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

This EC/ASECS gratefully acknowledge a publication subvention by Professor Judith Milhous, a reminder of Robert D. Hume's support over two decades. The *EC/ASECS Newsletter* was founded in January 1978 by Leland D. Peterson and later edited by W. R. McLeod (1981-1983) and Kevin Berland (1983-1986). This newsletter was entitled *The East-Central Intelligencer* from 1988 until February 2005. Indices for preceding volumes appear in the issues of May 1992, September 1996, September 2001, January 2005, January 2008, and October 2011; the January 2005 contains a register of EC/ASECS newsletters 1978-2004. Penn State University Library has archived n.s. Vols. 1-37; Old Dominion University has archived issues from 1987-2009. Issues for May 2007 through March 2023, the indices for 1992-2019, and a table of contents for issues since December 1986 are all available at the Newsletter Archive of the EC/ASECS website noted above. The *Intelligencer* has been printed by Action Graphics of Clearfield, PA, since 1986.

The Archival Splendors of Lady Anne Lindsay Barnard (1750-1825): Scottish Diarist, Memoirist, Poet, Traveler, and Watercolorist

By Greg Clingham

Preamble

It was my honor to be the President of EC/ASECS in 2023 and to deliver the President's lecture at the annual conference in Williamsburg. My talk on that occasion introduced and explored some of the watercolors that Lady Anne Barnard painted of indigenous people at the Cape of Good Hope between 1797 and 1802. Since color reproductions are not possible in the *Eighteenth-Century Intelligencer*, and few people know anything about Lady Anne, we decided that I should take the opportunity to introduce her to readers by giving a brief account of her activities and archive. Such information could provide information for students of eighteenth-century Scotland, social life in London, women's friendship, colonialism, slavery, the culture of the Cape of Good Hope, and of manuscript and archival studies. It could also alert scholars, at whatever stage of their careers, to archival riches (manuscripts, art works, and photographs), associated with the Lindsays, the Earls of Crawford and Balcarres--a rich area of inquiry.

Who Was Anne Lindsay?

Anne Lindsay (1750-1825), daughter of James Lindsay, 5th Earl of Balcarres (1691-1768) and Lady Anne Dalrymple (1727-1820), the daughter of Sir Robert Dalrymple of Castleton, and the granddaughter of James Dalrymple, 1st Viscount Stair, author of *Institutions of the Law of Scotland* (1681), a work that established modern Scots law. Both families were ancient and held many important roles in the political and cultural history of Scotland, from the sixteenth down to the twentieth centuries. Two aspects of the family's heritage play important roles in the intellectual life of Anne Lindsay, one to do with a library, one with Jacobitism.

Between the 1560s and the 1790s, the Lords of Balcarres created the Bibliotheca Lindesiana, one of the great European Renaissance libraries, housed at Balcarres House in Fife, where Lady Anne (and her 11 siblings, particularly the girls) were educated. A (magnificent) recent publication, *A History and Catalogue of the Lindsay Library, 1570-1792* (2022), reveals the range, depth, and quality of the holdings of the Bibliotheca Lindesiana in the mid-eighteenth century, in which the Lindsay sisters (Anne, Margaret, and Elizabeth) essentially educated themselves. But the library was largely disbanded and sold off in 1792 by Robert Lindsay, the second son (who had made a fortune in India) to whom the eldest son, Alexander, 6th Earl of Balcarres, had sold the estate. Alexander moved to Haigh Hall, Lancashire, the property of his bride (and cousin) Elizabeth Dalrymple and, in due course, became very rich, mining coal. Soon thereafter, however, Lady Anne began to encourage the interest of her nephew (James, 1783-1869, 7th Earl of Balcarres) and her grandnephew (Alexander William, 1812-80, 25th Earl of Crawford and 8th Earl of Balcarres) in recreating the library as part of her grand *lieu de memoire*. Starting in the 1810s and gathering impetus over the

course of the nineteenth century, the great library was reconstituted and enlarged, one volume at a time, a commitment brought to fruition by book collector and art historian, James Ludovic (1847-1913), the 26th Earl of Crawford and 9th Earl of Balcarres, a story that has been told by Nicolas Barker. The location of this nineteenth-century recreation of a Renaissance library was Haigh Hall, where the Earls of Balcarres lived till 1947, when the 28th Earl of Crawford and Balcarres (the family by that time having reclaimed the title of the Earl of Crawford, in 1848, which had originally been theirs since 1407) returned to Balcarres House with the Bibliotheca Lindesiana. In the 1970s, large sections of the library and its archives were deposited in the John Rylands Library, Manchester and the National Library of Scotland, while Balcarres continues to retain the core of the original (reconstituted) Renaissance collection, including hundreds of incunabula. Many historical and strategic moments in the history of the family between the 1840s and the 1940s are recorded in photographs, a huge repository of which exists at Balcarres, and a sample of which was recently published by Ludovic Lindsay in *The Lindsays of Balcarres: A Century of an Ancient Scottish Family in Photographs* (2021).

A second historical feature of the Lindsay family to deeply engage the literary imagination of Lady Anne was their Jacobitism, a shaping force from the time of her grandfather, Colin Lindsay (1652-1722), close associate of the exiled King James II and the Old Pretender, down to that of her father, who had participated in 1715 uprising but escaped with his life and property after Culloden (1746) because he had earlier agreed to retire to the country to (literally) cultivate his garden, improve his library, and write his memoir. Other relatives – such as Lord George Murray, the Chief Jacobite general during 1745-46 – were actively involved. But the family's Jacobite sympathies were internalized and transformed imaginatively by Lady Anne, and feature most evidently in her "Memoirs," while her siblings were content, like so many, to embrace Unionist views and be assimilated by the British establishment, where many of them had important roles in the expanding empire (e.g., her eldest brother, Alexander, was Governor of Jamaica; three brothers fought in India; her youngest sister, Elizabeth, became the "Empress" of Ireland, in that she married Philip Yorke, Earl of Hardwicke, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland).

Anne Lindsay (Anne Barnard after she married Andrew Barnard in 1793), was a writer of wit, skill, and substance in a wide range of genres, including journals, diaries, memoirs, anecdotes, letters, poems, and romances. She was also an artist of skill, producing hundreds of drawings and 70 watercolors. Because her extended family was so widely connected among the educational and political elite, she grew up (at Balcarres; at her grandmother's home in Edinburgh; and at Prestonfield, the home of her uncle, Sir Alexander Dick) in the company of such men of letters as Hume, Robertson, Blair, and Monboddo. The Boswells were old family friends. Alan Ramsay (artist and poet) was a cousin. Lord Chief Justice Mansfield, who ruled in favor of the former slave James Somersett in Somersett v Stewart (1772), was an uncle. Dido Belle was a second cousin, as was David Martin, the artist who (famously) painted Dido and her cousin Lady

Elizabeth Murray (c. 1778). Lady Anne met Johnson at Prestonfield (in 1773) and took his picture.

Lady Anne was wooed by several powerful and rich men, including Henry Dundas, George Cholmondeley, and William Windham, finally marrying an Irish Captain for love, Andrew Barnard (son of Bishop Thomas Barnard, a member of Johnson's Club), 12 years her junior. Prior to her marriage in 1792, Lady Anne lived in London and moved in several social circles, including (on the side of the arts) Horace Walpole's, where she knew Agnes and Mary Berry and Anne Damer, and (on the side of the establishment) the Court at Windsor and the private circle of George Frederick, Prince of Wales, with whom she had a long, genuine friendship that lasted after George became King (1820). It was with Mrs. Maria Fitzherbert, the Prince of Wales's mistress, that she traveled to Paris in 1784 (a trip that produced the neo-Foucauldian "Parisian anecdotes," documenting her experience of hospitals, prisons, mad houses, universities, churches, and the great Orleans Collection of Art, where she records seeing hundreds of Italian Renaissance masters). She traveled to Paris again, with her sisters and their spouses, in 1790-91, as the horrors were brewing, this time recording only her meetings with notorious individuals, such as Emma Hamilton, Marie Antoinette, and Madame de Souza.

Lady Anne went to the Cape of Good Hope in 1797 with her husband, for whom she had acquired the position of Colonial Secretary to Lord George Macartney, the first British governor of the "colony." The British had taken control of the place from Holland, the colonial power since 1652, and were there to protect their interests (trade, commerce, and military) against the French, with whom they were at war. During five (happy) years at the Cape, under several different administrations (Macartney lasting only till December 1798), Lady Anne kept journals, diaries, and a travelog about all aspects of life. She also acted as a spy for Henry Dundas (her former suitor, and the Minister for War and the Colonies), producing a voluminous correspondence as a shrewd informant, whose views were independent from both husband and governor. She was a renowned hostess who threw great parties that brought everyone together – Dutch and British, military and civilian, men and women, transient travelers and traders, including people of different races. John Barrow described her parties as "routs," in the sense that Spenser intended in the *Fairy Queen*, "A rout of people there assembled were, / Of every sort and nation under sky." She also, quietly, sketched and painted what captivated her eye.

While Lady Anne advocated for humane, liberal treatment of indigenous peoples (as well as for discontinuation of the trade in enslaved people) with both Macartney and Dundas, she was acutely aware of the limits of her advocacy and of British law itself in a colony where Dutch custom continued to prevail even while the British were present. But gender, custom, and law did not wholly limit her artistic perception and creativity. Her watercolors, which are unlike anything else produced in the period, use an extraordinarily rich, deep color palette, and a kind of ultra-materialistic, neo-realistic formalism, to render African men, women, and children with intensity, intimacy, and dignity.

As an aristocratic and amateur, female artist, Lady Anne's artwork (like all her writings from Africa) were not designed for public consumption; they were private documents, created for the interest and information of family and close friends. But this of course did not mean that she did not work with literary and artistic consciousness and purpose; though repeatedly denying the fact, she *thought of herself* as a writer and artist. Many of Lady Anne's writings struggle openly with the aspirations to and implications of authorship existing in tension with personal doubts – artistic and existential – and with familial and societal expectations of privacy. This struggle is most intense and most interestingly articulated in her "Memoirs," an extraordinary, one-million-word long memoir ("written up" in the last 15 years of her life) that explores self and family, history and fiction in equal, intermingled measure, and which remains unpublished. Other writings, such as the Cape journals and diaries, also engage self-consciously with ideas of authorship that are seamlessly woven into Lady Anne's encyclopedic, fragmented, but multi-faceted account of life. These writings reveal a writer of wit, intelligence, and rhetorical skill, engaging with what she calls "elasticity of mind," in an incredibly comprehensive range of topics, including romance, sex, marriage, cooking, domesticity, parties, animals (domesticated and wild), insects, gardening, architecture, building, town planning, landscape, drawing, writing, theater, public policy, trade, economics, natural science, political intrigue (local and international), crime and punishment, death, law, political insurrection, the French wars, the Indian mutinies and colonial campaigns, slavery, race relations, miscegenation, and cultural differences.

If the depth and richness of Lady Anne Barnard's involvement with life at the Cape is the highlight of her literary and artistic life, other, more obscure moments expand on her contemporary interest and relevance. For example, when her husband died unexpectedly on a second trip to the Cape in 1807, she learned that in 1802 he had fathered a child with a Khoikhoi, probably enslaved woman, Rachel van de Caap. In 1809 she adopted this child, who had been named Christina Meyndrina Douglas, educated her at her home in London, and, in due course, set about writing her mixed-race daughter into her memoir and into the fabric of one of the oldest and most venerable families in British history.

Lady Anne Barnard's Published Writings

The only work of Lady Anne Barnard's to be published during her lifetime was the ballad *Auld Robin Grey* (written 1771-72) – by Sir Walter Scott in 1825. (Scott was ready to publish *Lays of the Lindsays*, an anthology of poems by the Lindsay sisters, in his Bannatyne Club series in 1824, but with the book in proof, Lady Anne withdrew her permission.) *Auld Robin Grey* was subsequently republished in Palgrave's *Golden Treasury of English Songs and Lyrics* (1861) and by Paula Feldman in *British Women Poets of the Romantic Era* (1996). In 1901, H.J. Anderson edited a selection of Lady Anne's letters to Henry Dundas and a selection of her Cape journals, titled *South Africa a Century Ago (1797-1801).* All of Lady Anne's extant letters to Dundas were published (and illustrated with her drawings), plus her

journal of a journey into the interior, in a fine scholarly edition by A.M. Lewin Robinson (1973). In 1924, Dorothy Fairbridge published Lady Anne's letters to George Macartney, interlinked with a biographical narrative, *Lady Anne Barnard at the Cape of Good Hope 1797-1802*. The Cape journals and diaries, in turn, were edited, at the behest of the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, in a 3-volume scholarly edition for the Van Riebeeck Society (1994, 1998). Finally, some of Lady Anne's watercolors were published by Nicolas Barker privately in 2009. See the bibliography below. None of these texts or pictures (or any of Lady Anne's MSS) have been digitalized: there is little trace of her writings or paintings on the web.

Archive

Lady Anne Barnard is the creator of a huge archive of miscellaneous, mostly unpublished material. There are four main repositories in two locations: Scotland (Balcarres House and the National Library of Scotland) and Cape Town (National Library of South Africa and the William H. Fehr Collection at the Iziko Museum of South Africa). Smaller collections of Lady Anne's materials are to be found in other repositories in the UK and South Africa (see the National Archives: https: // discovery. nationalarchives.gov.uk/). The bulk of Lady Anne's material – at Balcarres (a private home) and in the NLS – is owned by the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, who strictly supervises access to both repositories.

The (published) Cape diaries and journals typify the interests and challenges that face the scholar trying to access Lady Anne's texts and pictures and to understand what has and has not been done. The relationships between the manuscripts and the printed texts of these works are uncertain. Several manuscript copies exist in three locations.

1. The NLS holds the holograph manuscript of the "Sea Journal and Cape Residence" (*Hand-list*, 27/4/3). These two works – the sea journal (February to May 1797) and the journal of the residence (May 1797 to May 1798) – are separately paginated (pp. 1-146 and 1-180) and are bound together as a quarto volume. This manuscript is in Lady Anne's own hand, having been written in different styles, with different writing implements. The manuscript contains few dates and a very few illustrations, the title page contains a list in pencil of the pseudonyms Lady Anne used in composing her "Memoirs" and her Cape journals, and the text displays many marginalia, pencil interpolations, and crossings out. Occasionally, whole paragraphs are deleted, and some editorial and organizational directions are inserted. The meta-textuality of this manuscript indicates that it had been marked up as a copy text for a further manuscript transcription, that probably superseded it. However, Lady Anne evidently considered this holograph manuscript to be valuable: she did not destroy it; she had it bound in half calf. That she retained, beautified, and consolidated these two manuscripts into one volume, is in keeping with her compositional methods, her literary awareness, and a larger formal and imaginative archival concept. Her behavior suggests that she already knew, by 1802, that this "redundant" manuscript would one day become a meaningful object and text. A separate, 4-page document dated July 6, 1798, in the archive in the NLS (27/3/1, 3/3),

records compositional and editorial directions for this manuscript, indicating that at least two good manuscript copies of her "Sea Journal" and "Cape Residence" were intended that differ from the holograph manuscript.

2. One of these manuscript copies, in the hand of an amanuensis, in 2 large folio volumes, bound in full calf (now covered in protective burlap), is in the NLS (*Hand-list*, 27/4/7). Volume 1 contains the "Sea Journal" (pp. 1-118) and "Cape of Good Hope" (pp. 119-258). Volume 2 contains the "Tour of the Interior" (pp. 1-143). These volumes contain very few illustrations, the pseudonyms for historical personages are retained, and the text has many pencil corrections. A Preface to the "Tour of the Interior" is dated September 10, 1818, and begins, "When I look into these pages after a lapse of years …", clearly indicating that the copy was made some years *after* the events recorded and after the holograph manuscript, mentioned above. This item comprises *four* folio volumes, consistently bound and tooled, but vols. 3 and 4 are blank, suggesting, perhaps, that transcription of Lady Anne's Cape documents had been planned, but never occurred.

Other iterations of the Cape of Good Hope manuscripts exist at Balcarres, as follows:

a. "Journal of a Month's Tour into the Interior of Africa, leaving cape Town May 5th 1798" (illustrated holograph); *Hand-list*, 24/4/4*
b. "Sea Journal to the Cape of Good Hope" [Feb.-May 1797], "Residence at the cape of Good Hope" [May 1797-98], "Tour Into the Interior of Africa … May 5th 1798, 4 vol., folio (vol. 4 blank), (illustrated copy in blue); 24/4/5*
c. "Sea Journal to the Cape," "Residence at the Cape," "Tour into the Interior"; Typescript copy of 5* above; 24/4/6*
d. "Cape Journal," Jan. 1799-Dec. 1800, 2 vols; holograph; 24/4/8*
e. "Sea Journal on my passage Home from the Cape, 1802," holograph; 24/4/9*

3. One further copy of the Cape Journals and Diaries exist in the National Library of South Africa in Cape Town (MSB68 4 [2])). This appears to be a xerox copy of item (b) above (*Hand-list*, 24/4/5*), a more fully illustrated text than either of the manuscript copies in the NLS, which may have been the copy text for the van Riebeeck Society edition of the Journals and Diaries.

In addition to these Cape manuscripts, Lady Anne's archives in Scotland and South Africa contain several thousands of letters to and from family and friends, also poems, translations, romances, prayers, daybooks, notes, drafts, memoranda, summaries, catalogs, a memoir, the "Parisian anecdotes," and hundreds of doodles, drawings and watercolors. Most of this material has been unread, unedited, and unpublished. There are many highlights, but the most significant is probably the "Memoirs," a one-million-word long account of the life of Lady Anne in the context of the history of her family and of Scotland. This hybrid text, titled "The History of the Family of St. Quinton & the Memoirs of Louisa St. Aubin," was written in the 1810s (using all the diaries and letters as raw material) in the form and style of a Quixotic novel, using pseudonyms (with a key to the real names)

for the historical personages, and with explicit echoes of Charlotte Lennox's *Female Quixote* and Fanny Burney's *Evelina*.

This manuscript-book, like the Cape journals and diaries, is a scholar's dream. It exists in four manuscript states: two *unique* fair manuscript *copies*; one, at Balcarres, bound in 6 folio volumes (27/4/12*); another, in the NLS, bound in 9 folio volumes (27/4/13). Each of these manuscript copies features different hands, artwork, and bindings. A third iteration, in the NLS, is a typescript from circa 1910, produced (as the late Lord Crawford told me) by a private secretary, bound in 6 quarto volumes, in black library bindings, without artwork and with modernized incidentals (27/4/14). A fourth iteration, at Balcarres, is the holograph manuscript in 8 volumes, bound in black half-leather, containing an even greater miscellany of documents than the two good manuscript copies (27/4/11*). The holo-graph manuscript is dated April 20, 1823, Lady Anne referring, in a prefa-tory note, to these 8 volumes as the "original manuscript" (*Hand-list*, 56).

The manuscript *copy* of the memoir at Balcarres in 6 volumes (27/4/12*) is unique. It is a rare, beautiful material object, bound in 1822 by Lady Anne herself in what she called "rich yet sober bindings" ("Memoirs," 27/4/14; 1: 2). These are in fact sumptuous, light blue calf bindings with ornate gold decorations and labels, craftsmanship that cost Lady Anne £2000 (approximately £240,000 at today's values), for which she gave up her "carriage and horses about seven years ago" (27/3/4). Bound into these large-paper folio volumes are Lady Anne's *original Cape watercolors*, about 70 in number, including representations of indigenous people, enslaved people, Dutch settlers, British officials, visitors, other miscellaneous people, landscapes, and botanicals. The manuscript itself is in the delicate, refined hand of Meyndrina Christina Douglas, "my young amanuenses," as Lady Anne called her (*Hand-list*, 56), the offspring of Andrew Barnard and Rachel van de Caap, born at the Cape in 1802.

The copy of the memoir in the NLS in 9 volumes is bound in ordinary calf and written in the hand of another amanuensis. This copy — the text of which is reportedly identical to the copy at Balcarres — includes 2 volumes devoted to Lady Anne's drawings of her family, friends, and self, plus engravings of people of importance in her life (such as Dundas, Windham, and Johnson), totaling about three hundred in number. Volumes 7 and 8 are described by Lady Anne in a prefatory note: "Sketches from original portraits and Prints belonging to SIX Volumes of Manuscript Collected and llustrated by Louisa St. Aubin so named in the MS The real name and title, The Lady Anne Lindsay … by marriage, The Lady Anne Barnard, 1825." Among the many portraits included in these volumes is her drawing of Johnson and Boswell, taken at her uncle's home, Prestonfield, in November 1773, unknown till I published it in 2019 (in *The Burlington Magazine*-- the drawing of Johnson is also reproduced on the cover of *The New Cambridge Campanion to Samuel Johnson* (2022). The size, range, variety, and material beauties of Lady Anne's archive is truly remarkable. I have argued in a forthcoming book that the archive was self-consciously composed, edited, and curated by Lady Anne herself as *lieu de memoire*, a poetics of the archive.

The curator of the Papers of the Earls of Crawford and Balcarres in the NLS (https: //manuscripts.nls.uk/repositories/2/resources/13120) is Dr. Heidi Egginton (H.Egginton @nls.uk). The chief finding aid for Lady Anne's papers is the *Hand-List* by Matheson and Taylor. This covers the papers originally in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, moved to the NLS in the 1970s, where the same call numbers pertain. The *Hand-list* also covers (some) items at Balcarres. There is no online register of papers at Balcarres, which does not have an archivist or librarian. Queries relating to the papers at Balcarres should go through Dr. Egginton.

The curator of special collections at the NLSA in Cape Town (https: // www.nlsa.ac.za/) is Melanie Geustyn (Melanie.Geustyn @nlsa.ac.za). The curator of the William H. Fehr Collection, which holds many of Lady Anne's drawings and watercolors is Esther Esmyol (eesmyol@ iziko.org.za): https: // www.iziko.org.za/exhibitions/william-fehr-collection/.

Note. I am indebted to the generosity and support of the late Robert Lindsay, the 29th Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, and to Alexander Lindsay, the 30th Earl of Crawford and Balcarres.

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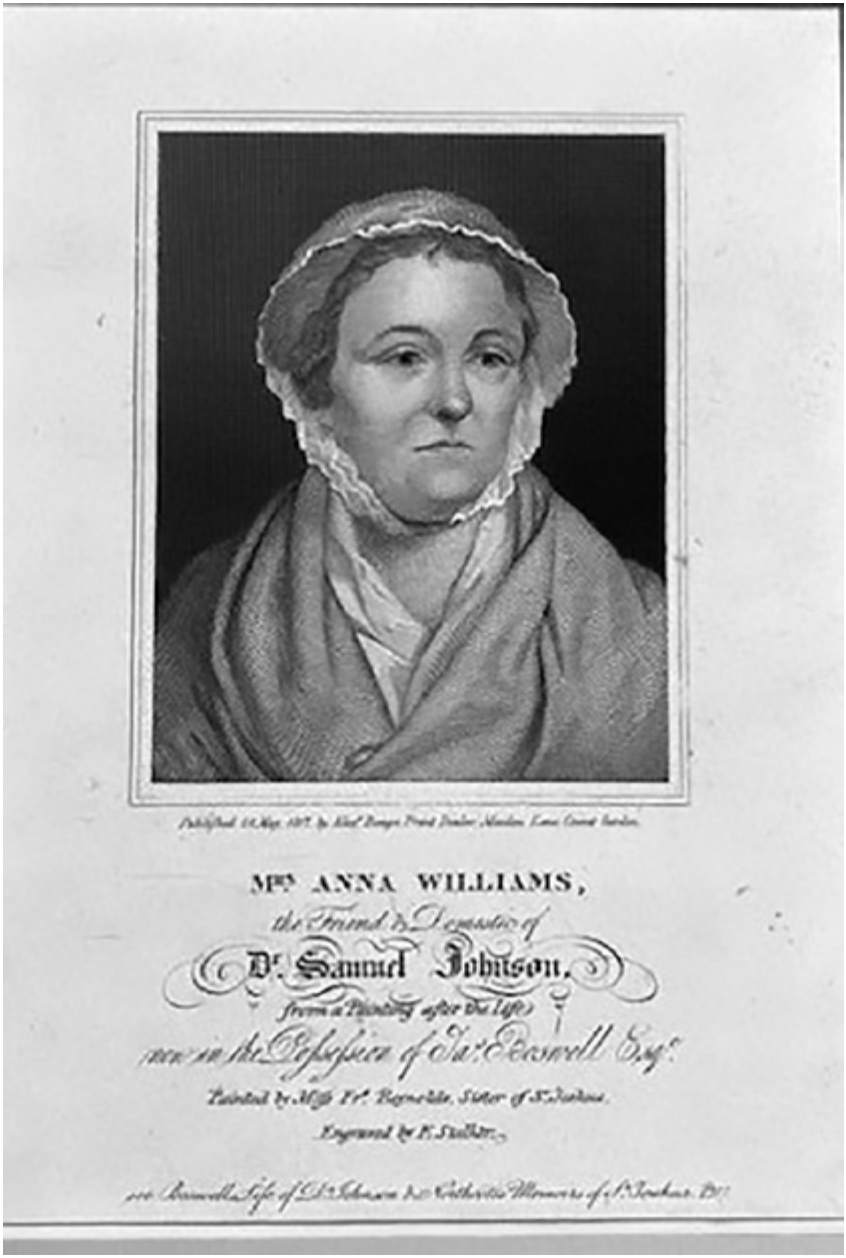

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Mrs ANNA WILLIAMS,

the Friend & Companion of

Dr. Samuel Johnson.

from a Painting after the Life

now in the Possession of Jas. Boswell Esqr.

Painted by Miss Fr. Reynolds, Sister of Sr. Joshua.

Engraved by F. Stoddart.

see Boswell's Life of Dr. Johnson & Hesther Thrale's Memoirs of Dr. Johnson. Dr.

Portraits of Anna Williams

By Deborah Kennedy

When one thinks of Samuel Johnson's friend Anna Williams (1706-1783), a poet from Wales, one pictures the portrait of her in Dr. Johnson's House, the museum in London's Gough Square.[1] That famous portrait is one of the few surviving paintings by Frances Reynolds, the sister of Sir Joshua Reynolds. It presents a simple but sympathetic view of Anna Williams, wearing a white cap demurely tucked under her chin, along with a white neckerchief and dark dress. The portrait was owned by James Boswell and sold in his family effects in 1825, and it was reproduced as an engraved print in 1817 (Figure 1).[2] After being in private hands for the next century, a widely publicized campaign in 1931 enabled it to be purchased for the Gough Square Museum in 1932.[3] Anna Williams had lived in the Johnson household in its various locations for nearly thirty years, keeping the kettle ready for his late-night cups of tea and serving as an unofficial housekeeper, but mostly as a good friend. Johnson described her as being like a sister to him.[4] Over the years, visitors to Gough Square have seen her picture prominently displayed over one of the fireplaces on the first floor.

However, there is also a second portrait of Anna Williams. It is little known today, but it was the likeness by which she was best known in earlier times, and a photographic copy of it at the Samuel Johnson Birthplace Museum in Lichfield has recently been rediscovered. This unattributed portrait is a half-length, with Williams turned towards the side, wearing a fine dress and an elegant cap. It is a pleasing likeness and depicts Williams with a slight smile and holding a fan (Figure 2). This second portrait is sometimes referred to as the Charity School portrait, as the original oil painting was owned until 1919 by the Ladies' Charity School in London.[5] Established in 1702, the School was first located in the St. Sepulchre area of Snow-Hill and finally in Notting Hill. Anna Williams, along with Anne Gardiner and others in Johnson's circle were patrons of the Charity School, and it inspired Johnson's two *Idler* essays on Betty Broom (1758), promoting female education.[6] Williams left a bequest—her "little" all—to the School, and she gave it some of her personal items including four silver teaspoons and this portrait.[7]

Throughout the nineteenth century, the Charity School painting was frequently copied when an illustration of Anna Williams was required for a book. These hand-drawn sketches were included in various works, especially editions of the *Life of Johnson* from around 1850. In some instances, sketches based on the 1817 print of the portrait by Frances Reynolds were also included. As a result, Victorian readers of Boswell had glimpses of the two different portraits of Anna Williams.[8]

For the managers of the Ladies' Charity School, their unique painting of Anna Williams was a valuable possession. It and other items highlighted the School's historical connection to Samuel Johnson and his circle. These items were publicized to help with fundraising on several occasions in the later Victorian period. The portrait of Anna Williams had pride of place in

the Charity School, on view for visitors along with other Johnsoniana, and it was regularly mentioned in accounts from the Victorian and Edwardian periods. For example, in 1890 letters appeared in the press to promote a fundraising event for the School to be held at Westminster Hall in May. It was referred to as a "Johnson Exhibition," at which were to be displayed such items as the following: "four silver tea-spoons" "a curious pair of sugar-tongs"; and the painting.[9] These "Johnsonian relics" were to entice would-be donors to the event.[10] The original painting itself is referred to specifically as "an oil portrait of Miss Anna Williams."[11] One supporter of the Charity School wondered whether engraved prints or photographs could be made to sell to the general public: "It has, we believe, never been engraved. If it were photographed, we doubt not that Johnsonians would each eagerly seek a copy of the likeness of one whose name is almost as familiar to them as her face was to Johnson."[12]

As black and white photography became more widely available, the Charity School portrait was copied in that format, both for publications and for public display. It was photographed at least as early as 1879, when a Mr. Groves kindly gave his photograph to Alderman Alfred Charles [A. C.] Lomax of Lichfield.[13] The Charity School had a very close relationship with Lichfield Johnsonians like the members of the Lomax family. Alderman Lomax lent a photograph of the Charity School's portrait to the Johnson Birthplace Museum when it opened in 1901. This framed photograph can be seen today in a surviving picture of the front room.[14] It eventually became part of the Museum collection, and today it is the only known extant original photograph of the Charity School portrait (Figure 3).

Over time, examples of various photographic copies of the Charity School portrait can be seen in newspapers and periodicals. An article in *The Gentlewoman* in 1897 includes a photograph of the portrait, entitled "Mrs. Anna Williams, Housekeeper to Dr. Johnson."[15] It is an invaluable complement to the hand-drawn sketches previously used as illustrations in editions of the *Life of Johnson*. The 1897 article in the *Gentlewoman* covers a full page, and it includes other photographs pertaining to the Charity School, with that of Anna Williams placed in the middle. On her left is a photograph of the Honourary Secretary Anne Charlotte Moore, who actively promoted the School in the London press.[16] Her relative Samuel C. Moore is pictured below her, next to a photograph of the students at the School. To the right of the picture of Anna Williams is a photograph of Mrs. Rolls Moore, President of the School's Ladies' Committee, and above her is a picture of Anne Moore's great-aunt Miss Catherine Price, who was one of a long line of members of the extended Price family who supported the School, including Leonard Price who provided Aleyn Lyell Reade with information about the painting.[17] This one page from *The Gentlewoman* offers a snapshot of the history of the philanthropic efforts to support the School, tracing a line from the time of Anna Williams's involvement to that of its more recent patrons.

In addition, a photographic copy of the Charity School portrait was used in a special edition of Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, edited by Augustine Birrell in 1901. It was chosen when the print of the Frances Reynolds

portrait could not be located.[18] Thus, even esteemed Johnsonians were hampered in their quest to have at hand the two portraits of Anna Williams. By 1907, though, Roger Ingpen had more luck and included in his *Life of Johnson* a photograph of both the Charity School portrait and the 1817 engraving of the Frances Reynolds portrait.[19]

Then in 1909, the original painting was exhibited in Lichfield for the September Bicentenary celebrations of Johnson's birth in Lichfield. The event was also attended by six students from the School. The exhibition of the Johnson memorabilia included the following items on loan: an armchair; an ordinary chair; an ottoman; tea-spoons; iron sugar-tongs; "Painting of Mrs. Williams"; and Minute Books.[20] In due course, A. C. Lomax donated his own photograph of the portrait to the Johnson Birthplace Museum. However, at some point this framed copy sustained water damage and was relegated to storage. In 2021, I began a process of researching the history of the portrait, with the help of Joanne Wilson, the Museums and Heritage Officer in Lichfield. This led to the photograph undergoing professional conservation for the Birthplace Museum.[21]

What of the original oil painting? When the Ladies Charity School closed in 1919 and the property was sold to the Church Army, items were dispersed. The four silver teaspoons are in the collection at Gough Square.[22] In the 1930s, a comment by Arundel Esdaile, a prominent member of the Johnson Club of London, indicates that the Charity School portrait was also at Gough Square. This comment was made when the other portrait, the one by Frances Reynolds, came up for sale, having been in private hands. Esdaile states that the House in Gough Square "*already possesses the authentic though inferior Charity School portrait of Mrs. Williams*."[23] After the Frances Reynolds painting was purchased, it tended to be the main image used to represent Williams.

Since that time, the Charity School portrait has garnered only a few notices. For example, in a 1950 *Apollo* article H. Clifford-Smith remarked on it then hanging in "Miss Anna Williams' Room" in the Gough Square Museum: "In this room now hangs a second painting of her, a small work by an unknown artist, showing her in a green dress with white ruffles and a large cap."[24] This description is an important one, for ascertaining its location and for describing the green dress. To cite another example, in 1979, James Clifford used a black and white photograph of the portrait as an illustration in his book, *Dictionary Johnson*, and he thanked the then Curator Margaret Eliot for permission to use the image: "The portrait of Miss Williams was provided by Miss Margaret Eliot of the Gough Square Johnson House Museum.."[25] Today, the fate of the original Charity School portrait is unknown, but it is hoped that new information will come to light.[26] It is a portrait that adds to our understanding of the representation of women in Johnson's circle and in the eighteenth century more generally.[27]

Finally, this investigation has led to the rediscovery of a full-color Victorian-era copy of the original oil painting. It was listed in the 1875 Lewis Pocock catalogue as follows: "Mrs. Anna Williams, the Friend of Dr. Johnson, drawing in water colours, highly finished, by Denly [sic], with two Engravings."[28] Consultation with John Overholt, the Curator of the Donald

and Mary Hyde collection in the Houghton Library at Harvard, confirmed that this item is held there, as part of the R. B. Adam collection, donated by the Hydes.[29] The watercolor is signed "Denby," and, while the attribution is uncertain, it is possibly the work of the Victorian artist and art teacher William Denby.[30]

In vivid colors, the Houghton Library copy shows Anna Williams in a dark green dress, trimmed with black lace, and holding a fan in her hands (Figure 4). Sitting in a formal manner, and with a look of composed self-possession, she is smartly dressed, wearing a fashionable bonnet. Clearly rendered in jewel tones, this copy of the Charity School portrait adds a new perspective on the surviving photographic images, such as the one held at the Samuel Johnson Birthplace Museum in Lichfield. In its various forms, then, the Charity School portrait is once again available for all to see, and helps to tell at least part of the somewhat mysterious story of the portraits of Anna Williams.[31]

Saint Mary's University
Halifax, Nova Scotia

List of Illustrations

Figure 1 [prefacing this essay]: Anna Williams, portrait, engraved by Ebenezer Striker, 1817, after Frances Reynolds. Courtesy of the Samuel Johnson Birthplace Museum, Lichfield.

Figure 2 [below this essay]: Anna Williams, portrait, photographic copy of the oil-on-canvas painting originally held at the Ladies' Charity School, unattributed, n.d. In Augustine Birrell, ed. *The Life of Johnson*, by James Boswell, 6 vols. (Westminster: Archibald Constable, 1901), vol. 1: facing page 187. Private Collection.

Figure 3 [below]: Anna Williams, portrait, photograph of the oil-on-canvas painting originally held at the Ladies' Charity School, unattributed, n.d. Courtesy of the Samuel Johnson Birthplace Museum, Lichfield.

Figure 4 [on the outside cover] Anna Williams, portrait, watercolor, by Denby, n.d. Courtesy of the Donald and Mary Hyde Dr. Samuel Johnson Collection, Houghton Library, Harvard University.


Anna Williams

Notes

1. See William R. Jones, "Williams, Anna," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004.

2. See the listing for the oil painting in *Bibliotheca Boswelliana: A Catalogue of the Entire Library of the Late James Boswell [the younger]*, (London: Sotheby, 1825), p. 107. Copied here is the engraved portrait of Anna Williams by Ebenezer Stalker, after Frances Reynolds, published by Alexander Beugo, 28 May 1817. I am grateful to Kimberley Biddle,

Museums and Heritage Office of the Samuel Johnson Birthplace Museum in Lichfield, for her kind assistance with this item.

3. The painting, acquired by George Thorneycroft around 1900, was sold to Gabriel Wells in 1930, who sold it to the Johnson Club of London. See "Poetess Friend of Dr. Johnson: The Portrait of Anna Williams," *The Times*, 14 April 1931, p. 17; and "Johnson Society of London: Portrait of Mrs. Williams for Gough-Square," *The Times*, 27 January 1932, p. 8.

4. See Norma Clarke, *Dr. Johnson's Women* (London: Hambledon, 2000), p. 17-19.

5. This photograph is listed as Item 21 in a typed inventory of items held at the Lichfield Birthplace Museum: "Photograph of Anna Williams, 'from an oil painting in the possession of The Ladies' Charity School, Notting Hill.'" See the "List of Contents, Dr. Johnson's Birthplace Museum, 1967," unpublished MS. Courtesy of the Samuel Johnson Birthplace Museum.

6. See Deborah Kennedy, "Samuel Johnson and the Education of Women," forthcoming in *1650-1850*.

7. Samuel Johnson, letter to Hester Thrale, 22 September 1783, in vol. 4 of *Letters*, ed. Bruce Redford (Princeton: Princeton U. Press, 1994), 205.

8. See Boswell, *The Life of Johnson, Illustrated*, 4 vols. (London: Office of the National Illustrated Library, 1851), vol. 1, p. 268; vol. 2, p. 65.

9. See Anon. "A Johnson Relic Exhibition at Westminster," *Pall Mall Gazette*, 8 May 1890, p. 6.

10. See Anon. "A Johnsonian Exhibition," *The Speaker*, 22 March 1890, p. 311-312; p. 311

11. See Anon. "A Johnson Relic Exhibition at Westminster," *Pall Mall Gazette*, 8 May 1890, p. 6.

12. See Anon. "A Johnsonian Exhibition," *The Speaker*, 22 March 1890, p. 311-312; p. 311.

13. See the entry in the "List of Contents, Dr. Johnson's Birthplace Museum, 1967," unpublished manuscript. Courtesy of the Samuel Johnson Birthplace Museum, Lichfield. I am grateful to Joanne Wilson for finding this important documentary evidence.

14. See "A View of Johnson's Birthplace in 1901," *The Samuel Johnson Birthplace Museum Blog*, 30 April 2020.

15. See "The Queen's Charities. No. XVIII.—The Ladies' Charity School, Powis Gardens, Notting Hill," *The Gentlewoman*, 7 Aug 1897: 181.

16. Anne C. Moore, "The Ladies' Charity School and Dr. Johnson," Letter to the Editor, *The Times*, 17 September 1909, p. 9.

17. See letters from Leonard C. Price to Aleyn Lyell Reade (1912), in the manuscript collection ALR.D. 2. 6, Material Relating to Various Aspects of Johnsoniana. By courtesy of the University of Liverpool Library.

18. Ernest Radford, Preface, in Augustine Birrell, ed. *The Life of Johnson*, by James Boswell, 6 vols. (Westminster: Archibald Constable, 1901), vol. 1, p. xx; and facing page 187.

19. Roger Ingpen *Life of Johnson*, 2 vols. (London: Pitman, 1907), vol. 1, facing page 134.

20. For the items on display for the Bicentenary celebrations, see the *Lichfield Mercury*, 24 September 1909, p. 7.

21. Joanne Wilson, "News from the Birthplace," *The Johnson Society Transactions* 2022: 70-73; 73.

22. For a photograph of the teaspoons that belonged to Anna Williams, see Margaret Lane, *Samuel Johnson and His World* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1975), p.139.

23. Arundel Esdaile, "Anna Williams," Letter to the Editor, *The Times*, 1 May 1931, p. 10; my italics.

24. H. Clifford Smith, "Dr. Johnson's House—Part II," *Apollo* 52: 310 (December 1950): 165-168; 167.

25. James L. Clifford, *Dictionary Johnson: The Middle Years of Samuel Johnson* (London: Heinemann, 1979), p. ix; p. 95. I am grateful to Dr. Thomas "Jock" Murray for presenting me with his copy of this book and other Johnsoniana.

26. I am grateful to Celine Luppo McDaid, Curator of Dr. Johnson's House, London, for her kind efforts to answer queries on this topic.

27. On women's portraiture, see Devoney Looser, "The Blues Gone Grey: Portraits of Bluestocking Women in Old Age," in Elizabeth Eger, ed., *Bluestockings Displayed* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2013), p. 100-120.

28. *A Catalogue of the Unique Collection of Johnsoniana, Formed with Great Care and Indefatigable Zeal by Lewis Pocock* (London: Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge, 1875), p. 41.

29. For assistance with this item, I am grateful to John Overholt, Curator, the Donald and Mary Hyde Collection of Dr. Samuel Johnson and Early Books and Manuscripts, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

30. See "[Anna Williams] Watercolor (original art) by Denby, undated" (29 x 23 cm), in the extra-illustrated copy of *Johnsoniana; or, Supplement to Boswell: Being Anecdotes and Sayings of Dr. Johnson* (London: J. Murray, 1836), MS Hyde 74 (4. 347), from the Donald and Mary Hyde Collection of Dr. Samuel Johnson, Houghton Library, Harvard U.

31. I am indebted to Joanne Wilson, former Museums and Heritage Officer, Lichfield City Council, The Samuel Johnson Birthplace Museum, Lichfield, England, for her kind assistance with this research.

ENGLISH 332: Enlightenment and Sensibility (British Literature 1660-1798)

Professor Adam Potkay (aspotk@wm.edu)
Class: T/Th, 12:30-1:50,
Office: Tucker 137; Office Hours: T/Th 2-3:15 and by appointment.
Zoom room: https:// cwm.zoom.us/my/adampotkay

Please note that this is an upper-level English literature course designed primarily for majors or others with college-level training in the humanities; IT IS NOT APPROPRIATE FOR FIRST-YEAR STUDENTS, who should

begin with 100- and 200-level courses. English 250, Interpreting Literature, is designed to train prospective English majors. Note, also, that English 332 has a designated focus on poetry, drama, and non-fiction prose (to study the novel, register for "The Novel to 1832," taught by Brett Wilson).

Fall 2023 Theme: The Problem of Evil. Why do bad things happen to good people? If there is divine justice or moral order in the universe (as most authors from Biblical times until quite recently widely assumed), then why are humans subject both to "natural evils" (floods, earthquakes, cancer) and "moral evils" (theft, deception, oppression, enslavement)? To what degree are evils things we bring upon ourselves, by our actions or past actions? Can we come to understand cosmic order, or must God's purposes remain inscrutable? Or if there is no God or purposive design in the universe, what then is or should be the purpose or aim of a human life? May certain pleasures be pursued with a minimum of pain, or are there duties or virtues that should be pursued without consideration of pain or pleasure?

These questions were asked with particular urgency in the period of British literature we are studying, which begins with the Restoration of monarchy under King Charles II (reigns 1660-1685). The previous king, Charles I (to many, God's appointed sovereign), was executed in 1649 by English Parliamentary forces. Royalists asked, why had God allowed the rightful monarch to perish? Those who supported the Puritan-led Parliament (among them, the great poet John Milton) asked, why had God allowed the failure of (in their eyes) the truly Christian commonwealth established by those who put the king to death? Political unrest and disappointment led to an intense period of soul-searching about the meaning and possible purpose of evil in human affairs: why do bad things happen to good people and good causes? What can we learn from the past in our efforts to move forward?

In the course of the eighteenth century, especially after the French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau declared that society itself gives rise to all evils, a range of social evils were "discovered" by literature and philosophy: poverty, labor exploitation, gross social inequality, women's oppression, and Atlantic slavery. Authors debated if these legally-sanctioned ills were part of, or opposed to, God's order or, specifically, its instantiation in political economy, a new concept in the period. Our thematically-focused survey ends in the early years of the French Revolution (1789-), an epochal event that promised for many the final coming of a just and rational order in Europe—the harbinger of ultimate good—but that proved for many, especially after the Terror (1793-94), the very image of radical evil.

In addition to the philosophical and historical questions we'll be pursuing, this course—which prominently features poetry—will also train you in metrical scansion and rhetorical analysis of the poetry of our period.

Required Texts:
1. *British Literature 1640-1789, An Anthology*, 4th Edition, ed. Robert DeMaria (Wiley Blackwell 2016).

2. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *A Discourse on Inequality*, trans. Maurice Cranston (Penguin).

In addition to the hefty DeMaria athology and the slim Rousseau volume, I have posted a number of pdfs under the "Assignments" page of our course Blackboard site. It's best if you print these out and mark them up for class. Also, for our readings from Bernard Mandeville and William Wordsworth (and some of our Blake reading), I have recommended reliable web-sites.

The only reading for which you're on your own is Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*, Book 4 (Journey to the Land of the Houyhnhnms)—if you don't already have a copy (it's in *The Norton Anthology of English Literature* and in many other anthologies), please buy one (there are many from which to choose). I recommend Jonathan Swift, *Gulliver's Travels*, ed. Robert DeMaria, Penguin Classics, ISBN 0-14-143949-1.

Writing and Exam Requirements:

The writing requirements for this upper-level English course are:

1) At least one short paper (3 pages), linked to September readings—you must do one of the five short response papers listed in the course schedule (first paper due by class-time on either Sept. 19, on Milton, or Sept. 28, on Dryden's Lucretius), and you may do an optional second paper to work on your writing skills and attempt to improve your short paper grade;

2) one longer essay, 6-7 pp., due Tuesday, October 31 (start early!);

Essay grading expectations: an A essay will develop an original thesis or critical argument through careful interpretation of a literary and/or philosophical text; it will be written with clarity and a consistently grammatical style. I have more tips on thesis-construction and style in the "Writing Well" section of my *English Major's Handbook*, online at the English Dept website: https://www.wm.edu/as/English/forstudents/index.php

Additionally, there will be a mid-term and a final exam. The mid-term, scheduled for Thursday, Oct. 19 during class, will consist of passage identification and analysis, both interpretive and also rhetorical/metrical. You will need to have mastery of the tropes and figures and a firm understanding of the poetry we've gone over in class.

For the final exam, during finals period, you will have two options:

Option 1: outline in advance and write during the exam period (exam writing needn't be as polished as formal essay writing) a 5-7 pp. essay on the problem of evil in four or more of the authors we studied in this course (at least two of these authors must be from the second part of our semester, post-mid-term);

Option 2: identify and explicate 4 out of the 6 quotations I will provide at the beginning of the exam period (this option will resemble the mid-term, though designed for 2-3 hours rather than 1 hour and 20 minutes).

Grading: Attendance and Participation, 10% (any more than 2 unexcused absences, or repeated breaches in class protocol [see below], may result in a zero for participation)

--1-2 short essays/response papers: 15%.
--5-7 pp. essay: 25%
--Mid-term exam, 20%
--Final exam, 30%

Some classroom protocols:
1. Unless you're reading pdfs on line (though it's best to print out the pdfs)—and excepting our class on Mandeville (to be read at a web resource), no lap tops or other computer devices should be turned on during class. All you'll typically need is the book or printed pdf open before you, and perhaps a note pad & pen/pencil for jotting the occasional note in your text.
2. Only in case of emergency should you leave our classroom during our class periods. Please arrive in class promptly, by no later than 12:30 (earlier is better), and be prepared to stay and to participate for the full hour and twenty-minute duration of class.

Course Schedule and Readings/Essay Questions:

Thurs. August 31: Course Over-view. Introduction to the Problem of Evil via an inspection of the Biblical Book of Job (pdf with notes under the Blackboard, Assignments), Chapters 1-4; 6-7; 14; 38-42.

We will also discuss this quotation from the Stoic philosopher Epictetus (c. 100 AD): "With regard to whatever objects give you delight, are useful, or are deeply loved, remember to tell yourself of what general nature they are, beginning from the most insignificant things. If, for example, you are fond of a specific ceramic cup, remind yourself that it is only ceramic cups in general of which you are fond. Then, if it breaks, you will not be disturbed. If you kiss your child, or your wife, say that you only kiss things which are human, and thus you will not be disturbed if either of them dies."

Tues. Sept. 5: Conclude discussion of Job/Epictetus; Historical Overview; begin discussion of METER and RHETORICAL TROPES and FIGURES. Study from Blackboard, Assignments: "A Short Sheet of Rhetorical Tropes and Figures"; Pope, "Epic Simile." Also look up these figures: alliteration, anacoluthon, aposiopesis, and epic simile.

Also read--from DeMaria's anthology or other source--Milton, *Paradise Lost* 1:1-330 (Book 1, lines 1-330, "or be forever fallen").

Metrical Note: metrical regularity in feet is often preserved by "y-glides" and "elision" that allow for the elimination of one syllable in words of three or more syllables. Does a blank verse line seem to have 11 syllables instead of 10? Odds are that the poet has intended you to drop one of the syllables. Examples:
1. Milton's first line in *PL*: "Of man's first disobedience"--disobedience is usually pronounced with five syllables:
dis-o-bed-i-ence,
but Milton means for us to pronounce it with four syllables:

dis-o-bed-yence (y glide-- a y sound for i + e)

How do we know Milton intends this? Because his ten-syllable lines/blank verse are always ten syllable lines/blank verse.

2. There's also ELISION, where you contract a word by dropping a syllable--this is what's happening, I think, in the Wallace Stevens quotation in "Technique in Poetry" scansion III quotation:
instead of "slov-en-ly," three syllables, read "slov'nly" (cut the 'e'), two syllables. POPE will rely heavily on elision.

Christian Contexts: The Christian Bible ends with an apocalyptic vision of the destruction of the cosmos and its replacement by new heavens and earth, in which there will be no evil or death. The marriage of the Lamb and the "new Jerusalem" or "holy Jerusalem" is a symbolic depiction of the union of Christ, the Lamb of God, and the body of the faithful/the saved.
Milton, *Paradise Lost* Book 1: 1-75—Milton's "proem" or introduction to his Christian epic (modeled formally on the ancient epics of Homer and Virgil). The fall of man is traced back to the "fallen angels" of Christian tradition; man's redemption is foretold in Christ ("till one greater Man / Restore us, and regain the blissful seat").

The curious student might like to read or re-read the first book of the Bible, Genesis, Chapters 1-3, to see all that's not said, there, about "the fall": Satan is not (explicitly) involved.

Thurs. Sept. 7: Re-read *Paradise Lost*, 1:1-300, and then read 1:586-670 (Satan's first speech to the assembled demons, ending "Hurling defiance towards the vaulted Heav'n").

Reading questions for Milton's first 330 or 670 lines:
1. What is "providence"? See 1:25, 1:163, but also look up the word. What is Satan's attitude towards providence? How is Satan's eternal punishment a part of God's greater providence? The punitive aspect of a Christian epic troubled readers in the Romantic era--here's Percy Shelley: "Milton's Devil as a moral being is as far superior to his God, as one who perseveres in some purpose which he has conceived to be excellent in spite of adversity and torture, is to one who in the cold security of undoubted triumph inflicts the most horrible revenge upon his enemy, not from any mistaken notion of inducing him to repent of a perseverance in his enmity, but with the alleged design of exasperating him to deserve new torments." Does Shelley's judgment seem to you fair--or not?
2. In what ways are hope and despair similar or different motives for Satan? See 1:88, 1:191, 2:5-11, etc. In what sense can despair be motivating?
3. Satan often employs the rhetorical figure of CHIASMUS: see, for example, 1:162-65 and 1:255. Why might he be attracted to this figure? What does the figure DO in his speeches?
Tues. Sept. 12: Satan, Heroism, and Milton's Transvaluation of Epic Values—

Read *Paradise Lost* 1:671-end (line 798): Satan rallies his troops; the building of Pandemonium. Also read Book 2: 1-569: The infernal council: how best to pursue vengeance against God—or not.

Reading Questions:
1. Analyze carefully the grammar, logic and rhetoric of Satan's first speech to his troops, 1:622-642. How would you characterize how his speech unfolds? What are his main points, and how effectively does he make them?
2. Book II of *PL* starts with a series of speeches in response to Satan's question: should they wage open war against God, or not? Note the argumentative and stylistic differences between the speeches of Moloch, Belial, Mammon, and Beelzebub. Whose argument do you find the most persuasive, and why?

Thurs. Sept. 14: Book 4, 1-535: Satan in Paradise: "Evil be thou my Good!" Also read or re-read Biblical Book of Genesis, Chapters 2-3, in King James Version or Revised Standard Version (available on BIBLE HUB on line).
*Be working ahead towards Tuesday's reading/response paper (unless you've inspected in advance Dryden's Lucretius and would prefer to write on it for Sept. 28)—you can write it in response to one of today's prompts/reading questions, or in response to the great Book 9 (for Thursday).

Reading Questions:
1. Note the narrator's chiasmus in 4: 18-23. How does this chiasmus resemble or differ from Satan's use of the figure in Books 1 and 2?
2. Analyze the rhetoric and psychological revelations of Satan's address to the sun/self-address in lines 31-113.
3. What seems to be the purpose, in Milton's physical description of Paradise, of invoking so much classical, Greco-Roman (that is, pagan) mythology? For example, the golden apples of the Hesperides (4:118-20, 250), and the stories of Prosperpina, Daphne (and Apollo), and Bacchus? (Look up these stories if you don't already know them.)
4. Study carefully Satan's first view of Adam and Eve, lines 288f. Some of the words used to describe Eve seem, to our ear, morally ambiguous--"disheveled," "wanton," "coy"--but look up these words in the OXFORD ENGLISH DICTIONARY, and study their earliest use and ETYMOLOGIES. Why do you think that Milton (through Satan's eyes or not) makes HAIR such a central matter here?
5. One of the greatest scenes in PL is Eve recalling her creation and first experiences, lines 448 f. In it, Milton revises and responds to the NARCISSUS myth--you might like to read it directly in Ovid, Metamorphoses 3:402-510 (you can find this on-line at the Perseus site).
6. How does Satan respond to Adam and Eve's kiss? Note that Milton is a materialist--that is, he holds that all things are made of matter--but holds that angels consist of very rarefied or spirituous matter (5.469-505). Angels can unite in desire: "Easier than Air with Air, if Spirits embrace, / Total they mix, Union of Pure with Pure / Desiring" (8: 626-28).

Tues. Sept. 19—Response paper #1 (3 pp.) due on Blackboard Assignment site by class-time—see below for prompt—
Read Book 9, complete (1189 lines): The Fall.

Reading Question: In Milton's telling, why does Eve eat the forbidden fruit? Why does Adam? What psychological and moral elements does Milton add to the sparer account of "the Fall" (if we can call it that) in Genesis 2-3?

Response Paper #1: Craft a unified argument that replies to any one of the reading questions I offer, above, for Books 4 and 9 of Paradise Lost.

Thurs. Sept. 21: A Poetical Revolution--from Blank Verse to the Polished Couplet.
Come with a printed pdfs of "Poetic Meter" worksheets, with scansion completed in pencil to the best of your ability (we'll go over this in class),
Read pdf, Potkay, "Couplet," and Alexander POPE, *Essay on Criticism*, Part 2, lines 204-393; Part 3, lines 610-642 (DeMaria anthology, pp. 683 f., 693).

Discussion question with couplet form: Pope, discussing proper aesthetic judgment (what's right or wrong in a poem or other work of art), emphasizes that "the sound must seem an echo to the sense"—how does this principle work in Pope's examples (Part 2, lines 345-57)?

Tues. Sept. 26: The Fear Theory of the Origin of Religion and Society.
Read from Blackboard, my assignment on "Hobbes/Rochester: Introduction to Enlightenment Philosophy';
Then Hobbes, from *Leviathan* (DeMaria anthology, pp. 10-13); Rochester*, A Satyr against Reason and Mankind* (382-86).

Thurs. Sept. 28: response paper #2 due on Blackboard by class time (you must have written one response by this date)—
The Revival of Ancient Epicureanism (Atomism and Practical Atheism)
Print/read pdf from B'board—Dryden's verse translations of Latin poet LUCRETIUS. (Note that the pdf also includes D's translations from Virgil—skip these.) (Optional Reading: Potkay, Article on Dryden's Translation of Lucretius.)

Prompt for response paper #2: According to Lucretius, what are the two main evils or sources of suffering that disturb human life, and how can they be cured or overcome?

AT THIS POINT YOU MUST HAVE WRITTEN ONE SHORT ESSAY / RESPONSE. A second short essay is optional.

Tues. Oct. 3: *The Vanity of Human Wishes:* response paper #3 due
Print/read pdf of Dryden's verse translation (1697) of Latin poet Juvenal's 10th Satire; then Samuel Johnson's imitation of the same poem, *The Vanity of Human Wishes* (1749), in DeMaria. Juvenal's question is: do we bring evils

on ourselves by wishing for the wrong things? What is his list of 'vain wishes'? Also—how does Johnson's translation / imitation of Juvenal's poem, written 50 years later, differ (poetically, substantially) from Dryden's earlier version? Focus on the proem/exordium of each poem (Dryden, lines 1-22; Johnson, 1-28); on their respective accounts of old age (Dryden, 301-423; Johnson, 255-310); and on their respective endings/conclusions (Dryden, 533 f.; Johnson, 343 f.) For response paper #3: address the question of how Johnson's version differs, in content and/or style, from Dryden's.

Thurs. Oct. 5*:* Women weigh in on the Erotic Love debate: response #4 due by class time--
[Optional reading: Rochester's obscene neo-classical poems on sexual dysfunction, "The Imperfect Enjoyment" and "The Disabled Debauchee"]
Read for class discussion:
Aphra Behn, "The Disappointment";
Jonathan Swift, "The Lady's Dressing Room";
Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, "The Lover: A Ballad," and "The Reasons that Induced Dr. Swift to Write a Poem called the Lady's Dressing Room";
Pope, "Eloisa to Abelard."

Reading questions—any of which can be a prompt for response #4:
1. Rochester's "The Imperfect Enjoyment" (p. 376f.) and Behn's "The Disappointment" (pp. 266-69) are both based on the Roman poet Ovid's Amores 3.7. How would you characterize the differences between these two versions--and do these differences seem gendered? (Remember Behn is a woman.) Analyze Behn's verse form (meter, stanza structure-rhyme scheme).
2. In Swift's "The Lady's Dressing Room," what seems to be the narrator's point or aim? Is it a moral one, or not? Also, consider Swift's style: what's the meter here? How is the meter different than that in Dryden, Pope, Behn? What distinguishes Swift's rhymes from earlier rhymes we've seen? Finally, what are the different tones or literary levels Swift utilizes in his poems, and to what effect?
3. What is the main argument or 'headline' of Mary Wortley Montagu's "The Lover" (p. 758 f.)? Also, identify the poem's meter (we haven't seen it before in this course)--it's most apparent, I think, in lines 25-26. Read these aloud till you get their rhythm.

Montagu's poem on Swift's "The Lady's Dressing Room"—how are the tables turned?

4. Pope's "Eloisa to Abelard": trace the vacillations, the uncertainties of Eloisa's mood and tone in this verse epistle. Is she happy to be a nun? What is her attitude towards her former (now castrated and cloistered) tutor-lover, Abelard? FOCUS on lines 207-262, from "the blameless Vestal's lot" and "eternal sunshine of the spotless mind" (the latter is the title of an excellent 2004 film) to "th' unfruitful urn."

How is this poem similar to, or different than, the other poems we've read for this class--in tone, approach, content, style?

Tues. October 10: Private Vices have Public Benefits? The Origins of Modern Economic Thought. Response Paper #5 due by class—this is your last chance to write an optional, second short essay.
Read Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees or Private Vices, Publick Benefits* (online at https: //oll.libertyfund.org/people/bernard-mandeville):
Vol. 1, pp. 3-57: Mandeville's "the Preface"—this will start about one inch down on your right sliding bar, after a long editorial introduction and notes—pages appear in small roman numerals/bracketed in right margin of e-text. Then read the poem "The Grumbling Hive, or Knaves Turned Honest"; then the prose "An Enquiry into the Origin of Moral Virtues."

Reading Questions:
1. In the "Grumbling Hive" poem, how does Mandeville recast the Fall/eating from the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil ("the Instructive Tree")?
2. Is the "Grumbling Hive" a satire on vice--or not? What do you make of the pre-"Moral" ending [pp. 33-35]? How does this poem's ending accord, or not accord, with "the Moral" [pp. 36-37]?
3. Moving into "An Enquiry into the Origin of Moral Virtue": what is Mandeville's definition of "virtue" and "vice"? Do you agree with his definition? What, conversely, is his sense of a public "benefit" (or "detriment"), here and in the "Grumbling Hive"? How do the categories virtue/vice and benefit/detriment differ for Mandeville? In which categories does he seem most invested?
4. According to Mandeville's psychology, what motives cause people to behave "morally," or at least sociably?
5. Mandeville often speaks in his essay of "politicians," "law-givers," "wise men": who are these people, and what motivates them?

Response Paper #5: Reply to one or more of the above questions in a unified, coherent argument.

FALL BREAK, OCT 12-15 [also no class is held 7 Nov., election day]

Tues. Oct. 17: Mid-Term Exam during class time—passage identification and analysis, both interpretive and also rhetorical/metrical.

Thurs. Oct. 19: Mandeville, Swift, and the Problem of the Poor
Read Mandeville (online library of liberty), *Fable*, vol. 1, pp. 253-75, 285-89, for his case against charity schools/educating the poor--and why pity/compassion aren't virtues.
Read SWIFT, *A Modest Proposal* (DeMaria anthology, 527-32): an argument for the benefits of eating Irish babies!

Reading questions:
1. What would MANDEVILLE make of *A Modest Proposal*? Is there anything in his social theory that would forbid the eating of children under the circumstances Swift's narrator ("the projector") sets forth?

2. *A Modest Proposal* is largely in the voice of a business-like projector or entrepreneur. Is there any point or points at which this narrator is interrupted, and we hear something that may be Swift's own voice? In other words, if the work is IRONIC, how do we KNOW it is ironic?

Tuesday, Oct. 24: The Solution (?) of Rational Anarchism—
Read *Gulliver's Travels* Book 4, Voyage to the Country of the Houyhnhnms (find/consult your own text).
Read also, from Blackboard/pdf, from William Godwin, *An Enquiry into Political Justice* (1793), Book 2, chap. 2, "Of Justice"; from Book 8, chap. 6, against marriage. Godwin held that Swift's Houyhnhnms represented the perfection of our rational and political natures.

Reading Questions:
1. In Chapter 3, we discover that the Houyhnhnms have no idea of writing, books or literature. Why do you think that Swift includes this detail about them?
2. William Godwin greatly admired the social organization of the Houyhnhnms, thinking them an ideal for mankind. How closely do the Houyhnhnms reflect his own ideas of justice, marriage, and independence?
3. Consider the first paragraph of Part 4, Chap. 11, esp. the sentence: "and I often heard the sorrel nag (who always loved me) crying out…'Take care of thyself, gentle Yahoo.'" Given the social lives of the Houynhnms, what might the sorrel nag's "love" consist of? How do the Houynhnms love one another? How does Gulliver love them?

Is it significant that this is a "sorrel" (light reddish brown) horse? What is the status of sorrels in Houyhnhnm land? And finally, what does it mean to call Gulliver a "gentle" Yahoo? Have you seen the term "gentle" (or "gently" or "softly") used before in Part 4?
4. In the 12th and final chapter--what do you make of Gulliver's denunciation of human pride?

Thurs. Oct. 26- Tues. Oct. 31: "ALL PARTIAL EVILS [ARE SUBSUMED IN] UNIVERSAL GOOD"—Pope and Cosmic Optimism.
Read Pope pdf on Blackboard*, An Essay on Man*, *Four Epistles* (read at least Epistle 1, complete, for Thursday's class).

Reading Questions:
Epistle 1: 1. Pope announces his intention in line 16: "to vindicate the ways of God to Man." Like Milton before him, he's attempting a THEODICY--an explanation of why, given a good and omnipotent Creator, moral and natural evil exist in the universe. Question--is Pope's theodicy, his explanation of why evil exists, fundamentally similar to, or different than, Milton's? What are the similarities--and differences?
2. In addition to responding to Milton's theodicy, Pope thought of himself as responding to Lucretius's very fashionable poem. In what way might you see it as a response to (Dryden's) Lucretius or, more generally, Epicureanism?

3. In lines 33-52, Pope speaks of the "chain of being"--an order that runs from God on top to protozoa on the bottom, with humans somewhere in there (closer to the middle or bottom?). To what degree, in Pope's poem, does this cosmic change seem to buttress (static) social hierarchy as well?
4. In lines 113f, Pope speaks of "providence"--but how comforting is Pope's view of providence in relation to Milton's or an orthodox Christian's?

Epistle II: Pope acknowledges the classical, especially Stoic, division between disinterested Reason and human passions and appetites. (Recall our largely if not perfectly rational horse friends, the Houyhhnms.) In line 42 he admits that in some cases "What Reason weaves, by Passion is undone." Question--what, then, is Pope's DEFENSE of passions? In what way, according to Pope, are they useful? In what ways are they linked to VIRTUES (such as fortitude and prudence and "gentle love")?
In his thoughts about the passions--is Pope closer to Milton or to Mandeville?

Epistle III: What is Pope's sense of the origin and purpose of human society? How does it differ from the social theory of Hobbes and Rochester?

Epistle IV: What, for Pope, is happiness? Why does he think that the rich and the poor have equal shares of it, despite their material inequality?

Also on Tues, October 31: Longer Essay (6-7 pp.) due by 5 p.m. Your longer essay can be on any topic of your choosing; you may develop one of your response papers or engage the questions of political economy, reason and the passions that we engaged in our last two weeks before break (with Mandeville, Swift, Godwin) and in Pope's *Essay*.

Thurs. Nov. 2: Replies to Pope—Voltaire and Johnson on Disaster, Dissatisfaction, & Hope
Read: from Blackboard—pdf of Voltaire, "Poem on the Lisbon Earthquake"; Johnson, *Rambler* no. 2 (why the mind seeks futurity) (DeMaria, 825-28); Boswell, from *The Life of Dr. Samuel Johnson* (DeMaria,1055-57), and pdf, Blackboard, "Boswell—Samuel Johnson on Hope."
Begin *The History of Rasselas, Prince of Abyssinia* (De Maria, 845 f.)

Thurs. Nov. 9: *Johnson, The History of Rasselas, Prince of Abyssinia* (DeMaria, 845-905).

Tues. Nov. 14: Evils and the Elegy
Read Thomas Gray's poems from the DeMaria anthology: "Letter to Richard West," "Sonnet on the Death of Mr. Richard West," "Ode on the Death of a Favorite Cat," "Elegy in a Country Churchyard."

Reading questions with "Elegy":
1. What does Gray seems to be getting at in his lines on "Perhaps in this neglected spot is laid / Some heart once pregnant with celestial fire" through

"Chill Penury repress'd their noble rage/ and froze the genial current of the soul"? (By the way, be sure to look up "genial,""penury," etc.). THEN--what happens to Gray's developing theme in his next stanza: "Full many a gem of purest ray serene, / The dark unfathom'd cave of ocean bear..." In short--what IS Gray's/the speaker's attitude towards the unrealized potential of the rural poor?
2. Who is the "thee" of lines 93 ff. (& following)?
3. An interesting fact for you to meditate upon: Gray's "Elegy" was for much of the later 19th c. and 20th c. a STAPLE of UK/US high school classrooms and particularly of poetic MEMORIZATION. Indeed, as Catherine Robson shows in her study *Heart Beats*, the three most popular poems for memorizing and recitation were Gray's "Elegy," Kipling's "If," and Wm Ernest Henley's "Invictus." Look at these other poems if you can--you'll see why they're ideal for the moral education of students. But why is Gray's?

Thurs., Nov. 16: The Social Origin of All Evil
Read Rousseau, *Discourse on Inequality*, trans. Maurice Cranston (Penguin).

Tues. Nov. 21: The Evils of Enslavement, or Equiano and Wollstonecraft read Milton—asynchronous zoom lecture (for Thanksgiving week)
Read: --Olaudah Equiano, from *The Interesting Narrative* (DeMaria, 1069-81), and from Blackboard—
--Potkay, Article on Equiano and Spiritual Autobiography; and
--pdf of Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*, Chap 2.

Tues., Nov. 28- Thurs., Nov. 30: The Beautiful and the Sublime; Innocence and Experience
Read Edmund Burke, from *A Philosophical Enquiry into…the Sublime and Beautiful* (DeMaria 997-1004).
William Blake, from *Songs of Innocence and Experience* (DeMaria, 1159-65), plus—find/print from online: "The Clod and the Pebble"; "The Sick Rose": "The Garden of Love."
Note: DeMaria presents only the texts of Blake's poems, but Blake set his texts amidst lavish, hand-colored designs and illustrations--these are 'GRAPHIC POEMS.' So even if you're reading DeMaria visit the BLAKE ARCHIVE and check out the way these poems looked in their original contexts--look up "Songs of Innocence and Experience," 1794, and you'll note there are different versions (the images vary, the words not so much) of each poem. Link to Blake Archive: http:// www.blakearchive.org/

Tues., Dec. 5- Thurs. Dec. 7: Theodicy Naturalized
Read/study Wikipedia site on Blake's illustrations to Book of Job (weblink under Assignments);
--Wordsworth, "Lines written a Few Miles above Tintern Abbey" (widely anthologized, or from Poetry Foundation site), along with Blackboard pdf of "Tintern Abbey: Preliminary Reading Questions"—come to class prepared to discuss.

FINAL EXAM: Monday, Dec. 18, 9 a.m. See above on its format.

Historical Appendix: An abbreviated chronology of British literature, 1642-1789, in relation to major political events

English Civil Wars, 1642-51: armed conflict between king (Royalists, Cavaliers) and Parliament (Roundheads, Puritans). [**3 pp. of chronological appendix here has been omitted**]

Where the Visual and Literary Arts Intersect: Artistic Networks in Tokugawa-era Japan

Kazuko Kameda-Madar. ***Imagery of the Orchid Pavilion Gathering: Visualizing Tokugawa Cultural Networks***. Leiden: Brill, 2022. Pp. xi + 307; 134 color illustrations; appendix; index. ISBN 9789004523920: hardcover: $143.00. ISBN 9789004523920: ebook: $143.00.

Sarah Thompson. ***Hokusai: Inspiration and Influence.*** Boston: MFA Publications, 2023. Pp. 167; 120 color illustrations; appendices [160-166]. ISBN 9780878468904: paperback: 29.95 ($22.99 on Amazon).

Those who take an interest in social networks of the long eighteenth century might discover an entirely new area for exploration in two recent volumes that investigate the world of Japan's artists and their patrons. Gorgeously illustrated, these books take a deep dive into parallel establishments that occasionally intersected: the expansive inspirational gardens inhabited (or sometimes just imagined) by scholarly *literati* in their leisure hours, and the bustling commercial studios of professional urban *ukiyo-e* artists.

Kameda-Madar's handsome, oversized (8"x 10") book examines the confluence of social phenomena that gave rise to a sudden boom of the "Orchid Pavilion" or "Elegant Gathering" motif in amateur and profit-oriented Japanese visual art in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Unlike contemporary Chinese depictions of genteel poetic entertainments in an idyllic landscape, which were generally conceived on the spot by aristocratic attendees, Japanese counterparts were more often than not commissioned in advance from specialists hired for that purpose. Many of the active participants in the Elegant Gathering poetry competitions were tradesmen as well, and the private and the professional commingled in a manner unheard of in the Chinese precursors on which they were modeled. The Orchid Pavilion Gathering theme is based on a historical event that occurred in China in the year 353, when a famous calligrapher named Wang Xizhi invited a group of his friends and pupils to play a drinking game. A cup of rice wine was floated down a stream that flowed through his garden, and participants positioned along the bank agreed to compose two poems before the cup reached them. Those who succeeded emptied the cup. Those

who failed drank the cup plus a penalty of additional wine. Wang collated the poems and composed a preface that described the event, little knowing that he was setting the precedent for over a thousand years of emulation. The game's importation and popularity in Japan can be traced back to the seventh century, but only in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in the wake of the unification of the Japanese archipelago by the Tokugawa shoguns, did representations of the original event go viral in visual culture. The Orchid Pavilion and its meandering stream suddenly became a fashionable favorite for handscrolls, wall panels, and folding screens. Kameda-Madar's mission is to discover why.

The answers lie in a surprisingly mobile coalition of underrepresented individuals—frustrated samurai who failed to fit into an overly constrained political system imposed after the Tokugawa conquest, *nouveau riche* townspeople who were finally able to accumulate peacetime wealth without fear of conscription or confiscation after years of constant warfare, and aspiring artists who built their careers on catering to these two groups—all of whom lacked a political voice but used the soft power of cultural patronage to combat their outsider status through indirect means. This book describes how painters of different classes, belonging to different schools, developed variations of a displaced historical theme in order to help themselves and their patrons negotiate stronger positions within the relations of social power in their immediate competitive environment.

Although restrictions on travel prevented artists and tourists from visiting the actual location of the original Orchid Pavilion site in China, Kameda-Madar argues that the necessity of falling back upon their invention enabled cultural aspirants to imagine their own ideal community, a means of constructing symbols of refined amusement and authority to establish themselves as influencers. Influencers of what, and where, differed depending on their locations. The book's seven chapters each explore a different milieu, and how its collective values were served by re-creating a scene that had occurred in a different country, over a millennium before. The chapter on the Osaka's intelligentsia (Chapter 6) especially demonstrates how the commercial city's wealthy elite shared "the ideological goal of creating their own community" (221) apart from the imperial capital at Kyoto or the seat of the Tokugawa shogunate at Edo, modern-day Tokyo. Forging their own style, which included a self-taught subgenre known as "Eccentric Painters," was part of that separation; merchants with independent means could pursue their own intellectual and artistic inclinations without reliance on the samurai system and its accompanying restrictive regulations—which encompassed Confucian dictates regarding good taste as well as law.

A large experimental draft by the Kyoto artist Ike Taiga, which seems to have functioned as a sample for prospective patrons and was large enough to be fashioned into a six-panel folding screen after his death, showed that those in the capital were not without resources for innovation, either. Composing the scene from a high vantage point and depicting the wine-laden stream vertically rather than on the horizontal axis that was standard for Orchid Pavilion landscapes, he created a dynamic sense of movement

that is clearly influenced by steep diagonal compositions that were popular in Korea in the 1740s, putting the lie to today's common assumption that Edo-era Japan was entirely cut off from outside influence by the Tokugawas' isolationist foreign policy. Kameda-Madar points out that at least two famous Korean painters accompanied their Communication Envoy's ambassadorial visit to Kyoto in 1748, and Taiga's draft was completed in 1751, so it is almost certain that he took advantage of the opportunity to observe his Korean colleagues' rendering of a wildly popular subject and figure out a way to commodify it. "Although Taiga's encounter with the Korean artists during this embassy is not recorded," she admits, "their presence in Kyoto and some of the works they brought and produced while there must have stimulated Taiga's creativity" (119).

Sarah Thompson's more affordable (and somewhat more portable) paperback volume *Hokusai: Inspiration and Influence* was published by Boston's Museum of Fine Arts to accompany its exhibit of that name, which Thompson curated at the MFA March 26-July 16 and at the Seattle Art Museum October 19-January 21. Unlike the related 2015 exhibition staged by Thompson and the MFA, which concentrated entirely on the museum's extensive collection of prints by Katsushika Hokusai (1760-1849), *Inspiration and Influence* consists of about one-third works by Hokusai himself, one-third by his precursors and teachers, and one-third by imitators, including modern variations and parodies. Especially influential with the latter was his "Great Wave off Kanagawa" from *Thirty-six Views of Mount Fuji* (1831)—even today the most iconic image in Japanese art, bar none—and the disturbing "Dream of the Fisherman's Wife" from his erotic compilation *Pine Seedlings on the First Rat Day* (1814); as an indicator of their cultural status, both images have their own Wikipedia page. "Dream of the Fisherman's Wife," like many of Hokusai's illustrations, is dense with calligraphic text that complements the image and swells to fill in any blank spaces on the page. Other artworks included in *Inspiration and Influence* that were designed for the lucrative print market represent scenes from Kabuki plays or popular story collections—again, with text intertwined with the pictures, indicating an intimate connection between graphic art and text that is closer to today's *manga* layouts than to the set-off tables and figures, usually confined within a squared border, that one expects to see in illustrated European books of the same period.

Thompson's catalog follows the MFA exhibit closely, highlighting the artist's roles as student, journeyman book illustrator, trendsetting celebrity, and teacher. Primarily, what comes across is Hokusai as an extraordinary pioneer. We learn, for instance, that the young Hokusai began employing western-style perspective on a selective basis as early as the 1780s, as a novelty, in accordance with early experiments by his mentor Katsukawa Shunshō. In some of these earlier works Hokusai combined a vanishing point with the traditional style of rendering space, which placed distant objects higher in the picture plane. "While perspective was seen in Europe as a great scientific and artistic advance," Thompson explains, "in Japan it was regarded as a clever, amusing optical illusion suitable for such uses as stage sets and children's peepshow toys" (28).

Thompson also examines the influence of Kyoto's highly successful Kano workshop (the subject of Chapter Two in Kameda-Madar's volume), which specialized in landscapes, flora and fauna, and scenes from history and literature. Until Hokusai took an interest and began incorporating similar themes in his prints, these subjects had been considered an entirely separate genre from the contemporary scenes of urban life that were the realm of the *ukiyo-e* woodblock print market that he would come to dominate. The term *ukiyo*, or "floating world," is derived from a Buddhist concept of impermanence, the transience and unreliability of the physical world of wind and dust (Buddhism's goal is to reach *nirvana*, which literally means "the place of no wind"). During the Tokugawa period *ukiyo* came to refer to the constant flow of cash and the shifting fashions and relationships in the cities' pleasure districts, captured in *ukiyo-e* images of life in theaters and brothels. But Hokusai changed all that when he ignored the unspoken barriers that divided intellectual and *ukiyo-e* subject matter, opening the creative floodgates for those who came after.

Thompson's book is divided into four sections: Sources of Inspiration, Students, Rivals, and Global Influence. The selection of vivid full-color illustrations, many of which spread across two pages, includes sketch books, teaching texts, and examples from *surimono*, which were albums commissioned by wealthy members of poetry clubs to commemorate their Elegant Gatherings, similar to the Orchid Pavilion model. A ten-volume miscellany of decorative designs and vignettes produced in collaboration with a group of his students at Nagoya, collated by the students and published under the title of *Hokusai Manga* between 1814 and 1819, provides evidence of Hokusai's whimsical side; it became a popular textbook for art instructors and producers of household objects.

Many of the examples provided from the museum's permanent collection are seldom displayed, such as a delicately shaded depiction by Hokusai's daughter and most talented student, Katsushika Ōi, of three women playing musical instruments—a middle-class townswoman, a geisha, and a courtesan—who represent separate social strata that would never have encountered each other in real life, even within the confines of a studio where their sittings would have been scheduled at separate times to maintain appropriate distance that the artist herself could blatantly ignore due to the nature of her profession. As Thompson points out, at the time "women artists were rare but not unknown; they were generally the daughters or wives of successful male artists, as family connections were the only way they could obtain the necessary training" (48).

Taken together, these two volumes provide a window on a society that is often perceived as walled off against outside influences and subjected to rigid hierarchical control in all aspects of public life. The ingenious solutions adopted by its artists, often demonstrating a surprising permeability between social classes and an openness to adapting ideas from Asia and beyond, are a welcome insight into the creative potential of human networks.

Susan Spencer,
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Melvyn New and Anthony W. Lee (editors). *Notes on Footnotes: Annotating Eighteenth-Century Literature*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2023. Pp. xiv + 252. ISBN: 978-0-271-09397-0: hardcover: $119.95. [Also available in paperback, c. $45.]

Annotation, this book makes abundantly clear, is a demanding art. The form is deceptive: even a brief annotation may require hours of scholarly labor, and no matter how important the information it furnishes, the annotation occupies an always-ancillary position, vulnerable to being overlooked. Annotation requires making judgments about readers' knowledge that will inevitably leave some more ignorant or more informed than they feel they need to be, and it requires character traits such as modesty and humility that are at least as unequally distributed in the scholarly community as they are in life. In tones by turns philosophical, peevish, and wry, the essays in this compilation give insight into how to manage each of these issues and more. The focus on the editing of eighteenth-century texts is purposeful: the period, Anthony W. Lee writes in his preface, "witnessed the burgeoning of professional editions devoted to British writers," and so it is a particularly congenial place to reflect on annotation's different ends (ix). Readers will also be reminded, though, that the period offers some stern cautions to the over-enthusiastic annotator: in his chapter on editing the *Rambler*, Lee quotes Samuel Johnson's observation in his preface to *The Plays of William Shakespeare* that "Notes are often necessary, but they are necessary evils" (172).

Although the essays in this enjoyable collection heed that warning, many strive nonetheless to share their insights about how to create "many excellent good notes," as Kate Bennett's quotation of John Aubrey puts it. A good number achieve their goal by means of a pleasing counterpoint between general reflection on annotation and the authors' actual practice in specific cases. Thus, readers can learn here how abstract principles of annotation were applied (and adjusted) by Bennett when preparing the 2015 edition of John Aubrey's *Brief Lives*; Maximillian E. Novak in his contributions to the University of California Press edition of Dryden's work, in his edition of Thomas Southerne's *Oroonoko*, and in multiple volumes of the Stoke Newington Edition of Daniel Defoe's work; Melvyn New's editorship of the Florida Edition of the Works of Laurence Sterne and coeditorship of the Cambridge Edition of Samuel Richardson's *Sir Charles Grandison*; Robert DeMaria Jr.'s work on the latter volumes of the Yale Edition of the Works of Samuel Johnson; and a range of other cases. Other essays focus not on particular editions but on broader issues of editorship, from the value of annotating for the benefit of the "informed reader" (Michael Edson's contribution), the value of facsimile editions (Shef Rogers's piece) and the life of the annotator as distinct from the editor (Robert G. Walker's essay). Overall, there is something here to delight almost all readers,

In his essay "Footnote Failure," which draws on his experience editing the drama volumes of the Oxford Wesleyan edition of Henry Fielding's works, Thomas Lockwood observes that "the scholarly annotation is a

peculiar critical intervention, with much room for trouble" (130). Because the essays tend to circle the same set of problems, some common areas of potential "trouble" and some overlapping conclusions emerge. An annotated edition of a text offers its own version of the Goldilocks problem: the annotator must strive to provide neither too much nor too little information, aiming for a golden mean of erudition that is "just right." Most of us can recall a time when we have gone astray looking up some fact or other, whether that means getting lost in the stacks or stuck in an online rabbit hole. It is no doubt hard to resist sharing the fruits of such meanderings. Lockwood likes, he says, "the miscellaneous topic-mongering of annotation work," but he admits that "there is something about this work … that fills up the frame with trees, leaving the forest nowhere in sight" (133). The fruiting branches of miscellaneity, that is, must be pruned back; to switch metaphors, annotators must understand that their canvas is limited as they aim to produce what Bennett describes as "a critical art in miniature" (19).

Collectively, the essays catalogue key skills required to navigate these challenges, keeping in view the end goal of creating a useful interpretive framework for readers. Novak emphasizes the sensitivity to context that the annotator must have or acquire to place a work in its larger cultural milieu and to evaluate it in the arc of an author's whole career. Questions of intertextuality and genre arise with particular force, Novak points out, when an author like Dryden either adapts works wholesale or incorporates from contemporary works generic conventions that may be invisible today even to specialists in the period. Despite emphasizing the volume of knowledge required, however, Novak also notes the need for modesty. "A degree of embarrassment goes along with the job," he writes, "since one would assume that giving so much time and research to an edition would provide answers to the most difficult problems" – an outcome welcome but not inevitable (35). Drawing on his experience coediting one of the volumes of the Oxford edition of Alexander Pope's poetry, Marcus Walsh writes about the particular demands that eighteenth-century poetry's intertextuality can pose, since not all echoes amount to intentional allusions. A good annotator must present such context without dictating an interpretive inference (98). In "The Rhetoric, Ethics, and Aesthetics of Innovation," William McCarthy brings these points together when he considers at greater length the virtues of self-abnegation in annotation—the curtailing of what he calls "self-assertion at the author's expense," whether by pedantically correcting authors' errors or the more subtle problem of "insinuat[ing] a view of the author or the subject of the edited text" (227). Discussing shortcomings in editions of Samuel Johnson's *The Rambler*, Anthony W. Lee adapts Johnson's own locution when he suggests that "marginal imagination" is the annotator's vital tool: an ability to participate in the creative process with restraint.

Several chapters emphasize the annotator's or editor's opportunity to restore to readers a vivid appreciation of aspects of a work's material life that can be obscured by or on the printed page. In some cases this means emphasizing traditional bibliographical tasks like the consultation of early editions and holographs. Bennett is one of several authors who discusses how a work's complex textual history might be treated in the editing process,

describing her decision to create an edition that would make readers aware of the "antiquarian materiality" of the manuscripts of the *Brief Lives* (14). Other essays extend their attention to how a work's materiality might be brought in detail to readers' attention. In "A Picture is Worth a Thousand Words: Annotated Facsimiles as Ideal Editions," Shef Rogers argues for the more regular use of facing-page facsimile editions, since only they provide a readable text that can also shed light on the way a book's physical existence was shaped by multiple hands and how it was first experienced by readers. Rogers notes that advances in digital technology can facilitate the production of facsimile editions and offers a sample "test case" of Jonathan Swift's "On Poetry: A Rhapsody," distilling annotations from several modern editions and adding ones that further gloss details of its 1733 first edition. In his "Annotation in Scholarly Editions of Plays: Problems, Options, and Principles," Robert D. Hume points to a different dimension of a work's materiality when he argues that no play editor can afford to leave out information about the "physical milieu" in which dramas were staged or about "the impact of casting on performance" (42, 44). Knowing who played which roles, he contends, is vital, especially if we recall that playwrights often constructed roles for specific actors. A shared thread here is the notion that all texts are performances of one sort or other. Though this may seem obvious in the case of plays, Rogers's essay makes a broader case for seeing performativity at work across genres: "given that all books are essentially inert until performed by a reader," he points out, "any format that enables us to come closer to the experience of original readers is going to provide more insight than a text abstracted from its physical and social contexts" (75-76).

Behind many of these essays lies an ideal of a fully knowable text, one whose nuances a judicious annotator can make visible for the committed reader. A single edition may never reach such an ideal, as those contributors who emphasize the value of modesty in annotation suggest, but it nonetheless remains as a horizon of editorial possibility. A couple of the essays, though, question the validity of such an ideal, raising questions about how annotators might consider the ways a text's reception or even its identity can be shaped not by its accessibility but by its opacity. Stephen Karian's "Annotating Topical Satire: The Case of Swift" makes the simple but necessary point that real, historical readers were rarely the "ideal readers" that scholarly annotation attempts to produce. To the contrary, many actual readers of texts misread them, and sometimes wildly. "Citing such contemporaneous misreadings in a scholarly edition," Karian argues, "provides the best basis for a present-day reader to reconstruct the complex and various milieus within which the satire circulated" (62). Though Karian does not dwell on the extensive bibliographical work it takes to collate such misreadings, reading between the lines of his essay affords another glimpse of the often-hidden but real labor of annotation.

Michael Edson's "Uninformed Readers and the Crisis of Annotation" considers a rather different topic: the "tactical inaccessibility" of authors, often satirists, who sought to create confusion and uncertainty in readers' minds (113). Focusing on the use of blanks and leading initials in Samuel Garth's *The Dispensary*), Edson proposes "that satire hardly requires

understanding every allusion. … Annotators need to consider how explanatory notes can obscure the play of access and exclusion in satire, a dynamic in which sometimes not knowing could be both intended and central to the intended takeaway" (113). Rather than retreat from the work of annotation, Edson says, editors might preserve blanks in texts rather than filling them in, integrate into their apparatus information about references that would likely have puzzled contemporaries, and catalogue early readers' multiple identifications of unnamed figures. Such annotations could thus aim not at 'filling in the blanks' but help enact the text's actual mission: to produce a reading experience by turns puzzling and humbling—an experience designed, as Edson notes, citing Sean Silver, as a "policing" of the line between expert and inexpert readers.

Despite these cautions about the limits of annotation, reading this book inspires both admiration for the contributors' achievements and nostalgia for the scholarly atmosphere that produced the great editions on which many worked. Novak's memory of working at the Clark Library "with copies of all the Shakespeare folios spread out in front of me," browsing the stacks of seventeenth-century books as necessary, is delightful (28). Many readers will also enjoy such insider details as the Yale editorial committee's guidelines for the edition of Johnson's work, provided by DeMaria, which warn against notes that "become merely exclamatory, laudatory, or discursive" (qtd. 162). Another detail that DeMaria provides will likely provoke wry smiles: the initial proposal to complete the Johnson edition—which ultimately spanned seven decades—in two years, give or take.

In addition to all this, however, one wonders if room might have been made for a chapter that explicitly took up the question of the fate of the scholarly edition in an age when such significant projects have become harder to justify within the constraints of contemporary scholarly publishing. New's introduction makes the relevance of scholarly editing central to the book's purpose: "The essays in this collection," he writes, "make a united effort to reestablish the legitimacy of the relationship between the annotations one finds in critical (interpretative) essays and monographs and those in scholarly editions, a relationship that seems to have grown wider in recent years. …" (7). The jab at scholars who proceed without due attention to the provenance of their text is muted here; in his own contribution, "The Angry Annotator Annotated," New expands the critique with a purposefully curmudgeonly edge. Other contributors return to the theme of the integral nature of good editing, good thinking, and good argumentation. Preparing a scholarly edition, Bennett points out, "is a rhetorical art which presents a consistent argument through coherently related strategies of overt and subtle communication" (19). Walsh observes that "bibliographical and interpretative questions are interwoven, as editors of literary texts have always understood" (99), illustrating his point with details about the manuscript evidence that suggests Pope wished to replace the word "bug" with "fly" in the portrait of Sporus in the *Epistle to Arbuthnot*. The moral here for Walsh is that the conscientious editor assembles but "leaves the reader to interpret the evidence" (100).

Given that the volume as a whole offers such rich and ample testimony to the value of scholarly editing, one might wish that New and Lee had raised for contributors a question New's essay gestures to – "whether textbook editions should be reviewed" (146) or, perhaps, how to incorporate different editions of a text into one's teaching in ways that would help students appreciate the stakes of high-quality annotation. Both pragmatic and idealistic reasons can drive us to be explicit in our teaching about the value of scholarly labor, which is often invisible to students but just as often goes unremarked in the classroom. I imagine I am not alone in having students bring all sorts of ersatz "editions" of texts to class, typically turned up by a hasty online search. As students increasingly decline to purchase the editions we order and the clamor for "open educational resources" increases, it seems like a good time to engage students in meaningful discussions about the provenance of the texts they're reading, and in so doing perhaps stimulate interest in broader bibliographical questions of just the kind taken up here. More could also be made of the value of editing and annotation as practices of "recovery," a topic touched on explicitly only in Elizabeth Kraft's discussion of her editing of Anna Letitita Barbauld's poetry and Charlotte Smith's *The Female Philosopher* – the former done in collaboration with William McCarthy, her fellow contributor here. Looking back to the Georgia edition of Barbauld's poetry, Kraft is clear that "putting this author 'on the radar' of those I consulted was truly an 'agenda' of mine at the time" (206). She admits that her gesture to a "community" of readers eager for the edition may have been something of a fiction, but in so doing points to one function of editorial work: to bring such a community into being by bringing an author to readers' attention. "Our work," Kraft notes, "provided exactly the kind of stimulus I had envisioned" (206). This rich collection would only have benefited further from more explicit discussion of how to make the case for scholarly editing's ongoing importance and relevance.

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Catherine Ingrassia. *Domestic Captivity and the British Subject 1660-1750.* Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2022. Pp. 301; bibliography; index. ISBN 978-0-8139-4809-6: Paperback: $39.50.

The important purpose of Catherine Ingrassia's study of 18th-century writing from the first half of our long 18th century is to explore what was it like to live in societies pervaded by the controlling assumption that most people must spend their lives in varying forms of subjection to other people. In this pre-revolutionary world almost everyone at some point in their life was enjoined to perceive themselves as invisibly imprisoned by, or worse, literally an unfree captive of, someone else with no recourse to some standard of justice exercised by personally uninvolved and respected authorities.

Modes of captivity varied; some were far worse than others, e.g.,

chattel enslavement whereby an individual loses all control over his or her body, time, place, relationships, and endures a stark dehumanizing down to the level of a thing. These modes of legal servitude included for all women marriage; for all indentured people, conditions of life imposed by a press gang, military and civil law, or a local parish (in England), imprisonment (a fundamental loss of rights still with us) which at the time included the workhouse, and transportation (which could result from debt); and for people placed in invented categories, the automatic deprivations of developing colonial and national laws. Ingrassia' intent is to look at the writing selected as work that has come out of "cultures of captivity" (Prologue, Chapter 1). The point is these modes of subjection reinforced one another, and explain how, beyond religious ideologies that justified them, and military and judicial punitive powers that enforced them, these unwilling subjections (sometimes referred to as "dependency") depend on an implicit or assumed attitude of mind. These assumptions enabled a minority of white and/or high ranked people to compel the behavior of so many to their will. Chattel slavery could have seemed an extreme end of a continuum of compelled servitude involving almost everyone.

Ingrassia's decision to "focus primarily on white subjects whose captivity originated or occurred in England" (2) allows her to engage fully with "the domestic captivity of women," women not literally enslaved, not categorized as servants, and, beyond their family authorities, not subject to the individual laws of institutions (churches, medical establishments, orphanages, punitive places for unmarried pregnant women). We see how these "privileged" women seen visibly alongside racially other and enslaved people are themselves vulnerable to immediate forms of dispossession, disempowerment, punishment and confinement. Although Ingrassia doesn't mention this, far more documents got into print, were written down and/or saved when the cases were people seen as people and mattering to those in power who could conceive of themselves, or people attached to them as in such positions. It is very hard to get beyond the statistical account (or rare court interview) of impoverished illiterate women (e.g., agricultural workers) seen as potentially vagrants (and therefore easy to arrest).

Thus Chapter One is foundational as it is based on non-fiction letters, verse and documents. From a study of 350 letters by Martin and Judith Madan, his wife (her years were 1702-81) and her poetry (most of it unpublished in her lifetime), Ingrassia demonstrates that both Madans saw themselves from some angles as "captive subjects." Judith Madan's self-perception and view of her life may be more convincing to us today than her husband's, who, with impunity, spent all the money and income from their property (which included people) which were supposed to go to fulfill her desires, for his own aggrandizement or pleasures. He inflicted on her repeated economic distress, and aroused in her, however qualified by her love for him, resentment. This view of themselves enabled their indifference to the daily hard suffering of the enslaved people they bought, sold and had cared for (mostly at a distance, in the Caribbean), as if they were animals (if the Madans thought of them at all).

In the same chapter, we meet the Dublin poet, Mary Barber (ca. 1685-

1755), widowed by 1733, and as to money nearly destitute, who in her poetry sees herself, and white people kidnapped in North Africa, and now brought home as "freed," as in reality "wretched captives" since they will now live within the "chains" of economic straits (that she knows) as "forced labor." Ingrassia suggests that Thomson's "Rule Britannia," sometimes subtitled "an ode to liberty," exhibits similar intense anxieties in the line "Britons will never be slaves." She then argues that other semi-autobiographical poetry by later 17th-century middling to upper-class women, and by early 18th-century laboring poor ones (e.g., Mary Collier, best known for *The Woman's Labor,* 1739) complain of living like "Prisoners" all their lives. While we may see these women as free to come and go if they have money enough and as educated enough to write such poems and get them into print, we need to recognize they felt unfree or were without some essential liberty they craved.

For this reader there is a recurring problem with the ostensible focus on white people, many of whose lives were economically precarious. African and fully enslaved people are taken into account; they are frequently shown to have individually and as a group endured horrific and barbaric punishments and deaths, though they are hardly ever rendered in Ingrassia's chosen texts as individuals with full subjectivity. The texts, though are most of the time highly enigmatic, and seem to have been chosen because they were commercially successful. We are asked to read them against the grain or as ironic and treat the author as someone very distanced from the content of the work. Ingrassia dismisses modern readers like Linda Colley who dismisses Barber and other writers from the period which Colley uses as documentary evidence as "dreadful" (39, 212n53.) Some of it is dreadful: older valid aesthetic and evaluative criteria were (however indemonstrable) felt as guarantees of some sincerity or authenticity in the authors' relationship to their texts.

This reviewer finds somewhat problematic Ingrassia's chapters focusing on Aphra Behn's late hit, *The Emperor of the Moon* and two plays written while she was in or had fresh memories of Surinam, *The Young King* and *The Younger Brother* (Chapter 2, "Captivating Farce"); on Penelope Aubin's commercially successful narratives, especially *The Noble Slaves*, which text Ingrassia sums up as "marketing captivity" (Chapter 4, "Barbary Captivity"); and on Eliza Haywood's *Memoirs of an Unfortunate Young Nobleman* and Edward Kimber's *The History of the Life and Adventures of Mr Anderson*, whose popular success can be attributed to their being partly based on the life of James Annesley (1715-60). The orphaned son of a wealthy Baron, Annesley was sold by his uncle into slavery for 13 years, but managed to escape and return home, and sue successfully in a court for his inheritance, which however he never received because of the "ongoing process of appeals and strategic delaying tactics" of the same uncle (Chapter 5, "Indentured Slaves"). What unites these texts (and indeed most of the texts in Ingrassia's book) and central to Ingrassia's description of them is her assumption that the enigmatic nature of the texts is due to the authors using "savvy marketing" tactics (166) to make money for someone. We are asked to admire the authors for making money or achieving fame or celebrity

without looking into what has been the particular moral cost. In the case of Behn's plays under discussion, it seems spectacle, won over audiences; in the case of Aubin, sexual voyeurism and titillation justified as pious lessons; and in the case of Haywood and Kimber, a publicized trial and the action, some of it set in America, felt therefore as exotic (an "American form of servitude," 173). There seems also to be something particularly fascinating for a wide swath of readers if the victim is an upper-class white male deprived of his caste status.

The chapter on Behn is invaluable because it is dense with information having to do with Behn's own stay in Surinam. Ingrassia also sets these three texts in the contexts of other of Behn's writing where the colonialist and critical stance and a genuine superiority or originality is self-evident, and together with documents that demonstrate Ingrassia's thesis about the continual subjection of all sorts of people (here though especially women) to powerful men in ambiguous colonialist and British settings. Ingrassia concedes it is not clear if the dominant tone of *The Emperor of the Moon* is celebratory (and frivolous) or seriously critical. However personally involved Behn was as a vulnerable white woman and unpaid spy, the ways in which her play was produced (as described here), the people chosen to participate in the spectacles (African people function as statues), makes this reader feel their sustained public popularity functioned as an endorsement of ruthless mercenary colonialist practices and was titillatingly voyeuristic.

Similarly, the indisputable strong value of the chapter on Aubin's "market savvy" narratives, lies in all the material Ingrassia brings to bear upon Aubin's uses of a "savvy knowledge of business, empire and popular culture" in her texts. (The word "savvy" is used repeatedly, e.g., 119, 125). We are told of somewhat documentable stories of real calamities inflicted on women, on their children, and on a few subaltern white and enslaved African men. Ingrassia suggests that abduction, enslavement, and abuse of European people was more widespread than 21st-century readers might think. She falls back upon Linda Colley's thoroughly researched *Captives*. It's impossible to know what percentage of voyagers or sailors and colonial traders underwent enslavement, much less how many of them were women, or survived, but both Ingrassia, Colley and other historians think we have underestimated the count. It appears also that "corsairs operated not as random, renegade actors, but often as part of a concerted state effort" (121). There is evidence to show these same states were most of the time indifferent to the fate of these subalterns and victims. Many never returned home. What we might read and dismiss as semi-fantastic repetitive and parallel stories of women captured, raped, bought and sold, traded and humiliated in an imaginary North Africa are said for British women readers to have stood in for the prosaic dependent and powerless lives of English women in the everyday world of England.

Ingrassia tells of how Aubin's male family members were deeply involved in colonialist slaved-based enterprises, that Penelope herself acted as a businesswoman for the firm. Ingrassia argues that Penelope meant to use her sex-drenched stories to speak to a female readership about their personal miseries at the hands and under laws made by European men. The stories

seem repeatedly to present the European male controllers as far worse in their treatment of women than the native Middle Eastern men. Among the feminist interpretations Ingrassia infers as she dwells in these situations, is that the women who end up blind or crippled or somehow maimed for life are practicing self-harm (sacrificial and or self-mutilation, terrible violence inflicted on themselves). The lurid masochism of these texts provides for outward signs on women and vulnerable men and children, which destroy any chance they might have for a decent life, not as a punishment for the woman's loss of virtue but to make visible to others evidence of the terror and pain and despair they have experienced. She says and shows that men can recover, and women cannot.

I found myself remembering the Ovidian story of Philomela and Procne as an archetype but am not convinced Aubin meant her readership to come away from her texts with an awareness that one has read a serious critique of English society in the most intimate phases of people's lives. The texts are frequently lascivious or prurient; the one example of (an apparently rare) "authorial interjection" occurs where Aubin asks the reader not to "condemn" one of her European male characters since "life is sweet" and "what brave, handsome young Gentleman would refuse a beautiful Lady, who loved him, a Favour" (151).

The final chapter is united by what is one of the source stories for two of the texts, the male-centered nature of the narratives, and the use of a white woman (herself victimized, in servitude) as a kind of mentor or tutor to the hero. We again read about non-fictional and semi-autobiographical texts, e.g, *The Infortunate: The Voyage and Adventures of William Moraley, an Indentured Servant* (1743). Although often treated as a writer of erotic fictions (with women at the center of her stories) and early domestic realistic novels, Haywood's book was her fourth most popular. Kimber's *Tom Anderson* (the hero is called Tom, pp. 180-195) is astonishing. Its male-centered picaro nature makes it read like a crude *Tom Jones* where the individualized characters are far more genuinely and egregiously treated with horrific injustice in colonialist plantation situations than we find happens to any of the basically genteel central characters in Fielding's masterpiece.

One should note some striking similarities between Kimber's and Haywood's texts and some recent popular and respected texts because they are troubling. The ambiguous patterns in these 250-year-old texts are recurring in some of today's attempts to make earlier history (as it has been understood) and the matter of the older classic text palatable or appealing to new audiences. For example, Caryl Phillips's *Cambridge* (1992) and *Crossing the River* (short-listed for the Booker Prize, 1993) feature white people, and in the case of *Cambridge*, a white woman, who dominates the text more than its black African hero (for which it has been criticized). Some aspects of the TV serial adaptation of Fielding's text in the 2023 *Tom Jones* (scripted Gwyneth Hughes, directed by Georgia Harris) with its West Indian Sophie Western (played by Sophie Wilde) as the female narrator of the story, are delightful, but Ingrassia's book and Kimber's text can alert us to how, the new wise "mulatto" Sophie, and a white woman character (Hannah Waddingham as Lady Bellaston caricatured as a female giant) are made to be

teachers of a country bumpkin and "innocent" Tom (Solly McLeod); and how he is presented as guiltless of any wrong-doing (as opposed to Tony Richardson and John Osborne's hard violent sexualized supposed comic males). In 2023 the Western and Allworthy adults are presented as benign except for their unfortunate propensity to try to pressure their adult children to marry for money and status; we are shown how life is not unpleasant for free African people living in England since they seem easily to assimilate as versions of working-class whites. In both these film adaptations (as well as the 1997 BBC serial) despite the risk of loss of status and death, the central characters are re-elevated into the top dominating positions of the community. So too Kimber's Tom Anderson. See Gail Low, "A Chorus of Common Memory: Slavery and Redemption in Caryl Phillips's Cambridge and Crossing the River," *Research in African Literature*, 29:4 (1998):122-141; also my blog review for a comparison of the 1963, 1997, and 2023 film adaptations of *Tom Jones*: http:// ellenandjim.wordpress. com/2023/ 06/03/ three-tom-jones-films-1963-1997-and-2023-and-one-book/ (June 3, 2023).

It seemed appropriate to reserve the matter of Ingrassia's third chapter ("Domesticating Captivity") for the last and a separate individual treatment. There is little doubt that Richard Steele intended to write reformist and (to some extent) serious protest or moral or moralizing plays. His first play, also a hit, *The Funeral; or, Grief a-la-mode* does not depend on ridicule for its central effects; it exposes hypocritical behavior from a moral and earnest point of view. Steele was a centrally influential writer of his era, an independent minded Whig politician, a Drury Lane governor: beyond his involvement with the invention of journalistic essays and his plays, he initiated theater criticism. The excellence, originality, and sincerity of much of his work is (I take it) beyond dispute.

Ingrassia presents him as a soldier involved in active fighting, as an owner of a plantation in Barbadoes which depended on the labor indentured people and enslaved people he had by law "a share" in. This life experience, she feels, is central to how he came to write and what he put in the famous highly successful *The Conscious Lovers*. The question is, how this play, long in gestation and then for a long time holding a respected place in the English repertoire, was understood by contemporaries and what is its importance today? Using allusions to colonialist slave society places in the play and Indiana's previous experiences as re-told by her, Ingrassia argues the central forbidden love between Indiana, a lost white woman who had been held captive in the Indies, and the exemplary sentimental hero, Bevil, Jr makes visible to us a "largely invisible world of enslavement, brutality and oppression." The secondary exemplary couple, Lucinda and Myrtle, provide a domestic life parallel as Lucinda is at risk of being forced to marry Cimberton who makes it clear he will treat her like a breeding animal. Steele himself talked of the anti-dueling scene and seems to have regarded the substitution of earnest emotionally somber characters for characters exposed to ridicule as his central innovations, but then he never writes with any sense of any responsibility towards the human beings whom he is using to pay off his debts (or even awareness of such people as enslaved property). It is possible that audiences were responding silently or unconsciously in the way

Ingrassia explicates, but one wishes that there had been some acknowledgement of this somewhere before the 21st century. There were 18th-century writers who did talk about enslavement explicitly (Johnson, Cowper), the brutal practices of colonialism (Charlotte Smith in her novels) and writers who at least referred in a positive way to those who wrote against slavery and brutal colonialist practices (Jane Austen on Clarkson).

Ingrassia's *Domestic Captivity* is a significant and unexpectedly enlightening book in all sorts of ways. The implicit assumption is that in this era where nearly all people were coerced into forms of disciplined dependency or outright servitude, imaginative and autobiographical artists will protest this whether consciously or not. She assumes many readers may be drawn to such art because of this protest. Ingrassia brings before readers texts they may not have encountered before and provides a perspective that may enable us to read other 18th-century texts in innovative ways relevant to our society today. These texts also shed some uncomfortable light on and provide an unexpected heuristic context for understanding some of the anomalies of popular and respected 21st-century texts.

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Christopher D. Johnson. *Samuel Richardson, Comedic Narrative and the Culture of Domestic Violence: Abused Pamela.* Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2023. Pp. xiii + 282; index. ISBN 1-5275-0245-7: hardcover, $124.95.

The overt approach of this study may be briefly summarized: using modern concepts of spousal abuse to explore Richardson's "rakes," Johnson demonstrates conclusively that Mr. B., Lovelace, and all such villains share with modern abusers the psychological tendencies of men who abuse women, repent for their abuse, and then abuse them again, never ending cycles of violence and remorse. Except for a brief period in the 1980s when it was believed that only outlandish critical stances were worth airing, I cannot think any sane reader could disagree with this thesis, carefully and precisely explicated with close readings that will recall a time when critics admired the ethical struggles of past authors, even when those authors failed to reflect an age as enlightened as our own. Despite the appeal to modern psychological and sociological conclusions about domestic violence this is a rather old-fashioned study of Richardson, and the better for being so.

It is, however, Johnson's covert thesis that is more interesting, although unfortunately he fails to pursue it with the vigor expended on explicating Richardson's texts. Lodged in the title's "comedic narrative" is the expectation of the readers of *Pamela*, who, he convincingly argues, failed to understand Richardson's intention—to put into question the "romance" that was expected, whereby a bad man can be turned around by a loving woman. Johnson argues that Richardson plants enough seeds to sow doubt about that "typical plot," but his readers refused to believe that Pamela and Mr. B

would not live "happily ever after." Thus, in *Pamela in her Exalted Condition*, the pattern of abuse, repentance, and more abuse is repeated over and over again, Richardson insisting on his governing adage: "Never marry a rake." In *Clarissa*, Lovelace exhibits all the characteristics of the serial abuser, violent, self-deceived, sadistic, and misogynistic but also, as Johnson demonstrates, self-loathing. One of the best aspects of this study, in fact, is that it builds its case against Mr. B., Lovelace, and Sir Hargrave as would an astute prosecutor—using their own words, gestures, and actions to prove their guilt. Moreover, Johnson has perceptively examined Richardson's too-often scorned rewritings, and demonstrates, convincingly, that they often reinforce viewpoints the author wanted reinforced. It is to be hoped that the editors of the Cambridge edition of *Clarissa* record for readers the many instances in which the third edition must be brought into play in any thorough discussion of that great novel.

Most readers will readily agree with Johnson's thesis, and thus we may wonder, as we do with Richardson, if the book's length is necessary—or, since I will shortly invoke Milton, we might not wish it shorter. The opening chapter, "The Intersections of Comedy, Theology, and Violence," is, in fact, the most interesting. If Christian readers expected *Pamela* to end as a romance would end, that is, "happily ever after," what is the culpability of Christianity in shaping that explanation? After all, the Christian world is itself shaped as a comedy: *Paradise Lost* is "paradise regained" even before Adam and Eve are driven from Eden. As a corollary, goodness, suffering, meekness, and mildness, are the weapons by which evil is expunged from the world, conversions to goodness are ensured, and the more we worship the image of Christ's suffering, the more we shall ensure our own salvation. Dante, Erasmus, Milton, and Bunyan provided cosmic models, not to mention the gospel preached from every pulpit in England throughout the eighteenth century. Who then could blame Pamela for believing her goodness could reshape Mr. B. and win him "for Christ"; or the readers of *Pamela in her Exalted Condition* for wanting to believe, against the enormous wealth of evidence Richardson accumulates (and Johnson details at length), that she is *happily* married; or the readers of *Clarissa* for demanding a concluding and happy marriage even after rape. After all, if absolute goodness cannot change absolute evil in this world, what was the purpose of Christ?

A second contrary thread of Christianity, embedded in eighteenth-century theology, is borrowed from classical times, that we are not to be counted happy until we are dead; or in Pope's formulation, "Man never Is, but always To be blest." This aspect of Christian thought emphasizes otherworldliness, a necessary ideal world that is not *this* world, a world of judgment to come after death. Johnson returns to this dual tradition late in his work when he recalls (citing the work of Vivien Jones) the "contradictory messages women received. On the one hand, their culture empowered them with the ability to reform men through their virtue; on the other, women learned to recognize the absurdity of the notion." Johnson then imposes his own modern valuation: "Viewed correctly, Christian models of duty and

sacrifice, however fundamental to one's faith, do not extend to self-detriment. In becoming a wife, a woman should not become a martyr" (220).

If a "correct" view of the conflicting Christian tenets were as available as Johnson implies, a religion founded on martyrdom would still have trouble finding the line between being a Christian to one's benefit or to one's detriment. Richardson encounters this most dramatically in Grandison's mother, a woman whose loyalty to a despicable husband, martyrs her and yet wins the absolute praise of Sir Charles for her Christian life and death. Moreover, and paradoxically, Richardson was writing in an "enlightened" era, when the idea of human amelioration of the known world was being thrust to the forefront, while the idea of an unknown world of judgment seemed more and more dubious to the empirically directed mind. There is a romantic strain in Christianity that is simply not true to human experience and hence creates an unreal culture; there is a counter strain, however, that deals a severe blow to romance, suggesting, as it does, that life is always to be nasty, brutish, and short, and amelioration in the form of a heavenly judgment available only after death. One test of the paradox might be to ascertain whether the brutish violence that we discover rampant in eighteenth-century life significantly disappeared after the Enlightenment—did more knowledge produce less violence and more virtue?

Johnson suggests that Richardson's struggle against "romance" in literature is his attempt to resolve the problem, but it is the "romance" in Christianity that needs to be considered, and especially for modern minds, which might tend to see scripture as simply one element of our literary (or imaginative) tradition). Without that romance, however, not only do Clarissa and Grandison, models of perfection, disappear from our lives, but Swift's diagnosis of life proves irredeemably accurate: we are doomed to be "the most pernicious Race of little odious Vermin that Nature ever suffered to crawl upon the Surface of the Earth." And without the opposing view, that only after death will virtue be rewarded and vice punished, will we be able to know what in this world we managed, despite our fallen nature, to view "correctly," that is, what is goodness, what is correctness, what is truth?

All writers of fiction in western culture have confronted this paradox because of the limits of a final page, "The End." For novelists, the issue became central to all they wrote, and Johnson has provided an outstanding analysis of Richardson's career-long effort to confront it with honesty *and* faith. The misreading of his intentions in *Pamela* (whether his fault or his readers or a combination of both) resulted in an attempt to emphasize the mythic aspects of reformation—the meek do not, in reality, inherit the earth—in *Pamela in her Exalted State*. But of course, reforming his readers was hardly successful (and romances like *Tom Jones* exacerbated the problem, especially because Richardson failed to grasp Fielding's ironies) and so we have *Clarissa*, a full endorsement of otherworldliness as the only satisfying explanation of this world, Clarissa assured of Heaven, as is Lovelace of Hell. Still, the clamors of his readers, including his own circle, demonstrated the difficulty of negotiating between the contradictory and paradoxical twin pillars of Christianity, and so we have *Sir Charles Grandison*, where the hero must conclude with a conclusion in which

nothing is concluded, a happy marriage and an unhappy non-marriage that left some readers quite dissatisfied.

A good literary study based on a detailed reading of the work of a literary genius (I have no doubt that Richardson was one), it challenges us to think beyond the works under discussion to the wider implications of literature as an encounter with the world we know and the world unknown. Johnson most ably presented this reader with that challenge and for that I am very grateful.

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David Hopkins and Tom Mason. *Chaucer in the Eighteenth Century: The Father of English Poetry*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022. Pp. 464; 36 illustrations. ISBN: 97801928626: hardbound: $125.00. (Also available in Oxford Scholarship online.)

In *Chaucer in the Eighteenth Century*, Hopkins and Mason provide a much-needed service to both readers of Chaucer and long-eighteenth-century scholars. While there have been efforts to connect the two before—the dated but still useful W.B.C. Watkins's *Johnson and English Poetry Before 1660* (1936) comes to mind—we have not seen anything nearly as comprehensive as the present effort. As its authors indicate, the nineteenth century badly misjudged the importance of Chaucer for the eighteenth century, and this error was perpetuated not only into the twentieth century but even in recent, quite respectable, literary histories. In redressing this imbalance, Mason and Hopkins may be said to overcompensate to some degree by composing a monograph that strains the seams of its binding. If this is the case, however, it is better to have "God's plenty" than to "han to lite."

After Chaucer's death in 1400, numerous manuscripts of his works were in circulation. Today we possess fifty-five MSS of complete or once complete versions of *The Canterbury Tales*, plus another batch with single or fragmentary tales—a total of eighty-three. A lesser number of other works in MS—particularly *Troilus and Cressida*—have also survived. (See Helen Cooper, *The Canterbury Tales: Oxford Guides to Chaucer*, 3rd ed. [2023], 11; but see also Simon Horobin, "Manuscripts, Scribes, Circulation," *The Cambridge Companion to The Canterbury Tales*, Frank Grady, ed. [2020], 21-44 [21 and 41n1], which contends that eight-four MSS are extant.) William Caxton began printing Chaucer in 1478; after a second edition in 1483, he was succeeded by Wynkyn de Worde and Richard Pynson, both of whom published derivatives of Caxton. The first collected edition was published in the sixteenth century by William Thynne (it was Thynne's edition that F. N. Robinson used as the basis for his 1933 edition *The Poetical Works of Chaucer* [vii]; his revised edition of 1957 eventually provided the foundation for *The Riverside Chaucer*—the current standard edition that most students and scholars use today), followed by John Stow's

revision. Thomas Speght's editions of 1598 and 1602 capped the sixteenth-century efforts; of these, only a few copies remain.

However, a third imprint of Speght proved impactful when it was republished in 1687—it was the source for John Dryden's paraphrases of Chaucer in the 1700 *Fables, Ancient and Modern*—and influenced later editors, such as John Urry's (1721) and William Tyrwhitt's modernized versions (1775-78, 1798). In addition to Chaucer's original texts, numerous imitations and reworkings were written during the four centuries after his death. Helen Cooper includes a chapter on these, drawing her chronological lines from 1400 to 1615 (*The Canterbury Tales*, 455-70). Cooper's decision supports Hopkins and Mason's case that scholars tend to neglect the eighteenth-century's interest in Chaucer. On the other hand, the reduction in the number of editions in the 1660-1800 period would seem to militate against it. The authors write "the lack of a proper scholarly edition for much of the eighteenth century certainly made for difficulties in the basic comprehension and understanding of his work" (14). However, they go on to argue that the attraction of Chaucer for major poets during this period (Dryden, Pope, Wordsworth), as well as for many other writers and readers, demonstrates that his popularity and comprehensibility remained strong. Their brief, then, is not merely to demonstrate the truth of this contention: they further endeavor to explore and recover the vital ways in which "the father of English poets" *mattered* to the literate audience of our period.

The bulk of the evidence, then, shifts from editions to modernizations and to such textually peripheral apparatus as glossaries, biographies (including William Godwin's 1803 *Life of Chaucer*, whose purported snub of *Troilus and Cressida* shooed reader's away from Chaucer's masterpiece for more than a century), graphic representations, and critical commentary.

Dryden dominates the early chapters of the book (and pops up frequently in the later ones). His revival of Chaucerian tales (and misattributed poems such as *The Floure and the Leafe*) in the *Fables* coincides with the progressive literary history devised in the later 1600s, which traces a line beginning with Chaucer and moving through Spenser, Milton, Dryden, and, eventually, Pope. John Denham and Edmund Waller formed an important aspect of this lineage, as the former demonstrated strength and the latter metrical suavity. (For a close analysis of this genealogy, see Robin Sowerby, *The Augustan Art of Poetry* [2006].) Chaucer's "primitive" point of origin was, by the Restoration period, polished and refined by Denham and Waller, thus signaling the way forward to the heroic couplets of Dryden, Pope, and Johnson, amongst many others. This narrative had staying power—it is recounted and fleshed out by Samuel Johnson in the *Lives of the Poets*. The key player in Hopkins and Mason's own story is Dryden, who transmuted Chaucer into a more modern metrical idiom and captured and reinvigorated many of Chaucer's native literary powers, leading to enhanced appreciation among Dryden's contemporaries and others in his train well after 1700. The host of modernizers and critics inspired to turn back to Chaucer was impressively large and includes many names mostly forgotten today, such as Samuel Cobb and John Dart, and editorial collections by George Ogle and Thomas Morell.

However, some are well remembered, such as Dryden's disciple, Alexander Pope, as well as members of his circle (John Gay) and other contemporaries (Edmund Curll, Elijah Fenton, and Matthew Prior). The most successful of Pope's efforts remains *The Temple of Fame* (based on Chaucer's *House of Fame*), but the early *January and May* (a rendering of the *Merchant's Tale*) also commands critical scrutiny: both poems receive extended attention here. The latter, written by a teenage Pope, exhibits numerous verbal echoes of earlier writers. These include Milton's *Comus*, Shakespeare's *MND*, Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel*, his Chaucerian versions in the *Fables* and his *Georgics* translation. Addison's *Letter from Italy*, Kennet White's translation of Erasmus's *Praise of Folly*, and Swift's *Tale of a Tub*—as well as the hovering strictures imposed by the unwelcome morality enthusiast Jeremy Collier—find their way into *January and May*. We are thus simultaneously afforded awareness of the intertextual density of Pope's translation and evidence of his absorbed reading as a young, aspiring poet. As for *The Temple of Fame*, Hopkins and Mason note that Pope creates an alternative literary genealogy to the one noted above—Petrarch, Boccaccio, Chaucer, Spenser, and, unapologetically, Pope—to clear a space for the generic novelty he intends to establish in *The Temple*. Of particular interest is the simile of the stone, water, and widening circles (Chaucer, *House of Fame*, ll.788-806, 816-21). Pope's compressed version reads:

> As on the smooth Expanse of Chrystal Lakes,
> The sinking Stone at first a Circle makes;
> The trembling Surface, by the Motion stir'd,
> Spreads in a second Circle, then a third;
> Wide, and more wide, the floating Rings advance,
> Fill all the wat'ry Plain, and to the Margin dance.
> Thus ev'ry Voice and Sound, when first they break,
> On neighb'ring Air a soft Impression make;
> Another ambient Circle then they move,
> That, in its turn, impels the next above;
> Thro undulating Air the Sounds are sent,
> And spread o'er all the fluid Element. (Ll.436-47, *Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope*, John Butt, et al, eds., 11 vols. (1939-69): vol. 2, *The Rape of the Lock and Other Poem*s, ed. by Geoffrey Tillotson, 3rd ed., 1962, 2: 284-85; quoted on p. 364.)

Writing about *The Temple of Fame*, Samuel Johnson exclaimed, what "an early time of life [age twenty-two] for so much learning and so much observation as that work exhibits" ("Life of Pope," *The Lives of the English Poets*, edited by Roger Lonsdale, [2006], 4: 10). Joseph Spence records Pope's own view (he was unable to attend university because of his Catholicism and thus turned to autodidacticism with the assistance of private tutors): "Mr. Pope thought himself better in some respects for not having had a regular education" (Joseph Spence, *Observations, Anecdotes, and Characters of Books and Men: Collected from Conversation*, edited by James M. Osborn [1966], 1: 15). This passage was admired in Pope's day,

and Pope himself was pleased with own "invention": "The Design is in a manner entirely alter'd, the Descriptions and most of the particular Thoughts my own." Chaucer's role is reduced to a "Hint" (*Twickenham*, 2: 250). The passage, however, is saturated with allusions to Virgil's *Aeneid*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Dryden's version of Ovid, "Of the Pythagorean Philosophy," Milton, Sir Francis Bacon, Sir William Temple, and more. Hopkins and Mason write finely of the simile's larger import, as fashioned by the omnipresent Dryden (whose "ambient Circle" influenced Pope's version): "it allows for the co-existence of perpetual change … and perpetual continuity from a common source…. The presence of the past is an impulse to new creation. Every minute 'urges' its 'Predecessor' on" (366).

Samuel Johnson, sometimes viewed as the last Augustan, wrote about both Pope and Dryden in his *Lives*, attending (rather negatively) to their Chaucerian appropriations. *Chaucer in the Eighteenth Century* devotes an entire chapter to the "Great Cham," especially attending to the role of his *Dictionary* in promoting the importance of Chaucer's poetic afterlives. Johnson frequently cites among his authorities Dryden's Chaucer. Unsurprisingly, given Johnson's moralistic imperative, Dryden's *Character of a Good Parson* appears some fifteen times; when pieced together, these reconstruct almost the entire poem. (What perhaps *is* surprising, as we learn much earlier in the book, it was at his former Cambridge schoolmate Samuel Pepys's suggestion that Dryden included that poem in the *Fables* [48-49].). Later chapters focus on Joseph and Thomas Warton's critical and historical treatment of Chaucer, which the authors find "continuous with, rather than a complete departure from, those of the earlier eighteenth century" (317). Jane Brereton's refashioning of the *House of Fame* in *The Dream* (published, 1744), while remaining faithful in some ways to the original, also responds fruitfully to Pope's *Temple of Fame*: "she picks up the book … to pass the time, falls asleep, and her own dreams mingle with, or are dictated by, those of Chaucer" (353). Hopkins and Mason continue: "Chaucer's domestic and personal note was clearly welcome to Brereton. She appears to see a resemblance between Chaucer's habitual self-deprecation and her own part-enforced part-chosen expression of modesty as a provincial woman writer."

The book concludes with "a glance at the afterlives of the eighteenth-century afterlives" (22). In addition to William Godwin and a few others, the twelfth (and final) chapter examines the translations/imitations of the two Romantic poets, Wordsworth and Leigh Hunt. While ostensibly included to provide a measure of the eighteenth-century's powerful influence, it is also pleasing to consider these authors for their own intrinsic interest. Before reading this book, I had never seen Wordsworth's translations raised in a critical discussion. (His translations appear in the Cornell Wordsworth: *Translations of Chaucer and Virgil*, edited by Bruce E. Graver [1998].)

At more than 400 pages, *Chaucer in the Eighteenth Century* is unusually long for a monograph. Clearly, it took over a decade to produce: as such, it displays slight problems attending such a prolonged gestation. At times, it exhibits longueurs, with quotations followed by redundant summaries or paraphrases, small sections contributing but little to the main thematic focus, and extended double quotations that, however useful, tend to

sap the narrative drive. Yet, the volume offers worthy compensation in the numerous aperçu that command admiration and assent for their critical insights. Thus, about ll.129-48 of Dryden's *Palamon and Arcite*, we read:

> As so often with Dryden, a response to one poet comes into inevitable and inexorable conjunction with memories of other, related poets. If Dryden is rewriting Chaucer by adding from Spenser here, he is to some extent rewriting Spenser [and Lucretius] in couplets. Dryden's thought, perhaps, was that the Chaucerian soul which he and Spenser had inherited was highly innovative, always aspiring, always attempting something greater than it knows, never content to merely repeat its own sentiments and expressions. (91)

This a fine explication of Dryden's comments in his *Preface to the Fables* on the "Lineal Descents and Clans" found among poets (quoted more fully on p. 70). Many more could be cited, as the quotations noted above acknowledges.

Despite these minor reservations, *Chaucer in the Eighteenth Century* is an important, even essential, book. After reading it, I have placed it in a conveniently close spot on my bookshelf, where it may serve as reference guide for future reading in Chaucer and the poetry and criticism of the long eighteenth century. I suspect I will not be alone in performing this maneuver.

A. W. Lee

Ann Campbell. ***Families of the Heart: Surrogate Relations in the Eighteenth-Century British Novel***. Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, (Distributed by Rutgers University Press), 2023. Pp. ix + 165; bibliography; index. ISBN: 9781684484232: paperback: $28.95.

Ann Campbell's *Families of the Heart: Surrogate Relations in the Eighteenth-Century British Novel* provides an innovative view of families, social relations, and culture of eighteenth-century Britain represented in the novels. This monograph, drawing upon a wide range of materials including didactic texts, epistles, periodicals, as well as literary texts, proposes a notional "surrogate family," i.e., family based on one's choice, as an alternative to the existing models proposed by the historian Naomi Tadmor and the literary scholar Ruth Perry that emphasize marriage and blood. While studying the "surrogate family," the book places more emphasis on siblinghood, a relationship that receives less attention in Tadmor's and Perry's family models. It is also apparent that Campbell has dedicated a large amount of time to studying the selected novels with reference to archival materials.

The book analyzes in detail the delineation of "surrogate families" in novels by Daniel Defoe, Samuel Richardson, Eliza Haywood, and Frances Burney. Scrutinizing familial relations that are formed based on one's pragmatic purposes or sincere emotions, the book demonstrates the prevalence of the surrogate family in eighteenth-century British novels, a

prevalence sufficient to contend that it is a convention crucial to interpreting the plot of women's marriage choices. Novels of each author are read comparatively and in comparison to novels by other authors to evince how each author develops the surrogate family convention and how the convention evolves from the early eighteenth century to its close. While the convention starts with Defoe and Richardson, as the book claims, Haywood and Burney give it bolder expressions. Apart from time, gender is another vital factor in the choice of surrogate families. Male characters are granted more agency in forming surrogate familial relations than female ones do.

The book starts with a chapter examining Defoe's *Moll Flanders* and *Roxana*. Surrogate families, the chapter observes, are based on the heroines' convenience. They make choices to achieve entrepreneurial purposes. Defoe thus initiates a model: the heroines' surrogate families are used as a means of exploring society and themselves. In Defoe's delineation, surrogate families supplement and even replace marriage for heroines. Campbell reads Defoe's novels with reference to his didactic texts to reveal a contradiction in his visions of family expressed in the two genres. Unlike his stalwart moral stance in his didactic writings, Defoe displays moral flexibility in his heroines' choices of family members.

Chapter 2 analyzes *Pamela* and its sequel by Richardson in comparison to Defoe's novels to argue that in his earlier novels Richardson alters Defoe's family model by replacing the mercenary purpose with moral, intellectual, and emotional ones as foundations for surrogate families. Chapter 3 continues the same discussion by analyzing *Clarissa* and *Sir Grandison* and argues that these more mature novels consider the surrogate family in relation to families based on marriage or household, in a manner not seen in *Pamela*. Richardson's correspondence between his surrogate family members, mostly women, is analyzed to further display his vision of surrogate family.

Chapter 4 examines *The History of Miss Besty Thoughtless* and *The History of Jemmy and Jenny Jessamy* by Haywood, novels contemporary with *Clarissa* and *Sir Grandison*. Comparing Haywood's novels with those of Defoe and Richardson, the chapter notes that in delineating surrogate families Haywood shares Richardson's attention to women's conduct and morality while yet tolerating moral laxity in her heroines like Defoe did. Haywood allows women to navigate society with various identities through the aid of surrogate familial relations. With reference to Haywood's periodicals, the chapter demonstrates her advocacy for women's intellectual cultivation and development.

Chapter 5's close reading of Burney's *Evelina* and *Cecilia* argues that Burney's novels while inheriting Haywood's model suggest that surrogate families can completely replace conjugal and lineage families. The book closes with a brief look at *Tom Jones* by Henry Fielding and *Millenium Hall* by Sarah Scott. The case of Tom Jones illustrates that women in comparison to men have less freedom but more at stake in choosing their surrogate families. The community composed solely of women conceived by Scott further examines gender's role in forming surrogate families. However, in Scott's novel, marriage is not--as other novelists conceive it--the goal in

establishing surrogate families. On the contrary, marriages are obstacles to an ideal surrogate family.

The organization of chapters works perfectly in demonstrating the development of the surrogate family convention in different time periods by various authors. There is detailed analysis and interpretation of the novels' storylines and characters. The book offers a refreshing study of familial relations based on characters' choices and sentiments. Campbell's focus on siblinghood with its emphasis on equality differs from existing literary studies of families that preponderantly concentrate on parenthood that is hierarchal.

A wide variety of scholars will be interested in this book's close reading of novels, historical study of the family convention, and feminist criticism. The book is friendly to readers who are not fully acquainted with all the novels, providing adequate summary and explanation. I find the chapter on Haywood to be most intriguing as it draws upon archival materials, i.e., Haywood's periodicals, to study her vision of women's minds, hearts, and virtues. To me, the chapter makes a fascinating claim that Haywood prioritizes women's introspection and intellectual development over their morality. In other words, Haywood advocates that a cultivated mind leads to good virtues not vice versa. This claim reflects Haywood's distinct contribution to the surrogate family convention and reveals Haywood's feminism. The chapter on Burney by displaying a radical idea implied in her novels – surrogate families can be substitutes for nuclear families – challenges the lasting perception of Burney as a conservative author profoundly influenced by patriarchal didacticism. As a feminist critic, I find these two chapters appealing and thought-provoking.

I am also intrigued by the contradiction in Defoe's visions of family as found in two different genres he writes in. Campbell makes a review of existing explanations for the contradiction, but I would like to read more about her own interpretation of the phenomenon. Here is the place where I find more elaboration would be helpful. I also would like to see an analysis of extended families in *Belinda* by Maria Edgeworth as the novel shows various surrogate families chosen by the heroine while staying in London under chaperonage. But Campbell acknowledges that due to the scope of this book she has left some novels undiscussed, and she encourages other scholars to take up the study from there.

Families of the Heart offers a new view of sentimental fiction through the lens of familial relations. It provides a better understanding of how such relations may have impeded or facilitated women's navigating in society. We also gain a new perspective on women's agency. I encourage scholars who are interested in feminist criticism and eighteenth-century sentimental fiction, society, and family to read this book: it is an innovative study of women's hearts, minds, and moralities via their choices of surrogate family members.

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Melvyn New. ***Textual and Critical Intersections: Conversations with Laurence Sterne and Others***. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2023. Pp. [*x*] + 386; index; 7 illustrations. ISBN: hardback: 9780813069838: $85.

Mel New's new book includes a rousing introduction, twelve previously published essays gathered into three sections, and, as a Coda, an address on teaching Sterne and English literature in general that was presented in 2013 at a Sterne conference in London and later published in *The Shandean* when the University of Delaware Press thought it too impolitic for inclusion with the conference papers. New rightly remarks that "Removing the essay from the tercentenary collection was . . . a validation of . . . [his] lamentations about our profession" (10). The London address has barbs at how literature has veered toward cultural studies and leveled the sublime with the secondary; it implicitly questions the relative merit of many women authors receiving far more attention than authors in the ranks of Dryden and Pope.

This is New's second collection of essays. The earlier was *Telling New Lies: Seven Essays in Fiction, Past and Present* (1992), which gathered previously published essays along with that on Swift's *A Tale of a Tub* and Thomas Mann's *Magic Mountain* ("one of the best essays I ever wrote"). Looking back at a career spent not writing monographs but editing literary works, principally Sterne's but also those of Mary Astell, John Norris, and Amy Levy, and editing others' scholarship (as revising the book reviews in *The Scriblerian* for over two decades), and as the author of journal essays, and 200 or more reviews, New finds that his temperament appears to be marked by "digressiveness" and a somewhat short attention span. But I would attribute his many starts to a voracious appetite for great literature. Along with attention to Sterne, *Telling New Lies* (1992) has essays on George Orwell and on Thomas Pynchon.

The 2023 volume has greater diversity, placed in three divisions:

"Textual Conversations" (investigations growing out of editing, in one examining the indeterminacy of Sterne's meanings, in several others stressing how "facts matter," he treats Sterne's relation to the Anglican tradition, his indebtedness to John Norris, and comparisons to others: e.g., "'The Unknown World': The Poem Laurence Sterne Did Not Write");

"Digressions in the Manner of Sterne" (with an essay entitled "Johnson, T.S. Eliot, and the City" and another on Dickens's *Dombey and Son* in the light of aesthetic and philosophical ideas of Emmanuel Levinas--this book's detailed indexing of Levinas makes clear how influential to New have been his writings. New and two others in 2001 edited the collection *In Proximity: Emmanuel Levinas and the Eighteenth Century*); and

"Sterne: Critical Conversations" (with six essays examining Sterne in the context of or in comparison with other writers such as Boswell, Richardson, Joyce, Proust, Levinas, Woolf, and Bruno Schulz--the last in an essay attempting to define literary "modernism"; often the method involves comparisons to the nth degree: "Reading Sterne through Proust and Levinas" explores love's role in coping with death in *A Sentimental Journey* vs *Bramine's Journal* through suggestions offered in Levinas's essay "The Other in Proust" and directly from Proust).

The essays originally appeared in selective journals (the first four appeared in *ECF, PQ, ECL*, and *HLQ*). Some of the essays were very recently published, as in 2021 those on Johnson & Eliot and on Sterne & Boswell in 1768, and in 2022 that on Sterne, Joyce, & portraits of artists. New chose to exclude many published essays, ranging from one on Sterne's admiration for Swift (1991) to a recent piece on Sterne and William Falconer. A few of the essays have insertions updating the original notes.

The apparent diversity of topics is unified by New's recurrent observation that the great writers are in conversation with their predecessors, thus forming the literary tradition, which is the best basis for establishing canon and curriculum. New demonstrates in comparative studies that great authors have engaged in conversations with each other. An author is in the canon "because other authors demand his or her presence so that their own achievement can be sufficiently measured" (360). (Thus, Milton must be studied by 18C scholars because the best 18C writers were thoroughly schooled by Milton.) And the conversations can occur between authors writing in different centuries and on different continents. Also, New can speak of "Proust's influence on Sterne" (196) since we now read Sterne with a filter resulting in part from Proust. The commonality or conversation between these authors is in part what New calls "genius" (360). At Florida beginning in the 1980s, New taught courses on modern fiction juxtaposing works by authors normally never taught together--as a course on novels written by authors with surnames beginning "S" (don't we all wish we were departmental chairs!). And his own reading juxtaposed 18C authors read by day with moderns enjoyed near midnight. Surprisingly perhaps, this experimentation has not deflected his advocating for a conservative canon, from stressing that you cannot insert author X into the canon because she is anti-colonial or feminist or gay or disabled without removing author Y with whom major authors have been in conversation. For New our substitutions in the curriculum are usually done for "nonliterary reasons" related to "current political and social agendas" (358). New has little faith that objective applications of values like "proper words in proper places" can construct a canon that so many writers and readers have jointly passed on to us. New does recognize that the greatest works become "more important" on second reading. He also recognizes that professors increasingly impose on students minor figures on whom they wish to publish (362). Our curriculum determines the canon, and, when we are requiring less reading for a degree, that canon can't be expanding. New rightly notes how the reading list has shrunk: *Pamela* has replaced *Clarissa; Billy Budd, Moby Dick*; two Books of *Gulliver's Travels, A Tale of a Tub;* and *A Sentimental Journey, Tristram Shandy* (355). New would rather we ask not whether Shakespeare is relevant to 21C social-justice efforts but whether "our concerns are relevant" to Shakespeare's (364). We are in a postliterate age and need recognize that the university has a crucial role in ensuring that works of genius from the past are still read. These superior works will--says New as did Matthew Arnold--then function as touchstones to expose the shortcomings of the mediocre, trendy works. I expect all who have taught survey courses with gems like Keats's odes have had students recognize with admiration works of

genius. For New, these works have the best chance to train our students to perceive what is great and thus to value great literature (and literary study)--possibly thereby sustaining the B.A. in literature.

There is another important theme that rises explicitly at length in some essays, especially the concluding one, where New searches for what distinguishes literary studies that might prove their salvation: literary studies confront us with unanswerable questions about both the texts and our lives. Essays on the Cambridge Platonist Norris and on the French philosopher Levinas treat a dualism related to Sterne's Christian humanist concept of man as angel/beast, expanded into dichotomies between the knowable world and the unknown "Other," between the secular and the sacred, the temporal and eternal. (New's theory of literature recalls from my limited reading Thoreau's idealism in *Walden*.) For New, "the very essence of all enduring art is that it leaves room for whatever is not being, whatever is not definable or knowable" (6). Literary studies humbly confront enigmatic works of genius that are never fully understandable, works that "never fully reveal" themselves because they contain "the same Mystery locked into a God defined only as 'I am that I am'" (6). A good professor conveys to students that such a work "surpasses all efforts to grasp it," which makes ours and kindred disciplines unlike those sciences that transfer knowledge.

Besides those working on Sterne's fiction or sermons or on other authors addressed in these essays, *Textual and Critical Intersections* offers language and strategies for connecting authors widely separated in time and place. Some essays will be difficult for those not knowing the works examined or those who have never entertained concepts in New's glass-bead game. They were often too clever for me. New enjoys complicating propositions: he likes to open up possible meanings and leave them open as he moves on, looking for something less obvious. When he joins a third explanation to a passage that he had twice before interpreted, he remarks, "I should have known better--the surer reading of Sterne is almost always the more subtle one" (284). His abundance of humor, wit, and irony adds a challenge. He has a tendency to employ episodes in Sterne's fiction or other novels as comparative glosses for something else under discussion, which can lead to digressive leaps (206-07). So, while the introduction apologizes for some "repetition" in the collected essays, I was glad for any second take. Graduate students regardless of their fields would profit from the discussions of our profession in both Introduction and Coda.--James E. May

Brian Alderson and Andrea Immel (editors). ***Profits from the Nursery: Booksellers Discover Children's Books in the Hand-Press Period.***
Princeton, NJ: Cotsen Children's Library; London: Children's Books History Society, 2023. (Also distributed by Oak Knoll Books, $45.) Pp. xii + 255; 142 illustrations (most in color); index; bibliography.

Profits from the Nursery introduces a range of fascinating facts and stories about the early days of children's book publishing in Britain, providing the reader with an enhanced sense of the range and significance of

the varied materials available to children in the long eighteenth century. It does not set out to present a single narrative about the growth of the industry, but rather offers five essays focusing on either a particular segment of the trade, or an individual who profoundly influenced its growth. It makes a persuasive case for our need to up-date and complicate our current narratives of children's book history, looking both more deeply into known historical figures and considering texts which may have been previously seen as outside of the realm of "literature." *Profits* may also be one of the most lavishly-plated historical books ever printed. The essays are studded with images of woodcuts, title pages, texts, maps, hand-drawn illustrations, educational toys and miniature libraries: the fruits of years of research through libraries, archives, and private collections.

The first essay, ""Pasted on Boards, for Hanging Up in Nurseries': The Engraver, the Printer, and the Juvenile Novelty Market, 1660-1830" by Jill Shefrin, contains an extensive overview of the non-book materials available during the time period, including "games, dissected puzzles, cards, lottery sheets, movables . . .battledores, pictorial prints . . .paper dolls, peepshows and toy theaters"(5) sold in bookstores and by print and map sellers. Shefrin demonstrates the ways that these "novelty" or ephemeral works contributed to the appearance and the content of children's literature, and the role that the explicitly educational materials played in the evolution of new forms of educational books. In the second essay Andrea Immel directly addresses the assertion made by Andrew O'Malley that John Newbery's publications were derived from the low-quality chapbooks that preceded them. Immel demonstrates that Newbury was "more ambitious and innovative" (74) than his reputation implies by looking beyond his major early works and considering the wider range of texts in multiple genres that he published.

The next three essays describe the careers of three contemporary publishers and book dealers: Thomas Saint of Newcastle, the innovative John Marshall, and the less-financially successful but intellectually influential novelist and philosopher William Godwin and his second wife, Mary Jane who published and sold books for their Juvenile Library. Nigel Tattersfield describes the varied career of Thomas Saint, who mixed the printing of pirated versions of children's texts with a thriving trade in patent medicines (e.g., Dr. James' Fever Powders, which contained high levels of arsenic) and newspaper publishing. Although his morals were questionable, he made an important contribution to the field by employing a very young Thomas Bewick, one of the century's most talented wood engravers. In the longest essay in the book, David Stoker discusses the long and varied career of John Marshall whose extensive early offerings included four of the most prominent female authors in the field: Dorothy and Mary Ann Kilner, Eleanor Fenn, and Sarah Trimmer. His business thrived with his publication of explicitly didactic titles, but his decision to publish Hannah More's Cheap Repository Tracts (and subsequent legal wrangling over copyright) almost bankrupted him. He was forced to close his bookstore but regained his prominent place in children's publishing by re-printing his popular back catalogue and making innovations in children's periodicals, color illustrations, and miniature books in attractive wooden packages—including

"The Doll's Casket" which contained twelve miniature books, additional educational materials, and "a sheet of instructions from 'The Children's Printer to the Doll's Mama'" (180).

The book's final essay is M. O. Grenby and Brian Alderson's discussion of the Godwins' publishing of children's books. In documenting William Godwin's financial struggles and interactions with established literary figures, the authors describe difficulties they had trying to determine the author and illustrator of *Beauty and the Beast*, citing sources from a wide variety of texts and archival materials in the Bodleian and Morgan Libraries. My favorite anecdote from this quest was a letter from William Wordsworth, who declined to provide verses for the text because he was disgusted by "the notion of a human Being consenting to Mate with a Beast, however amiable his qualities of heart" (214). Disney, take note.

The overall impression one has after reading these five essays is a swirl of incredibly varied overlapping activities, with texts and characters featured in one essay frequently mentioned in the others. There were times when I wished that I had a timeline (or perhaps a "dissected map") detailing who preceded whom, which texts they shared, and how they influenced or opposed each other, but I think the sense the essays convey of the interaction of multiple markets, products and intentions brings us much closer to the truth of the situation than would a neat and linear narrative. I also found that the essays tended to assume that readers had a basic knowledge of seventeenth through nineteenth century printing practices and terms, which I certainly didn't have, and at times I would have welcomed some explanatory footnotes for terms like "the diminutive 16mo or 24mo formats"(119). These moments are a signal that the book is very much an insiders' view of book history, where leading scholars are sharing their hard-won knowledge and expertise. *Profits from the Nursery* is both beautiful and intellectually generous, giving insight into publishing trends and pivotal figures in the history of children's literature, revealing methods and sources of scholars who best love researching and recovering these rare essential texts.

Katharine Kittredge
Ithaca College

In Memoriam: Robert D. Hume (1944-2023)

Rob Hume was a towering figure in the study of English drama from 1660 on to 1800, but his interests included opera, historicism, and the economics of the period, particularly as they related to theatres and the publishing of dramatic and literary works.

Rob was born [25 July 1944] in Oak Ridge, Tennessee, but grew up in suburban Boston, where his father, David N. Hume, was a professor of analytic chemistry at MIT. Even as an undergraduate at Haverford College, Rob carefully studied academic journals and two of his undergraduate papers were later published in *Shakespeare Quarterly* and *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*. He did one year of graduate studies at Harvard so that he

could get married in 1966 to his high school girlfriend, Kathryn (Kit): their marriage lasted 57 years. Since he had flourished in the intense, demanding, tiny classes at Haverford College, he was unimpressed by the education offered at Harvard. His dislike was exemplified by his trying to write a serious article on the Gothic novel that was given a B+ and called stupid and pointless—but it was published unchanged by the most prestigious journal for literature departments, the *Publications of the Modern Language Association* (*PMLA*). At the University of Pennsylvania, he worked with the eighteenth-century scholars Arthur H. Scouten and Maurice Johnson and received his PhD in 1969, just three years after his BA. While at Penn, he heard a lot about political maneuvering from Scouten (who had spent some time as an aide to Governor Huey Long of Louisiana), and Rob was widely enough recognized for his political savvy that sometimes full professors came to him for advice on departmental politics.

He was hired by Cornell University [1969-77], but, since Cornell did not have a position for the medievalist his wife had become, they both moved to appointments at Penn State University, where they remained for the rest of their careers. Rob rose ultimately to be an Evan Pugh Professor [1998], the highest academic distinction granted by that institution.

Rob's career was impressive since he loved investigating archives and writing up the findings. Together with his main collaborator, theater historian Judith Milhous, he discovered the complete office records of a short-lived opera house (which tried but failed to hire Mozart) and whose sponsors torched the place when it lost too much money. His solo books include *Dryden's Criticism* (1970), *The Development of English Drama in the late Seventeenth Century* (1976), and *Reconstructing Contexts: The Aims and Principles of Archaeo-Historicism* (1999). He also participated with Judith Milhous, Curtis Price, and others on several book projects: *Italian Opera in late Eighteenth Century London* (1995, 2000) and *The Publication of Plays in London 1660-1800* (2015). He co-edited lost plays of the period that he discovered, and, with Harold Love, he edited the Oxford edition of works of George Villiers, second Duke of Buckingham. In all, he published 16 books; 4 monographs; 145 articles; 29 notes; and numerous reviews.

While Restoration and 18th-century drama was his focus, he became deeply interested in the economics of theatres and of publishing literature in that era. This even led him into studying the economics embedded in the early 19th-century novels of Jane Austen. When he died, he was hard at work on five more major academic projects: *Historicist Methodologies for Literary Study, 1926-2017; The Economics of Culture in London, 1660-1820; Theatre Finances in London, 1660-1800; Historicism and Literature: Six Studies in Contextual Hermeneutic*; and [with a co-author] *"forc'd to write for Bread and not ashamed to own it": Aphra Behn's Finances.*

Rob put a lot of effort into training his graduate students. He also took his undergraduate teaching seriously, and used various novel courses to make students think about decisions they had to make about their own lives and majors. He did a stint in administration but did not wish to go that route.

He enjoyed his sabbaticals in London enormously. He and Judy Milhous worked in the British Library or the Public Record Office all day,

and then they and Kit went to the theatre several nights each week. In their last sabbatical, they saw 220 shows, 70 of them operas. They also explored the culinary delights offered by London's best restaurants.

An aggressive brain tumor quickly brought his life to its end. In his last days, he listened to Mozart, both operatic and orchestral music, conducted by his favorite conductor, Otto Klemperer.

Kathryn Hume
Emerita Edwin Erie Sparks Professor of English

Editor's note: Below we have secured fitting tributes to Rob Hume from two of his many former students who have become distinguished professors. Leah Orr writes on Rob's teaching of undergraduates and mentorship of graduate students, and Nancy Mace on Rob's scholarly virtues and accomplishments. (This past year Rob turned to Leah to co-author his unfinished book on Aphra Behn's finances.) Other tributes appear in the News-of-Members column below. Anyone who has been reading the *Intelligencer* for a decade or more knows from Rob's reviews here and my summaries of his publications that Rob Hume had extraordinary powers of analysis and vast accumulated learning. Also he more than once provided a superb lecture at ECASECS meetings. His support for our Society included encouraging graduate students to participate in meetings and paying printing subvention for the *Intelligencer*. To the survey above of his major books, I'd add such archival harvests by Rob and Judith Milhous as the 2-vol. *Register of English Theatrical Documents, 1660-1737* (1991); *Vice-Chamberlain Coke's Theatrical Papers, 1706-1715* (1982); and "Playwrights' Remuneration in 18C London" (in *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 1999 [2001]). Also of note: Rob's collection of essays *The Rakish Stage: Studies in English Drama 1660-1800* (1983) and his *Henry Fielding and the London Theatre, 1728-1737* (1988). The "lost plays" that he edited include *The Country Gentleman* (1669), by Sir Robert Howard and Buckingham; and Elizabeth Polwhele's *The Frolicks: or The Lawyer Cheated* (1671).

In Memoriam: Rob Hume, Professor

Jim May asked me to write a bit about Rob Hume's approach to graduate mentorship. Rob had many students over the years, including many who were and are members of EC-ASECS, and he was a remarkably devoted and effective mentor. Rob's mentorship was organized around weekly meetings: he would meet with each student individually for thirty minutes, no matter what stage they were at in the program, and then the whole group of students plus Rob would eat lunch together. We all got to know each other quite well and that helped with some of the difficulties of graduate school. By the time I joined Penn State as a graduate student in 2007 the system was so well established that I did not realize how unusual it was until later. He was committed to helping us navigate the professional world, from explaining ahead of a conference whom we should expect to tip at a hotel to

packing four of us into his compact car and driving us himself to an EC-ASECS on the other side of the state. The first time I went to Penn State's rare books room, he walked me over to the library to explain how to leave my things in the locker and what kind of materials could be taken into the room (at that time, only paper and pencil).

Rob's method derived from his own Quaker upbringing and education to be extremely egalitarian and fair. He treated all of us as junior colleagues and gave the impression that he assumed we would be successful and hardworking. Prior to each week's meeting he expected us to send him whatever we had been working on—a new draft, an outline, even just a collection of notes. He would hand it back, completely marked in red ink, at the meeting, and that would form the basis of the conversation. A frequent comment on my drafts was "= ?" which meant something like "needs clarification." Like everyone, he had particular things that stood out to him in writing: he would circle every referent-less "it", every instance of passive voice, every sentence beginning with a hanging adverb. Rob disliked the job of editor: he edited one collection of essays early in his career and declined to do it again (*The London Theatre World, 1660-1800* (1980)), but as his own writing shows, he was a sharp prose stylist.

Like the meetings, the lunches were structured occasions, not social. They had an agenda, and often handouts, left in our office mailboxes the day before to be read in advance. When possible, they included guests: Jim May, Tom Lockwood, Howard Weinbrot, Marshall Brown, and others came to visit Penn State while I was there. Rob often shared articles from *The Chronicle* or *Inside Higher Ed* about the profession, asking us our opinions and in the process teaching us about how the world of academia worked. We knew early on how bad the job market was, and several of the other students I knew did internships to transition into non-academic jobs after graduation. Rob encouraged that, as he encouraged all of us to find ways to live happy and meaningful lives. He tried to give us a realistic view of what he thought the profession looked like, knowing that most people would not choose the same lifestyle he had but that we should know what to expect. As a self-described "monomaniac," Rob presented to us a life where he worked eleven hours a day, seven days a week—but that work was what gave him the most pleasure. He certainly did not expect that from everyone else.

Rob brought this same set of practical approaches to his teaching. I saw him teach a large undergraduate lecture class when I was his TA one semester, and he was a dynamic lecturer, explaining with great energy what was interesting in Renaissance poems or other works in the survey course. He had first taught a British literature survey course in the 1960s as a colleague of M. H. Abrams, the original editor of the Norton Anthology, and so he enjoyed teaching it with a certain iconoclasm. He subverted ideas of canonicity and importance by producing surprising readings of standard works and organized the course around several mini-courses that included non-canonical works chosen by the graduate student TAs. In his graduate seminars, Rob tried to show us how to ask the kind of questions about literature that would lead to a research topic. "Did Richardson even read Defoe? If he had read *Moll Flanders*, he would most likely have been

appalled." "If you want a straightforward dissertation, do Wycherley. Four plays, a chapter on each, and you have a monograph." "What's the status of Shadwell these days? Current state of scholarship?" "People used to see Goldsmith as a major canonical author, and now he's a just 'minor poet' in the anthologies. What happened?" He was always pressing us to ask not just *why* and *how*, but *what are the alternatives*, and *how do you know*. Rob's approach to research taught not just to question what we did not know, but to question what we thought we already knew.

There was also a very human side to Rob that made him effective as a mentor and showed that he was not single-mindedly focused on his work. He had three cats which would make their way along the tops of bookcases to spy down on us when he had students over to his home, one of them usually taking a place in his lap. He liked good food, and in the early 2000s he wrote a series of reviews that he posted to his faculty page of restaurants he visited with friends and family. Rob had great love for theater and he could recall and describe with enthusiasm details of performances he had seen decades before. He was not an effusive person but was never stingy with praise when it was due and was always ready with an encouraging word when it was needed. More than anything, he really cared about his students, and he showed that through his exceptional generosity with his time, his patience, his expertise, and his wisdom.

Leah Orr
University of Louisiana at Lafayette

Robert D. Hume's Scholarship

Robert D. Hume was not just an exceptional advisor and mentor; he was one of the most prolific scholars of the eighteenth century. He published sixteen books, edited four more, produced four monographs, 145 articles and many reviews in addition to collaborative projects with Judith Milhous, Curtis Price, and Harold Love among others. His publications—be they in theatre, book, economic or literary history—have permanently changed our perspective on the eighteenth century, encouraging us to reconsider many of the commonplaces that have dominated our field over the last century.

What distinguished Rob's work from that done by other scholars of the eighteenth century was his extensive use of archival records. Those of us who work in British repositories like the National Archives and the manuscript room at the British Library often ran into Rob when he was in London during his sabbaticals. As a result of his work in these and many other archives both in England and the United States, he produced several resources essential to scholars working on eighteenth-century theatre, among them *Vice Chamberlain Coke's Theatrical Papers, 1706-1715* (1982) and *a Register of English Theatrical Documents, 1660-1737* (1991). He and his collaborator Judith Milhous used these and other materials in their revision of the first eleven seasons of *The London Stage*, covering 1700 to 1710-11. Rob was particularly adept at identifying resources in locations not typically

used by other eighteenth-century scholars. For example, he pointed me to financial records kept in the Barclay archives located in a Manchester industrial park; because Barclay had taken over several eighteenth-century banks, the collection contains financial records of many individuals of the period—valuable when looking into the finances of theatre personnel and members of the London music trade.

Another strength of Rob's scholarship was his ability to assimilate widely scattered resources to offer new information about theatre companies, their management, their finances, and their histories. One of his most important discoveries was the Pantheon Papers, which he came upon while doing research at the Bedford Settled Estates. He and his collaborators Judith Milhous and Curtis Price combined this material with their findings in equity suits and other records documenting the King's Theatre and Pantheon Opera Companies, the result of which was their ground-breaking two-volume study titled *Italian Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London* (1995, 2001). These books substantially revised the history of the King's Theatre Company and of opera in this period. His study of 500 new plays staged in the late seventeenth-century resulted in *The Development of English Drama in the Late Seventeenth Century* (1976), a work whose generic categories have grounded subsequent discussions of Restoration theatre. Also, *Henry Fielding and the London Theatre, 1728-1737* (1988) significantly altered our understanding of Fielding's literary career, showing that he was not simply a novelist, but an important playwright in the years before the Licensing Act.

In recent years, Rob turned his attention more to economic history, where his thorough review of the available sources has substantially changed our knowledge about playwright and author finances. In such pieces as "Playwrights' Remuneration in Eighteenth-Century London" (1999), "The Value of Money in Eighteenth-Century England: Incomes, Prices, Buying Power—and Some Problems in Cultural Economics" (2014), and *The Publication of Plays in London, 1660-1800: Playwrights, Publishers, and the Market* (2015) he and Judith Milhous considered which portion of the public could actually afford to attend plays and purchase books and music based on their income levels and the cost of living at the time. Through their review of theatre records and other archives, they were able to detail the average prices paid to authors, showing how much playwrights and others might earn from their pens. These and their other such work have substantially altered our view of the size of eighteenth-century theatre audiences and the market for books, music and other cultural artifacts.

Finally, we can see the ground-breaking nature of Rob's scholarship in the frequency his work is cited. Nearly every study of eighteenth-century theatre includes citations to Rob's work, and books and articles dealing with other topics such as the book and music trades, copyright, and bibliographic practice often will include references to his work. Those of us who had the opportunity to work directly with Rob and benefit from his unflinching comments on our work are better scholars for having known him.

Nancy Mace
U.S. Naval Academy, Emerita

Micaela Miralles Bianconi and Ray Leonard Win 2023 Molin Prize

The Prize Committee of Jane Wessel (Chair), Linda Merians, and David Palumbo were very impressed by the papers competing for this year's Molin Prize. Indeed, the high level of all the presentations reminded us how lucky ECASECS is to be able to attract such intelligent new talent to our annual meetings. While there might be external and internal forces within the profession that are de-incentivizing students from studying the humanities, the graduate students we met at this year's conference give us confidence that exciting and fresh approaches will continue to enhance our gatherings, as well as our understanding of the eighteenth century.

This year we decided to award two first-place prizes: to Micaela Miralles Bianconi (College of William and Mary), who offered a thoughtful presentation entitled "From India to Rio de la Plata: The British Empire's Expeditions to South America during the late 1700's," and to Ray Leonard (Rutgers University), for a fascinating paper entitled, "The Company of Us Women: White Womanhood at the Intersection of Black and Indigenous Politics in *Oroonoko*." The Committee rejoiced in the excellence of both presentations and felt that both are equally worthy of receiving the award.

Micaela Miralles Bianconi impressed us with the fluency, depth, creativity, and the overall poise of her presentation on the Fullarton expedition (1780-1781), an expedition that never actually happened but that reveals much about "the reorganization of the British empire in a moment of crisis and warfare." Through her use of an impressive array of primary sources from the U.K. National Archives, British newspapers, and Spanish American documentation, Bianconi sheds light on British interest in the Rio de la Plata and South Africa at a time when the empire was being tested by the American Revolution and, more widely, inter-imperial competition for supremacy in global trade. The unexpected political networks, which included indigenous populations and Jesuit priests expelled from Spanish and Portuguese America and from which Britain hoped to benefit in the planning of the Fullerton Expedition, work to emphasize the participation of local populations in the imperialist capitalist enterprise.

The British wanted to win control over Buenos Aires and Montevideo, which would give them already developed port cities at Barragan and Maldonado and basic access and control of the South Atlantic and other land possessions. Fullerton and others planned an expedition that would set sail from India and use the resources the East India Company could provide. The planning also included surprising outreach to Jesuits in Rome, some of whom were Irish born, and who had been expelled from Spanish and Portuguese America during the Bourbon era. These men, who knew local languages, could provide the British forces access to both the indigenous and Catholic populations in Spanish America. Although the expedition was not launched, the British dream for an extensive empire and its need to reconfigure its boundaries, was entering a new stage at this later point in the eighteenth century.

Ray Leonard's paper was daring, fresh, and very well-delivered. He focused on Black-Indigenous encounters in *Oroonoko* in a creative and convincing way, revealing how Behn subverts colonial genres and, more specifically, two tropes: the contact narrative and the talking-book trope. Leonard uses the scene of Oroonoko's visit to the Indian town, which occurs about midway through the novel. As he details, first there is a standard contact narrative, when the natives see the retinue of white people, and the appropriate amount of awe and astonishment occurs. The narrator asked Oroonoko and the trader to stay behind at this moment of first contact. When the two step forward, we see "a counter-history told through the relationships between Black and Indigenous people" in a contact narrative "with no precedent." Leonard's analysis makes visible what he calls a "lateral cultural exchange." In the talking book scene, Leonard reflects that there is no Bible or any other text, just slips of paper, one of which is burned. On the other appears the characters/figures of the narrator's brother's name, but the natives insist he "translate his name into their own literary system."

Leonard's paper teases out how Behn's subversive techniques suggest her intent to question colonial authority. This approach allows us to trace Oroonoko's growth from an uneasy object to a "savvy and charismatic leader" who "refashions his political persona as a Black revolutionary." By prompting us to see the "cultural and social exchanges" in *Oroonoko* rather than "stark colonial or racial binaries," Leonard offers us a distinctive new reading of this key text. Indeed, much like Micaela Bianconi's focus on local populations in the evolving vision of British imperialism, Leonard's paper expands our understanding about political networks that are adjacent to and independent of British influence.

As we saw in 2022, with some papers being read and others presented by using PowerPoint, we realize it is time to re-examine the Molin Prize guidelines. The Prize Committee and the Executive Committee will discuss ways to adjust the contest to the benefit of all presentation styles.

Jane Wessel (chair)
U. S. Naval Academy

Our Society's New Articles of Incorporation

On February 15, 2024, the Commonwealth of Virginia approved the articles of incorporation for our society. Due to technology—specifically the conventions that computer searches favor—the official name of our society no longer contains the backslash between our regional name and that of the national society. Instead, our official name is now the cleaner "East Central American Society of Eighteenth-Century Studies" (ECASECS). Along with the requested information on the incorporation application, we were also required to submit the society's documents. We submitted our revised bylaws and constitution that the Society had approved this past October at the annual conference.

To be incorporated requires the organization to have a registered agent who resides in the state in which incorporation is sought. For Virginia, that agent must also be a current officer. Brett Wilson—who organized our excellent 2024 annual meeting in Williamsburg and who is the society's current vice president—volunteered to serve in this role, and we are grateful. The main duty of an organization's agent is to receive all legal and government correspondence and then share the material with the officers of the organization (in our case, these are the members of the Executive Committee).

The laws surrounding nonprofits and the like have become increasingly more complicated in the wake of 9/11 and subsequent legislation passed starting in 2006. These complications meant that ECASECS needed to establish itself anew as an incorporated nonstock, nonprofit corporation. Now that we have accomplished this step, Kevin Cope, as Secretary-Treasurer, will apply for the proper IRS nonprofit tax number. We will keep members posted as we achieve the next steps.

Eleanor Shevlin
West Chester University

Minutes of the 2023 Business Meeting and Financial Report

As is dependably and therefore happily the case, the ECASECS business meeting, which convened during the 2024 ECASECS conference in Williamsburg, was characterized by refreshing variety and well-fermented prosperity.

First, the refreshing variety: A new slate of officers was proposed and unanimously elected. The multifarious ECASECS officer crew, which abounds in both new ideas and old experience, includes newly elected President Jane Wessel; Vice President Brett Wilson; and Executive Board Member Jeremy Chow (Bucknell U.). Jeremy joins Linda Merians and David Palumbo on the Executive Board. Also on the Board are First Past President Greg Clingham; Second Past President Anna Foy; Third Past President Joanne Myers; Web-Wizard Susan C. Beam; *Eighteenth-Century Intelligencer* Editor Jim May, as well as Executive Secretary Kevin L. Cope, and the Co-Chairs of our previous two conferences, Eleanor Shevlin and Sylvia Kasey Marks. Given such a pool of talent, it is certain that the mighty galleon of ECASECS can make its way through any seas, whether rough and windy or calm, familiar, or otherwise oasis-imitative!

Next, the well-fermented prosperity. With the lamentable retirement of Peter Staffel from the role of Executive Secretary, the lack of proper chartering documents—articles of incorporation and taxpayer identification numbers—came into focus when attempts to open a new bank account were rebuffed. Through the arduous efforts of the aforementioned ensemble of ECASECS officers, the first of these deficiencies has been cured, with ECASECS formally incorporating in the state of Virginia. The second task,

the procuring of a taxpayer number, which is required even of nonprofit entities, is still in process.

Owing to the lack of a bank account, the assets of ECASECS are now divided between two locations, a bank account temporarily "borrowed" from another organization (the AAUP of Louisiana) and a payment system used to collect ECASECS registration dues. Assets in the borrowed account include $2,426.58 in core ECASECS funds and $18,146.72 in the ECASECS Future Fund. The assets in the payment system account, which is not controlled by the Executive Secretary, are not known, but will be reckoned when we receive a taxpayer identification number and can open a bank account.

The present arrangement is irregular and unstable, but the Executive Board is working to resolve it. Similarly, the extraordinary asymmetry between ordinary, unrestricted operating funds and the Future Fund, the uses of which remain only informally specified, will become a topic of discussion at the next business meeting.

Respectfully submitted,
Kevin L. Cope, Executive Secretary-Treasurer

On Visiting Colonial Williamsburg Last Fall

Editor's preface: Some of our members took advantage of the conference's location to tour Colonial Williamsburg. Susan Spencer's husband, Craig Jimenez, flew in to enjoy the historical recreation with her after the meeting. I asked Susan what might be said to our colleagues to encourage them to visit the institution or to prepare them for such. She replied as follows:

The living museum, consisting of the original colonial buildings and reconstructions, can be visited free of charge. The site is walkable, much of it ADA-accessible, with much to gawk at in the streets and neighboring fields. Many buildings are accessible only with a rather pricey ticket, similar in appearance to a conference nametag, that can be purchased in the visitors' center or on site. We didn't purchase a multi-day pass because there's so much to see for free. Unless you're determined to experience every last thing on offer, it's possible to see plenty of the ticketed options in a single day. We bought our single-day tickets on site, at around 4:00, after wandering for hours. Since most places were closing soon we were permitted to use it for the rest of the afternoon even though we'd purchased it for the following day.

Our favorite destination was Charlton's coffee house, a ticketed tour of the most recently reconstructed building (completed in 2009). It concluded with a tasting of authentically spiced 18th-century chocolate! Some of the reenactments, which take place next door, were more edifying than others: I'd especially recommend James Armistead Lafayette—eye opening, and brilliantly delivered! There were free concerts and theatrical performances, some with audience participation, in the outdoor theater near the Governor's mansion, which also features beautiful gardens. We enjoyed our tour of the Peyton Randolph House, one of the largest private homes. Thomas Jefferson

was a frequent visitor to the Randolph House when he was a law student at William and Mary College. A ticket is required for admission, but just outside the door there is an extremely knowledgeable young woman named Hannah who offers a free walking tour called "Liberty's Paradox" that focuses on the enslaved population; I found out that a lot of what I thought I knew about the history of slavery in this country was actually quite wrong. I liked the tailor's shop a lot (ticket required), especially the presentation by a slender youth with long hair and yellow breeches. Find him if you can! He's very serious about the work and about material culture.

The horse and carriage ride was *absolutely* not worth the price, even if your feet hurt. We were shocked at how short and uninformative it was.

Chowning's Tavern is closed for renovation, which means the King's Arms is crowded, and it's best to choose an off time or make a reservation. They serve their own menu at dinner, and at lunch they use Chowning's. Both are grounded in authentic 18th-century cuisine, but, although it is extremely tasty, the food is very rich. We made the mistake of returning to try both menus on the same day, and the human body is just not designed to do that. It's special-occasion food where one should probably eat next to nothing the rest of the day. If you keep walking down Duke of Gloucester Street toward the College of William and Mary, however, you hit a row of modern shops and restaurants. There's one called The Cheese Shop where I purchased a delicious lentil salad out of their fridge for two dollars. So light and healthy meals are possible within walking distance, with good people-watching to boot!--Susan Spencer

ECASECS 2024 CONFERENCE: SUBMISSIONS OPEN!

ECASECS will hold its 54th meeting in Lancaster, PA, from Thursday evening, 31 October, through Saturday afternoon, 2 November 2024. The conference organizers hope to see many familiar faces and to welcome many new members. Our society is especially welcoming to graduate students, whom we encourage to present and to submit papers to be considered for the Molin Prize. As extra encouragement, graduate students pay a reduced registration fee of $25.00 due to the generosity of ECASECS members.

This year's conference theme is "Conflicts and Transitions in the Global Eighteenth Century, and the organizers seek panel and paper proposals that deal with any aspect of this theme broadly conceived, including panels or papers that consider the theme in terms of the present state or imagined future paths for eighteenth-century studies.

Proposals for panels (that is, open calls for presenters on a proposed topic) are due **March 31, 2024**. Individual paper proposals and completed panels are due by **June 1, 2024**. Email proposals to

ecasecs2024@gmail.com.

Lancaster, ranked this year by *Forbes* as one of the US's top 10 cities in which to retire due to its amenities, is easily accessible by car, bus, train, and plane. The conference hotel is in the middle of an eighteenth-century town, close to the oldest public market in the U.S., with many architecturally

interesting buildings, many museums, and many good restaurants and bars. The city is a major stop on the Amtrak Keystone Service between Philadelphia and points west. From Boston, New York, or Washington, D.C., you can transfer at Philadelphia's 30th Street Station to the commuter service to Lancaster. Harrisburg International Airport, just 40 minutes away by car, is served by multiple airlines and features daily, nonstop flights to and from many airports. Lancaster also has an airport a short ride north of the city that is serviced by American Airlines and Southern Airways Express. Philadelphia International Airport has direct rail service to Lancaster through Philadelphia's 30th Street Station.

We have booked the Holiday Inn Imperial Downtown Lancaster, and the conference room rates range from $162 for a double to $182.00 for a quad—plus taxes. For complete details see our conference website: https: // ecasecs2024conference.wordpress.com. Questions? Please email the conference organizers at ecasecs2024 @gmail.com. Their individual email addresses are: Elena Deanda-Camacho (edeanda2@washcoll.edu); Jim May: jem4@psu.edu; and my own: EShevlin@wcu.edu--Eleanor F. Shevlin.

News of Members and Announcements

The *Intelligencer* will be turning to electronic distribution as a PDF next year. If you wish to receive this newsletter, send the editor (jem4@psu.edu) your current email address and preferred street address AND then indicate whether you would prefer the fall 2024 issue printed on paper or sent as a PDF. It will be posted with open access at our website later. **Eleanor Shevlin** helped me with this issue, but I need to find an assistant or technical editor able to insert illustrations and edit PDFs, etc.

Rob Hume was such a fountain of scholarship that some, like **Steve Karian** and **James Woolley**, discovered he had died in November when his personal web pages with a load of information on the London stage, etc., were not available from Penn State. James wrote, "The most immediate loss to me is his and Judy Milhous's revision of *The London Stage, 1700-1726*. It is available but more awkwardly on the Adam Matthew Eighteenth-Century Drama site. I hope someone will make that terrific revision, and maybe also his other personal pages, more easily accessible. Steve and I cite the *London Stage* revision many times" (in their Cambridge edition of Swift's poetry).

The brain tumor that killed Rob began to zap his faculties by August and one surgical incursion discovered no remedy. When Rob's death was announced, we heard from many colleagues. **Linda Merians** wrote, "Rob was mythic. He was always so kind and generous to me. I will always have fond memories of him and Judy [Milhous] and Kit [Hume]. They took me out to dinner and to the opera when I lived in London [researching her dissertation in the 1980s]. They didn't let me pay for a thing, but even more importantly than that they treated me with much respect though I was a mere intimidated grad student." **Kevin Berland** and I were hired at Rob's advice while he was in charge of PSU branch-campus faculty. And I can attest to what gracious hosts Rob, Kit, and Judy have been at their magnificent home

in State College, hosting events like dinners to welcome new faculty and dissertation defenses: I and others there attended Ashley Marshall's defense before advisors Rob, Thomas Lockwood, and Howard Weinbrot.

Hermann Real wrote, "I will always remember Rob as a man of extraordinary generosity as well as a man of outstanding scholarship, a rare combination of criticism, both theoretical and practical, and historian of ideas. I made his books on Restoration drama and on objectivist hermeneutics, what Rob called 'archaeocriticism,' books which he gave to the Ehrenpreis Centre, required reading to my students. A genius himself, Hugh Ormsby-Lennon used to praise Rob as non pareil, as a man of genius who, remarkably, had tackled the Continental philosophers that count, giants like Hans Georg Gadamer (and his opponent in hermeneutics, E. D. Hirsch) but also come to grips with them. But then, when I come to it, Rob was also inspiring and motivating to smaller fry like me, to whom he would write after reading a miscellaneous note on the double entendre of coffee and sex, and thank me for bringing some sense back to the debate. Rob's students like Ashley will be devastated." Hermann devoted a page to Rob in the editorial preface to *Swift Studies*.

On hearing of Rob's death, **Eve Bannet** lamented to me, "he was a dear, dear friend, and I shall miss him again and again and again." Eve has an appreciation of Rob's scholarship in the form of a preface to Rob's book *Paratext Printed with New English Plays, 1660-1700* published in December within the Cambridge UP series *Elements in Eighteenth-Century Connections* (there's an account of the series below in announcements). Eve and fellow editor Markman Ellis had to prepare the typescript for publication due to Rob's illness last fall, making copy-editing and format changes she hoped he would approve. In her preface, Eve remarks, "No one has done more to reshape our understanding and appreciation of Restoration and 18C theater, and more recently of opera, than Rob." On a personal note, she added "Many will mourn the loss with him of a true friend--a man of integrity and principle, of ruthless honesty and unbending loyalty, who cared, and could be relied upon for good advice and practical help."

Rob Hume's scholarship often took a revisionist turn, pulling down weakly supported generalizations and false assumptions. Besides doing such for whole fields like Restoration drama and English 18C opera, he severely criticized flawed scholarship in his many reviews, including several in the Intelligencer. That capacity for saying "nay" made him feared by some and loved by others, such as **Alan Downie**, who loved the way Rob "took no prisoners" and "pulled no punches" in reviews. Many who were mentored by Rob at Penn State went on to similarly revise sketchy generalizations, as Don-John Dugas, **Leah Orr, Ashley Marshall,** and **Nancy Mace**. Rob's capacity for collaboration should not be overlooked. He produced scholarship with his former graduate students, such as William Burling, and with senior scholars from around the world in diverse fields, as Curtis Price and Harold Love, and his joint productions with Judith Milhous, which began before 1974, have no parallel among our contemporaries--they have been a Lennon and McCartney team. Rob's commitment to teaching is well attested above by Leah Orr (who herself carries on his practices with her

graduate students). This legacy too was imbibed by students of his mentioned, as well as other award winners: Paul Canaan and Mita Choudhury. But one area not sufficiently recognized in Kit Hume's obituary or the tributes by Leah and Nancy above is Rob's repeated service to his Department, the College of Liberal Arts and to the University itself, such as his two years co-chairing a committee to protect and reform computer systems and usage at the university. He played an important role in the restructuring of the English degree requirements. As for the College, Rob last year mentioned that he turned back to Liberal Arts many thousands in funding for his distinguished chair. Rob's contribution must also include his engagement with the Rare Books Dept., discovering important acquisitions on the antiquarian market. Rob seems to have passed on a duty for service to his graduate students, for many became department chairs or deans (**Matt Kinservik, Ashley Marshall, Nancy Mace, Cheryl Wanko**), or undertook other important services, as Richard C. Taylor, who directed English undergraduate studies and led East Carolina's study-abroad trip to London.

Eve Bannet is nearly finished writing a book with the working title *The Minerva Press under William Lane*--she reading a lot of novels cover to cover finds the press "significantly different under Lane" (d. 1814) than under Newman. **Lisa Berglund** has published "The Libraries of Mrs. Thrale and Hester Lynch Piozzi" in *Johnsonian News Letter*, 54.2 (Sept. 2023), 30-37. Lisa received an E. O. Smith Faculty Development Award from Buffalo State University ($5000) to support research on her book project "The Marginalia of Hester Lynch Piozzi." Lisa is still chair of English at Buff State. She will be co-chairing the 25th biennial meeting of the Dictionary Society of North America, to be held in Buffalo in 2025. Lisa recently posted online the "Hester Lynch Piozzi (Mrs. Thrale) (1741-1821): An Annotated Biblio-graphy of her Published Works together with Biography, Criticism, and Appearances in Fiction"--it is at https://digitalcommons. buffalostate.edu/ English_facpub/1/. **Greg Clingham** gave it high marks when calling my attention to it. For publications by and about Piozzi, including dissertations in some languages, Lisa offers "a brief description of the argument of each essay or book and often a comment on its value to scholars." Her introduction notes "it is a work in progress that will be updated each January." Welcome to **Michael Berlin**, who directs the writing program at Washington and Lee U. Michael works on literary theory and criticism and comparative poetics. He contributed to *EC: Theory & Interpretation* (64.1) "'Oblivions Sable Shore': Phillis Wheatley Peters at the Limits of Lyric History." His paper at Williamsburg was entitled "Fragments of Colonial Time." **Scott Breuninger,** Dean of the Honors College at Virginia Commonwealth, wrote *Recovering Bishop Berkeley: Virtue and Society in the Anglo-Irish Context* and he co-edited *The Bonds of Society: Sociability and Cosmopolitanism on the Fringes of the Enlightenment*. At W&M Scott presented "Teaching and Mapping the Irish Enlightenment: The Case of the Royal Dublin Society, 1732-42." We thank **Meghan Bryant,** in Special Collections at W&M for her rare book and manuscript exhibition.

Delaware has published **Pamela Buck**'s *Objects of Liberty: British Women Writers and Revolutionary Souvenirs* in hardcover ($150) and

paperback ($42.95). It's an interesting fusion of material culture and women's studies, showing how women's acquisition of objects during their travel on the Continent during the Revolution and Napoleonic period helped create political agency and networks, with sympathy for revolutionary sentiments: "this study reveals how they used souvenirs to affect political thought in Britain and contribute to conversations about individual and national identity." Pam draws on travel accounts of Helen Maria Williams, Wollstonecraft, Catherine and Martha Wilmot, and others.

Congratulations to **Elena Deanda-Camacho** on receiving a Fulbright to teach at the U. of Bonn this May and June. Elena, Professor of Spanish and Director of the Black Studies minor at Washington College, presented at our fall meeting "Fighting for Chocolate, Religion, Disputes, and the Divinity of Cocoa in the 17C and 18C." She works on Golden Age and Baroque literature, particularly that of colonial Mexico. Her book *Ofensiva a los oídos piadosos: Obscenidad y censura a la poesía española y novohispana del siglo XVIII* won the 2023 best monograph award from the Spanish Society for 18C studies; her 2nd book, *Trovar: Metapoetics of Occitania and Sotavento* will be published within the year by the Univ. of Veracruz. During the end of winter, **Greg Clingham** was in South Africa for a month-long research trip related to the subject of his essay above. **J. Alan Downie** with Nicholas Seager has edited *The Oxford Handbook of Daniel Defoe* (c. 700 pp.; c. $170), available in Oxford Handbooks Online, with 36 essays divided into biography, genres, contexts, places, and afterlives. Contributors include Alan's "Defoe & the Social Structure of Pre-Industrial England"; Nick Seager's "Defoe & Economics"; Brean Hammond's "Defoe and London"; Benjamin Pauley's "Attribution & the Defoe Canon"; Pat Roger's "Defoe & the Book Trades"; **Ashley Marshall**'s "Defoe's Periodical Journalism"; **Maximillian Novak**'s "Defoe's Poetry"; **John Richetti**'s "Defoe, Philosophy, and Religion"; **Geoffrey Sill**'s "Defoe, Prose Fiction, and the Novel"; and **Rivka Swenson**'s "Habits of Gender and Genre in Three Female Robinsonades, 1767-1985." This March, Anthem Press has published **John Dussinger**'s study *Samuel Richardson as Anonymous Editor and Printer: Recycling Texts for the Book Market* ([v] + 140; index; bibliography; in hardcover: 1-78527-353-1). It includes annotated and introduced editions of selected periodical essays from *The True Briton* and *The Weekly Miscellany*. The conclusion stresses "Richardson's Press and Women's Entry into Public Life" (as Sarah Chapone's). **Melvyn New** offers an assessment on its back cover: "Building on his valuable adaptations of Richardson's early and anonymous journal publications, Dussinger offers carefully annotated texts of 7 contributions to the *True Briton* (1723-4) and 16 to the *Weekly Miscellany* (1733-8) [all signed with women's names and shown] . . . important to our understanding of the great fiction that follows." We have a copy and need a reviewer.

Michael Edson and **Cedric D. Reverand III** have edited the collection *Abraham Cowley (1618-1667): A Seventeenth-Century English Poet Recovered* (Clemson UP, Dec. 2023; 288 pp.). Besides their intro, Ric wrote on "How a Major Poet Disappeared from the Canon," and Michael added "Cowley's Essays: Martial and the Ironies of Retirement." The volume also

includes **Kevin Cope**'s "Ease, Confidence, Difficulty, and Grasshoppers: Abraham Cowley's Segmented Baroque" and **Philip Smallwood**'s "Cowley's Singularity: Pindaric Odes and Johnsonian Values." (We can get a review copy for an interested reviewer.) **Laura Engel**'s *The Art of the Actress: Fashioning Identities* was published this past winter by Cambridge UP in its 18C Connections series, co-edited by **Eve Bannet** (discussed below). Laura's abstract indicates that her book "considers how visual materials across genres, such as prints, portraits, sculpture, costumes, and accessories, contribute to the understanding of the nuances of female celebrity, fame, notoriety, and sandal." Thus, the book is about artistic treatments of actresses as well as actresses acting artfully. The focus is on "the varied significances of representations . . . of actresses, female artists, and theatrical women." **Rachel Gevlin**, besides presenting at Williamsburg, spoke in early November at the Jane Austen Society of North America's AGM on "Jane Austen: Protofeminist, Postfeminist, Bad Feminist." Rachel teaches English at Virginia Commonwealth; she took her PhD from Duke and spent two years in Burkina Faso while in the Peace Corps. **Sayre Greenfield** and **Linda Troost** were also at that Austen AGM in Denver and presented "The Many Colors of Austen," which explores how recent adaptations have added diversity to reflect our modern world yet preserve elements of Austen. We were honored at Williamsburg to have on the Samuel Johnson and Hope panel the distinguished Japanese Johnsonian, **Noriyuki Harada**, a Professor at Keio University in Tokyo. He is on the advisory board of the Samuel Johnson house in London, about which we read in the March *Intelligencer*.

On February 14, the editors of ***The Scriblerian***--**Melanie Holm**, Neil Guthrie, and E. Derek Taylor--announced to contributors that all reviews for the Vol. 57, no. 1, were due 15 March. The double-issue forming 56.1-2 is completed and in the press. Our member **A. W. Lee**, who has contributed to recent volumes, assumes full editorial control with 57.2 (lee.tony181@ gmail.com). **Jacob Sider Jost** will participate this October in "Essay Week" at Stanford U., organized by its English Dept to celebrate the publication of the *Cambridge History of the British Essay*. Jacob will be one of six in a roundtable discussing the new book. The Winter issue of *Eighteenth-Century Studies* (57.2) contains Jacob's review of *The Correspondence of James Boswell and Sir William Forbes of Pitsligo* edited by **Richard Sher**. Also here is **Jack Lynch**'s review of *The New Cambridge Companion to Samuel Johnson* edited by **Greg Clingham**, and Sarah Raff's reviews of the CUP edition of ***Sir Charles Grandison*** edited by **Melvyn New**, E. Derek Taylor and Elizabeth Kraft. This *ECS* has articles on Blair's *The Grave*, Benjamin Franklin, the effort to redirect charity toward the national sphere within Spain and New Spain, and the societal considerations surrounding actress Lavinia Fenton's celebrity performance as Polly Peachum.

Stephen Karian is one of several members who contributed to the 44-chapter *Jonathan Swift in Context*, edited by Joseph Hone and Pat Rogers, due from Cambridge UP in May. Steve wrote the pages on "Book Trade"; **Hermann J. Real** those on "Translations and Reception Abroad"; **J. Alan Downie** on "Pamphleteering and Political Journalism"; **Ian Higgins** on "Sermons"; and **Andrew Carpenter** on "Literary Scene: Ireland." **Laura**

Kennelly and **Rob Mayerovitch** were in Istanbul in the fall and the Far East over the winter--yet Laura is reviewing performances for the press and Rob is still teaching and performing music. I hear of exciting travels by retired colleagues, as this month from **Linda Merians** in the Arctic off the top of Norway, about to try out dogsledding. Linda and **Elizabeth Lambert** have edited with an introduction the main scholarly production of their beloved friend and our late colleague **Mary Margaret Stewart:** *The Life of William Collins, Poet* to be published by Clemson UP in a series edited by **Greg Clingham**. Also from Clemson UP and its partner Liverpool UP this year are *Tobias Smollett after 300 Years: Life, Writing, Reputation*, ed. by Richard Jones, to be reviewed here by **A. W. Lee**; *Reading Samuel Johnson: Reception and Reputation 1750-1970*, ed. by Phil Jones; and our **Michael Martin**'s *Appalachian Pastoral* and the late **Wm. Edinger**'s *"Genial" Perception: Wordsworth, Coleridge and the Myth of Genius*. In response to last issue's account of the Samuel Johnson house on Gough Square, **Bill Kinsley** points out that it was the setting for the climax of the 1946 Sherlock Holmes film *Dressed to Kill*: there's a collision of Holmes & Watson, the villains, and the cops, "shots are fired, tourists flee in panic."

The Fall *Eighteenth-Century Studies* begins with a roundtable ed. by Lisa A. Freeman on the "transformative impact" of Joseph Roach's *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performances* (1996); then come essays on representation of prostitutes in 1791 Paris, Rousseau's *Social Contract*, and Defoe's *The Review*. The issue's reviews include one of **Devoney Looser**'s *Sister Novelists* (reviewed here last fall), another of **Sean Moore**'s *Slavery and the Making of Early American Libraries*; another of **Elena Deanda-Camacho**'s *Ofensiva a los oídos piadosos: Obscenidad y censura en la poesía española y novahispana del siglo XVIII*; and a fourth on **Thomas Salem Manganaro**'s *Against Better Judgment: Irrational Action and Literary Invention in the Long 18C*. Since her retirement from the Naval Academy last year and move to Pennsylvania, **Nancy Mace** has been researching some local history topics. The past months she also wrote an essay for a collection on the music trade. **Sylvia Marks** reports that she's been "trying to track down the Mary Robson Hughes who opened a school with her husband in Philadelphia and later retired to the Doylestown area. Some of her good works of juvenile fiction are *The Alchemist* (1818), *The Metamorphoses* (1818), and *The Ornaments Discovered* (1819). **Laura Miller,** long active in SEASECS, chaired a session at William & Mary and then gave a lively talk on her research into 18C medical publications and readership for an international project funded in Britain on libraries along the Atlantic seaboard. **Maureen E. Mulvihill** sends a robust report: She published three brief Swift reviews (*Scriblerian* 55, 1-2 [2022]). Digital Humanities review, with graphic (*SHARP News* online: Feb. 29, 2024). “March Is Women’s History Month: Women & Books”, illustrated (RareBookHub online, March 1st, 2024). “Literary Ireland: St Patrick’s Day 2024,” with color image from the iconic Book of Kells (*Florida Bibliophile Society Newsletter* online, March, 2024). And “Detroit Book Club at 65” (Rare Book Hub online, Dec. 1, 2023; with captioned images). She provided research assistance, for the Walpole Library, CT, with Isobel Grundy and

John J. Sullivan: Information on Walpole's recent acquisition (June 2023; seller, Kemp Books, UK) of an amusing feminist parody of the venerable Order of the Garter installation ceremony, titled "The...Most Noble Order of the Needle", dated 1761 (LWL MSS Vol 282; 16 leaves). See Orbis catalog record (July 10, 2023); see also Maureen's detailed post, SHARP-L, July 27, 2023. Forthcoming: For *Scriblerian*, extended review with color images of bilingual Irish poetry anthology, *Bone & Marrow* (2022). For the *Literary Encyclopedia* (online), "Ephelia in 2024." For *MusicAir* website (Royal Society of Musicians, UK), "Eloquent Ear: Sonic Poetics by Early Women Poets." For *Restoration,* "Remembering Anne Barbeau Gardiner."

Joanne Myers and **Julie Park** contributed to a special issue of *Eighteenth-Century Life* with eleven essays edited by Alexis Chema and Betty A. Schellenberg on "The Manuscript Book in the Long 18C" (48.1: January 2024; c. 270 pp.). Joanne's essay, "A Manuscript Devotional Culture in 18C English Convents: A Case Study," is described by the editors as showing "not all selves encountered in MS books are individualistic and autonomous, as evidenced by the 'devotional authorship'" of Sister Cecily Joseph. And Julie Park's concerns "Line Making as Life Writing: Graphic Literacy and Design in 18C Commonplace Books."

Back in April 2023 the Univ. of Florida Press announced "**The Melvyn New and Joan New Editing Internship**": "The internship is graciously funded by Melvyn New with the purpose of helping students gain practical and professional knowledge about book publishing [via both the acquisitions and editorial & design departments]. Beginning in Fall 2023, the internship will support one student per semester" who is an English major at Florida. That's a productive alternative to passing out scholarship money. Joan New co-edited with Mel the first two vols. of the Florida edition of *Tristram Shandy*. In September's *Intelligencer,* I noted **Mel New** was editing *The Correspondents: An Original Novel* (1775), sometimes ascribed to George Lord Lyttelton. Now Anthem Press is announcing its publication and has promised us a review copy. In this annotated edition, Mel argues that it was first written as an actual exchange between Lyttelton and his daughter-in-law Apphia Peach Lyttelton (after she was abandoned by Lyttelton's son and was living near her father-in-law); then the correspondence was revised into a narrative by Peach not long after Lyttelton died. Mel notes that it is one of the best imitations of Sterne's blend of sensibility and sensuality.

The Williamsburg panel "Speaking Littorally on the Spanish Main." offered three papers by colleagues in history at W&M. **Fabrício Prado** presented "From Colonial Smuggling to Revolutionary Privateering: Merchants, Captains, and the Entangled Histories of Revolution and State Formation in the Atlantic (1777-1822). Working with Prado on her doctorate is **Micaela Miralles Bianconi**, who took a B.A. in her native Argentina and then an M.A. in History at Villanova. Mica's paper won the 2023 Molin Prize and is discussed above. Also working on a PhD in history at W&M is **Sydney Sweat-Montoya**, who presented "Shopping for Jurisdiction: Navigating Maritime Occupations in the Bay of Honduras and Mosquito Shore." She researches the economic and political history of the Caribbean, such as, here, the English and Spanish conflicts in the Bay.

We are very grateful to **Adam Potkay** for letting us reproduce his excellent syllabus for an English literature course on the problem of evil (BTW, I have removed some of the accidentals for emphasis, uses of italic, bold, and the like--our readers ought not to need those bells and whistles). Many will find here good suggestions for writing assignments and discussion topics (as why does Swift present Houyhnhnms as having no idea of writing, how do we know Swift is being ironic in *Modest Proposal*, and how would W. Godwin or B. Mandeville critique works by Swift et al.). We also applaud Adam's effort to teach poetics and prosody. We thank **Xinyuan Qiu** for her book review above. Xinyuan, besides speaking at William & Mary in October, presented a lecture in May to the Univ. of Binghamton's Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities entitled "Disciplinary Sentimentality in British Sentimental Fiction of the Global 18C"--the paper was an outgrowth of a public humanities project she was working on. She addressed the Institute again this fall on her dissertation, which she expects to turn in by the end of the academic year.

In his preface to this year's *Swift Studies*, **Hermann J. Real** notes further titles in Swift's library acquired this past year for the Ehrenpreis Centre at the Univ. of Münster in Germany. Hermann and the Centre were able to raise thousands of euros to acquire titles by Leo Africanus, Michel de Nostradamus, and Cervantes Saavedra (translated by Shelton). The Centre also acquired a number of Swift and Swiftiana volumes listed by Christopher Edwards in his catalogues of the library of Roger Lonsdale (this winter Edwards published a Part III with authors A-E 1740-1840). These include Swift's *Project for the Advancement of Religion* (Teerink 509) and "several items surrounding the Gregg affair (*The Conference*, 1711; *Secret Transactions*, 1711; *Some Remarks,* 1711, et al.), some not recorded in Teerink and Scouten." The University's Chancellor's grant made possible the acquisition of "an immaculate copy" of Quintilian's *Oratoris eloquentissimi declamationum liber* (Lyon: S. Gryphius, 1536; Passmann & Vienken III.1556), bound with his *Institutio oratoria* of the same year. Hermann's trusty antiquarian bookman, Andrew Stewart of Cornwall, as ever found something for the Centre: George Meriton's *An Exact Abridgment of All the Publick Printed Irish Statutes Now in Force* (1700 [Passmann & Vienken II.1238]). Hermann himself has moved to Verne, a smaller town closer to his and his wife Erika's daughter's family and thus further from Munster. But he was at the Centre for Dr. Corrina Readioff's lecture at the opening of the Centre's exhibition "The Tale of Swift's Whale: Three Hundred Years of Whale Imagery in Jonathan Swift's *Tale of a Tub*." Dr. Readioff (Liverpool) co-curated the exhibition with Dr. Kirsten Juhas and Dr. Janika Bischof, and her lecture will appear in this year's *Swift Studies*.

David Radcliffe who is the Director of Virginia Tech's Center for Applied Technology in the Humanities, presented at W&M "Networking Jacobites: Sir Walter Scott and the Power of Weak Ties." **Raquel Rocamora Montenegro** came from Spain (Universidad de Alicante) to offer on the New Spain session at Williamsburg the paper "*Poesías Verdes:* Articulating the Erotic and Pornographic Component of an 18C Songbook." **Joseph Rudman**'s examination of problems in an attribution case for Defoe made by

Irving Rothman and associates has been accepted by *Digital Defoe*: "A Look at 'Defoe's Contributions to *Robert Drury's Journal:* A Stylometric Analysis,' by Irving N. Rothman et al.--Are the Results Valid?" Also in late Fall *The International Journal of Digital Humanities* published Joe's "Reproducibility and Non-Traditional Authorship Attribution: *Invitatio ad Arma."* **John Scanlan** this month chaired the 2024 SCSECS meeting in Portland, OR: "The Book and the City." The 2023 SCSECS focused on Quixotism, and **Samara Cahill**, its organizer, prints related conference papers in the recent issue of her open-access *Studies in Religion and the Enlightenment*. Among these is **Susan Spencer**'s paper on Quixotic elements in the Korean novel *Kuunmong* and in Du's Vietnamese poem *Truyên Kiều*. One of the most interesting papers I heard at W&M was **Ronald Schechter**'s on "Marie Antoinette's Forbidden Books." Ronald's books include *Obstinate Hebrews* (2003) and *A Genealogy of Terror in 18C France* (2018).

Patrick Scott and Rachel Mann have edited from a Beinecke MS (1790) *Poems by a Lady* written by Helen Craik (1751-1825), a Gothic novelist and friend of Robert Burns (Glasgow: Asso. of Scottish Literature, Nov. 2023; 336 pp.; illus.; £19.95 in paperback). This is the first publication of these 39 poems, including satires, verse epistles, dramatic monologues. The volume has an introduction on Craik and notes on each poem, sources, etc.; plus indices; plus an appendix with "Memoirs of her Family" (letters 1810-11) and another with writings by and about her. We have a review copy for the poetry lover who wishes to review it. Now that **Eleanor Shevlin** is approaching retirement, she has time to chair another conference, etc, and etc. includes giving a talk at the Georgetown Public Library in March on "The Campus Novel: Changing Depictions of the University in Fiction," within murder mysteries, satires, and comedies of manner. **Geoffrey Sill** in July published his edition *Nick Virgilio: Collected Haiju, 1963-2023*. Virgilio was a haiku poet who lived in Camden, NJ. He was one of the first poets to write many haiku in English, adapting the form used by 18C haiku poets such as Matsuo Basho. During his life Virgilio published over 900 haiku and "left thousands more in an archive, now available online at the Rutgers-Camden library. The *Collected Haiku* was published by Red Moon Press and is available at nickvirgiliohaiku.org." **Brijraj Singh** has been writing autobiographical essays, one of which, on studying at Oxford as a Rhodes Scholar and how it affected him, will appear in the Winter 2024 issue of *The American Oxonian*. It also includes reflections on British undergraduate education in the 1960s. **Susan Spencer**, who favored us with the review essay above on poetry and the arts in 18C Japan, is presenting three times this month: at the South-Central SECS in Portland and then at the Association for Asian Studies in Seattle, which brings together several thousand scholars,, and then at the Asian Studies Development Program. She thus skipping ASECS but will fold a trip to Texas for the total eclipse.

Dennis Todd retired several years ago from Georgetown and moved to Berkeley, CA. Prior to retiring, Dennis finished writing a book just published by the U. of Tennessee: *Patriarchy in Peril: William Byrd II and Slavery in Early Colonial Virginia* (hardcover: $60). He examines Byrd's relations with family, apprentices, employees, and, esp., slaves on his huge

Virginia plantation (examining conflicts in patriarchy and slavery). **Robert G. Walker** published "The Painted Fly and the Connoisseur in Eighteenth-Century British Literature" in the *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 86 (2023--online 10 Nov.). Bob notes the transformation of the Renaissance trope of a fly painted in a painting that is so lifelike people try to shoo it into a satire of connoisseurs who mock a painting for having a lifelike fly only to have it fly off the canvas, thus exposing their biased pretensions. George Alexander Stevens used it to good humor in sketching the connoisseur type in his one-man show *Lecture on Heads* (1760s, 1770s, delivered and also published). Later York comedian James Robertson repeated the comic routine in his poem "The Connoisseur" in *Poems* "by Nobody" (1770)--Bob has a note on Robertson forthcoming in *ECL* ("The Dynamics of Authorial Forgetting: The Case of James Robertson"). Bob's other forthcoming essays are: on Sterne's subscribers in *The Library*, on the Newcastle Burr in *Archaeologia Aeliana* (2023), and an essay on Thomas Cuming, "Between the Sheets," in *1650-1850*. Bob has been researching women printers in Newcastle and York and also looking into theatrical figures in Sterne and Derrick. **Sharif Youssef,** a lecturer at Penn, with a PhD from Chicago and a JD from Toronto, works on the concept of risk.

Forthcoming Meetings, New Publications, and Other Announcements

The **18C Scottish Studies Society** will meet with the Institute for the Study of Scottish Philosophy at the Princeton Theological Seminar, 30 May-2 June, with the theme "Crisis, Continuity, and Change in 18C Scotland."

The **18C Ireland Society** will meet at the Univ. of Galway 20-21 June 2024. The conference is organized by Prof. David O'Shaughnessy and will offer key addresses by Tríon Ní Shíocháin (Maynooth), Gillian Russell (York), and Jim Watt (York). For details: www.ecis.ie/annual-conference/. Contact the host at david.oshaughnessy@ universityofgalway.ie.

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

The **Jane Austen Society of North America**'s 2024 meeting will be in Cleveland on 18-20 October with the theme "Austen, Annotated: Jane Austen's Literary, Political, and Cultural Origins"--Co-Coordinators Jennifer Weinbrecht and Amy Patterson for that AGM already have good webpages up and a gmail account. JASNA's website is impressive. It offers with open access the annual journal *Persuasions*.

SCSECS 2025 will be chaired by Martha Lawler at LSU--Shreveport.

Eve Tavor Bannet and Markman Ellis are editing for Cambridge Core of CUP a series of monographs entitled **Eighteenth-Century Connections**, with publication on the WWW and also soon thereafter in print. The invitation for submissions indicates that the series "explores regional and transnational geographical networks. It affirms an expansive view of 18C literary culture as a global phenomenon," attending to the century's "newest

and most characteristic literary forms, including the novel, life writing, periodical literature, the miscellany, the how-to-book, and poetic and visual satire." To submit a proposal, see the website where there is a downloadable form. As noted above, the series recently gained Robert Hume's ***Paratext Printed with New English Plays, 1660-1700***, with 232 pages available with open access in December and then published on paper in February. Rob identifies twelve paratext elements surveyed across 377 plays: authorial credit, generic designation, auspice of a theater or theater company; government license to publish (mandated by law 1662-79 and 1685-95), dedication, prefaces, list of characers, names of performers, location of the action, and prologue & epilogue. Other titles in the series, with my examples moving backward by date, are: Serena Dyer's *Labor of the Stitch: The Making and Remaking of Fashionable Georgian Dress*; Elaine McGirr's A *Performance History of* The Fair Penitent; Laura Engel's *The Art of the Actress: Fashioning Identities* (I quote from the abstract above in news of members); Meghan Kobza's *The Domino and the 18C London Masquerade*; Alison Searle's *Pastoral Care through Letter in the British Atlantic*, Richard B. Sher's *Making Boswell's* Life of Johnson; Sandro Jung's *Eighteenth-Century Illustration and Literary Material Culture*; and Markman Ellis's *Science and Reading in the 18C: The Hardwicke Circle and the Royal Society, 1740-1766*. All but the first few of those are 2023 titles. The series began in fall 2020 with Nicholas Cronk and Glenn Roe's *Voltaire's Correspondence: Digital Readings*. Several other titles from the 2021-2022 are *How and Why to Do Things with 18C Manuscripts*, by Michelle Levy and Betty A. Schellenberg, and *Secret Writing in the Long 18C: Theories and Practices of Cryptology* by Katherine Ellison. The website offers abstracts for books in the series. Eve Bannet is proud of the amount of originality in the offering and the mix of young and established authors.

Since around our fall issue, the **ESTC** has not been available on the internet from the British Library (www.estc.bl.uk). In January a cataloguer who daily works to correct the ESTC wrote me, "unfortunately the ESTC is still down, and I'm afraid we don't yet have a clear idea of how soon it will be back. The [British] Library's *Living Knowledg*e blog has the latest updates on the cyber attack [initiating the shutdown] and the recovery from it: https: // blogs.bl.uk/living-knowledge/ index.html."

The Atlantic of October 2022 offered historian Drew Gilpin Faust's reflections on discovering that upper-level and graduate students at his university could not **read cursive**, a necessary skill for historians. This past winter Pennsylvania lawmaker Joe Adams, (R, Wayne County), a former School Superintendent, co-wrote a bill requiring cursive be taught in Pennsylvania schools. Some favor cursive for fine-motor skill production and other reasons (people should be able to sign their names, etc.). In February 2024, this became House Bill 1934, sponsored by Dane Watro. If passed, PA would be the 21st state to make teaching cursive mandatory.

Lancaster's *LNP* newspaper and other media outlets on 9 January 2024 (Jaxon White in *LNP*) reported that the "National Park Service . . . walked back its plan to remove a **statue of William Penn** from a Philadelphia park ["Welcome Park," at the site of his former home] after the proposal was met

with abundant criticism," including by Gov. Josh Shapiro and by many Republican legislators. The famous Quaker arrived in Penn's woods in 1682 and set up a colony known for religious toleration. On 5 Jan'y, some in the NPS proposed "removing the statue and a replica of Penn's home, the Slate Roof House, in favor of new installations highlighting Native American history," in order to "provide a more welcoming, accurate, and inclusive experience for visitors." State Rep. Bryan Cutler said, "I'm not sure how you promote inclusivity by removing people." The NPS said they planned the alteration after consulting various indigenous nations. Then on 12 Jan'y the *LNP* carried Marc Levy's story "Penn Statue Not Vexing, Tribes Say." A spokesman for the Delaware said it wanted an educational exhibition on the tribe's history and culture added to the park, but it had no complaint about the tribute to Penn and his representation: "We do still speak highly of William Penn," who is felt to have kept his word to natives.

Around 3 November the *NYT* ran a story by Anemona Bartocollis that in my local paper was entitled "Changing Times, **Budgets Menace the Humanities**," It noted that the Mississippi state auditor reported so few graduate with humanities degrees and get a job in Mississippi that these degrees should receive less support (e.g. 60% of grads in anthropology leave the state to find work). Other specifics include the viability study of programs at WVU and the closing of *The Gettysburg Review* by its college. It also noted that Miami Univ. of Ohio was "reappraising 18 undergraduate majors, each of which has fewer than 35 students enrolled, including French and German, American studies and history, classical studies and religion."

Another article related to colleges appeared in November, this by Collin Binkley, an AP Education writer: "**International Students Return** to US Colleges," noting that last year, 2022-23, international students at US universities and colleges increased by 12%, aided by a 35% jump in students from India (totaling 260,000, second only to the 290,000 Chinese--students from India are increasing as those from China are decreasing, with increasing numbers choosing Canada and Britain). Binkley notes that "More than 1 million students came from abroad, the most since the 2019-20 school year." NPR on 20 Nov. carried a story about the ballooning enrollment of international students taking English-language courses at the Univ. of Amsterdam--over 40,000, which puts a strain on housing costs. There is a proposal in the Dutch legislature to prohibit universities from teaching more than one third of its courses in English (all are in English now).

Lancaster's *LNP* carried Wyatt Massey's SpotlightPA story "**Inflation Outpacing Funding**" (12 Jan. 2024), which analyzed Pennsylvania state funding to Penn State, Pitt, Temple, and Lincoln Universities over 15 years or more. Inflation and flat funding led to a considerable decrease in state subsidy per in-state student, down to $5800 for Penn State and $9500 for Pitt (about $2000 and $1500 less than they received in 2011)--Temple has fared better. Per student funding in the PASSHE system, which includes West Chester U., Millersville U., etc., has, however kept up with inflation. Per student funding would be much worse but for the drop in in-state students. Penn State has 23% fewer than in 2006; the PASSHE system has 39% fewer. In another story of 26 January, Massey surveyed Penn State U's announced

plans to cut $94 million from its two-year budget for 2025-26, with $54 million coming from the 20-campus Commonwealth Educational System. Besides enrollment declines (due to a demographic dip and online colleges), PSU cites inflation, especially the expectation that 2025 will see a $30 million increase in health care expenses. Another Massey story of 29 January notes that diverse cuts have reduced PSU's "diversity efforts."

A *Forbes* posting 30 Sept surveyed a range of **universities in trouble**, including small private schools like St. Norbert College in WI and Christian Brothers U. in Memphis as well as state schools like San Francisco State, Dickinson State (ND) and Delta State (MI). Author Michael T. Nietzel noted "sources of financial problems": "shrinking enrollments, a global pandemic, unpredictable state funding, a public increasingly skeptical of the value of a college degree, and the temptation at many schools to overbuild and overspend." Last month saw articles on budget cuts coming at Drake U (NE), Washington State U, and U. of Arizona. The last will take three years to fill a $177 million deficit with freezes and layoffs. Washington State's woes in part result declining enrollment but also from an agreement with 1800 unionized student workers to increase benefits and hike pay by 20%.

November 15th is the next application deadline for ASECS's **A. C. Elias, Irish-American Research Fellowship,** awarding up to $2500 to support "documentary scholarship on Ireland in the period between the Treaty of Limerick (1691) and the Act of Union (1800), by enabling North American-based scholars to travel to Ireland and Irish-based scholars to travel to North America" for research. Applications should be sent to its trustees: Dr. Jason McElligott, The Keeper, Marsh's Library, St. Patrick's Close, Dublin 8, Ireland (jason.mcelligott @marshlibrary.ie) and Dr. James May (jem4@psu.edu; 1423 Hillcrest Rd / Lancaster, PA 17603). Applications need contain a cover letter requesting consideration and indicating personal contact addresses and the name of which Society the applicant belongs; a CV of no more than 3 pp., project description (3 pp. or less, treating contribution to the field and work done and to be conducted), one-page bibliography of related books and articles; short budget; and two signed letters of recommendation. Submit all but the letters as one Word file or PDF. The two letters should be sent confidentially from their authors to May and/or McElligott. See the ASECS or Marsh's Library webpages on the award for more details. The Elias Fellowship for 2024 was awarded to Janet Hammond (George Mason U.) to research her dissertation on the role of literacy education in the upbringing of middle- and upper-class children.

The Southeastern American Society for 18C Studies has published an annual journal for nearly two decades: ***XVIII: New Perspectives on the Eighteenth Century***. *NPEC* tends to go to press several months after the SEASECS meets around February, with encouragement to presenters to submit papers to the journal, but anyone in the Society can submit an essay and the journal always needs reviewers. It's now edited by E. Joe Johnson (French, Clayton State U., joejohnson@ clayton.edu), who chaired the 2023 SEASECS. *NPEC* has book review editors for English (Erik McCarthy) and for other fields (Kathleen Hardesty Doig). The 2023 volume contains articles on

landscape monuments at Wrest Park (UK) and on using Condorcet in math classes. There are also two pedagogical essays introduced by Martha Bowden, one on use of role-playing games in history classes and the other on using material culture in literature classes. Eleven book reviews follow, two by Chris Johnson and by Larry Riggs; there's a great range of topics, from Nicholas Seager's edition of Defoe's *Correspondence* to *Who's Black and Why: A Hidden Chapter from the 18C Invention of Race*, in which Henry Louis Gates and Andrew Curran gather 16 essays from the 1739 contest on the origin of blackness held by the Bordeaux Royal Academy of Sciences.

The December 2023 issue of ***Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*** has Kelly Wiseup's "Towards a Bibliography of Birch Bark" (the 2023 Meeting's Keynote); David Francis Taylor's "The Extraordinary Publication History of Addison's *Cato*: Editions, Issues, Piracies" (a close examination of the 1713 quartos--the sort of article *PBSA* ought to publish, though illustrations are obscure); Whitney Trettien's "What is a Fragment?"

The March 2023 issue of the ***Journal for 18C Studies*** (46.1), co-edited by Ashleigh Blackwood, Allan Ingram, and Helen Williams, has the focus "Writing Doctors and Writing Health in the Long 18C"; it includes an article by Blackwood on "Poetry as Women's Literary Medical Practice"; others on bloodletting in literature, dispensary records, and family planning.

Historian **William Hogeland**, a former ECASECS member, author of such books as *Autumn of the Black Snake, The Whiskey Rebellion*, and *Declaration*, this May publishes *The Hamilton Scheme: An Epic Tale of Money and Power in the American Founding* (Farrar, Straus, Giroux).

ASECS's *News Circular* in January 2023 began with President Wendy Wassyng Roworth's remarks, noting that there were more graduate students than retired faculty responding to the Gladiator survey of membership; on this and other grounds, she concluded that ASECS was thriving, but Roworth remarks with concern that many members were teaching where not tenure eligible. She foresaw a major fundraising drive. Last year ASECS stopped funding the **ASECS Affiliated Societies Coordinator**, a position that brought (most recently) Rivka Swenson to speak at and report on diverse societies. Alas! The position began decades ago when ASECS had far fewer affiliates. The Coordinator was a conduit from membership to the Board.

The **Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia** funds five scholarships to the Rare Books School held there. At the Society's meetings in March usually three graduate students present papers related to bibliography, and it awards the Battestin Fellowship, named for late ECASECS members Martin and Ruthe Battestin, providing $3500 to UVA graduate students working on bibliographical or textual projects in the University's libraries. Then it announces winners of its "Book Collecting" contest. Presently David Vander Meulen is preparing Vol. 61 of its *Studies in Bibliography*. The Society has published with Oak Knoll Books a reprinting of Fredson Bowers's *Principles of Bibliographical Description* that adds G. Thomas Tanselle's introduction and Vander Meulen's corrections to the text. The Society is fundraising for an endowed "Bowers" chair in Bibliography.

In March David Gies (UVA) brought out his Spring 2024 issue of ***Dieciocho***, always a handsome PDF, remarkable for being available with open access while receiving contributions by distinguished scholars around the world. This issue has such articles as María José Alonso Seoane's essay showing that Pablo de Olavide's 1764 zarzuela *El celoso burlado* largely adapts Justine Favart's comic opera *La fille mal gardée ou Le pédamt amoureux* (1758); plus María Isabel Terán Elizondo's account of how G.-H. Bougeant's *Amusement philosophique sur la langage des Bestes* was mistranslated and misinterpreted in New Spain (c. 1788) and entangled readers in heretical propositions denounced by the Inquisition; plus César Esponda de la Campa's account of the correspondence (1803-08) between María Louisa de Parma and her daughter María Louisa, who ruled Tuscany. It also includes seven reviews (two in English including one on Goya), the survey "Cajón de sastre bibliográfico," and Gies's index for 2013-2023 vols.

Above is noted briefly Maureen Mulvihill's posting of a digital humanities review 29 February on *SHARP News*: I'm sure many will find interesting this account of ***Data Visualization in Enlightenment Literature*** *and Culture*, ed. by Ileana Baird (Palgrave Macmillan/Springer, 2022--some chapters are in open access under a Creative Commons Attribution license). The review will guide you to a "timely high-tech methodology: graphical conveyance of information," in a volume with a dozen contributions employing 90 figures and 27 tables. Note too that in January the **Voltaire Foundation** launched ***Digital Enlightenment Studies***, an open-access peer-reviewed online journal dedicated to exploring digital methodologies and resources for 18C studies. It seeks essays in English or French. Also from the VF's monthly bulletin I learned that it will sponsor an annual lecture on digital studies, this year's on 2 May by Glenn Roe. And February's notes that the Bodleian acquired two Voltaire MSS, one a copy of a letter 26 Oct. 1761 to G. Gastaldi and the other an unknown ALS, which VF researchers have identified as to the actress Marie Anne D'Angeville. March's volumes of Oxford U. Studies in the Enlightenment include *Specialized Dictionaries and Encyclopedias, 1650-1800*, ed. by Jeff Loveland and Stephanie Schmitt.

The **Intelligencer needs reviews for**: four books involving Richardson, Cowley, Lyttelton, and poet Helen Craik edited by members named in the news above: John Dussinger, M. Edson & C. Reverand, Melvyn New, and Patrick Scott. The colleague who received our copy of *The Correspondence of John Dryden* has died; so, we'd appreciate it if someone working with that edition would review it. And, if someone has read Bob Harris's *Gambling in Britain in the Long 18C* (Cambridge UP, 2022), we'd print a review of it.

Cover illustration: Figure 4 of Deborah Kennedy's article: Anna Williams, watercolor portrait by Denby, n.d. Courtesy of the Donald and Mary Hyde Dr. Samuel Johnson Collection, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

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