

Encoding and Decoding Swift's *Windsor Prophecy*

by Hermann Josef Real

"O mischief thou art swift."
Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*

The Windsor Prophecy, as one of Swift's learned editors has noted, is probably "the most fateful piece Swift ever wrote."¹ The poem certainly angered its addressee, Queen Anne, who in December 1711 was "stung with resentment at the very severe treatment" it meted out to her Whig confidante, the Duchess of Somerset,² and in alliance with *A Tale of a Tub*, it may have been conducive to ruining any prospect of Swift's preferment in the Church of England.³ At the same time, Swift was proud of his poem ("I like it mightily") and with self-complacent glee reported to Stella in Dublin the political stir it had created: "'Tis an admirable good one, and people are mad for it" (*Journal to Stella*, II, 444, 446-47).

While Swift was congratulating himself on his ingenuity, he also realized that his lady, together with many of the poem's contemporary readers, would have been bewildered by its barrage of puns, cryptic allusions, and indecent innuendoes. "Tell me, do you understand it?" he proudly prodded Stella, and provided the answer himself in the following sentence: "No, faith, not without help. Tell me what you stick at, and I'll explain" (*Journal to Stella*, II, 454, 444-45). Indeed, *The Windsor Prophecy* did pose an enigma 'calling' for interpretative assistance, of one kind or another, even if its readers should prove adepts in the generic repertoire of seventeenth-century secular prophecies and, more particularly, their encoding techniques, such as anagram and innuendo, double entendre and etymological translation, with which their matrix would have familiarized them.⁴ The introductory prose proem made this 'call' for certitude explicit in the speaker's oscillating between two self-contradictory solutions: either the poem's "Meaning [was] very dark" or it was entirely meaningless ("if it be any at all"). And predictably, perhaps, the authority to decide between the two was that trusted, if pseudo-authentic arbitrator, "the learned Reader."⁵

The first six lines of *The Windsor Prophecy* provide a case in point, introducing as they do, in the traditionally oblique manner, the intricate political geography into which the poem was launched:

When a holy Black *Suede*, the *Son of Bob*,
With a *Saint* at his Chin, and a *Seal* in his Fob;
Shall not see one New Years-day in that Year,
Then let old *Englond* make good Chear:
Windsor and *Bristow* then shall be
Joyned together in the *Low-Countree* ...
There shall be Peace, pardie, and War no more. (ll. 1-6, 12)

"Learned Readers" eager enough to try to decode the poem are likely to have encountered some of the information they would have needed to crack these lines in a variety of London newspapers. Since the end of November and throughout December 1711, the majority of these, Whig and Tory alike, reported regularly on the measures the Harley government had taken to make headway with the

negotiations which finally led to signing the Peace Treaty of Utrecht.⁶ Thus, it had become generally known that Dr John Robinson, Dean of Windsor since 1709 and Bishop of Bristol since 1710 (ll. 1, 5) had been appointed Lord Privy Seal (in August 1711) and plenipotentiary at the Utrecht peace conference (l. 2).⁷ This appointment had won Swift's approval not only on account of his Lordship's "Learning, Piety, and Consummate Wisdom"⁸ but also on account of the Harley ministry's political skill, which gave "a civil employment ... to a clergyman" and which therefore would "bind the church to him for ever."⁹ It was equally well known that, in addition to being chaplain to the English community in Stockholm, Robinson had served as "envoy from the crown of England" at the Swedish court for over twenty-five years,¹⁰ and that, as a result, he was "in his Department, and every Thing else, a *Swede*."¹¹

The first reports on the progress of the peace negotiations appeared in the London papers in late November. On 24 November 1711, *Dawks's Newsletter*, for example, announced: "The General Congress for a Treaty of Peace is to begin at Utrecht on Tuesday, the 12th of January New Stile, which will be our New-Years Day," a piece of news which was reiterated by other papers several times throughout December.¹² More specifically, on Christmas Eve, a Monday, *The Evening Post*, for one, reported that "this Afternoon his Excellency the Lord Privy Seal set out hence for Utrecht."¹³ On 27 December, however, news broke that "his Excellency the Lord Privy Seal ... [was] detained in the River by contrary Winds," which "kept his Lordship at Gravesend till Friday the Twenty-eighth." Robinson finally set sail "at Six that Night," arriving after what seems to have been a hazardous journey in the estuary of the River Meuse, or Dutch Maas, on 1 January 1712, thus missing the English New Year's Day according to Old Style (l. 3).¹⁴ It has become clear by now why Swift felt that Stella in Dublin would have found it hard to understand *The Windsor Prophecy* without help. She lacked some of the information only obtainable to readers closer to the scene of action.

But then, "learned Readers" may have relied, for their decoding efforts, not only on information supplied by the London papers; they may also have drawn from another, unexpected as well as unusual, source. This is a congratulatory poem, in forty Latin hexameters and facing French translation, ostensibly published at Utrecht in January 1712 and recently acquired by the Ehrenpreis Centre. Its title, without an imprint, runs as follows:

EXCELLENTISSIMO / DOMINO, DOMINO / JOHANNI / EPISCOPO
BRISTOLIENSI, / Sigilli Privati Custodi, / REGINÆ MAGNÆ BRITANNIÆ / A
Secretioribus Consiliis & in Conventu, Trajecti ad / Rhenum, Plenipotentiario,
Hoc in Mosam recepto / Gratulatorium Carmen Kalendis Januarii V. S. / inscribit
Servorum Devinctissimus. [rule] A SON EXCELLENCE / MYLORD / EVEQUE
DE BRISTOL, / *Garde du sceau privé d'Angleterre*; / Du conseil d'état de la
REYNE & son Ple- | nipotentiaire au Congres d'Utrecht. / *Felicitacion sur son
arrivée a l'embouchure de la Meuse, / le premier Janvier Vieux Stile par son tres
humble / & tres obeissant serviteur.* [Reproduced on the cover.]

This is a hitherto unrecorded edition of the poem, the French text being absent from the edition previously described by David Foxon (D296).¹⁵ Whereas these

first two printings do not reveal the poem's author, a reprinting with a variant title and published in London by Bernard Lintot presumably shortly after in the same month (Foxon D297), attributes it to Thomas Dibben, one of the Bishop's chaplains, who accompanied his Lordship to Utrecht. In addition to trying to clarify some unclear syntactical relationships by punctuation, the publisher (or another) also replaced the coda "Servorum Devinctissimus" with the attribution "inscribit Tho. Dibben." A Cambridge graduate (BA 1699, MA 1703, BD 1710), Dibben, by 1711, had "acquired considerable celebrity as a Latin poet."¹⁶ His translation of Matthew Prior's "Carmen Seculare, for the Year 1700," for example, was widely admired and was reprinted in the 1709 and 1718 editions of Prior's *Poems on Several Occasions*, both editions of which were in Swift's library.¹⁷

It is unknown who was responsible for the French translation which, unlike its Latin original, congratulates Bishop Robinson "on his happy arrival in the Meuse estuary on 1 January O.S. [*Felicitation sur son arrivée a l'embouchure de la Meuse, / le premier Janvier Vieux Stile*]."¹⁸ This is misleading, however, as a closer look at the Latin version will demonstrate. According to this, it is less the safe arrival of the ship but the *inscription*—the dedication and presentation—of the congratulatory poem to his Lordship on 1 January 1712 which is being celebrated (even though arrival and presentation may have coincided more or less):

EXCELLENTISSIMO / DOMINO, DOMINO¹⁹ / JOHANNI / EPISCOPO
BRISTOLIENSI, / Sigilli Privati Custodi, / REGINÆ MAGNÆ BRITANNIÆ / A
Secretioribus Consiliis²⁰ & in Conventu, Trajecti ad / Rhenum, Plenipotentiaro,
Hoc in Mosam recepto²¹ / Gratulatorium Carmen Kalendis Januarii V. S. / inscribit
Servorum Devinctissimus

[This I translate:] TO HIS EXCELLENCY JOHN, THE RIGHT REVEREND LORD BISHOP OF BRISTOL, Lord Privy Seal and Her Britannic Majesty's Privy Councillor and Plenipotentiary at the Congress of Utrecht, having been accepted by (welcomed into) the River Meuse, the most devoted and dutiful of his servants dedicates this congratulatory poem on 1 January O.S.

If this dedication may be taken seriously, its admixture of implausibility notwithstanding, the implications are:

First, at the moment of presentation on board, the poem was still in manuscript; it was written either during the crossing or had been completed beforehand so as to be ready for the presentation on arrival in the Netherlands.

Second, the poem was a new year's gift.

Third, to let the learned world know about it, the manuscript, or more probably a transcript of it, on his Lordship's arrival at Utrecht was given to a local printer (Foxon D296); at the same time, a second transcript was sent to Lintot in London (Foxon D297); in either case, publication occurred in *January* 1712 (this assumption suits the dates supplied by Foxon).

This reading of the events may be confirmed by a letter the Revd William Ayerst wrote from Utrecht to Dr Arthur Charlett, the news-loving Master of University College, Oxford. Ayerst had formerly been a student of University College, graduating BA in October 1703 and MA in November 1707 from there. By then, he had joined the diplomatic service. On the title page of his sermon on

The Duty and Motives of Praying for Peace Preach'd before their Excellencies on 27 January 1711 [O.S.] (London: Jonah Bowyer, 1712), he described himself as “M.A. of *University-College* in *Oxford*, and Chaplain to his Excellency the Earl of *Strafford*,” previously Thomas Lord Raby who, together with Bishop Robinson, was Queen Anne’s plenipotentiary at the Utrecht peace conference.²² On 2 February 1711/12 (N.S.), Ayerst sent Charlett a copy of what appears to be the first edition of Dibben’s *Gratulatorium Carmen*, remarkably still *without* the French translation of the Latin title page underneath,²³ but with some information in his accompanying letter that could only have come from Dibben himself: “Hon^d Sir—Tho’ I have nothing else to communicate to you, yet I can not forbear sending you these verses w^{ch} were made by M^r Dibbins one of My Lord Privy-Seal’s Chaplains on the Sea, & presented, as you will see by the Inscription, at their Entrance into the ~~Mas~~ Meuse after they had suffer’d a great Storm, & been run on the Sands.”²⁴ Despite this mishap, Bishop Robinson’s party arrived at Utrecht on the very date – Tuesday, 12 January 1712 (N.S.), or 1 January 1711 (O.S.) – the Queen had set for the opening of the Congress. However, since the French and Dutch delegations arrived “a day or two” later and some time afterwards had to be spent on necessary diplomatic ritual, the official opening was scheduled for Friday, 1 February 1712 (N.S.), or 22 January 1711 (O.S.), when the Lord Privy Seal finally “address’d himself to the French Plenipotentiarys.”

Two conclusions suggest themselves at this point. First, Dibben’s poem was indeed composed during the delegation’s crossing (“on the Sea”), however uncomfortable this may have been, and it was presented to the dedicatee at a moment when his party was still sailing and on its way to the conference venue (“at their Entrance into the Meuse”), but after it had ridden out the storm and escaped running aground – all in good time for a new year’s gift. Second, after arrival, a manuscript, most probably a transcript, of the poem was forwarded to a printer for publication. *Terminus ante quem* for this is 2 February 1711/12, or 23 January 1711, when the Revd William Ayerst sent Dr Charlett a copy of the printed edition. As a result, it is safe to assume that publication of the Revd Thomas Dibben’s dedicatory panegyric on his Bishop, “the Lord Privy Seal and Her Britannic Majesty’s Privy Councillor and Plenipotentiary,” was timed to coincide with the official opening of the Congress a day earlier.

Of course, it is impossible to state with any degree of confidence what the exact relationship between Swift’s *Windsor Prophecy* and Dibben’s *Gratulatorium Carmen* is. The least one could say, I suggest, is that, because of its massive concentration of identical facts and events germane to the historical situation, the Dibben poem provided a perfect foil to any contemporary reader eager to crack the code of Swift’s prophecy, at least of its introductory lines: “When a holy ... *Son of Bob*, With a *Saint* at his Chin” / DOMINO, DOMINO²⁵ / JOHANNI / EPISCOPO – “a *Seal* in his Fob” / Sigilli Privati Custodi [REGINÆ MAGNÆ BRITANNIÆ] – “Shall not see one New Years-day [in England] / in that Year” / in Mosam fluvium / accepto ... Kalendis Januarii V. S. – “*Windsor* and *Bristow* then shall be Joyned together in the *Low-Countree*” / EPISCOPO BRISTOLIENSI ... in Conventu, Trajecti ad Rhenum, Plenipotentiario. All these coincidences may be accidental, too. If so, Dibben’s *Gratulatorium Carmen* could still be utilized for the light it sheds on the understanding of Swift’s *Windsor Prophecy*.

But then, it also seems possible (though not provable) that, *before* his party finally set sail on the evening of 28 December 1711, Dibben saw a copy of *The Windsor Prophecy*, which had been circulating since Boxing Day, in at least four editions all printed during the last week of 1711 and therefore published in rapid succession (Foxon, S938-941). At noon on that day, Swift called upon Mrs (later Lady) Masham, the Queen's Tory confidante. Having already read *The Windsor Prophecy* by then, and being dismayed at its calculated ferocity, "[she] desired [him] not to let the *Prophecy* be published, for fear of angering the queen about the duchess of Somerset." Swift complied with Mrs Masham's commands, or rather went through the motions of complying with her commands, and "[wrote] to the printer to stop [production]." Miraculously, the printer never received Swift's missive, and on the following day, 27 December, burst into a dinner Swift was giving for the members of the Society, his club, bringing the Brothers "dozens a piece." Again, Swift made a show of stopping production ("I ordered him to part with no more"), but the public 'damage' had been done. No more reliable source than the printer would have been able to tell him that "people [were] mad" for the poem (*Journal to Stella*, II, 446-47). If we suppose that the public hysteria caught the Revd Thomas Dibben's attention one way or another, as it did that of Peter Wentworth, who on 28 December sent a copy to his brother, the Earl of Strafford, at Utrecht,²⁶ it is a nice thought, perhaps, that *The Windsor Prophecy* inspired the chaplain into writing his *Gratulatorium Carmen*, at this very late stage, during the crossing, and during a perilous one at that. After all, it gave him an opportunity to emphasize, and to spell out, the very features of his Bishop's status and peace-making mission which Swift had camouflaged.

On one point, Swift and Dibben did not differ, however. Both held out the prospect of peace. In a solemn declaration, *The Windsor Prophecy* promised peace – "There shall be Peace, pardie, and War no more" – and the *Gratulatorium Carmen*, in its forty hexameter lines, followed suit. The desire for peace, it announced, was the will of the Queen, and as a result, her subjects had no choice but to obey: "Ex vento atque mari, Vos pacem discite amare, / Quodque Anna & Fatum voluit, cessate morari."²⁷

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Notes

1. *Collected Poems of Jonathan Swift*, ed. Joseph Horrell, 2 vols. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1958), II, 779. In an equally powerful metaphor, David Woolley, the learned editor of *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, D. D.*, calls Swift's "decision in 1711 to go ahead and print *The Windsor Prophecy* . . . an act of suicide" (4 vols. [Frankfurt on Main: Peter Lang, 1999-2007], I, 274, n. 11).

2. See Philip Roberts, "Swift, Queen Anne, and *The Windsor Prophecy*," *Philological Quarterly*, 49 (1970), 254-58. Anne was alerted to the publication of Swift's poem by her physician-in-ordinary, Sir David Hamilton (*The Diary of Sir David Hamilton, 1709-1714*, ed. Philip Roberts [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975], 40; 92, n. 203; 123); see also *Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, I, 415, n. 2. A few days earlier, Lady Masham had "desired [Swift] not to let the *Prophecy* be

published, for fear of angering the queen about the duchess of Somerset" (*Journal to Stella*, ed. Harold Williams, 2 vols. [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948], II, 446; this edition is hereafter cited as *Journal to Stella*).

3. I have summarized the relevant evidence for this common view in "'The Most Fateful Piece Swift ever Wrote': *The Windsor Prophecy*," *Swift Studies*, 9 (1994), 76-99 (78-79).

4. See the older but still useful monograph by Rupert Taylor, *The Political Prophecy in England* (New York: Columbia U. Press, 1911), and, more recently, Ursula Mühle-Moldon, "*Every Prediction is a Twin*": *säkulare Prophetien im England des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1993), particularly 266-94.

5. All quotations are from the edition of Harold Williams, *The Poems of Jonathan Swift*, 2nd ed., 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), I, 146-48, with this difference that all words printed in black-letter type there are here printed in roman, and that words there printed in roman have here been italicized.

6. For these, and more, details, see Real, "'The Most Fateful Piece Swift ever Wrote': *The Windsor Prophecy*," 84-98. The progress the negotiations were making is clearly mirrored in countless references in Swift's *Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, I, 286, n. 4; 307, n. 8; 325, n. 4; 412 n. 5, and *passim*.

7. Narcissus Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs from September 1678 to April 1714*, 6 vols. (Oxford: University Press, 1857), VI, 474, 478, 582, 643, 668, and 706. See also Gilbert Burnet, *History of his Own Time*, 2 vols. (Dublin: A. Rhames, *et al.*, 1724-34), I, 347.

8. Abel Boyer, *The History of Queen Anne* (London: T. Woodward and C. Davis, 1735), 515.

9 *Journal to Stella*, ed. Williams, I, 347-48 and n. 8; *Correspondence*, ed. David Woolley, I, 381.

10. Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs*, VI, 484. For a fully documented account of John Robinson's chequered biography (including his anonymously published *Account of Sweden*), see R. M. Hatton, "John Robinson and the *Account of Sweden*," *The English Historical Review*, 28 (1955), 128-59. An assessment of his diplomacy is provided by June Milne, "The Diplomacy of Dr Robinson at the Court of Charles XII of Sweden, 1697-1709," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th ser., 30 (1948), 75-93.

11. John Macky, *Memoirs of the Secret Services of John Macky, Esq.* (1733), 144; Dirk F. Passmann and Heinz J. Vienken, *The Library and Reading of Jonathan Swift: A Bio-Bibliographical Handbook*, 4 vols. (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2003), II, 1150 (hereafter cited as "Passmann and Vienken").

12. See, for example, *The Evening Post*, no. 356 (20-22 November 1711); *Dawks's Newsletter*, 1 December, 13 December, 15 December 1711; *The British Mercury*, no. 272 (17-19 December 1711). According to Burnet, it was Queen Anne's privilege to determine the venue, and she therefore "named *Utrecht* as the Place of Congress, and the first of *January* O.S. for opening it" (*History of his Own Time*, I, 348).

13. *The Evening Post*, no. 370 (22-24 December 1711); *The Post Boy*, no. 2593 (22-25 December 1711).

14. *The London Gazette*, no. 4946 (29 December-1 January 1711/2).

15. The Ehrenpreis copy is a quarto with rectos A2, A3, and A4 signed and with p. 8 blank. The other of the two earliest editions, presumably preceding the Ehrenpreis Centre's edition, has the reading "Januarii S.V.," lacks the French translation and French text on the lower half of the Ehrenpreis copy's title page, and has both pp. 7-8 blank. It is catalogued as D296 in D[avid]. F. Foxon, *English Verse 1701-1750: A Catalogue of Separately Printed Poems with Notes on Contemporary Collected Editions*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 1975), I, 184 (hereafter cited as "Foxon"). Foxon located only two copies of D296, both at the Bodleian Library, Oxford. I am most grateful to my friend Jack A. Flavell, formerly of the Bodleian Library, not only for verifying this information but also for providing me with digital images of this and other material which will later be used in this essay.

16. For all information on Thomas Dibben, I am indebted to Philip Carter's account in *ODNB*, s.v.

17. Foxon D295; *The Literary Works of Matthew Prior*, ed. by H. Bunker Wright and Monroe K. Spears, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971), I, 161-81; II, 876. On Swift's copies, see Passmann and Vienken, II, 1523-24; I, 522.

18. It is not known, either, whether the translation was Dibben's own, nor is it known at what stage it was added to the Latin poem. It is likely that it was added only after arrival at Utrecht, and after the opening of the Peace Congress (see below). Whichever the case, it is likely to have been authorized by him.

19. In the Church, *Dominus*, vocative case *Domine*, is a "respectful address to the clergy" (*OED*), particularly its spiritual leaders, such as bishops, who in English would be addressed as "(My) Lord." In the present case, I take the first *Domino* to be a synonym of secular *Viro* (see also n. 23) and the second for Bishop Robinson's correct title. See also Constantia Maxwell, *A History of Trinity College, Dublin, 1591-1892* (Dublin: The University Press, 1946), 47-48.

20. A rare construction in which *a* designates an office, or dignity, *A Secretioribus Consiliis* meaning "a member of the Privy Council," or "Of the Privy Council." See the analogue in Graevius' dedication to the "Amplissimo et Clarissimo Viro Samveli Pvfendorffio ... *a Consiliis et Secretis* ... S.P.D. Joannes Georgivs Graevivs" (*Thesavrus Graecarvm Antiquitatvm*, ed. Jacobus Gronovius [Leyden: Peter vander Aa, 1699], V, 1946).

21 In the Lintot edition, the ambiguous syntax of "Hoc in Mosam recepto" was replaced, and clarified, by "in Mosam fluvium accepto" (Foxon D297). I have preferred to follow this reading in my English translation.

22. See Ayerst's autobiography forwarded by him to Dr R. Rawlinson for the latter's proposed continuation of Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses*, and prefixed to C. E. Doble, ed., "Letters of the Rev. William Ayerst, 1706-1721," *The English Historical Review*, 3, no. 12 (1888), 751-60 (752-53). See also *Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, I, 423 and n. 2.

23. This means that the copy Ayerst sent to Charlett is identical with Foxon D296, but *not* identical with the Ehrenpreis Centre copy, which is not recorded by Foxon (nor by ESTC, incidentally). If one assumes that Dibben succeeded in creating some demand for the Latin poem at Utrecht, circulation among Continental delegates would have been increased by a French translation, the language of international diplomacy at the time.

24. Quoted from Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Ballard 27 (32), fol. 72. A printed version, with some minor spelling variants, is in C. E. Doble, ed., "Letters of the Rev. William Ayerst, 1706-1721," *The English Historical Review*, 4, no. 15 (1889), 539-47 (540-41).

25. In the Church, *Dominus*, vocative case *Domine*, is a "respectful address to the clergy" (*OED*), particularly its spiritual leaders, such as bishops, who in English would be addressed as "(My) Lord." In the present case, I take the first *Domino* for a synonym of secular *Viro* (see also n. 23) and the second for Bishop Robinson's correct title. See also Constantia Maxwell, *A History of Trinity College, Dublin, 1591-1892* (Dublin: The University Press, 1946), 47-48.

26. Full documentation in Real, "'The Most Fateful Piece Swift ever Wrote': *The Windsor Prophecy*," p. 82 and n. 40.

27. For various kinds of assistance as well as suggestions for improvement, I am most grateful to Jack A. Flavell, East End, Oxon, to Dr Kirsten Juhas, Ulrich Elkmann and Eva Schaten, MA, all of the Ehrenpreis Centre for Swift Studies, Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität, Münster, and to James E. May.

Eighteenth-Century Studies at The Penn State University Press

Exactly twenty years ago in this newsletter, then director of the Penn State University Press, Sandy Thatcher, identified Ira V. Brown's *Joseph Priestley: Selections from His Writings* (published by the Press in 1963) as one of our earliest books in the field of eighteenth-century studies. He surveyed nearly fifty titles that were published by the Press since the volume of Priestley writings--books that were "either entirely or in significant part ... devoted to illuminating aspects of eighteenth-century life and thought." These included a critical mass in literary criticism, with a handful of notable titles in art and architecture and U.S. history. This view of the Press's list from twenty years past revealed some very impressive publications in the field of eighteenth-century studies, even if acquired and published "without any conscious editorial strategy to focus on the field" (Thatcher, *The East-Central Intelligencer*, January 1993).

Now, in April 2013, I speak on behalf of the Press as a relative newcomer, as I am about to wind up my third year as Editor-in-Chief of the Penn State University Press. A gratifying part of my job, in addition to strategizing about continued and new directions for the list, includes studying the Press's rich backlist and discovering some real gems, or clusters, in various disciplines and subject areas. Our backlist in eighteenth-century studies, which continued to develop during the 1990s and through the first decade of the 2000s, contains many rich veins. Take for example Judith H. McDowell's translation of Rousseau's *La Nouvelle Héloïse* (1990), or Mira Morgenstern's *Rousseau and the Politics of Ambiguity: Self, Culture, and Society* (1996), or Laurence D. Cooper's *Rousseau, Nature, and the Problem of the Good Life* (1999), or *Feminist Interpretations of Jean-Jacques Rousseau* (2002), edited by Lynda Lange, or Todorov's *Frail Happiness: An Essay on Rousseau* (2004), translated by John T. Scott and Robert D. Zaretsky. My own appreciation for Rousseau scholarship let me to acquire *Rousseau Among the Moderns: Music, Aesthetics, Politics* (forthcoming in 2013),

an intriguing study by Julia Simon that links key concepts in music to the crucial problems of the individual's relationship to the social order.

The above list of our selected offerings on Rousseau reveals the shift in focus of Penn State University Press's editorial program twenty years ago from literary studies toward history and philosophy. As increased acquisitions in these areas began to find purchase on the list, our offerings in eighteenth-century studies burgeoned. Three new books series helped to drive this trend in the early 2000s:

The Penn State Series in the History of the Book, edited by the Director of the Penn State Center for the History of the Book and Edwin Erle Sparks Professor of English, James L. West III:

Pamela E. Selwyn's *Everyday Life in the German Book Trade: Friedrich Nicolai as Bookseller and Publisher in the Age of Enlightenment* was published in the series in 2000. It is remarkable to note that 2011-12 saw the publication in this series of four new titles of great import to eighteenth-century studies: Jane McLeod's *Licensing Loyalty: Printers, Patrons, and the State in Early Modern France* (2011); *Into Print: Limits and Legacies of the Enlightenment*, ed. Charles Walton (2011); John Hruschka's *How Books Came to America: The Rise of the American Book Trade*; and A. Franklin Parks' *William Parks: The Colonial Printer in the Transatlantic World of the Eighteenth Century* (2012).

The Max Kade Research Institute Series: Germans Beyond Europe, edited by A. Gregg Roeber and Daniel Purdy, co-directors of the Penn State Max Kade German-American Research Institute:

In the early 2000s, Penn State University Press titles reflected a growing interest in transatlantic history. Publications in this series have been examining German networks beyond Europe as influenced by forces such as migration, colonization, war, research, religious missions, or trade; and many of these studies are focused on the eighteenth-century, in whole or in part. Of particular interest are: Renate Wilson's *Pious Traders in Medicine: A German Pharmaceutical Network in Eighteenth-Century North America* (2000); Craig D. Atwood's *Community of the Cross: Moravian Piety in Colonial Bethlehem* (2004); *Souls for Sale: Two German Redemptioners Come to Revolutionary America*, edited by Susan E. Klepp, Farley Grubb, and Anne Pfaelzer de Ortiz (2006); A. Gregg Roeber's *Ethnographies and Exchanges: Native Americans, Moravians, and Catholics in Early North America* (2008); Rosalind Beiler's *Immigrant and Entrepreneur: The Atlantic World of Caspar Wistar, 1650-1750* (2008); Mark Häberlein's *The Practice of Pluralism: Congregational Life and Religious Diversity in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1730-1820* (2009); as well as two new titles forthcoming in 2013: *A Peculiar Mixture: German-Language Cultures and Identities in Eighteenth-Century North America*, edited by Jan Stievermann and Oliver Scheiding; and Hermann Wellenreuther's, *Citizens in a Strange Land: A Study of German-American Broadides and Their Meaning for Germans in North America, 1730-1830*.

Edinburgh Editions of Thomas Reid, edited by Knud Haakonssen:

This series co-published with the Edinburgh University Press has brought to our list seven critical editions of the work of this central figure of the Scottish

Enlightenment. These edited volumes contain scholarly apparatus for Thomas Reid's *Correspondence*, *Essays on the Active Power of Man*, *Essays on the Intellectual Powers of Man*, as well as his other work on logic, ethics, natural history, physiology, and materialist metaphysics.

Alongside acquisitions in the above-mentioned series, the Press has steadily published important work in eighteenth-century studies related to broader areas of our list. Addressing the **history of colonial immigration** are Marianne S. Woceck's *Trade in Strangers: The Beginnings of Mass Migration to North America* (1999) and *In Search of Peace and Prosperity: New German Settlements in Eighteenth-Century Europe and America* (2000), edited by Hartmut Lehmann, Hermann Wellenreuther, and Renate Wilson. The 1990s saw a veritable *floraison* for the Press in French history. Here I'll note just a few of our backlist titles, many of which are related to **French Revolution and gender history**: Cynthia Bouton's *The Flour War: Gender, Class, and Community in Late Ancien Régime French Society* (1993); *Visions and Revisions of Eighteenth-Century France* (1997), edited by Christine Adams, Jack R. Censer, and Lisa Jane Graham; Jack R. Censer and Lynn Hunt's enormously successful *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity: Exploring the French Revolution* (2001); Timothy Tackett's award-winning *Becoming a Revolutionary: The Deputies of the French National Assembly and the Emergence of a Revolutionary Culture* (2006); Barry M. Shapiro's *Traumatic Politics: The Deputies and the King in the Early French Revolution* (2009); and more recently Doina Pasca Harsanyi's *Lessons from America: Liberal French Nobles in Exile, 1793-1798* (2010). Our highly regarded **art history** list contributes further to the field, with the publication of Judith Magee's *The Art and Science of William Bartram* (2007); Michael Yonan's *Empress Maria Theresa and the Politics of Habsburg Imperial Art* (2011); Rochelle Ziskin's *Sheltering Art: Collecting and Social Identity in Early Eighteenth-Century Paris* (2012); Richard Taws' *The Politics of the Provisional: Art and Ephemera in Revolutionary France* (2013), and two additional soon-to-appear titles in eighteenth-century art history: Robin L. Thomas' *Architecture and Statecraft: Charles of Bourbon's Naples, 1734-1759* (forthcoming 2013) and Amy Freund's *Portraiture and Politics in Revolutionary France* (forthcoming 2014). In **philosophy**, the Press recently issued David B. Wilson's *Seeking Nature's Logic: Natural Philosophy in the Scottish Enlightenment* (2009) and Elizabeth Agnew Cochran's *Receptive Human Virtues: A New Reading of Jonathan Edwards's Ethics* (2010), two new titles that add to a growing list in political theory: *Condorcet: Writings on the United States*, edited, translated, and with introduction by Guillaume Ansart (2012) and *Kant's Political Theory: Interpretations and Applications*, edited by Elisabeth Ellis (2012).

The field of 18th-century studies will continue to hold promise for Penn State University Press. We'll remain invested in studies that transect the areas noted above: book history, transatlantic history, art history, French history, and philosophy. For example, later this year we will release *David Hume: Historical Thinker, Historical Writer*, edited by Mark G. Spencer. We'll see the publication in 2014 of a valuable new English version of L'Abbé Prévost's *Histoire d'une Grecque Moderne*, translation, introduction, and notes by Alan J. Singerman. Additionally, a new book series called **Animalibus: Of Animals and Cultures**,

edited by Nigel Rothfels and Garry Marvin will be of interest to scholars in the field. Rachel Poliquin's *The Breathless Zoo: Taxidermy and the Cultures of Longing* examines the history and art of taxidermy, including the proliferation of natural history cabinets in early eighteenth-century Europe; and *Gorgeous Beasts: Animal Bodies in Historical Perspective*, edited by Joan B. Landes, Paula Young Lee, and Paul Youngquist, presents chapters on the animal in Buffon's natural history illustrations and on the concept of animality and man's place in nature at the end of the eighteenth century. Future titles published in this series will focus either squarely or in part on the human-animal connection in the 18th century.

I'll close with the announcement that the Penn State University Press will be among the exhibitors at this year's American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies in Cleveland. I'll enjoy having the opportunity to connect there with scholars in the field, to discuss our list offerings, and to contemplate new book submissions related to various strands of our list.

Kendra Boileau (kboileau@psu.edu)
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Jürgen Heideking. *The Constitution before the Judgment Seat: The Prehistory and Ratification of the American Constitution, 1787-1791*. Edited by John P. Kaminski and Richard Leffler. Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2012. Pp. xxxviii + 552; bibliography; index. \$45. ISBN: 978-0-8139-3174-6. Hardcover: \$45.00.

In 2010, Pauline Maier, who long ago established a sterling reputation as one of our finest historians of early American history, published a magisterial and massively detailed study of the ratification of the United States Constitution. Nearly 600 pages in length, the book, *Ratification: The People Debate the Constitution, 1787-1788*, is a profoundly important work. Maier, a professor at MIT, looks in particular at individual ratifying conventions in key states, such as Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Virginia, and New York, but without losing sight of the other nine as well. In her research, she took full advantage of the invaluable resources that Merrell Jenson, John Kaminski, Gaspare Saladino, Richard Leffler, and others have been assembling since 1976 in their multi-volume series of documents called the Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution, published by the Wisconsin Historical Society.

Maier reveals in the introduction her astonishment that some historian had not written this book earlier. She says that many studies of the Constitution address the Constitutional Convention and some mention the ratification but usually only in passing, perhaps in a single chapter, but none has ever gone into the depth that she has. And, yet, she indicates that there was one exception, "which discusses both the federal Convention and ratification," but it is "written in German and is only now being published in translation." Her endnote cites the author as Jürgen Heideking, whose book, *Die Verfassung vor dem Richterstuhl: Vorgeschichte und Ratifizierung Amerikanischen Verfassung, 1787-1791*, appeared in 1988. Heideking, who was killed in an automobile accident in 2000 at age 53,

was a distinguished scholar of American history whose last academic position was at the University of Cologne. His works include many in English, such as *Celebrating Ethnicity and Nation: American Festive Culture from the Revolution to the Early Twentieth Century*, which he co-edited in 2001. His interests and range was remarkable: from antiquity to the twentieth century, covering European and American affairs. *The Constitution Before the Judgment Seat*, in the original German edition, ran to over 1,000 pages. Kaminski and Leffler have now made it available in translation, though they have abridged it to make it more accessible to American readers.

Unlike Maier, Heideking has taken a wide-angle view to include not only the American ratifying conventions and the controversies and disputes that characterized them but a European perspective as well. Perhaps it was the unique position from Germany that stimulated his interest in a wider range, or perhaps it was the emerging European Union years ago that struck him when he was first researching and writing this work. His book focuses not only on the political background but also the cultural, economic, and social aspects of the ratification process. Like Maier, he has made full use of the Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution, so it comes as no surprise that the editors of the translation are deeply involved in the project to translate his work into English.

Undergraduate students of American history--and perhaps graduate students as well--often have no real concept of what America was like in 1787 and 1788. As Maier puts it, this may also be true of many adults who probably think that George Washington was inaugurated as the first President of the United States a few weeks after the Constitutional Convention ended. In fact, I like to begin my own classes with the metaphor of Central America: the United States was "united" in name only in 1787 because the foci of power were among the states, not the central government. The Articles of Confederation, which came into existence only in 1781 when the document was finally ratified, was surely America's first constitution, but when you read it, you come away with the feeling that it was no more than a treaty between the states or an alliance of convenience: after all, the British imperial army and navy was the largest, most professional military force in the world. The King and Parliament were not about to let the Americans separate from the Empire without a fight. The states were so divided that most barely supported the war effort with troops and funds. Worse still, they only completed ratification of the Articles by the very end of the war. In effect, the states were little nation-states, divided from and often rivaling each other. Trade wars, economic barriers, taxes, and other competitive practices made the "united" states more like the small countries that make up Central America today. The U.S. could easily have wound up in 1787 looking like Guatemala, Belize, Nicaragua, Costa Rico, Honduras, and El Salvador. In other words, something like modern Europe today, which has over the past fifty years struggled and failed to create a united state: even today, there are those who claim that the Euro zone may well collapse as economic difficulties continue to plague the Europeans and those who predict that Britain will choose to rethink its relationship to the European Union.

The developments in America in that crucial four-year period from the end of the Constitutional Convention to the beginning of the First Federal Government and the ratification of the Bill of Rights on December 15, 1791, are what drove

Heideking, always mindful of the Europe of his own day, to prepare this study. His hope was that the instructive history of the American goal to find unity among many, as expressed in the motto *E Pluribus Unum*, may be useful to the process of European integration. The key to understanding this moment in U.S. history is discerning what and how the Americans thought about the big questions. Thus, he investigates letters, pamphlets, and the press to come up with the answers.

Here, Heideking revisited the Federalist/Antifederalist debates of 1787 and 1788 and links them to a soul-searching process in the American attempt to create a nation. Had this book appeared in English in the United States or the U.K. when it was first published in German twenty-five years ago, historians would have hailed it as pioneering. That said, it has not lost its innovative edge: Heideking pulls strongly for the Federalist argument that to avoid anarchy America needed a strong central government, one that the Constitution did not really create because the states still claimed more power than warranted. For them, the United States government had to be more centralized, more powerful than the Constitution allowed. The Federalist goal was not to entrust the wealthy and powerful with the government at the expense of the little guy, the middling sort, he argues, but to steer clear of the massive errors the Europeans had continually made with their constant wars, high taxes and unending interest payments. Only a powerful central government could ensure this, not the diffuse power system that the Articles had created and that the Antifederalists advocated. The result: the striving for a purely *national* answer to America's problems, not a parochial one based on the states.

Americans, and not only Europeans, in the twenty-first century still address these very issues, asking such questions as what is the appropriate relationship between the federal government and the states or what should the tax rates be and should or could there be tax reform or should the rich pay more than the middle class or the working poor? Should state governments have more power relative to the United States government? What is the best way to ensure the security of the people: an armed public, a professional army and navy? Should the United States have the authority to borrow money, and if so, how much and how is paid back? The Americans certainly did not directly talk about "debt ceilings" and "fiscal cliffs" in the eighteenth-century because they had their own way of addressing these problems. But the major question was clear: would a politically and economically weak America inspire Europeans to take advantage of it, to dominate it or the various states, or even to invade? Heideking reviews these controversies with freshness and insight that was long missing from the historical literature. Most remarkable of all is that he did this when he did, in the early 1980s when virtually no other historian was looking into these matters with the care and detail he devoted to them.

Perhaps the most important aspect of his work is the focus that he gives to the process of ratification itself. According to the Articles of Confederation, only the unanimous agreement of the states could amend the document. But not so the Constitution: instead, Article VII instructs the states to elect ratifying conventions specially designed to consider the virtues and vices of the proposed document. When the Confederation Congress received the document, it had a variety of choices: it could have condemned the Convention for failing to carry out its charge to recommend amendments to the Articles to improve the document or,

alternatively, it could have decided that Article VII violated the Articles' requirement that it took the unanimous decision of all states to make any changes whatsoever. Instead, Congress decided to dodge the issue: it sent the proposed document to the states for review, which leads to Heideking's title: he took it from an October 15, 1787, letter George Washington wrote to Henry Knox, who was an indispensable officer under Washington's command during the Revolutionary War and who became the nation's first secretary of war. "The Constitution is now before the judgment seat," he told Knox. "It has, as was expected, its adversaries, and its supporters" (p. 1, epigram).

We know that the ratification process was not guaranteed, that the whole thing could have come crashing down whenever fewer than nine states declined to ratify. We might get shivers up our spine to see how close the vote was in key big states: the Massachusetts convention ratified by a vote of 187 to 168; Virginia, 89 to 79; New York, 30 to 27 and then only after the requisite number of nine states had accepted the Constitution. Sure, some states ratified the Constitution by wide margins (Maryland by a vote of 63 to 11), but what if—the great "what ifs" of history are always interesting to contemplate—to repeat, what if these big states had declined to do so? Simple, in my judgment: America as Central America.

Once in place, the Constitution inspired celebrations, parades, and rejoicing throughout what was literally a new nation. Heideking's conclusion is that these were as critical as the ratification process itself: "In celebrating the new Constitution, Americans laid the foundation for a distinct festive culture, whose forms, style, and spirit can still be observed in public life in the United States today" (p. 374). They demonstrate the public spiritedness that runs in American culture even when it does not manifest itself openly in election turnouts. And yet, it always seems to be an undercurrent of who we are as a people. This public spirit, he argues, transformed the American republic into the pluralistic democracy that we know today, and he lamented that Europe has consistently failed to emulate the American achievement of *E Pluribus Unum*. He obviously had great faith in the future of the United States, despite its problems of social and racial inequality and discrimination.

Heideking sets forth the history of the founding with style, verve, and clarity. It is unfortunate that he did not live to see his book translated into English and could not continue to enlighten us with his penetrating historical insights.

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Patrick M. Erben. *A Harmony of the Spirits: Translation and the Language of Community in Early Pennsylvania*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2012. Pp. 352; 18 illustrations. ISBN: 978-0-8078-3557-9. Cloth: \$45.

A Harmony of the Spirits deftly presents an intellectual movement of the eighteenth century not previously examined, one that occurred internationally among dissenting religious groups in England, Europe, and the American

colonies. Dr. Patrick Erben retells the history of the collaboration between the Quakers and the German Pietists not as religious history but as a major cosmopolitan development in translation and linguistic theory, an idealistic and somewhat mystical attempt to override the estranging effects of language difference in ethnically diverse colonial Pennsylvania. In careful, well-documented detail, Erben demonstrates how two foundational myths, the story of Babel and the story of Babylon, coalesce to define these nonconformists' impression of European culture and Christianity. They fuse into the image of what Quakers and German Pietists both hoped to escape—the Babylon-like (from the Book of Revelations) corruption of the established church fused with an inability to truly communicate since the fall of the Tower of Babel. It is this “Babel/Babylon” they flee from as they emigrate to America. Erben relates how these communities, using spiritual translation and music, hope to create an Eden of pure communication that rises above national and linguistic difference.

By explaining the ways in which promotional literature in English and German served to craft “visions of spiritual community” in Pennsylvania, Erben carefully unravels the complex story of the collaboration between William Penn and the German religious dissenters whom he courted for support in his founding of Pennsylvania. Erben emphasizes the importance of translation and circulation of promotional texts in the building of a sense of spiritual-linguistic utopianism. Penn's letters and visits to the German Pietists not only highlighted what they had in common, but favored the divine openings that arose through suspension of language—communication that went beyond words or the translation of words—over translations and written communication in general. According to Erben, this approach endeared Penn and his assistants to the Pietists. Likewise, the German Pietists' translations of the Quaker promotional literature retained English terms, thus balancing familiarity and estrangement, creating a common vocabulary that reflected their common experience of “persecution, piety, personal faith, and, especially, a quest for religious toleration” (81).

Among the German Pietists, Daniel Francis Pastorius was the most outspoken proponent of supranational spiritual affinity with the Quakers. Eager to emigrate to distance himself from the “European Babylon,” Pastorius is disappointed by his Frankfurt sponsors' hesitation, and distances himself from them. Pastorius' letters home become part of the growing and popular promotional literature that emphasized transnational spiritual community; he contributes a distinctly utopian vision of Philadelphia. Likewise, Daniel Falckner's *Curious News from Pennsylvania in North America* repeated the Europe/Babel trope, casting Pennsylvania as a place where religious and linguistic differences were overcome by the immigrants' common grasp of the divine meanings inscribed in nature. Most interestingly, the Quaker and Pietist ideas of linguistics and translation helped to transmit an idealized image of the Native inhabitants, identifying their language as both entirely other and at the same time similar to Hebrew and other potentially universal or perfect languages. Penn calls their language “lofty” and full of “Signification.” Their acceptance of the Quakers and Germans is depicted as complete and loving by Pastorius and others, to the extent that they, too, are shown to value a transnational community of good people over ethnic difference. According to the promotional literature, the Delaware

people revealed spiritual and linguistic affinities to their Quaker and Pietist brethren that went beyond translation.

The Keithian controversy, an acrimonious dispute between orthodox and Keithian Quakers in Pennsylvania, ca. 1690 to 1700, threatened to dissolve this utopian community. It undercut the Quakers' and Pietists' root belief in the link between religious testimony and the "inward language of the soul." The fact that the Quaker community could fall into such division preyed upon the community's confidence in a common spiritual language that transcended the "spirit of the letter." Seeing it as a dispute about the communal agency of language, Erben explains how the dispute began in oral arguments among Quakers and spread to a pamphlet war engaged in by both the English and the Germans. Pastorius notably stood up for his Quaker friends against other German Pietists. In his later writings, he took a less antagonistic approach to the Keithians, but this experience, suggests Erben, led Pastorius to "regard multilingualism, not as a sign of a fallen humanity, but as an antidote to spiritual confusion or a means for reversing Babel." Pastorius' "Bee-Hive," a compendium of multilingual poetry, an encyclopedia, and moral commonplaces, was less an elitist display of Pastorius' learning than a display of the spiritual unity possible through external diversity.

By pursuing in detail the interpersonal interactions and multilingual poetry and writing of Daniel Pastorius, Erben is able to further develop his argument that acts of translation and multilingual writing in the Quaker and Pietist views use incongruence and diversity in communication as a reminder that a deeper form of communication beyond language is their goal. Multilingualism is thus not a product of Babel but a "means of reversing Babel." This is evident, Erben shows us, particularly in Pastorius' "Bee-Hive," written in seven languages, and in his annotations in the books of others that he borrowed. Pastorius reveals a proclivity not only to multilingual expression (he approves of English as a particularly polyglot language), but also to the guidance and education of those in his "literary circle" who request or evidence the need for such instruction. Erben employs a reading of Pastorius' correspondence with female ministers and others in his community to argue that in his devotion to the concept of a unified spiritual language and society, Pastorius was not susceptible to ethnic- or gender-bias. Instead, Erben sees in Pastorius' writing and re-writing of his manuscript a belief that love is not only subtextual but intertextual and interpersonal. Hence, Pastorius does not privilege the subtextual Truth above written and spoken communication, but sees them all as relevant in his vision of the community. At this point, the reader would appreciate a broader understanding of the writing practices of the community in which to contextualize Erben's claims about Pastorius. Even a clearer idea of who constitutes Pastorius' "literary circle" to which Erben frequently refers would improve the salience of his argument.

Erben convincingly extends his thesis to the role of hymn culture and manuscript illustrations by Pietist communities like Kelpius' Hermits, the Ephrata Cloister, and the Moravians of Bethlehem. Erben establishes the importance of Kelpius in the spread and significance of German hymnody throughout the colonies, independent of London translations of German hymns later brought to the colonies. In the practices of each of these groups, Erben finds strains of the seventeenth-century Neoplatonist ideal of a common spiritual language, one that

joins the natural (human) language to the spiritual (or Adamic, pre-Babel) language of the spirit. By closely interpreting the records, correspondence, and hymn manuscripts of each of these communities, the author outlines how their hymn-singing incorporated linguistic diversity and “transformed human expression into an approximation of a spiritual or angelic sound” (200). The receptivity of what Erben terms the “Quaker elite” to Kelpius’ hymns and his supporting theology is perhaps the best argument for a lasting influence of this practice on the religious and intellectual development in the middle colonies. In the acceptance and dissemination of Kelpius’ hymns throughout Pennsylvania, Erben claims, the Keithian controversy was counteracted. Translation, communal singing, and manuscript illuminations of hymns are explained as core strategies for reaching the divine Word of God, or intimacy with Christ. Erben explains the variations in modes of reaching this mystical goal among the three Pietist groups; perhaps the most colorful is Bethlehem Moravians’ polyglot hymn singing at “love feasts,” where hymns were sung in up to 25 languages at once. In these events and their multilingual hymnals, Erben points out, the Moravians were celebrating the multiplicity of voices that together created the unity of the single language of the spirit. He suggests that polyglot singing and hymn translation in these communities has yet to be thoroughly studied.

Erben devotes his final chapter to revising the received historical version of the mid-eighteenth-century debate over defense in Pennsylvania through an account of the Quakers’ and German Peace churches’ cooperative resistance to any form of violent defense. He relates three noteworthy moments of communication beyond language and culture: the publications of Franklin’s rival printer, Christoph Saur; a Dutch-German translation of the *Martyr’s Mirror* produced at the Ephrata Cloisters; and the English Quaker-German sectarian collaboration to form the Friendly Association for Regaining and Preserving Peace with the Indians.

Perhaps the remarkable production and the fate of the Mennonite *Martyr’s Mirror* best emblemize the pacifist experience in Pennsylvania at this time. This book of seventeenth-century Anabaptist martyrdom was painstakingly translated, reproduced, and printed by the Mennonite Brethren at Ephrata in the 1750s. But before all the pages could be bound, many were confiscated by the Continental Congress and used as cartridge wadding for the Revolutionary troops. Erben convincingly reveals how the book became a martyr to pacifism itself, and galvanized Quaker and German resistance to violence both spiritually and physically.

At times the gripping story of the persecution and suffering experienced by these communities at the hands of bellicose Pennsylvanians and exasperated Indian nations nearly overwhelms Erben’s depiction of the development of a spiritual language. Ultimately, though, *A Harmony of the Spirits* is the story of translanguing communication based in the belief that a shared spiritual language could unite diverse communities by supplanting ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and religious difference. These early Pennsylvanians offer a model of transnational cooperation based on what they shared: a common vocabulary and experience of persecution, piety, personal faith, and a quest for religious toleration. Erben’s scholarship is a vibrant contribution to the history of linguistics, religion, early

modern popular music, and transnational studies in the eighteenth century.

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Richard Frohock. *Buccaneers and Privateers: The Story of the English Sea Rover, 1675-1725*. Newark: University of Delaware Press; Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2012. Pp. ix + 189; bibliography; 15 illustrations; index. ISBN: 978-1-61149-387-0. Cloth: \$65.

Ever since the publication of Alexander Exquemelin's *The Bucaniers of America* (Amsterdam, 1678; London, 1684, 1685), pirates and piracy have been a steady but niche interest. Its accounts of sea battles, land excursions, privations at sea and on land, bravery, and, most of all, cruelties that cannot even be imagined by Quentin Tarantino, guaranteed a steady readership. But it seems to me that the publication of *Defoe's General History of the Pyrates* (Dent, 1972; Dover rpt., 1999) initiated a torrent of scholarly works that has yet to subside. Once seemingly quasi-fictional, the *General History's* many citations, from London and colonial newspapers, shipping news, India Office records, captains' logs, and newly discovered pirate trials, in England and the colonies, gave overwhelming proof of its historical importance. Hollywood's pirates—Errol Flynn's romantically rousing *Captain Blood* (1935) and *Abbott and Costello Meet Captain Kidd* (1957)—gave place to the well-researched studies we read today. We have had serious gender studies of Mary Read and Anne Bonny, homoerotic and transgressive pirates (Turley, 1999), radical pirates collectives (Redicker, 1987), even Jewish pirates of the Caribbean (Kreitzler 2008); and now a brand new video game, with "intense violence, nudity, strong language, and drug use," about the abduction of athletic young men and women by pirates in the South Pacific (Ubisoft Studios, 2012). And let us not forget Capt. Morgan's Rum (1945), now heavily advertised in the subway cars of The New York City Transit.

Mr. Frohock examines the changing and adaptable figure of the English marauder, continually reinvented and redefined to serve various points of view or historical needs. "Each chapter in this book addresses different narrative constructions of sea rovers and their relationships to state-sanctioned empire" (3). His Introduction is an eminently readable summary of what follows. Because each voyage narrative had at least one contrasting narrative dialoguing with it, the chapters are conveniently organized and coherent. For example, chapter 1 examines the trial (1674) and the later biography of *The Grand Pyrate...Capt. George Cusack* (1676). Chapters 2, 3, 4, and 5 detail the several English translations and tales of Exquemelin's piratical excursions in Yucatan and the South Seas. Included here are the story of Henry Morgan's scorched earth policy in his plundering of Puerto Bello and Panama (1671) and the necessary English defense of him, *The Present State of Jamaica* (1683); and the many accounts of Capt. Bartholomew Sharp's varied incursions on Panama and the Pacific coast of South America, which were detailed in at least six accounts before the end of the century. These accounts of Sharp include a 21-page account by "W.D." in

Exquemelin's second impression (1684); *The Voyages and Adventures of Capt. Barth. Sharp in the South Seas* (1684); Basil Ringrose's more detailed journal, published the following year as Volume II of Exquemelin's second edition; and William Dampier's *A New Voyage Round the World* (1697)—the great hydrographer had been Ringrose's shipmate and had been a member of the Puerto Bello expedition, had defected in 1681, recrossed the Isthmus with others, and had concluded his unplanned voyage round the world in 1691. What may have been Sharp's own journal account was belatedly published in 1699: *A Collection of Original Voyages*.

Chapter six breaks the iterations of cruelties, the barbarities to white and black servants and slaves, mutinies, ships' articles, the inevitable log accounts, pirate organization, the sharing of plunder, and lustful engagements on land, with Frohock's consideration of the most successful and engaging privateering voyage ever undertaken, Captain Woodes Rogers' *A Cruising Voyage Round the World* (1712). Even here, Frohock has a companion text, published three months earlier, written by Edward Cooke, an officer on one of Rogers' companion ships—there were two—that docked in England in 1711: *A Voyage to the South Sea, and Round the World* (1712). And in his last chapter he presents the contradictory accounts of a failed privateering vision and voyage, Capt. George Shelvocke's *A Voyage Round the World* (1726), and William Betagh's disputed version of events, *A Voyage Round the World ... Relating the True Historical Facts of the Whole Affair* (1728).

Frohock's interest in "language performances" (11), which he will return to in chapter seven with Capt. Shelvocke's "linguistic performance" (166), is addressed in Frohock's first chapter with pirate captain Cusack's contestation with sovereign authority. Frohock's study of the changing notion of the sea rover introduces Cusack as a *hostis humanis generis*; his later chapters will confirm, refute, support, moderate or deny that definition. Cusack is an enemy of mankind, an epic creation, satanic, a precursor of Ahab, challenging the civil order and power of the state. He renames a stolen ship the *Valiant Prince*, "an Adamical act of creation and assertion of mastery" (16). That seems to me to be an excessive elaboration. Nearly every pirate captain or crew rechristened their prizes—e.g., *King James*, *Queen Ann's Revenge*, *Royal James*,—the new names at times challenging the prevailing political establishment. In the trial document from which Frohock quotes freely, it is the crew—"they"—who rename the prize. Exquemelin, concluding his time as a bond servant and finding himself at liberty, joined the society of sea robbers "like Adam when he was first created" (5th ed. [London, 1771], I, 20). Frohock concludes that "Cusack's renaming of this second stolen ship as the *Flying Devil* marks his abandonment of his identity as a valiant prince" (18). Perhaps. But Frohock introduces a more problematic [point] that craves commentary.

On page twelve, he writes of "imperial state authority," "imperial context," "English empire." On page twenty two, it is "the imperial state," "the ends of empire," "imperial violence." This language of "empire" concludes his study (167). I have no clear idea, here or elsewhere, what he is talking about. Except for strong intimations in Dampier's narrative, "about forging alliances and establishing themselves in key areas and trades" (106), little is documented in

these privateering/piratical accounts about imperial visions or Great Britain's future colonial empire beyond the sea. Mother country domination? A mercantilist campaign? Markets? Consumption of the home country's manufactures? Economic interaction? Frohock riffs on "imperialist expansion" (68), "English imperialism" (68), "imperial history" (105), and "empire" (105, 106, 110), but never does he define what all that means. Dampier envisions some colonization (105), but in all the other accounts Frohock's words remain lofty abstractions divorced from any coherent definition. Reading *The Grand Pyrate*, I find no language of imperialism. The trial judge's charge to the Grand-Inquest acquaints them "with His Majestie's Right of Sovereignty over the *British Seas* . . . [Pyracy] was against the Law of Nations, Destructive to *Commerce*...and contrary to the *Laws, Customs, and Usages of the Admiralty*" (*Grand Pyrate*, 28-29).

Cusack was raised "Roman Catholic (*Grand Pyrate*, 4); Frohock writes "friar" (14). Given the anti-Catholic legislation and religious dissent during which the trial occurred, and the insecurity of the Protestant succession—the Popish Plot was only three years into the future — perhaps it would have been wiser to consider the context of Cusack's defense of his piracy, for he claimed "a French *Commission*" (*Grand Pyrate*, 20). It was found to be fraudulent.

Frohock repeats Joel Baer's comment "that *The Grand Pyrate* is "the first account of piracy to be published in separate form after that of the nineteen pirates tried in 1609" (23, note 5). However, in London, in 1670, there was printed *A New and Perfect Relation of the Takeing and Apprehending Five Pyrates*. Coincidentally, these rogues who were "hang'd, drawn, and quartered" (3) were Irish Catholics.

The full account of Henry Morgan's plundering and savagery before Panama—or rather, as Exquemelin acidly wrote, "the place where the city of Panama stood" (1771, I, 202)—was first published in 1678. Unless the reader returns to Exquemelin, it is difficult to imagine the extent of those atrocities. In *The Present State of Jamaica* (1683), "a collection of colonial documents" (28), the English were able to read the first published defense of those atrocities. It presented "his expedition as [a] lawful privateering voyage commissioned during a just war against an aggressive Spanish enemy" (28), while it also sanitized the mindless executions and countless brutalities of Morgan's raiders. "In *Buccaneers* [sic] of *America*, Exquemelin contradicts nearly every facet of *The Present State*" (31). His recurring incidents of Caribbean cruelties and "exquisite tortures" are interpreted by Frohock as critiques of the "English empire in the Americas" (41) and "the methods and ends of imperial states themselves" (37). Some accounts discussed in chapter three cast Morgan and his buccaneers as "fiends" but "in the language of epic heroism" (52). Later "jingoistic retort[s]" argued for the legal basis for Morgan's exploits and aimed "to defend the English and their imperial endeavors more broadly" (55).

With considerable notes and parallel passages, Frohock deftly, in chapter four, makes order and sense of those little-studied narratives of Capt. Bartholomew Sharp's voyage to the South Seas. It is perhaps the most documented account of the English buccaneer fleet that ravaged the Spanish towns and vessels from 1679 to 1682. His squadron was a veritable writing

seminar, for accounts of the expedition were written by “W.D.,” Ringrose, John Cox, Dampier, Lionel Wafer, and Sharp. (Frohock does not comment on Lionel Wafer’s *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America* (London, 1699). The accounts are basically similar, founded as they are on log accounts and kept journals. Though they “vary widely in style and tone” (78), novelty of incident is at a minimum. All were based on first-hand accounts of actual events. All professed to give “a true and just relation of what befell them in that expedition” (Ayers, Preface). But each publisher or editor attempted to “spin” the narrative, seeking to exploit the diverse interests of the reading public. Some are “gleeful in their celebration of outlawry” (78); others engage in some redemptive work but only at the individual level” (78). Some echo Exquemelin in his depictions of the roving buccaneers. Ayers’ edited account is witty, ironic, and “more deliberately literary” (83), transforming “the figure of the buccaneer into a picaresque hero who violates law but does so with admirable swagger” (84). Ringrose gives us the fullest account. “[H]e seeks to exonerate himself personally rather than defend the voyage generally” (88), admitting the slaughter of captives and the charred coasts and towns.

Perhaps, with Dampier as his shipmate, Ringrose fashioned himself as a scientific observer, for he introduced nautical information as specialized as it was new, of winds, tides, and harbors, and sketches of landscapes and coastal towns (92-93). Through them, Frohock maintains, he participates “in a larger imperial project comprised of repeated English encounters with the Americas and a steadily increasing mastery of them” (95). For all the others, their eyes on the prizes and “the sacred hunger of Gold” (71) precluded any presentation of those tars as avatars of colonial conquest. Oddly enough, Frohock makes no mention of the “Englishness” of all the accounts, of holiday observances at sea, of Sabbath prayers, of “King Charles his day” (W.D., 78).

While the Sharp narratives were being absorbed by the English public, the most famous member of that expedition, William Dampier, pirate and hydrographer, who had served with Ringrose, had defected in 1681, and had crossed the Isthmus on foot, was cruising once again along the northern trade routes in the Pacific. After twelve years, his first circumnavigation came to an end in September, 1691. His *New Voyage* was published in 1697. (Frohock has a revealing note [123-24, n. 28] about Dampier as commander-captain of his later voyages and his errant seamanship). Dampier, both in his dedication to Charles Montague, President of the Royal Society and in his Preface, indicated the main purpose of his book. He was promoting useful knowledge, not writing a story of adventures. He neither apologized for what some may have considered his excessive particularity and geographical descriptions, nor did he offer excuses for the buccaneering activities. Frohock examines his late version of those events in chapter five.

Publishing years after the many Sharp narratives, Dampier cannot avoid repeating some of the activities and commentaries of his shipmates Ringrose and Captain Swan. He is fully aware of the narrative traditions that have been established earlier. He seeks “alliances with native populations” (109). He reports on Spanish tyranny over the natives, and yet he is the most sympathetic of all the voyagers when he “softens the characteristic portrait of the Spanish in the

Americas by determining that at least some charges of Spanish cruelty are unfounded,” and “absolves middle- and upper-class Spaniards of illegal raids on English merchants by blaming persons of mixed ethnicity and low social standing for many of the attacks” (117).

Frohock emphasizes, most naturally, Dampier’s empirical-imperial vision; in fact, his chapter is titled “Reconsidering William Dampier’s Colonial Vision” (103). Thus, harbors, seas, natural scenery, coastlines, the qualities of plants and animals, the descriptions of native inhabitants, all become “a way of asserting mastery over the New World and of advancing English colonization in the Americas, especially along the American isthmus and Caribbean coasts” (105). His writings reveal a thoughtful and recognizable “projector” of the times, akin to Defoe. For example, he sees the profitability of the logwood trade (103). He envisions new settlements (108); thus he emphasizes better relations with the native populations. (108-110). He is an astute environmentalist (114). “Needlessly disturbing nature’s systems often proves counterproductive, as Dampier’s anecdotes repeatedly demonstrate” (114). Frohock generally puts Dampier back into buccaneering history, connecting him with his shipmates, yet showing how Dampier distances himself from the shadows of his past. It is worth noting that Dampier’s “Colonial Vision” (103) is extracted by Frohock not from the *New Voyage* but from his “less frequently studied “Two Voyages to Campeachy”” (106), published in 1699, two years after the publication of his circumnavigation narrative. It would perhaps appear that Dampier benefited from the editing and advices of members of the Royal Society, for two years after his admission that “our business was to pillage” (quoted in his *A New Voyage* [1927], 260), he now emphasizes his greater scientific bona fides and England’s colonial future. Frohock’s strong reading of this “new Colonial world” is dimmed by his admission that “Dampier only manages to illustrate this alternative West Indian world through examples of the failure to achieve it” (119).

Woodes Rogers’ *A Cruising Voyage Round the World* (1712), discussed in chapter six, is the most readable of the circumnavigation accounts. Though plagued as the expeditions all were with the inevitable hardships and tensions of a lengthy circumnavigation in strange seas, and some with limited profits, Rogers’ expedition stands apart as the most profitable ever undertaken (147, n. 1). But it is more than “a plain sequential matter of fact” (135). True, Rogers “monitors his self-imposed generic boundaries” (135), but nowhere in the literature do we get his deliberate concentration of humor, oft-times directed at the Spanish friars, his affability, tolerance, his care and compassion for his crew, such as when he chooses to observe New Year’s Day, and on the 14th of February commemorates “the ancient custom in England of chusing valentines” (*Cruising Voyage*, 106, 359). Frohock chooses to stress Rogers’ hostility to “Spanish vices and injustices” (136) which challenges “by *implication* Spanish claims to New World dominion” (my italics, 137). Confronting the mutinies of his starved and disaffected crew, Rogers’ assertion of authority, with authoritative action and appropriate language dialogue, stabilizes discontent. Rogers makes clear the legitimacy of his expedition, and distinguishes “privateers legally and ethically from the notorious raiders who preceded him in the South Seas” (138). He had read Exquemelin, at times quoting him and others. Frohock examines cautiously the democracy of

officers in the ship's command and the procedures whereby the officers council deliberated policy and signed agreements, with negative voices duly registered (144-5). All this "narrative purpose, aimed broadly at legitimating the extension of British Empire to a new sea and continent," Frohock concludes, "makes Rogers' *A Cruising Voyage* as ambitious as the circumnavigation itself" (146). His successful voyage and the satisfying narrative resulting from it was to be used by later commanders as a model for their buccaneering endeavors (160). Unfortunately, those leaders, while consulting his text, could not imitate his success.

Woodes Rogers, captaining the *Duke* frigate, anchored in the Thames in October, 1711, and Edward Cooke, an officer on the *Dutchess*, his consort, returned with him. It was Cooke who published some months before Rogers' his account of the expedition: *A Voyage to the South Sea, and Round the World* (1712). There is little novelty and less of nautical or geographical importance in Cooke's version, but a great deal of jealousy, animosity, and recrimination. Frohock's Cooke is not an endearing rover. His sole purpose is to blanketly denigrate all the past denizens of the coast; they lack courage and are sloppy natural scientists. Settling his own account vis-a-vis Sharp, John Cooke, and Dampier means distinguishing differences between legitimate privateering and inept and fractious buccaneers. "Even more than Sharp, Cooke singles out Dampier for attack and ridicule. Cooke challenges Dampier less for failures of courage than for inaccuracies in his narrative" (127). His accusation, that Dampier is little more than a plagiarist, is assuredly dismembered by Frohock. In fact, Frohock chides Cooke for neglecting to cite "numerous correspondences between his own detailed description of the Juan Fernandez Islands and those of the buccaneers, particularly Dampier, whom Cooke cites at length" (128). Though he denounced Dampier and his predecessors and asserted the novelty of his own drawings of plants and animals, and made sketches of Juan Fernandez Island (133, 131), clearly indebted to Ringrose's (129), Cooke appears to be, for Frohock, a "Consummate Privateer" (125). Thus, Frohock concludes: "Broadly viewed, buccaneers and their narratives helped the privateers envision British empire in the Caribbean and Pacific" (132).

Despite the fact that Capt. Rogers' printed journal of his successful expedition was placed aboard the privateering voyage of the *Speedwell*, as a model to learn from, the trip, examined by Frohock in chapter seven, was a dismal failure in every way. Nothing was learned from it to benefit either officers or crew, or the merchants who sponsored it. The *Speedwell*'s captain, George Shelvocke, published his defense of his actions in 1726: *A Voyage Round the World by Way of the Great South Sea*. Two years later, William Betaugh, captain of the marines, having read Shelvocke's account, published his own version of the deplorable events, completely disputing his captain's account: *Voyage Round the World . . . Relating the True Historical Facts of the Whole Affair* (1728). He went on the offensive, defending himself "against aspersions cast on him by Shelvocke and also . . . slandering his nemesis Shelvocke for his malfeasance, betrayal of his crew and company, and his outright piracy" (153-54). Scholars are still disputing the truthfulness of both accounts. Shelvocke, unaware of Betaugh's future attacks, claimed that John Clipperton, captaining his consort, subverted the expedition

(155). He invokes his pragmatism and mildness when he puts down the first mutiny, but his language points to a class struggle with his more aggressive crew that, beginning with differences, could only end in violence. With the authority of Rogers' journal before them, the sailors often challenged what might be called the original contract of the voyage, demanding a fairer distribution of plunder, and later, decided to turn the cruise into a criminal enterprise. New contracts with his crew did not quell insubordination and multiple mutinies in the ranks. Shelvocke, attentive to speech acts, appears more contemptuous of their "linguistic performance" (156) than of their newly fashioned democratic articles. With the wreck of the *Speedwell* on Juan Fernandez Island, even the officers turned on him. The hierarchies were fully displaced in this turned-upside-down nautical world. Shelvocke, failing utterly in the linguistic dialogue with what he called his "little republic" (159), was forced to sail to China with them, and then, deserted by most, returned to England, there to publish his narrative "with a few rhetorical stratagems" (160) to vindicate his officership. His blunders, insecurities, and misguided attempts at leadership, together with Betaugh's later misdirected attacks on Shelvocke's own language and his unfair accusation that Shelvocke plagiarized from Rogers' account, is interpreted by Frohock "as an image of the outer reaches of empire as an ill-controlled, disorderly and unlawful place" (154).

This history of the English sea rover began with Exquemelin's first-hand account of those bloodthirsty and unlawful enemies of all nations. Despite the following attempts of Ringrose, Dampier, and Rogers "to disambiguate matters by separating themselves from the unsavory actions of their fellows" (167), even from those earlier histories, and sometimes to veneer their raids as sanctioned by the state, according to Frohock the story of incompetence, blunders, and dismal failure of the voyage of the *Speedwell* revealed anew "old confusions and ideological blurrings that others had been working to dispel" (166). Perhaps the tumultuous and golden age of English piracy, from 1718 to 1725, often dated from Woodes Rogers' appointment as Governor of Providence with his commission to clean out the pirates in the West Indies, to the dramatic trial of Bartholomew Roberts and his crew in 1723—the most successful and disruptive pirate armada in its day—could have been considered by Frohock as a critical interlude in that return to confusing terminological distinctions.

I have registered my skepticism about Frohock's study of the direction of piratical and privateering history. I have questioned the implications of empire and imperial expansion that he sees as infusing the journal accounts of those English sea rovers. Maybe he has offered a more persuasive argument in his earlier book, which I have not read: *Heroes of Empire: The British Imperials Protagonist in America, 1596-1764* (University of Delaware Press, 2004). I might have been convinced if he had introduced, and countered, in his linguistic examinations a more innocent pattern, a control, a mirror of sorts, empty of the special vocabulary of his voyagers. Then these accounts would have reflected less or not at all about English imperialism. They might have been less "self-conscious about matters of representation" (2), less prone to envision "the literal and metaphorical margins of empire" (3). Two accounts, avoided by Frohock, that might have served to validate his theme of imperial expansion are Wafer's *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America* (1699), and *A Voyage Round*

the World . . . in the Years 1703 and 1704 (1707) by William Funnell, the first officer on Dampier's last failure of command.

There are few noticeable misprints, one involving "6 October 1864" for "6 October 1684" (63). My general complaint concerns the treatment of the source materials, squeezed too much to fit a thesis, a complaint that I would like to express through a coda, with the reader's indulgence.

In August of 1952, thinking that the Korean War was my last chance to discover some yet undiscovered aspect of my self, I voluntarily gave up my student deferment and was shipped to Camp Gordon—now Fort Gordon—Georgia for basic training. Drafted with me were a half dozen Bronx street toughs, exuberant, strong, loyal to one another, dismissive of any authority, at times funny in the barracks, but never violent—just an old, cohesive neighborhood gang that had grouped together before the streets were filled with the talk of guns and revenge. Their good-natured repudiation—never contempt—with which they challenged our junior ROTC officers enlivened much of our training days. Ordered for some silly minor infraction to "Give me a dozen, soldier," they would customarily give twenty pushups with one hand and innocently ask, "That enough, sir!?" Our company cadre was a local Georgia cracker, held back after his completion of training, for reasons we never fully cared about. Younger than some of us, recently married, he lived off post. Small, bow-legged, with a drawl that never left Georgia, he drove home at night and returned in the early morning, with his orange cadre helmet almost hiding his small but handsome head.

For this young, unprofessional, relatively inexperienced young man, whom we would never understand and who would surely never understand us foreign recruits from New York City, the company and I went beyond the ordinary demands of basic and barracks life. There was never a moment when we felt that he was asking us to do what we could not do, never a moment when we did not have the desire to do more for him than he was asking for himself, never for one moment did the thought of embarrassing him, humiliating him, or offending him cross our minds. Our shame, and our few failures, were solely ours, and never were attributed to his lack of direction, enterprise, or even misdirected leadership. Never did we look beyond ourselves to excuse, explain, justify, or complain. His decency and quiet command were met all through basic training with unswerving loyalty, respect, even affection, that we never thought to analyze or discuss. To this day I have never been able to comprehend this masonic mystery of leadership. For this is what Frohock's study could have been about, and of greater worth to us all. Reading those narratives, those repetitions of the failures of leadership aboard the piratical and privateering squadrons he has examined, it seemed to me that his critical intelligence was constituted to uncover from these straightforward histories a better book and a special understanding of the successes and failures of command in the transfiguration of the English sea rover in the early eighteenth century.

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Christopher Hodson. *The Acadian Diaspora: An Eighteenth-Century History*. (An Oxford Study in International History.) Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. Pp. xi + 260; notes (213-47); index (249-60). ISBN 978-0-19-973977-6. Hardcover: \$34.95

Christopher Hodson has written a significant book whose subject, modest stance and unassuming plain style may cause readers mistakenly to omit to read it, supposing it too narrow or insufficiently theorized. This would be an error. The history of the pitiless expulsion and extirpation of the people who comprised Acadia in the Maritime provinces of northeast Canada in the fall of 1755 (44-46) has hitherto been told as having a somewhat unexpected or unusual ending for a “victim diaspora”¹: in the Acadian case communal and familial bonds, a kind of sustained corporate identity recognized by custom, governments and then law, enabled groups of Acadian individuals to survive in the face of the harshest injustice, and then slowly tenaciously re-form Acadian communities in Louisiana or on small pieces of land not far or near the same spot that they were expelled (southwest Nova Scotia). Hodson's argument is that those groups who survived basically assimilated; they “remade themselves in terms of the landscape” and milieus they found themselves in (63), and those communities that re-formed were radically transformed by their experience, sufficiently to enter into local social and cultural arrangements, while keeping contact when and where they could so as not to lose any previous right to capital (social or monetary). He does not deny that some Acadians traveled thousands of miles to find family members or friends, advertised in newspapers, organized, re-assembled and moved, or stayed put wherever they landed and then managed to assert an integrity of self in the face of corrosive forces (47-51, 196-25). Those groups who survived may be found in many more places than is usually acknowledged (throughout Canada and in the UK, in Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Texas, in the Caribbean, and in Mauritius within the Indian Ocean). The typical story of most of the attempts to re-group was one of egregious destruction of whatever was accomplished (often not much) and many, many deaths.

Using the numbers and documents gathered over ten years of research, and concentrating on stories of individuals, Hodson shows the immiseration of large numbers of Acadian people, their deaths, lives of servitude, beggary, treatment as “cattle” or “slaves” (in their words), or as “commodities” (in Hodson's), their abject despair; or their exploitation as a movable laboring community sometimes as the result of aggrandizing, powerful people's geographical fantasies (116-39) and such people's false representations (138, 157-59). Hodson thoroughly undermines the argument that we can explain what happened to the Acadians before and since 1755 (and by implication that of other peoples so dispersed) by examining their technological know-how (referred to as level of “sophistication” or “civilization”), willingness to work hard, or cultural norms (family values, religion, particulars of an ethnicity). Once people are dispersed, displaced, divided up, we see how easily people's cultural norms, their local social capital (to use Bourdieu's term), sentimental ties dissolve, or are bypassed, when the need for food and shelter becomes subject to local arrangements set up to profit the people already on the ground in whose interest it is to move them about (e.g., local

ordinances which force parents to send their children to live at a distance from them to work as apprentices, 47). We see how technological abilities are blocked or made counterproductive: we watch militarily-backed treatises adhered by cooperatives of people running governments (local as well as national), and entrenched companies backed by law, prevent the Acadians from holding on to what they built (they are summarily thrown out from the Falkland Islands, 141-2) or from profiting from it (their work is taken over, becomes owned by someone else, from Canada to the Caribbean). Hodson demonstrates that for individuals and families with little or no property, no connections to call on to enable them to overcome local exclusionary customs, and no military to support them, the ability to control their circumstances and future is extremely limited (169-71). He shows that “ordinary people's safeguards” are long-standing and recognized commercial and familial relationships and also known and understood local economic environments that cannot be misrepresented to them (129-30, 152-61, 176-81).

The pivotal events of other books, the Treaties of Utrecht, 1713 (30-32) and Paris, 1763 (79-80) whereby some French people lost to some British the possibility of enriching themselves through control of over-seas colonies across the globe, emerge in this book as more of the same. Local monopolies on violence (even if private as between individuals and followers), guerilla wars (between the British and the Acadians who hid out in outlying areas of the original settlements); or sudden incursions of maroons, enslaved black people who escaped into the inland forests of the Caribbean (9, 93-100) are just as destructive to unmoored groups of people as these large scale multiple acknowledged government conflicts, or national wars.

To understand what happens to a dispersed people, we need to pay attention to particulars: who were the faces, what the inducement, the means, where the power came from that (in the Acadian case intermixing with other colonialist ventures, including those using enslaved people) led to absurdist nadirs of emigration, slaughter, mass poisonings, executions, community wars, and just plain venality and corrupt pre-arrangements making for squalid, indifferently cruel results, e.g., refusals to let Acadians market their goods in coastal cities and ports and their subsequent deaths by slow starvation. So, in this book history is told through recounting specific documented events, using what is on credible records for historical people which enables Hodson to expose what specific individuals did (11-14), why this or that group of Acadians went along with a project, where the ideas came from, what powerful people's agenda this suited, who were on the take, why the failure. And it offers middling and even subaltern people's utterances, voicing how they entered history and what their fates. After an introduction where Hodson sets out his premises, there are six chapters connected by following related individual's stories, chosen so that the reader travels far (Chapter 3, The Tropics or Caribbean; Chapter 4, the Unknown, which includes the islands in the Atlantic convergence) and sees that the same treatment meted out to emigrants going far reappears inside the US (Chapter 2, The Pariahs), the UK, and France and its nearby islands (Chapters 5 & 6, The Homeland and The Conspiracy). Hodson concludes with how chance and a concatenation of political and geological circumstances led to a few groups of Acadian people settling in Louisiana. For each chapter, the book provides full notes for further research.

To appreciate Hodson's achievement, we need to know how the history of the Acadian dispersal has been influentially set forth not just in scholarly history but in fiction, biography, poetry, and today's websites. As mythically set forth in the moving poetry of Longfellow's *Evangeline: A Tale of Acadie*, now long a *site de memoire* (10-12) or as told with verisimilitude in popular middle-class novels like Margaret Marshall Saunders's *Rose à Charlitte or Rose of Arcadia* (1898/99), where--while it's conceded the Acadian characters are impoverished, lack access education, and suffer from traumatic past shaping present electoral arrangements,--nonetheless, we have traumatic interludes ending in heroic contentment. Still read early 20th century histories and novels (e.g., Willa Cather's *Shadows on the Rock*) also create a picture of a stable, safe Eurocentric French-Catholic Acadia before the Seven Years or French-and-Indian Wars. This despite Francis Parkman's readable and at one time popular history, which, whatever may be his prejudices, tells a story of continual intense conflict (74-77). Hodson shows us that the earliest experience of the Arcadians was fraught with conflicts with Indians, conflicts between the French and English already there, and attempts to derail the Acadians by the American colonists further south (Massachusetts) who felt threatened by the Acadian successes (15-43).

Ironically, the Acadians' eventual relative success, though they had little way of protecting it, attracted envy and then a desire to take what they had built and replace the Acadians with Protestant English-speakers. Hodson puts it that this belief by others in Acadian prowess "would follow them – stalk them – to the ends of the earth" (46). Their attempts to hold on and their notion that they could negotiate from a perceived position of minimal mutual respect aroused retaliation when their enemies perceived how vulnerable they were and what could be done to them. Voltaire may have been accurate when he wrote that "le grand dérangement" (immense upheaval) was "la première épuration ethnique de l'homme blanc by l'homme blanc in Amérique" (quoted in Larochelle "Voltaire du tremblement de terre de Lisbonne à la deportation des Acadiens," *The Lisbon Earthquake of 1755: Representations and Reactions*, edd. Theodore E.D. Braun and John B. Radner. *SVEC* 2 [2005]:243) – as long as you exclude say the British Isles where one of the actors in the Acadian story, Cornwallis, brutally expelled the Scots highlanders (39, 44). Voltaire was rather testifying to a type of shock not often well recorded until the extermination camps in mid-20th-century Europe.

Hodson's seems to be the first academic book to cover the wide diaspora across the transatlantic world of the later 18th century into the early 19th century in scrupulous concrete detail. Previous and later 20th-century historians' large books focus on the deportation itself, its sources (with sometimes some earlier history) and its immediate aftermath. Still much respected (I mention it as startlingly recent) is Geoffrey Plant's *An Unsettled Conquest: the British Campaign against the People's of Arcadia* (2001), an argument that the British intended a "forced assimilation"; Naomi Griffiths's many studies (e.g., *From Migrant to Acadian: A North American Border People, 1604-1744*), texts by Barry Moody, Marc Milner, and Sheila Andrew, although unflinchingly accurate, give over most of their space to the deportation and first dispersal, and, then, like Plank, jump forward to the later 19th-century conferences for or about Acadians (Naomi Griffiths, "Longfellow's *Evangeline*: The Birth and Acceptance of a

Legend,” *Arcadiensis*, 11:2 [1982]:28-41), or today's communities of people identifying as French and Catholic descendants of Acadians surviving in parts of Canada (e.g., the Magdalen Islands) and, most famously, Louisiana. Emile Lauvrière's several books (e.g., *Brève histoire tragique du peuple acadien: Son Martyre et sa Resurrection*) are rare for including brief chapters detailing the harsh market imperatives driving some Acadians to the US, the Caribbean, and as far as the Falkland Islands, and telling of the 19th-century creation of an “Irlande d'Amerique” in Canada. Thus, no matter how long-lasting in terms of say an individual life or several generations of lives, the assumptions underlying these studies are that, however terrifying and tragic the dispersal was, it was still an interlude, the people as a people survived and their survival can be explained as the result of their strong ethnic community loyalty.²

Amid the welter of detail that comprises Hodson's texts, I've chosen two characteristic episodes. We encounter glimpses and whole narratives of many otherwise unknown people's lives. In 1762 Jean-Baptiste-Christophe Aublet, a 42-year-old scientist, working for a rich radical philosopher, founded a laboratory in Mauritius to develop nutmeg with a crew of intelligent slaves; cut off by a rival, Pierre Poivre, he freed his slaves (he hated slavery, his own wife and children having been slaves he bought and freed). He returned to Paris to try to develop a project using free people in Cayenne; he would break into the Dutch monopoly and made a pre-emptive strike against the British. He sent a proposal to Versailles, but another more powerful person's project to found a colony also based on white European laborers was deemed more attractive (80-81). Two years later he turned up as a botanist in Mole St Nicholas on St. Domingue (106-14), a military base which it had been hoped would become “a rural bread basket,” but became a stony grave, where literally thousands died of disease and starvation (111-16). Hodson exposes the delusions and selfish perspectives of *philosophes*, and classical scholars turned geographers (e.g., Jean-Pierre de Bougainville), the tyrannical machinations of aristocrats, powerful office-holders, and mid-level property owners. Among all these, in 1774, Turgot, as Louis XVI's controller general of finances, finds it suits his political alliances and *laissez-faire* agenda to conspire with an Acadian leader, Jean-Jacques Leblanc, who had projects of his own which he genuinely believed likely to succeed. The two successfully make sure a venture using Acadians inside France (the original Poitou area) fails--Turgot acting because its success was dependent on privileges, closed markets, and perceived corporate rights that Turgot was determined to abolish. In the end whatever little had been achieved disintegrated, partly because local people who had been displaced were incensed (173-96).

Hodson's book resembles V. S. Naipaul's early and then highly original history *The Loss of El Dorado: A Colonial History* (1969). Hodson uncovers analogous fallacies, trampling egoistic behavior, counterproductive customs and laws. Hodson's explanations similarly derive from the perceived self-interested bases on which people cooperate, build and destroy one another's lives. Hodson ends his book with the death of Charles White (born Leblanc), a Philadelphian who had made use of far-flung French connection during his life for his successful business, and whose Acadian ancestry is revealed when he deliberately does not make a will in an effort to leave his money to some Acadians relatives he hoped

would be told of it. White “counted on greed [and need] to energize those old relationships,” and people did come from Baltimore, elsewhere in Philadelphia, and Louisiana in hopes of a legacy (205-12). Hodson may not have had Johnson's sardonic and eloquent *Thoughts on the Falkland Island* particularly in mind (he quotes the treatise once, 144), but it's no small merit of this post-colonial study that it provides convincing examples for Johnson arguments and recent abstruse post-colonial texts (by Homi Bhabha, Gayatri Spivak). Hodson's book is altogether quieter and more persuasive than others I have read (e.g, Cesaire's *Discourses on Colonialism*). Finally, he is respectful of texts which try to console and inspirit readerships. I suspect he would approve of and hope to see more widely read Marie-Therese Humbert's fine semi-epistolary *La Montagne des Signaux*, a 20th-century Acadian novel (tellingly not labeled that) set in the Ile Maurice, where education is conducted in English and characters rise in life by going to live in Warwickshire where the family has connections, although their ancestry is both Indian and Acadian and their native or vehicular language French.

Notes

1. Diasporas differ: see Rogers Brubake, “The 'diaspora' diaspora,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 28:1 (2005):1-19.
2. In addition to Lauvriere, who stresses how long lasting the unfortunate results were, Rothschild is another exception; see her “A Horrible Tragedy in the French Atlantic,” *Past and Present* 192 (2006):67-108.

Fritz-Wilhelm Neumann. *Ned Wards London. Säkularisierung, Kultur und Kapitalismus um 1700.* München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2012, pp. 274. ISBN 978-3-7705-4992-4. Hardcover € 39,90.

No one seems to like Ned Ward very much – nobody but Fritz Neumann, that is, and so he has launched his own small canon war with this new book on Ned Ward's life, times and city. A contemporary of Defoe, Pope, Swift, Addison and Steele, Ward has not found favour in the eyes of posterity, and probably he never found any in the eyes of those authors just mentioned. But then he was a successful hack writer or grubstreeter, and Neumann programmatically claims that he was also one of the most thorough chroniclers and critics of his times, deserving his rightful place in literary and cultural history. And he is quite open about his objectives, when he unabashedly admits that to some degree the book is based on the intention to raise some sympathies for Ward, the “underdog of literature” (cf. 191).

Ward is best known for his *A Trip to Jamaica* (1698), a rather cruel parody on pamphlets for the recruitment of American colonists, and even more for his *London Spy*, a series of journalistic and satiric accounts of London life. Published from 1698-1700 in 18 monthly instalments, these narratives appear as early, if not the first, examples of flâneur literature, in which the narrator presents himself in the persona of a learned observer walking the streets of London and contemplating his direct experiences. But then these texts are only a very small fraction of Ward's output. He was an extremely prolific writer, participating in the daily

political discussions and quarrels with a host of pamphlets, broadsheets, poems, satires and texts that combine all of the above. As an unregenerate Tory and supporter of High Church Anglicanism, he took part in the conservative assaults on the rising influence of the Whigs and the economic changes that turned England into a thoroughly capitalist country. Challenging an ideology that would later be termed the *Whig interpretation of history*, Ward presented an unfavourable perspective on the contradictions within the emerging English society in rather direct and frequently graphic words and images and thus pulled the plug from political propaganda and high blown dreams of profit and prosperity for all. The pictures that emerge in Ward's writings rather present a world of greed and self-interest, of degenerating morals and debauchery, of poverty and decay, of defamation and hypocrisy. As Neumann argues, "in contrast to Dryden and Pope, Ward offers a journalistic approach to the realities of his time that does not allow for any embellishment or transcendence and that reduces the traditional learned discourse to crumbles" (192, my translation). This, however, leads to the paradoxical consequence that the very literary and rhetorical strategies which emphasize the decay of England's culture also shift our perspective on the conservative critic who, as a rebel against the prevailing *zeitgeist*, now turns up on the side of the moderns.

The enormous mass of publications discussed and analyzed in this study often appeared anonymously or under more or less colourful pseudonyms – in consequence it is often far from easy to attribute these texts accurately, if any attribution is possible at all, and Neumann meticulously scrutinizes language, style, topics and attitudes to make his point for or against Ward's authorship of various texts of uncertain origin. But then the question of authorship, interesting as it may be for questions and assessments in literary history, is ultimately not of absolute importance. Neumann's book is far more than merely the attempt to draw attention to an underrated author and journalist. The title, after all, focuses not on the man, but on the world in which he lived and wrote – and sold ale as a publican in various taverns. The book is first and foremost an exercise in cultural studies, a reconstruction of an era from the various discourses that formed its intellectual matrix and from the multiple media and genres that contributed to these discourses. For this it is necessary to look beyond the timeless authors of literary acclaim and to scrutinize the ephemeral publications, the broadsheets, pamphlets and tracts that discussed and criticized similarly transient affairs and the politics of the day. The incessant flow of arguments, attacks and counter-attacks, invectives, parodies and satires that Neumann has researched and worked into a complex tapestry of interwoven communications is an invaluable source of data for the historian who tries to reconstruct the culture of an era, a culture that necessarily contains not only the best but all that has been said and done. In his lecture *The Trouble with the Historical Philosophy of Science*, Thomas S. Kuhn has argued that the concern of the historian ought to be the research into dynamic developments in changes of belief that, from a historical perspective, were always small, while only some, in retrospect, appear to be gigantic. To understand such changes, it may prove useful to turn to those who tried to resist the changes, who analyzed their dangers and shortcomings, and who saw and discussed the minute details of life, if only for the simple fact that lives consist of such minute details

rather than major upheavals. Neumann's book offers a view on English culture via the writings of one of its very severe, drastic and perceptive critics, a view that embraces all kinds of facets from high politics to the flirtations of a flâneur, from the South Sea bubble to the smelly streets of the emerging metropolis, from pompous processions and urban rituals to food and drink, from religious dissent to gender politics. It does so avoiding all kowtows to recently fashionable academic jargon, and in consequence the book is highly readable.

Unfortunately, *Ned Wards London* is written in German, which will inevitably render it inaccessible for quite a lot of interested readers. But, for German scholars and students alike, it will prove to be an inestimable treasure of material on one of the most momentous times in the history of England, an exemplary work of cultural studies, and the introduction to an author who has responded forcefully to the crucial problems and internal contradictions of his world – and, if we do not like his opinions and judgments very much, chances are that he would not have liked ours very much either.

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Jeffrey Freedman. *Books Without Borders in Enlightenment Europe: French Cosmopolitanism and German Literary Markets*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012. Pp. ix + 382; 21 illustrations. ISBN 978-0-8122-4389-5. Cloth, \$79.95; Ebook: \$79.95.

Truth in advertising at the outset. First, I know the author of the book under review, who is a fellow participant in the Columbia University Seminar on 18th-Century European Culture. Second, I am not a historian, although Jeffrey Freedman, Associate Professor of History at Yeshiva University in New York, assuredly is. Yet, although this study is a work of historical scholarship, its topic will be of interest to scholars of the Enlightenment generally and of the history of the book.

Books Without Borders in Enlightenment Europe is the "first detailed study of the literary traffic between France and the lands of German-speaking Europe" and is meant to add to our "understanding [of] the circulation of ideas in Enlightenment Europe" (4). As the title suggests, this study seeks to trace the transmission via the kinds and numbers of French books bought by German readers (thus the subtitle). We're not talking about the circulation of just any old ideas, of course, or of any old books, although the novels of Madame Riccoboni and French translations of Frances Burney were popular. The "cosmopolitans" Voltaire, Rousseau, Mercier were bestsellers in pirated editions, not to forget pornographic and atheistic writings. The market was an elite one: members of the many German princely courts; wealthy merchants; reading societies composed of educated, middle-class men.

Though Freedman does not make the analogy, the Cold War comes to mind, because its end—graphically represented by the fall of the Berlin Wall—seemed

to mark the victory of ideas subversive of the status quo in eastern Europe. Like Radio Free Europe, eighteenth-century French-language publisher-printers flourishing just outside the borders of France disseminated works and, one is meant to infer, participated in the transnational spread of a universal ethos, i.e., the Enlightenment.

Freedman makes expert use of the "never-before-studied documents" in the archives of the Swiss publishing firm Société Typographique de Neuchâtel (STN), founded in 1769. It is the only such firm of the period whose records survive and includes a "uniquely rich" trove up to the time of the French Revolution: printers' logs, account books, stock inventories, records of shipments, invoices from shipping agents, STN's correspondence, and letters and book orders from customers (7). Despite such completeness and the unprecedented light these documents shed on a slice of the German literary market during two decades, the one-sidedness of the source, as Freedman acknowledges, does not quite permit one to draw firm conclusions about the France-to-Germany book trade, especially not about what might be understood as the spread of the Enlightenment. Nevertheless, this is a rich study, clearly written, without jargon, and demonstrating the wealth of insights that a diligent scholar can extract from archival materials. I will deal with only a few aspects.

The STN archive contains 150-plus dossiers with more than 2,500 pieces of correspondence, covering over 40 locations in Germany and German-speaking Switzerland. From Chapter 3 onward Freedman uses this correspondence to great effect to pen a fascinating portrait of booksellers with whom STN did business. Certainly the most colorful was Jean-Guillaume Virchaux, who for a number of years ran a successful shop in his adopted home of Hamburg before bad business instincts led him into bankruptcy and then to flight, first to St. Petersburg and London and finally to Revolutionary Paris, where he became a supporter of the most radical faction of Jacobins. His trail ends in 1791, when, Freedman suggests, he was probably a victim of Robespierre's "long memory" (260). It struck me that, if he finds the right subject, Freedman could have success with a popular book along the lines of David McCullough or Joseph Ellis.

The documents in the STN archive coincide with the years when German came into its own as a literary language and began to make a contribution to letters. Before the 1770s, the French knew only of the German Swiss writer of idylls, Salomon Gessner. Freedman is felicitous in his metaphors, and, as he writes, before a German work could be admitted to the French literary public, "it had to be fitted with the stylistic equivalent of a powdered wig and knee breeches" (192). The STN contributed in a modest way to rectifying this ignorance with its own French translation of one of the major works of the German Aufklärung, the novel *Sebaldu Nothanker*, by Friedrich Nicolai. A bestseller in Germany, in its "Frenchification" it reached readers across Europe, including Catherine the Great.

But Freedman's study is also about the travel of books, in a literal sense. The first chapter concerns Leipzig, where the German book trade was centralized, with the most important selling event being the annual "Easter fair," at which, from a publisher's perspective, sales were made for the entire year. At this stage, STN did not have to travel to Saxony, as its business there was conducted through German-speaking Swiss publishers who purchased STN's books and then transported them

along with their own publications to the fair, where they were represented by local "commissioners" who took care of warehousing, fulfilling orders, and collecting payments. This German practice took the STN principals a long time to fathom; in addition, because of the daunting nature of travel from Switzerland to Leipzig, crates of books had to be sent already by the end of the previous December. Since Germans also pirated and immediately translated French books, the STN and other such "transnational" publishers worked against the clock to get their books to Leipzig before German editions appeared. In short, "French books had to be marketed with utmost haste" (34). Necker's books might be all the rage in January, but passé by June. Here and in chapter two Freedman shows how (painfully) STN attempted to come to terms with doing business in a foreign market.

STN also had direct contacts with individual booksellers in southwestern Germany, e.g., Cassel, Frankfurt, Mannheim, as well as Hamburg in the north. It is in documenting these transactions that *Books Without Borders* really comes to life. One such bookseller was François Mettra, a native Parisian and Freemason. After a career that left him on hard times, Mettra set up as a bookseller in Münz on the left bank of the Rhine. Though a stone's throw from Cologne, a city of 40,000 with 2,000 clergy and a papal nuncio, it did not fall under the jurisdiction of the book-policing authorities there. Thus, Mettra was able to sell livres philosophiques quite openly, without potential profits going up in an auto-da-fé. He received in one shipment, for instance, twenty-six copies of Mirabeau's pornographic memoirs. Doing business, however, entailed a "bewildering diversity of censorship regimes" and "the excruciating slowness of commercial shipping across the tariff-strewn lands and the toll-clogged waterways of the old Reich" (273). The Rhine was not in the 18th century the navigable river it is today, and no single ship navigated its entire length (67). With a different customs post at each different political authority, by the time the books arrived in Münz, the resulting commissions to agents, tolls, tariffs, and other "incidental costs" considerably compounded the price of the goods (68).

The booksellers profiled in this volume are a diverse lot catering to a diverse market: besides Mettra and Virchaux, they include the Normandy native Charles Fontaine in Mannheim, who enjoyed the patronage of the culturally ambitious Palatine elector Karl Theodor; Jean-Frederic Hemmerde in Cassel, who had trouble collecting payments from courtiers and was always on the verge of bankruptcy; and Johann Conrad Deinet in the free city of Frankfurt, who was also the publisher of *Frankfurter Gelehrte Anzeigen*, the journal of the nascent Sturm und Drang movement. Freedman does not exaggerate when he writes that "from each of their dossiers in the Neuchatel archives emerges the outlines of a portrait, ... distinct enough that we can glimpse the human figure behind the comptoir of an eighteenth-century bookshop" (114).

STN and the "extraterritorial" publishing trade did not withstand the political changes that roiled Europe in the 1790s (again, one thinks of the Cold War and the fall of the Wall), and the conclusion asks the following question: "How to understand the role played by French books in the world that the revolutionary and Napoleonic armies destroyed?" (264). After the specificity of the preceding chapters, Freedman arrives at a rather vague conclusion, namely, that "the French booksellers of eighteenth-century Germany functioned as links in a chain of cross-

cultural communication" (273), ultimately forming "an important episode in a long and momentous historical development: the emergence of Europe" (274).

Read "Enlightenment" here for "Europe." That this has occurred, however, is not simply because of the progress of powerful ideas that eventually swept aside prejudices and other superannuated practices as people became exposed to correct ones. The conventional wisdom, at least since Rousseau, has been that commerce is evil, but commerce (e.g., the power of denim jeans during the Cold War) also drives progress. The chapter "The Word of God in the Age of the *Encyclopédie*" shows the interplay between commerce and the virtues of toleration and freedom of thought. The booksellers were happy to sell both STN's folio Bible and its quarto *Encyclopédie*, provided they could make a profit. Capitalism simply made bedfellows of what should otherwise have been antagonists. (Both works, however, "became twin victims of the same tendency . . . the growing preference for small books over large ones" [166]).

"Progressive" ideas did not necessarily equate with business success. For instance, the university-educated and enterprising Deinet, full of enthusiasm for Lavater and Nicolai, made predictions that were less than profitable, not to mention that he alienated practically everyone he came in contact with, including employees. He seemed to act too much on principle, failing when necessary to cut his losses and move on.

As Freedman points out, moral terms began to have an economic connotation. Take the case of "reputation," an important selling asset, which to maintain was not solely the concern of marriageable young ladies. That reputation fostered success can be seen in the case of Charles Fontaine in Mannheim. Like STN and most of the booksellers profiled here, he was not himself part of the culture of reception of French ideas; like them, he was simply trying to fill a niche and make a profit in an evolving capitalist economy. Though Freedman says that Fontaine's education was limited (75), the Frenchman was by trade a lifelong professional bookman, and he understood the potential volatility of his market. Thus, when Karl Theodor became less Francophile and the trade in French books from that clientele declined, Fontaine survived this market fluctuation because he was able to fall back on other clients. Interestingly, he excluded atheistic or pornographic works from his STN purchases. Freedman suggests this exclusion was on principle, but good business sense may have dictated the wisdom of not offending local mores or, alternately, of getting ahead of what the market would bear. Fontaine was "solvent," economically and personally. He thrived and, in the process, provided a useful product.

Thus, what also emerges from this study is the terrible element of personal as well as economic risk, both for STN and for the booksellers. As Freedman writes: "To make any money from the sale of French books in Germany, booksellers had to surmount a multitude of formidable obstacles. . . . The obstacles were so great, it seems a wonder that French books reached German readers at all" (271). In the long run, these early entrepreneurs, like their counterparts in England and Paris, were as much purveyors of the Enlightenment as was Voltaire. Freedman is to be commended for telling their story. As I said, a popular book should be on its way.

Elizabeth Powers

Wendy Laura Belcher. *Abyssinia's Samuel Johnson: Ethiopian Thought in the Making of an English Author*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012. Pp. x + 285; 4 illustrations. ISBN13: 9780199793211, ISBN10: 0199793212. Hardcover: \$74.00.

This is the most original and provocative book on Samuel Johnson that I have read in a very long time. It offers to reframe Johnson within a neglected, almost unexamined, context. Belcher's book discusses the Habeshan cultural discourse emanating from the East African Highland region spoken of most often today as "Ethiopia" (and known to earlier Europeans such as Johnson as "Abyssinia"). This venerable archive stretches from the ancient mythical matrix of the Hebrew Bible and an incipient Christianity (see Genesis 10:6-7, I Kings 10:1-13, 2 Chronicles 9:1-12, and Acts 8:26-39) to the twentieth-century millenarian ideology of Haile Selassie and contemporary influence upon popular culture of the Rastafari movement, and constitutes one of the treasures of the global cultural tradition. It is among the virtues—as well as perhaps the fatal flaw—of *Abyssinia's Samuel Johnson* that it offers to make a perhaps otherwise unsuspecting and/or uninformed academic readership aware of this vibrant culture and its venerable history.

Belcher's brief is to demonstrate how this cultural tradition significantly influenced and help shape Samuel Johnson. The bulk of the book is devoted to tactical engagements, where she rereads such "Orientalist" Johnsonian texts as *Rasselas*, his heroic tragedy *Irene*, and a scattering of smaller items (including "The Vision of Theodore," *Rambler* 190, and *Idler* 99) from the vantage of the Habeshan religious and literary archive—an archive that self-consciously and successfully engaged in a canny textual self-propagation in classical, Medieval, and early-Modern European culture. One of the boons of reading this book is to notice how thoroughly Habeshan culture is imbricated within a larger European consciousness. As Belcher notes, the Habesha energetically promoted their cultural achievements to the world beyond their borders, establishing centers of dissemination in ancient cities such as Alexandria and Rome, as well as pocketing Christian Europe with monastic centers and embassies that propagated Abyssinian religious culture. Belcher covers this ground with informative lucidity; however, within the pages of *Abyssinia's Samuel Johnson*, this legwork intends to remind the reader of the importance of Habesha discourse in earlier centuries. We are thus enabled to understand why Johnson would have taken the Abyssinian Church—one that had a claim to being closest to the primitive Christian Church, and consequently became a conceptual football in the religious controversies of post-Reformation Europe—seriously enough to produce, as his first published book, *A Voyage to Abyssinia* (1735), a translation and epitome of Portuguese Jesuit Jeronimo Lobo's account of his missionary activities in East Africa in the 17th century, as redacted by the French religious polemicist Joachim LeGrand. In Belcher's view, Johnson was intertextually "possessed" by the Habesha discourse articulated in this complexly sedimented text in a way that would have profound implications for his later literary career.

However, *Abyssinia's Samuel Johnson* appears to have at least two larger, strategic goals. First is the promotion of the Habeshan cultural tradition to

Western readers. Second, Belcher seems to be going beyond a local interrogation of Johnson's "Orientalist" texts and moving toward a major reassessment of Johnson as writer and thinker. We see this in the very title, as well as in various incidental remarks scattered throughout the book. In Belcher's reconfiguration, Samuel Johnson is seen in a new strange light, not as a staunch pillar of John Bull Anglo/Euro-centrism, but as a product and dispenser of Ethiopian thought and culture. For Belcher, Johnson is taken over, possessed, driven to become a cultural propagator of Habesha discourse. He is no longer "Dictionary Johnson" nor any of the other recent handful of scholarly recreations: Bate's tormented and guilt-ridden psychological victim, Lipking and Kernan's professional author par excellence, Greene's political progressive. He is now "Abyssinian Johnson."

Belcher's maneuver is remarkably ambitious. Her effort, if successful, would demand nothing less than a large-scale reconsideration of our fundamental understanding of Samuel Johnson. This boldness necessitates a careful examination of *Abyssinia's Samuel Johnson's* thesis, methodology, and arguments.

The book's theoretic foundations include the Foucauldian concept of the archive, as articulated in *Archaeology of Knowledge*. It also relies upon postmodernist notions of intertextuality, finessing its discussion within a fascinating analogy of intertextual influence as a form of psychic, "discursive possession"—a suggestive and helpful contribution that also resonates with the some of the supernatural belief systems native to the African continent. And, of course, *Abyssinia's Samuel Johnson's* dominant critical focus aligns with the latest theoretical fashion in the academy, the "global eighteenth century." But Belcher's book is not faddish; it is serious and deliberate work. Nevertheless, my reading has discovered troublesome reservations, particularly with regard to the book's evidentiary support for its thesis. A few of these follow.

To begin with a relatively minor point, let me say that, from my own experience in academic publishing, sometimes errors crop up between the submission of corrected final proofs and the actual printing of the book. In the present book, either the author or her editors have allowed inconsistencies in documentation. The most egregious example is found in the footnotes referencing Boswell's *Life of Johnson*. Time and again, even on the same page, even two or more times, we see the unwieldy and verbose "James Boswell, *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, vol. 2, 1776-1776, ed. George Birbeck Hill and Lawrence Fitzroy Powell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964; reprint, 1979). Yet at other times, an abbreviated tag, "Boswell, *Life (vol.1)*" is used. I see no reason why the notes fluctuate between the two—it seems random. It would have been much more sensible to employ a short titles page so that parenthetical references or briefer footnotes could have been substituted. These instances of clumsy and random annotation betray a lack of sophistication that subtly undermines the book's scholarly authority. Even more detrimental is an oversight in these references. Powell revised his earlier, 1934 revision of Hill's edition in 1964, particularly volumes five and six, but also including a table or errata covering the first four volumes. None of Belcher's references identify the 1964 edition as revised.

An even more egregious misstep is this very frequency of Belcher's appeal to Boswell's *Life* to support her claims about Johnson. Early in the 20th century, under the initial impetus generated by Oxford critics such as Walter Raleigh, R. W.

Chapman, and David Nichol Smith, later crystalizing in this country with the powerful impact of Bertrand Bronson's "The Double Tradition of Dr. Johnson," scholars have shifted from Boswell to Johnson's writings themselves as *the* primary source for our knowledge and understanding of Johnson's mind and art. Belcher does not totally neglect Johnson's writings, but his primary texts are generally relegated to subsidiary status, in deference to Boswell. This is suspect.

Suspensions about the validity of Belcher's evidentiary appeals to support her argument proliferate when we move to matters of greater import. For example, in pressing her surmise about Johnson's discursive possession by the Habeshan discursive archive, Belcher writes "I imagine this curious scene [that of a prone Johnson dictating his redaction of Lobo-LeGrand to his anxious amanuensis, Edmund Hector] as one out of a trance: the large, pale, still body draped in text and streaming language" (46). This is lovely and expressive prose. But it is not quite clear who is the one entranced here, Belcher by her own private Johnsonian vision, or Johnson by ancestral Abyssinian voices—or both. These "possessions" do not rise to the level of persuasive scholarship. More troubling are other claims that Belcher seeks to verify or ground with shaky, erroneous, or even distortive textual support. An example of a mere error is found on page 47 where, retailing the famous anecdote of the kicking of the stone, Belcher describes Johnson as "something of a rationalist." More accurate here would be the term "empiricist"—it is precisely Johnson's appeal here to demonstrable, common sense, immediate sensory verification, that makes him a follower of Locke, rather than of Descartes or Leibniz—rationalist philosophers about whom Johnson elsewhere expressed grave reservations.

But even more disturbing are evidentiary appeals that in fact distort the nature of the source. Let a few examples suffice. First, on page 67, Belcher writes, "Johnson read and annotated Nelson's *Festivals and Fasts*, which states that the Habesha knew best certain Christian facts—such as how many infants were killed by Herod." In a note to this, Belcher cites from the standard *Yale Edition* of Johnson's works, his *Diaries, Prayers and Annals*, followed by a quotation from Nelson. The implication is that Nelson was a source of important information about the Habesha and that Johnson directed his attention toward this. In fact, the reference to Johnson's *Diaries* does not indicate that he paid attention to the only reference to the Habesha in the *Festivals and Fasts* that my own search has found. Nelson in fact is not an authoritative source of information about the Abyssinian Church, and it is not even clear that Johnson read the passage in question—he was notorious for not reading books through. The evidence is tenuous at best, misleading at worst.

Second, on page 69, Belcher writes, in support of the notion that Johnson was a closet Jacobite, "Bennet Langton's father also thought Johnson was privately a Roman Catholic." Her source is, as we have perhaps grown to expect, Boswell's *Life*; however her interpretation of the passage is questionable. She takes the elder Langton's opinion of Johnson's religion seriously. However, even the quickest glance at the text reveals that Langton's opinion is being ridiculed—his is a slow, obtuse, and narrow mind. The whole point of the anecdote is to reveal how Johnson would deviate from his true opinions in order to impress his audience or overpower his interlocutor. Hence, the claim that Belcher intends us

to take on the faith of her example is in fact exploded by the example itself.

Third, finally, and most seriously, on page 71 Belcher cites a conversation between Johnson and Boswell (found, again, in the *Life*), which, she says, justifies the view that “he [Johnson] was open to alternative religious views within Christianity,” including the Coptic Church of Africa. Yet the passage Belcher cites sponsors no such view. Quite the opposite, rather. In it, Johnson expresses his strong approbation of the Anglican Thirty-Nine Articles. Contrary to Belcher’s conclusion, in the conversational exchange Johnson promotes the study of alternative religious persuasions not with a view to receptively embracing their truth, but in order to acquire ammunition to refute them and to support the Church of England: here are Johnson’s own words “we must not supply our [religious] enemies with arms from our arsenal” (Hill-Powell ed., 2: 151; my emphasis).

If I am correct in raising suspicions about Belcher’s errant deployment of her sources, then this in turn raises more fundamental questions. Is this truly a scholarly work? Or is it an exercise in polemics, on behalf of a larger strategy, the dissemination of the culture of the Hebesha in the West? I am not seeking to be unkind or disingenuous in raising this issue; Belcher herself has voiced it. See her video at: <http://www.princeton.edu/africanamericanstudies/people/faculty/wendy-belcher/>. So, here’s the rub. Has Belcher written *Abyssinia’s Samuel Johnson* as a scholar or a journalist? Is she striving for embrative objectivity? Or is she indulging in a partial, rhetorically impaired, tendentiousness? At present, I have no answer to these questions. But I do feel compelled to raise them in the interests of the larger goal that all scholars consulting this book would share—the advancement of our knowledge of Samuel Johnson.

Let me reiterate that I have no quarrel with Belcher’s innovative and “spirited” reinterpretation of Samuel Johnson; indeed I welcome it. I acknowledge and appreciate the many virtues of her book. Belcher pushes to the forefront a Johnsonian text that scholars have almost universally neglected. She has fresh and interesting things to say about Johnson as a writer, thinker, and person. She has added a layer to Johnson that she did not inherit—she discovered it herself and has succeeded in bringing our attention to it in a book that is lucid, engaging, and enjoyable. It would be hard to ask for more. But the very hubris of the book Belcher has crafted invites, indeed demands, careful consideration. *Abyssinia’s Samuel Johnson* radiates flashes of genius; I feel these and share in the breathless excitement the book solicits. A book like this comes around all too infrequently; many readers of Johnson will never read and think about Johnson again without considering *Abyssinia* as a significant point of reference. As both a scholar and as a human being, I *want* this book to succeed. However, my limited platform here restricts me from engaging in a more exhaustive survey; I leave it to others pursue a more definitive assessment.

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Adam Budd. *John Armstrong's The Art of Preserving Health: Eighteenth-Century Sensibility in Practice.* Farnham, Surrey, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011. Pp. xvii + 302; bibliography [269-93]; chronology; 11 illustrations (mostly facsimiles of title-pages); index. ISBN: 978-0-7546-6306-5. Hardcover, \$124.95.

This is both an edition and a critical study. Adam Budd provides a lengthy biographical and critical introduction and fourteen "Contextual Documents," ranging from part of Thomas Creech's translation of Lucretius (on the plague of Athens) and parts of poems by Anne Finch, James Thomson, Edward Young, and Thomas Warton, to selections from essays on the Georgic and medical literature; included among the last are several works by George Cheyne and Armstrong's preface to *A Full View of All the Diseases Incident to Children* (1742).

The first-edition quarto ([printed by William Strahan for] A[ndrew]. Millar, 1744) provides the copy-text for this edition of the 2053-line poem, with four sections on "Air," "Diet," "Exercise," and "The Passions" (totaling 346, 556, 633, and 518 lines respectively). For the bibliographical record, Budd apparently relies on David Foxon's *English Verse, 1701-1750* (1975). Strahan recorded producing 1250 regular and 50 fine copies of the first edition and then of 200 copies of a cancellans title-page for a reissue in 1747 (Foxon A296-97 and A301, I:28-29). Besides an Irish edition in 1744, the work was reprinted by Strahan in second- and third-edition octavos in 1745 and 1747, each in 1000 copies (Foxon A299-300, the latter for six presentation copies, and A302). This is not a critical edition: substantive variants are not fully provided for the three first editions or any subsequent, nor do the differences between copies of the third edition with cancellandum and cancellans leaf B3 (Foxon A302) appear to be discussed. Budd indicates in an opening note on the text that "There are no significant variants among the dozens of editions that appeared throughout the eighteenth century; minor stylistic changes are indicated in the notes, below."

A friend of the poet James Thomson, Armstrong came to London with his medical degree from Edinburgh, having studied with Alexander Munro I, but, like others (including Tobias Smollett), Armstrong had difficulty practicing because the Royal College of Physicians would not honor his degree and provide him an equivalent set of credentials. Thus, he turned to literature, first in a 1734 satire and then in several didactic poems in blank verse. Armstrong had been very successful with his *The Œconomy of Love: A Poetical Essay* (T. Cooper, 1736), in part a guide to sex). Armstrong's works were printed in Dublin 1767 (*Miscellaneous Works*) and in London in 1770 (*Miscellanies*, 2 vols.).

Budd, in comp lit and historical studies at the University of Edinburgh, casts *The Art of Preserving Health*, as an imitation of Virgil's *Georgics* and as a work of the Scottish Enlightenment, of particular importance for its therapeutic account of the emotions and moral empathy. Most valuable are Budd's extensive footnotes explaining and commenting on the text and identifying allusions in and parallels for the text. The vocabulary is thoroughly glossed, allowing the poem to be understood by undergraduates and common readers. The commentary and the introductory essay are very well documented, reflecting considerable reading and

effort. Budd exaggerates in claiming that Armstrong's poem was, "by any standard, one of the most popular publications of the eighteenth century," and much of the poem is a wordy injunction to do the obvious, such as, to flee foul air and eat with temperance. But Budd makes a good case for reading and studying the poem, and Budd himself examines its nature as a Georgic poem. The poem was frequently cited and reprinted, including in America and in French and Italian translations, and Budd demonstrates how it was well received by some doctors and lay readers, as James Boswell and Charles Burney.

The edition has drawn favorable reviews from David E. Shuttleton in *Eighteenth-Century Scotland*, 26 (2012), 24-25, and from Carolyn D. Williams at the *British Society for Literature and Science* website's webpage for reviews (<http://www.bsls.ac.uk>)--originally published in *TLS*, apparently. One of these reviewers rightly notes that this book provides a good model for editions of works by minor poets that ought to be re-edited, and the other stresses that its considerable background material should interest students of the history of medicine and sexuality.--JEM

Beth M. Whittaker (ed.). *Vivat Liber: Reflections Marking the Occasion of Alexandra Mason's Retirement from the Kenneth Spencer Research Library*. Lawrence: University of Kansas Libraries, 2012. Pp. 99 + colophon.

This volume includes the essays from a 1999 conference, reassembled and introduced by the Kenneth Spencer Research Library's current head, Beth Whittaker. With the likes of Roger Stoddard, Bernard M. Rosenthal, Donald Eddy, Joel Silver, and others speaking or in attendance, it was quite an august gathering. After opening remarks by William J. Crowne comes the keynote address by David McKitterick: "A Future for Special Collections," which gathers up the common topics (including challenges) for rare-books librarianship at the century's end. Some of the same topics are developed in others' contributions (especially Nora Quinlan and Roger Stoddard). These identifications of developments as of 1999 lend the collection historical importance. Several of the contributors worked at the Spencer years ago, with and under Sandy Mason, thus adding to the volume's panegyric function and also making the Spencer a better epitome of the rare books library in the 20th century. Breon Mitchell, a Germanist at Indiana who worked at the Spencer as an undergraduate, had a very nice memoir with a good bibliophile's anecdote of John Sparrow's book-collecting gatherings at All Souls College, Oxford. A. C. [Arch] Elias's remarks "For Sandy Mason," are a welcome reminder of our late colleague's manner and voice and also his research. He relates several of his projects and discoveries during his last decade as testimonies to the value of the Kansas holdings and of the staff who assisted him with research. In the *Intelligencer* several decades back, Elias wrote on the Boys-Mizener first-line index of poetry held in its original cards

at the Spencer, one of Elias's reasons for going to Lawrence. One discovery from examining early editions that Arch built upon in his "*Senatus Consultum: Revising Verse in Swift's Dublin Circle 1729-1735*" (1998) is here credited to John Irwin Fischer: Swift's revisions and annotations in Samuel Fairbrother's reprinting in 1732 from the Swift-Pope *Miscellanies*, announced in an unpublished paper that Fischer and James Woolley gave at the Münster Swift conference in 1994. Other speakers approached the rare books collection from other angles, as the antiquarian dealer Bernard M. Rosenthal, who recalled helping Kansas to acquire Renaissance texts decades earlier and who noted the importance of faculty support for rare books collections. These essays may be enjoyed by everyone who works in and with rare books. Beth Whittaker reports that the book is available through KU's repository, ScholarWorks, at <http://hdl.handle.net/1808/10486>.--JEM

In Memorium: O M Brack, Jr. (1938-2012)

O M ("Skip") Brack Jr. died 8 November 2012 at age 73, survived by his wife Cynthia Burns and his son Matthew, his brother Richard, and his grandson Jakob. Family and friends gathered for the celebration of a requiem mass 30 November at the Trinity Episcopal Church in Phoenix, at which Skip's friend Myron Yeager offered a eulogy. In the program notes for that memorial service, Robert DeMaria, Jr., remarked on the name "O M Brack, Jr.": "Called 'Skipper' by his parents to differentiate him from his father, who was also named O M (pronounced O, M, as though the letters were initials), Brack was known as 'Skip' to his many friends and associates in his adult years. To some of these friends and to all the other scholars who cited his work, the absence of periods in what appeared to be initials of his name was an enduring puzzle." Skip grew up in Texas, took his B.A. from Baylor in 1960 and then his Ph.D. from the University of Texas at Austin in 1965, writing his dissertation under the direction of William Todd, long Skip's mentor. He taught first at the University of Iowa (1965-73), where for a time he directed the Iowa Center for Textual Studies. From 1973 until his forced retirement at age 70 in 2008, he taught at Arizona State University. DeMaria's memorial notes that "Skip published many of his works in collaboration with other scholars [such as *Early Biographies of Samuel Johnson* with Robert Kelly (1974) and the Smollett editions where he prepared the text and others the commentary]. . . . He was a generous, patient, and gentle partner in bibliographical and editorial work. . . . With all his learning, he also demonstrated that a scholarly life could be a life of friendship, generosity, and love."

Other tributes appeared reflecting Skip's congenial benevolence and deep learning. On 20 November, in the Huntington Library's website *Verso*, editor Matt Stevens posted a fine tribute to Skip, which included several appreciative reflections by scholars at the Huntington who worked with Skip (he regularly spent two months of the year there). Alan Jutzi, Avery Chief Curator of Rare Books, noted "Skip was a reader at The Huntington for more than 40 years, and during that time he contributed substantially to its scholarly community and

became a friend to us all.” As regards Skip’s scholarship, Jutzi stressed how Skip had “an engaging way of highlighting the humanity of historical figures.” Loren Rothschild, who co-authored *Samuel Johnson: Literary Giant of the Eighteenth Century* (2011), in part describing the 2009 Huntington exhibition that Skip curated, recalled “I met Skip a few decades ago. Since then he has been my closest advisor and wonderful friend. I cannot count the times that he has saved me from making a mistake about the 18th century; or, the times that he has given me essential advice about collecting Samuel Johnson.” Myron Yeager of Chapman University, Secretary of the Samuel Johnson Society of the West and an old friend with whom Skip sometimes stayed, stressed Skip’s sociable and affable nature: “Like Johnson, Skip would . . . say, ‘Sir, I look upon every day to be lost, in which I do not make a new acquaintance.” In an obit posted with a photo at <http://english.clas.asu.edu/ombrack>, and then reprinted within the November *Newsletter of the Johnson Society of the Central Region*, Maureen Daly Goggin, the chair in English at Arizona State University, paid tribute to Skip as “a beloved teacher and mentor to undergraduate and graduate students, who gave him top marks and glowing comments for his clarity, helpfulness, knowledge, and caring. In 1991 he received the prestigious ASU Alumni Association Faculty Achievement Award, and in 2000 the ASU Graduate College Outstanding Mentor Award.” And most will recall that in 2010 Skip’s students wrote to secure him ASECS’s Jay Fliegeman Mentoring Award, by which he was immensely delighted. Courses in Restoration & 18C literature, bibliography & methods, textual editing, and the history of the book earned him several teaching awards, and he “directed thirty-six dissertations and twenty-seven MA theses.” Those are staggering numbers—imagine reading all the drafts—or just the completed 63 volumes—see them tower, stacked one atop the other! Skip wanted to go on teaching, but University regulations forced him to retire on turning 70.

Tributes appeared also on the C18-L discussion list. Some praised him as teacher and mentor, such as Elaine Anderson Phillips, an Associate Professor of English at Tennessee State: “I was a graduate student in creative writing at Arizona State University in the early 1990s when I took a course with Skip Brack. I was impressed with his geniality, knowledge and generosity in advising me as to my next career step. He was also a talented baker and delightful host. Thanks to him, I went to Vanderbilt University to study under Margaret Anne Doody and to meet many more wise and sociable people in this field.” Jack Lynch, among others, added to the eulogy details of Skip’s great accomplishments in scholarship, particularly editing: “Skip was recognized as one of the most talented textual critics and editors in eighteenth-century studies since he wrote his dissertation, ‘A Critical Review and Analysis of Thomas James Mathias’s *The Pursuits of Literature* (1794-1812)’ . . . at Austin in 1964. With Robert E. Kelley he edited *Samuel Johnson’s Early Biographers* [1971] and *The Early Biographies of Samuel Johnson* [1974]. He was founder and textual editor of the Georgia Edition of the Works of Tobias Smollett, and edited several volumes of the Yale Edition of the Works of Samuel Johnson. Johnsonians are especially grateful for his magisterial edition of Sir John Hawkins’s *Life of Samuel Johnson* ([U. of Georgia Press,] 2009), the first scholarly text of that work ever published.”

Robert DeMaria in the last issue of the *Johnsonian News Letter* has a fine

tribute to Skip as a preeminent Johnson scholar and editor, but I will offer my own testimony. Few, if any, working in eighteenth-century English literature brought to editing Skip's expertise in textual criticism, the history of the book and book trades, and literary criticism. Surely the roughly twenty books he edited, the critical editions of multiple authors, earned him the title "the *foremost* scholarly editor in English eighteenth-century studies." Anyone starting an edition could use one of the Georgia Smolletts as a safe example of a critical edition. It is remarkable how, despite all the hoopla about the history of the book, so few scholar-editors have much grasp of analytical bibliography and textual scholarship, how few could marshal technical evidence as Brack has often done, such as regarding Johnson's correction of proofs for the *Gentleman's Magazine*. Brack's enthusiastic love of the great authors and works he studied was continually apparent, always bubbling over in his conversations through quotations. His extraordinary memory, industry, capacity for collaboration, and zeal to get work done made him a giant in literary studies, ambitiously shouldering staggering tasks. Even knowing how energetic Skip was, how prone to work after dinner and on weekends, one still might wonder how he accomplished so much. From him a young scholar might learn the value of focus and cooperative networking. Skip worked mainly on Smollett and Johnson and his circle, studying the period 1730-1790 (he didn't work much on verse or theatre--though he edited Fielding's *Pasquin* [1973],--nor on the Restoration or Queen Anne decades, though he co-edited at least two books involving 19th- and 20th-century materials). DeMaria rightly stressed Skip's regard for collaborators, and it is apparent that he preferred working with other people. Nearly all his over two dozen or more books were produced in collaboration with others! A number of volumes of critical essays he edited were festschrifts done out of affection to honor colleagues, like *American Humor: Essays Presented to John C. Gerber* (1977), *Writers, Books, and Trade: An Eighteenth-Century English Miscellany for William B Todd* (1994), and *Tobias Smollett, Scotland's First Novelist: New Essays in Memory of Paul-Gabriel Boucé* (2007). He edited another half-dozen volumes of essays by scholars, including three or four years of *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* (1984-1987). He liked to help others get things into print. For instance, in late 2011 he prepared for the press a book on 20th-century American prison literature, written as a dissertation by a former student long prevented by illness from publishing it. To help me collate Smollett's histories, he loaned me rare, even unique, volumes of the histories, and gave me, with Cynthia's help arranging its shipment, his Lindstrand comparator; and last year, impatient from hearing me talk of an essay I was too long revising, he insisted I let him take a red pen to it.

To give an account of all Brack's editions would be too discouraging for most of us. It would include the last two volumes (V-VI) of the letters of Hester Thrale, a project begun by Edward A. and Lillian D. Bloom. Skip's main project was, of course, the Georgia Smollett, which took off while Skip was at Iowa in the late 1960s. Soon Thomas Preston, Robert Adams Day, and Byron Gassman signed on to edit editions, as Skip recounts in the Introduction to *Tobias Smollett: Scotland's First Novelist* (pp. 10ff.). Skip put graduate students to work collating editions of Smollett, as of *The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle*, using money raised in the 1960s by John Gerber and others to establish Iowa's Center for Textual Studies (largely directed toward the Iowa-California edition of Mark Twain). After

the Smollett edition long wandered from Iowa in 1973 to Delaware (c. 1976) seeking a home, the University of Georgia Press began to produce the Smollett editions in hard cover and paperback, starting with three fine to superb editions: Jerry Beasley's *The Adventures of Ferdinand Count Fathom* (1988), Day's *The History and Adventures of an Atom* (1989), and Preston's *Humphry Clinker* (1990), all with Skip as textual editor, Jerry Beasley as "general," or project, editor, and Jim Springer Borck as "Technical" editor, overseeing at LSU the computer-aided printer's copy. The tenth volume by my count (which could be short), *The Adventures of Roderick Random*, appeared last year and *The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle* will be published later this year. For those in the second decade (with the exception of Martin Battestin's edition of *Don Quixote* [2003], Beasley's last effort), Alexander Pettit served as project editor. In the 1990s, Beasley and Brack with Jim May received a three-year grant for further textual work from The National Endowment for the Humanities--May's project was to edit Smollett's *Complete History of England* and its *Continuation*, but Georgia eventually decided these editions would come at too great a financial loss (the bibliographical and textual results of that research later appeared in Skip's festschrift for Paul-Gabriel Boucé and Christopher Johnson's for Jerry Beasley). Georgia had not realized its hopes of making money on paperback editions for classroom use (paperbacks of *Ferdinand Count Fathom* and the *Atom* appeared in 1992 and *Humphry Clinker* in 1993--copies of these editions, even some in hard cover, are very affordable on ABEBOOKS).

Let me briefly describe the last edition published, for which Skip prepared not only a text of *Roderick Random* but also appended "An Account of the Expedition against Carthage" (pp. lix + 620; appendix; 27 illustrations; index of names, places, and topics in the introduction). The volume has the usual format and apparatus of Georgia Smollett editions: introduction and notes to the text (here by James G. Basker and Nicole A. Seary, with some notes by the late Paul-Gabriel Boucé); Skip's "Textual Commentary" offering a publication history and a modest defense of the fourth edition of *The Adventures of Roderick Random* as a copy-text (507-18); then lists of emendations to the copy-text (519-22) and of "word-divisions" in Georgia and earlier divisions (523-24); then historical collation of variants in first four editions of (525-98); and finally bibliographical descriptions of the authorized editions in English 1748-1774 and of the first two editions of *A Compendium of Authentic and Entertaining Voyages* (1756, 1766), the source of the "Account of the Expedition." As is typical, the edition offers and its introduction comments on early illustrations of the novel. There's a favorable review of the edition by Evan Gottlieb in *Eighteenth-Century Scotland*, no. 26 (Spring 2012), 28-29.

The Smollett volumes were team projects. For over twenty years Leslie Chilton worked with Skip on the project, helping him prepare the text of *Poems, Plays, and "The Briton,"* edited by Byron Gassman (1993), and then she edited three of Smollett's translations for which Skip prepared the texts, Fenelon's *The Adventures of Telemachus* (1997), Le Sage's *The Devil upon Crutches* (2005), and Le Sage's *The Adventures of Gil Blas of Santillane* (2011). Chilton and a few other former students and then colleagues of Skip's, like Walter (Hank) Keithley, joined Skip for two-text collational readings of proofs. Skip in early 2012

proposed to Pickering & Chatto a two-volume "Miscellaneous Writings" of Smollett that would include items not in the Georgia Edition, to be edited by himself, Chilton, Keithley, and others, in part as a repayment for all he owed them. And Skip regularly turned to Cynthia Burns, whom Skip wed in 2004 and often called "the love of my life," for help polishing his essays, as he also did to Myron Yeager.

Long after editing biographies by and on Johnson with Robert Kelley, Skip returned to editing Johnson for the Yale edition. He edited Vol. 17 for the Yale Johnson: *A Commentary on Mr. Pope's Principles of Morality, Or Essay on Man* (2004); and he was the textual editor for the three-volume *Debates in Parliament* (vols. 11-13), with introduction and commentary by Thomas Kaminski and Benjamin B. Hoover, published in October. Skip also edited Vol. 19, "Biographical and Related Writings," forthcoming, which Robert DeMaria, Jr., noted in the *Johnsonian News Letter* of March 2012 was moving to press and contained shorter biographies, some written early in Johnson's career, as the life of Sir Francis Drake. Though not part of the Yale Johnson, Skip's edition of Sir John Hawkins's *Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* (2009) should be mentioned among his editions of Johnson (see John Radner's review of the biography in *ECIntel*, 25.i-ii [2011], 37-42—Skip made some corrections for a paperback reissue).

Brack brought various sorts of knowledge and skills to critical editing. He was acquiring this command soon after his dissertation, co-editing with Warner Barnes a collection of important essays for editors, *Bibliography and Textual Criticism: English and American Literature, 1700 to the Present* (1969). Robert DeMaria remarked that Skip "was a textual editor *par excellence*, skilled at comparing the extant states of a published work and deciding which printing should be followed in a definitive scholarly edition." Besides a thorough reading of what his authors had written, Brack understood the principal editorial theory from W. W. Gregg through Fredson Bowers and G. Thomas Tanselle, the methods of descriptive and analytical bibliography, and the practices of eighteenth-century authors, printers, and publishers. Those interests of his are apparent in productions related to his editorial work, such as "The Publishers' Agreement for Sir John Hawkins' *Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* and *The Works of Samuel Johnson* (1787)," in the *Johnsonian News Letter*, 62, no. 2 (September 2011), 22-25; his "Smollett and the Authorship of 'The Memoirs of a Lady of Quality,'" in the Todd festschrift (35-73); and several of the contributions to the *Intelligencer*, noted below. He imaginatively constructed living versions of his favorite authors, taking a keen interest in their lives. Skip wished that he had the time to write a biography of Smollett. What he has provided us are his prescriptive thoughts about a new and necessary biography ("Tobias Smollett: The Life of an Author," *New Contexts for Eighteenth-Century Fiction: "Hearts Resolved and Hands Prepared": Essays in Honor of Jerry C. Beasley*, edited by Christopher D. Johnson [2011], 17-39). Another element in his success as an editor was his downright bibliophilia, evident in his curating the Huntington's tercentenary exhibition and in his lovely design for the later record of the exhibition, his and Loren Rothschild's *Samuel Johnson, Literary Giant of the Eighteenth Century: An Exhibition at the Huntington Library May 23-September 21, 2009* (Rasselas Books [distributed by the Huntington's bookstore], 2011--see *ECIntel*, 25.iii [Oct. 2011], 30). Skip took

understandable pride in having designed the handsome volume (Skip was a graphic artist, in fact, having designed a number of works, particularly fine keepsakes he produced for the Johnson Society of the West).

Last year before his life was side-tracked a second time by cancer, Skip was pressing to complete several projects, remarking, "I can't hang around for ever." First, he had the pleasure of working on a catalogue of the eighteenth-century materials in the Loren and Frances Rothschild Collection, materials he had worked on, along with those at the Huntington, for the tercentenary exhibition and *Samuel Johnson: Literary Giant*. Early in 2012 he revised his textual introduction and apparatus for Smollett's *The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle*, largely edited by John Zomchick, who lacked Skip's help in revising the proofs this winter. And, as noted above, Skip designed and secured P&C's interest in a two-volume miscellany of long unpublished writings by Smollett. And the biggest project he was engaged in was Volume 20 of the Yale Edition of the Works of Samuel Johnson, the edition's final volume, devoted to shorter prose works. This would be the most exciting volume in the edition, offering attribution arguments that would provoke counter-arguments and would provide rare texts leading to new biographical and critical studies. He discusses difficulties attributing minor works, especially in periodicals, to Johnson in "The Works of Samuel Johnson and the Canon," *Samuel Johnson after 300 Years*, edited by Greg Clingham and Philip Smallwood (2009), 246-61. For four decades Skip had been editing or preparing to edit the roughly 120 items in the volume. At the end of 2011, Skip still had left a quarter of those items to discuss in introductory headnotes and fewer to annotate. During that year, Skip and Cynthia settled into the house they'd bought in 2010, and Skip had cleared his desk to make good speed, besides finishing up the Huntington catalogue, he also saw to the publication details of his texts of Johnson's Parliamentary debates and Smollett's *Roderick Random* (2012). Skip felt ready in 2012 to make a concentrated assault on Volume 20. Luckily for Johnsonians, this final Yale volume has been taken over by Robert DeMaria, who had already been collaborating in the effort. As general editor of the Yale edition, DeMaria shepherded through publication the late John Middendorf's three-volume edition of the *Lives of the Poets*, enlisting a number of scholars in that effort, like Skip himself and the late James Gray.

Finally, I would celebrate Skip Brack for his collegiality, especially his generous assistance to others and the sweetness of his temperament (so evident in his voice itself). Even last year, after several years of retirement, he helped as one of the local hosting the Arizona Renaissance and Medieval conference at ASU. Skip was always an upbeat person, stroking everyone and celebrating life--he wrote emails just to report that it was delightfully hot in Phoenix, Cynthia was wonderful, and he wished you well. His kindness to the scholarly community was celebrated during his life, as at the micro-conference in honor of his edition of Sir John Hawkins's *Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* (2009), organized by Professor Martine W. Brownley in Atlanta several year ago. The essays from those sessions, including Brack's own "Reassessing Sir John Hawkins's *The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.*: some Reflections," were published as *Reconsidering Biography: Contexts, Controversies, and Sir John Hawkins' Life of Johnson* (Bucknell UP, 2011). Anthony Lee offers his appreciation of Skip as a colleague below. Here it seems best to demonstrate that

helpfulness to colleagues by noting Skip's contributions to this editor and his newsletter. Skip had edited the *Newsletter of the Johnson Society of Southern California* (now "of the West"), which surely inclined him to help out newsletter editors, contributing thus to the Johnsonian Society of London's bulletin and also to the *Johnsonian News Letter*. Skip reviewed some important and difficult works for the *Intelligencer*: the Yale edition volume *Johnson on the English Language*, ed. Gwin Kolb and Robert DeMaria, Jr. (20.ii [2006], 26-31); Roger Lonsdale's edition of Johnson's *Lives of the Poets* (21.ii (2007), 27-33), and Richard Sher's *The Enlightenment & the Book* (22.ii [2008], 34-37). Skip contributed to the *Intelligencer* three important articles that could have been published in top-flight journals: "Tobias Smollett's Authorship of *Habbakkuk Hilding* (1752), which reviewed Smollett's quarrel with Henry Fielding and then made the case on circumstantial and stylistic grounds for Smollett's authorship (20.iii [2006], 5-17); "Samuel Johnson Revises a Debate" (on revisions to the August 1742 *GM*'s coverage of a debate in the House of Lords on 4 Dec. 1741, with 19 substantive variants in the middle of a long speech by Nardac Agryl (Duke of Argyll)--Skip explained why, given the nature of galley sheets, revisions occurred to only this section (21.ii [2007], 1-3); and "Samuel Johnson's 'Life of Boerhave': Texts New and Old" (22.3.[2009] 1-10). He also contributed some notes, too, such as one leading to the good cover illustration for the January 2009 issue: "Dr. Samuel Johnson Depicted in 'Emblematical Frontispiece' from the *Gentleman's Magazine* 1747," depicting Edward Cave, John Hawkesworth, Johnson, and probably Elizabeth Carter--possibly the earliest portrait of Johnson (23.1 [2009], 59).

Jesse Swan, a former Ph.D. student of Skip's, now a professor at University of Northern Iowa, has edited a festschrift in Skip's honor that is forthcoming from Bucknell University Press: *Editing Lives: Essays in Contemporary Textual and Biographical Studies in Honor of O M Brack, Jr.* The Huntington Library and the Samuel Johnson Society of the West--thus Skip's friends who work for or at the Huntington, Myron Yeager in particular,--have organized a memorial to Skip centered around the "O M 'Skip' Brack, Jr. Commemorative Lecture," as a tribute. Thomas Kaminski of Loyola University (Chicago)--to whom Skip turned for help with Latin texts--will present "Does the Text Really Matter?" The lecture will occur 13 March at Friends' Hall at the Huntington, with a lecture at 7 p.m. and reception at 8, embellished with 18th-century harp music played by Jerry Ripley. Cynthia Burns has encouraged colleagues to send memorial donations to The Huntington Library, to the attention of Cris Lutz, Library Fund: O M "Skip" Brack, Jr., at 1151 Oxford Road, San Marino, CA 91108.—JEM

Remembering and Celebrating Skip Brack

By Anthony W. Lee

A good friend emailed me a few days ago that our mutual friend, Skip Brack, had passed on. This was not entirely unexpected news—this past summer, I tried to connect with Skip via email, but never heard back. I later learned that his health had taken a turn for the worse and that he wasn't emailing much. Word of

his death, while not unexpected, nevertheless elicits great sadness within me.

I met Skip at a Johnson ASECS session in Albuquerque in 2010. Before the session, we had never met; after a lengthy chat at the end of the session, I knew that I had gained a true and lasting friendship. Skip talked to me as if I were his equal as a Johnsonian; he swiftly and imperceptibly made me feel important, despite the obviously wide gap in knowledge and experience separating us. The warm affability of his presence in my life grew quickly from that moment. He generously let me “bunk” with him to defray my expenses in a scholarly visit to the Huntington—indeed, he surrendered the master bedroom, in the house we shared, taking a smaller room for himself. But more importantly, he allowed me access to his vast store of knowledge and insight. Whether debating the merits of Hawkins vs. Boswell in Anaheim, or retailing the best recipe for authentic pecan pie on the River Walk in San Antonio, Skip’s ever-ready fount of wisdom was generously disposed to my welcoming ears.

It is without question that Skip’s scholarly accomplishments ensure an enduring legacy in a range of important scholarly areas—especially those touching Smollett, Johnson, and Hawkins. Skip’s handling of these writers, both critically and editorially, will remain authoritative for decades to come. However, I suspect that his winning mixture of quiet modesty and deft humor will remain with me most vividly in the months and years to come. His cheerful face and bemused yet sparkling eyes seemed almost irreverent, given the depth of his erudition and extent of his information. Like John Abbott, Howard Weinbrot, and a few others, Skip formed an integral part of that generation intimately conversant with the golden age of post-WW2 Johnson scholars, those “giants before the flood,” such as Jim Clifford, Gwin Kolb, Donald Greene and others, who promoted and helped define Johnsonian studies. I wish that I had been able to spend more time with Skip and hear more of his participation in a world that seems at once near at hand and yet irrevocably remote.

The truth of the matter is, I barely got to know Skip, and the large measure of the gifts he passed on to me within just a few brief years suggests just how great my loss is. It is a loss I share with many people in our eighteenth century community. Like many who knew him, I am left grateful for having the opportunity to enjoy the years of our friendship.

Skip once told me a little story. He and the eminent Johnsonian David Fleeman were enjoying a relaxing moment, chatting over tea. Fleeman asked, with modest anxiety, what he would have to say if he met the great man, Samuel Johnson, himself. Skip replied in a moment of happy inspiration Johnson would be pleased that Fleeman’s scholarship brought people together and led to lasting friendships. I take from this that the work that Fleeman did—and the work that Skip did, and that all who are reading this note do, apart from its intrinsic importance it, ultimately help generate lasting friendships. I am grateful that our mutual interest in Samuel Johnson brought me into the notice of this brilliant man and unforgettable man, Skip Brack, and I am grateful say that he was my friend.

University of Maryland University College

An Appreciation of Donald C. Mell

Our 2011 conference was the occasion for a luncheon honoring Roy Wolper, who has been editing *The Scriblerian* since co-founding it with colleagues 45 years ago. After the meeting, Mel New, who instigated that celebration and then sang Roy's praises, wrote to ask me why the EC/ASECS did not similarly recognize Donald Mell, for his long and industrious support for eighteenth-century studies. Indeed, many may not recognize Don's great contribution to the scholarly community. The proposal was readily accepted by Linda Merians and Beverly Schneller, who organized our meeting in Baltimore and scheduled this breakfast in his honor. Some might question whether any event at eight a.m. was an honor, but rising early is nothing to the hard-working Don, who's been teaching for over fifty years. But it was odd to be toasting Don with coffee as a libation, not with the sort of drinks he's long offered at parties he's hosted at conference suites. Ever since I was working on my dissertation in the late 70s, some of the most memorably times I've had at conferences have been in Don's room at ASECS and MLA meetings, where he represented the University of Delaware Press.

I owe a special debt to Don because he was very encouraging and supportive when I worked in Newark for two years while finishing my dissertation, on an exchange that the University of Maryland had with Delaware. Don was sufficiently supportive that I dumped one of the carbons of chapters from my dissertation on him--not much of a thank you I now reflect, especially given all the seminar papers and dissertations Don had even by then read, since arriving in 1967 at Delaware. But then surely Don must take great satisfaction at all his former students who gained knowledge, skills and then a profession with his help.

Broadly read and discerning, with his B.A. and two M.A.s from Yale and his Ph.D. from Penn, Don had a lot to offer in the classroom and to young scholars whom he has encouraged and advised at conferences and through correspondence. No show-boat, Don has always had a modest manner of asking rather than telling. With Don, because he's both kind and curious, it is always your work that is wonderful and important and should be discussed. Not surprisingly, in an effort to promote and assist others, he's been regularly chairing sessions, particularly on Swift studies, for decades. His sessions are always very cordial and collegial.

His books include several solo efforts, like *The Poetics of the Augustan Elegy* (1974), *English Poetry, 1660-1800: A Guide to Information Sources* (1982) and several essay collections, as *Contemporary Studies in Swift's Poetry* (1981), co-edited with John Irwin Fischer and with David Vieth's assistance, and *Pope, Swift, and Women Writers* (1996). Of particular benefit to our society was the collection of papers from the EC/ASECS held at the University of Delaware and the Winterthur in 1983: *God, Man, and Nature in the Enlightenment* (1988) which he co-edited with T.E.D. Braun and Lucia Palmer, his conference co-chairs. Don also completed the editing of *The*

Poems of Patrick Delany (2006) after the death of its editor and his colleague at Delaware, Robert Hogan. Here again, then, is Don helping others' out. He has worked on the *ECCB*, read applications for NEH and ASECS fellowships, directed programs at Delaware, co-chaired two EC/ASECS meetings, that in 1995 as well as 1983's noted above, and repeatedly served on our EC/ASECS executive committee and without fail participated at our meetings--usually at the price of setting up display tables and carting lots of books published by the University of Delaware Press. Countless scholars at conferences have asked Don for such advice as how does one propose a book to a press. It is no wonder that he early on, in 1998, received the Leland Peterson Service Award from our society.

While the East-Central ASECS has leaned hard on Don, one of its founding members, Don has for decades, "in an unobtrusive, behind-the-scenes way," as James Woolley remarked to me, "furthered the work of scholarship by hundreds of people in many fields, but not least in our own field." The principal vehicle for that service has been the University of Delaware Press, which was reborn in the mid 1970s as a member of the Associated University Presses and now distributes its books via Rowman & Littlefield. From being a board member and manuscript reader for the press, Don became director of the press in 1997 and the chair of its board of editors in 2003. While the press has many areas of strength, particularly American studies, art history, the English Renaissance (including Shakespeare), and French studies, it has long made as many contributions to the field of eighteenth-century studies as other larger presses (and retailed its books consistently at more affordable prices). Don's press has contributed festschrifts, such as recent volumes honoring Jerry Beasley and Mel New, and other sorts of books that many presses have stopped producing. (Delaware Press books are all the more affordable when one factors in the discount offered at Don's display table during conferences.) Assessments of The University of Delaware have often included mention of its Press, which the University prizes as fulfilling one of its important functions. Delaware's books, approaching a thousand since the 1970s, have won the press and its authors many distinguished prizes. It is not surprising that the University sent its Vice Provost to speak for the University at our celebration of Don's service. Obviously, the operations of the press require a leader who can appreciate, assist, encourage, and just listen to many co-workers, and that's Don, who makes an effort below to thank and share our applause with his senior editor Julia Ostreich and others at the Press. We were pleased that Don's wife Kay also attended the meeting. The remarks were introduced by our conference chair Beverly Schneller, with Hugh Ormsby-Lennon and myself singing Don's praises and thanking him for giving us an audience. Then Dr. Susan Brynteson of Delaware and Don himself offered the remarks found below.--JEM

**Susan Brynteson's Remarks at the November 2, 2012
EC/ASECS Breakfast Honoring Donald C. Mell,
Chair of the Board of Editors, University of Delaware Press**

Hello, my name is Susan Brynteson, and I am Vice Provost and May Morris University Librarian at the University of Delaware. I have worked with Dr. Donald Mell as Chair of the Board of the University of Delaware Press since 2003. Don Mell is indeed a very special person and not only because he was one of the founding members of this group!

As well as his many contributions to eighteenth-century studies, Don has been an outstanding Chair of the Editorial Board of the University of Delaware Press. At the same time, he continued his scholarly work in eighteenth-century studies.

This tribute to Don is really testimony to the reputation of the English Department and other departments of the University of Delaware in eighteenth-century studies over the years. Don has been associated with distinguished University of Delaware faculty such as Jerry Beasley, Leo Lemay, Matt Kinservik, Ted Braun, Jane Wessell, Bonnie Robb, and of course himself – all have trained young scholars making their mark in the profession. I also think this tribute says a lot for the outstanding strength of the University of Delaware Press in publishing eighteenth-century scholarship and criticism. I think University of Delaware Press titles in this field rank among the best.

As Chair of the Editorial Board of the Press, Don has a broad knowledge of the complex issues surrounding the current environment of university presses. He is knowledgeable about the dramatic changes and important issues facing university presses today, and I know you are aware of them—economics; the impact of technology; the reduction in the purchase of monographs by academic libraries; and the pressures relating to the mandated use of scholarly monographs for promotion and tenure decisions, especially in the humanities and social sciences.

Don actively solicits the submission of scholarly manuscripts to the Press, always looking for quality books to publish. I am sure he will talk to some of you about manuscripts during this meeting!! He constantly seeks new approaches and methods for bringing in scholarly manuscripts and is innovative in identifying new sources for obtaining manuscripts.

Much of the success of the University of Delaware Press and its excellent list reflects on Don Mell. He is extremely industrious and displays strong personal commitment to the Press, all accompanied by a delightful sense of humor. He works far beyond what might be considered a “normal” workload. He takes manuscripts home every night—I see him leave the University and his briefcase is always full. He gives generously of his time to make important and accurate decisions about those manuscripts in assessing their appropriateness and quality for further action by the Press. Don works closely with Dr. Julia Oestreich, Senior Editor of the University of Delaware Press, who is also here today.

Further, under his leadership the University of Delaware Press has received national and international recognition for the quality of some of its publications

which have received superb reviews and several awards.

So I congratulate you on this meeting and its diversity of topics. In closing, on behalf of the University of Delaware, I thank you for this honor bestowed on Dr. Donald Mell with its well-deserved recognition of his distinguished scholarship, leadership, and contributions.

Susan Brynteson
Vice Provost and May Morris Director of Libraries

Donald C. Mell's Response at the EC/ASECS Celebration

Thanks to all of you for coming to this breakfast so early on this first full day of our 2012 conference here in Baltimore. First, I would like to thank the Office of the Provost at the University of Delaware for its generous support of this breakfast tribute in these times of tight budgets and also former provost Tom Apple, now Chancellor of the Manoa campus of the University of Hawaii, who spoke well of me to Beverly Schneller, and was delighted at the suggestion of this honor. Vice-Provost Susan Brynteson, May Morris Director of Libraries at Delaware, is here to represent the university. She is my boss, by the way, and I report to her when UD Press are involved. (Just a further word about Susan. During the difficult times experienced during transition from the consortium Associated University Presses to our new publishing partner, Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, the UD Press experienced lots of anxiety and uncertainty. Susan was our powerful spokesman and vigorous proponent throughout. She gives the word "advocacy" new meaning.) I also want to thank Julia Oestreich, Senior Editor at the UD Press, who has been on the job for just over a year, for her diligence and highly professional commitment to running the press operation smoothly and efficiently. Brooke Bascietto and Jane Marr are here representing Rowman & Littlefield and helping with the book exhibit, and I thank them for coming to the conference. They are wonderful collaborators.

When Beverly called me last April, at first I didn't recognize the voice announcing there was good news for me. I thought maybe I had won the lottery—until I realized I didn't play the lottery. But her news was even better than a lottery win. Once the decision of friends and colleagues at EC/ASECS to honor my contributions to the society and my work at the UD Press began to sink in, I thought of all the more deserving members, many here this morning, and became kind of nervous about the whole thing. Then when I read the quote from Swift's "Thoughts on Various Subjects" printed on the conference program—"Sometimes there is a vein of gold which the owner knows not of"—I was further perplexed. Who is this person they're talking about? Now we all warn our students about quoting out of context or quoting selectively. So I read the full passage. It begins, "Although men are accused for not knowing their own weakness, yet perhaps as few know their own strength. It is, in men as in soils, where sometimes...etc" At least the ironies of that full text put the "vein of gold" business in a more realistic perspective. After all, Swift is not known for giving people much of a break. Yet

recall what Boswell reports Johnson saying on Tuesday, 28 April 1778 about too much self-effacing humility: “All censure of a man’s self is oblique praise. It is on order to shew how much he can spare.”

So with all of this in mind, I want to thank Beverly, Alicia Campbell, Linda Merians, Jim May, Kathy Temple, as well as those behind the scenes, and especially Mel New, whose idea it is to initiate recognition of those whose services and efforts have benefited 18th-Century Studies, starting last year with the luncheon at State College for Roy Wolper, a most deserving first choice.

I am very appreciative of this tribute. There isn’t a scholarly group—or any group for that matter—I’d rather be honored by. EC/ASECS meetings and members have a unique quality, a communal spirit and atmosphere summed up by these four C’s—camaraderie, congeniality, collegiality, conviviality—all in the service of learning, scholarship, and knowledge. Addison must have had ES/ASECS in mind when he wrote in the *Spectator* of Saturday 16 June 1711, “the Mind never unbends itself so agreeably as in Conversation.” Thank you, thank you again for this fabulous event and recognition.

Dr. David Fleming Wins ASECS Irish-American Research Travel Fellowships for 2013

The American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies has awarded the Irish-American Research Travel Fellowship for 2013 to Dr. David A. Fleming, Lecturer in the Department of History, University of Limerick. Fleming is the author of *Politics and Provincial People: Sligo and Limerick, 1691-1761* (Manchester U. Press, 2010), and *University of Limerick: A History* (Four Courts Press, 2012). He co-edited with A. P. W. Malcomson *A Volley of Execrations: The Correspondence and Papers of John FitzGibbon, Earl of Clare* (Irish MSS Commission, 2004) and with Dr. John Logan, *Pauper Limerick: The Register of the Limerick House of Industry* (Irish MSS Commission, 2011). The ASECS fellowship provides \$2500 to support his research on “Politics and Pragmatism in Eighteenth-Century Ireland: Edmund Sexten Pery (1719-1806), Speaker of the Irish House of Commons (1771-85).” He will be working at the Huntington and the Beinecke libraries.

Edmond Sexten Pery (1719-1806) was engaged in Irish politics for half a century, playing such a dominant role that Dr. Fleming’s proposed book on Pery carries the subtitle “Father of Eighteenth-Century Irish Politics.” Pery was first elected Member of Parliament in 1751, and during the next decades aligned himself with the administration and then the opposition. Despite his leadership in the 1760s of a patriot faction criticizing the government, he rose with administration support to be Speaker of the House of Commons in 1771. During his tenure as Speaker (until 1785), he played important but unstudied roles in many important developments, as greater Irish legislative freedom in 1782. In 1785 Pery was elevated to the Irish House of Lords. Dr. Fleming notes that Pery was also a land developer, “establishing Newtown Pery (now part of modern Limerick City) on a scale unimagined in the Irish provinces.” Of particular importance to this biographical and political study of Pery are Pery’s papers at the Huntington, many uncatalogued by the HMC. This “little used archival material”

should assist Dr. Fleming in completing a book that, according to one judge, “will fill an important gap in 18th-century Irish political history.”

ASECS’s Irish-American Research Travel Fellowship, with its \$2500 award, supports “documentary scholarship on Ireland in the period between the Treaty of Limerick (1691) and the Act of Union (1800), by enabling North American-based scholars to travel to Ireland and Irish-based scholars to travel to North America for furthering their research.” Original research on any aspect of 18th-century Ireland qualifies for consideration, but recipients must be members of ASECS or the Eighteenth-Century Ireland Society. Prize winners are chosen by an independent jury of three distinguished scholars from different disciplines, working in different countries, supported by a network of research specialists in Ireland, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Each application goes through the hands of several readers, from within and outside the applicant’s field.

The fellowship was established in 1993-94 by the late Dr. A. C. Elias, Jr. (independent scholar from Philadelphia and an EC/ASECS member), who long coordinated the fellowship, with the late Alexandra Mason (Spencer Research Library) serving as co-trustee. It is expected that the ASECS board this spring will approve the petition to rename the fellowship (“The A. C. Elias, Jr., Irish-American Research . . .”) to honor and celebrate Elias’s contributions to scholarship and the community of scholars. The fellowship is now coordinated by Máire Kennedy, Curator of the Dublin & Irish Collections of the Dublin City Public Library (maire.kennedy@dublincity.ie; 138-144 Pearse Street / Dublin 2 / Ireland) and James May of Penn State’s DuBois Campus (jem4@psu.edu; College Place / DuBois, PA 15801). The next Elias research travel fellowship will be awarded early in 2014, with applications due on 15 November 2013. The application materials are largely those required for other ASECS travel fellowships (cover sheet, 2- to 4-p. proposal, 3-p. C.V., budget, bibliography, and two recommendations). Applications should be sent electronically to the Trustees (ideally as PDFs); if the two letters of reference cannot be supplied as PDFs of signed letters, the actual hard copies of them should be sent to one of the two trustees. Further information is available at ASECS’s website (google up “ASECS research travel fellowships” or see <http://asecs.press.jhu.edu/travelgr.html>).

Minutes of the EC/ASECS Business Meeting, Saturday, November 3, 2012

Those who gathered for this year’s meeting did so feeling special affinity for each other and for EC/ASECS. Many of us were severely impacted by Hurricane Sandy, but we found our way to the Inner Harbor and began to relax and revel in reconnecting with EC/ASECS colleagues and friends. The Business meeting reflected our good and improving cheer. We offered our collective thanks to Beverly Schneller and her assistant Alicia Campbell, who did an outstanding job chairing and managing the meeting for us.

We announced that the 2013 meeting would be co-chaired by Peter Briggs, Doreen Saar, and Geoffrey Sill. A leaflet was distributed, and there was genuine excitement about the theme: “Retirement, Reappraisal, and Renewal in the

Eighteenth Century.” The meeting will be held November 7-9, 2013 at the Doubletree Hotel, 237 South Broad Street, Philadelphia (see the invitation below).

As chair of our Nominations Committee, Kathy Temple presented the following slate of nominees: James Woolley for President; Christine Clark-Evans for Vice President; and, Scott Gordon for Board Member. As is our custom, those assembled approved these nominations with a round of applause.

We then asked for a suspension of the rules, so that we might put forward a proposal to add the winner of the Molin Prize to the Executive Committee for a one-year term in the calendar year immediately following his/her receipt of the award. The proposal was accepted. We will soon distribute and post on our website a revised version of the EC/ASECS Constitution to reflect this change. Our website can be found at www.jimandellen.org/ecasecs.

Corey Andrews presented a report from the Molin Prize Committee. (See the announcement of the winner below in this *Intelligencer*.)

Kathy Temple then called on Temma Berg to make an announcement about the festschrift in honor of Betty Rizzo. Temma reported the happy news that the collection she and Sonia Kane are editing has been accepted for publication; many EC/ASECS members have articles in the volume.

Jim May, our newsletter editor, encouraged members to submit copy for future issues, particularly news and articles for fields under-reported by the newsletter. He noted that back issues from 2007-2011 have been archived at the East-Central’s website, where also can be found indexes for issues since 1997. If you want to write book reviews or short articles for the newsletter, please contact Jim at jem4@psu.edu. We are grateful to Jim for the time he has devoted to our newsletter, which is recognized throughout the world of 18th-century studies.

To conclude our Business meeting, Linda Merians promised a full financial report in the next edition of the newsletter (see below). Thanks to you--our membership--our Society continues to attract and maintain smart, spirited, and generous scholars. Linda then introduced Kathy Temple, our President for 2012, who delivered a fascinating address on William Blackstone.

Here is a list of members of our Executive Committee for 2013.

President: James Woolley (2013) [woolley@lafayette.edu]

Vice President: Christine Clark-Evans (2013)

Elected Board Members: Rivka Swenson (2013); Anna Foy (2014); Scott Gordon (2015)

Immediate Two Past Presidents: Kathy Temple, Lisa Rosner

Newsletter Editor: Jim May [jem4@psu.edu]

Executive Secretary: Linda E. Merians (2013) [lemeria@aol.com]

Past and Future Chairs: Christine Clark-Evans (2011); Beverly Schneller (2012);

Peter Briggs (2013); Doreen Saar (2013); Geoffrey Sill (2013)

Web Master(s): Jim Moody with the able encouragement of Ellen Moody

Molin Winner: Rebekah Mitstein (2013)

Financial Report, January 1, 2012-December 31, 2012

We have approximately 400 members. Thank you for your continuing membership. For calendar year 2012, you will see that the majority of our

expenses were related to the Baltimore meeting. Beverly Schneller did an extraordinary job chairing and managing our conference. The conference expenses below do not reflect a deposit we paid the hotel in 2011. To those individuals and institutions that sponsored sessions and receptions, we are deeply grateful to you. Thanks in large part to your generosity, we were able to offer graduate students a discounted rate. Our other expenses were in keeping with previous years.

Revenue received in 2012:

Bank interest, \$3.76
Conference registration, \$25,165.00
Conference subventions, \$3,000.00 (with thanks to Sandro Jung, to the Univ. of Baltimore, and to the Univ. of Delaware)
Membership dues, \$2,405.00

Expenses paid in 2012:

Bank charges, \$63.54
Conference expenses paid centrally by EC/ASECS, \$25,630.89
Molin Prize 2009, \$150.00
Newsletter printing, \$1,185.02
Office supplies (envelopes, labels, checks, copies), \$216.80
Postage for *ECI*, dues letter and other mailings, \$1,893.45

Respectfully submitted,
Linda E. Merians, Executive Secretary

Rebekah Mitsein Wins 2012 Molin Prize

The winner of this year's Molin Prize is Rebekah Mitsein (Purdue University), who presented a paper entitled "Allies, Spies, and Exiles: Unsettling the Frontier in Benjamin Church's *Entertaining Passages Relating to Philip's War*" at the 2012 ECASECS conference in Baltimore. The award committee found that Mitsein's argument was not only carefully theorized, but it was also well planned and efficiently executed; her use of primary materials in their appropriate historical contexts was especially praised. In addition, her paper provided sensitive close readings and staged a solid and specific intervention in key issues in the field. Insofar as theorizations of colonial/imperial power have often tended to draw stark lines between colonizer and colonized, scholars in recent years have begun to refine limited modern theoretical formulations. In this respect, Mitsein's paper appears to fill a real gap in our current understanding of the "frontier" in 18th-century American history. The committee also lauded Mitsein's presentation of her work at the conference, where she discussed her ideas during and after her paper in an engaging, professional style. The committee congratulates Rebekah on her accomplishment and encourages graduate students to compete for the Molin Award at this year's ECASECS conference in Philadelphia (November 7-19).

Corey E. Andrews (Chair), Rivka Swenson, Anna Foy

The East-Central ASECS, Philadelphia, 7-9 November

We meet 7-9 November 2013 at the Doubletree Hotel at 237 South Broad Street in downtown Philadelphia. Our theme is "Retirement, Reappraisal, and Renewal in the Eighteenth Century." "Retirement" was an important term with many applications in the 18C. It had then and continues to have resonances in fields as disparate as philosophy and politics, art history and literature, military affairs and country living. It is also a subject that invariably leads to many open-ended questions. Retirement from what or to what, or more simply, what next? Is retirement even possible? Is retirement an end in itself, a momentary pause, a strategic withdrawal, an evasion, or a new beginning? Is retirement a necessary fiction, and, if so, necessary for whom? Is retirement enough to hope for, or is there something better?

EC/ASECS invites papers and panels from all academic fields in which retirement, reappraisal, and renewal are important themes of continuing interest. And, as always, it will do its best to find panels for papers addressed to entirely different themes and interests.

Please join us in the City of Brotherly Love for intellectual stimulation, good company, [retirement?] and a chance to check out Philadelphia's many sights and resources, including its celebrated Avenue of the Arts. Proposals for panels were due 15 March and abstracts of papers by 15 June. After panel topics with chairs are posted, members might send abstracts to those colleagues, but please carbon copy such proposals to the conference chairs: Geoff Sill (sill@camden.rutgers.edu), Doreen Saar (saarda@drexel.edu), and/or Peter Briggs (pbriggs@brynmawr.edu). Please send papers not suited to any announced panel to the conference chairs. And please put the conference on your calendar.

Corrections to the Directory

Battestin, Ruthe. New address: #238 The Colonnades / 2600 Barracks Road / Charlottesville, VA 22901.

Bradbury, Jill M. (English, Gallaudette University) Jill.Bradbury @gallaudet.edu; 13627 Ambassador Drive / Germantown, MD 20874

Fink, Beatrice. Address: bfink1@umd.edu (emerita, French, UMCP) 629 Constitution Ave NE, apt. 305, Washington, DC 20002-6086

Powers, Elizabeth. New email: elizabethmpowers@icloud.com

Sagal, Katie. New address: aksagal@gmail.com; 41 Ivaloo Street, Apt 2 / Somerville, MA 02143

Solomon, Diana. Email: diana_solomon@sfu.ca

Warren, Victoria. SUNY Binghamton. email: V.warren"

<bi90144@binghamton.edu

Wehler, Melissa. New address: 1401 Skyview Circle, Apt. G. / Harrisburg, PA 17110

Wilson, Philip K. Email: pkw10@psu.edu

News of Members

Corey Andrews published "Footnoted Folklore: Robert Burns's 'Halloween'" in *Burns and Friends: Essays by W. Ormiston Roy Fellows Presented to G. Ross Roy*, edited by Patrick Scott and Kenneth Simpson (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2012), 24-37. **Paula Backscheider** is offering a plenary this spring at the SEASECS, on "Women Playwrights and the Spectacle of the Father's Gaze." At the ASECS there's a special tribute planned to celebrate Paula's very productive 40 years in the profession, "Paula R. Backscheider: Legacies and Influences." Paula is directing five dissertations! Johns Hopkins last month published her *Elizabeth Singer Rowe and the Development of the English Novel* (336 pp.; 22 illus.; \$50, a little less on Amazon), the first study of Rowe's prose fiction, which Toni Bowers calls "an important, pioneering work." Paula is writing a book entitled "Crisis Texts" on plays that were part of social and political turmoil. Richard Squibbs reviewed **Eve Tavor Bannet's** *Transatlantic Stories and the History of Reading, 1720-1810: Migrant Fictions* (CUP, 2011) in *Review of English Studies*, 63 (2012), 331-33.

Barbara M. Benedict's "Collecting Trouble: Sir Hans Sloane's Literary Reputation in Eighteenth-Century Britain" appears in *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 36.2 (Spring 2012), 111-42; it surveys the public perception of Sloane, complex and shifting somewhat from physician to toyman. Barbara's mastery of commodification as a cultural process, her insightful explication of poetry, and the beauty of her style are everywhere apparent (e.g., "Sloane, the collector of *ludi naturae*, become his own *lusus naturae*, the epitome of oddity . . . curious men, that is, collectors, become curiosities themselves," etc.). Barbara treats Sloane again in "From Benefactor to Entrepreneur: Sloane's Literary Reputation, 1685-1800 in Eighteenth-Century Britain," in *From Books to Bezoars: Sir Hans Sloane and His Collections* (British Library, 2012), 33-40. Three other recent articles concern collecting: "Material Ideas: Things and Collections in *Gulliver's Travels*" in *Reading Swift: Papers from the Sixth Münster Symposium on Jonathan Swift*, eds. Kirsten Juhas, **Hermann J. Real**, and Sandra Simon (forthcoming from W. Fink, 2013): 459-479; "Collecting" in *Curiosity and Method: Ten Years of Cabinet Magazine* (New York: Cabinet Books, 2012), 484-491; and "Spectating Science in the Early Modern Collection." *Travel Narratives, the New Science and Literary Discourse, 1569-1750*, ed. Judy A. Hayden (Ashgate, 2012), 197-213. Barbara published "Editorial Fictions: Paratexts, Fragments, and the Novel" in *The Cambridge History of the English Novel*, ed. Robert Caserio and Clem Hawes (CUP, 2011): 213-29, and has forthcoming "'Male' or 'Female' Novels? Gendered Fictions and the Reading Public, 1770-1832," in *The Oxford Handbook to the Novel*, ed. **Alan Downie** (Oxford UP, 2011). In February Barbara presented "Books as Collections: Accumulation and Possession in British 18C Literature" at the Symposium on Textual Studies, Book History and Digital Humanities, Loyola U., Chicago; and "Death, Collecting and the Object: The Rape of Meaning in Pope's *Rape of the Lock*" at the SC/ASECS in Austin. In October, at the NEASECS meeting, she spoke on the "Uses and Abuses of Things . . ." in Pope's *Rape of the Lock*." Last summer she was in Barcelona to deliver "Alexander Pope for All Seasons: Romanticizing Pope in Booksellers' Literary Beauties" at the 10th

International Conference on the Book. Further still, during July 2011, Barbara attended the David Nichol Smith conference in Melbourne, presenting "'The Foremost Toyman of his Time': Sir Hans Sloane and the Reputation of the Antiquary." And next summer she's in Vienna to star in Woody Allen's next movie. **Ted Braun** in October was made a Chevalier in the Ordre des Palmes Académiques. He reports three French honors in just over 6 months: "l'Académie de Montauban (where I'm a membre correspondant, i.e., a full member living at a distance from Montauban and thus can't make all the meetings. And I'm the first American ever to be named); Citoyen honoraire de la ville de Montauban; and now the Palmes Académiques." **Caroline Breashears** published "Desperately Seeking Mary Anne Clarke: Scandal, Suppression and Problems Attribution" in *Script & Print*, 36 (2012), 5-26.

W. B. Carnochan published "An Imitation of Gray's *Elegy*: King's Bench Prison, 1816" in *Notes and Queries*, n.s. 58 [256] (2011), 546-48. **Tita Chico** co-edited with Toni Bowers *Atlantic Worlds in the Long Eighteenth Century: Seduction and Sentiment* (Palgrave 2012; 240 pp.; \$85). At the Burney Society of North America's luncheon meeting on 27 Sept. in Minneapolis, **Lorna Clark** will lecture on *The Court Journals*. **John Dussinger** published "The Oxford Methodists (1733; 1738): The Purloined Letter of John Wesley at Samuel Richardson's Press" in *Theology and Literature in the Age of Johnson: Resisting Secularism*, ed. by **Melvyn New** and Gerard Reedy (2012). John has published several reviews in recent issues of *The Scriblerian*, including *Swiftly Sternward: Essays on Laurence Sterne and His Times in Honor of Melvyn New*, ed. **W. B. Gerard, E. Derek Taylor, and Robert Walker**. **Greg Clingham's** "Translating Memory: Dryden, Oldham, and Memory" appeared in vol. 18 of *1650-1850*. Greg's review essay "The Yale Edition of Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*" appears in *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 37, no. 2 (Winter 2013), 119-24. He compares it to the Lonsdale edition, noting its effort to provide a reading text and its being largely completed before the publication of Lonsdale's--indeed, Greg observes that the edition is too neglectful of recent Johnson scholarship. Another take on the Yale edition is offered by F. P. Lock in *Johnsonian News Letter*, 62, no. 1 (March 2011), 41-45. That Winter issue of *ECL* has much of interest. Most fascinating to me was Robert DeMaria's review essay of Kristine Louis Haugen's *Richard Bentley: Poetry and Enlightenment* (Harvard UP, 2011), sharing Haugen's assessment of Bentley's important large step forward in criticism (through close and linguistic criticism [128]). Bob describes Bentley's editing of Milton, blasted by influential contemporaries of Bentley, as being "not quite as intrusive as his reputation suggests; he made his boldest strokes in the margins" and used markings like brackets within the text to cast doubt on the authenticity of lines (125). Also in the issue Mary Carter provided an informative historical context for Swift's *A Proposal for Giving Badges to the Beggars* (1737), and Carol Stewart gathered up a broad case for Eliza Haywood's Jacobite loyalties, drawing on Haywood's diverse writing, defining degrees of Jacobite sympathy, and examining how attitudes to rank (status) and a clustering of virtues like loyalty and themes like exiled and separation can be used to make the case that Haywood's *The Fortunate Foundlings* is a "Jacobite Novel." *This Eighteenth-Century Life* has unusually broad coverage of 18C letters--it also contains an essay by Jack

Armitage on Dryden, by David Shuttleton on the blind Scottish poet Thomas Blacklock and his relations with Burns, and Shayla Hoover on Shaftesbury's notion of enthusiasm. Recent issues of this triannual edited by **Cedric D. Reverand** and his book review editor **Adam Potkay** have been strong--I'd gladly swap my back issues of *ECS* for those of *ECL*.

In January appeared n.s. Vol. 34 (on 2008 scholarship) of the *ECCB: Eighteenth Century Current Bibliography*, edited by **Kevin L. Cope** and Robert C. Leitz, III, with Printing and Bibliographical Studies compiled by **James May**, Philosophy, Science and Religion by **David Ventura**, Fine Arts by **Gloria Eive**, and British Literature (and Pacific Cultures) by **Bärbel Czennia** (536 pp., with the index bound in a separate volume). Kevin and Bob Leitz edited the collection of essays *The Sensational Centuries: Essays on the Enhancement of the Sense Experience in the 17th, 18th, and 19th Centuries*, due this year from AMS Press. The 2012 annual volume of *1650-1850*, volume 19 of Kevin Cope's confident annual, contains a special feature on "The Catholic Enlightenment," edited with an introduction by **Theodore E. D. Braun**, with six essays covering writers from Spain to German, from early in the century through the Napoleonic period. One of the essays is **Robert J. Frail**'s "French Catholic Writers and Enlightenment Contributors to the *Encyclopédie*" (313-26). The volume contains essays by other EC/ASECS members: **Beverly Jerold**'s "Dilettante and Amateur: Our Evolving Language" (3-30), **James May**'s "Contemporary Reception and Reputation of Edward Young's *Love of Fame*" (97-132), and **James J. Kirschke** and Scott Grapin's "From Colonist to Revolutionary: John Adams (1735-1826), analyzing Adams' publications and letters to identify his steps from supporter of the crown to proponent of independence (187-200). The authors, after stressing Adams's conservative positions, identify how from early on Adams perceived America as beneath the monarch, not the Parliament, and would long allow the British government to regulate American trade. They think Adams's more Whiggish wife was one of the influences in his movement toward rebellion and independence. The book review section, edited by **Scott Paul Gordon**, has 16 reviews, including **Jennifer Airey**'s of David Roberts' *Thomas Betterton: The Greatest Actor of the Restoration Stage*; **Anthony W. Lee**'s of Christine Rees's *Johnson's Milton*; and **Laura Engel**'s of Jeffrey Kahan's *Bettymania and the Birth of Celebrity Culture*.

Lorna Clark wrote in early January that her "marathon" effort to edit Burney's *Court Journals* for 1788--"all 300,000 words of them"--was winding down. She was then searching for illustrations and hoping to submit the text to Oxford in the next week or two. **Clorinda Donato** and **Robert Markley** are serving as Members at Large on ASECS's executive board. **William Edinger** is working on a book about "stylistic criticism of Wordsworth and Coleridge in its historical relations." **William Edmiston** of U. of South Carolina is serving as the Treasurer of ASECS. As I noted in a short review above, an essay by the late **A. C. Elias, Jr.**, was published among a collection of talks offered at the Kenneth Spencer research library in 1999 upon Alexander Mason's retirement as Spencer Librarian. I eulogized Sandy Mason back in 2012, but something **James Woolley** said to me this winter I wish I had included. He noted that Mason at Kansas and **Mary Pollard** at Trinity College "both attempted a new rigor in cataloging that

their respective institutions have since abandoned. Good cataloging has been replaced by good access (EEBO, ECCO, Hathi Trust, etc)--and I suppose it is a tradeoff." This October, **Laura Engel** gives the plenary at the Aphra Behn Society's conference in Tulsa; the meeting's CFP lists topics on reputation and identity that dovetail nicely with those treated in Laura's *Fashioning Celebrity* (2011). **Beatrice Fink**, after spending the fall in Paris, is writing some book reviews and turning conference papers into articles; she still enjoys planning and cooking 18C period meals. She's writing in French on 18C food/culinary history in cultural perspective (France, with a tablespoon of England and North America thrown in). Johns Hopkins U. Press on 1 January published **Marilyn Francus's** *Monstrous Mothers: Eighteenth-Century Culture and the Ideology of Domesticity* (Pp. xi + 297; ISBN 978-1-4214-0737-1; \$55), a study standing on research begun over a decade ago. We luckily received a review copy and, luckier still, found a reviewer, but I can say that the book examines both 18C Britain's attitudes toward motherhood and the artistic representation of mothers in creative literature. Marilyn has puzzled over all the nasty fictional mothers and step-mothers, and the very few representations of good mothers. I gather it's a bit Grimm--like the familial world of Cinderella, Gretel, and others in fairy-tale land. Marilyn's chapters take us through Swift & Pope, Hester Thrale, the Burneys and other authors as well as public trial records. In her extensive acknowledgement, Marilyn handsomely thanks at least half a dozen EC/ASECS members for help with the book. It would appear there is a *scholarly community*. **Emily Friedman's** "The End(s) of Richardson's *Sir Charles Grandison*" appears in *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 52 (2012), 651-67, and Emily contributed "Schools beyond Scandal, 1776-1800" to *Richard Brinsley Sheridan: The Impresario in Political and Cultural Context*, ed. Jack E. DeRochi and Daniel J. Ennis (Bucknell UP, 2013), which **Melissa Wehler** will review for us. **Julian Fung** is writing his dissertation at Penn State on satire in the 18C novel.

Ian Gadd has two essays on Swift coming out this year: "At four shillings per year, paying one quarter in hand': Reprinting Swift's *Examiner* in Dublin, 1710-11" in *Reading Swift: Papers from the Sixth Münster Symposium on Jonathan Swift*, ed. Kirsten Juhas, **Hermann J. Real**, and Sandra Simon (W. Fink); and "Leaving the Printer to his Liberty: Swift and the London book trade, 1701-14" in *Jonathan Swift and the Eighteenth-Century Book*, edited by Paddy Bullard and James McLaverty (Cambridge UP). Ian has just finished up "the first volume for a new "History of Oxford University Press," on which Ian has spent much of the past several years; he now returns "wholeheartedly" to co-editing Swift's English political writings 1701-11 (including *The Examiners*) for the Cambridge edition. Ian's work on the history of OUP involves the first volume, covering 1478-1780, of a four-volume history, with Simon Eliot as general editor--the first volumes should appear later this year. **Alexander Gourlay** has a very informative review of Michael Phillips's edition of Blake's *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (Bodleian Library, 2011; pp. 135; 52 color plates; in paper and hardcover)--in *Notes and Queries*, 59 (2012), 606-07. The Phillips's book contains a high-resolution facsimile of copy B at the Bodleian and a score of plates of pages in other copies and a critical edition of the poem. Sandy offers an account of

the editorial efforts on the poem that is very helpful to those teaching the poem. Sandy also reviews (and highly recommends) Robert Essick's edition of Blake's *Songs of Innocence and of Experience* (Huntington Library, 2008) in the summer 2012 issue (46.1) of *Blake: An Illustrated Quarterly*. As book-review editor for *Blake*, he's undertaken other reviews there, including Dennis M. Read's *R. H. Cromek, Engraver, Editor and Entrepreneur* in the Fall 2012 issue and Hazard Adams' *Blake's Margins: An Interpretative Study of the Annotations* in the Fall 2011 (45 [2011], 70-71). **Jocelyn Harris** is currently writing a book entitled "Satire, Celebrity, and Politics in Jane Austen." In 2012 she spoke on "Anna Letitia Barbauld and Jane Austen: "Meddling in Politics"" at the Barbauld conference in Chawton, and also presented "Jane Austen, the Duke of Clarence, and Sara Baartman, the 'Hottentot Venus' to 18th-century gatherings in Oxford and Toronto, and at Harvard. Her essay "*Pride and Prejudice* and *Mansfield Park*" appears in the *Cambridge Companion to Jane Austen*, second edition, edited by Juliet McMaster and Edward Copeland (CUP 2011), 39-54. Two essays are forthcoming: "Anna Letitia Barbauld: Jane Austen's Unseen Interlocuter" in a collection to be published by Bucknell UP, and "Jane Austen and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge" in *Persuasions* 33. At JASNA last year, an unexpected shoutout from plenary speaker Cornel West led to a run on her book, *A Revolution Almost beyond Expression: Jane Austen's Persuasion*, which Delaware University Press is kindly re-printing on demand.

Sarah Hastings is working on marriage and women's rhetoric. This year **Julie Candler Hayes** is ASECS President (and will be giving her presidential address on Friday afternoon at the Cleveland ASECS). **Sir John Hill** is not a member, though **George Rousseau** has made a good proposal for him, and George must be gratified to know that the British Library has reprinted Hill's *The Old Man's Guide to Health and Longer Life*, published originally around 1750 (2013, 80 pp., with 20 illustrations, distributed for just \$10 by Chicago UP). While Hill may not know about aspirin, he has much perennial advice: "Use medicines only as a last resort--address diet and lifestyle first to resolve illness" and "A warm bath and a glass of wine if you are having difficulty getting to sleep." **Jordan Howell** is working on a dissertation at Delaware on 18th-century prose and abridgments, under the direction of **Matt Kinservik**. In the September *PBSA*, we find **Andrea Immel**'s reviews of both *Peter Lunn: Children's Publisher: The Books, Authors, and Illustrators* and John Meriton's *Small Books for the Common Man: A Descriptive Bibliography* (106:389-93). **Dale Katherine Ireland** is in her second year of doctoral work at the CUNY Graduate Center's PhD Program in English. She is adjunct faculty at California State University and a Graduate Teaching Fellow at Hunter College. She is presently working on "Disorientation and Plausible-Deniability: Proto-Gothic and Satire in Eliza Haywood's *Eovaai*," a project she will present ASECS with the intention of developing it into a journal submission. **Beverly Jerold** has recently seen five of her articles published: "The Varied Reprise in 18th-Century Instrumental Music," in *The Musical Times* 153/1921 (Winter 2012): 45-61; "*Dilettante and Amateur: Our Evolving Language*," in *1650-1850: Ideas, Aesthetics, and Inquiries in the Early Modern Era* 19 (2012): 3-29; "Numbers and Tempo: 1630-1800,"

Performance Practice Review: Vol. 17: No. 1, Article 4 (2012) [available at <http://scholarship.claremont.edu/ppr/vol.17/iss1/4>]; “Johann Philipp Kirnberger versus Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg: A Reappraisal,” in *Dutch Journal of Music Theory* 17/2 (2012): 91-108; and “Overdotting in Handel’s Overtures Reconsidered,” *Göttinger Händel-Beiträge* 14 (2011): 229-52.

Christopher Johnson in 2010 took over from Katherine Green the role of English-language book-review editor for the Southeast ASECS’s journal, *XVIII: New Perspectives on the Eighteenth Century*. He and his colleague Kathleen Hardesty Doig, who oversees foreign-language materials, have done an excellent job assigning and editing reviews in Vols. 8-9 (2011-12). In an editorial in Vol. 8, editor **Samia Spencer** (French, Auburn University) rightly celebrates the journal’s progress from its being proposed in 2001 and its first issue in 2004 (it’s part of a membership with dues of \$30 per year). She notes that in its first eight issues, or volumes, it has published 35 articles, 14 review essays of 39 books, and 110 reviews of individual books. I have read through the two last issues with great pleasure, for the selection of article topics and books for review shows a wise regard for a multi-disciplinary readership of teacher-scholars. I don’t mean to suggest that all that’s treated are canonical works that might be taught in undergraduate classes, but the material tends to involve major figures when more minor works are involved and the approach is likely to interest many non-specialists. The published essays seem to reflect the research papers members are presenting at conferences. There are essays that might have appeared in any eighteenth-century journal, like Amanda Paetz Hiner’s “Not a Work for . . . Groveling Pens’: Aggressive Satire in the Political Pamphlets of Delarivier Manley” (9 [2012], 69-84). Hiner “focuses on the political pamphlets definitely attributed to Manley by Jonathan Swift in his *Journal to Stella*, and seeks to establish Manley as a self-fashioned, self-conscious political satirist.” Bent on utility, the reviews above all try to inform potential readers of books’ scope and in-depth development. One stumbles on very interesting materials that you might request from the library; even if one avoids the temptation of a study beyond one’s focus, the reviews’ summaries improve one’s sense of the 18C and the research going forward on it (thus, I was very grateful for Jennifer Kunka’s *The Experience of Domestic Service for Women in Early Modern London* [2011] in which Paul Humfrey provides primary accounts of servants’ testimonies in London courts, regarding their own employments or crimes or disputes they were witness to, thus implying much about their lives.) Quite a few members of EC/ASECS have contributed to or have books reviewed in these volumes. In Vol. 8 (2011), we find **Susan Kubica Howard**’s review of **Kristina Straub**’s *Domestic Affairs* (JHUP, 2009), **Chris Johnson**’s of *Divine Rhetoric: Essays on the Sermons of Laurence Sterne*, ed. by **W. B. Gerard** (Delaware, 2010), with essays by such members as **Martha Bowden** and **Mel New**; **Rivka Swenson**’s of Swaim Barton’s *Scottish Men of Letters and the New Public Sphere, 1802-1834* (Bucknell, 2009), **Ruth Thomas**’s of Allan Pasco’s *Revolution Love in Eigyhtheenth- and Nineteenth-Century France* (Ashgate, 2009); **Mary Wellington**’s of *Le Second Triomphe du roman du XVIIIe siècle*, ed. by M. Delon and P. Stewart (2009); Marta Kvande’s of *The Eighteenth-Century Novel*, 6-7, ed. by **Albert Rivero** and **George Justice**; Stephen Raynie’s of *Adventure: An Eighteenth-Century Idiom* co-edited by **Kevin**

Cope (AMS, 2009). Having an editor and a review editor working outside English helps insure the journal gives a prominent place to work outside English literature. In addition there are review essays, such as **Clorinda Donato**'s "Living the Ibero-American and Italian Enlightenments: Gendered Contexts, Gendered Responses," and, in Vol. 9 (2012), **James J. Kirschke**'s on "Recent Editions of *The Papers of George Washington*" (U. of Virginia Press). Vol. 9 also has reviews by **Susan K. Howard**, **Chris Johnson**, **Rivka Swenson**, **Ruth Thomas**, **Christopher Vilmar**, and **Marie Wellington** (in the last Marie makes clear what a helpful edition **E. Joe Johnson** has prepared for students of Diderot's *La Religieuse* [Newark, DE: Molière & Co, 2010; 274 pp.; \$13.95; ISBN 978-1-58977-066-9]). And Vol. 9 contains, among its five essays, **T.E.D. Braun**'s essay "A Midlife Crisis? Le Franc de Pompignan Turns 40" (9:3-13), and **Ruth Thomas**'s "Family Feud and Family Ties: Brothers and Sisters in Eighteenth-Century French Novels" (9:54-68).

The festschrift *New Contexts for Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, which **Christopher Johnson** edited to honor Jerry Beasley (2011), is very favorably reviewed in *Eighteenth-Century Fiction*'s last issue (25.2 [Winter 2013], 455-57). The reviewer, Heather Ladd, was very appreciative of **O M Brack**'s essay on the need for a new biography of Smollett, also of essays on *Roderick Random* by both Chris Johnson and **Rivka Swenson**. Ladd has nice things also to say about **Paula Backscheider**'s essay on Elizabeth Singer Rowe, **Mary Anne Schofield**'s on Eliza Haywood, **Robert Erickson**'s examination of John Cleland's "Gospel of Extasy" in *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure*, and Alex Pettit's examination of two "stern" pamphlets attributed to Samuel Richardson. Ladd rightly concludes that "Several essays in *New Contexts* will certainly serve as foundational secondary material for the next generation of literary researchers" (474). Most books don't find but one or two reviews, and it's especially nice to see a collection reviewed in detail. This same issue of *ECF* also has favorable reviews of **Laura Engel**'s *Fashioning Celebrity* (2011) by Jennie Batchelor (25:455-59) and of *Politics and Literature in the Age of Swift* (2010), edited by **Claude Rawson** (25:460-62), by Aaron Santesso. **George Justice** continues as Secretary/Treasurer for the Johnson Society of the Central Region, producing its newsletters. **Sandro Jung** published "Print Culture and Visual Interpretation in Eighteenth-Century German Editions of Thomson's *The Seasons*" in *Comparative Critical Studies*, 9 (2012), 37-59; "A Possible Source for Thomson's 'Damon and Musidora'" in *Notes and Queries*, n.s. 59 (2012), 213-16, and "The Illustrated Pocket Diary: Generic Continuity and Innovation, 1820-40" in *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 44, no. 1 (Spring 2012), 23-48. **Steve Karian**'s *Jonathan Swift in Print and Manuscript* (2010) is very favorably reviewed, particularly for the clarity and restraint of its survey of Swift's diverse publication strategies, by Adam Rounce in last year's *Notes and Queries* (59:277-78).

Beth Lambert has been active at the Osher Lifelong Learning Institute near George Mason University and Beth's home in Virginia. Over a thousand people enjoy class discussions and lectures at the institute. Beth began taking and teaching classes two or three years ago, after retiring from Gettysburg, and is now on the Board of Directors. Also, Beth co-edits with Joseph Pappin III *Studies in Burke and His Time*, to whose 2011 volume she contributed a long and thoughtful review of F. P. Lock's *Edmund Burke: Vol. 2: 1784-1797*. That 2011

volume, a substantial and handsome issue, has three essays on Burke (on his relations with Scottish Literati, on his concept of beauty, and on his religious faith and epistemology) and one outside that focus, Robert Bell's "Fool for Love: The Sentimental Romances of Laurence Sterne." **Anthony Lee**, whose tribute to **Skip Brack** appears above, is taking over as the head of English for the University of Maryland's University College, based in Adelphi near College Park; it is a large global college offering many classes in Europe, Asia and elsewhere--he'll be moving to Maryland within the month. Tony will be speaking at Bucknell (I think on 19 March), at an event organized by **Greg Clingham**. The editor owes profound apologies for claiming that our member **Kate Levin** had taken a position as a commissioner of culture and arts for the city of New York (that was a different Professor Levin). Kate's most recent publication is: "The Only Beguiled Person'? Accessing *Fantomina* in the Feminist Classroom." *Aphra Behn Online: Interactive Journal for Women in the Arts 1640-1830* 2 (2012). **Yu Liu's** *Seeds of a Different Eden: Chinese Gardening Ideas and a New English Aesthetic Ideal* (South Carolina, 2008) was favorably reviewed in *Scriblierian's* fall 2011 issue (44.1: 79-80). To that *Scriblierian* **Nancy Mace** contributed several reviews of Fielding studies. **April London** has written and published *The Cambridge Introduction to the Novel* (2012; 260 pp.; \$25.99), which surveys the development of the novel using three thematic clusters: identity, community, and history. **Jack Lynch** has written a number of essays for the *Colonial Williamsburg Journal*, a very handsomely and informatively illustrated open-access e-journal. These include "Every Man Able to Read": Literacy in Early America" (n Winter 2011--www.history.org/foundation/journal/winter11/literacy.cfm); "Cruel and Unusual: Prisons and Prison Reform" (Summer 2011); and "'Sold on Reasonable Terms': Early American Newspaper Advertisements" (Autumn 2010). Sometimes, finding another of his articles or books, one wonders if Jack has a double or an enslaved research team. This *Colonial Williamsburg Journal*, smartly designed and quickly responsive, has very interesting general introductions to 18C American culture (such as, in Winter 2012, James Breig's "Department Department: Stances and Dances Made Eighteenth-Century Men--and Women" and Benjamin L. Carp's "Terms of Estrangement: 'Who Were the Sons of Liberty'"), biographical sketches of individuals (in a series called "Peopling the Past"), and research reports usually related to material culture of the Williamsburg area, as William Kelso's "James Fort, Lost and Found" (Summer 2011).

Kelly Malone co-edited with Elizabeth Mansfield *Seeing Satire in the Eighteenth Century* (SVEC 2013:02.), published in February by the Voltaire Foundation (Pp. viii + 320; 83 illustrations; \$106), with the editors' introduction and then twelve essays on a comic and satirical images from truly diverse artistic fields (to illustrate with some titles: Eric Roseberg's "The Impossibility of Painting: The Satiric Inevitability of John Singleton Copley's *Boy with a Squirrel*"; Julie-Anne Plax's "Watteau's Witticisms: Visual Humor and Sociability"; Emily Richardson's "Tu n'as pas tout vü!: Seeing satire in the Saint-Aubin *Livre de caricatures*"; Melissa Lee Hyde's "Needling: Embroidery and Satire in the Hands of Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin"; Kimberly Chrisman-Campbell's "'He is not dressed without a muff': Muffs, Masculinity, and *la mode*

in English Satire”; Michael Yonan’s “Messerschmidt, the Hogarth of Sculpture”; and Marcus C. Levitt’s “‘Woman’s Wiles’ in Mikhail Chulkov’s *The Comely Cook*.” **Francien Markx**’s “Towards a German Romantic Concept of the Ballad: Goethe’s ‘Johanna Sebus’ and Its Musical Interpretations by Selter and Reichardt” appears in *Goethe Yearbook*, 19 (2012), 1-28. **Ashley Marshall** is participating this April in Johnson Society of the Central Region’s meeting in Montreal, speaking on “‘fuius Torys’: Swift and Regime Change, 1714-16” (she spoke at last year’s meeting on Pope & Swift’s relations in the 1720-30s). She’s currently writing a book tentatively entitled “Swift and History: Politics and the English Past.” She recently published “Swift on ‘Swift’: From The Author upon Himself to *The Life and Genuine Character*,” in *HLQ*, and “Fabricating Defoes: From Anonymous Hack to Master of Fictions” in *ECL*. Articles forthcoming include a piece on the evidence involved in the “Defoe” canon (*Studies in Bibliography*), one on the Faulkner edition of Swift’s works (*The Library*), one on Swift’s *History of the Four Last Years of the Queen* (in *Reading Swift VI*), and another on “The Lives of Jonathan Swift” (*Swift Studies*). Ashley’s book *The Practice of Satire in England, 1658-1770* was published at the end of February by Johns Hopkins UP (448 pp.; \$59.95). Last May **Bill McCarthy** was keynote speaker at a Chawton House Library Conference, “Anna Letitia Barbauld in Twenty Hundred and Twelve: New Perspectives.” Bill writes that during two days “twenty people from five countries read papers on all aspects of Barbauld’s work; it was thrilling to be there and hear the sheer intensity of interest in Barbauld.” (**Jocelyn Harris** wrote that “the conference was THRILLING--we all felt, in the wake of Bill’s marvellous biography, that we were rediscovering a new continent.”) A selection of those papers, co-edited by Bill and “Olivia Murphy (Murdoch U., Australia) is being compiled for possible publication in a volume.” Bill also served on this year’s Annibel Jenkins Biography Prize committee for ASECS.

Congratulations to **Rebekah Mitstein** (Purdue University) on winning the Molin Prize for the best paper by a graduate student at our Baltimore meeting (see **Corey Andrews**’ account above). **Ellen Moody**, whom we thank for her book review above, is editing Charlotte Smith’s *Ethelinde* and compiling an annotated bibliography of French translations of Radcliffe, never yet attempted (there are many to record). She’s working on “*I Have Found It: Sense and Sensibility in the Diaspora 2000*,” a paper on a 2000 Indian S&S film for the coming ASECS; she’s contributed a review essay on *From Prada to Nada* (another S&S film) for the facebook BSECS archives; and she continues her weekly close-reading through Jane Austen’s letters at her Austen Reveries blog. She’s hoping to present a paper entitled “Mapping Trollope, or Trollope as a Geographer” at the SHARP conference in Philadelphia this summer. The University of Delaware Press has published *Theology and Literature in the Age of Johnson: Resisting Secularism*, ed. by **Melvyn New** and Gerard Reedy (pp. 350; \$90). **Steve Newman** published “Ballads and Chapbooks” in *The Edinburgh Companion to Scottish Romanticism*, edited by Murray Pittock (Edinburgh UP, 2011), 13-26. **Maximillian Novak** coordinated ASECS’s Annibel Jenkins Prize. The January 2013 issue of *Choice* has named **Hugh Ormsby-Lennon**’s *Hey Presto!: Swift and the Quacks* one of the “Outstanding Academic Titles in the Humanities” for 2012. The *Choice*

review of this study praises it for finding new important historical contexts for *A Tale of a Tub*, for a “careful, sustained exhumation” of materials from “dimly lit corners of the archive.” We are hoping to have a review of this learned and substantial study from **George Rousseau** within the year. **Leah Orr**, defended her dissertation at Penn State U. last October: “Did the Novel Rise? Fiction and Print Culture in England, 1690-1730.” Leah argues “against the longstanding ‘rise of the novel’ paradigm for understanding eighteenth-century fiction.” Leah looks at what was printed across a broad range (and the costs of such); she has chapters also on anonymous publication, the reprints of earlier fiction, foreign fiction in English translation, and the purposes played by fiction. Her essay “Attribution Problems in the Fiction of Aphra Behn” appears in *Modern Language Review*, 108 (2013), 30-51. This is a solid review of the evidence for and against Behn’s authorship of fiction published first after her death and attributed to her in collections dated 1696, 1698, and 1700, and of *Love-Letters between a Nobleman and his Sister* (1684-87), published during Behn’s life without attribution to her (the former group of titles is very clearly set forth in an exemplary table). Leah tests the previous attribution hypotheses in various ways, all the while showing how to think about attribution problems and illustrating considerations for assessing the reliability of publishers’ and editors’ pronouncements. She concludes that the cases for and against Behn’s authorship aren’t firm, and then she offers some cautionary remarks on how thinking that Behn did or didn’t write these works impact critical discussions of Behn and the works in question. Leah will be at the ASECS talking about publishers specializing in fiction. **Leslie K. Overstreet** participated last November in the “Catesby Tercentennial Symposium, with 20 presentations, two exhibitions, and a nature tour over six days at three locations: Richmond, Washington, DC, and Kiawah Island, SC. It was sponsored by the Catesby Commemorative Trust with the Society for the History of Natural History and the Garden Club of America. Leslie is finishing up for the proceedings volume her essay on the printing and publication of all three London editions of Catesby’s *Natural History of Carolina, Florida, and The Bahama Islands*. (Those interested in Catesby’s work should watch for a public TV documentary screened at one session, *The Curious Mr. Catesby*.) Leslie contributed a forward to Joy Kiser’s *America’s Other Audubon* (2012), a book on Genevieve Jones, a late 19C naturalist and illustrator, with an important subscription publication on Ohio birds and their eggs. And, with Edward C. Dickenson and two other colleagues, Leslie has co-compiled and -edited *Priority! The Dating of Scientific Names in Ornithology: A Directory of the Literature and its Reviewers* (Aves Press, 2011; 320 pp.).

David Palumbo, who spoke on Swift at our last meeting, published “Mary Wollstonecraft, Jonathan Swift, and the Passions of Reading” in *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 51 (2011), 625-44. **William Pencak**’s essay “Anti-Semitism, Toleration, and Appreciation” (in early America) appeared in *The First Prejudice: Religious Tolerance and Intolerance in Early America*, edited by Chris Beneke and Christopher S. Grenda (U. of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), called “invaluable” by a reviewer in *ECS*, Winter 2012. **Peter Perreten** will be reading a paper (“Protoecology in Erasmus Darwin’s ‘The Happiness of Organic Life’”) in May at the 10th biennial conference of the Association for the Study of

Literature and Environment (ASLE) at the University of Kansas, Lawrence. **Manushag N. Powell** has published *Performing Authorship in Eighteenth-Century English Periodicals* in Bucknell University Press's book series "Transits: Literature, Thought, & Culture, 1650-1850" (July 2012; pp. 304; \$59.30)--of which we have a review copy from Rowman & Littlefield. Her essay "See no Evil, Hear no Evil, Speak no Evil: Spectation and the Eighteenth-Century Public Sphere," which discusses *The Spectator*, *The Praeter* (1756), and other periodicals, appears in the Winter 2012 issue of *Eighteenth-Century Studies* (45:255-76). **Elizabeth Powers** will lecture on "Modern Utopianism: The 18C Background" at the conference Culture Shock: Utopian Dreams, Hard Realities, held 20-22 Sept. 2013 at (or hosted by) the Sointula Museum, on Malcolm Island, British Columbia--back in the late 19th and the early 20th century, Finnish immigrants built and lived a communitarian experiment on the island. **Hermann Real** and his colleague Dirk Passmann have been working for four years or more on an index to David Woolley's four-volume edition of Swift's correspondence. We have seen the first pages: wow! it's an index to beat anything in its class, with five and more times the references for Arbuthnot, for instance, and countless allusions, topics, and persons never referenced for the five-volume edition by Harold Williams back in the 1960s. Hopefully it'll be published in 2013. Another of Hermann's absorbing on-going projects has been the Online.Swift edition, progressing for several years now with foundation support. Later this year Wilhelm Fink will publish *Reading Swift: Papers from the Sixth Münster Symposium on Jonathan Swift* (another large and important collection), co-edited by Hermann with Kirsten Juhas and Sandra Simon. Hermann's "Swift's 'American Acquaintance'" appears in *To Ride the River With: Festschrift für Peter Bischoff*, ed. Birgit Hans and Christian Krug (Nürnberg, 2012), pp. 123-32. Among his conference papers this year are "A Free Inquiry into the Vulgarly Received Notion of Pope's 'Nature'" at the U. du Havre in France this June, and "When the Saints go marching in: or, Goodbye, Evil World: Jonathan Swift's Eschatological Con-Texts" at the CISLE at the U. of Innsbruck this July, and "Resisting Conformity at any Cost: Swift's 'The Place of the Damned'" at the Bill Overton Memorial Conference at Loughborough U. in England this September.

David Hill Radcliffe's "On the Road with Digital Humanities" appears in *1650-1850*, 18 (2011), as do **Brijraj Singh's** "Patriotism and Its Discontents: The Poetry of Sir John Malcolm" and **David Ventura's** "Swift's Style, the Nakedness of the Houyhnhnms, and the Deceits of Rhetoric." **Claude Rawson** has risen to the challenge of the annual survey of "Recent Studies in the Restoration and the Eighteenth Century" in *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 52 (2012), 697-741. And Claude's "Intimacies of Antipathy: Johnson and Swift" appears in *Review of English Studies*, n.s. 63 (2012), 265-92. That volume of *RES* also contains **Frederick G. Ribble's** "'In the foot steps of Henry Fielding': A 'Lost' Letter from Ryde" (431-43). This year AMS should publish a festschrift initiated some time ago following the death of **Jim Springer Borck: An Expanding Universe: The Project of Eighteenth-Century Studies: Essays Commemorating the Career of Jim Springer Borck**, edited by **Cedric D. Reverand II** and **Kevin Cope** (AMS Studies in the Eighteenth Century, #71). **Marilyn Roberts** is working on Jane Austen, 18th-century woman authors, and literature & the other arts during

the 18C. In late January and early February **Shef Rogers** coordinated the Rare Book School at the University of Otago in Dunedin, NZ, whose lecturers this year included James Raven and Heather Wolfe. The school is on a four-year rotation, held once during that period in Dunedin and in Wellington and twice in Melbourne, with each run independently and playing to local strengths. At the Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand meeting in November, Shef presented “Musing on the Impact of Recent NZ Novels” and **Jocelyn Harris** read “Messy Copy and *Mansfield Park*.” At EC/ASECS **George S. Rousseau** gave an excellent illustrated plenary on John Hill, focusing on Hill’s scientific credentials & publications and based on his *The Notorious Sir John Hill: The Man Destroyed by Ambition in the Era of Celebrity* (Lehigh U. Press, 2012; Pp. 424; \$90).

Peter Sabor co-edited with Fiona Ritchie and wrote the introduction to *Shakespeare in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge UP, May 2012; pp. 468; 17 illus.; index; \$99). The collection contains **Antonia Forster**’s “Shakespeare in the Reviews” (60-77) and **Jack Lynch**’s “Criticism of Shakespeare” (41-59). It has a dozen or so other chapters, such as on editing Shakespeare, Shakespearian forgeries, Shakespeare in poetry, Shakespeare in the novel, and a “Reference Guide to Shakespeare in the Eighteenth Century” by Frans De Bruyn over 80 pages in length. Peter’s edition of the *Court Journals and Letters of Frances Burney*. Vol. 1: 1786 was reviewed by John Wiltshire in *RES*, 63 (2012), 508-09, and his edition of Austen’s *Juvenilia*, along with other Austen books, was reviewed by Kathryn Sutherland in *RES*, 63:333-37. Our thanks to **Beverly Schneller** and her colleagues like Alicia Campbell who hosted our meeting in Baltimore. There have been internet postings on the internet regarding it. We enjoyed two blogged reviews of the conference and its presentations posted by **Ellen** and **Jim Moody** on 5 and 18 November, both with titles beginning “East Central ASEC, in the Baltimore Hyatt” (easily googled). Beverly is working with others to design an Irish studies minor and also redesigning online course content listings. It’s always fun at meetings to see our friends and watch them shine at the podium or dinner table. **Manny Schonhorn** delivered a resounding paper on “Pope’s *Dr. Arbuthnot*, Justus Lipsius, and the Anecdotes of Kris and Kurz.” We thank Manny for the review of above of Frohock’s *Buccaneers and Privateers*. Manny hunts in NYC and feeds animals on his deck in the Poconos. He’s working on at least two projects: “Fathers Three in 18C Fictions” and “Samuel Johnson, his *Journey*, and the Anthropology of Dumezil.” **Eleanor Shevlin**’s *The History of the Book in the West: 1700-1800* is called a “must-have” for its selected essays and Eleanor’s introduction by Michael C. Amrozowicz in his *PBSA* review in the March 2012 issue. In November, a week after chairing two sessions at the EC/ASECS, Eleanor spoke on “Eighteenth-Century Newspapers and the Making of the English Novel” to the Washington Area Group on Print Studies. Eleanor has founded a center for book history at West Chester University, which held the first of an annual music and print celebration this past year, issuing a handsomely printed keepsake and holiday greeting, with a fine holiday poem by David Yezzi (“The Hug”)—printed with color on what looks to be handmade paper.

Anthony Tedeschi published “Extra Illustration as Exemplified in A. H. Reed’s Copy of Boswell’s *Life of Johnson*” in *Script & Print*, 36 (2012), 27-41, and “‘The Prayer of Faith Can Vindicate’: Two Wesley Letters in the Alfred &

Isabel Reed Collection” in *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society* [New Zealand], 93 (December 2011), 41-54. **Kathryn Temple**’s “Manley’s ‘Feigned Scene’: The Fiction of Law at Westminster Hall” appeared in *Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, 22, no. 2 (Summer 2010), 573-98. It examines Mrs. Manley’s treatment in *The Adventures of Rivella* (1714) of her earlier libel arrest for *The New Atalantis* (1709). I stumbled upon an interesting review of **Dennis Todd**’s *Defoe’s America* in *Review of English Studies*, 62 (2011), 480-82. **Robert Walker** contributed “Boswell’s ‘Vexing’ Self-Quotation” to the *Johnsonian News Letter*, 63 (Sept. 2012), 49-50, and he co-authored with **Melvyn New** the article “Sterne and Warburton Again: Wrestling with a Chimney-Sweep,” *Notes & Queries* (March 2013). **Jane Wessel** at the University of Delaware is working under **Matt Kinservik** on a dissertation concerning actor-playwrights. As noted below **James Woolley** has revised and expanded his *Finding English Verse 1650-1800: First-Line Indexes and Searchable Electronic Texts*, in a 10th edition of the guide, posted in January 2013 at the Bibliographical Society of America’s BibSite.

Forthcoming Conferences

The Ninth Annual Conference on “**The Child and the Book**” occurs on 21-23 March 2013 at the University of Padua. The December issue of the Children’s Books History Society’s newsletter (#104) notes that the **Grolier Club** is organizing an exhibition for Winter 2014/15 on “One Hundred Books Famous in Children’s Literature,” curated by Chris Locker, in conjunction with a volume to which **Andrea Immel**, Brian Alderson, Jill Shefrin, et al. will contribute.

ASECS holds its 44th annual meeting on 4-7 April 2013 at the Renaissance Cleveland Hotel in downtown Cleveland.

The **Johnson Society of the Central Region** meets at McGill Univ. in Montreal on 26-27 April, chaired by Peter Sabor and Fiona Ritchie, and then holds its 2014 meeting at Ohio State Univ.

SHARP’s 21st annual conference, entitled “Geographies of the Book,” will be held in Philadelphia 18-21 July 2013 and feature a three-hour exhibition of current digital projects (www.library.upenn.edu/exhibits/lectures/SHARP2013/).

The 3rd biennial meeting of the **Defoe Society** occurs 9-10 August at the Marriot Conference Center in Normal, IL, with the theme “Global Defoe: His Times & His Contemporaries.” (Contact Sharon Alker (alkersr@whitman.edu)).

The **Mozart Society of America** meets 15-17 August 2013 in NYC.

Yale University will host next year’s **NEASECS** conference, “The Ends of War,” October 3-6, 2013. (Not on the earlier announced date, Sept. 26-29) The Program Chair is Gordon Turnbull, General Editor of the Yale Boswell Editions.

A conference on “**[John] Law’s System: Representations, Discourse and Fantasies from the XVIIIth Century to Today**” will be held at Université de Montpellier 3, IRCL, on 4-5 October 2013. Propose papers by 15 July 2013 to florence.magnot@univ-montp3.fr.

The **Canadian Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies Annual Conference** holds its conference entitled “Enlightenment Constellations” at the Hilton in London, ON, on 16-19 Oct. 2013 (submission deadline was 1 March).

The **Aphra Behn Society** holds its conference at the U. of Tulsa on 24-25 October 2013, with the theme “Women, Reputation, and Identity in the Long 18C,” a Restoration play, & plenary (Laura Engel). Contact conference chair Jennifer Airey (jennifer-airey@utulsa.edu) and see “abs2013.wordpress.com.”

We in the **EC/ASECS** meet in Philadelphia on 7-10 November 2013, with a program chaired by Peter Briggs, Doreen A. Saar, and Geoffrey Sill (see above).

The 2013 **Print Networks Conference**, with the theme “Travel, Topography, and the Book Trade,” occurs at the U. of Chichester, with plenary lectures by Bill Bell of Cardiff U. and the antiquarian bookseller Anthony Payne. Proposals for 30-minute papers were due to Catherine Armstrong (History Dept., Manchester Metropolitan U.) by the end of January. Note that in honor of its founder, this group has just established The **Peter Isaac Essay Prize** for the best essay in the “History of the Book Trade in the Anglophone World,” to be awarded at the annual conference (with travel stipend to the winner). Graduate students and those taking PhDs in the past three years can submit unpublished essays in English of 6000-8000 words by 30 March to Armstrong at C.M.Armstrong@mmu.ac.uk.

Other 2013 conferences include the **Rousseau Association’s**, focused on *Emile*, at Wake Forest U., Winston-Salem (contact: wells@wfu.edu); the **ECSSS & International Adam Smith Society’s** on 3-6 July; the **Tercentenary Laurence Sterne Conference** at Royal Holloway College, London, on 8-11 July.

During 2014, the Western SECS meets on 14-16 Feb. at UC-Davis, with the theme “Love and Affect”; **ASECS** confers in Williamsburg, VA, on 18-23 March; the **SCSECS** hold its conference while cruising at sea during the spring; the **Burney Society of N. America** meets 9-10 October in Montreal; and in the fall the **Midwestern ASECS** meets at the U. of Missouri in Kansas City, chaired by Jenni Frangos (www.mwasecs.net). In 2015 **ASECS** meets 17-22 March in Los Angeles. (For news of these we’re indebted to fuller accounts in Catherine Parisian’s “ASECS Affiliate Societies Column” in the *ASECS’s News Circular*. Let’s not forget that ASECS’s *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* publishes revised essays from ASECS’s and affiliated societies’ meetings, requiring blind submission, preferably electronically, c. 20-25 pp. typically, due in late summer.)

Christopher Fauske has announced that the sixth conference of “**Money, Power and Print: Interdisciplinary Studies of the Financial Revolution in the British Isles, 1688-1776**” will be held June 12-14 2014 in Leuven, Belgium. See the MPP homepage at [https:// sites.google. com/site/ moneypowerprint/home](https://sites.google.com/site/moneypowerprint/home).

New Publications, Resources, and Tools

The *Corpus Bayle: Œuvres complètes*, with the complete works of the influential thinker and pioneering journalist Pierre Bayle (1647-1706), has been published on line by Classiques Garnier of Paris (contact@classiques-garnier.com). Check out the multi-volume searchable edition at the publisher’s website--certainly the printed flyer for the edition is impressively done.

The **BNF** began in 2010 to publish an open access journal devoted to children’s literature and other educational objects on the WWW: *Strenae: Recherches sur les livres et objets culturels de l’enfance*, at [http:// strenae](http://strenae).

revues.org. The second issue, that for 2011, has the thematic title or focus “Les formes de la fiction dans la culture pour la jeunesse,” edited with an introduction by Matthieu Letourneux. The first three issues have little on the 18th century.

The *NY Times* reported 22 January that Bruno Racine, Director of the BNF, is leading a fund-raising effort to obtain for the BNF, which bought Casanova’s memoirs in 2010 for nearly ten million dollars, the MS of Marquis de Sade’s depraved *Les 120 journées de Sodome* (priced at over 5 million).

Joseph J. Felcone’s *Printing in New Jersey 1754-1800: A Descriptive Bibliography*, listing 1265 items, has been published by the American Antiquarian Society and is distributed by Oak Knoll Press (2012; pp. 544; appendices; 3 indices: printers and publishers; provenance; and general). Felcone, long an antiquarian dealer, has learned more about New Jersey imprints than anyone ever has before. His bibliography offers collations, publication information (as from advertisements) with accounts of agents, some binding details, etc. The appendices provide a geographical analyses of printshops in eighteenth-century New Jersey, a register of book tradesmen, and six concordances.

The **Friends Historical Association’s** website offers open-access to PDFs of bibliographies of “**Recent Scholarship in Quaker History**” annually compiled by **Barbara Addison** (Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College). “Recent Scholarship in Quaker History 2012,” for instance, is 34 pp. long and was posted October 2012. The bibliographies of 2009-2011 scholarship appeared in April 2009 (33 pp.), Fall 2010 (34 pp.), and November 2011 (34). The website offers annual bibliographies back through 2005.

In November 2010 the **manuscript diary of William Godwin** (1788-1836) was posted on the WWW within the Oxford Digital Library, at <http://godwindiary.bodleian.ox.ac.uk>, having been edited by Victoria Myers, David O’Shaughnessy, and Mark Philip. The text of the diary, full of information on Godwin, his contemporaries and London, is fully searchable. The editors discuss the diary in *The Bodleian Library Record* for April 2011 (Vol. 24, no. 1).

Harry T. Dickinson has edited ***Ireland in the Age of Revolution, 1760-1805***, Vols. 1-3, for Pickering & Chatto (2012; pp. c. 1200). Vols. 4-6, also edited by Dickinson, are forthcoming in April 2013. The two 3-volume parts will include over seventy pamphlets never previously republished; most texts are reproduced in full and all are fully reset; items have some editorial apparatus as introductions and notes; and there is a consolidated index in the final volume (presumably the sixth in 2013). P&C has also initiated a series called “**The Chawton House Library**,” with series editors Stephen Bending, Stephen Bygrave, and Jennie Batchelor, which will have three areas: Women’s Memoirs, Women’s travel writings, and Women’s Novels. Facsimiles will be produced of rare originals in the Chawton House collection. The series will emphasize works not republished.

National Library of Scotland has published ***India, Raj and Empire: Manuscript Collections from the National Library of Scotland*** [1615-1947], ed. Crispin Bates et al. (Marlborough, Wiltshire: Adam Matthews Digital, 2009). This online subscription text-base of original manuscripts includes diaries, letters, maps, and other items. It is reviewed by B. R. Tomlinson in *English Historical Review*, 126 (2011), 462-65.

Note in *SHARP News*, 21, no. 4 (Autumn 2012), Melissa R. Kowalski's review of The Library of Congress's website ***Chronicling America***: <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov>>." *Chronicling America*, on the WWW, has databases on historical American newspapers; it is a prototype of a National Digital Newspaper Program supported by the Library of Congress and the National Endowment for the Humanities. The project is the successor to the United States Newspaper Program (1980-2007). One of its two databases has full-text searchable newspapers from 1836 to 1922, and the other has a directory of U.S. Newspapers from 1690 to the present, with over 140,000 titles, browsable by title and searchable by place and time. Those interested in this database may also take interest in Patrick Prominski's review of the American Antiquarian Society's *Early American Imprints, Series II: Shaw-Shoemaker, 1801-1819*, published by Readex Corporation's Newsbank division (www.infoweb.newsbank.com), a digital, subscription text-base of 36,000 texts, including 1000 items not in the microform edition. This complements Series 1: *Evans, 1639-1800*. The texts can be browsed by genre, subject, author place of publication and language. Also in the *SHARP News*, 21, no. 4 (Autumn 2012), on pp. 13-14, is a review by Catherine DeRose of Proquest's (Chadwyck-Healey's) *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, a subscription text-base with 250 books published 1782-1903. This *SHARP News* issue announced that future issues would be published in PDFs at a secure website to members.

The Winter 2013 issue of *SHARP News* has a review by Daniel DeWispelare of *18thConnect*, based at Miami University, Ohio, and established by Laura Mandel and others several years ago on the WWW as an open access database and search engine on the internet (<http://www18thConnect.org>). Mandell herself describes the project in "Brave New World: A Look at *18thConnect*" in *Age of Johnson*, 21 (2011 [2012]): 299-308.

The Dissenting Academies Online Virtual Library System is an open-access catalogue with location and borrower information, posted June 2011 and revised later in 2011, at <http://vls.english.qmul.ac.uk/>. *The Dissenting Academies Online* at (<http://www.english.qmul.ac.uk/drwilliams/portal.html>) offers two major tools for the study of dissenters' academies: a "Database and Encyclopedia" and the "Virtual Library System." The project is centered at the Dr. Williams Centre for Dissenting Studies and the website was produced by a team, including Rosemary Dixon, Simon Dixon, Inga Jones, and Kyle Roberts, with technical assistance of Dmitri Iourinski, under the direction of Isabel Rivers and David Wykes. The database provides information on 220 academies (Congregational, Methodist, Presbyterian, Unitarian, etc.), and on over 750 tutors. The *Virtual Library System* provides a list of holdings of these academies (over 12,000 volumes) and also in many cases information on the borrowers of books (over 30,000 loans). The *Virtual Library System* is reviewed (with two other websites including the *Reading Experience Database*) by Ed Potten in *Library*, 7th series, 13 (2012), 351-55.

British Book Trade Index (BBTI) is an electronic resource hosted by the U. of Birmingham and posted online in 2009 (and to be revised), at www.bbti.bham.ac.uk. BBTI offers "an index of names and brief biographical details and trade details of people who worked in the book trade in England and Wales and who were trading by 1851." (See the Scottish Book Trade Index for

coverage of Scottish trade members.) The BBTI was founded in 1983 by Peter C. G. Isaac of the U. of Newcastle upon Tyne, and hosted there until shortly before Isaac's death in 2002; since 2002 it has been hosted by the University of Birmingham, supervised by John Hinks and more recently by Maureen Bell. By 2009 the BBTI offered on the WWW a searchable index with modest entries on tradesmen. The BBTI also holds announcements and links to other resources. *Quadrat*, the newsletter of the British Book Trade Index project, edited by Catherine M. Armstrong of Manchester Metropolitan U., is available at the Print Networks website: <http://www.bookhistory.org.uk/media/quadrat/> (the summer 2011 issue was the last sent out on paper).

The National Library of Scotland's *Scottish Book Trade Index (SBTI)*, an electronic resource posted on the internet in 2009, has since been updated: www.nls.uk/catalogues/scottish-book-trade-index. It's a bio-bibliography of book-trade workers (including binders and papermarkers), over the centuries, with some topical entries, in alphabetical sequence, with an introduction; the biographical database can be downloaded in two PDFs, A-M and N-Z. Also, The *Scottish Printing Archival Trust*, an electronic resource on the history of printing in Scotland, posted on the internet in 2009, has since been updated, at <http://scottishprintingarchive.org/index.php>. The Scottish Printing Archival Trust was established in 1988 to record, preserve and share Scotland's printing heritage. It sponsors and promotes conferences, exhibitions, acquisitions, and publications. It has a series entitled A Reputation for Excellence that by 2012 included four books on four regions printing (Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen and the north, and Dundee and the Perth region). Its website lists institutions with resources, often with links to the institutions' their catalogues. The Trust is headed by a committee.

David Hopkin, and Valentina Bold (authors, editors), with David Morrison as web-designer, have produced *Glasgow Broadside Ballads: The Murray Collection*, an open-access electronic resource on the internet with photographic images and critical introduction and commentary (2009): www.gla.ac.uk/t4/dumfries/files2/glasgow_broadside_ballads/. This website offers 350+ broadside ballads (mostly of the 19C) from the larger number within the collection, now at the Univ. of Glasgow, collected by Glaswegian David Murray in the 19th century. These are reproduced as digital images. The index is accompanied by historical introductions and even an audio link to allow one to hear broadside balladry.

John Lancaster recently shared with me an ESTC entry he wrote for a new issue (or edition) of *Modern Amours* (1733), he'd discovered. In response to my surprise at its detail, he wrote that the "BL has recently instituted much higher standards for new (and revised) ESTC entries." (They should now include signatures, notes, &c, thus resembling entries in rare booksellers' catalogues.)

The *Italians* in the *AIB*, *L'Almanacco bibliografico*, etc., have great electronic resources on the history of printing and publishing (much more work is done on Italian books and library history than is for those of the English-speaking world--of the Spanish, at least to judge from the MLA bibliography).

James Woolley has published *Finding English Verse 1650-1800: First-Line Indexes and Searchable Electronic Texts*, in a 10th edition of the guide, posted on 7 January 2013 at BibSite (www.bibsocamer.org/BibSite/Woolley/index.pdf). Many new tools have become available since Woolley's last revision 22 Aug.

2010, such as the considerable expansion (into printed verse) of *The Union First Line Index of English Verse* hosted at the Folger, developments in the *Digital Miscellanies Index* at the Bodleian, & additions to Emily Lorraine de Montluzin's indexes for the *Gentleman's Magazine*. Woolley provides an update history for the guide at the end, with the revised and added sections detailed on p. 22.

The **Digital Miscellanies Index** has been led by Dr. Abigail Williams of Oxford U. English faculty; it is based in her Dept. and at the Bodleian Centre for the Study of the Book and funded by the Leverhulme Trust. Dr. Jennifer Batt is the Post-doctoral Project Coordinator. At <http://digitalmiscellanies.index.org>, we read of the scholarly neglect of the roughly 1000 collections published 1700-1800, which reflect popular tastes and then we learn the project is "based on a comprehensive new bibliography of 18C poetic miscellanies compiled by Professor Michael F. Suarez, S.J. The index will create a relational database of the contents of all these collections, enabling users to search the range of miscellanies by author, poem, genre, first line and publisher. In displaying this material for the first time, the Index will enable users to map the changing nature of literary taste in the eighteenth century. It will also enable us to understand the traffic between commerce and culture It is due to be completed and released for public access in the summer of 2013" (consulted 23 January 2013).

Note that in ECS's list of "Books Received" (Fall 2012), Lisa Kasmer's *Novel Histories: British Women Writing History, 1760-1830*, though published by Fairleigh Dickinson University Press last year, is given as published only by **Rowman & Littlefield**. Given the nature of the old "Associated University Presses" arrangements with R&L, it seems best to give both publishers for any of their joint publications. (R&L has been very generous in providing review copies.)

Iain Beavan, Peter Davidson, and Jane Stevenson have edited *The Library and Archive Collections at the University of Aberdeen* (Manchester UP, 2012); pp. x + 384; illus.

Raymond Birn's *Royal Censorship in Books in Eighteenth-Century France* was published last year by Stanford U. Press (2012; pp. 216) Birn finds the censors were not tools of the state, in licensing publication and distribution, were intent on protecting the public as well as press.

Myrtille Méricam-Boudet's *Voltaire et l'écriture de l'histoire: Un enjeu politique* is SVEC 2012:02 (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2012; pp. viii + 294).

Note the publication of James J. Caudle's "Three **New James Boswell Articles** from the *Public Advertiser*, 1763," in *Scottish Literary Review*, 3, no. 2 (Autumn-Winter, 2011), 19-43.

David Gants of Florida State University, who works with Renaissance English literature and publishing and has edited Ben Jonson, has been selected as the new editor of *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*. On 25 January, Adrian Johns delivered the annual lecture at the Bibliographical Society of America on "The Uses of Print in the History of Science."

The **2010/2011 Harvey Darton Award** by the Children's Books History Society went to **M.O. Grenby's** *The Child Reader, 1700-1840* (Cambridge UP, 2011; pp. 336; bibliography; index), which treats children as readers as well as what they read and where and how it was obtained. Its introduction is valuable for

its discussion of bibliographical and extra-textual sources and methods; chapters follow that cover the owners, the books themselves, the acquisition of books, their use, and attitudes of adults and children toward children's reading. In announcing the award the *Children's Books History Society Newsletter* stresses Grenby's great expansion of knowledge on the subject by moving beyond the usual sources and employing new methodologies. The book is also reviewed by Brian Alderson in the *Newsletter* no. 102 (April 2012), 13-14.

The **Huntington Library** has begun to offer a team-taught seminar on paleography, the first class beginning this winter.

Libraries & the Cultural Record (until 2007 known as *Libraries and Culture*) retitled itself last year (vol. 47) as **Information & Culture: A Journal of History**.

Liberty Fund in 2010 began publishing a series entitled "The Thomas Hollis Library" of important early modern books that the English philanthropist and progressive political thinker Thomas Hollis distributed in the American colonies. (They are in both hardcover and paperback and well priced.) In 2010 it published Locke's "*A Letter concerning Toleration*" and *Other Writings*, ed. by Mark Goldie (258 pp.; \$14.50 in paper); in 2011 it published Robert Molesworth's "*An Account of Denmark*," with "*Francogallia*" and "*Some Conserations for Promoting of Agriculture and Employing the Poor*" (450 pp.; \$17 in paper).

Troubles arising from an error in primary documents are nicely illustrated in "**Richardson and Copyright**" by James R. Alexander in *Notes and Queries*, n.s. 59 [257] (2012), 219-24. Alexander focuses on a notation appearing in editions of "General Abridgment of Cases in Equity . . . Chancery Court" that first appeared in a 1769 edition and is quoted from a 1902 edition; this notation refers to an "Injunction . . . granted in the Case of Richardson, Author of *Pamela*, against publishing and selling Part of that Book . . . and a perpetual Injunction was afterwards granted, on hearing the Merits, . . . by Lord Chan. *Hardwicke*, 6 May 1740." Thus, two hearings are said to have occurred before or on the day of publication (*Pamela* was entered in the Stationers' Company Register on 4 Nov. 1740, two days before its sale was announced). Alexander notes that the piracy stopped cannot be John Kelly's *Pamela's Conduct in High Life*, published in 1741 (and later in a 2nd edition), nor the serialized *Pamela in High Life* that Mary Kingman started publishing in October 1741. Alexander suspect the faultily reported injunction was probably against Kingman's reprinting of *Pamela* itself in installments; Alexander cannot date this serial reprint, existing in but one copy; however, it contains editorial changes in Richardson's 4th edition published on 5 May 1741, and thus was presumably published 1741. The scarcity of the serial may be due to legal action, but the date recorded for the injunction must be off by more than a digit if Kingman completed the reprinting begun in May 1741 at the earliest.

Valerie Wainwright published "**Smollett's Journalism: New Attributions** for *The Critical Review*, 1757-1766." *Notes and Queries*, n.s. 57 (2010), 524-45, and then "Additions to Smollett's Journalism: Further Attributions for *The Critical Review*, 1757-1763." *N&Q*, 59:226-47. Wainwright adds to the attributions in James Basker's *Tobias Smollett: Critic and Journalist* (1988); her attributions largely derive from printer Archibald Hamilton's annotated copies of the *Critical Review*.

The title-page on the cover is an illustration for p. 2 of Hermann J. Real's essay.

