query what the significance of worldmaking, literary or realistic, is in the age of Trump and Putin, in a period of melting glaciers and burning forests, in a landscape of racial hatred and polarized politics? What role does the notion of world breaking or worldmaking play today, in 2023, and the years that await us? Answers to these questions are hopefully forthcoming soon. David Mazella memorably poses the question, but he doesn't wait for a reply.

A. W. Lee
Arkansas Tech University

Back issues of *1650-1850* Posted with Open Access on WWW

Dear Members of the Long Eighteenth-Century Community,

As many of you know, the journal that I edit along with Book Review Editor Samara Cahill, *1650-1850: Ideas, Aesthetics, and Inquiries in the Early Modern Era*, has been published for the last five years (from volume 24 onwards) by the Bucknell University Press. Both Samara and I continue to delight in our affiliation with BUP, which has wonderfully

improved our design and distribution while preserving the character of an annual journal that is now heading into its fourth decade.

The Bucknell UP issues—24 through the forthcoming 29—are easily accessible to those with proficiency in electronic research, which amounts to 99.9999% of our academic population. However, the vast archive of material in volumes 1 through 23, published during the AMS Press era, has recently been accessible only to those with access to research libraries or to a robust interlibrary loan system.

I am delighted to announce that this de facto embargo is now over and that the digital department of my university library, the LSU Digital Commons, has mounted those first twenty-three volumes on its public-access web site. Every article and every review from nearly two dozen early volumes has been individually digitized and put on open access. To reach these materials, navigate to https: // digitalcommons. su.edu /sixteenfifty/. This will open a master menu for the first twenty-three volumes. Click on the volume of your choice, whereupon you will proceed to a menu of articles and reviews in that volume. That volume-level menu will allow you to click to a PDF copy of your desired essay or your desired review (or to a properly formatted citation of same).

Of course, we are still going strong! So do be sure to read the current and upcoming BUP volumes of the journal, too! Best Wishes,

Kevin L. Cope
Editor, *1650-1850*

Editor's Note: We thank Trent Dunkin, the hard-working IT employee at LSU Libraries who completed this big digitization project. If Mr. Dunkin is looking for a similar but greater challenge, we hope he will consider the *ECCB: Eighteenth Century Current Bibliography*, which IT at LSU helped compile over several decades for Kevin and before him Jim Springer Borck.

ASECS and Publication Ethics

News from Maureen E. Mulvihill (ASECS, 1982 -)

Greetings, all. Here's important news of an administrative flashpoint for ASECS: In a signed letter to me of June 9, 2023, ASESC outgoing president, Wendy Roworth, stated that the ASECS Executive Board, at its 2023 annual meeting, "has undertaken or will undertake …new actions" (four actions), prompted by my 2022 Proposal for Ethical Guidelines for ASECS Publication Editors (*cf*., Committee on Publication Ethics: COPE online). Those four actions are:

--*SECC* editors will publish author guidelines on the ASECS website;

--*ECS* guidelines have been updated for transparency, now available on the JHUP site;

--Board members of both publications can now be engaged in conflict resolution; and

--ASECS shall consider membership in the COPE community of ethically minded publishers;

--And now a fifth action, owing to my advocacy: A professional video presentation on the ASECS site (Resources) of its ombuds's services to writers (heretofore, a mere 1-line reference).

This fresh attention to editorial standards and conduct seeks to resolve disputes between writers and ASECS publication editors; it also sets a precedent for an organizationally approved process for such disputes by holding publication editors ethically accountable to professional standards of integrity and correct behavior. Some version of this news will eventually be included on the ASECS website and, certainly, in my detailed announcement this autumn on selected list-servs.

All that we achieve is collaborative. My Proposal was expertly managed by Attorney Nyree Gray, outgoing 2021 ASECS ombuds, whose proactive response to my Complaint document (2021, 3 pp.) overturned the negative response of then ASECS adjudicators. And Benita Blessing, ASECS Executive Director, recognized the utility of my Proposal and circulated it to the 2023 ASESC Board. For my part, I received tactical counsel from Paula Krebs, MLA Director; several senior ASECS colleagues; legal specialists; and COPE-associated journal and website editors (e.g., *The Literary Encyclopedia*, UK, see Publication Ethics link).

This entire action was set in motion by the mismanagement of two of my submissions by outgoing *ECS* editors, Seán Moore and Jennifer Thorn. I responded to this (perceived) injustice in a constructive spirit, finally netting affirmative results. I did this primarily for ASECS writers who, heretofore, had limited knowledge and direction on these matters. With recourse now to the COPE ethical guidelines for publication editors, writers can take their disputes to the ASECS ombuds with more confidence and procedural grounding.

Owing to my initiative: Writers and their submissions should now receive a higher standard of ethical management; writers will now have an established process in editorial disputes; and publication editors will now proceed with more care, sensitivity, and transparency.

EC/ASECS 2023 Conference at William & Mary, 12-15 October

As we near the opening of the "Colonial/Capital" conference at the College of William and Mary and in Williamsburg, Virginia, your humble conference organizer is delighted by the prospect. The number of EC/ASECS first-timers on the program and the breadth of topics represented therein are heartening. We also express our deep gratitude to our local sponsors and funders: the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, the Office of the Dean of the Faculty of Arts & Sciences, the Department of English, and the Special Collections Research Center.

We will open on Thursday evening (10/12/23) with the organization's customary poetry recitation on the first night, the "Oral/Aural Experience," at Strangeways Brewing, a taproom near the conference hotel, the Fairfield Inn & Suites Williamsburg.

Friday (10/13/23) on the William and Mary campus — St. George Tucker Hall, to be exact — we will have an "opening plenary" at 8:30 a.m. focusing on the Black and indigenous pasts that inhabit Williamsburg and

W&M. Panels will start at 10:00 a.m. and run through 4:30 p.m. After an open house and reception at the Special Collections Research Center at W&M's Swem Library, the keynote address will be by Julie Park, Paterno Family Librarian for Literature and Affiliate Professor of English at Penn State University. Prof. Park's newest book (just out) is *My Dark Room: Spaces of the Inner Self in Eighteenth-Century England* (Chicago, 2023). She is also the author of *The Self and It: Novel Objects in Eighteenth-Century England* (Stanford, 2009) and a model for how to synthesize literary history, material culture, and librarianship.

Saturday (10/14/23) we will return to Tucker Hall for panels starting at 8:30 a.m and running through 11:45 a.m. There will also be a campus walkthrough led by W&M's Lemon Project, which focuses on the institution's relationships with African diasporic peoples. Our annual business meeting, awards presentation, and lunch will feature Prof. Greg Clingham's presidential address, "'My miserable trifles': Lady Anne Lindsay Barnard's Watercolors at the Cape of Good Hope, 1797-1802." The program will culminate in a "closing plenary" on teaching the 18th century now that will convene at 2:30 pm.

Brett Wilson (bdwils@wm.edu)
College of William and Mary
Organizer, 2023 EC/ASECS Conference

News of Members and Announcements

The *Intelligencer* will be printed on paper for only another year: Jim May's **last printed issue** will be that for spring 2024; the fall 2024 will be distributed as a PDF. The change is motivated by the climate catastrophe, the increasing cost of postage, the decrease in our membership, and the belief that finding a successor will be easier if the distribution is via email. Beginning next year the newsletter will need a technical or production editor, someone with the computer skills to edit Adobe and illustrate texts.

During the summer, after serving us for a half year beyond his second three-year term, **Peter Staffel** stepped down as Executive Secretary, a position combining CEO, treasurer, and membership secretary. He was succeeded by **Kevin L. Cope**, still Professor of English at Louisiana State U. but anticipating retirement next year. Kevin has been a member for over two decades, attending many EC meetings, but he has been the principal leader of the South-Central SECS during those years, ensuring that the South-Central's conferences--usually at lovely hotels--have been fun. That service plus years as LSU's faculty senate president and decades editing *1650-1850* and the *ECCB* provide Kevin with good financial sense and organizational skills. Dues can be paid online, as via the conference website; or members can send their check to Kevin L. Cope, 9 Tamarack Trail, Camden, Maine, 04843. Kevin reminds members that dues are $25 for regular members, $40 for couples or families, $15 for students, and $250 for a lifetime membership. In his recently posting on dues, Kevin wrote: "I take this opportunity to thank, applaud, celebrate, and otherwise venerate Peter for his many, nay, countless years of service to ECASECS. I venture

that no one in the history of long eighteenth-century studies has brought so much wit, verve, and jovially easygoing competence to the high office of Executive Secretary. While fearing that we will never again see his like, I rejoice in expecting that Peter's sparkling genius will continue to animate us for decades. Thank you, Peter."

Barbara Benedict's "Toxic Love: Gender and Genre in Frances Sheridan's *Memoirs of Miss Sidney Bidulph*" appears in the April *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* (35.2). Barbara argues that in Sheridan's novel "all the major characters experience relationships poisoned by conflicting loyalties and interests--in familial bonds, homosocial friendships between pairs of both men and women, and heterosexual affairs." She searches for emotional dysfunction related to sensibility and sentimentalism within same-sex and heterosexual unions and argues that the novel criticizes anti-feminist conventions of conduct fiction. Barbara published "'Playing with her Bracelets and Rings': Jewelry, Character, and Objectification in Jane Austen's Novels" within the 2022 volume of *Persuasions*. Here too we find among a grouping on *Sense and Sensibility* from the 2022 AGM **Peter Sabor**'s "Less Sense, More Sensibility: Isabelle de Montolieu's *Raison et sensibilité* (1815)." **Lisa Berglund** will be staying on for an extra year as chair of English at Buffalo State. She is now VP / President-elect of the Dictionary Society of North America, a six-year term, and in January begins a three-year term on the Executive Council of the MLA's Associated Departments of English. Welcome to **Charlee Bezilla**, who took her Ph.D. at Maryland and now teaches French at George Washington. Charlee serves on the MLA Delegate Assembly for the Mid Atlantic. She's writing a book on hybridity in the works of late 18C French writers and natural historians. She recently reviewed *Eighteenth-Century Environmental Humanities*, ed. by Jeremy Chow, in *ECF*. Also joining us at the fall EC/ASECS for the first time is **Betsy Bolton**, the Alexander Griswold Cummins Profess of English at Swarthmore, who took her Ph.D. in Comp Lit from Yale. Betsy's current teaching stresses values leading to sustainability and the care of the planet. Another in English at Swarthmore is also coming: **Natalie Mera Ford,** who with a doctorate from the U. of York has taught English in England, France and Denmark. Natalie often works on the intersection of psychology and 19C literature. **Toni Bowers** has begun her last year at Penn before retiring ("exciting! And it's the right time too"). We're also happy to welcome **Michael Carhart** (History, Old Dominion) among those speaking at William & Mary. Michael is the author of *Leibnitz Discovers Asia: Social Networking in the Republic of Letters* (JHUP, 2019). In July Bucknell UP reissued in paperback **Tita Chico**'s *Designing Women: The Dressing Room in 18C English Literature and Culture* (2005). Tita reviewed Jess Keiser's *Nervous Fictions: Literary Form and the Enlightenment Origins of Neuroscience* in the Winter 2023 *Configurations*. **Greg Clingham**'s "The Archives of Lady Anne Barnard, 1750-1825" is in *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature,* 40 (2021): 373-85.

Kevin Cope and **Bärbel Czennia** moved from hurricane-prone Louisiana to Maine, only to confront hurricane Lee, the first to threaten Maine in many years. **Michael Edson** co-edited with Bridget Keegan a special issue of *Eighteenth-Century Life* on "William Falconer, Sailor Poet" (April 2023)--it is reviewed by **Robert Walker** above (48ff.), with

Michael's essay "Rescaling Falconer's *The Shipwreck*: Time, Labor, and the Problem of Immersion" examined in great detail. The volume also contains **Suvir Kaul**'s "*Britannia* and the Weight of Empires Past: The Instance of Falconer's *The Shipwreck,*" a version of which was the EC/ASECS plenary address at Winterthur. Michael's "Satire as Gossip: Lady Anne Hamilton's *The Epics of the Ton*" appears in *British Women Satirists in the Long 18C*, edited by Amanda Hiner and Elizabeth Tasker Davis (CUP, 2022). Other contributors to the volume are **Martha Bowden** ("Jane Collier's Satirical Fable . . . *Art of Ingeniously Tormenting*"), **Susan Carlile** ("Charlotte Lennox, Satirical Poetry, and the Rise of Participatory Democracy"), **Marilyn Francus** ("Hiding in Plain Sight: Frances Burney as Satiric Novelist"); and **Catherine Ingrassia** ("Women's Satires of the Literary Marketplace in 18C England"). Our new member **Tamia Haygood**, ABD in History and a TA at William & Mary, will this October present to us her research on "Clandestine Economies among Fugitive Enslaved and Servant Women in 19C Pennsylvania" (Friday afternoon's panel on slavery & race chaired by **Linda Merians**). After teaching history in public schools and as an adjunct at Appalachian State Univ., Tamia took a second M.A. while working as an editorial intern at the Omohundro Institute in 2019-20. Congratulations to **Cassidy Holahan**, who began the school year as an Assistant Professor at UNLV. We thank **Melanie Holm** for her lengthy and interesting syllabus to an upper-level course on Wit in 18C literature. Melanie is still one of the three senior editors of *The Scriblerian*--no small undertaking for a mother of young children. (*Scriblerian* has a call for outstanding review in mid October; so presumably a double-issue vol. 56 will go to press by year's end.) Melanie is working on a book entitled "The Skeptical Imagination: Gender, Genre, and Sociability in 18C Fiction." I'm delighted to find **Catherine Jaffe** on an EC/ASECS program. Catherine's books include *Society Women and Enlightened Charity in Spain* (2022), *The Routledge Companion to the Hispanic Enlightenment* (2020) and *Eve's Enlightenment: Women's Experience in Spain and Spanish America, 1726-1839* (2009). Catherine is co-editing an essay collection on the Black Legend and serving on the advisory boards of *Dieciocho* and *Oxford University Studies in the Enlightenment*. **A. W. Lee** reviewed **Richard Sher**'s edition of *The Correspondence of James Bowell and Sir William Forbes of Pitsligo* in the Spring 2023 *ECS*. **Devoney Looser**'s book *Sister Novelists* is reviewed above by **Sylvia Marks**. Devoney tells us on her website that research on the book was funded in 2018 with a Guggenheim fellowship and then too with an award from the N.E.H.

Sylvia Kasey Marks published "Arthur Miller and Shakepearean Forgery" in the Spring 2023 issue of *The Arthur Miller Journal* (18.1:14-26). The article discusses Miller's radio play (1939) about the 18C British forger of Shakespeare, William Henry Ireland, and what Miller says about authorship and the implication of such for Miller's own work as a mature playwright. Welcome to **Sarah Marsh**, an Associate Professor who is the Director of DE&I Curriculum Development in Liberal Arts at Seton Hill U. Her interests include medical humanities, law & literature, race & slavery in the western Atlantic, and the novel. Aided by a Penick Fellowship at the Smithsonian Institution Libraries, Sarah is working on a book entitled "Novel Constitutions: Bodies of Law and Fictions of Race, 1688-1818."

Linda Merians should finally feel retired when she travels this month with colleagues **Lisa Rosner, Gene Hammond** et al. to Athen, Crete, and Linda's beloved village of Kardamyli. Linda, **Greg Clingham, Kevin Cope**, and **Eleanor Shevlin** have been considering whether and how to get EC/ASECS set up officially as a tax-exempt organization (there are fees); luckily for us, Eleanor's sister, Elizabeth D. Roberts, who's a member of the PA and NJ bars, has experience setting up nonprofits and is offering advice. **Jim May** has been working up a Scribleriana Transferred for *The Scriblerian* that focuses on the two superbly annotated catalogues by Christopher Edwards of the late Roger Lonsdale's books from 1640-1740, the literature that Lonsdale studied and then showcased in his *New Oxford Book of 18C English Verse* (1984) and his *18C Women Poets* (1989), anthologies that impacted academic studies. Reading Defoe of late, Jim would insert a shout-out for the very fine edition of *Colonel Jack* by **Geoffrey Sill** and Gabriel Cervantes for Broadview (2016) and for the impressive commentary on the novels embedded in **Maximillian E. Novak**'s 2001 aptly-titled biography *Daniel Defoe, Master of Fiction*. **Thomas Salem Morganaro** (English, U of Richmond), shared the Walker Cowen Prize for the best book in 18C studies (2022) for his *Against Better Judgment: Irrational Action and Literary Invention in the Long 18C* (U. of Virginia Press). There is a glowing review of the book by Anne M. Thell in the June issue of *Review of English Studies*, praising it as "laser focused and philosophically intensive" as it moves from 17C philosophical or psychological discussions to fiction by Defoe and Sterne, to Johnson and Rousseau, and concluding with Keats and Wordsworth. On **Maureen E. Mulvihill**, see her note above on "ASECS and Publication Ethics."

Melvyn New is editing the novel *The Correspondents* for Anthem Press after setting out to write an article arguing the epistolary novel was written by George Lyttelton and his daughter-in-law Apphia Peach (after Peach was abandoned by Lyttelton's son and was living near Lyttelton). Mel this year published "Last Words: The Conclusions of *Amelia* and *Sir Charles Grandison*" in *Philological Quarterly* and "Samuel Richardson, Ford Madox Ford, and How to End a Novel" in *Essays in Criticism*. Also, he and Bob Walker published "Boswell, Addison's *Cato*, and the 'Minute Philosopher'" in *Theatre Notebooks*. A collection of thirteen previously published essays by Mel is due out in November from U. of Florida Press. And he has forthcoming in *The Age of Johnson* a long review essay on John Guillory's *Professing Criticism: Essays on the Organization of Literary Study* (Chicago, 2022), which contains some of Mel's twilight reflections on what has led to a decline in English literary studies. Guillory and Mel both think the pursuit of relevance has been a mistake: they would see more stress on the otherness of past authors and cultures and the cultivation of an educated imagination prone to pursue perennial ontological questions akin to those confronted by religions. Also, Mel agrees with Guillory that we need "to restore public venues of evaluation as a counterweight to anonymity [in publishing and tenure decisions]. It is difficult to see how this intention can be realized, however, without reengaging with the practice of reviewing." After decades as book-review editor of *The Scriblerian*, acquired by Penn State U. Press a couple years ago, Mel would like to see colleagues volunteer to edit and write reviews for the journal. The CUP

edition of Richardson's *The History of Sir Charles Grandison*, edited by Mel with Derek Taylor and Elizabeth Kraft (2022) is reviewed in the June issue of *RES*. Reviewer Rebecca Anne Barr notes the edition, "surely . . . definitive," is elegantly printed in three volumes with a fourth volume containing "the editors' excellent explanatory notes [and] . . . illuminating paratextual elements," such as engravings, Richardson's index to the novel, and his pamphlet protesting the Irish piracy of the novel.

Steve Newman, whose edition of Ramsay's *The Gentle Shepherd* is reviewed above, is serving as Temple's Director of Graduate Studies in English. Steve has begun work on a book with the working title "Time for the Humanities: Competing Narratives of Value from the Scottish Enlightenment to the 21C Academy," with early chapters devoted to Adam Smith, Robert Burns, Joanna Baillie, and Walter Scott; later chapters will track values of the earlier writers into the disciplines of the modern university. Steve is also beginning work on a Digital Humanities site on *The Beggar's Opera* (he's taught a course on Gay's comedy and its legacy). We welcome **John O'Brien** to the Society. John teaches Restoration & 18C Lit and also Early American at the U. of Virginia. John's projects include a book ("Dark Matter") about poetry published in 18C serials--his subject at the Williamsburg meeting--and on a digital anthology of verse in English. **Leah Orr** spent the summer in England on a fellowship at Keele University, where she collaborated with Nicholas Seager, Head of its School of English--Seager recently edited for Cambridge the *Correspondence of Daniel Defoe*, to be reviewed here in March. Leah reviewed Melissa Mowry's *Collective Understanding, Radicalism, and Literary History, 1645-1742* (2021) in July's *ECF*. **Chelsea Phillips** published "Accommodations for Pregnancy and Childbirth on the Late 18C London Stage" in the spring *ECS* (56.3). Last year she published *Carrying All Before Her: Celebrity Pregnancy and the London Stage, 1689-1800* (Delaware UP, 2022). That book is available for $34.95 in paperback, and also available as an ebook. It's the third volume in the Performing Celebrity series edited by **Laura Engels**. **Luis Ramos**, an Asso. Prof. at NYU with a PhD from Berkeley, will speak to us in Williamsburg on religion, politics, and literature in Colonial Mexico. Luis is writing a book on "how exiled Jesuits from New Spain crafted a patriotic vocabulary that foresaw the emergence of a new concept of sovereignity rooted in the experience of Catholic and multiracial societies."

This summer appeared volume 38 of *Swift Studies*, edited by **Hermann Real** and Kirsten Juhas. We foretold the contents in the March *Intelligencer,* but I would here praise production editor Janika Bischof for the superb illustrations in "Jonathan Swift's Relics: A Preliminary Checklist," in which Mary Stratton Ryan describes and locates Swift's stuff (watch, writing materials, furniture, death mask, etc). **Albert Rivero** is revising his Norton Critical Edition of *Moll Flanders* (2004) for the publisher. **Laura Rosenthal** continues to edit *Restoration* at Maryland (subscriptions are $35 p.a.). **Olivia Sabee** speaks at Williamsburg on "Noverre in America: *The Whims of Galatea*." She has published on Jean-Georges Noverre's *Les Lettres sur la danse et sur les ballets* previously. Olivia, with a Ph.D. in French from Johns Hopkins University and years of experience as a choreographer, chairs the Dance Dept at Swarthmore. She researches the dissemination and reception of early modern dance literature

as well as early modern dance theory, the subject of her *Theories of Ballet in the Age of the Encyclopédie*. Last year she published in *French Studies* "The *Rat de l'Opéra* and the Social Imaginary of Labour: Dance in July Monarchy Popular Culture." **J.T. Scanlan** continues to be the book-review editor for *The Age of Johnson*, whose 25th volume will soon go from Editors John and **Jack Lynch** to Bucknell UP. John is chairing the South-Central SECS's 2024 meeting. We're pleased to welcome **Joshua B. Tuttle** of Penn State, who'll speak at Williamsburg on Smollett's *Ferdinand Count Fathom* as a gothic story. Joshua is writing a dissertation entitled "Excavating the Castle: Toward a New Historiography of the Gothic." Joshua researches the early 19C critical discussions of Gothic that have escaped modern notice. He recently published "Dancing in the Ruins: Toward an Affect-Narratology of the Spooky" in the *Journal for the Fantastic in the Arts*, in which he defines a "spooky" vein in horror literature that is distinct in form and affect from fear and terror. **Robert Walker** in the spring published "History and Literary Genres in Mid-18C Britain: Or, the Strange and Fascinating Case of Joshua Dudley" in *Studies in Philology* (120.2: 371-89). Forthcoming are his "The Dynamics of Authorial Forgetting: The Case of James Robertson" (of York) in *Eighteenth-Century Life*, and his "Milking Sterne's Subscription Lists, and Extrapolations Therefrom" in *The Library*. His article with Duncan Samuel, entitled "Between the Sheets: Documenting Thomas Cumming, Johnson's 'Fighting Quaker,'" is forthcoming in *1650-1850*. The March *Notes and Queries* contains Bob's "Pursuing the Identities of Sterne's Subscribers down Genealogy's Garden Path," and he placed another note on subscribers in *N&Q*, "The Liverpool Library as Laurence Sterne Subscriber,"added to the digital pre-publication file in August. It concerns the library's founding at the home of William Everard c. 1757 and acquisitions such as the 1769 subscription. **Juliette Wells**'s "Music and Gender in Kirke Mechem's *Pride & Prejudice* (2019) and Jonathan Dove's *Mansfield Park* (2011)" appears in *Women and Music in the Age of Austen*, edited by Linda Zionkowski and Miriam Hart. It's in Bucknell's Transits series--as is Ann Campbell, *Families of the Heart: Surrogate Relations in the 18C British Novel* (2023; [ix] + 165), for which we need a reviewer--its five chapters treat *Moll Flanders* and *Roxana; Pamela; Sir Charles Grandison*, Haywood's *Betsy Thoughtless* and *Jemmy and Jenny Jessamy*; and Burney's *Evelina* and *Cecilia*.

We once again thank **Brett Wilson** for stepping up in fall 2022 to chair our 2023 meeting and putting together on short notice a full and interesting program, with institutional support. There are about 70 people on the program! This service comes while Brett is chairing William & Mary's English Dept. Brett received some important assistance in the CFP and conference website from **Eleanor Shevlin,** who put to work her considerable experience organizing conferences. See Brett's invitation to the meeting above. I am struck by all the new members attending the conference and by the unusually wide range of papers--for instance, we've finally a session on "New Spain." Quite a few participants are from William & Mary, as the four on an opening panel ("Williamsburg's Uncommon Ground"): **Danielle Moretti-Langholtz** and **Sean Devlin** discuss the Brafferton Indian School and **Terry Meyers** and **Nicole Brown**, the Bray School. The former involves the early 18C education of native Americans at

the College, aided by funding from the rents of "Brafferton" Manor in Yorkshire, and, after many years overcoming the fears of Indians to enroll sons, leading to construction of a school in 1823. (Moretti-Lengholtz curated an exhibition on the school for the Muscarelle Museum of Art in 2016-17.) The latter school was the first for black children in America, in which children were taught on campus from 1760-1774. Lost for a time, the Bray school building was located two years ago: it had been moved and joined to another building. In February the building was trucked to Colonial Williamsburg's historic district. This should be a fascinating session.

Colonial Williamsburg's art museums though January 2025 have mounted the exhibition "'I Made This': . . . The Work of **Black American Artists and Artisans**," on 18C-20C material culture: "Objects from both decorative arts and folk art collections will be displayed . . . contrasting the aesthetics and designs of men and women from different times, places, and backgrounds."

Historians of 18C Art & Architecture (HECAA) meet in Boston on 12-15 October. The **Canadian SECS** meets 18-21 October at U. Concordia in Montreal, with the theme "Matters and Materials of Life, 1660-1820."

The **Jane Austen Society of North America**'s AGM occurs 3-5 Nov. 2023 in Denver, with the theme "*Pride and Prejudice*: A Rocky Romance," chaired by Heather McVoy (jasnadenver2023agm@gmail.com). The 2024 meeting will be in Cleveland on 18-20 October with the theme "Austen, Annotated: Jane Austen's Literary, Political, and Cultural Origins"--Co-Coordinators Jennifer Weinbrecht and Amy Patterson for that AGM already have good webpages up and a gmail account. JASNA's website is impressive. It offers with open access the annual journal *Persuasions*.

On 16 January 2024, 6:30 p.m. (in Wales?), Andrea Immel, curator of the Cotsen Children's Library, will give a zoom lecture to the Aberystwyth Bibliographical Group on compiling ***The House of Newbery:*** *A Descriptive Catalog of the Collection at the Cotsen* and how it changed her approach to describing books. To watch, ask David Stoker for a link (das@aber.ac.uk).

The **Western SECS** meets on 16-17 February at the Univ. of San Francisco with the theme "18C Futures," chaired by Omar Miranda. The 50th **SEASECS** will occur 29 Feb-2 March at Furman U. in Greenville, SC, with the theme "Ties that Bind: Reflections on the Past and Future of 18C Studies." Accommodations are at the Hampton Inn in Traveler's Rest. Contact organizer Nathan Brown at nathan.brown@ furman.edu. **ASECS** meets on 4-7 April 2024 in Toronto. The 2024 **SCSECS**, with the theme "The Book & the City," occurs in Portland, OR, on 1-2 March at the Heathman Hotel, chaired by J. T. (John) Scanlan (English, Providence College): hambone@providence.edu The 2025 meeting will be chaired by Martha Lawler at LSU--Shreveport. The **18C Scottish Studies Society** (ECSSS) will meet with the Institute for the Study of Scottish Philosophy at the Princeton Theological Seminar, 30 May-2 June, with the theme "Crisis, Continuity, and Change in 18C Scotland."

The UK **Aphra Behn Society** meets 2-4 July 2024 at the U. of Kent--Canterbury. Proposals were due 1 April 2023! Our Behn Society's February newsletter notes that the Canterbury Commemoration Society raising funds for a statue of Behn had raised £50,000 and was only £7000 short of what was needed. (Donate at www.cantcommsoc.co.uk.)

Rare Books at U. of Illinois is moving into a repurposed undergrad library along with two other special collections. Separate special collection libraries may serve new administrative goals. Vanderbilt is moving its special collections to a handsome older stone building (1101 19th Ave.), which supposedly will make the collection "more accessible to faculty researchers." They may aid fundraising, and they create space in the old buildings for new priorities. Technology and commons spaces attractive to students are driving library design. N.C. at Raleigh moved out two floors of stacks for "areas for study, academic support, and technology immersion."

Most essays in the 2023 ***Studies in 18C Culture*** (ed. by David Brewer and Crystal Lake) do not treat canonical literature, but four are introduced by M. Griffin and D. O'Shaughnessy with "*The Deserted Village* at 250" and another grouping concerns "Biography and the Women Writer Revisited."

The July issue (80.3) of ***The William and Mary Quarterly***, published by the Omohundro Institute of Early American History & Culture is focused on colonizing, with an intro by Allison Games on "The Ideology of English Colonization: From Ireland to America Fifty Years Later" (an essay treats Cuba and another, "Indian Slavery in Spanish Louisiana"). The April issue on Indigenous and African peoples begins with Camilla Townsend's essay "Introducing New Work in Early America and Colonial Latin America."

November 15th is the next application deadline for ASECS's **A. C. Elias, Irish-American Research Fellowship,** awarding up to $2500 to support "documentary scholarship on Ireland in the period between the Treaty of Limerick (1691) and the Act of Union (1800), by enabling North American-based scholars to travel to Ireland and Irish-based scholars to travel to North America" for research. For more details, see the ASECS's or Marsh's Library's webpages or read pp. 56-57 of the March *Intelligencer*.

Princeton UP published Daisy Hay's ***Dinner with Joseph Johnson****: Books and Friendship in a Revolutionary Age* (Nov. 2022; 536 pp; $32 on Amazon), treating the London publisher's circle, including such guests as Mary Wollstonecraft, Thomas Paine, and Joseph Priestley. *Publisher's Weekly* remarks, "Hay's is a fascinating take on the intellectual and political development of the time." *Wall Street Journal* praises it as "enthralling and intricately researched"; *The Guardian* notes it is "meticulously researched."

In "**A New Latin Poem by Joseph Addison**," in the June issue of *Review of English Studies* (74: 502-17), Paul Davis provides the text and contexts of the addition to Addison's canon of a 57-line hexameter poem entitled *Arcus Triumphalis*, on the fireworks celebration of William III's return to London after signing the Peace of Ryswick, 2 Dec. 1697 (the unique MS was acquired by Addison's alma mater, Magdalen College).

In "**Edmund Curll and Family**" (*Notes and Queries,* 69.4 [2022], 305-07) Allison Muri and Pat Rogers have shared newly discovered documentation on Curll, his two wives, and his only son. They have found that Curll was christened on 22 July 1683 in London's St. Giles in the Fields parish, son of Henry and Grace Curll; Edmund was the youngest child, with four brothers and two sisters. As a member of the Cordwainers Company, he took as apprentices Richard Francklin in May 1711 and William Hulett in Aug. 1717. Also of special note is that Curll's first bride, Anne Rowell of Kingston upon Thams (b. 25 Oct. 1669), was the daughter of a schoolmaster Thomas Rowell and the brother of Oxford-educated Thomas (1670-1718)

who translated a Latin meditation by John Gerhard that Curll published as *The Christian's Support* in 1709 (republished 1715 and 1739).

Open Book Publishers has published--as ever with free downloading from the WWW--*Cheap Print and Street Literature of the Long 18C*, edited with introduction by David Atkinson and Steve Roud, with contributions by such experts as Iain Beavan (Scottish chapbooks, 1740-1820), Sheila O'Connell (on pictorial prints), David Stoker (song sheets), Barry McKay (on Soulby chapbooks of Penrith), and three by Atkinson including "Charles and Sarah Bates and the Transition from Black-Letter." OBP carefully prepares and promotes quality scholarship. Consider submitting MSS there.

Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America's March issue (117.1)--initiating a new typographical design--offers the interesting roundtable "Collecting and Preserving **Colonial Latin American** Materials Today: A Roundtable, moderated by Alex Hidalgo and Corinna Zeltsman.

The 2022 British Library journal *eBLJ* has content pages with very full summaries unlike those of the previous years. Besides Robert Hume's London Stage article discussed here in March (76), the 2022 volume includes Alison Walker's "Sir Hans Sloane's Books: Seventy Years of Research" [Sloane's books, c. 4500, were dispersed in the British Museum and some sold off as duplicates in 1787-1820; this project has produced a virtual reconstruction of his library. See www.bl.uk/ catalogues/Sloane/]. For our period, the 2021 *eBLJ* offers P. J. M. Marks's "Consul Joseph Smith's Gold-Toothed Leather Bookbindings" (Smith, d. 1770, Venetian consul, bibliophile and bookdealer), and Kate Loveman's "Hans Sloane, Samuel Pepys, and the Evidence of a Lost Pepys Library Catalogue." The 2019 *eBLJ* includes Stephen Bernard's "The Bibliographical History of *The Spectator*" [1712-2016]. Rob Hume recommends the journal for anyone with an essay in MS longer than those print journals are willing to publish.

Winterthur Portfolio: A Journal of American Material Culture welcomes MSS on the material world in the Americas--including those that explore theory and pedagogy. A digital version takes video content. MSS in print format should be at least 8000 words and may contain up to 20-25 images, preferably in color (reasonable costs for illustrations in accepted MSS are reimbursed). Contact Executive Editor Catharine Dann Roeber (croeber@winterthur.org) or Managing Editor Gary Albert (galber@ winterthur.org). The main article in Winter 2022 concerns Mark Catesby.

This fall the **Library Company of Philadelphia** has many free lectures that can be attended virtually advertised on its calendar, including: on Wed. 18 Oct at 7-8:30 pm: Christopher Lobby on "Queering the Early American Novel: Charles Brockden Brown's *Memoirs of Stephen Calvert*"; on 19 Oct., 7-8:00 p.m., in the digital Fireside Chat series, Michael Verney on "A Great and Rising Nation: Naval Exploration and Global Empire in the Early U.S. Republic"; 20 Oct, 1:30 p.m., "Prints of a New Kind: Political Caricature in the U.S., 1789-1828" by Allison Stagg; and 25 Oct, 1 p.m., "The Complexities of Phillis Wheatley's Portrait" by Jennifer Chuong.

Cover illustration: Dr. Johnson's House, 17 Gough Square. Watercolour by an unknown artist, c. 1850. Courtesy of the Dr. Johnson House Trust.

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