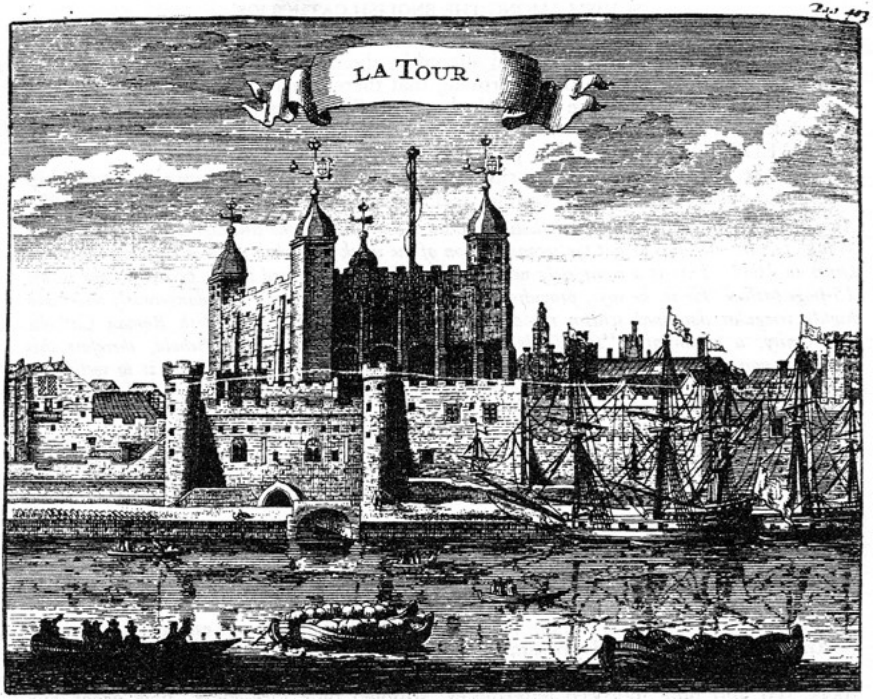
LA TOUR.

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# LOSING ONE'S SURNAME: THE ATTERBURY PLOT OF 1722 AND THE EVIDENCE OF "THE TOUR"

(*GULLIVER'S TRAVELS*, III, VI, 13)

Hermann J. Real

If I go fast in reading now,
too much of it goes away.
Philip Roth, *The Humbling*

On 9 October 1722, after his return to Dublin from a five-week summer visit at rural Loughgall Manor near Armagh, the country estate of Robert Cope (*c*.1679-*c*.1753),[1] the Dean of St Patrick's sent a somewhat belated letter to his host and friend of long standing[2] not only to thank him for his hospitality but also to put him in the picture about recent political developments, both at home and abroad, since his departure from the north of Ireland. Among the "Strange revolutions" ostensibly foremost in Swift's mind was the arrest, on 24 August, of a long-time friend and political ally, Dr Francis Atterbury (1662-1732), the Bishop of Rochester, who, on the initiative of Prime Minister Sir Robert Walpole had been seized, interrogated, and committed to the Tower "for treason,"[3] the alleged complicity in another of those interminable and ever abortive Jacobite plots to invade England and Scotland since the Glorious Revolution.[4] Indeed, when thanking a correspondent, John Percival, first Earl of Egmont (1683-1748), for "the information" in a letter of October 1722, George Berkeley, the future Bishop of Cloyne, agreed that this latest attempt was "an affair that holds us all in suspense, everyone longing to see the event and know [the Bishop's] accomplices."[5] Berkeley did not have to wait long to satisfy his curiosity. Although the evidence was too flimsy to prosecute Atterbury in a law court, the House of Lords debated, and passed after three readings, a bill of pains and penalties,[6] the Bishop was deprived, banished, and transported to France in the following summer, spending the remainder of his years in exile.[7]

We do not know for certain whether Swift was aware of Atterbury's involvement in the plot of 1722,[8] nor do we know whether any such knowledge would have affected his feelings of friendship for the Bishop either way. It is a fact, however, that in the following years Swift would regularly remember, and with regret, too, his friend's banishment and exile in his reading and correspondence.[9] These fond recollections climaxed in 1725 when after a break in the composition necessitated by his engagement in the Wood's Halfpence affair he had finally embarked on the Third Book of *Gulliver's Travels.*[10]

At the end of his tour of the Grand Academy of Lagado, Swift makes Gulliver visit "the School of political Projectors," where, in conversation with "Professors … wholly out of their Senses,"[11] Gulliver is invited to amuse himself surrounded by a cascade of "extravagant and irrational" schemes,

among them, discourses on coups d'état, plots, and conspiracies as well as the methods conducive to their discovery (pp. 189-91 [III, vi, 4-12]). At one stage, a more and more self-complacent and patronizing Gulliver is given the chance, paradoxically so, to contribute to the 'enlightenment' of the Lagadan sages "with some Additions" of his own, perceiving their information "not altogether compleat" (p. 190 [III, vi, 11]). This leads to a *tour d'horizon*, in fact, a satirical panorama, of the manifold secret activities going on among "the Natives" in Gulliver's own country, "the Kingdom of *Tribnia*," or Britain (p. 191 [III, vi, 12]), which concludes with a demonstration of two of the most effective methods of cracking conspiratorial cryptography, "Acrosticks, and Anagrams" (p. 191 [III, vi, 13]). With these, the Tribnian code breakers claim to be able to achieve two things: "*Firs*t, they can decypher all initial Letters into political Meanings: Thus, *N*, shall signify a Plot; *B*, a Regiment of Horse; *L*, a Fleet at Sea. Or, *secondly*, by transposing the Letters of the Alphabet, in any suspected Paper, they can lay open the deepest Designs of a discontented Party." Illustrating the general rule by way of example, they then continue: "If I should say in a Letter to a Friend, *Our Brother* Tom *has just got the Piles*; a Man of Skill in this Art would discover how the same Letters which compose that Sentence, may be analysed into the following Words; *Resist, —— a Plot is brought home —— The Tour*" (pp. 191-92 [III, vi, 13]). Although Swift's annotators have cracked with some success several of these (and earlier) enigmatic codes,[12] they still are at loggerheads about the meaning of *The Tour*, most certainly a signature and presumably the plot leader's code name. Who, then, is *The Tour*?

One group of the Dean's exegetes have endorsed the explanation first put forward by Arthur E. Case in 1938, remarkably, without evidence, but even so, the most popular one: "*La Tour* was a pseudonym adopted by Bolingbroke while he was exiled in France as a Jacobite conspirator."[13] Others, who have accepted the assumption that *The Tour* is "someone's signature," think that "a far more probable candidate" is James Edward Stuart, "the Pretender himself,"[14] a reading which does not seem to have found favour with many Swift scholars, however. Still others have tried to solve the riddle by simply rewriting the text: "Resist – a plot is brought home – the tour."[15]

The origin of Bolingbroke's association with *The Tour* lies in a letter his Lordship, like Atterbury an avowed Jacobite if only for a while,[16] wrote to Swift's good friend and confidant Charles Ford in January 1722, at the latter's Dublin address, in which he invited Ford to spend time at his Château de La Source near Orleans[17] in case Ford was planning another journey to the Continent.[18] The autograph of Bolingbroke's January 1722 letter came up for sale in 1897 but does not seem to have been printed before 1935 when David Nichol Smith included it in his edition of Swift's letters to Ford. Within the text, Bolingbroke indeed refers to himself as "your humble servant La Tour," and in its coda, he signs himself: "Adieu Dear S$^{r}$. no man living is more faithfully or more affectionately yours than La Tour."[19] Given the chronology

of publications, it is not surprising that, by 1938, Arthur E. Case had not yet taken note of this passage, and it is not surprising either that subsequent annotators have preferred to identify *The Tour* / *La Tour* with Bolingbroke. But then, there is more than meets the eye.

For one thing, it is good advice to bear in mind that in the *Travels* Swift uses the *English* variant rather than the French; it is this name whose peculiarity needs to be explained. For another, there is no gender congruence between La Tour and Bolingbroke, the signifier (La Tour) not being grammatically identical with the signified (Bolingbroke).[20] Finally, the overarching context in which *The Tour* / *La Tour* is situated is Atterbury's Plot, not any of Bolingbroke's meandering manoeuvres which made him join the Pretender as Secretary of State in 1715 and a year later abandon James Edward Stuart and Jacobitism for good.[21] By the time Swift embarked on his *Travels*, Bolingbroke was back in England, having received a royal pardon.

For an alternative account, I propose, two aspects should be brought together at this stage: first, *The Tour* is a variant phonetic spelling, common in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, of *The Tower* (OED, s.v.),[22] the place of Atterbury's imprisonment; although semantically identical with French *La Tour*, this does *not* signify Bolingbroke-La Tour. (See the cover illustration.[23]) Second, Swift unwittingly provided an interpretative key for the passage earlier in 1711, noting in *Thoughts on Various Subjects*: "WHEN a Man is made a spiritual Peer, he loses his Sirname; when a temporal, his Christian Name."[24] In other words, on the death of his elder brother Lionel in August 1703, for example, the Hon. Charles Boyle proceeded to the title, thus becoming Earl of Orrery, or Lord Orrery, and losing his Christian name.[25] Analogously, Robert Harley "(as he then was called)" became Lord Oxford when created Earl of Oxford on 23 May 1711, losing his Christian name.[26] By contrast, Archbishop William King, when writing to Swift in, say, January 1705 and on numerous other occasions later, would sign himself "W: Dublin," or "W:D," for short, the surname, King, being replaced by the geography of the See.[27] In like manner, the Bishops of Kildare and Raphoe, Welbore Ellis and Thomas Lindsay, would make sure to include their current geographical locations in their codas, "W Kildare" and "Tho: Raphoe," respectively.[28] While in office, Atterbury as Bishop of Rochester used the signature "Francis Roffen.," Roffensis being the Latin for Rochester.[29] However, by August 1723, Atterbury had not only been deprived of the bishopric of Rochester, he was also a prisoner in another location, the Tower of London. *The Tour*, then, is Atterbury, a cipher for, or the geographical synecdoche of, an erstwhile bishop of the Anglican Church, who happened to be, we recall, a former friend of the Dean of St Patrick's, Dublin. At this stage, a new question is bound to emerge, of course: Why did Swift 'put Atterbury in' rather than somebody else from among the crew of his co-conspirators – Lords Cowper and Orrery as well as Philip, Duke of Wharton[30] – in a signal equally secretive and veiled as *The Tour*? The answer, or one answer, probably is that Swift knew, or thought he

knew, about Atterbury's involvement in the plot which historians have named after him.[31]

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## Notes

1. In addition to *The Poems of Jonathan Swift*, ed. Harold Williams, 2nd ed., 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), I, 320-22, see Joseph McMinn, *Jonathan's Travels: Swift and Ireland* (Belfast: Appletree Press, 1994), pp. 89-91.

2. See *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift*, ed. David Woolley, 4 vols (Frankfurt on Main: Peter Lang, 1999-2007), II, 431-34 and n; see also II, 333-35 and n. Swift had probably met Cope in 1711 (*Journal to Stella*, ed. Harold Williams, 2 vols [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948], I, 189n4).

3. *Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, II, 431 and nn1, 5; see also J. H. Plumb, *Sir Robert Walpole: The King's Minister* (London: The Cresset Press, 1960), pp. 45-49.

4. See, in addition to Charles Rivington, *"Tyrant": The Story of John Barber, 1675 to 1741, Jacobite Lord Mayor of London and Printer and Friend to Dr. Swift* (York: William Sessions, 1989), pp. 100-5, Daniel Szechi, *Jacobitism and Tory Politics, 1710-14* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1984), and G. V. Bennett, *The Tory Crisis in Church and State, 1688-1730: The Career of Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), pp. 205-22.

5. *The Correspondence of George Berkeley*, ed. Marc A. Hight (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 180, 614.

6. The Bill received the Royal Assent on 27 May 1723 (*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, II, 460n10); but the parliamentary debate was initiated as early as March (*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, II, 496n11). Atterbury justified himself, with customary passion and eloquence, in his speech to the Lords on 11 May 1723, emphatically declaring his innocence (*The Speech of Francis, Late Lord Bishop of Rochester, at the Bar of the House of Lords, on Saturday, the 11th of May, 1723, in His Defence against the Bill then Depending for Inflicting Pains and Penalties upon Him* [London: A. Moore, 1723], p. 14).

7. For the details, see, in addition to Bennett, *The Tory Crisis in Church and State, 1688-1730: The Career of Francis Atterbury,* pp. 223-41, 242-57, 258-75, Bertrand A. Goldgar, *Walpole and the Wits: The Relation of Politics to Literature, 1722-1742* (Lincoln, Nebraska: U. of Nebraska Press, 1976), pp. 28-32, and Julian Hoppitt, *A Land of Liberty? England, 1689-1727* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), pp. 410-12. See also *Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, II, 455 and n8, 459 and n10, 471n5, 576 and n7.

8. Ian Higgins, *Swift's Politics: A Study in Disaffection* (Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 1994), pp. 16-17.

9. *Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, II, 468-69, 576 and n7; see also Emily H. Patterson, "Swift's Marginal Allusions to the Atterbury Case," *Anglia*, 92 (1974), 395-97.

10. Irvin Ehrenpreis, *Swift, the Man, his Works, and the Age, III: Dean Swift* (London: Methuen, 1983), pp. 442-44.

11. Quotations follow the text as constituted by Herbert Davis in his edition of *Gulliver's Travels* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1965 [1941]), III, vi, 1-14 (=*Prose Works*, XI, 187-92, 311-12) and will be given in parentheses. This part of the Travels suffered particularly badly from the incisions of the Revd Andrew Tooke for the Motte editions (Michael Treadwell, "Benjamin Motte, Andrew Tooke and *Gulliver's Travels*," *Proceedings of the first Münster Symposium on Jonathan Swift*, eds Hermann J. Real and Heinz J. Vienken [Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1985], pp. 287-304; see also *Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, IV, 56 and n3, 50 and n8).

12. See, in particular, Edward Rosenheim, Jr, "Swift and the Atterbury Case," *The Augustan Milieu: Essays Presented to Louis A. Landa*, eds Henry Knight Miller, Eric Rothstein, and G. S. Rousseau (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), pp. 174-204.

13. *Gulliver's Travels*, ed. Arthur E. Case (New York: Ronald Press, 1938), p. 206; endorsed in *Gulliver's Travels*, ed. Robert DeMaria, Jr (London: Penguin, 2001), p. 289; *Gulliver's Travels*, eds Claude Rawson and Ian Higgins (Oxford: Oxford U. Press, 2008), p. 333; *Gulliver's Travels*, ed. David Womersley (Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 2012) p.284n41, and *Gulliver's Travels*, ed. Allan Ingram (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview, 2012), p. 246n4. To be fair, all these editors after Case draw not on the 1938 commentary but on a later essay incorporated in the author's *Four Essays on "Gulliver's Travels"* in which he does provide a contemporary, if partly misleading, reference ([Princeton: Princeton U. Press, 1945], pp. 91-92, 132n20).

14. Rosenheim, Jr, "Swift and the Atterbury Case," p. 198.

15. *Gulliver's Travels and Other Writings*, ed. Clement Hawes (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2004), p. 194.

16. See H. T. Dickinson, *Bolingbroke* (London: Constable, 1970), pp. 134-53.

17. For La Source, see Sheila Radice, "Bolingbroke in France," *Notes and Queries*, 177 (1939), 309-10; and Rex A. Barrell, *Bolingbroke and France* (Lanham, MD: U. Press of America, 1988), pp. 14-19.

18. *Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, II, 456n7.

19. *The Letters of Jonathan Swift to Charles Ford*, ed. David Nichol Smith (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1935), pp. 235-36. We do not know why Bolingbroke chose the pseudonym La Tour, but it is perhaps worth noting that a Cardinal de Bouillon, by the name of Emmanuel Théodore de la Tour (1645-1715), belonged to his entourage in 1711/12 (*The Unpublished Letters of Henry St John, first Viscount Bolingbroke*, ed. Adrian Lashmore-Davies, 5 vols [London: Pickering & Chatto, 2013], II, 89n9, 340n20, V, 23 and n1).

20. A point rightly made by Case in *Four Essays on "Gulliver's Travels"*, even though his solution is unconvincing (pp. 91-92).

21. Dickinson, *Bolingbroke*, pp. 137-53.

22. This solution was first suggested by Rosenheim ("Swift and the Atterbury Case," p. 199) and was vigorously endorsed by Ehrenpreis in a marginal note, in pencil, in his own copy of the Davis edition of *Gulliver's Travels* ([Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1959], p. 192), now at the Ehrenpreis Centre, Westfälische Wilhelms-

Universität, Münster (EC 389). Rejecting the Case interpretation of La Tour as "Bolingbroke's pseudonym," Ehrenpreis writes, "No, as Rosenheim shows, 'tour' & 'tower' were sounded alike, he means the Tower of London."

23. See this fine engraved view of La Tour in the classic account of the French traveller Henri Misson de Valbourg, *Mémoires et observations faites par in voyageur en Angleterre … avec un description particulière de ce qui'l y a de plus curieux dans Londres* (The Hague: Hendrik van Bulderen, 1698), s.v.

24. *A Tale of a Tub, with Other Early Works, 1696-1707*, ed. Herbert Davis (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1965 [1939]), p. 243.

[25]. G.E.C., *The Complete Peerage*, X, 178-80.

[26]. *Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, I, 350 and n3, 491 and n1.

[27]. *Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, I, 158, 167, 177, 178, and *passim.*

[28]. See *Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, I, 537, 551, and, most impressively, I, 289.

[29]. See *The Epistolary Correspondence, Visitation Charges, Speeches, and Miscellanies of the Right Reverend Francis Atterbury, D.D., Lord Bishop of Rochester: With Historical Notes*, ed. John Nichols (London: J. Nichols, 1783), I, 33, 37, 39, 41, and *passim*.

[30]. Eveline Cruickshanks, "Lord Cowper, Lord Orrery, the Duke of Wharton, and Jacobitism," *Albion*, 26, no 1 (1994), 27-40.

[31]. I am deeply grateful to Dr Kirsten Juhas, my collaborator at the Ehrenpreis Centre, for finding time to read this essay with her usual critical acumen and benevolence, a heavy workload notwithstanding, as well as to Dr Janika Bischof and Ulrich (Uli to his friends) Elkmann for all kinds of electronic and bibliographical support.

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## ***Robinson Crusoe*** **and the Canon**

Melvyn New

The back page of *TLS* is always both perceptive and entertaining, but in the August 2, 2019 issue, its perceptiveness is also frightening. Bemoaning what might be called the "updated Index," J.C. writes:

> Is it ok? Not everything is these days. Joe Cain, Professor of History and Philosophy of Biology at University College London, has decided it is not ok for a lecture theatre at the university to be named after Francis Galton (1822-1911). His name is "linked with racist, misogynist and hierarchical ideologies", and virtuous Professor Cain refuses to teach there.
>
> Is it ok to read Vladimir Nabokov? The editor in chief at Jonathan Cape, Dan Franklin, has said that he would not publish *Lolita* now. Is it ok to admire T. S. Eliot"? ("My house is a decayed house, / And the Jew squats on the window sill", etc.) Ezra Pound? How could you, after reading his view that

"Adolf" was "clear on the bacillus of kikism"? Is it ok to read Philip Larkin, racist and pornographer? William Faulkner? Oh boy. The phrase "trigger warning" might have been coined to protect the young against *Absalom, Absalom.* Is it ok to read William Burroughs, pursuer of "boys" in Tangiers? What about Chester Himes, the fourth corner of the Ellison-Wright-Baldwin quadrangle? An article in the *LRB* [*London Review of Books*] last year offered more detail than you needed to know about how he beat his women black and blue.

It is not ok to like Norman Mailer. Don't even ask about Henry Miller. The question of whether it's ok to read John Updike was addressed in these pages recently by Claire Lowdon (it is) who, in the course of the article, also cast forgiving glances in the direction of Bellow, Roth and other big male beasts.

As an eighteenth-century scholar one might take comfort in believing that our literature, whether ok or not, is not being read by anyone nowadays outside of academic classrooms (where attendance is shrinking exponentially), but, alas, the occasion of *Robinson Crusoe*'s three hundredth anniversary called for a definite "NOT ok" in, where else, the *Guardian*, April 19, 2019. In a bold headline, Charles Boyle declared: "Why it's time to let go of this colonial fairytale." His thesis, beginning with asserting that Selkirk is the presumed model for Crusoe, is that the book "was a prospectus for potential investors," Defoe's proposal for a slave trading venture to be situated at the mouth of the Orinoco. Even more devastating to Boyle's sensibilities is that the novel celebrates imperialism (certainly in the eyes of those reading it in the nineteenth century): "this triumphalist habit of thinking was challenged in the 1970s and 80s by critical theory, which argued that literary works cannot be independent of the social and political conditions of their making, and that they propagate the assumptions of dominant status groups." Failing to consider that anyone publishing today in the *Guardian* will be propagating "assumptions" of a dominant status group and hence as liable to censure 300 years from now as Defoe is today, Boyle places all the blame on those who still like to read books: "outside the academy there is still a vague belief that literature is, in some moral if not medicinal way, good for you."

Reciting all the racism, sexism, and imperialism of *Robinson Crusoe*, Boyle informs us that his argument is not with Defoe, nor with the novel itself, "which is just dull: there's not much of a story and the writing is pedestrian," but with the way it has been used to "underpin the white male entitlement that is still evident" in modern Britain. Robinson serves as a role model for all the ills of that society.

Given that the most recent critical voices cited are Robert Lewis Stevenson, Walter de la Mare, and E. M. Forster, we could dismiss Boyle's screed as philistine ignorance masquerading as moral indignation, but doing so would ignore the enormous damage to literature entailed by his approach, which is the target, to be sure, of J.C.'s parodic listing of what is ok and what

is not ok. Any literate parent who has examined the "readers" their children bring home today will have encountered the problem first-hand: when we remove all the not ok's from our reading we are left with writings, whether for six- or sixteen-year-olds, that are in fact absolutely "dull" and "pedestrian." Such readings do indeed discourage young readers from ever opening another book. And when this censorship (to call it what it is) continues deep into the course of one's education, one can expect what has indeed been the result, a steep decline of a literate readership. It is not merely the dwindling number of majors in the Humanities, or the fact that, with changes in curriculum, those who remain are primarily women reading books by women, but rather that we are losing the most important value that the concept of literary canonization conveys, namely that our own perspective is always severely limited by our own time and place—by our certainties, which may well become, as continually suggested by contact with the past, the lunacies of our own age in the eyes of those observing us after three more centuries have passed.

Every complaint made by Boyle against *Crusoe* can be made about *The Iliad, The Odyssey,* and *The Aeneid.* The attitude toward women in Chaucer and Boccaccio is appalling; Shakespeare's bawdry is offensive, his political support of Elizabeth deeply suspect, his portrayal of Osric alone sufficient cause to ban *Hamlet* from the curriculum. In brief, without repeating or further augmenting J.C.'s list, Boyle's notion that literature should conform to his moral certainties is precisely and absolutely what reading should have taught him is the most immoral of all cultural activities: censorship, or, at the extreme he seems to be encouraging, just burning all the books that, in his highly enlightened moral state, he finds immoral. This has certainly been tried before by those who were certain of their moral position, never very successfully because literature has always been able to turn certainties into questions. This is, I would argue, literature's overriding function--whether one writes for sixth graders or retired seniors, or all those in between who have been taught by books—to demonstrate to us that the perennial questions being raised are always more important than the tentative answers that might be provided.

As an eighteenth-century scholar, I took particular umbrage, of course, at Boyle's crusade against *Crusoe*, but I fear many colleagues today would nod in agreement with him, finding reinforced justification for replacing Defoe with Behn in their curriculums. As an octogenarian I am not au courant with the present-day situation (although it would be ageism to accuse me of such ignorance), but I would ask those now teaching whether the size of professional organizations in the Humanities, beginning with ASECS, has grown or shrunk in the last fifty years (and keep in mind that the number of students in higher education has doubled in that period); whether more literature (and period) courses are being taught now than thirty years ago, or whether they are being abandoned in favor of film and cultural studies courses—to the point where some departments are changing their name from English Department to Cultural Studies; whether the number of males and

females in their literature classes has remained evenly split as it was in the 1970s, or whether the major now appeals overwhelmingly to women; and, finally, whether they are doing research on an actual literary subject, or rather on a topic far more accurately categorized as socio-economics or politico-sociology?

Without doubt I prefer Swift's and Pope's satirical writings, not to mention *Tristram Shandy* and *Rasselas* to *Robinson Crusoe*, but that says everything about my own peculiarities, nothing about the works themselves. As a classroom instructor for more than forty years, I would have felt absolutely incompetent were I not able to encourage my students to weigh Defoe equally with those other canonized authors and to point them enthusiastically to what separates a work like *Robinson Crusoe* or *Roxana* from fiction not worth their equal time. Whether we can ever satisfactorily define a "great" book, I will leave others to decide, but I am convinced that when Defoe is read alongside Swift, Sterne, and Johnson, he does not suffer in the comparison, while several hundred other eighteenth-century authors cannot survive the proximity, whatever relevance they might have to this year's concerns and certainties. We might begin with trying to understand what has been most admired by those who have assured Defoe's presence in the canon for the past 300 years; surely, they were not merely bigoted dolts, victimized by blind cultural subservience, but readers just as intelligent (and moral) as you and I believe ourselves to be. Sitting in judgment on the received literary canon as our sole occupation can only end by substituting for 300 years our own present moment as a more valid test of literary achievement. The logic of the situation alone suggests that the distance between those honored for years and those added because our decade demands it will be so galling as to indicate to students that we are not teaching literature but our own moral certainties; I believe even undergraduates know when they are not receiving the gold of their discipline but rather the pyrite.

We have posited all sorts of reasons for the decline of students in the humanities as outlined above, almost all of them having to do with economics and STEM, as if in past decades students did not think about earning a living, or that science and engineering did not exist in that remote time. I would suggest, however, that the fault is better laid at our own feet, most especially in our careless assent to the foolish musings of Charles Boyle and so many of his ilk, who prefer to be celebrated for their unexamined moral certainties (in this, they resemble no group more than the followers of Franklin Graham and Jerry Falwell) than for any thoughtful engagement with the literary tradition we have inherited. It would certainly behoove us, as lecturers in eighteenth-century literature, perhaps the least inviting reading for modern students, to reexamine what it means to teach Defoe or Pope, Richardson or Thomson, beginning with an understanding that we are not really prepared, nor is it our task, to hand out an ok or imprimatur (they do amount to the same thing), which is a function of duration rather than timeliness, and beyond any single

generation's capacity or mandate. At best, we can cautiously measure our values (moral and aesthetic) against those of the past, and we can, again most cautiously, make a case for adding to the received canon, keeping in mind that canons, in an age when reading eighteenth-century literature is almost solely a classroom occupation, are not expandable. If a title is added, a title is deleted, the number of hours we have to teach the canon remaining equal—or more probably diminishing, as departments that once had two or three or even four eighteenth-century specialists, now have one, and her time will be divided between eighteenth-century literature and Romantic literature courses. Succinctly, *Robinson Crusoe* has been considered a work of literary genius for 300 years; what will they think of us 300 years from now for having stopped teaching it? Since neither you nor I can possibly know the answer to that question, it seems to be much like Pascal's wager. If the received canon can be ignored without consequence (by those empowered to pass it on), so much the better; but if it turns out that the canon is all that stands between us and an eternal separation from past literary genius, we have condemned our progeny to a bleak life indeed.

University of Florida, emeritus

## Some Eighteenth-Century Chinese Views of Europe

By Brijraj Singh

Knowing less than nothing about Chinese views of Europe in the eighteenth century and wishing to dispel my ignorance, I went to see a small but fascinating exhibition entitled "A Complete Map of the World: The Eighteenth-Century Convergence of China and Europe" at the Asia Society of New York shortly before the show closed in early May (The Society is at 725 Park Avenue, near 70th St. crossing). What follows is not a review—I know too little about the subject to review it—but rather an account of what I saw, supplemented greatly with the informative and exhaustive notes that accompanied the exhibits, and I offer it in the hope that it might interest some readers who missed the show.

European contacts with China date from Roman times if not earlier, and Marco Polo traveled there in the 13th century. But it was only with the arrival in Macau of the Jesuits led by Matteo Ricci in 1582 that serious intellectual collaboration began. His knowledge of astronomy and geography made him welcome to the Forbidden City, and in 1602 he produced, with the help of Chinese associates, a *mappa mundi*, or map of the world, showing all the continents except Australia and providing such information about the world as was known at the time. This led, in turn, to Liang Zhou's *Universal Map of Myriad Countries of the World* in the seventeenth century, Ching Lunjiong's *General Map of the 4 Seas* (c. 1730), and finally to the main item of the exhibition, Ma Junliang's *Complete Map of the World (based on) Astronomy* (c. *1780-90).*

Ma, born in south eastern China, was a civil servant and cartographer of the Qing dynasty. His map is a large square print from a woodblock and depicts China in great detail. It shows Beijing, the location of the Forbidden City within it, various Chinese regions which are delineated with bold outlines, and smaller subdivisions which are indicated by circles and diamonds. Nor does Ma ignore geographical features. Mountains are shown by small peak-shaped images, rivers and other large bodies of water are pictured as little ripples, and deserts are represented by a series of dots. The map also contains overland trade routes, and shows sections of the Great Wall. Above the map on both sides are written the names of different Chinese regions as well as smaller subdivisions, and on the map itself are inscribed various details, to read which clearly the museum had thoughtfully supplied a number of magnifying glasses. I was able to appreciate the artistry with which the Chinese characters were integrated into the map, but alas, I cannot read the script.

The remarkable detail with which China is depicted is not the only distinguishing feature of the map. At each of the corners above the main map is a large circle. The one on the right contains a map of the western hemisphere, while the one on the left contains the eastern. The representation of the western hemisphere is a highly simplified version of Ricci's 1602 *mappa mundi.* Ricci had shown five continents; Ma shows only a section of Asia to the west of China, a rather elongated and somewhat inaccurately drawn South America placed to the east of Asia, and a little bit of Antarctica. More interesting is the circle containing the eastern hemisphere. China is placed at the center here and various parts of Asia over which the Qing dynasty had extended its sway, such as parts of Mongolia and other areas in central Asia, Burma, and Vietnam, are also shown. This whole landmass is surrounded by the seas on all sides.

The exhibition also had a few pieces of glass to go along with the map. China had mastered glass making by the 6th century BC; but though its interest in glass rose and ebbed by turns, by the 18th century it had not mastered fine glass making as it had the making of porcelain, which became greatly appreciated and desired in Europe and led eventually to the porcelain works of Dresden. Therefore when in 1595 Ricci presented two glass prisms to officials of the Ming dynasty, great interest in European glass making was aroused. Venetian glass became much coveted during the Ming dynasty; later on, in the Qing dynasty emperors sought European missionaries to teach the Chinese to make European style glass. The Qing emperor ordered the setting up of several workshops, one devoted solely to glass making, under the leadership of skilled Jesuit craftsmen. The glass workshop was headed by Kilian Stumpf; later it was to be led by French Jesuits.

If the Chinese were keen to learn about European glassmaking, the Europeans were equally keen to ensure the success of these workshops where they could grind glass for their scientific instruments and learn the secrets of Chinese glass by collaborating with Chinese workmen. Together, they developed the overlay technique of which one splendid example, made around 1755, was on show in the exhibition. On a perfectly shaped vase standing a little over a foot high and nearly six inches wide, red glass was overlaid on white and then carved, presumably while still in a semi-molten state, with abrasive tools. The imagery represents the story of the Three Visits to the Thatched Cottage for Talent: three heroes, including Liu Bei,

a model for leaders, make three trips to Zuge Luang to recruit him to revitalize the declining Han dynasty. The story may refer obliquely to a need felt by many for the revival of China's fortunes in the late 18th century. One of the trips was made during a snowfall, and the white glass has little specks suggestive of snowflakes. The piece shows how the Jesuits, instead of trying to impose their own worldview on the Chinese, collaborated profitably with them, using Western techniques to depict Chinese myths and producing, in the process, a masterpiece.

Europeans introduced more than fine glassmaking techniques to China. They also introduced snuff. Snuff came to China in the sixteenth century. The trouble was that the containers in which it was sent from Europe were not weatherproof and in the Chinese climate the snuff lost its potency and pungency. This imposed a demand upon Chinese glass makers for small bottles to store snuff, and they responded enthusiastically, designing small containers in a variety of shapes and styles. The exhibition had a few instances of snuff bottles made, not of glass but of copper, and enameled over with pictures of Europeans: these containers were presumably meant to be given to Europeans as gifts, or, in other cases, European personages were painted on in order to indicate the origin of the snuff. How Europeans are portrayed was a matter I found fascinating. One depicts a couple against the backdrop of the sea with a ship in the distance; their eyes are black, their hair a golden red, the man's clothes are European while the woman's are an indeterminate combination of the European and traditional Chinese, and their features neither quite European nor quite Chinese. In another, showing a woman and a child, the woman's hair is arranged in a European style, and her gestures seem European too, but her eyes are black (though round rather than slanted), and her features belong exclusively neither to one nor the other race. The child has a chubby face and seems to be wearing a wig. In a third a rather corpulent man in a Western style robe and black shoes but wearing a broad hat that might well be Chinese and below which golden ringlets are falling is being attended by a kneeling half naked boy (a *putto?)* draped in a single piece of cloth. Again, the facial types of the two, with sharp, pointed noses and rounded chins, would be impossible to categorize as either totally Western or totally Chinese. Clearly the snuff bottles challenged 18th century Chinese artists to portray Europeans realistically, and in this they came up short, though their skill in making the bottles was outstanding.

In the latter years of the eighteenth century the collaborative endeavors of Jesuit and Chinese glassmakers, and the syncretic spirit that the Jesuits showed, as for example in the red overlay vase discussed above where European art is used to express a Chinese legend for a possibly political purpose, or in other works (not in the exhibition) that suggested a possible coexistence of Catholicism and Confucianism, brought on attacks by Franciscans and Dominicans. The Qing dynasty, too, relegated the Jesuits from being scholars who were also expert craftsmen to being merely craftsmen who had expert skills. After the pope disbanded the Jesuit order in 1773, the fruitful cooperation between the Europeans and Chinese that had produced the fine art and maps on display in the exhibition declined if it did not end. It was to be replaced by a different relationship between China and the West in the nineteenth century. But that is a different story, and not

within the purview of an account of a small exhibition about the convergence of China and the West in the eighteenth century.

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## Pedagogue's Post

**Note**: We are pleased to offer two syllabi: First, "Jane Austen" from Albert J. Rivero, English Department, Marquette University; and then "The Long Eighteenth Century" from Sharon Harrow, English Department, Shippensburg University of Pennsylvania. Some sections such as headings with contact info and academic integrity regulations have been cut. We thank both professors.

### Jane Austen (English 4611), Spring 2019

Professor Albert J. Rivero, Marquette University

**Required Texts**: *Northanger Abbey* (Norton)
*Sense and Sensibility* (Norton)
*Pride and Prejudice* (Norton)
*Mansfield Park* (Norton)
*Emma* (Norton)
*Persuasion* (Norton)

**Calendar with assigned activities**:

| | |
|---|---|
| Tues., Jan. 15: | Introduction |
| Jan. 17, 22, 24, 29: | *Northanger Abbey* |
| Tues., Jan. 29: | *Northanger Abbey*/*Sense and Sensibility* |
| Jan. 31, Feb. 5, 7: | *Sense and Sensibility* |
| Feb. 12: | TBA |
| Feb. 19, 21,26, 28: | *Pride and Prejudice* |
| Tues., Mar. 6: | **Midterm Examination** |
| Thur., Mar. 8: | TBA |

March 9-18: No classes: Spring Break
Mar. 19, 21, 26, 28: *Mansfield Park*
Apr. 2, 4, 9, 11: *Emma*
Tues., Apr. 16: *Persuasion*
Thur., Apr. 19: No Classes: Easter Break
Apr. 23, 25, 30: *Persuasion*
Tues., Apr. 30: *Persuasion* **Essay Due**
Thur., May 2: Review
Friday, May 10, 1:00-3:00 PM: **Final Examination**:

**Course Requirements**:
1) midterm examination;
2) one oral presentation;
3) one essay (10 pp.), on a topic of *your* choice, researched, with full documentation of secondary sources (at least 5 sources: see "Research Policy" below);
4) comprehensive final examination;
5) class participation and attendance.

**Failure to complete any of these requirements will result in a final grade of **"F"** for the course.**

**Final Grade (%)**: Midterm Examination (25%)
Essay (30%)
Final Examination (30%)
Class Participation, includes oral report (15%)

**Late Essay Policy:** Essays are due by 3 p.m. on Tuesday, April 30, 2019. Please submit a paper copy to my mailbox (Marquette Hall, first floor). Essays submitted after the due date and time will receive a grade of 'F'. In other words, late essays will not receive a passing grade. Essays that miraculously appear under my office door do not exist.

**Attendance Policy**: As stipulated by Marquette's undergraduate attendance policy [link to Marquette's Bulletin omitted here] you are expected to show up, *on time*, for every class. Students are allowed a total of four absences in this course (excused or unexcused). Any student exceeding the allowable number of absences will be Withdrawn for Excessive Absences (WA) by the withdrawal deadline of April 12, 2019. If a student exceeds the number of allowable absences after this deadline, the final grade for the course will be lowered half a letter grade per absence above the allowable number (e.g., your final grade is a 'C'; you've been absent five times; your final grade will drop to a 'C-' and so on). It is *your* responsibility to keep track of your absences. There is no exception to this policy.

**Policy on the Use of Electronic Devices:** Because of the distractions they cause—to you, to me, and to your classmates—please refrain from using electronic devices in our classroom. So, before class starts, please turn off and put away your phones, tablets, laptops, and similar devices. I apologize in advance if you are used to taking notes electronically, but, to have a productive class environment, I need everyone to pay full attention. Recent research (click on links below) strongly suggests that taking notes by hand rather than electronically improves conceptual understanding. If I catch you texting, checking your mail or engaging in any other online activity, I'll ask you to leave immediately and count you absent for the day. [Four links to websites of NPR, etc. have been cut from this reproduction of the syllabus.]

**Research Policy**: In addition to consulting such online databases as JSTOR, research means going to the library and consulting books, journals, and other paper sources. For your research convenience, I have placed several books on reserve at Raynor. Internet sites such as Wikipedia may be consulted but should be treated with extreme caution, as most of them are not professionally vetted. If you need any further explanation of this policy, please don't hesitate to ask. [We have skipped over the sections following on "Academic Integrity Policy" at Marquette, followed by its "Honor Pledge" and "Student Obligations under the Honors Code]

**Learning Objectives for English 4611: Jane Austen:** Upon completion of this course, students will be able to:
1) analyze Austen's novels in their historical, dramatic, and literary contexts, using the techniques of literary criticism;
2) fashion (both orally and in written form) convincing interpretive arguments that apply literary critical methods, acknowledge alternative interpretations, defend their conclusions with logical reasoning, and support them with textual evidence;
3) discuss how their perceptions of themselves and of their social, cultural, and political environments are shaped by literary language and by language itself.

## The Long Eighteenth Century: Pedagogical Notes, Syllabus, and Assignments

Professor Sharon Harrow, Shippensburg University of Pennsylvania

**Pedagogical Notes**: As we all know, there is never enough time to teach all of the texts we would like to include in an English course on "The Long Eighteenth Century. In mine, I have often taught Aphra Behn's *Oroonoko*, either alone or paired with *Middle Passage*, Charles Johnson's dizzying,

brilliant novel that engages Enlightenment philosophy in the context of the slave trade. I have also taught David Liss' *A Conspiracy of Paper*, which pairs well with *The Beggar's Opera*, selections from *The Newgate Calendar*, and my work on heavyweight Champion of England, Daniel Mendoza. Teaching Liss' work of historical fiction is also valuable as a way to ask students to examine changing elements of the novel (alongside works by Daniel Defoe, for example).

The next time I teach this class, I will include the 1808 novel, *Secret History, Or, the Horrors of St. Domingo* by Leonora Sansay, edited by Michael J. Drexler with Sansay's *Laura* in a 2007 edition for Broadview. The novel would work well with *Ourika*, which includes a rare scene about the Haitian Revolution. Both English major and general education students have loved reading *Ourika*, in part because the central character is a teenager who struggles with depression. Student connection with the main character facilitates discussion of a number of difficult issues raised by the text, including slavery, racism, racial purity, national identity, rebellion and revolution. Because the Haitian Revolution caused what has been called a refugee crisis in Philadelphia, the texts are especially relevant to my students, most of whom are from the Pennsylvania region. I refer them to the valuable "History of the United States' First Refugee Crisis" in *The Smithsonian* at www.smithsonianmag.com/history/history-united-states-first-refugee-crisis-180957717. I also plan to develop class reading from the "Immigration to America" section in the Broadview anthology, and to include more texts that deal with immigration and refugees.

I include several assignments below. The "Cultural Report" assignment was created by Dr. Kirsten Saxton, and I developed the "Reading ~ Character Journal" assignment out of conversations with Dr. Nora Nachumi. Both assignments were incredibly successful in engaging student interest in the period, in bringing the period to life, and in getting students to understand ways in which ideas central to the long 18th century endure. I write in more detail about the final research project assignment and about my pedagogical strategies in teaching adaptations of 18th-century texts in my co-edited (with Dr. Kirsten Saxton) collection, *Adapting the Eighteenth Century: A Handbook of Pedagogies and Practices* (U. of Rochester Press, forthcoming 2020).

## English 377: The Long Eighteenth Century

### Course Description

Pugilists, pirates, prostitutes, rogues, highwaymen, murderers, adulterers, seducers, cross-dressers, political criminals, slavers, cutpurses, immoralists, revolutionaries, writers. Such figures populated the pages of 18th-century literature. Called an Age of Reason, an Age of Satire and an Age of Enlightenment, the 18th century was a time of great social upheaval. We will read works of literature alongside political and social movements, exploring how writers (mostly British) represented morality, corruption, crime, sex, commerce,

patriarchy, politics, writers and writing. In addition to commercial, religious, and social changes, the 18th century bore witness to a veritable explosion of literary genres. We will read across genres, including periodical essays, plays, poems, novels, criminal biographies, and political satire, examining how genres overlapped and developed. Writers were concerned with what makes good literature and what value literature has. This course aims to understand how writers envisioned such literary and social value.

Finally, we will consider the enduring appeal of this period, which was also known as a "golden age of adaptation." The long 18th century is itself the subject of much current popular adaptation—18th-century texts and culture appear in graphic novels, fan fiction, films, network shows, novels, theater stagings, and web serials. In adapting eighteenth-century texts, contemporary creators are working in a particularly eighteenth-century mode. This course will help you to understand literary history and to hone your literary critical skills. And it will be a lot of fun!

**Course Texts:**

*The Broadview Anthology of British Literature: The Restoration & the Eighteenth Century*. 2nd edition.

Claire de Duras, *Ourika* (MLA)

<u>On D2L or Library Reserve:</u>

Aphra Behn, "The Widow Ranter"; Immanuel Kant, "What is Enlightenment?"; Samuel Johnson, *The Rambler* # 4

<u>Excerpts:</u>

Ros Ballaster, *Seductive Forms: Women's Amatory Fiction from 1684 to 1740* (1992)

J.M. Beattie, *Policing and Punishment in London, 1660-1750: Urban Crime and the Limits of Terror* (2001)

Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (1990)

Catherine Craft-Fairchild, *Masquerade and Gender: Disguise and Female Identity in Eighteenth-Century Fictions by Women* (1993)

Lincoln B. Faller, *Turned to Account: The Forms and Functions of Criminal Biography in Late Seventeenth- and Early-Eighteenth-Century England* (1987)

C.L.R. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution* (1938)

Janet Todd, *The Sign of Angellica: Women, Writing, and Fiction, 1600-1800* (1989)

*The Newgate Calendar* (online)

Various articles on adaptation theory

<u>Suggested Texts:</u>

Charles Johnson, *Middle Passage* (1990)

David Liss, *A Conspiracy of Paper* (2000)

Jordy Rosenberg, *Confessions of the Fox* (2018)

Film and Video Clips:
*Restoration* (1995), *Stage Beauty* (2004), *The Libertine* (2004), *A Harlot's Progress* (2006), *City of Vice* (2008), *Bad Habits* (2016, 2017)

**Course Policies**

Assignments

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 2 Cultural Reports | | 15% |
| Close Reading Assignments | 15% | |
| 3 Reading ~ Character Journals | | 15% |
| Annotated Bibliography | | 10% |
| Research Project Presentation | 5% | |
| Final research project | 30% | |
| In-class work, quizzes | | 10% |

[For the *Intelligencer*, I have omitted the following policies: Attendance, Grading, Drafts, Active Class Participation, Email, Academic Dishonesty & Plagiarism, Students with Disabilities, and Safe Campus Policy.]

**Schedule of Assignments**

(Subject to change. Please check D2L daily.)

**Week 1**

M Review syllabus, assignments, and Broadview Introduction: "The Restoration and the Eighteenth Century"
In class film clip: *Restoration*

W Samuel Peyps, "from *The Diary*"
John Dryden, "from *An Essay of Dramatic Poesy*"
Thomas Sprat, "from *The History of the Royal Society of London, for the Improving of Natural Knowledge* (1667)"

**Week 2**

M, W Cavendish, "The Convent of Pleasure" and "from *The Description of a New World, Called the Blazing World*"
*Contexts: Print Culture, Stage Culture*, especially Colly Cibber, Jeremy Collier, "The Licensing Act of 1737," Clara Reeve
Excerpt from Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble*
Film clips: *Stage Beauty* and *The Libertine*

**Week 3**

M Behn, "The Widow Ranter"

W Behn, "The Disappointment"; Rochester, the whole section;
Swift, "The Lady's Dressing Room"
Montagu, "The Reasons that Induced Dr. S…"
Review "Reading Poetry"; discussion of the Pastoral

Excerpt from Janet Todd, *The Sign of Angellica*

**Week 4**

M Discuss Reading ~ Character Journal Assignment
Montagu, on Smallpox, Selected Letters (To Wortley) and any Others you are interested in.
Excerpts from "Contexts: 18th-Century Periodicals & Prints*"*
*Female Tatler*; Addison, *Spectator*, "On the Hoop Petticoat"; Haywood; Richardson; Steele, *Spectator*, "Inkle and Yariko"
In class: a few entries from Boswell (Broadview online) and *Life of Johnson:* https: //ww/gutenberg.org/files/1564/1564-h/1564-h.htm
and Frances Burney letters (Broadview online) and season at Bath: https: // www/gutenberg.org/files/5826/5826-h/5826-h.htm#link2H_4_0044

W Jonathan Swift, *A Modest Proposal*
Susan Straight, from *The Guardian*, 2/12/17: "A Modest, Modern Proposal For preventing the Descendants of Immigrant and Indigenous Americans, as well as Slaves and Pioneers, Recent Refugees and Pilgrim Refugees, from being a Burden on their Politicians, . . .
and for making the efficient perusal of their genetic heritage and national/religious affiliations Beneficial to the Publick (after Jonathan Swift, 1729)": at www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/feb/12/modest-modern-proposal-updated-trump-administration

**Week 5**

M, W Haywood, *Fantomina; or, Love in a Maze; A Present for a Servant-Maid; Venus in the Cloister; or, The Nun in Her Smock*
Excerpts from Ros Ballaster, *Seductive Forms* and Catherine Craft-Fairchild, *Masquerade and Gender*
Video clip: *Bad Habits* (adaptation of *Fantomina*)
Web graphic: *Madhouse: A Love Story* (adaptation of *The Distress'd Orphan; or Love in a Madhouse*)
Discussion of adaptation

**Week 6**

M, W Entries from *The Newgate Calendar* (especially Johnathan Wild & Jack Sheppard. Discussion of Defoe and Fielding.)
Excerpts from Lincoln B. Faller, *Turned to Account* and J.M.Beattie

*Policing and Punishment in London, 1660-1750*, and Jordy Rosenberg, *Confessions of the Fox*. Discussion of adaptation
Film clip: *City of Vice*

**Week 7**

M Defoe, from *Robinson Crusoe* and *Journal of a Plague Year*
Student Cultural Reports

W "Laboring-Class Poets" (Broadview online)

**Week 8**

M, W John Gay, *The Beggar's Opera*

**Week 9**

M Hogarth, "Marriage a la Mode," "Gin Lane," "A Harlot's Progress"
Video clip: "A Harlot's Progress"

W Selections from "Contexts: Town and Country"
Samuel Johnson, *The Rambler* # 4 annotated
http: // www.virtualsalt.com/lit/rambler4.htm

**Week 10**

M Student Cultural Reports

W Selections from "Contexts: Transatlantic Currents," including "Slavery," "Immigration to America," "Colonists and Native People," and "American Independence"

**Week 11**

M (continued) Selections from "Contexts: Transatlantic Currents," including "Slavery," "Immigration to America," "Colonists and Native People," and "American Independence"

W Work on annotated bibliographies and final research projects
Student research project presentations

**Week 12**

M, W Claire de Duras, *Ourika*
Student research project presentations

**Week 13**

M, W Phillis Wheatley

Student research project presentations

**Week 14**

M Work on final research projects

W Annotated Bibliography Due
Class wrap up

**Assignments**:

**Reading ~ Character Journal Assignment:**
For this creative writing assignment, you will write in the voice of any one character from our reading. (You may invent a Restoration or eighteenth-century character in whose voice you will write, but you must clear it with me one week before the due date.) In the voice of your selected character, write a 500-word journal entry that engages with or responds to the assigned reading. You may pick a character you wish you had heard more from – or a character who was silenced – or a character who never got to speak her or his mind in a particular situation. You may pick a character whose satiric or comedic nature never got fully developed. You may put your character into any existing scene, or you may create a new scene. Either way, your character will engage some important aspect of the text, in subject or theme. Have fun!

**Cultural Report Assignment** (created by Dr. Kirsten Saxton, Mills College): Create an informative, interesting, and relevant presentation that incorporates images to explain your topic. You may annotate your images and include music if you wish. You could create a thinglink (though I have no expertise and couldn't offer technical help). In keeping with an eighteenth-century ideal, make your cultural report both instructive and delightful! Cite all sources, including images. Plan for a 5-7-minute presentation.
As a starting point, please refer to my 5-page list of resources/ information about the 18th century. Your presentation must:

- Define the cultural phenomenon both literally (OED dictionary definition, etc) and within its historical context. You will need to consider if the term/ phenomenon has any critical/ theoretical relevance/ implications.
- Make it come alive to us – immerse us in the concept and explain why it matters.
- Create some links to the texts. How might the literature and the issues we cover in the class be illuminated by your report?

Possible topics: Sewage/ garbage/ waste, Food, Crime, Smell, Clothes, Mental health, Humor, Housing, Medical care, Disease, Amusements, Masquerade, Actors, Gambling, Sports, East India Company, London, Abolition

movements and slavery, Women's education, Marriage, Sex work, Public houses, Coffee houses, perceptions of Native Americans. You may suggest other topics to me.

**Close Reading Assignment:**
The close reading responses are designed to help you engage critically and thoughtfully with the texts. For each close reading, please do the following:

- Select a passage from the reading that is worthy of close attention. You might select the passage because it interests or confuses you, or because it has symbolic, aesthetic, or thematic importance.
- If the passage is from a novel, limit yourself to one paragraph so that you have enough time to examine it in detail. For other genres, select a passage roughly equivalent to a paragraph.
- Annotate the passage.
- Based on your annotations, write several sentences that articulate your overall claim about the passage.
- Write a close reading of the passage (approximately 500 words).

**Final Research Project Assignment:**
[The most recent time I taught this class (Spring 2019), I gave students two options for the final research project. I summarize my detailed assignment:]
The first option has two components: 1. Write a traditional research paper 2. Join the larger scholarly community by presenting the paper at our university's student research conference. The second option has two components: 1. Individually or in groups, research biographical and critical background information about a character or author from our class reading. Then, using brief quotes from primary and secondary sources, write a script that puts those characters/ authors in dialogue with one another. 2. Write a 4-5-page essay that uses literary criticism and adaptation theory to explain ways that their project engaged with an important theme or issue from the long eighteenth century.

**Susan Carlile.** ***Charlotte Lennox: An Independent Mind.*** Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018. Pp. xi + 358 + [*12*] plates; illustrations; chronology; index. ISBN: 978-1-4426-2623-2. Paperback and e-book, $33.71.

I have waited a long time to read this book. When I saw in the Fall 2018 *Intelligencer* that Jim May was seeking a reviewer for Susan Carlile's new biography, I emailed him immediately and he quickly responded with assurance that he would send me the review copy as soon as possible. I have now read it and can say without hesitation that the book was well worth the wait. A thorough, intellectually satisfying, and important biography, it is also

beautifully illustrated and rich with information about eighteenth-century life and culture.

There have been three book-length biographies of Charlotte Lennox. Miriam Rossiter Small's *Charlotte Ramsay Lennox: An Eighteenth Century Lady of Letters*, which first appeared in 1935, was the earliest. Full of details about the relatively unknown woman author, Small's book generously summed up Lennox's contribution to literature: "But as we look more closely at her life and publications it is possible to discern in Mrs Lennox something more than a lady with literary friendships; she comes before us as an independent author of unflagging industry rewarded with occasional success, and as an attractive woman whose life was rich in experience, though often clouded by penury and domestic unhappiness" (Small 3). In 1940, Gustavus Howard Maynadier's *The First American Novelist?* presented a counter argument. Much less appreciative than his predecessor, he stressed Lennox's faults in between acknowledgements of her "American"ness and summaries of her novels: "Thus early are suggested the possibilities in fiction of a trans-Atlantic passage, though the stilted language, the exaggerated sentiment, and the omission of common detail make Mrs. Lennox's narrative heavy and lifeless" (Maynadier, 7). Philippe Séjourné's *The Mystery of Charlotte Lennox: First Novelist of Colonial America (1727?-1804)*, which appeared in 1967, also focuses on Lennox's American life: "both novels [*Harriet Stuart* and *Euphemia*] are much more 'American' than our predecessors have been willing to admit, and . . . they allow us to make a number of assumptions about her early life" (Séjourné 15). Fast forward 50 years and we now have Carlile's exhaustive investigation of the life and times of this prolific writer who produced many innovative and influential works. Lennox not only wrote novels, poetry, and plays, but she also wrote literary criticism, translated and edited Greek drama as well as important historical memoirs, and her periodical – the *Lady's Museum* – testifies to eighteenth-century women's interest in the scientific, political, and philosophical issues of the day.

Lennox's three earlier biographers kept her name and works alive, but it is Carlile who adds nuance to their sometimes simplistic assertions. Her biography is impressive, indeed intimidating. It contains 351 pages of readable though small print and 79 pages of detailed notes. She brings in much theory about women writers in the 18th century and their emergence as a new class of writers in a new age of print culture with changing systems of patronage; about the American revolution and its relationship to English enlightenment thought and to Lennox's works; and about the many writers of the period, friendship groups and mentoring relationships; and offers an insightful explanation of why Lennox was not part of bluestocking circles.

Carlile's biography is a labor of love – literally. Her dedication reads "For Norbert" and anyone who knows either Norbert or Susan knows that the two of them exemplify how happily and fruitfully a husband and wife can work together. Their intertwined research must have generated numerous

conversations over the years. As Susan concludes in her Acknowledgments, "Lennox brought us together – at the Western Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies in 2000 – and ever since, his extraordinarily steady, kind, and good-humored ways have buoyed this book into existence . . . and me along the way. No one could ask for a better intellectual and emotional partnership."

Once Schürer's excellent and carefully annotated volume of letters was published in 2012, I expected that Carlile's biography would soon follow. But she took six more years. Like the peripatetic author she pursued through archives around the world, Carlile also led a peripatetic life travelling (sometimes through the internet) around the United States and Canada, to England, Germany, Spain, and India. Focusing on Lennox's independence and interdependence on others – from Samuel Johnson to Mary Masters (whom I'd never heard of before), from the Duchess of Newcastle to David Garrick to Euphemia Boswell, there are worlds and worlds in Carlile's book. I can see why it took her so long to complete it.

It is bursting with information. I learned much about the roughness of outpost life in Gilbraltar and the American colonies and the difficulties Charlotte's father might have encountered in the military hierarchy as a new arrival in New York. Carlile rightly emphasizes how amazing it was that Lennox so quickly, once she arrived in London, gained entrance into a circle of aristocratic intellectual women only, more amazingly, to give it up in order to preserve her independence. In all her works, in one way or another, Charlotte, according to Carlile, stresses women's need to question authority and gain agency. Drawing on Marta Kvanda and Sara Spurgeon, Carlile suggests that Lennox serves as a forerunner of the uniquely American genre, the Western. Linking Lennox's American novels to James Fenimore Cooper's (both set their works in the eastern United States), Kvande and Spurgeon argue that "the most masculine and 'American' of genres, turns out to be a proto-feminist narrative created by a . . . British colonial woman" (qtd. Carlile 67). Throughout the book Carlile brings in many voices to support her understanding of Lennox.

I was glad to note that Carlile touches on the possibility that if Lennox owed much to Johnson, Johnson owed much to her. To make her point she brings in Mary Jones, a poet who lived most of her life in Oxford and who humorously, though a bit cloyingly to my 20th century ears, reversed the usual roles of the two authors: "And now I'm got among the celestial Signs, pray, where is that Meteor, that Rambler, that shew'd himself in our Hemisphere last Summer, & has never been heard of since, except among the Transactions of the Literati? If he is often at your Elbow (a Situation he had the Confidence to boast of to me) I should be oblig'd to you if you'd make my Compliments to him" (Carlile 135). It is refreshing to see Johnson boasting of his friendship with Lennox and dropping her name into a conversation in order to magnify his importance in another woman's eye. Presenting himself as Lennox's confidant reflected glory on him. Too often men are treated as independent and autonomous, while women are treated as appendages of the men they knew. But in Mary Jones's

letter and in Carlile's biography, Lennox moves to the foreground. She becomes the luminary, he the satellite, at least sometimes. At one point, Carlile suggests that Lennox may have used *The Female Quixote* as a prod to provoke Johnson to admit his love of romances; she also argues that although Johnson did not refer directly to Lennox or *Shakespear Illustrated*, he used his edition of Shakespeare to argue against his quixotic colleague.

From beginning to end, Carlile casts a keen eye on what it meant to be a woman in the eighteenth century. Whether married or alone, women's lives were precarious due to the inconstancy of men, fathers, brothers, husbands. Women are sexually vulnerable at every age in a world where rape is a licensed sport. Carlile touches on the story of Charlotte's daughter Harriet's arrest in September 1778 and ends by noting that it suggests "the difficulties a young girl could encounter in the up-market neighbourhood of Kensington" (Carlile 305). I must admit I was a bit dismayed by Carlile's cavalier attitude toward this incident.

Once a book and its author have been praised it is conventional to point out a few errors, so I will now elucidate my dissatisfaction with Carlile's treatment of the incident but first insist that I believe such quibbles can serve as incentives to renewed efforts to tease out more fully perplexing details of contradictory moments. I wrote about this arrest in some detail in an article that was published in 2002 in *Eighteenth-Century Women: Studies in their Works, Lives, and Culture*. Of course, I now in addition perform the all-too-familiar gesture in the genre of academic reviewing of finding a weakness in a text because the author does not care about something as passionately as I do (or, at least, refer to my passion in a footnote). But I do believe "the Middlesex incident" is important if we want to understand Lennox's life as the mother of a teen-age daughter. If as a teen-age daughter herself Lennox was exposed (her father died when she was 13) as well as adventurous in ways her mother disapproved so might her daughter have been.

Harriet Lennox was arrested on 22 September 1778 along with her mother and a woman named Hannah Davis for disturbing the peace. Indicted as "wicked and evil disposed persons and Riotous Routers and disturbers of the peace," the three women are accused of causing a great tumult "in the Dwelling House of one Nicholas Hancock" and assaulting one Ann Brown (M-MJ/SR 3358/9, Greater London Record Office). Small and Maynadier most likely did not know about this incident. Like Séjourné, Carlile turns to Laetitia Hawkins to confirm her suspicion that this event exemplifies Lennox's aggressiveness:

I remember waiting at Hick's Hall, till a trial came on before my father and the other justices;—a trial in which it must be confessed she had some concern; for it was an indictment proferred by her maid against her, for beating her! It came out that a battle had taken place between 'the Female Quixote,' and her solitary domestic. How the legal question was decided, I have, I regret to say, forgotten: —it gave me an opportunity of seeing the illustrious lady, and at a safe distance. (Hawkins 331)

Hawkins writes many years after the event (her *Sketches and Memoirs* were written and published in the 1820s), so her memory is, when compared to legal documents, less dependable (not that legal documents are always clear). While her representation of Lennox as a wild amazon ready to pick fights with hapless innocents is distinctly echoed in the wording of the 1778 indictment drawn up against the author, her daughter and Hannah Davis, the incident is not as simple as it might seem.

If we turn to other legal documents dated 1782 and 1789 from the same record office, we find that a woman named "Ann Brown" was charged with luring men into rooms to relieve them of their money and watches while they slept. The Ann Brown in Lennox's indictment might not be the same Ann Brown identified as a pickpocket-prostitute in the other two court documents, but if the two women are the same person, and if we remember that Harriet Lennox was, at this time, thirteen years old, might we not see Charlotte Lennox and Hannah Davis (who might actually be Lennox's maid) as rescuers of a young girl taken by Ann Brown to Nicholas Hancock's house for illicit purposes? Or, perhaps, as a thirteen-year-old curious about sex, Harriet went willingly to Hancock's house? Both possibilities are admittedly farfetched, but trafficking in women has a long and underground history and it is plausible that Lennox was indeed acting like her most famous heroine, the female Quixote, as she attempted to rescue a young woman (her own daughter in this case) from a dangerous situation. In any case, the defendants were found not guilty at the December sessions and, it would seem, at the same sessions, Ann Brown was charged with assaulting Harriet Lennox (www.londonlives.org). A very confusing case.

Like Carlile, I wanted to write a biography of Lennox. Susan and Norbert and I exchanged a few emails over the years about our mutual interest. Susan sent me a wry article written by a researcher who fears that someone might be following her as she wends her way through library stacks. I told Susan that it had been so long since a biography of Lennox had been written, that surely there was room for two new biographies of her. My spectral biography is subtitled "The Female Quixote," and would have been less historically contextual than Carlile's and more focused on how Lennox rescued women, both in her life and in her works, even bringing the maligned Miss Groves in *The Female Quixote* under her protection. But I decided to give up the biography and focus on "the Lydia Clerke Letters." Research often takes unexpected detours.

I will end this overly long review with two surprising (for me) moments in the text. First, Carlile notes that Lennox may have visited the newly established British Museum, which opened on 15 January 1759, and which was within a 20-minute walk of her home. If she did so, she would have seen Dutch naturalist Maria Sibylla Merian's drawings of plants and insects and perhaps been inspired by them as she prepared her *Lady's Museum*. I had never known that Merian's work was displayed in the British Museum. I immediately

contacted Mary Margaret Stewart and Joanne Myers to alert them of this convergence. We agreed that since Gettysburg College is hosting the annual EC/ASECS meeting in November and Gettysburg College biologist Kay Etheridge has spent twenty years researching the Dutch artist/scientist that it would be important to let EC/ASECS members know of this fortuitous connection ahead of time. Perhaps someone might be interested in meeting with Etheridge to share information. So I now imbed this important information in my review.

The second moment also focuses on an intersection of verbal and visual print culture in the eighteenth century. Carlile includes two vivid illustrations from an 1807 edition of *New Illustrations of the Sexual System of Linneaus*. In Plate 11 a Lennox poem adorns the base of the statue of Linneaus: "All animated Nature owns my sway;/ Earth, Sea, and Air, my potent laws obey: / And thou, divine LINNEAUS! Trac'd my Reign / O'er Trees, and Plants, and Flora's beauteous Train . . . ." Plate 12, which represents Cupid shooting an arrow into eagerly receptive plants, places three lines from the same poem in the margin below the print. Although I read much about the Thornton family as I pursued the circle of Lydia Clerke's acquaintance, I never knew that Lennox's poetry was part of Robert John Thornton's compendium. There is always something new to learn.

I could go on. And although Jim gave me dispensation to write as long a review as I needed I will not test his patience any farther but end with a plea that all who read this ink-wasting toy of mine now turn to their computers and order this book for their academic and personal libraries.

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**Michael Kramp (editor). *Jane Austen and Masculinity*.** (Transits: Literature, Thought & Culture 1650-1850.) Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press; Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2018. Pp. xiv + 271. 4 illustrations; bibliography; index. ISBN 9781611488661; hardcover: $110.00.

Men in the world of Austen's novels are both sidelined and centralized, some as temporary impediments to the heroines, others as objects of desire. In either role, men can elude understanding, and Michael Kramp's collection of essays on *Jane Austen and Masculinity* helps to bring them into focus. Or foci, as the concept of masculinity is undergoing disruption and fragmentation in Austen's era. The men in Austen's novels, as Kramp indicates, "at once look back to a nostalgic past and anxiously model innovative kinds of masculinity" (12). The essays brought together here provide a suitably kaleidoscopic view of maleness, both in Austen's own works and in the reformulations and extensions of those works critically, cinematically, and fictionally.

Kramp provides an overview of masculinity studies during the past forty years and of those relevant to Jane Austen in particular, moving adroitly between the theoretical and the specific. Rejecting the temptation to see a "crisis of masculinity in Austen" that might seem to call for a solution, Kramp explicitly links his anthology to "the larger political project of feminist theory" (13). The thirteen essays therein examine men and concepts of masculinity in the six major novels, the juvenilia, *Sanditon*, and Austen's letters, as well as film and television adaptations, fan videos, and spinoff novels.

The collection divides into five sections moving generally from the failures of masculinity to newer, more palatable versions. Part I, "Men, Domesticity, and the Family," examines how men express themselves, how they affect other people, and what they accomplish—the respective answers being annoyingly, badly, and not much. Jan Fergus's "Sketches of Men's Kvetches" considers whiners in *Emma* and *Persuasion*, neatly paralleling the ways John Knightley and Mr. Woodhouse universalize their idiosyncratic complaints. They, like Sir Walter Elliot and Captain Benwick, are supported and tolerated in their querulousness, unlike the women of these novels, who are not forgiven for their whining. This essay also intriguingly suggests that Austen transfers the concern with military discontent at divided command in Captain Pasley's *Essay on the Military Policy* (read and adored by Jane Austen in 1813) to the domestic sphere. Kit Kincade, in her "Failures of the Patriarchy: Fathers as Role Models in Jane Austen," not only examines corrupting tendencies of the family heads that we see in the six novels, but of those that we don't see, such as the hypothetical fathers of the Knightley, Ferrars, and Brandon brothers. It is hard to dispute the sins of Brandon, Sr., and the failures of Sir Thomas Bertram and Sir Walter Elliot, but, when the argument requires seeing corruption in George Knightley and Henry Tilney, the latter because he "displays general sociability and sardonic wit" and dares to know about muslins (43), the essay pushes its consistency of view farther than I would go. A different set of texts occupies Joanne Wilkes's essay, "The Paradox of Masculine Agency in Jane Austen's Early Works." Despite the tendency of the juvenilia to luxuriate in the writerly freedom to "make anything happen that she likes" (61) and show strong, active women and inconsequential or easily manipulated men, the stories illustrate, sometimes by their very outrageousness, the limited availability of choices to women. Indeed, "The Watsons" invites the question of "how contemptible a man has to be to forfeit any chance of attracting a wife" (73).

In the book's second section, on "Masculinity, Honor, and Feeling," Megan Woodworth's essay on dueling in *Sense and Sensibility* incisively analyzes how duels, even when ostensibly about protecting the honor of women, are more about punishing affronts to men who fail in guardianship. In the case of Colonel Brandon's duel with Willoughby, "Mrs. Smith is a more effective punisher" by using her financial power (85). This essay also pays much attention to Richardson's suspicion of the reformed rake as a potential

husband and to the bad effects of parental interference in marriage deriving from aristocratic concerns with lineage and honor. Enit Steiner's essay on "Literary Men and Melancholia" also studies Austen's take on Richardson, focusing on Sir Edward Denham in *Sanditon* as corrupted through his misreading of characters like Lovelace in *Clarissa*. Broadening the argument to other texts, Steiner notes that "Each of Austen's completed novels has at least one man who at some point enters the narrative as a reader of books" (113), but she particularly parallels Henry Tilney with Sir Edward, irresponsibly taking pleasure from texts. This view pits Henry against Catherine as if both cannot be somewhat good, somewhat faulty readers. Steiner's valuable main point, however, is that Austen recognizes authors cannot control the reception of their works. Whether such a recognition is especially Romantic one may doubt, but warnings against thinking in terms of a "cohesive audience" are on the mark (119). The middle essay in this section, by Natasha Duquette on "The Sensibility of Captain Benwick," provides a welcome positive view of a new masculinity, as Duquette finds Austen set on "reforming contemporary literary masculinities" (98). Perhaps she is too accepting of Benwick as a successful instance of the deliberate attempt by the navy to create a more socially graceful, educated officer, even as she recognizes "older preferences for tough and stalwart British masculinity" in Admiral Croft (108), but the elevation of "kindness" as a particularly important feature in Austen's naval officers in this novel provides a generous reading of the book and its military men.

In the third part of the book, "Male Sexualities and Desires," both essays defend behavior that expands stereotypical ideas of masculine conduct. "Empire of the Sensible: Disciplining Love and the 1990s Austen Craze," by Carol Siegel and Bryce Campbell, questions modern appropriations of Austen that turn her writings into a conduct book, arguing that her novels contain an "excess of passion that resists all logical and pragmatic resolution" (144). To reach this insight, mainly applied to *Sense and Sensibility*, one must get past some odd sweeping generalizations, such as that "By the 1990s, almost all Americans were somewhat in the position of Austen heroines in that they had to find partners with excellent economic prospects" (138). Nonetheless, the point that erotic feelings exceed the capacity of "domestic closure" to restrain them (141) is well presented. Zachary Snider's "Austen's Dandies" concentrates on Henry Crawford and Frank Churchill, positing that they benefit Fanny Price and Emma Woodhouse by attracting their attention, challenging them, and breaking them out of their self-imposed emotional seclusion. These men represent an alternative, more female-friendly masculinity compared to that of the restrained male leads, one that can more easily interact with the heroines. Both essays also bring their arguments forward to modernized film versions of Austen, with celebrations of Mr. Kholi in *Bride and Prejudice* and Christian in *Clueless*.

The fourth section, "The Men of Austen's Afterlives," does not look at

reworkings of Austen's male characters but at men and masculinities associated with Austen in later periods. Lisa Hopkins on "Waltzing with Wellington, Biting with Byron: Heroes in Austen's Tribute Texts," studies the romances of Georgette Heyer and the murder mysteries of Stephanie Barron. In Heyer, men are given, more than in Austen, their separate existence with their own activities and ways of speaking, epitomized by the Duke of Wellington, and the stories promote the conservative view that "men must be men, and women must let them" (178). Barron portrays Regency gender differences but questions them and provides a Lord Byron with whom Jane Austen can compete, as does Michael Thomas Ford's vampire novel, *Jane Bites Back*. Rebecca White's essay on "(Re-)Imagining Austenian Masculinity in Film and YouTube Fanvids" praises the 2007 *Miss Austen Regrets* (indeed a fine film) for the way it sidelines men, much as Austen does in her novels and her correspondence, highlighting a tension between the real and the ideal, and White contrasts this view with that of Darcymania and fanvids, like "It's Raining Men." Jason Solinger's well-argued essay on "Virginia Woolf and the Gentlemen Janeites, or the Origins of Modern Austen Criticism, 1870-1929," describes how the Austen of male Victorian Janeite readers, characterized by Woolf as "twenty-five elderly gentlemen living in the neighborhood of London who resent any slight upon her genius as if it were an insult offered to the chastity of their Aunts" (215), gives way to Woolf's affirmation of "a different kind of divinity, that which derives from Austen's methodical suppression of the personal and gendered tics that relegate people to states of subjection" (228). In other words, Woolf's view of Austen as a writer who is not personal or gendered, who "isolates the act and product of writing" (227), sets up her novels for New Critics, who want to read texts that have their own integrity without biography or history.

The last section of Kramp's collection, titled "Film Music and Masculinity," might have deleted the first word, as the second essay has nothing to do with film music. The first essay, however, by Gayle Magee, is precisely about film music, though less centered on masculinity. "Performing to Strangers: Masculinity, Adaptation, and Music in *Pride and Prejudice* (1995)" provides a close reading of how music works in this TV adaptation, with reflections on music and gender roles at Austen's time and the influence of this TV series on later heritage films. It notes the gendering of music in the film both in the choice of non-diegetic music and in the negative portrayal of feminine virtuoso performances on screen. If women of the Regency can perform too conspicuously for comfort, men had better not perform at all, say Linda Zionkowski and Miriam Hart in their "Austen, Music, and Manhood." However, men must learn to appreciate music correctly. The essay considers three types of men in Austen's novels. Ministers like Mr. Collins and Edmund Bertram have an "inability to appreciate the nuances of musical performance and reception" (255). Frank Churchill provides a second type of masculinity that, in this view, can participate well in music (despite Knightley's

disapproval), using it for private communication in a public space. The military men of *Sense and Sensibility* and *Persuasion* provide the third type of musical masculinity, one reflecting increasing military use of music at the time. In general, the essay promotes the idea that gentlemen are increasingly required at this period to be musically intelligent.

Despite studying some popular Austen offshoots, the collection does not aim at a popular audience. Many of the contributions and the introduction are written in a high academic style, which sits rather uneasily with informal constructions like "based off of." Some popular studies, notably Audrey Hawkridge's *Jane and her Gentlemen* (2000), receive mention but are then excluded from the bibliography. A few errors slip through. The "maid" at Pemberley appears as "Dorothy" in one essay (the name belongs to Henry Tilney's invented ancient housekeeper). After the bibliography for the volume comes a puzzling short filmography that lists only seven films, yet the book references quite a few more. As a whole, however, this book provides thoughtful variety in its views of men and masculinity associated with Austen's novels, all the richer for its broader considerations of contexts and aftereffects of Austen's men.

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**Kristina Booker. *Menials: Domestic Service and the Cultural Transformation of British Society*, 1650-1850** (Transits: Literature, Thought & Culture 1650-1850.) Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press; Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2018. Pp. xi + 195; bibliography; index. ISBN: 978-1-61148-860-9. Hardcover, $95.00. (Available as e-book for $90.)

In her "Introduction" to *Menials: Domestic Service and the Cultural Transformation of British Society*, *1650-1850*, Kristina Booker points out that, since Bruce Robbins's *The Servant's Hand: English Fiction from Below* debuted in 1986, book-length examinations of the master-servant dynamic in British literature of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have been rare, with Kristina Straub's 2009 *Domestic Affairs* offering an important exception (6-7). As a new entry into this undertreated line of critical inquiry, Booker's 2018 monograph represents a generative step forward. Well researched, accessible, and keenly incisive, Booker interweaves cultural critique and literary interpretation in an expressly cogent and provocative read.

*Menials* begins with the idea that, from the Restoration through the reign of Victoria, the British master class implemented a culturally-sanctioned "rhetoric of spiritualized obedience or duty" (7) that remade autonomous human subjects into members of a controllable servant class loyal not simply to a master or a family but to a "structure of domestic service which deprives

the individual servant's labor of exchange-value" (12). For Booker, this rhetorical system helped both to institute and to perpetuate a code of values designed to benefit the master class—and the hegemonic socio-political order of things in Britain and the empire—at the expense of a depersonalized caste, ineluctably bound by ideological and economic constraints. "As the British economy experienced turbulent changes," Booker writes, "the textual servant was a site of safe negotiation between competing ideals. Issues of self-interest, foreign contamination, and emulation, all of which contributed to the master/capitalist's ideal projection of the self, were worked out on the bodies of textual servants" (18-19). Because she is produced rather than productive, because she is a creature made by her social and economic superiors, the British literary servant either registers the makers' sense of worth and identity or indexes that which is inconsistent with, and often subversive to, the prevailing structures of power upon which the privileged classes rely. The book's four chapters sketch a representative history of this character, whose subjectivity is almost always determined by others, whose personhood is at the mercy of chauvinistic values and socio-economic caprice.

Booker opens her study with two chapters focusing on the rise of self-interest as a tenet of British political economy and on the ways in which this eventual commonplace of capitalist governance affects the literary servant in British fiction through the late Victorian Era. While increasingly accepted throughout the 1700s as a constitutive element of sound economics, and even of responsible citizenship in the modern state, servants such as Anaret and Brione in Eliza Haywood's *Love in Excess* demonstrate that self-interest, though taken as natural enough, can never be compatible with the duty a servant owes to her family (42). In Haywood's amatory novel, self-interest among the servant class acts as a marker of duplicity and faintheartedness. By the 1790s, in the wake of the American and French Revolutions, the "loss of faith in the good will of the government and its institutions" (47) brought the question of self-interest under scrutiny, particularly in William Godwin's 1794 novel *Caleb Williams*. For Booker, the novel presents "an indictment of English law as a tool for self-interest of the rich and powerful that operates under the rhetorical veil of the public welfare" (48). Supported by essentially corrupt institutions such as the British legal system, men like Falkland project a specious image of "benevolent paternalism" (48) that falls apart when Caleb enters Falkland's service. At first a mediating figure who seeks to live as a free Englishman *and* to function as a servant, Caleb's tragedy has its source in an ironic resolution: "when he discovers that his imagined freedom is no more than a fantasy, Caleb becomes Falkland" (52). Here the British literary servant—that creation of the master class and its ideological apparatus—has neither liberty nor power beyond what the prevailing socio-economic system allows. Acquiescence becomes imperative; unassimilated, Caleb cannot exist.

Whereas self-interest as a conventionality of British thought had its nascence much earlier, the principle was ensconced by the nineteenth century,

and both Romantic and Victorian authors explored the nature of self-interest through telling depictions of the master-servant paradigm. In what strikes me as the finest section of *Menials*, Booker looks to Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* and Charles Dickens's *Bleak House* as cases in point. From the claim that "Victor Frankenstein exemplifies the cultural dominance of self-interest" (68), Booker examines the ways in which Victor's poor choices, predicated on a self-glorification dressed up as altruism, affect both the Creature and the innocent Justine Moritz, whose persecution and death are owed nearly wholly to Frankenstein's self-interested ambition. So deep is this in Victor that even his pursuit of the Creature across the frozen icescape—a penitential commitment, ostensibly—amounts to a prideful and self-serving act from which he learns nothing (72). Booker then turns to *Bleak House*, carrying her discussion past Esther Summerson and Charley (a critical focus since John Ruskin) to those master-servant relationships—between Sir Leicester and Mrs. Rouncewell, for instance—that suggest the ways in which Chesney Wold transforms people "[in]to disposable, interchangeable ciphers" (81) who must sacrifice their senses of self to survive (80); after all, as in Hortense's case, "a maid with subjectivity is […] dangerous, even less than human" (83).

The book's third chapter takes up the topic of emulation, "among the chief virtues to be cultivated by decorous and pious Britons" during the long eighteenth century and beyond (94). Booker begins with Richardson's *Pamela*, asserting that "Pamela's emulation must be carefully controlled and redefined" so as not to upset "social stability" or to blur "economic signifiers" (95). Booker positions Amy, from Daniel Defoe's *Roxana*, as a counterexample: "Amy emulates her mistress for financial and social gain, behavior considered degenerate and envious" (105). Booker suggests a similar contrast between the servants of Elizabeth Gaskell's *Cranford*, in which Martha—"a master-class fantasy" (114)—embodies the servant-ideal that William Thackeray's *Vanity Fair* complicates in its critique of privilege, snobbery, and envy as these contaminate persons across social and economic tiers, as in the cases of Miss Briggs and Mr. Raggles (120-122).

Beginning with a summary of Richard Steele's unsettling tale of Yarico's cave, "Domestic Idylls, Exotic Fruits: the Luxury of Foreign Servants" closes out *Menials* with a vigorous discussion of colonial/imperial anxieties regarding servants and the ways in which authors refashioned "the foreign subject" into the "British subject" (133), thereby rendering this inevitable menace either harmless or helpful. While one is scarcely surprised to find here a fairly extensive section on Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, her reader may appreciate that Booker offers as well a survey in miniature of relevant Victorian texts and authors, including Isabella Beeton, Flora Annie Steel and Grace Gardiner, Dickens (*Dombey and Son*), and George Eliot (*Felix Holt, the Radical*). Booker executes her analyses of each with perspicacity and insight.

Despite its disappointingly underwritten "Coda" on servants in the BBC series *Downton Abbey*, I find *Menials* a truly valuable and original contribution

to the field. Kristina Booker is a fine writer and scholar, and her book should spark fresh conversations, both in print and in the classroom, to the profit of specialists and students alike.

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**Dorinda Outram, *Four Fools in the Age of Reason: Laughter, Cruelty, and Power in Early Modern Germany*.** (Studies in Early Modern German History). Charlottesville: Univjersity of Virginia Press, 2019. Pp. ix + 167; bibliography [149-62]; black-and-white illustrations; index. ISBN 978-0-8139-4201-8. Cloth, $35.

This fitfully fascinating study takes its inspiration from Walter Benjamin's phrase "Abfall der Geschichte" (the rubbish heap of history), which concerns the way that certain past practices tend to be written out of historical writing: "the jokes that can no longer be understood, the crafts that are no longer practiced, and the roles that are no longer played" (3) In *Four Fools in the Age of Reason*, case studies of four fools serving royal courts in Germany (there were over 300 such courts before the Congress of Vienna), the author presents "fool-dom" (her term) as such a piece of waste. Alongside the recovery of the scholarship on each of her four representative fools, she also engages with a great number of studies concerning the age of reason, especially that of scholars who focus on the emergence from that period of contemporary liberal institutions and indeed sentiments: e.g., Jürgen Habermas and Michel Foucault ("once fashionable theorists," 126) and Anthony Pagden. ("Pagden lacks humility … [his] attitude toward the Enlightenment is a possessive one, which dragoons a historical period into being a fake 'contemporary,'" 122.) The intention is to problematize the valorization of reason over unreason, irrationality, and so on.

There are many alluring things to be found here, the most interesting for me being that royal fools, some highly educated (one was formerly professor of history and geography at the University of Halle), served as newspaper readers for the rulers. Outram does not mention it, but, by the end of the 17th century, about 200 newspapers can be documented in Germany, not surprising, as the country was for almost half a century what Jochen Klauß calls "the fulcrum of European politics." The efficiency of German postal routes meant that news from the major centers of European politics traveled quickly. While being the butt of jokes, often brutal, decked out in garb decorated with traditional symbols of foolishness (rabbits, most prominently), the fools read all the papers and digested the accounts, for dissemination and discussion at the royal table.

*Four Fools* is preeminently a study of contradictions of the "Age of Reason," as per the title, but which Outram refers to throughout as "the Enlightenment," a reification that I find problematic. ("Enlightenment Germany," for instance: what was that all about?) Clearly, "fool-dom" sits oddly with the tendency of the age

(17th–18th centuries) toward rationalization or rational ordering, as was going on in sciences ("category separation"); and eventually, as she suggests, in the transition from royal governance (of rulers, enlightened or not) to "government," as we more or less recognize it today. The decline in the profession of royal fool (it was a patronage position) occurred in tandem with the transition in statecraft. In the latter respect, the four fools offer insights into the workings of power on the brink of the modern age. In the case of Friedrich Wilhelm I (1688–1740), clearly a battle royal existed between the king and the professors at the Prussian universities, perhaps viewed by him as seeking to delegitimate him, not necessarily intentionally, but by virtue of the kind of "rational" learning or knowledge that the "age" was promoting. He, in turn, delegitimated them with a public debate at the University of Frankfurt-an-der-Oder, presided over by the royal fool Salomon Jacob Morgenstern, thereby shaming and disciplining his professors.

Outram's focus, however, is less the move toward institutional rationality than it is an exploration of the way that "the modern" exists only "at the price of shutting down the human sympathy that unites us not only to 'our' period but also to previous ones" and to salvage the "contradictory wisdom" (123) offered by fools to their audiences (and thus to "us" moderns). One would have liked an overview of the history of fools at other European courts (she mentions the English in only one place, passes over the Austrians), their prevalence (I am not aware, for instance, of the court of Weimar having a fool), as well as the different varieties of fools (royal ones in contradistinction to municipal and village ones). While she engages with Kant, a missing authority in *Four Fools* is Johann Georg Hamann (1730–1788), both for his criticism of Kant's critical thought and for his *Socratic Memorabilia*, which employed the figure of Socrates to question the claims of rationalism.

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***Goethe Yearbook*. Volume XXV. Edited by Adrian Daub and Elisabeth Krimmer; with Book Review Editor Sean Franzel, and special-section editor Mary Ann Dupree.** Rochester, New York: Camden House [Boydell & Brewer], for the Goethe Society of North America, 2018. Pp. 338; 11 b/w illustrations. ISBN-9781640140035; hardcover, $85. (Also available as an e-book for $24.99.)

In addition to its essays focusing broadly on the Age of Goethe, and more specifically on Goethe studies proper, the 2018 *Goethe Yearbook* (Volume XXV) takes advantage of the burgeoning field of sound studies to devote an opening section to examinations of the roles of sound in works by major figures of the period. Seductively titled "What Goethe Heard," the special section then clarifies with a subtitle: "Hearing and Listening in the Long Eighteenth Century." The section's editor, Mary Helen Dupree, provides an essential background emphasizing the hegemony of the visual and the textual in Goethe scholarship and eighteenth-century studies in general—at the

expense of the acoustic, leaving the latter to trail as a "marginalized other"—and this despite the fact that the acoustic was "a central site of scientific inquiry and aesthetic speculation" during the period. Of this the section's essays leave little doubt.

This acoustically-oriented section focuses on studies of works by three figures who loom large in the humanistic history of the Age of Goethe: Herder, Goethe, and Tieck. Eleven additional, more widely-ranging and richly specific essays follow, most with Goethe as their focus. Sixteen not-to-be-missed book reviews round out the volume, engagingly demonstrating, as do the volume's featured studies proper, the intricate dovetailing of contemporary Goethe studies and contemporary theory.

As one has confidently come to expect of the *Goethe Yearbook*, the studies it publishes are typically researched in thorough, exhaustively specific detail, and might stand as monographs on their own, with, in some cases, little, if any, reframing. It is not unusual, in this volume carrying the date 2018, to find citations from the immediately previous year.

Johann Gottfried Herder comes into his own again in the lead essay of this section, suggesting the daunting range and specificity of his interests, which make it possible for him to make the connections noted here between the developing science and aesthetics of his time, not all of which connections have fallen into the bed of scientific and humanistic forgetfulness.

In his "Behind Herder's Tympanum: Sound and Physiological Aesthetics 1800/1900," Tyler Whitney explores Herder's well-known emphasis on the sense of hearing and its link with aesthetic pleasure in the form of the sonic sublime, and Herder's attempt, most outstandingly in his *Fourth Critical Forest*, though evident elsewhere in his works as well, to ground these in the materiality of the physical--in short, in physiology, in the structure of the ear. Thus does Herder integrate the developing science of the auditory, which he studied closely, with the aesthetics of his time. Herder's special focus is on the nerves of the inner ear rather than the eardrum itself as the specific enablers of hearing's ability to engage the listener's soul. Part of Whitney's larger purpose here is to compare Herder's findings with those of later investigators of auditory processes, and to link the understandings of all in their relation to the contemporary soundscape as apprehended around 1900, when "the ear could no longer serve as a portal to the soul."

In the special section's second essay, Deva Kemmis takes the reader deep into the history of the mermaid figure world-wide as the broad context of her study of this figure's role in an early poem of Goethe's: "Becoming the Listener: Goethe's 'Der Fischer,'" and balances this breadth by recognizing this work as the "first example of folk poetry characterized as German" by Herder in his *Volkslieder.* Kemmis notes as fitting for the *Lied* genre as it develops at this time that the poem's sensory hierarchy is 'crowned' by listening." Her careful noting of the details of the poem's pervasively acoustic orientation, especially via the sounds and rhythms of water and the nixie's undulating voice,

underlines Kemmis's emphasis on the role of the ear versus the eye in the human epistemological experience, and recognizes this as "a signal" that the Enlightenment and its emphasis on the visual are "giving way to the Romantic period."

In the special section's third and concluding essay, "Of Barks and Bird Song; Listening in on the Forgotten in Ludwig Tieck's *der blonde Eckbert*," Robert Ryder achieves a comprehensive disentangling of puzzles that beset the reader of Tieck's ever-enigmatic tale. Ryan is able to do so by recruiting two specific literary sources that contain suggestive parallels with Tieck's *Eckbert* and that serve Ryan's exhaustive interpretive purposes. These sources are Maurice Renard's "Death and the Shell," 1907, and suggestive comments on the *Eckbert* by Walter Benjamin. But the result is more than a revelatory interpretation of a single tale. The parallels that Ryder adduces function as two-way streets, also serving *their* sources as layers of understandings provided *them* by Ryan's readings of the Tieck.

As were those above, the comments that follow are too brief and too few to be adequate to the scholarly and intellectual weight of the studies that make up the larger part of this volume of essays centered on the Age of Goethe.

Chunjie Zhang's "Garden Empire or the Sublime Politics of the Chinese-Gothic Style" adds importantly to the large scholarship on English and European gardens in the eighteenth century. Pointing to the Chinese-Gothic's being understood at the time as a version of the "natural" irregularity of the English Garden as opposed to the French garden's "strict geometrical regularity," Zhang identifies the profound political--as well as the aesthetic--understandings linked with this particular style. She supplies multiple examples of it involving landscapes and various individual buildings, most notably towers, but also pavilions, as well as small, thatch-roofed, plank-seated hut-like but delicate structures, and an obelisk.

Prompted by the repetition in *Faust II* of the same setting, events, and characters featured in *Faust I,* Jessica C. Resvick significantly extends scholarly explanations of these mirror-like repeats by identifying Goethe's articulated understandings of the nature and heightening function of repetition as such, in what one might call his theory of repetition, and by linking his emphatically Gothic setting with his long-standing interest in Gothic architecture dating from his time in Strasbourg and the lasting imprint of its cathedral on his imagination, as is reflected "throughout" his two essays entitled "On German Architecture."

In her "Two Gifts from Goethe: Charlotte von Stein's and Charlotte Schiller's Writing-Tables," Linda Dietrick brings the material world and its profound relation to writing into special focus in an account of Goethe as the giver of an unusual form of gift to each of two women, a writing desk. In addition to the desks' writerly links between giver and recipients (both are themselves writers), Dietrick suggests the probable emotional impulses propelling each gift and their source in the nature of Goethe's relation to each woman.

Galia Benziman, in her *Wilhelm Meister* and the Refusal to Grow Up: The Dialectics of *Bildung,*" rereads this first and paradigmatic example of the *Bildung* genre to yield an evaluation of its commitment to an idea of *Bildung* that has not had to wait for late-nineteenth- and twentieth-century novels to "collapse classical *Bildung* assumptions**."** This is so since the dubiousness of the idea of adulthood is already present at the genre's outset: *Wilhelm Meister "challenges the telos* of progress" by an alternative route whose guiding principle is already the refusal to grow up."

Noting from among Goethe's comments on reviews of his *Metamorphosis of Plants* that its author "was disappointed, often deeply, with [its] almost every reader," Jason Yonover, in his "Goethe, Maimon, and Spinoza's Third Kind of Cognition," points to a major exception to the early reception of this work. It was an "effusive review of the *Metamorphosis* in the *Deutsche Monatsschrift* a year after its publication that went "unreferenced in Goethe's discussion of" this work's reception—and this despite the fact that Goethe "held the volume in his personal library." Yonover is "interested in why Maimon was drawn to Goethe's project," and demonstrates that the two thinkers were similarly attracted to, and worked out of, Spinoza's notion of *scientia intuitiva*, Goethe knowing by 1786 "that he would spend a significant portion of his life pursuing this kind of cognition."

Patricia Anne Simpson, in "'Die gewalt'ge Heldenbrust': Gender and Violence in Goethe's *Iphigenie auf Tauris*," assesses Goethe's constitutional resistance to violence and his accompanying incapacity to write tragedy. Thus his Iphigenie, a potentially tragic classical figure, must--if she, her brother Orestes, and his cousin Pylades are to be freed--speak truly but also conciliatorily to the male power structure whose captives they are. This structure is violent, despotic; its figure is the male body. But Iphigenie, modeled after the innocent virginal St.Agatha, succeeds. Goethe has gendered as feminine the humane, the ethical, and the ability to persuade an autocratic ruler to act in "an almost chivalric way."

Also of special interest that space restrictions prevent accounts of here are Hans Richard Brittnacher's "Die Austreibung des Populären: Schillers Bürger-Kritik"; Chenxi Tang's "Literary Form and International World Order in Goethe, From *Iphigenie* to *Pandora"*; Matthew H. Birkhold's "Goethe and the Uncontrollable Business of Appropriative Stage Sequels" (of which Goethe wrote two); Susanne Fuchs's "'So steh' ich den hier wehrlos gegen dich?'—Figures of Armament and Disarmament in German Armament and Disarmament before and after the French Revolution"; and Ehrhard Bahr's "Die Neuvermessung von Lyrik und Prosa in Goethes *Novelle*."

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**Barbara Burman and Ariane Fennetaux.** ***The Pocket: A Hidden History of Women's Lives, 1660-1800***. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2019. Pp. 264; appendix listing cases at the Old Bailey involving "pockets" 1670-1904; bibliography (including the listing of archives and document sources); 161 colored illustrations; name index. ISBN: 9780300239072; hardcover, $50.

Burman and Fennetaux's topic in *The Pocket* is the cloth or leather pockets that early modern women wore tied around the waist, often in pairs, to hold important worldly goods and/or items associated with their activities, be they social or commercial. The book is well and elegantly illustrated, using images from textile archives from multiple museums in the United Kingdom and United States. Late in the narrative, the authors reveal the Victoria and Albert Museum began collecting and cataloging pockets in 1871. The pockets tell the stories of a range of women, crossing social classes, education, and legal and illegal events.

The history of the pocket is based on Burman and Fennetaux's examination of over 300 examples in museums and other collections, references in texts from eighteenth and nineteenth century works of fiction and the newspapers, and over 500 mentions of crimes associated with pocket thefts from the *Proceedings of the Old Bailey*. Burman and Fennetaux reconstruct the pockets' places in a range of women's lives across their seven illustrated chapters and provide informative notes to further fill out the storyline of these previously understated textiles. The overall style of the book is clear as each chapter weaves information about the construction of various pockets, the contents, and how the history of the pocket was documented relative to its roles in women's lives. It is as if we start with an empty pocket and end with a full one by the final pages.

As Burman and Fennetaux reveal, women typically wore two pockets to hold their possessions. The pockets were made of cotton, leather, or silk and some were embroidered. Many were signed in ink or with thread. The pockets ranged in size from about eight inches to two feet, and tradeswomen were sometimes known to wear more than two pockets to serve as a sort of tool box for their commercial needs. In an age when people were mobile, doors and locks could be unstable, and people could be desperate for survival, having one's possessions at hand was as practical as it was an act of privacy to hide a love letter or a locket. The pocket's opening was hand-sized and the ties made of cloth, and, since it hung at the hip, a thief could slip a hand in the pocket to pick it or cut the purse strings. Interestingly, men's clothing had pockets sewn on the in-seams while women's pockets were a separate apparel item.

Reading this book, I was reminded of things my parents' and grandparents' generations carried in their handbags. It is intriguing to learn the tradition and history. For example, Burman and Fennetaux describe the thimble, needle and thread carried by some women, which in my lifetime was the little sewing kit complete with silver scissors we could bring with us on the plane before 9/11. Then there was the little notebook with the pen that I still carry that was also common in the eighteenth-century pocket. Added to this would be a mirror, a comb, and a little book or almanac and shopping list. Publishers realized that creating pocket-sized books for ladies' pockets had commercial value, so duodecimo novels were

available. Of course, there was "pocket money," the coins that were carried for safe-keeping or earned buying and selling, and the pocket purse was a small purse within a pocket, that resembled a coin purse of today. Pockets could have compartments sewn within them to further protect and organize the content of the larger pocket. In their examination of the material artifacts, the authors also found evidence of larger items such as linens, baby caps, tea and sugar, and bits of fabric used to repair articles of clothing on the fly. Carrying a key or a group of keys was an overarching common use of the tie-on pocket.

Among eighteenth- and nineteenth-century novelists who noted the role of pockets cited by Burman and Fennetaux were Richardson, Fielding, and Mary Anne Evans. Pockets are referenced in *Pamela, Tom Jones*, and across the novels of George Eliot. Eliza Haywood remarked on the pockets occasionally in her social conduct commentary. In the visual arts, pockets can be seen in works of Hogarth and Paul Sandby as well as ephemeral illustrations in popular magazines and newspapers. Fashion dolls serve as a valuable resource in seeing how the pockets were worn, over the undergarments and beneath the layered outer garments and dress.

As might be expected, the accounts associated with criminal proceedings provide the more detailed descriptions of the contents of respective pockets. When pockets were stolen, some women were able to identify them by how they were embellished with fancy stitchery or personal designs. In other cases, items of personal value would be revealed such as old coins or marked coins, or a piece of fabric or fragment of a letter. Before the magistrate, women were required to reveal things that they might have wished to keep to themselves as their battered or fragmented pockets had to be reclaimed. Burman and Fennetaux point up that the pocket was probably second in value to thieves after coins and jewelry because, as part of a woman's entire outfit, the pocket was like a storehouse of additional items of varying monetary worth. For women like Elizabeth Canning, the servant abducted in 1753, the theft of her stays would likely have included the contents of small sewn-in pockets in the stays, as well as her pockets, which would have been tied over her petticoats. While Burman and Fennetaux do not mention Canning, they do cite related stories of young women lured into lodgings where they were robbed and stripped of their clothes which could be sold or pawned, of country girls encouraged to give their landladies their pockets for "safekeeping" while they worked outside the lodging only to be robbed, and the fairly regular theft of the pockets of working women and middle class women from under their pillows while they slept.

The seven chapters move sequentially to build the readers' appreciation of the pocket as an article of material culture and social history easily overlooked. When read as both fashion and cultural history, it is clear the functionality of the pocket evolved with women's lives and. As today, when we are always aware of where our cell phones are, so too did women across the centuries know where their pockets were.

The last example of a tie-on pocket the authors note appears from the 1930s made of leather and used by Winnifred Marian, Lady Ponsonby, on her travels in Africa and into South America. Resembling more of handbag or passport neck

wallet, the Ponsonby pocket epitomizes its versatility and ubiquitousness as a functioning fashion item.

The color illustrations are of high resolution and quality and enable the reader to see the details of the fabrics and styles of the pockets and in some instance, to get a sense in their worn appearances of how much and how well they were used. Once the reader becomes attuned to the pocket, the eye seeks them in the visual art included in the volume.

Even though the intent of the book may seem simple in that the authors do not want to consign the seemingly insignificant pockets to oblivion, Burman and Fennetaux go well beyond in *The Pocket.* Like John Styles in his 2008 *The Dress of the People,* Burman and Fennetaux restore to life the stories of a range of women who lives were made simpler by the way they used their pockets as expressions of themselves, and showed what they valued and how they lived and worked for a period spanning two hundred years. Being thankful to Maureen E. Mulvihill for bringing the book to my attention, I pass on that recommendation to readers.

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**Leo Damrosch.** ***The Club: Johnson, Boswell, and the Friends Who Shaped an Age****.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019. Pp. 333; appendix; 93 b/w and 31 color illustrations; index. ISBN: 978-0-300-21790-2. Hardcover, $30.

For those who cut their eighteenth-century teeth on courses such as the "Age of Pope" or the "Age of Johnson," reading Leo Damrosch's *The Club* is returning to loved and familiar territory. Samuel Johnson's life, writings, and opinions are the stuff of eighteenth-century scholarship, and James Boswell's presence inescapably hovers over Johnson's spirit. But there is more here, for the subtitle of Damrosch's study is: *Johnson, Boswell and the Friends Who Shaped an Age.* The Club, he tells us, is the "virtual hero of this story" because of the unique individuals who comprised it; in fact, "it would be hard to exaggerate the influence the Club's members had on the culture of their age and on later generations."

At first glance, *The Club* is a deceptively simple book with episodic biographies of Johnson and Boswell interwoven with essential facts about the outstanding figures who comprised the Club's membership in its first twenty years. That much is indicated by the title. Yet one does not have to read too far into the book before realizing the expertise at work in some 400 pages of text. Here besides essential biographies of the principal characters, we receive a historical, social, economic, scientific, artistic, and religious surveys of the time in which they lived. The whole is supplemented with complementary images in black and white as well as color. There is an appendix listing the Club's members in the first twenty years and some 38 pages of notes divided according to chapter headings. These are but the machinery; the richness of the

whole lies in Damrosch's artistry where, in his words, the whole fits together as "a Chinese landscape scroll" that, as it extends, reveals individuals appearing in new contexts.

Before discussing the ways Damrosch deals with such an immense amount of material, it is important to note that he does not, as Abigail Adams warned, "forget the ladies." In the prologue Hester Thrale and Frances Burney are credited with seeing aspects of Johnson's personality that his male friends did not. In particular Hester's presence throughout this volume is a significant one. Intellectuals such as Elizabeth Carter, Johnson's colleague at Cave's publishing house; Hannah More; Catherine Macaulay; Charlotte Lennox; and Elizabeth Montagu come into the story, as well as his lesser known "domestic companions," Anna Williams and Elizabeth Desmoulins. These women and their circle formed what Damrosch calls "a shadow club."

A study that features Samuel Johnson and James Boswell as the pivotal point from which to illustrate the talents of their eminent friends must deal with the well-known historical facts of both Johnson and Boswell. Damrosch deals with this biographical material by dividing it into segments. There are two introductory chapters describing Johnson's life before Boswell, then two chapters describing Boswell's life before meeting Johnson. A fifth chapter brings the two together before introducing the Club. Given the fact that the details of Johnson's and Boswell's lives may be very familiar to some readers, Damrosch enlivens their stories by using contemporary accounts to supply interesting details, as well as modern scholarship to augment eighteenth-century renditions. Moreover, the Johnson and Boswell portraits are controlled by focusing on an essential aspect of each man. Both suffered from various forms of psychological stress. For example, Boswell was perennially coping with ambitions beyond his capacities, confessing that he was destined to spend all his life "in a labyrinth of care." Johnson's personal demon was an indolence that provided fodder for self-criticism and made eternal damnation very real to him.

By 1764 he was in so much despair as to frighten friends. The artist Sir Joshua Reynolds suggested a solution and proposed they form a club consisting of some nine interesting and close companions who, for the purpose of good conversation, would meet once a week, at Turk's Head Tavern just off the Strand. The results of Reynolds' effort was appreciated by Johnson, who declared a tavern chair to be the "throne of felicity" by providing an "interchange of discourse with those whom I most love: I dogmatize and am contradicted, and in this conflict of opinion and sentiments I find delight." Unfortunately, there are no concise records of conversations that took place among Club members. Bits and pieces emerge in Boswell's journals, but the only fairly full account of a Club meeting is that in the 3 April 1778 entry.

In 1765 none of the original Club members were well known public figures, and none were from the upper classes or the aristocracy. Joshua Reynolds earned his title when he was knighted in 1769, and Edmund Burke was just

beginning his political career the year the Club was founded. For most Club members, fame was in the future, but even in 1764, Johnson and Reynolds had enough experience with these individuals to know the reach and stretch of their intellectual powers, and they were excellent conversationalists. Damrosch does not hesitate to rate them: "No fewer than seven—Johnson, Burke, Reynolds, Garrick, Gibbon, Adam Smith, and Boswell—made up a constellation of talent that has rarely if ever been equaled." (135) We are accustomed to think of America's Founding Fathers as a unique set of individuals who changed the course of history. However, here was another set of men, equally brilliant and diverse in their talents, whose political, philosophical, and economic ideas influenced the thinking of America's founders in significant ways.

In his concise biographies of individual Club members, Damrosch gives pride of place to Sir Joshua Reynolds. Known for his portraits—setting up a veritable factory of sorts—Reynolds was founder of the Royal Academy of Arts, with the King as its patron, and he published a series of lectures titled *Discourses on Art*. Reynolds possessed a genial temper, and he was an enthusiastic member of at least six other clubs. Some judge Reynolds' art by modern standards and declare his work to be formulaic in composition and patrician in subject. Only a few critics of his time, such as William Blake, would have evaluated it as such. For example, his portraits of children could hardly be described as cold and lifeless; in fact, Reynolds took his models of them from everyday life. Once when visiting Edmund Burke's country estate, he complained of not knowing a "good healthy baby" for the portrait of the infant Hercules that he was painting. Burke immediately thought of his bailiff's baby, asked and received the parents' permission to use him as a model, and, thus, the infant William Rolfe entered the rolls of portraiture. A centerpiece in Reynolds' story is that of his sister Frances Reynolds, "the other painter in the house." Interestingly, it was Frances who spoke of how highly Johnson valued female friendship.

Politics is inextricably tied to the literature of the eighteenth century, and Edmund Burke, one of the first members of the Club, is a good example of how the two fit together. Initially Burke wanted to be a writer and alienated his father by leaving the study of law at Middle Temple to become a poet. It was not poetry but his undergraduate treatise on aesthetics, *A Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful,* that brought him to the attention of the literary world. While the young man's brilliance caught Johnson's attention, his politics as a Whig was a subject to be avoided. In spite of their different political alliances, the two men had an abiding friendship. In political terms, they disagreed about ways to deal with rebelling American colonists, but they were of one mind with respect to abolition of slavery. Both "talked for victory," and Burke once commented they would have been of the same mind if they had no listeners. His life outside the House of Commons was dogged by private tribulations. Burke's Irish background

roused suspicions of his being a Catholic, his unyielding position on certain issues made for enemies in high places, and his always-precarious finances were situations that would have, in the words of one contemporary, "sunk anyone but himself." That they did not was due to the management of his wife, Jane, who managed his papers and kept an eye on family finances. Incidentally, Jane Burke's father, Dr. Christopher Nugent, was also an early member of the Club. Damrosch uses this chapter on Burke to discuss the issue of "subordination," in its religious, political and social manifestations.

There is a later chapter on "Empire" that appears to be a digression from the book's focus on the Club except that it extends the political material in the Burke chapter and is a fine example of the multiple perspectives to which Damrosch refers in the prologue. He elaborates on the subject of colonialism, which touched and affected the thinking of every member of Johnson's circle. During most of the eighteenth century, Britain had been engaged in trade wars with France and Spain over North America and the Caribbean islands. Similarly, there was a growing demand for parliamentary oversight of the East India Company's political role in India. At the same time, Ireland, a centuries-long problem for England, was growing restive under Penal laws that deprived Irish Catholics of property, of the outward practice of their religion, and of an education. Finally, running through and permeating all these situations was the moral issue of slavery with growing calls for its abolition. Much to Damrosch's credit, this chapter is as concise a summation of Britain's colonial affairs as it is possible to give.

The eighteenth-century has many labels, with the unfortunate and dour "Age of Reason" leading the list. However, in a concise book on the period, Donald Greene characterized it as *The Age of Exuberance*. The Club had its share of actors and playwrights in the persons of David Garrick, Oliver Goldsmith, and Richard Brinsley Sheridan; their talents exemplified this exuberance. Garrick has a chapter of his own, and with good reason. Eight years Johnson's junior, Garrick early established himself in London as an actor and, later, manager of Drury Lane theatre. Managerial skills were one thing, but Garrick's fame came from his acting ability—he pioneered "the method" way of characterization two centuries before Marlon Brando studied it. Damrosch pulls from many contemporary sources to illustrate, not only Garrick's effect on his audiences, but the ways his personality enlivened social gatherings. Boswell, Frances Burney, Goldsmith and others describe his lavish lifestyle and his exceptionally happy marriage to dancer Eva Marie Veigel. Garrick's life ended shortly after his retirement at age fifty-nine. He preceded Johnson in death, but they are buried side-by-side in Westminster Abbey. Of the thirty-four coaches that carried mourners to the Abbey for Garrick's funeral, four were reserved for Club members.

Two of these Club members were Oliver Goldsmith and Richard Brinsley Sheridan, men whose plays still delight audiences. Goldsmith's first play, *The Good-Natured Man,* was a success, but *She Stoops to Conquer* established his

reputation. Goldsmith was prolific, writing essays, poetry and a novel, but according to Boswell, his desire for attention and manner in conversation were off-putting. Nevertheless, his early death deeply touched all who knew him, and in the epitaph Johnson wrote, he praised the range and quality of Goldsmith's writings, allowing "[he] touched nothing that he did not adorn." The Club's other playwright, Richard Brinsley Sheridan, wrote five plays, with his first, *The Rivals*, giving the world an unforgettable character in Mrs. Malaprop, and the next, *The School for Scandal,* became a vehicle for some of the finest acting in every generation since. Sheridan's courtship of Elizabeth Linley, the lovely and extraordinarily talented singer, was the stuff of sheer romanticism. Not so his demand that she stop performing once they were married, even though her considerable fame would add to the family incomed. Damrosch uses contemporary accounts to describe the quality of Elizabeth's voice and attributes Sheridan's silencing of his wife— "the nightingale"—to his growing political ambitions. In the end, this legendary love story became very prosaic.

Johnson's life underwent a sea change when he met Henry and Hester Thrale. They took him into their country estate, Streatham, with its vibrant life so that he no longer had to rely on the Club for social and intellectual stimulation. Although Johnson had great esteem and love for Henry Thrale, it was the spirited Hester whom Johnson thanked many years later for "that kindness which soothed twenty years of a life radically wretched." According to *Thaliana*, Hester's diary, her marriage to Henry Thrale was "my mother's choice for me, and not mine for myself." Damrosch's statement that she "never complained" about her marriage, is contradicted by passages in *Thraliana,* and often it was Johnson to whom she complained and whose advice she followed. Modern readers are aware of the psychosexual nature of the Johnson/Thrale relationship, with Hester in the role of therapist. While there is still some contention on this subject, Damrosch goes over in detail the evidence labeling it as such. In addition to giving Johnson a second home at Streatham, Hester Thrale also opened to him a world of women intellectuals. Here he mingled with Frances Burney, Elizabeth Montagu, Hannah More, and Elizabeth Carter as well as prominent Club members such as Burke, Garrick, Charles Burney, and Boswell.

James Boswell's failure to find professional success at the bar, and, as he hoped, in Parliament, as well as his reputation for drinking and whoring, were well-known. Damrosch attributes the frequency and nature of Boswell's mood swings to a bipolar disorder. Because he expected to inherit Auchinleck, the family's estate in Scotland, Boswell never really committed himself to the study of law. And, despite his efforts to cultivate influential connections, he never received any support to stand for Parliament. His extensive search for a wife ended when he married his first-cousin, Margaret Montgomerie, and over the years, the long-suffering Peggie put up with her husband's many dalliances and bouts of venereal disease. Boswell's "true vocation" was writing; this was

the aptitude that made him known to posterity, not law or a place in Parliament. In 1768 he published *An Account of Corsica: The Journal of a Tour to that Island, and Memoirs of Pascal Paoli* which brought him much-valued notice as "Corsica Boswell." In 1777 he began publishing a series of essays entitled *The Hypochondriack.*

The five-week trip to the Hebrides in 1773 was the longest period of time that Johnson and Boswell spent together, and it produced a "new level of intimacy" between them, as well as, what John Radner has delineated in his study of their relationship, a strong sense of competition. It also resulted in their two diverse accounts of the journey: Johnson's *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, published in 1775, and Boswell's *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson*. Boswell's work was published after Johnson's death and was, in effect, a trial balloon for his biographical method of including actual conversations and descriptions of his subjects with their "warts and all." During the Hebridean trip the two men had put together an imaginary college, staffed by the talents of different Club members. In 1773, at the time of the Hebrides trip, Club membership consisted of eighteen men. That was about to change in the following five years with the addition of twenty-one new members, among them two men Johnson did not particularly care for: Adam Smith and Edward Gibbon.

Adam Smith's economic theories had a profound influence on America's founders, and are still important today. Interestingly enough, Smith earned his membership in the Club on the basis of his 1759 *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, a study of the ways moral values are acquired through social interaction. *The Wealth of Nations,* his subsequent and still influential publication, seems not to have overly impressed most members. While both Johnson, and Boswell admitted the power of Smith's mind, Johnson judged that Smith "was as dull a dog as he ever met with." In tracing Smith's work, Damrosch discusses Smith's economic theory in its essential elements, refuting the charge of later economists that Smith believed "economic behavior is exclusively self-interested." One needs to read *Theory of Moral Sentiments* as a companion piece to *Wealth of Nations* to understand Smith's view of humanity.

If Boswell and Johnson simply dismissed Smith for his lack of social spontaneity, they actively loathed Edward Gibbon's religious skepticism and the ways he questioned the received history of the Christian church. They regularly referred to him as "the Infidel." Damrosch traces Gibbon's life-long love of history and his writing of *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* and details the work's virtues as "a new kind of history." In essence, Gibbon brings the reader with him as he combines fact with theory, acknowledges contradictions, and works to delve beneath the surface of the obvious. Gibbon's *Decline and Fall* was Churchill's early preferred book and his exemplar for writing history. In an interesting way, Damrosch uses the "infidel" accusation referring to Edward Gibbon as a segue into a chapter discussing the place of the established Anglican church and the role of religion

in eighteenth-century England. Religious faith was the one area, Damrosch rightly claims, that Johnson suppressed the skepticism he showed in every other context. David Hume, not a Club member, functions here as the non-believing voice that gave Johnson so much discomfort.

In the final biographical chapters, Damrosch describes the accom-plishments and the emotional challenges of Johnson's final years. By 1774 his attendance at Club meetings had become sporadic and his physical decline inexorable. No sooner did Johnson finish the brilliant and insightful *Lives of the Poets* than his idyllic world at Streatham fell apart. Henry Thrale died suddenly in 1781, but Johnson was to suffer a greater blow when, three years later, Hester married the Italian Catholic musician Gabriele Piozzi. His reaction to the marriage was a brutal and lasting rejection of Hester. Three years later Johnson died quietly and with no apparent pain. Boswell in Scotland felt "but one large expanse of stupor." Those who knew Johnson well, and even those who were simply acquainted with him, felt they would not see his like again, and we have not.

Boswell's decline took varied forms. He moved his family to London, but that venture failed to fulfill his political ambitions. In London Peggie's consumption worsened, and she begged Boswell to take her back to Scotland. Assuring himself that she would have another remission, he did not accompany her to Auchinleck. Finally, heeding their daughter's warnings, he set off for Scotland, but Peggie died while he was in route. Subsequently, failure after failure dogged his political ambitions in mortifying ways. The publication of John Hawkins' and Hester Thrale Piozzi's memoirs of Johnson were the catalyst for Boswell doing the one thing for which he was truly qualified: writing the *Life of Johnson.* Posterity has to thank another Club member, Edmond Malone because in Frederick Pottle words, Malone nightly "corked the wine bottle, and uncorked the ink well," making sure that the *Life of Johnson* reached publication (1791). Although Damrosch allows, "the book is not without its faults," he lauds Boswell's extraordinary originality, his gift for "creating a reality by invoking tones of voice, facial expressions, laughter and body language." Posterity certainly concurs with this judgment.

The epilogue looks to the future. By the time Johnson died, many of the original members of the Club and of the Shadow Club were dead. Damrosch concludes the stories of the remaining nine survivors: Hester Thrale Piozzi, Edmund Burke, Richard and Elizabeth Sheridan, Edward Gibbon, Bennet Langton, and Frances Burney. Today the Club exists under the name London Literary Society. Walter Scott, William Gladstone, Rudyard Kipling and Neville Chamberlain were among its later members. Nevertheless, many names that do not appear at all would have been members if Johnson and Burke were in charge—names such as Dickens, Hardy, Orwell, and Larkin. Although several Conservative prime ministers were members, Winston Churchill was not. And no women; it remains a Club for men only.

But perhaps this is a sign of our times. Something Martin Battestin wrote describing Fielding's magnificent accomplishment in *Tom Jones* encapsulates the difference between Johnson's time and ours and captures the essence of Damrosch's achievement. In the pages of *Tom Jones*, Battestin writes, Fielding has preserved for us the spirit of the time in which he lived: "For all its knaves and fools, it was a time when excellence in all things seemed attainable and was honored." Knaves and fools aside, in *The Club* Damrosch has truly given us an exceptional portrait of the latter half of the century and of the particular individuals who demonstrated the sort of excellence that was honored then and still touches our lives three centuries later

Elizabeth Lambert
Gettysburg College

## COME TO THE EC/ASECS IN GETTYSBURG, 24-26 OCTOBER

This year, we wish EC/ASECS a happy 50th! Now is the time to make your booking for this year's conference in Gettysburg, PA, from 24-26 October. The Thursday evening and Friday sessions will be held at the Gettysburg Hotel in the center of town, and all Saturday sessions will be on the campus of Gettysburg College.

This year's conference theme is "Crossroads and Divergences." Attendees will be treated to some familiar offerings, such as the Aural/Oral Experience on Thursday evening and our usual lively roundtable on Swift studies. We will also have panels on French and American topics, book history, theatre history, domesticity, and more. Our keynote speaker will be Professor Tita Chico of the University of Maryland, whose talk will draw on her recent research on literary and scientific narrative.

Attendees will have the opportunity to see artwork by the eighteenth-century German-born botanist Maria Sibylla Merian, tour Gettysburg College's Special Collections, and partake of a planetarium show on the eighteenth-century sky, including the discovery of Uranus. On Friday night, EC/ASECS member Patrice Smith and her band Irishtown Road will host a concert at a local Irish pub, and on Saturday there will be the chance to linger and celebrate EC/ASECS at 50.

Members wishing to book a room at the Gettysburg Hotel should mention their ECASECS affiliation to receive the conference rate of $149/night. Contact the Gettysburg hotel at www. hotelgettysburg.com or (01) 717.337.2000. For more information, including a registration form, program, and further lodging options, see the conference website at http:// ecasecs2019.wordpress. com.

Graduate student participants will enjoy a newly-reduced registration rate of $25 this year and should remember to apply for the Molin Award, given

annually to the best paper presented by a graduate student. Questions can be directed to Joanne Myers at jemyers@gettysburg.edu or (01) 717.337.6763.

Joanne Myers
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**Additions and Corrections to the Directory**

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## News of Members

Hopes of holding our fall 2020 meeting at Virginia Commonwealth University have been dashed by unforeseen developments, and, so, we need a location and chair for our fall 2020 conference pronto, and would like to have 2021 also lined up. We are looking for members willing and able to host the meeting in either year. Recent conference chairs are able to advise and support them. Our President **Sylvia Kasey Marks** asks anyone interested in chairing the meeting

to please notify our Executive Secretary, **Peter Staffel** before the week of the conference in Gettysburg, so that the Executive Board can explore all possibilities prior to decide on a 2020 venue.

We welcome **Faith Acker**, who took her PhD in Renaissance literature from St. Andrews U. in 2012 and teaches literature and Latin at Signum U. in New Hampshire. This year she holds the James M. Osborn Fellowship at the Beinecke. Faith has written and spoken on topics related to poetical miscellanies and 18C editions of Shakespeare. This year's *Eighteenth-Century Scotland* (v. 33) contains **Corey Andrews**'s review of Mark Wallace's *The Great Transformation: Scottish Freemasonry, 1725-1810*. **Eve Tavor Bannet**'s book *18C Manners of Reading: Print Culture and Popular Instruction in the Anglophone Atlantic World* (CUP, 2017) examines "the means, media, skills, and mental processes that contemporaries employed to put books to specific uses" (2). Her examination of why people read as they did and the impact of such are well discussed in Nora Slonimsky's review in the July *William & Mary Quarterly* (76:562-66). **Ralph Bauer** reviewed Michel Currie Navakas's *Liquid Landscape: Geography and Settlement at the Edge of Early America* (that is, Florida) in *Early American Literature*'s first 2019 issue. In July, outgoing ASECS president Melissa Hyde patted the backs of people contributing much to ASECS, remarking, **"**I also would like to reiterate my deep appreciation of Executive Director **Lisa Berglund** for her administrative talents, boundless energy and dedication to ASECS; and to Aimee Levesque, our Office Manager, another talented multi-tasker and problem-solver extraordinaire. ASECS is in very good hands, dear members!" In August when Hyde asked for nominations for a new Treasurer, she had high praise for **Jill Bradbury**, whose term ends in June 2020: Jill "has taken the lead in reorganizing our finances and fund balances, so that we now have a clearer picture of our fiscal standing. . . . many of our prize and travel funds are undercapitalized. Thanks to Jill's work, we are well positioned to begin our 50+50 fundraising campaign. Beyond questions of finances, Jill has been a valued contributor to the Board on many other matters and has helped to shape policy on questions of accessibility at our conference." **Kevin Berland** published "Thersites and Deformity" in *The Variable Body in History*, ed. by Chris Mounsey and Stan Booth. His C18-L discussion list continues to be an important nervous system for much of the 18C studies community.

On 22 October Yale will published **Thomas Bonnell's** edition of Volume 4: *1780-1784* of *James Boswell's* Life of Johnson: *An Edition of the Original Manuscript in Four Volumes* ($125). The edition is part of Yale's Private Papers of James Boswell project, overseen by Gordon Turnbull. Tom also edited Vol. 3 (2012), Marshall Waingrow and Bruce Redford with Elizabeth Goldring having edited Vols. 1-2. Tom has had to transcribe and make sense of the heavily revised working MS used as printer's copy for the first edition, along with related papers. **Vincent Carretta** reports that he **"**gave four talks in April 2019 in London and Cambridge, on Olaudah Equiano, Ignatius

Sancho, and Phillis Wheatley. Oxford UP has just published my edition of *The Writings of Phillis Wheatley*, which we hope will be considered the authoritative edition. Several other publications, in various stages of production, are scheduled to appear later this year and early next." One "in press is a new Penguin edition of Equiano's writings, expanded & corrected in light of discoveries made since 2003." Vin will be the Guest Editor of the tentatively entitled "Black Atlantic (and beyond) in the (very) long 18th Century" section of the online *Oxford African American Studies Center*, whose editor-in-chief is Henry Louis Gates, Jr. Vin writes that, "Notwithstanding the current 'Black Atlantic ... 18th Century' title of the section, its scope covers the area from China to Peru, and the whole period before 1800." **Tita Chico,** who has edited *The Eighteenth Century: Theory & Interpretation* since 2001, will be soon joined by co-editor Emily Hodgson Anderson (U. of Southern California). Tita has recently published essays in *Year's Work in Cultural and Critical Theory*, *The Los Angeles Review of Books, ECF, Configurations*, and *Public Seminar.* Her book *The Experimental Imagination: Literary Knowledge and Science in the British Enlightenment* (Stanford UP, 2018) is favorably reviewed in the June issue of *RES.* The book concerns the literariness of natural philosophy, investigating such topics as "how science was enabled by metaphor" to better "articulate . . . objects of study." Tita writes that, "During Trinity Term 2020, I will take up residence as a Research Fellow at New College, Oxford. And I am very much looking forward to EC-ASECS this year in Gettysburg." **Jeremy Chow**, now an assistant professor at Bucknell, published "Gold is the New Green: Thinking Environmental Shame in Drought Times" in *Resilience*, 6.i (2019), 1-26. He returns to ecology in discussing Henry Neville's *Isle of Pines* at Gettysburg. **Lorna J. Clark** was a keynote speaker at the UK Burney Society meeting this year, speaking on "Progress of a Heroine: From the Margins to the Mainstream with Francis Burney." She has sent out a packed fall 2019 *Burney Letter* (25.2), with celebrations of the Society's 25 year history and successful 2019 meeting in Auburn. Articles include Dennis Robillard's "Another Burney Connection: James Bindley" and books reviewed include Vol. 2 of *The Additional Journals and Letters of Frances Burney* ed. by **Peter Sabor** (2018).

**Kevin L. Cope** has organized another conference for SCSECS, an annual task for him, at Fort Augustine, at a lovely beach hotel (Embassy Suites), as shown in photographs in the September 2019 SCSECS newsletter from Kathryn Duncan. Many of our members have signed up to chair panels. **Bærbel Czennia** chairs "Accelerated Growth: Velocity in Travel," etc., which reflects the conference theme, "The Speedy Enlightenment"; **Samara Anne Cahill**, "Women & Religion" and also "Fort Augustine, Colonial History and the Catholic Enlightenment"; **Michael Edson**, "Poet, Sailor, and Lexicographer William Falconer," a panel on which **Mel New** will speak; **Gloria Eive**, "Aesthetic Challenges and Conundrums: Musical, Artistic, and Literary Compositions"; **John Scanlan**, "London High and Low: Streets, Roads,

Courts," etc; and **Frances Singh**, "Lives Cut Short: The Death of Young Persons in the 18C and how they were remembered. Many members contributed to the final ***ECCB*** volume (n.s. 37 on 2011) before AMS folded, for which Kevin long and well served as general editor. Though contributors never received offprints, some copies were distributed. I can report that this year AbeBooks had a copy priced at $657 offered by Tandree Philosophy in the U.K. **Al Coppola**'s *The Theater of Experiment: Staging Natural Philosophy in 18C Britain* (2016) is reviewed by Jan Golinski in the spring *The Eighteenth Century*—Swiftians will find in this issue Robert Mahoney's review of John Stubbs' biography of Swift. In the Spring 2019 *ECF* **Bærbel Czennia** reviewed *Animals and Humans: Sensibility and Representation, 1650-1820*, ed. by Katherine M. Quinsey (Voltaire Foundation, 2017). Welcome to **Kristin Distil**, an English PhD candidate at Ohio U., who has studied 18C-20C literature. She publishes "'Free! Body and Soul Free!': The Docile Female Body in Kate Chopin's *The Story of an Hour*" in *New Women's Writing: Contextualizing Fiction, Poetry, and Philosophy*, ed. S. Bhattacharjee et al. (2018). We welcome **Emilee Durand**, a PhD student in English at Maryland, who'll chair "Domesticity in Odd Places" at Gettysburg. Emilee's interests include the Black Atlantic and transatlantic British & American literature. **Laura Engels** reviewed Heather McPherson's *Art and Celebrity in the Age of Reynolds and Siddons* (2017) in *ECF*'s summer issue, where Lisa Maruca reviewed **Sandro Jung**'s *The Publishing and Marketing of Illustrated Literature in Scotland, 1760-1829* and Danielle Menge reviewed **Peter Sabor** & Betty Schellenberg, eds., *Samuel Richardson in Context.*

Amiable **Robert Folkenflik** died of Lymphoma at age 80 in July. Bob taught from the 1970s through his retirement at UC-Irvine. He was an authority on autobiographical and narrative writing, working on Johnson, Smollett, Sterne, and Swift, and he work too on connections between literature and the visual arts. He helped establish UCI's Humanities Research Institute, enjoyed fellowships from the Guggenheim and Rockefeller Foundations and the British Academy, and was a visiting professor in Barcelona, Konstanz, and London. I value most his Georgia edition of Smollett's *The Life & Adventures of Sir Launcelot Greaves* (2002, with **Barbara Laning Fitzpatrick** as textual editor), in which Bob gave exemplary attention to illustrations of the novel. His son David (whom we all know from NPR reporting, of whom Bob was justly proud) posted a fine tribute on 22 July. **Mitch Fraas**, with A. S. G. Edwards published the note "A New Manuscript of More's English Works" in *Library*, 20.1: 89-93 (March 2019). It concerns the curious appearance of 11 single-sheet MSS containing texts of three of Sir Thomas More's English works, all sold at relatively minor auction houses during 2013-2018, most not sold as the work of More. Variants suggest the leaves many have textual significance (they may not be copies of printed work). None have pagination or foliation, but they seem to indicate the presence somewhere of a MS of More's English prose. This "leaf-by-leaf dispersal" causes trouble for scholars

and it's to be hoped that the rest of the MS will be sold "in its entirety in a single transaction." **April Fuller** is an editorial assistant for *The Eighteenth Century* and chairs ASECS's Graduate Student Caucus. She first came to our attention for producing a good "Some Current Publications" survey for the fall 2018 *Restoration*. She'll speak at Gettysburg on "Sex and Sisterhood" in Cleland's *Fanny Hill*. The 2019 issue of *Eighteenth-Century Scotland* (no. 33) includes **Henry Fulton**'s review of Dennis Rasmussen's *The Infidel and the Professor: David Hume, Adam Smith, and the Friendship that Shaped Modern Thought.* It also contains **Carol McGuirk**'s of vols. 2-3 *The Oxford Edition of the Works of Robert Burns*, ed. by Murray Pittock. **Aparna Gollapudi** is co-chairing the WSECS meeting in Ft. Collins this coming February but has worked in a presentation at our fall meeting. In May **Mascha Hansen** oversaw a "Sustainability Week" at Greifswald U. and attended the **DIGITENS** conference in Brest—i.e., the Digital Encyclopaedia of British Enlightenment Sociability, an international effort to create an online encyclopedia of sociability in Britain, 1660-1832. In June Mascha was writing a short entry on Caroline Herschel for a "women in 18C science" project and finishing up her paper on Burney and the "zig-zag path of conversation" for the ISECS congress. We asked **Sharon Harrow** for a syllabus for our pedagogical section, which we gratefully run above in this issue, on seeing that she has edited with Kirsten Saxton *Adapting the Eighteenth Century: Pedagogies and Practices*, forthcoming from the U. of Rochester Press. The volume includes Sharon's chapter "Eliza Haywood's 'Bad Habits." **Susan Howard** will speak on "Caroline Herschel's Work at Windsor" in a session on "Gender and Social Roles." Susan last year published "Narrative Surrogacy in Edgeworth's and Scott's Nationalist Novels" in *The Ways of Fiction: New Essays on the Literary Cultures of the 18C*, ed. by Nicholas Crowe—Crowe's collection also includes an essay by **Kelly Malone** on "the Missing Conclusion of Defoe's *Colonel Jack*." "Groundbreaking" and "meticulous," Helen Williams calls **Robert Hume** and **Judith Milhous**'s *The Publication of Plays in London* in a review in the June *JECS*, finding "on every page we are reminded they are the foremost bibliographers of eighteenth-century drama." She gives special praise to the charts, tables, and appendices and the movement beyond the plays themselves to adaptations, translations, and collections. **Catherine Ingrassia** has taken over the duties of book-review editor for *Restoration*. **Joe Johnson** (joejohnson @clayton.edu) has for several years been editing SEASECS's journal *New Perspectives on the 18C*, which the SEASECS *Gazette* in 2017 designated "*NPEC*." It's good that someone in French studies (i.e. outside English literature) edits the journal. We're happy to welcome **Helena Kim**, a TA in English at Delaware (the best members come from Delaware). Helena works on English and American transatlantic literature, gender, and sexuality. **Elizabeth Lambert** is co-editor of the annual *Studies in Burke and His Time*, now an on-line journal. Beth's "Johnson, Burke, Boswell and the Slavery Debate" is among those listed last issue as appearing in **Anthony Lee**'s

*Community and Solitude.* She is teaching classes on Jane Austen's novels for the Osher Lifelong Learning Institute at George Mason U. She writes, "The no papers, no grades, no exams format has given me time to develop another course on a subject that has long interested me: 'The British Side of the American Revolution.' (Johnson and Burke on the subject started my mind working on it.) Another course, a spin-off from that, is on Loyalists during the American Revolution. Finally, Osher has three campuses in the area, and I coordinate the Reston campus. That means, in cooperation with committee members, I plan and develop courses specifically for the Reston campus. With three local campuses, a teacher can rotate a given course from one venue to another, thus getting payback for all the work involved in developing a course." **Anthony Lee** wrote this summer of enjoying a different classroom experience: teaching humanities to the bright Arkansas students at the State's Governor's School. He and **Mel New** are editing a collection on "Scholarly Annotation and 18C Texts," hoping to have a volume with contributions by experienced editors ready for submission by the end of 2021. Tony published a number of articles this year: *The Explicator* 77 carried his "'Yonder Bank': Milton's *Samson Agonistes* and Spenser's *Julye*" and "Posthumanist Swift: Cyborgs and 'A Beautiful Young Nymph Going to Bed,'" a talk given at the last EC/ASECS. The March 2019 *Johnsonian News Letter* carried his "Johnson, Machiavelli, and *Rambler* 156." **Nancy Mace** worked at the BL on music copyrights during May and June. She will retire from the Naval Academy in December, replaced by **Jane Wessel** (see below) and move back to her family's 116 acre farm in Marion Center. **Will B. Mackintosh** teaches history courses, such as on gender and urban history and the American Revolution & the Early Republic at Mary Washington; he researches the histories of leisure and crime and the cultural history of capitalism. He's just published *Selling the Sights: The Invention of the Tourist in American Culture* (NYUP, 2019). Will also edits *The Panorama: Expansive Views from "The Journal of the Early Republic,"* which has postings, often heavily illustrated, related to that journal's contents (http:// thepanorama.shear.org). He's recently been investigating the Loomis Gang of horse thieves in 19C New York. **Bénédicte Miyaoto**, a professor of British history at the Sorbonne, is a resident fellow at the Society of Cincinnati Library in Washington. This led to her attending our Gettysburg meeting, but, most extraordinarily, besides presenting a paper on manuals, she is chairing a session too: "Folds and Formats: Fitting Knowledge to the Page."

Welcome to **Aaron Montalvo**, in English at Penn State, who'll speak at Gettysburg on Joseph Highmore's *Pamela* paintings and "18C Spectatorship." After presenting at EC/ASECS "The Presence of Charlotte Smith, Matthew Prior and George Crabbe in Austen's *Persuasion*: A Study in Intertextuality," **Ellen Moody** presented at ASECS "Winston Graham's Uses of Documentable Reality and What We Cannot Know in his Novels." Ellen is working on a literary study of Winston Graham's Poldark novels, with the working title "A

Matter of Genre." She started a book project with a friend on women who for a long time lived on their own or embedded in a family (spinsters, lesbian or otherwise, widows, women separated)—a topic she spoke on at an EC/ASECS not long ago in a paper entitled "The Anomaly." Her figures will include Anne Murray Halkett (late 17C autobiographer) and Charlotte Smith. Ellen retaught with greater success her OLLIs seminar "Enlightenment: At Risk?" This fall she'll teach "Trollope's *Phineas Finn* at two OLLIs [American U and George Mason U], and in the spring E. M. Forster's three most famous novels (*Room with a View, Howards End,* and *Passage to India*), again both OLLIs." **Carla Mulford**'s podcast on "Ben Franklin and Immigration" is the 4th episode in *Talking in the Library* produced by the Library Company; it is a conversation with Dr. Will Fenton following Carla's spring seminar on Franklin's ideas about immigrant and immigration. **Nora Nachumi** co-authored with Heather King "Learning to Adapt: Teaching *Pride and Prejudice* and its Adaptations in General Education Courses," for the forthcoming *Adapting the Eighteenth Century*, ed. by **Sharon Harrow** and Kirsten Saxton. Nora is currently "co-editing a collection of essays with **Kristina Straub** entitled "Making Stars: Celebrity and Biography in the 18C," and she's revising an essay for Kerry Sinan's collection on Austen ("Austen 200"). Nora hopes soon to be able to return to research for a biography of Elizabeth Farren. **Julian Neuhauser** after taking his MA at Virginia Commonwealth in 2017, went to King's College, London, on a fellowship, to pursue his PhD. **Catherine Ingrassia** tells me that excellent students graduating in English last year were headed to Oxford, U of Virginia and Duke—she is sorry that the students do not continue on but very proud to have had a share in their development as scholars. **Steve Newman** published "'Hodden-Gray': Pastoral, Enlightenment Re-Mediation, and the Proverbial Allan Ramsay" in last summer's *Scottish Literary Review*, focused on Ramsay. **Hugh Ormsby-Lennon** will be missed at Gettysburg: he'll be at his house in London until June. Hugh sent me for laughs an NBC News blog by Nicole Spector on ways "to organize and style your bookshelves," which shares the advice of "book curators" for the wealthy, like deciding on a color schemes, removing dj's, and stacking alternately books set upright and lying flat. You cannot regret that interior designers are promoting book consumption—and book sales have lately increased by a percentage or two.

**Leah Orr** published "Tactics of Publishing and Selling Fiction in the Long 18C" in the Fall 2018 *Huntington Library Quarterly* (81.3:399-423), which describes the creation during the long 18C of promotional methods for and bookseller specialization in fiction. Leah finds that, although some publishers "saw an economic advantage to presenting themselves" as "specializing in fiction," "only [William] Lane and the Nobles" seem to have made new fiction "anything like the majority of their lists." **Annie Persons**, who the previous two years was in the MFA program at Virginia Commonwealth U., in fall 2017 received the Aphra Behn Society's graduate-student essay prize for her "Ann Yearsley, Hannah More, and Human Commodification in the Literary

Marketplace." Annie has published a good many poems and, while an undergrad at Washington & Lee, managed the journal *Shenandoah*. Among the papers at Gettysburg to treat slavery—2019 is the 300th anniversary of the arrival of a buccaneer with 20 African slaves in Jamestown—are **Carla Mulford**'s "Benjamin Franklin on Piracy and the Slave Trade" and **Andrew Pisano's** "'A Slave to Every Vice': The Subversiveness of Childhood Agency in John Marrant's *A Narrative of the Lord's Wonderful Dealings.*" (I know, Marrant wasn't a slave, but he preached to them.) Andrew has worked for years on early African-American literature since before taking his PhD at North Carolina--Greensboro. He published "Reforming the Literary Black Atlantic: Worship Resistance in the Transatlantic World" in the 2015 *SECC*. Andrew contributed "18C Spiritual Autobiography in the Quaker World" to *The Quaker World*, ed. by C. Wess Daniels and Rhiannon Grant (a global, historical account for researchers and students, due from Routledge). We welcome **Konstantinos Pozoukidis**, in Maryland's PhD program in English. Konstantinos has studied and taken degrees in Greece and in England. He focuses on survival in literature c. 1800, survival as "an ineradicable remainder of disaster, with its relation to narrative, thinking, and politics." He presented at the Denver ASECS the paper "Disastrous Encounters in William Wordsworth's 'Simon Lee.'"

**Adam Potkay** in late April wrote, **"**I've been greatly enjoying my year as visiting distinguished professor at the Center for Human Values in Princeton, where I have been teaching a course on 'Hope: A Literary History' and have organized for 5-6 April an interdisciplinary colloquium on Hope: 'an inter-disciplinary plenary inquiry into the philosophy, theology, politics, and literary history of hope,'" with 13 speakers in six sessions summarizing their pre-circulated papers. Adam is co-editing with Dietmar Till, U. of Tübingen, Vol. 4 (1650-1900) of a new "Cambridge History of Rhetoric" in 5 vols., whose general editors are Rita Copeland (Penn) and Peter Mack (Warwick). Adam had two articles forthcoming: "Wordsworth's Hope" in the Summer 2019 issue of *'The Wordsworth Circle* (50 years old), and "Lucretius, Englishman: Meter, Mortalism, and Love in Dryden's Translations from *De Rerum Natura"* in the Fall issue of *Eighteenth-Century Life* ("with a nod to our fellow EC/ASECS stalwart, Ric Reverand"). Adam also contributed a piece to the forthcoming *Oxford Handbook of Samuel Johnson*, ed. by **Jack Lynch.**

**Elizabeth Powers** has written a chapter on the history of the Columbia 18C Seminar for a volume that will be published in late 2020 by Columbia UP in connection with the Seminar's 75th anniversary. Elizabeth, who had chaired the seminar for seven years, begins "with the founders of the Seminar in 1962—Peter Gay and Otis Fellowes—and takes the story through the changes that the discipline has undergone in the past decades." Elizabeth's essay "Among the Barbarians: V.S. Naipaul and his Critics" appears in the summer issue (72.2) of *The Hudson Review* (attending esp. to *A Writer's People,* she examines Naipaul's themes and attitudes and sense of himself as a writer). The

new *Goethe Yearbook* (vol. 26) contains Elizabeth's essay "Fritz Strich and the Dilemmas of World Literature Today" and her review of a study of Goethe's paternal grandfather, *Monsieur Göthe: Goethes unbekannter Grossvater* by Heinz Boehncke, Hans Sarkowicz, and Joachim Seng (2017). Elizabeth's review of *Goethe: Journeys of the Mind* (2019) by Nancy Boerner, Peter Boerner, and Gabrielle Bersier appeared in the *TLS* for 16 July 2019; the book examines Goethe's vicarious travels and his receiving scientific reports from those who traveled where he did not, as to Brazil. Elizabeth spent the three summer months living in British Columbia. We are saddened to report the death of **Cynthia Putnam**, who attended several of our recent meetings in the company of **Calhoun Winton**, to whom she was wed about two years ago. We didn't know her long, but it didn't take long to feel affection for Cynthia.

**Hermann J. Real**, whom we thank for our lead article, has succeeded in gathering funding for and buying many of the editions needed to duplicate Swift's library, a project 95% complete that he intends not to leave to his successors at the Ehrenpreis Centre. Perhaps a dozen titles were gained this past year, including Lactantius' *Divinarum Institutionum Libri Septem* (Cologne, 1544); a Xenophon with notes by Henricus Stephanus, published by him in Paris, 1581; Erasmus's *Colloquia Familiaria* (Amsterdam, 1621); and the *Foedera* in 20 folio volumes (1704-1735), whose first 15 volumes were written and edited by Thomas Rymer. Many of the editions Swift owned, like the Lactantius, greatly benefit Hermann and his team's editing of *Swift.Online*. We welcome **Jacqueline Reid-Walsh** of Penn State U, who speaks at Gettysburg on "Folds and Flaps in Strip and Booklet Formats." Long interested in old and new media, Jacqueline has published articles on early English movable books for children. Recently she's worked with Penn State's Special Collections and its Interdisciplinary Digital Studio in the School of Visual Arts on "interactive 3-D simulations of old fragile materials." **Cedric Reverand**, besides editing *Eighteenth-Century Life*, this year with **Kevin L. Cope** co-edited a festschrift honoring the late Gabriel Hornstein, owner of AMS Press, which for years published half a dozen annuals on the 18C along with dozens of monographs and editions of Defoe. Ric and Kevin have informed the contributors that the volume, *Paper, Ink, and Achievement: Gabriel Hornstein and the Revival of 18C Scholarship*, has been accepted by Bucknell. Besides the editors, it includes essays by **Sharon Harrow, Jim May, Leah Orr, John Scanlan, Manuel Schonhorn,** and **Linda Troost**, as well as Susan Spencer, Brett McInelly, Philip Smallwood, and David Venturo.

**Albert Rivero**, who kindly answered my request for a syllabus (above), published *The Sentimental Novel in the 18C* (Cambridge, 2019), x + 248 pp., containing his intro and twelve essays. Linda Bree of CUP suggested he edit such a volume. Its essays make up nearly a quarter of the 51 records for 2019 publications with keyword "eighteenth century" in *MLAIB* on 9 Sept. Included are Al's "Jane Austen and the Sentimental Novel" (208-23) and **Barbara Benedict**'s "The Virtuous in Distress: *David Simple, Amelia, Memoirs of Miss*

*Sidney Bidulph*" (69-86). Essays by Bonnie Latimer and Jonathan Lamb focus on Richardson and Sterne. Many of the titles focus on a couple of novels, as Maureen Harkin's on *The Man of Feeling* and *The Sorrows of Young Werther*; others on general groupings, as Ros Ballaster on experiments in feeling by women authors and Gillian Dow's "Sentiments from Abroad: French Novels after 1748." Some wisely do both, as Joseph Bartolomeo's "The Sentimental Novel in America: *The History of Emily Montague, Charlotte Temple, The Power of Sympathy, The Coquette*." Several essay cover intersections with other fields, such as Brycchan Carey's "Slavery and the Novel of Sentiment" and Gary Kelly's "The Sentimental Novel and Politics." Hanna Doherty Hudson takes on the Gothic, including Radcliffe and Minerva Press novels. Thus Al has organized a book combining the survey with the essay collection. We are happy to welcome **Hanna Roman**, in French at Dickinson College, who signed on to speak at Gettysburg while conducting research in Göttingen. Hanna's working on discourses of science in Enlightenment France, particularly the language of theology and natural science found in 18C geo-history texts. Last year Hanna published *The Language of the Body in Buffon's* Histoire naturelle (Oxford U. Studies in the Enlightenment). **Jamie Rosenthal**'s "From Radical Feminist to Caribbean Slaveowner: Eliza Fenwick's Barbados Letters" appeared in the Fall 2018 *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 52.1:47-68. She's working on a book about the centrality of gender and sexuality in 18C narratives treating Caribbean slavery and slave rebellions. **Laura Rosenthal**, the editor of *Restoration*, contributed—along with **Clorinda Donato, Peter Sabor,** and **Norbert Schürer--**to April's special issue of *Eighteenth-Century Life* on Cleland's *Fanny Hill* (discussed below under journal notes). We lament to death in April of **Irving Rothman**, who passed away at age 84 during heart surgery. David Mazella, a colleague at the U. of Houston, posted a tribute stressing his long service to the university and the Congregation Beth Yeshurun. In the scholarly world Professor Rothman will be long appreciated as the textual editor of Defoe, and his loss is especially painful to **Maximilian Novak, Manuel Schonhorn**, and others who co-edited volumes like *The Family Instructor* (2015) and the forthcoming *Robinson Crusoe*. **Richard Sher** is organizing the 2020 meeting of the 18C Scottish Studies Society to be held in June at the Princeton Theological Seminar (see forthcoming meetings). He remains Executive Secretary of ECSSS and editor of its fine annual newsletter, published in the spring, full of announcements and reviews. **Eleanor Shevlin**, who always supports our meetings by organizing one or more sessions, is this year presenting a paper on Saturday, too: "A Matter of Formats: Genre Interplay and Remaking Marketplace Attitudes." **Geoff Sill** writes that he will miss this year's EC/ASECS, something he rarely does, for he's "going to New Zealand in October . . . [to] participate in various 250th commemorations of James Burney's voyages (assisted by Captain Cook) to the islands of the South Pacific." He writes, "I will miss seeing my friends at EC/ASECS, but will try to stay in touch through

the *Intelligencer.* All best wishes for an excellent conference." In September's *JECS*, Gillian Skinner reviews Geof's edition of Vol. V (1789) of *The Court Journals and Letters of Frances Burney*. Skinner begins by noting that it "continues the impressive standards of editing seen in the earlier volumes" (42:391) and then focuses on what it reveals. Burney recorded the inconsistent attentions of Stephen Digby, the Queen's Vice-Chamberlain, who frequently camped out in Burney's room but was alternately warm and distant. Burney's reflections on Digby and her first suitor, George Owen Cambridge, involve materials previously self-censored or excluded by her Victorian editor, FB's neice Charlotte Barrrett. Skinner thinks the 1789 journal gives a "vivid and often painful insight into relations between unmarried women and men" in a world where little could be openly expressed.

**Brijraj** and **Frances Singh** gave papers at the International SECS meeting in Edinburgh this past summer, adding a sight-seeing trip to Spain. **Frances**'s long-researched book on Jane Cummings will be published by the U. of Rochester Press next year, as *Scandal and Survival in 19C Scotland: The Life of Jane Cumming*. Speaking of compromises regarding the title, Frances says, "when it gets optioned off to Hollywood (lol), maybe we'll go back to 'The Encumbrance, or The Transplant' . . . or even 'My Daughter Jane.'" **Patrice Smith**, after much encouragement when the suggestion arose at her session in Staunton, with her band **Irishtown Road**, will be providing us with musical entertainment on Friday night in Gettysburg, **from 9:00 on at O'Rorke's Irish Pub** at 44 Steinwehr Ave. You have to reach back to 1995 when we danced to Jerry [Beasley] and the Juveniles in Newark to find any comparable fun at an EC/ASECS meeting. **Susan Sommers** speaks on "The Duke of Wharton and Early Grand Lodge Freemasonry" at Gettysburg. Susan, chair of the Westmoreland Co. [PA] Historical Society, teaches courses on European, Latin American, and Islamic histories. **Danielle Spratt** and Bridget Draxler have published *Engaging the Age of Jane Austen: Public Humanities in Practice* (Iowa, 2019), xx + 286 pp.; bib. and index. They wish to "defend the field's relevance and demonstrate its ability to help us better understand current events" by offering approaches for engaging students and nonprofessionals. The authors take responsibility for different chapters and draw on contributions by students and scholars (like **Devoney Looser** and Gillian Dow). Danielle's chapters include "The Street: What *Emma* Teaches us about the Savior Complex in Service Learning"; "The Digital Archives and the Database: Digital Service Learning and Networked Reading in the Undergraduate Classroom"; and "The 18C Novel, Online Scholar-Activists, and the Creation of Digital Editions in the Graduate Classroom." **Rivka Swenson**, now ASECS's Affiliate-Societies Coordinator, received the College of Humanities and Sciences Excellence in Scholarship Award in 2018.

Welcome to **Natalie Thompson**, who works on the 18C and 19C British novel at Virginia; she'll speak at Gettysburg on "Remaking the Domestic in *The Female American*." We also welcome **Christopher Urban** in English at West

Virginia U., where he's updating "Rare Books Online," a resource established by **Marilyn Francus** to facilitate teaching with archival materials. He's also an editorial assistant for *Victorian Poetry*. Prior to grad school, Christopher served in the Peace Corps and AmeriCorps's VISTA programs. **Robert Walker** published "Quakers, Shoemakers, and Thomas Cumming" (on contexts for Cumming's being accused of having had that profession—George Fox was so apprenticed, etc.); the note appears in *ANQ*—Bob writes that *ANQ* is under new management and running efficiently. This summer Bob was diving off Little Cayman and traveling with friends in Italy, and denies **Mel New**'s accusation that funds from the Cumming's Foundation were misappropriated for these trips. **Jane Wessel** contributed a course description co-authored with **Matt Kinservik** to the March 2016 *Intelligencer* while a PhD student at Delaware and helped organize the EC/ASECS at Delaware. After teaching in the south, she will be returning to the region to succeed the retiring **Nancy Mace** at the US Naval Academy. Jane published "Mimicry, Property, and the Reproduction of Celebrity in 18C England" in *The Eighteenth Century*'s spring issue (60.i:65-86). Her essay examines possible intellectual property issues in actor Tate Wilkinson's mimicry of Samuel Foote's "performance style and celebrity body." **Lance Wilcox** published "Johnson's *Life of Savage* as Romance, Antiromance, and Novel" in *The Ways of Fiction: New Essays on the Literary Cultures of the 18C*, ed. by N. Crowe (2018). Lance returns to Johnson and Savage in a talk on biography at Gettysburg. **Jennifer Wilson**, who is working on Austen's *The History of England*, published "'I have you in my eyes, Sir': The Spectacle of Kingship in *The Madness of King George*" in *The Cinematic 18C*, eds. S. Swaminathan and S. Thomas (2018). **Daniel Yu,** after taking his Ph.D. in English from Emory U. in 2018, became a visiting Assistant Professor of English at Mount St. Mary's U. of Maryland, where he'll teach through spring 2020. Daniel is giving a lecture at the U. of Ljubljana in Slovenia on "The Erotics of Race and Class in *The Woman of Colour* (1808)." The lecture draws on his research for his current book project, "The Fiction of Generosity: Disinterest and the Eighteenth Century." **Rachel Zimmerman** begins her second year as an assistant professor at Colorado State--Pueblo. Her essay "American Invention, African Bodies, and Asian Prestige: The Hammock as an Honorary Mode of Transportation in Colonial Brazil," based on research presented at EC/ASECS in 2016, was published by the Denver Art Museum. At the Denver ASECS she spoke on "Imitation Lacquer Chinoiserie in Colonial Minas Gerais, Brazil"

**Forthcoming Meetings, Announcements, Projects, Publications, etc.**

The **Canadian SECS** meets with **NEASECS** at the Château Laurier Quebec in Quebec City in 16-19 Oct 2019, sponsored by U. Laval and chaired by Thierry Belleguic ("Ethics of/in the Enlightenment"). Then in 2020 it crosses the continent to meet at the U. of Manitoba, Winnipeg, strengthened by

**MWASECS** participation, and returns east to the U. of Ottawa in 2021. Presenters at CSECS meetings can submit papers to the annual *Lumen*.

The **Charles Brockden Brown Society** holds its biennial conference ("Dissent of the Governed, C18 and C21") at the U. of Kentucky, 3-5 Oct. 2019. The dues are $20 but $10 for students and indep. scholars (via PayPal).

The biennial **Bartram Trail Conference** is held 25-27 October 2019 in Montgomery, with non-field events held at the Alabama Archives. Its newsletters, edited by Brad Sanders, appear online (issues from 2001-19 are posted) and contain descriptions of John and William Bartram's travels in the 1760s through the south. It carries good reviews of books like Thomas Peter Bennett's *Florida Explored: The Philadelphia Connection in Bartram's Tracks* (2019). Its news articles link the 18C with the 21C, as that on the documentary *Surviving Extinction: The Franklin Tree*, on a tree named by Wm. Bartram and extant only via his 1773 specimens, extinct in the wild due to the root-rot fungus that killed the American chestnut after its introduction with exotic azaleas in 1803. The documentary treats botanists' efforts to breed a Franklin tree with a protective gene (recall Kingsolver's *Prodigal Summer*).

Stephanie Insley Hershinow (English, CUNY's Baruch College) informs us that the **Columbia Seminar** has the following calendar: Sept. 5: Anastasia Eccles (Yale U., English); Oct. 17: Richard Squibbs (DePaul U., English); Nov. 7: Terry Robinson (U. of Toronto, English & Drama); Dec. 12: Marisa Fuentes (Rutgers U., History &Women's Studies); Jan. 22: Jennifer Van Horn (U. of Delaware, Art History & History); Feb. 20: Allison Turner (Columbia U., English); March 12: Andrew Franta (U. of Utah, English). The calendar is filled but for April (she writes, "we**'**re still making some arrangements for what will be a really great event"—contact her at stephanie.insley @gmail.com or her co-chair Kathleen Lubey, kathleen.lubey @gmail.com.

The **SCSECS** meets 7-8 February 2020 in Fort Augustine with the theme "The Speedy Enlightenment." Google up SCSECS 2020 for the CFP and contact conference organizer Kevin Cope (encope @lsu.edu).

The 108th **College Art Association** occurs in Chicago, 12-15 Feb. 2020.

The **WSECS** meets on 14-15 February 2020 at Colorado State. U. in Ft. Collins, with theme "Anthropocene and Biodiversity," chaired by Aparna Gollapudi and Andreas Mueller. The submission deadline noted at www. wsecs.org is 15 October.

On 13-16 February 2020 at Stanford U. occurs the joint conference of the **American Bach Society** and **the Mozart Society of America** ("Bach and Mozart: Connections, Patterns, Pathway"). The ABS also issues a CFP for a volume of *Bach Perspectives* (XIV) on this subject, for publication in 2022. The ABS holds biennial meetings. The MSA attempts to, with former meetings in 2017, 2015, and 2011. Both Societies have good websites.

The **SEASECS** meets 20-22 February in Macon, Georgia, at the Marriott City Center, hosted by George College & State University, Middle Georgia State U., and Wesleyan College. The theme is "Encounters in the 18C: Maps,

Materials, & Media"; plenary speakers are Dena Goodman and Kristen Zohn. Proposals were due 1 Oct. to Peggy Elliott (peggy.elliott@ gcsu.edu) or Laura Thomason (laura.thomason @mga.edu). Marta Kvande is now its President.

**ASECS** meets 19-22 March 2020 at the Hyatt Regency in St. Louis.

That same weekend in Stockholm is the eighth biennial conference of **The Society for 18C Music**, hosted by the Royal Swedish Academy of Music, with the theme "Musical Interconnections." The SECM held its 2014 at the Moravian College in Bethlehem (with the Haydn Society of America, as in 2008), leading to the publication of eight papers as *Music in 18C Culture,* ed. Mary Sue Morrow (Steglein, 2016; $35). The Society's website has postings with CFPs and links to musicology sites. (Dues are $30; $15 for students.)

The Center for Cultural Analysis at Rutgers U. convenes on 2-3 April 2020 an interdisciplinary conference on "**The Salon and the Senses** in the Long 18C," aimed at grad students and new PhDs. It grows out of the Center's working group "Experiencing the Salon" (contact jennjones @sas.rutgers.edu).

The 33rd **Irish Conference of Historians** will occur 21-23 May 2020 at the National University of Ireland—Galway ("Borders and Boundaries: Historical Perspectives "). See the website www.historians.ie.

The **18C Scottish Studies Society** (ECSSS) meets 4-7 June 2020 at the Princeton Theological Seminary, co-sponsored by the Institute for the Study of Scottish Philosophy. The theme is "Religion and Enlightenment in 18C Scotland." Send 1-p. proposals for panels or 20-minute papers with a 1-p. CV to Richard Sher, ECSSS Exec. Sec'y (rbsher6 @gmail.com) by 15 December. Mark Towsey, the current President, will organize the 2021 meeting at the U. of Liverpool at the end of July or early August.

The **Burney Society of North America** meets 3-4 July 2020 in Montreal, with the theme "Burney Studies: Appraising the Past, Anticipating the Future" and a plenary by Francesca Saggini. Email 1-p. proposals to Catherine Keohane at keohanec @montclaire.edu by 1 January. Dues of $30 ($15 students) brings, besides the spring and fall *Burney Letter*, the annual *The Burney Journal* and supports projects like the McGill-Burney Centre ASECS fellowship and the Hemlow Prize for best essay by a grad student on life and writings of any Burney family member (deadline 31 Jan. 2020).

The **Chawton House Library** this year has mounted "Writing Women's Rights" and "Jane Austen's Reading," and this fall only, "Mary Wollstonecraft during the French Revolution." Related talks by curators and scholars occur, including this month Bee Rowlatt on Wollstonecraft's legacy and Jocelyn Harris on her book *Satire, Celebrity and Politics in Jane Austen*.

The **Clark Library** and UCLA Center on 17-18C studies have published their calendar, with many events related to the core theme "Contested Foundations: Commemorating the Red Letter Year 1619." These include three conferences (that 21-22 Feb. is on representative govt. in Virginia). Other events include a conference "Sustaining Visions and the Future of Special Collections Libraries" on 7 March and another 29-30 May on "Archive & Theory: The

Future of Anglo-American Early Modern Disability Studies," organized by Helen Deutsch et al. The Karmiole Lecture on the History of the Book Trade will be given 6 November by Ian Gadd on "'Entered for his Copy': Reading the Stationers' Register."

**The Folger** will receive a major overhaul within the next year (see that book you've needed to see soon before that's not possible). On exhibition to January is "A Monument to Shakespeare: The Architecture of the Folger Shakespeare Library," examining Henry and Emily Folger's work with architect Paul Philippe Cret. The Folger Theater is offering Peter Shaffer's play *Amadeus* from 5 Nov. to 22 Dec. (directed by Richard Clifford, tickets $27-85; nights on T-F and afternoons and evenings on weekends). Various chats with director and with cast over brews are offered. The Folger Consort will offer Vivaldi's *Gloria* as a Baroque Christmas program, 13-18 Dec., performed at St. Mark's on Capitol Hill. At the Folger on 11 Oct. Sarah Werner, author of a recent guide to early printed books, holds a 3-hour "Feminist Bibliography Workshop," considering "how feminist theory can shape the questions we ask of material texts and pedagogies."

In April the RBMS group of the Association of College & Research Library announced the winners of the 2019 **Leab Exhibition Awards**. Winners included, for expensive catalogues, the U. of Miami Libraries and its Lowe Art Museum for *Antillean Visions; or, Maps and the Making of the Caribbean*, praised for "sensitive treatment of conquest and contested dominance, achieved through an interdisciplinary diversity of voices and perspectives"; and, for inexpensive, Penn State's Eberly Family Special Collections for *Field Guide to Fairy-Tales Wolves*. Honorable mention went to Washington U.'s Special Collections for *The Monster's Library: An Exhibition Curated by Students Enrolled in "Frankenstein, Origins & Afterlives."* Among the 2018 awards two are relevant: in the expensive class, Toronto's Thomas Fisher Rare Books Library won for *Struggles and Story: Canada in Print*, and the U. of Delaware received honorable mention for *Things Aren't What They Seem: Forgeries and Deceptions from the UD Collections*.

**The American Philosophical Society Museum** in Philadelphia has on exhibit through 29 December "Mapping a Nation: Shaping the Early American Republic" (104 S. Fifth St., Thurs.-Sundays, 10-5:00), tracing "the creation and use of maps from the mid-18C through 1816." It "investigate[s] the way maps as both artworks and practical tools had political and social meaning. The display includes surveying equipment, copper plates, and such maps as the John Mitchell's of North America (1757), MS maps from the Revolution, Washington's 1792 map of Washington, DC, and others from the Lewis & Clark expedition. Four "map chats" were held, the last in Sept. by Joel T. Fry, curator of **"Bartram's Garden**," the Philadelphia home of John and William Bartram, which Fry began researching in 1975 and purchased in 1991.

There's a website listing 30 exhibitions this fall in **Philadelphia**! The Library Company of Philadelphia offers "Mirror of a City: Images of Philadelphia,

1780-1950," with three fundraising dinners (limited to 20 people) with the curators, Sarah Weatherwax and Erica Piola. The Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts displays all its depictions of Alexander Hamilton to 19 November and *From Schuylkill to the Hudson*, on American landscape painting, to 29 December. The Museum of the American Revolution through 17 March offers *The Cost of Revolution: The Life and Death of an Irish Soldier,* on Richard St. George, injured at Battle of Germantown, 1777, surviving to return to Ireland. And Penn's superb museum has reopened its newly restored Mexican & Central American and its African galleries.

One of the most exciting developments in Philadelphia involving the 18C, as yet unnoted here, is the **I-95 Project**, an archaeological exploration of the region over which Interstate 95 passes (necessitated by the 1966 National Historic Preservation Act, requiring investigations before federally funded construction projects). The engineering firm AECOM has overseen the project since 2001, in the process unearthing 1.5 million artifacts. AECOM seems to discharge its responsibilities in exemplary fashion. Among its many reports is the website at http://diggingi95.com with an interactive map of excavations linked to an artifact database, 3-D reconstructions, discussions of individual items, stories of people. AECOM's Cultural Resources Dept. in Burlington, NJ, produces the well illustrated *River-Chronicles*, "journal of Philadelphia Waterfront Heritage and Archaeology" (2016-2018 issues online), edited by Mary C. Mills, who joined AECOM as a glass historian. Articles, written with expertise, often focus initially on sites or objects and evolve into discussions of 18C industries, as the glassworks (2017) or Queensware pottery (subject of three articles) and the sturgeon industries (2018). Newspaper articles in August 2019 report AECOM's discoveries of the 18C wharf and docks under the Franklin Bridge, owned by James West and family.

The **Archaeology Institute of America** has an inclusive, open-access website with news postings for decades that can be searched and sorted (www. archaeology.org). Here I found from *Archaeology* of April-May 2018 Marley Brown's "Scientific Gardens: The Woodlands, Philadelphia" on the estate on the banks of the Schuylkill River built in 1760-80s by William Hamilton. He planted one of the largest flora collections in the US, with the assistance of William Bartram. Hamilton built a greenhouse visited by notables as Thomas Jefferson; now under a cemetery, it has been excavated by Sarah Chesney.

One of the most publicized 18C exhibitions of 2019 is **"William Blake"** at the Tate Britain, ending 2 Feb., with 300+ works, giving special attention to Blake's artistic process (noting, for instance, his wife Catherine's role as water-colorist). Included is a recreation of the room upstairs at his Broad St. home where he mounted his first show in 1809. Maureen Mulvihill sent me a good article on the exhibit by Sarah E. Fensom in the August *Art & Antiques.*

Many current and future **exhibitions** are described in the 6 Sept. posting of ***Enfilade*** (https: // enfilade18thc.com), Craig Hanson newsletter/website for the Historians of 18C Art & Architecture. These include "**George Stubbs**: 'All

Done from Nature'" at the MK Gallery in Milton Keynes to 20 Jan. and then at the Mauritshuis in The Hague until June—the first extensive overview of Stubbs in Britain in 30 years and the first ever in the Netherlands. The show has 100+ works displayed and is accompanied by a fully illustrated catalogue with contributions by M. Myrone, J.Uglow, and A. Wright. Closer to home, the Lewis Walpole Library in Farmington displays until 24 Jan. "**Rescuing Horace Walpole: The Achievement of W. S. Lewis**," celebrating Lewis (Yale class 1918) for his collecting a library of materials relating to Walpole and then producing the *Yale Edition of the Correspondence of Horace Walpole* (Yale UP 1937-1983), 48 vols. This tribute to Lewis's life and legacy was provoked by the 40th anniversary of his bequest of the LWL to Yale. The show is attended by a curator's talk on 28 Oct. and a symposium on "Scholarly Editing of Literary Texts from the Long 18C" on 21 Sept. featuring such distinguished editors as Robert DeMaria and Peter Sabor. Drawing on the LWL (so strong in prints) is an exhibition "**Trial by Media: The Queen Caroline Affair**" at the Goldman Law Library at Yale until 19 Dec. It marks the bicentennial of the Queen's divorce proceedings with its "prolific media coverage" in 1820 and is joined with online commentary by scholars on displayed items. From June until 10 Nov. the National Museum of Scotland in Edinburgh displays "**Wild and Majestic Romantic Visions of Scotland**," curated by Patrick Watt, with 300 items from National Museums Scotland and 38 loans, covering events from the Battle of Culloden (1746) to the death of Queen Victoria (1901). It explores efforts to preserve and revive Highland traditions (in language, dress, etc.) and examines these efforts' relation to European Romanticism and impact on continuing perceptions of Scotland. *Enfilade* also carries reviews of many books, such as Clare Taylor's *The Design, Production and Reception of 18C Wallpaper in Britain* (2018); and Jocelyn Anderson's *Touring and Publicizing England's Country Houses in the Long 18C* (2018), examining the creation of public identities for grand country houses through travel books, tourist diaries, etc.

The **Bibliographical Society of America** is being revitalized by its new Executive Director, Erin Schreiner. There is now a monthly newsletter, with, in Sept., a chatty profile of a young new member, whom we learn is one of 50 new members, thanks to efforts of the "Membership Working Group," chaired by Elizabeth Ott (membership had been falling). BSA also has a new platform for its many fellowships. Besides those awarded at its January meetings, generous sponsors have added named short-term fellowships (applications are due 1 Nov.). The late Katharine F. Pantzer established a $3000 fellowship (focused on descriptive bibliography) and a $6000 (for studies of the British hand-press period). There are the Tanenbaum Fellowship for cartographical bibliography, Wm. Reese's Fellowship for American bibliography, the BSA-Pine Tree for Hispanic Bibliography, and the same title for culinary bibliography (any period or country, printed or MS materials). In an outreach effort, BSA is also co-sponsoring lectures and exhibitions across the country.

**Cambridge Scholars Publishing** regularly sends out invitations to submit proposals for books or edited collections. Though founded in 2001 by alumni and faculty of the U. of Cambridge, the Newcastle-based company will have published 800 books by year's end (many involving the 18C). I often receive marketing releases from Christine von Gall at the press. To submit a proposal, contact Ms. Gladders: Rebecca.gladders@ cambridgescholars.com.

**ASECS's A. C. Elias Irish-American Research Travel Fellowship awards** $2500 annually to support documentary scholarship on Ireland in the period between the Treaty of Limerick (1691) and the Act of Union (1800), helping American-based scholars to do research in Ireland and those in Ireland to work in North America. Applications are due 15 November 2019 to Jason McElligott, Keeper of Marsh's Library, St. Patrick's Close, Dublin 8, Ireland (jason.mcelligott@ marshlibrary.ie) and James May, 1423 Hillcrest Rd, Lancaster, PA 17603 (jem4@psu.edu). Applications consist of the coversheet at the ASECS fellowship website, a CV of no more than 3 pp., a description of the project (3 pp. or less, treating its contribution to the field and work done and to be done during the proposed research period), a 1-p. bibliography of related studies, a short budget, and two signed letters of recommendation sent directly to the trustees. Submit all but these letters as one Word file or PDF.

Jason McElligott announced the **Maddox Fellowships** for research at Marsh's Library (in St. Patrick's Close, Dublin) on "any aspect" of the collection with a special welcome to proposals utilizing its "extensive French and Huguenot collections, as well as our largely unknown Dutch holdings." The first round was for research between Sept. 2019 and Oct. 2020. See the account of the fellowships at www. marshlibrary/ie/fellowships-2019-20/.

Amazon's prices for many new scholarly books deserves comment: Wow! After reading Beth Lambert's review of Damrosch's *The Club* above, I bought it in hardcover at Amazon for $17 and change with shipping. Then Amazon recommended other important studies in hardcover at unbelievable prices: Andrew S. Curran's *Diderot and the Art of Thinking Freely* (Other Press, 2019; 529 pp.); it was the "best book" of January on Amazon, which offers a long list of glowing excerpts from reviews, priced $15 in kindle and $19 in hardcover; Margaret Jacob, *The Secular Enlightenment* (Princeton, 2019; 360 pp.), a secular history drawing on almanacs, private diaries and other out-of-the-way sources, priced $16 in kindle and $23 in hardcover; and J[ason]. C. Sharman, *Empires of the Weak: The Real Story of European Expansion and the Creation of the New World Order* (Princeton, 2019; 216 pp.), priced $15.37 on kindle and $18.76 hardcover. (Amazon quotes a review by Barry Buzan of the London School of Economics: Sharman offers a "clear, wide-ranging rebuttal to the idea that European military superiority after 1500 was decisive in Europe's global expansion.") Prices of this sort must have many hard impacts: they undercut what the publisher is selling the same book for (for instance, *The Pocket* reviewed by Beverly Schneller above is 25% less at Amazon than Yale UP's website); they decrease demand for other normally

priced books in the same field or on the same subject published by academic presses; and, thus, by increasing readership, they give greater influence to books greatly discounted. Consider the price differences between the two most recent biographies of Swift. Today John Stubbs' *Jonathan Swift: The Reluctant Rebel* (Norton, 2017; 752 pp.), long priced under $30 at Amazon, is now $7.95 in hardcover; while Eugene Hammond's *Jonathan Swift* in two vols. is in paperback for $75 each, and the vol. 1 in hardcover is marked down from $147 to $61; the vol. 2, only in two used copies, has soared to $923. Stubbs' account's large price advantage is added to that of being shorter.

Most scholars have not directly received a large grant, though these often have made possible conferences and fellowships that they have enjoyed and most in EC/ASECS have profited from the grant-funded ESTC and other digital tools. I recall sharply resenting Jim Tierney's ill-fated periodicals work first competing with Henry Snyder's ESTC before the NEH and a later periodicals indexing project killed by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation's insistence that he find somebody younger to take over the project. That wariness returned recently when I scrolled down the **Mellon Foundations**' record of millions granted in recent years (it has funded 16,769 grants for $6.8 billion). Many new presidents at a Liberal Arts colleges received $100,000 from Mellon for discretionary new projects. Most noteworthy was the Mellon Foundation's pouring money into **all things digital**. Among the dozens of grants on 6 June were $622,000 to support implementation of a sustainable business plan for The Digital Public Library of America" (based in Boston, this project to improve access had received $840,000 in June 2016 and 594,000 in 2014). Also the U. of Rochester received a million "to support graduate training in digital humanities"; Penn received 2 million to "support a program of digital humanities training and research"; and Michigan State $850,000 for "Enslaved: People of the Historic Slave Trade—Phase II,' supporting databases that identify enslaved people and others involved in the Atlantic slave trade. Stanford got $1,150,000 for "further developments of a platform for publication and preservation of born-digital interactive scholarly works." In addition the Voltaire Foundation's June bulletin announced "The [Mellon] grant of $704,000 . . . [to] enable the preliminary phase of Digital Scholarly Editions of the European Enlightenment." [This section might be called "Grousing the Web."]

While the more specified Mellon grants are causes for celebration, I also wonder how deserving many of the projects are relative to others not involving digital tools and how much impact the digital projects will have on my own study of literature. I'm reminded of how Penn State was offering laptops to faculty willing to use powerpoint in classes and how years later student and faculty groaned when presented with powerpoint lectures. Surely the cash steers scholars toward digital approaches, which often mean visual representations and quantifiable data especially suiting historians, toward the empirical study of the average, the common, the frequent products of the age.

In some fields this provides context for the canonical artists, authors, and thinkers, but also draws attention away from them and in literary studies seems to be fueling an anthropological trend. The new open-access digitization projects, databases, and editions are a boon (if not an unqualified boon) to 18C studies, providing access with a smaller carbon footprint to materials once only consulted in archives & rare books rooms and allowing more scholars to find an audience and to network with others. It is exciting to see the increasing number of publications by libraries posted on university servers.

But I wonder what may be lost of the old ways and question whether big institutional programs involving digitization will bring as much light to great literature and perennial humanities questions as that same amount of cash and human effort might if spent on more traditional projects like those NEH funded in the 1970s and 1980s, e.g., the Smollett edition. The overhead costs are huge, and the dollar impact much less than that of ASECS travel awards. Wouldn't it be wonderful if these Foundations increased the number of scholars able to read Latin, stemming somewhat the abandonment of the Restoration and much before it? I have met scholars who labored long, unsuccessfully for funds to hire others to compile data, which could have been done by themselves or at least by someone as gritty as Carolyn W. Nelson, the compiler of a union first-line index. ("Just do it!") Let's not forget what scholars like David Foxon and M. Pollard achieved without large grants and computers. Nor forget that one of the principal ends of scholarship is the production of "the scholar," embodying various virtues, just as Buddhism produces monks, once the disciplined product of a lot of tedious, often fruitless, and redundant work. Another end is "the scholarly community," epitomized in my mind by memories of the lunchtime gathering at the Clark Library or the Folger's tea—I fear, as with our teens, electronic media increase our own discomfort with face-to-face collegiality. Of course, I'm lucky to have ECCO's images, but searching for 18C news and announcements of note, I find them increasingly bloated with photos arguably not worth the text they replace. This technological change is part of the cultural transformation that induced reactionary flights leading to Trump's election. Some feel that the emerging dominance of computers in the humanities has created a rift—it may come to mind when one reads the concluding talk of "excellence" in Beth Lambert's review of *The Club* above. But then there are many online resources that I recommend in this issue as excellent. The editor of a newsletter like ours should perhaps go colorfully online with lots of tech support, seeking the financial support not available to old media like printed newsletters.

Like *Enfilade* discussed above, ***The 18th-Century Common***, "a Public Humanities Website for Enthusiasts of 18C Studies, exemplifies many genuine benefits of online publication (go to www. 18thcenturycommon.org). The site posts dozens of recent articles, often illustrated, where scholars share research on the 18C with "nonacademic readers" in "accessible nonspecialized language." It also has a *Gazette* section where "we contextualize pieces

touching upon the 18C in the popular press . . . or summarize recent works of scholarship that touch upon contemporary conversations." Edited by Jessica Richards of Wake Forest U. and Andrew Burkett of Union College (with web-designer Kelsey Urgo of Wake Forest), it receives funding from Wake Forest, Union, and the NEH and has an external advisory board that includes Devoney Looser, Jack Lynch, Laura Mandell, Ben Pauley, and Linda Troost. For sorting *18C Common* gathers the essays into "Collections" by topic. "Digital Humanities & 18C Studies" has 25 essays; "Women's Lives in the 18C" has 26 (many appear in both sets). Essays in the digital collection include Emily Friedman's "MS Fiction in the Archive" (2016) and Marta Kvande's "The Restoration Printed Fiction Database" (2017), and Jim Sherry's "James Gillray: Caricaturist" (2016)—all three are general introductions to resources the authors have posted elsewhere (Kvande's searchable database with 394 works 1660-1700 was posted in 2017). Some other "collections" concern "Criminality in the 18C," "Cognitive Sciences," "Gardens & Landscapes," "Historical Fiction Set in the 18C," and, of course, "Jane Austen" (with Jocelyn Harris's "Jane Austen, The Prince of Wales, and Mr. Trump," 2018). The site takes and relates feedback from readers to the authors. Anyone reading the *Intelligencer*, esp. teachers, will find essays of interest to them at the site. With regard to writing for nonacademics, the editors point out that the potential "public interest" in 18C scholarship is evident in the success of such books as Richard Holmes' *The Age of Wonder*, one of the *NYT*'s top 10 books in 2009. Every teacher knows that what can't be explained without trendy academic jargon is not of much value. The website encourages submissions to collections, as a CFP on criminality (essays up to 2000 words on crimes, trials, jails, etc.), for non-academic audiences, with a "rolling deadline."

Two further reflections: Scholars in the humanities are increasingly benefitting from the technical know-how of their universities, often those situated in the libraries and often enabling online publications. We are reaching a tipping point in attitudes to digital publication. The April 2019 issue (50.3:159-92) of *Journal of Scholarly Publishing* has survey results to that effect in "Humanities Scholars and Library-Based Publishing: New Forms of Publishing, New Audiences, New Publishing Roles," by Katrina Fenlon et al. The authors end with recommendations for how library publishers can "make contributions to . . . digital scholarship in the humanities." The spring-board for such is a 29-question survey on attitudes to digital publications, the sorts of publications used, and perceptions of authorship and audience. Distributed on the web, it received 250 responses, most from tenure-track professors: 54% were "enthusiastic" producers of digital publications; most had positive perceptions of digital publishing (only 5% were "skeptical").

Second, as libraries and individuals publish more on the WWW, as more is published more easily, there is going to be a lot more stuff to filter and wade through, more duplication (for instance, one will find the same material, let's say, on *Literary Compass* that is repackaged on *18th Century Common*).

Certainly there is a need for aggregating websites like *18Connect* and *Early Modern Online Bibliography*. Even now I cannot process the 18C flood available online: I winced and groaned when Maureen Mulvihill brought my attention to Jeremy Dibbell's very useful survey "Rare Books &c at "Auction This Week," posted and archived on the *Fine Books & Collections* website.

**Journal Notes**

The most recent ***Blake: An Illustrated Quarterly*** (53.1) has, besides Luisa Calè's survey of Blake exhibitions in 2018, her interview about the Tate exhibition with Martin Myrone, editor of *The Blake Book* in the Tate's Essential Artists Series. The issue includes the perennial "Wm. Blake and his Circle: A Checklist of Scholarship," now compiled by Wayne C. Ripley; here too is Jason Whittaker's "Blake and Music, 2018." The Autumn 2019 issue will contain an article by Joseph Viscomi on the posthumous copies of Blake's illustrated books. The journal has mounted online in the Blake Archive within Carolina Digital Archive, 40 years of searchable issues (those preceding a five-year firewall). Note too publication this year of *William Blake in Context*, ed. by Sarah Haggarty in the Cambridge series (xxii + 371).

The ninth annual *Digital Defoe* has the topic "Defoe and his Con-temporaries"; its deadline was 1 May 2019, but it has yet to be posted by editors Adam Sills and Christopher Loar, who became editors by or in 2016. Let me insert here that Joseph Hone in "**A New Portrait of Defoe in the Pillory**" in *Notes and Queries,* 63.1 (2016) discloses that the earliest portrait of Defoe in the pillory (and second earliest portrait) has been found on a "pack of playing cards engraved by Robert Spofforth, now held in the British Museum." It "can be confidently dated to the beginning of January 1705." The five of spades depicts Defoe ("with his signature wig") with the caption "The Author of y$^{e}$ Shortest way w$^{th}$ Dissenters Pillor$^{yd}$," transposing, notes Hone, Defoe's usual identification as the "Author of the True-Born Englishman."

The fall 2019 ***Dieciocho,*** distributed by David T. Gies of U. of Virginia by 1 August, is packed with 19 articles on 417 pp., arranged alphabetically by author's surname following Alain Bègue's introductory "Pensar la Republica de las Letras entre Borroco y Neoclasicismo: A modo de introducción." The issue includes many major and minor authors (such as Benito Jerónimo Feiloo, Luis José Veláquez, Eugenio Gerardo Lobo, D. Vicente de Bacallar y Sanna, Lucio Espinosa y Malo, et al.), institutions like academies real and imagined, the relation of literature to Enlightenment thought and to social and political contexts, and the means of publication (e.g. la Imprenta Real and the theater).

The July 2019 issue of ***Dix-huitième siècle*** (no. 51) is mainly devoted to "**La Couleur des Lumières**" (pp. 13-345), with an introduction by editors Aurélia Gaillard and Catherine Lanoë (13-29); there follow essays grouped on "Culture et pratiques de couleur," "Les Saviors de la couleur," "La Question du coloris" (treating painting), and "Discours et poétiques de la couleur" (including essays on chromatics and skin color in medical discourses), and ending with a talk with Michel Pastoureau on "Penser la couleur."

***Early American Literature*** is expanding its "online presence, both on social media and elsewhere," via Twitter, Facebook, and its own webpage, where it offers free *EAL Podcast* 3x a year, with "conversations between the editorial team and contributors" to allow the latter to "discuss their work." In *EAL* 54.2 editor Marion Rust announced that the *EAL* Book Prize for 2018 went to Caroline Wigginton for *In the Neighborhood: Women's Publications in Early America* (2016). Wigginton is praised for combining "media studies with literary analysis to highlight women's expressive networks . . . showing them to be savvy participants in complex . . . intercultural encounters." "Publications" here is very loosely conceived, including handwritten letters and diaries, staged performances, and public rituals, some situated in Quaker meeting houses and burial grounds. The 2018 prize (with a $2000 award) was for a first monograph; the 2019 will be for a second or later published in 2017-18 (the two alternate). *EAL*'s first issue of 2019 announced its Richard Beal Davis Prize for the best *EAL* essay in 2017, shared by Monique Allewaert for "Insect Poetics ..." (on bugs in Grainger's *The Sugar-Cane*, II) and Mary Caton Lingold for "Peculiar Animations: Listening to Afro-American Music in Caribbean Travel Narratives" (historical sounds are not so irrecoverable).

The April 2019 issue of ***Eighteenth-Century Life*** offers 11 essays on John Cleland's *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure*, aka *Fanny Hill*. Nicholas Nace leads off with "*Fanny Hill* Now: A Half Century of Liberty, covering its publication history since the Supreme Court in 1966 overturned an 1821 Massachusetts ruling that it was obscene. Nace credits the stress on novelistic realism in Ian Watts' *Rise of the Novel* as laying the foundation for the court victory (though Watts did not discuss *FH*). Other essays include Peter Sabor's "Editing *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure*: New Directions" (Peter wrote an important essay on *Memoirs* in *ECS* 2000; here he wagers that a good edition would exploit ECCO and a forthcoming edition of Cleland's letters and attend to publication history); Richard Terry & Helen Williams, who edited the *Memoirs* (Broadview, 2018), examine Cleland's life and letters for his concerns for prosecution and literary intentions and methods; Hal Gladfelder's "'By the Author of *Fanny Hill*': Selling John Cleland"; Norbert Schürer's "Fanny's Fortunes: Sexuality and Commerce in *Memoirs* . . ." (stressing that the book also concerns free-market capitalism); Laura Rosenthal's "Fanny's Feelings: Social Mobility and Emotion in *Memoirs* . . ." (on the "heroine's development of emotional sophistication," the key to "her success," a rare treatment of poor white trash); Clorinda Donato's "Just an 'English Whore': Italian Translations of *Fanny Hill* and the Transcultural Novel" (the Venetian playwright Carlo Gozzi's first translation, *La Meretrice* [1764] provides the basis for all later in Italian); and Simon Stern's "*Fanny Hill* and the 'Laws of Decency': Investigating Obscenity in the Mid-Eighteenth Century." While a case for prosecution began, it was never brought to trial, in part as Cleland avoided rank words; besides, "obscene works were rarely prosecuted at this time," though obscenity was assumed criminal before 1708 and rationalized

again with *R vs. Curll* in 1727. Stern strikes down various false claims about the prosecution and publishers and considers how the law of search and seizure might have applied. Stern has published other noteworthy essays of late on copyright history, including "Copyright as a Property Right? Authorial Perspectives in 18C England" in the *UC Irvine Law Review*, 9 (2019), 461-88.

In seeking news above about ***The Eighteenth Century: Theory & Interpretation***, besides the new journal site, ecti.pennpress.org, I looked at the old at the U. of Illinois website and discovered that it contained online-only review essays posted from 2004 to 2017 as supplements to the journal. Some of the five supplementing v. 58 (2017) involve EC/ASECS members: Elizabeth Kraft's "Reordering Perception of Literary History and Criticism from the Viewpoint of 18C Women Writers" concerns *The Cambridge Companion to Women's Writing in Britain, 1660-1789,* ed. by Catherine Ingrassia (2015); Kristina Booker's "The Buried Afterlives of Jane Austen" treats Devoney Looser's *The Making of Jane Austen* (2017); and our Michael Genovese contributed "Let's Make It Personal: The Combative Origins of the Critic" (on Michael Gavin's *The Invention of English Criticism*, 1650-1760) and Aleksondra Hultquist's "The Pleasure of Amatory Pleasures," Julie Peakman's *Amatory Pleasures*. The Illinois site provides contents only to v, 58.ii (summer 2018), but it contains author indices for back issues to v. 31.

The ***Huntington Library Quarterly***'s Winter 2018 issue (81.4) is devoted to **Elizabeth Montagu** (1718-1800). At Project Muse it begins with a 32-p. supplement containing letters from Montagu to James Beattie in 1772-1785, unpublished MSS held by the U. of Aberdeen, here edited by Nicole Pohl and Caroline and Michael Franklin. These texts are part of the trio's Elizabeth Montagu Correspondence Online Project (www. elizabethmontagunetwork.co .uk/the-project/). They are glossed in the issue by Caroline Franklin's "An Honorable Alliance: The Friendship of James Beattie and Elizabeth Montagu as Revealed by her Letters" (497-511). Also here are Deborah Heller's essay on the friendship of Bluestockings Montagu, Anne Pitt, and Elizabeth Carter, and Elizabeth Bennet's "Elizabeth Montagu's Political Sociability."

The June issue of the ***Journal of 18C Studies*** (42.2) offers six articles and eight reviews, the articles treating John Molesworth and the Lottery in the late 18C, Scots Vernacular poets (by Rhona Brown), 18C cookbooks, Sarah Siddons & sensibility, the Irish militia 1793-1802, and "Sensory and Material Memories of the Childhood Home in Late Georgian Britain." The Sept. issue offers Richard Terry's case that the founding of the Equitable Life Insurance Society in 1762 provides a meaningful context for *Tristram Shandy*, claiming the novel is "constituted by an insurance 'mentality' in its appreciation of the inherent risks of life and how these might be calculated and mitigated." Other essays address an album of 100 dress fabrics collected over the life of a vicar's daughter, Jefferson at Monticello, John Barrows *Travels in China*, castrato singers & the London sets of *Ariette* 1788-9, and Pat Roger's "Defoe's *Tour* [1724-26] and the Historiography of Early Modern Britain." Rogers concludes

that the two-volume *Tour* is truly a central work for understanding Britain as it began to modernize. He finds the *Tour* to be "the place where Defoe's economic views . . . first took proper shape" (376).

The Library of Congress's website on 16 May received a post by Christopher Dylan Herbert entitled "A Sweet 'Bitter-Sweet' Find in an **18C Pennsylvania Music Manuscript**," that discloses Herbert's important music discovery to be further examined in the December issue of ***Notes*** (76.2). The largest musical MS produced at the Ephrata Cloister, the "Ephrata Codex" now at DLC, was penned by brothers in large format with "the community's musical output to 1746," mostly five-parts hymns, illustrated with abstract designs (most Ephrata music MSS are small-format transcriptions for four parts produced by women). The Codex has been digitally conserved in high-resolution images posted by DLC. As Herbert's article illustrates, the fraktur title is not "Die Bittre Gute" as once transcribed but "Die Bittre Süse" ("The Bitter Sweet"), "conforming more to Ephrata theology." Working on his dissertation on Ephrata's music, Herbert found "hidden in plain sight" beside musical settings the names of three women and two men, convincingly argued to be the composers. The three Ephrata Sisters, Ketura, Föben, and Hannah (Catherine Hagamann, Christianna Lassle, and Hannah Lichty, born c. 1715, dying between 1784-1797), are "**America's first known female composers**."

The June 2019 issue of ***Notes and Queries*** has something for Austenites: Nick Foretek, in "A Royal Purchase: The First **Jane Austen** Novel Sold," announces that an 1811 MS bill reveals that the Prince of Wales and future King George on 28 October ordered *Sense and Sensibility* from his booksellers, Becket & Porter, two days before the *Star* announced its publication in 3 vols. 12mo (66.ii:272-73). This same issue contains one of the late G.E. Bentley's last publications: "Blake on Sale, 1977-2016" (251-60).

The September 2019 issue of ***Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*** has an exceptionally fine study of the evidence of reading: Michael Joalland's "Isaac **Newton Reads the King James Version**: The Marginal Notes and Reading Marks of a Natural Philosopher" (113.3:297-339; illus.). Joalland analyzes in-depth--and is the first to record--Newton's notes, underlinings, and dog-eared pages in the only traced copy of the five English Bibles that Newton owned: *The Holy Bible, Containing the Old Testament and the New: Newly Translated out of the Original Tongues: and with the Former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised* (H. Hills and J. Field, 1660), held by Trinity College Cambridge. Newton's dog-eared pages are usually pointed to specific words. Joalland counts 470 dog-ears, listing in Appendix 1 verses marked by them. He counts 260 marginal notations in Newton's hand, 60% of which are references to other verses (most are in prophetic books of both Testaments) and 40 underlined words or phrases, listing in Appendix 2 marginalia, underlined expressions, and deleted phrases. With comparative observations on others' practices and recommendations, Joalland finds Newton's markings largely conventional. He also relates

passages marked to Newton's writings and thought. The issue also has Jeremy B. Dibbell's instructive review of David McKitterick's *The Invention of Rare Books: Private Interest and Public Memory, 1660-1840* (2018).

The Spring 2019 issue of ***Restoration*** offers four articles, four reviews, a review of an English performance of *The Double Dealer*, and the annotated bibliography "Some Current Publications" by Nicole E. Pair (125-39). Laura Rosenthal, the editor, is eager to line up compilers for this survey of Restoration scholarship, which in this issue has a sequence by author and then by subject (e.g., crime, music). If I were a grad student working on the period, I'd sign up for a 2020 issue. Articles concern "patriarchal fictions" in Neville's *Isle of Pines* & Defoe's *True-Born Englishman*, Dryden's *Annus Mirabilis*, 17C Quaker worship, and "The Politics of Tea in Nahum Tate's *Panacea*."

The June issue of ***Review of English Studies*** has two noteworthy articles. Hazel Wilkinson's "*The Voyage of Richard Castelman* (1726): A New Document for Transatlantic Literary Studies" offers new evidence that the narrative is "based on the real life of the English trader and theatre manager Richard Castelman (d. 1746), whose experiences are confirmed for the first time." She examines what it tells us about transatlantic life, colonial Bermuda, life in early Charleston and Philadelphia, and Quakers in Virginia and North Carolina, and she also considers its literary methods, as its use of the language of prose fiction. Also here is Christine Gerrard's "Laetitia Pilkington and the Mnemonic Self," a study of memory's role in LP's *Memoirs* and her superb memory. Gerard notes that Pilkington quotes from 250 texts though she often moved about and presumably owned few books, depending on the extraordinary memory of which she boasted (her facility is discussed in the context of the period's educational and social practices). *RES* has posted at its OUP website "virtual issues" with its own former articles, such as one on Jane Austen, with nine essays including Robert Hume's "Money in Jane Austen."

***Studies in Burke and his Time***, the journal of the Edmund Burke Society of America, is now published only online, with downloadable PDFs. It is edited by Elizabeth Lambert and Michael Brown, with executive editor Ian Crowe of Belmont Abbey College (send submissions to: iancrowe@bac.edu). Among the essays in v. 28 (2019) is one by former EC/ASECS member John Faulkner, "Burke's Speech on the Test and Corporation Acts." The Society's meets every few years; the last (4th) was held in Nov. 2018 in Belmont, NC ("Burke, Kirk, and the Revolution in the Modern Mind"). The Society is sponsored by the Russell Kirk Center for Cultural Renewal, as by having its webpage at the Kirk Center's website and its conferences free of admission charges. The Center aims "to recover, conserve, and enliven those enduring norms and principles . . . the 'Permanent Things.'" It has a campus outreach.

The spring 2019 ***Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature*** (38.1) offers a group of essays on modern Latin American women writers and a forum of #me-too voices from different ranks in the Academy, testifying to "offenses, including microaggressions, consensual but problematic relationships, and physical

assaults." Of note here is Jessica W. H. Lim's edition in "Unsettled Accounts: Anna Letitia Barbauld's Letters to Lydia Rickards" (153-200). Lim, a recent Cambridge PhD, was informed by curator Elizabeth Denlinger that the Pforzheimer Collection of the NYPL had recently acquired 40 unpublished Barbauld letters (an acquisition aided by William McCarthy, who is editing her collected works). Lim's edition involves all 31 known letters from LAB to Lydia Rickards (Mrs Withering) and her mother, 1798-1815. Lim's annotated transcription is supported by photographs of three pages from different letters, illustrating observations about the MSS. Her commentary stresses the language of debt and exchange in the letters. She notes that to Lydia Barbauld wrote "letters on education, history, and grammar that her niece Lucy Aikin included in her 1828 biography of Barbauld. These letters are instrumental to understanding Barbauld's comprehensive vision of education" (155).

***The William and Mary Quarterly***'s January 2019 issue exemplifies the new exploitation of the WWW by journals. It contains a forum addressing Simon P. Newman's "Hidden in Plain Sight: Escaped Slaves in Late 18th and Early 19th-Century Jamaica" published on the *WMQ*'s OI Reader app in June 2018, their first "born-digital article" on the OI Reader (you won't see it in print but need download the free app at the App Store or Google Play). Editor Joshua Piker boasts of the OI Reader: "It allows scholars working with maps, images, sound, computational data, and video to write articles in which source material of this sort can live within their articles," thus expanding "the range of evidence," arguments, and topics possible. In the forum experts describe positively Newman's conclusions and methods (Sharon Leon writes that he finds that the many runaways in Jamaica, unacknowledged by whites, were "concealed amid Jamaica's large population of enslaved people and free people of color"). The issue contains essays like Hillary McD Beckles's "Running in Jamaica: A Slavery Ecosystem" and Celia E. Naylor's "Imaging and Imagined Sites, Sights, and Sounds of Slavery." Thereafter Newman responds, in "Breaking Free: Digital History and Escaping from Slavery" (33-40), agreeing with Beckles that the "digital-born scholarship" enables us "to break free of traditional methodological bondage" and enhance the "experience of slavery." The April issue has multiple articles on Jamaican women along with Nicholas Radburn and Justin Robers's "Gold vs. Life: Jobbing Gangs and British Colonial Slavery," those gangs being enslaved groups hired out to dig sugar cane, the fate of 10% of slaves in the British Caribbean. July's issue focuses on "Settler Colonialism in Early American History," introduced by Jeffrey Ostler & Nancy Shoemaker. Of special note is Molly O'Hagan Hardy's "Archives-Based Digital Projects in Early America," on "how scholars working in academia and in libraries are remediating the early American historical record through digital tools and methods."

I'm encountering this application of computer power to digitized old records in many a journal, though I doubt the applications are always new. For example, George Boulukos reviewing Sharon Block's *Colonial Complexions:*

*Race and Bodies in 18C America* (Penn, 2018) for *EAL*, 54.2 (2019), describes Block's conclusions from a database of 4000 "runaway" advertisements for people of all races. Later divisions of races into white, black, and red are not yet dominant. The complexity is apparent in "brown" being used to describe ten times as many persons of European descent than African and whiteness being used four times as often to describe Africans as Europeans. Someone working with slips at AAS in the 1930s might have concluded similarly.

There are two noteworthy links at the Society for 18C Music. One is to a full (retyped) transcript online of **Charles Burney's *The Present State of Music in France and Italy***, 2nd ed. (1773). The other is to the **Bononcini Project** website (apparently a version from c. 2012), devoted to Giovanni Bononcini (1670-1747), a celebrated musician in his time, the guest of European courts, whose music has rarely been published. Fondazione Arcadia, besides supporting critical editions of his works by LIM of Lucca, has mounted a website with a searchable complete catalogue of his works, illustrations, bibliography, and discography. It offers downloadable scores.

Note "**Eighteenth-Century E-Texts**" maintained with other "18C Resources" by Jack Lynch; it is a remarkable list of publicly available texts at https://andromeda.rutgers.edu/~jlynch/18th/etext.html.

**Edward Goedeken** continues to compile scholarship related to American libraries and book history. First there are his biennial instalments for *Information & Culture*: "The Literature of American Library History, 2014-2015" appears in 53.i (2018), 85-120, as had that for "2012-2013" in 51.2:267-98. Also, at the American Library Association website he posts a broader compilation. His "Bibliography of Writings on the History of Libraries, Librarianship, & Book Culture, Spring 2019" has been posted (its six sections include the U.S. with 17 items, Europe with 21, Book History with 24, etc.).

Bibliophiles, bibliographers, & book historians may find useful the 6 pp. of websites and **resources at www.floridabibliophilesociety.org**/links.

Bruce E. McKinney, owner of **Rare Book Hub** online, is encouraging bookdealers with e-Catalogues to post them in Section III of *Rare Book Monthly* as a benefit of belonging to RBH. This might save them commissions taken by sites like AbeBooks. *Rare Book Monthly* posts much of note regarding 18C books, as on their cataloguing, exhibition, and sale. Its March issue includes Michael Stillman's article on the British Library's digitizing of its "**Private Case**" Collection of pornographic or obscene materials. The collection's 2500 volumes, once hard to access, have been "digitized with the assistance of Gale" and can be viewed in the BL or at subscribing libraries.

Beverly Schneller passed along the description of a broadside dated 5 April 1768 with rules for the "**Circulating Library in the Derbyshire town** which now spells itself Ashbourne" (sold at Forum Auctions, London, Nov. 20, 2018). Joining cost 7s. 6d. and 6s. per year, payable in two instalments. Overdue books brought the fine of a tuppence a day. Meetings were held at the Green Man tavern to propose and vote on new acquisitions and policies.

Donald Heald Rare Books offered at the 2018 Boston Book Fair the day book & accounts ledger and commonplace book of papermaker Joseph Henderson (ledger 1812-38; biographical commonplace book, 1833-1844, 2 small folios). Henderson, born in **Newark, DE**, in 1790 and apprenticed in 1803, worked at a mill "on White clay Crick ¾ of a mile from Newark" (run by Meeter and sons from 1789-, with three vats by 1820. In 1836, after 10 years away, he returned to work at Meeter's Providence Mill on Little Elk in Maryland.

**Recent Discoveries from the 18C:** In **"18C Map of Exeter Discovered in Attic"** by Ellie McGarahan on *Exeposé* we learn of the discovery of a 1743 map of Exeter, *A Platform of the City of Exon* by William Birchynshaw, detailing hundreds of buildings like the Guildhall and Custom House, showing the city just before radical changes occurred. The U. of Exeter's Dr. Todd Gray, who bought it at auction, and other historians think it was never reproduced in quantity as another more modern map was produced soon after, *The Guardian* of 8 Dec. 2018 carried Esther Addley's article on the excavation the past summer of an **18C cavernous ice store** or well built by Samuel Dash in the 1780s south of London's Regent's Park. It's been designated a monument by Historic England and should go on public view. The photos are impressive. "The egg-shaped cavern, 9.5 metres deep and 7.5 metres wide, had been backfilled with demolition rubble after the terrace [grand stucco terraces built by John Nash in 19C] was bombed during the war." Built to very high standards, it was not impacted by the building of the Jubilee Line 10 meters below it. In the 19C it was an impt. vender of ice to affluent neighbors and doctors, Norwegian lake ice in the 1820s. **Heritage Archaeological Research Practice (HARP)**, a non-profit in Edinburgh directed by Ian Hill, which helps local groups preserve and publicize cultural heritage. HARP runs field summer schools," including one excavating Kildarvie on the Isle of Mull, a town abandoned in the 18C. It organizes tours along the roads traveled by 18C tourists like Thomas Pennant, Joseph Banks and Samuel Johnson (often 18C military roads intended to open the Highlands). There was a 2019 tour of this sort identifying what remains (and what differs) from the period of the Jacobite uprising and the start of Highland clearances.

The **Intelligencer needs reviewers for**: Samara Anne Cahill, *Intelligent Souls? Feminist Orientalism in Eighteenth-Century English Literature* (Bucknell UP, 2019), x + 233 pp. Also, Scott M. Cleary, *The Field of Imagination: Thomas Paine and 18C Poetry* (Virginia, 2019), xi + 172 pp. (poetry he wrote and liked). Also, Andrew Franta, *Systems Failure: The Uses of Disorder in English Literature (*Johns Hopkins UP, 2019), xi + 215 pp., with chapters on novels by Sterne, Smollett, Godwin and Austen, on Johnson's literary biographies, and on De Quncey's periodical essays. Also, Aaron R. Hanlon, *A World of Disorderly Notions: Quixote and the Logic of Exceptionalism* (U. of Virginia Press, 2019), [ix] + 222 pp. Also, Anthony W. Lee (ed.), *Community and Solitude: New Essays on Johnson's Circle*

(Bucknell UP, 2019), pp. [xii] + 257; with essays Boswell, Burke, et al, most by EC/ASECS members. Most books listed in March still need reviewers.

**Cover illustration**: The engraving *La Tour* of the Tower of London illustrates Hermann J. Real's lead essay, referenced in fn. 23. It was published in Henri Misson de Valbourg, *Mémoires et observations faites par in voyageur en Angleterre … avec un description particulière de ce qui'l y a de plus curieux dans Londres* (The Hague: H. van Bulderen, 1698). We are grateful to Janika Bischof for help with the illustration.