



# THE CENTER & CLARK NEWSLETTER

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WILLIAM ANDREWS CLARK MEMORIAL LIBRARY

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## Director's Column

Helen Deutsch, Center/Clark Director

While my time as director has just begun, my time at the Center/Clark began in 1992, when I first came to the Clark as an Ahmanson-Getty Postdoctoral Fellow. A denizen of frigid Chicago at that time, I fell in love with the warmth, vitality, and diversity of Los Angeles and with the beauty of the library and the estate. More important were the riches of the Clark's collections, the generous support and good cheer of the Center/Clark staff, and the dynamic community of scholars from UCLA and around the world whom I met that year: they were gifts that transformed my research and my sense of what scholarly collaboration could and should be. When I joined the faculty of the UCLA English Department in 1995, I felt that I had really come home to the Center/Clark, and I have been lucky enough to be part of its dynamic group of scholars ever since. I have served the Center/Clark in a broad range of capacities over the past twenty-five years, and I have never stopped learning from my colleagues, from the many scholars who contribute to our events, from the lively and engaged audiences at those events, and from those who pursue their research in the Clark's collections. I am extremely grateful to serve as director and to give back to the institution that has sustained me for so long as a teacher and a scholar. In my first few months I have been delighted to get to know better the wonderful supporters of the Clark, and I look forward to many more opportunities to enjoy your company at our ongoing academic events, theatrical performances, and concerts.

I started my term at a moment of transition for the Center/Clark, and I have been fortunate to have the invaluable support of our Center/Clark staff—particularly Assistant Director Candis Snoddy and Manager of Programs and Fundraising Kathy Sanchez—as I make my own transition. I am especially grateful to Mary Terrall, who served the Center/Clark as Interim Director with wisdom, kindness, and unflappability and whose advice and expertise have been indispensable. Construction at the Clark has been ongoing, and the torrential rains of this past winter posed additional problems for us (as they have for so many). Nevertheless, I am happy to report that the sun has come out, and the end is in sight for both the seismic retrofit and book storage expansion projects. We recently completed a major rewiring of our electrical system and anticipate being able very soon to move the library staff back into the building and begin our re-shelving project.

Thanks in part to generous donations, we have restored the wooden floors and much of the furniture throughout the first floor, as well as the ornamental urns on the east lawn and the



Gloria Kondrup, Kitty Maryatt, Stephen A. Kanter, and Kathleen Walkup

bronze fountain statuary on the grounds. When the building reopens, it will be a thing of beauty and well worth the wait. Because this transition is incremental and there is still work to do, we hope to hold a big re-opening celebration in the fall. In the meantime, I would like to thank all of you for your patience with us during this long closing. I especially want to express my gratitude to both the Center staff, who have worked tirelessly to keep our programs and concerts and daily operations going on campus, and to the Clark staff, who have endured less than optimal working conditions and coped with a variety of exigencies with their characteristic good humor and generosity. My special thanks go to Carole Robinson, our site manager, and to Candis, for their unflagging vigilance in overseeing the construction project. We truly have the best staff on the UCLA campus, and I am lucky to be part of the team.

We have, meanwhile, made excellent progress on a variety of other fronts. We have successfully completed our Head Librarian search and will be making a formal announcement shortly. Following the success of a Delmas-funded transcription project for annotated books last summer, the Gladys Kriebel Delmas Foundation has awarded the Clark another grant to run a manuscript transcription project from June to September 2017, which will pilot workflows and methods for creating electronic transcriptions/editions of early modern manuscripts. Head of Research Services Philip Palmer will direct the project and train three UCLA graduate student transcribers, all of whom will develop new skills in paleography, book history, and digital humanities. The Center has also received a new award from the Pine Tree Foundation for "*Diversifying the Classics: Library of Translated Hispanic Classical Plays*." Funding will provide five summer stipends (over two summers) for graduate students in "*The Comedia in Translation and Performance*" working group, directed by Barbara Fuchs. The working group's ongoing project involves translating one new Spanish Golden Age play each year,

over the winter and spring quarters, for a total of two additional plays over the grant period. The translations are posted on the project's website (<http://diversifyingtheclassics.humanities.ucla.edu/>) for open access. Most recently, the National Endowment for the Humanities has awarded the Clark a generous grant for a project to digitize early modern printed books bearing manuscript annotations. More information about this award appears in the article that follows this column. The eighteen-month project will run through October 2018.

Attending the programs and concerts is perhaps the greatest pleasure of the director's job. While there are too many events to mention in detail, I wanted to share a few highlights of the past months. At the twelfth annual Kenneth Karmiole Lecture on the History of the Book Trade last November, "How to Do Things with Books," Stephen Orgel of Stanford University discussed the preservation of early modern pamphlets as demonstrative of the formative role of connoisseurship in early modern book history. In December the Center/Clark collaborated with CAP UCLA and Forced Entertainment for a production of *Table Top Shakespeare*, in which one by one, over six days, Forced Entertainment performers condensed thirty-six Shakespeare plays into a series of works of less than one hour, each played out by a single actor on a one-meter tabletop. Retold via a collection of mundane objects, including salt shakers and kitchen utensils, the offerings provoked intriguing questions about the nature of "Shakespeare" in performance. Rare Book Librarian Nina Schneider and Philip Palmer created a display based on items from the Chrzanowski Collection of texts—most in rare printed editions, some in manuscript—that Shakespeare likely read or could have read; Paul Chrzanowski gave a fascinating talk on opening night about the collection and its history.

Continuing on the theme of Shakespeare and/in performance was our 2016–17 core program, "Entertaining the Idea: Shakespeare, Philosophy, Performance"; co-organizer Julia Reinhard Lupton recaps the program in her article in this issue. In January the Stephen A. Kanter Lecture, "Bone Folder, Brayer, and Loupe: A Panel Discussion on the Present and Future of Book Arts Education," organized by Nina Schneider, brought together three dynamic founding scholars, teachers, and innovators of the book arts—Gloria Kondrup of ArtCenter College of Design, Kitty Maryatt of Scripps College, and Kathleen Walkup of Mills College—for a stimulating and inspiring discussion, complete with student creations on view. In February at the William Andrews Clark Lecture on Oscar Wilde, endowed by Dr. William Zachs, Petra Dierkes-Thrun explored Wilde's connection to the notorious and influential French decadent writer Rachilde in compelling and occasionally shocking detail. Two special events bring this busy and productive year to a close: a concert in May by the legendary Ying Quartet in honor of oboist Melvin Kaplan—renowned chamber music performer, manager, teacher, lecturer, and writer, as well as a long-time friend of the Center/Clark who has provided over half the performers for our concert series over the past twenty-three years—and in June, Opera UCLA's production of *Mansfield Park* by Jonathan Dove, conducted by Scott Dunn and directed by Peter Kazaras.

I want to close by extending my heartfelt thanks to all for your ongoing support of the Center/Clark. Please look out for the announcement of our re-opening later this summer.

## Littered Pieces

Nancy Shawcross, Academic Administrator for Special Projects

In a time when so many digitized printed works are available on the Internet—often for free if out of copyright—research libraries have been forced to consider what, in fact, makes their non-circulating book collections distinctive and what makes them productive or even necessary for today's scholars. Variant editions and information drawn from books' materiality are two examples of the research value of historical volumes. Teaching with original artifacts, such as rare books, is also an important benefit that special libraries can offer. Yet another significant feature of some rare book collections is the presence of handwritten annotations, frequently in the margins—such as marks, *adversaria*, readings, glosses, inscriptions, notes, and *scolia*. Marginalia can be seen as equivalent to the art concept *objet trouvé*, in which material previously not considered art is transformed or inserted into new creative works. The "littered pieces" that complicate old books and were often perceived as defects by antiquarian dealers and their customers (unless, perhaps, the annotator was famous) have come center stage in the past two decades as found objects bearing scholarly fruit.

Among the more famous observations about marked-up texts is that of Erasmus of Rotterdam, who was born approximately twenty-five years after the invention of the printing press by Gutenberg. "I consider as lovers of books not those who keep their books hidden in their store-chests and never handle them, but those who—by nightly as well as daily use—thumb them, batter them, wear them out, who fill out all the margins with annotations of many kinds." How fascinating that in the formative period of the printed book a theologian and teacher understood something so fundamental to the history of reading: it is not simply the publication of a text that matters but also how that text is perceived or digested by contemporary or near-contemporary readers.

In the past three years there has been a coordinated effort to make visible the wealth of printed volumes that contain annotations from the hand-press era, circa 1455 to 1830, at the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library. Work began with Joseph Bristow's successful application to the Council on Library and Information Resources (CLIR) for a two-year postdoctoral fellow in data curation for early modern studies. Fellow Philip Palmer inventoried the Clark's rare book collection for handwritten remarks and drawings and initiated a pilot project with the UCLA Library to digitize ten heavily annotated volumes and make them available on the Web. At the end of his term as a CLIR fellow, Phil transitioned to Head of Research Services at the Clark and worked with me on a proposal to the National Endowment for the Humanities, Humanities Collections and Reference Resources program, to digitize the Clark's copiously or extensively annotated printed books.

We are delighted to report that our proposal to the NEH was funded. The Clark Library will receive \$261,000 to produce and make freely available on the Web digital facsimiles of 279 annotated volumes, comprising more than 76,600 pages, more than 2,500,000 words. The Endowment supports efforts to facilitate new paths of study and research within the humanities. Without its expert staff, who shepherd applicants through the rigorous proposal requirements, the growth and diversity of scholarship worldwide would not flourish as well as it does. Libraries, in particular, have come to rely on the NEH's Collections and Reference Resources program as a partner to enhance services, to make safe the nation's intellectual treasures,

and to make those assets more accessible to students, professors, and independent scholars. According to the NEH's website, "in the last five competitions the Humanities Collections and Reference Resources program received an average of 234 applications per year. The program made an average of 39 awards per year, for a funding ratio of 17 percent."

In the Clark's NEH-funded project selected books will be digitally photographed by a local company, Luna Imaging, which also produced the image files for the pilot project. The ten books from the pilot were recently published on *Calisphere* (<https://calisphere.org/collections/26771/>), a website for historically significant collections held by the ten campuses of the University of California as well as by an array of distinguished California libraries, museums, and archives. The 279 titles photographed through the NEH grant will be added to the ten books currently on *Calisphere*. Through an award from the CLIR Hidden Collections program, *Calisphere* has begun publishing facsimiles of many of the Clark's codex manuscripts (<https://calisphere.org/collections/26887/>). The CLIR-funded project affords the digitization of most of the Clark's British bound manuscripts from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, representing seven genres or categories: commonplace books; literary works (poems and plays); musical works; recipe books; sermons; account books and inventories; and lectures and textbooks. When both digitization projects are completed, the Clark Library will have shared an astonishing amount of its unique (not simply rare) holdings with the world at large, contributing significant content for the study of the history of reading in England, in particular, and Europe, in general, through the late sixteenth century to the early nineteenth century.

Through the support of the Gladys Kriebel Delmas Foundation, we have been able to explore not simply the digitization of the Clark's manuscript material but also the transcription of handwritten materials, whether they are annotations in a printed book or the text of a bound manuscript. Last summer a grant from the Delmas Foundation provided training and paid summer work for three UCLA graduate students to transcribe nine annotated volumes at the Clark. In a generous show of support for the Clark's efforts to transform handwritten texts into machine-readable and searchable files, the foundation has offered funding to conduct a similar program in summer 2017: three UCLA graduate students will transcribe a small selection of codex manuscripts being digitized by the CLIR grant. The next step will be presenting the transcriptions online, linked to their digital facsimiles.

An essential aspect of the NEH-funded project is the original cataloging that Clark Manuscripts & Archives Librarian Rebecca Fenning Marschall will create for the *annotations* within the printed books. Online records already exist for the printed volumes, but those records are oriented toward the artifact as a multiple. Becky's records will emphasize the item as a manuscript or hybrid, that is, a cross between or combination of two formats yielding a unique object. As one NEH evaluator noted: "Incredibly strong project that has the potential to not only fundamentally change the digital humanities field, as well as how cataloging of annotations in MARC is completed."

In the review and grading of the Clark's project, NEH evaluators confirmed the importance of the study of reading practices and annotation but acknowledged that it is "an area that is notoriously difficult to work in because of the lack of digital surrogates." Another commentator envisioned "a number of future projects that could be built upon the foundation that this digitization project will build." And finally, one evaluator suggested that the "most tantalizing promise of

the project" was the argument that annotated books from the hand-press era reflect the questioning, acceptance, and growth of early modern and Enlightenment ideas. The Clark Library stands both *amid* and in the forefront of making accessible annotated printed books: *amid* in the sense that other projects, typically focusing on select annotators or different time periods, are underway to digitize and contextualize marginalia (with some projects also taking on machine-readable transcriptions of manuscript writings) and *amid* in the sense that the Clark's project will coordinate with as many of those existing projects as possible; *forefront* in the sense that the Clark's vision of the resources to be created and maintained include annotated books as well as bound manuscripts, include digital surrogates as well as searchable transcriptions, and include works for a time period largely left behind in existing projects related to the digitization of annotated books.

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## Poetry Longwaies: Narcissus Luttrell's Annotated Collection of Literary Ephemera

Philip S. Palmer, *Head of Research Services*

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"A scandalous thing." "A silly poem." "A violent abusive tory song." "A very foolish copy." These comments, inscribed by a contemporary bibliophile on the title pages of his collected literary broadsides and pamphlets, are valuable for the insights they offer about literary reception in the late seventeenth century. Belonging to the historian and collector Narcissus Luttrell (1657–1732), these annotated pieces of literary ephemera make up a book at the Clark Library entitled *Poetry Longwaies*, a bound folio volume of 146 individual texts annotated by its owner. The title presumably originates from the relative length of the rectangular-shaped folio format (as opposed to the square-shaped quarto format), especially considering that many of the texts collected therein have been folded to fit the volume. As a collection of cheap print from the early modern period, *Poetry Longwaies* is important for preserving material that is highly ephemeral and may not survive in great numbers of copies, much like the ballad collections of the 3rd Duke of Roxburghe (John Ker) or Samuel Pepys. But more important, *Poetry Longwaies* and other books annotated by Luttrell provide crucial information about the production, sale, and reception of late seventeenth-century cheap print in England. Because Luttrell annotated his books in an atypical and somewhat obsessive manner—recording price paid, day of publication, and short interpretive comments—he has left behind a trove of data for illuminating the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century trade in books.

Luttrell was one of the most prolific book collectors in Restoration England, beginning his collection in earnest in 1679. (He is also known for some minor political appointments and an important historical work based on contemporary newsletters and periodicals, published as *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs from September 1678 to April 1714* in the mid-nineteenth century.) As a collector, Luttrell was particularly active in compiling texts related to the Popish Plot and its mendacious perpetrator, Titus Oates. In fact, annotated copies (by Luttrell) of two contemporary printed catalogs of Popish Plot material survive in the British Library today. These volumes demonstrate that Luttrell assiduously compiled his collection of pamphlets and broadsides related to the Popish Plot. James Osborn, one of the few scholars to write on Luttrell,

notes that “of the 617 items listed [in the two catalogs], Luttrell obtained copies of all but one...and even added six items missed by the compiler of the catalogues” (James M. Osborn, “Reflections on Narcissus Luttrell (1657–1732),” *The Book Collector*, Spring 1957; reprinted in *The Luttrell File*, ed. Stephen Parks, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, 1999). The Clark’s volume of *Poetry Longwaies* consists almost entirely of material related to Dr. Titus Oates and the Popish Plot, including such colorful titles as *Oates’s New Years Gift: A Dialogue between Ye Doctor and the Devill* (1684) and *The Sodomite, or the Venison Doctor, with His Brace of Aldermen-Stags* (1684). (As an aside, the Clark’s *Poetry Longwaies* volume also includes texts on topical subjects other than the Popish Plot, including the Battle of Vienna in 1683 and the death of King Charles II in 1685.)

As Luttrell observes in several of his handwritten title-page comments in *Poetry Longwaies*, many of these publications can be described as “A scandalous libel on Dr Oates” or “A scandalous thing on Oates” (fig.1). In fact, many of Luttrell’s annotations identify satirical targets of the ephemeral literary works he collected, whether they are comments scrawled on the title page or proper names inscribed in blanks left by the printer. The greatest value of Luttrell’s annotations lies in their ability to provide scholars with lost or otherwise inaccessible details about these printed texts. At the risk of anachronism, it could be instructive to use the term “metadata” to describe the information Luttrell typically recorded in his notes. Beyond the identification of satirical targets, Luttrell also wrote down the price he paid for a book or broadside as well as (quite remarkably) the exact day on which the piece was printed and published. Though it is not always clear if Luttrell’s handwritten dates document both the day of publication *and* the day on which it was read, these entries are, nonetheless, invaluable for the precise information they carry.

The eighteenth text collected in the Clark’s *Poetry Longwaies* volume offers one example of its research value: it is a half-sheet broadside entitled “A Congratulatory POEM on the wonderful Atchievements of Sir John Mandevil, &c.” The item survives in four copies today, and the corresponding *English Short Title Catalogue* (ESTC) record suggests that its topic is the fictional English traveler Sir John Mandeville, whose *Travels* were popular reading material in Europe from the fourteenth century onwards. Luttrell’s annotations on the Clark’s copy of the broadside reveal something more about its subject: “Agt Sr John Moore Late Ld Mayor 26 July 1683.” Not only do we learn the exact date of publication—26 July 1683—but we also learn that the poem is actually a satirical attack on Sir John Moore (bap. 1620, d. 1702), a Tory politician who served as Lord Mayor of London in 1681–82. To return to *Oates’s New Years Gift: A Dialogue between Ye Doctor and the Devill* (1684), we learn from the Clark copy (one of only two copies surviving today) that the broadside ballad was printed on 16 January 1683/4 (ESTC has the conjectural date of 1684), it is “a scandalous thing on Oates,” and Luttrell paid 4d to acquire it. The price is interesting because it reflects the greater expense of broadsides bearing engraved images (other specimens of broadside poetry in *Poetry Longwaies* have manuscript prices of 1–2d). The ephemerality and rarity of this broadside ballad are underscored by the fact that it was never digitized for *Early English Books Online*: here, then, is one of those scarce pre-1800 English imprints that can only be consulted in person at a library. One final example illustrating the value of Luttrell’s handwritten metadata can be found in the *Poetry Longwaies*



Fig. 1: Luttrell’s annotations on Oates’s *New Years Gift: A Dialogue between Ye Doctor and the Devill* (1684), reading “A scandalous thing on Oates.” Clark Rare f PR1213.P74\*\*

copy of “Prologue Spoken by Mrs. Cook” (1684) (fig. 2). Here Luttrell’s notes record 1d paid, a publication date of 20 February 1683/4, and a source for the prologue itself: “To ye Tragedy of Valentinian,” or John Fletcher’s revenge tragedy *Valentinian* (first produced 1610–14, first published 1647). On the verso of the broadside, which contains another printed text (“Epilogue by a Person of Quality. Spoken by Mrs. Barrey”), Luttrell has added an annotation at the very bottom of the page, next to “Printed for Charles Tebroc,” reading “Corbet.” In other words, Luttrell points out that “Tebroc” is the printer’s pseudonym—simply his real surname spelled backwards. (ESTC reproduces “Charles Tebroc” without comment.)

Taken individually, these small pieces of information about the printing, sale, and reception of Restoration literary ephemera shed new light on the publication histories and veiled satires of specific texts. Regarded collectively, however, these bits of handwritten “metadata” create a vast archive of contemporary information concerning print publication in the 1670s and 80s, not to mention serving as a record of an important seventeenth-century antiquarian library. Analyzing the collective output of Narcissus Luttrell as an annotator of literary ephemera at scale is the real challenge, as his immense library was broken up at auction in 1786. Today Luttrell’s books survive in dozens of research libraries around the world, including the British Library, Huntington Library, Newberry Library, Yale’s Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Clark Library, and others. In fact, there are two additional *Poetry Longwaies* volumes in existence: the first covers the years 1660–80 and is held

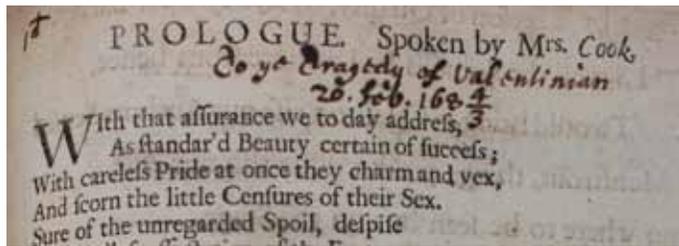


Fig. 2: Luttrell added this comment to his copy of the “Prologue Spoken by Mrs. Cook” (1684), noting in the prologue “To ye Tragedy of Valentinian,” i.e., John Fletcher’s *Valentinian* (1647). Clark Rare fPR1213.P74\*\*

at the Newberry, while the second covers 1681–83 and resides at the Huntington. The Clark holds dozens of more books owned by Luttrell in addition to the *Poetry Longwaies* volume, including early modern bound manuscripts and many printed books that are annotated to varying degrees (some with price and date information only; some with title-page commentary and marginalia; some with only his monogram cipher stamp).

The efforts of the late James M. Osborn at Yale to accumulate and study the books owned by Narcissus Luttrell resulted in “a file of well over 2300 items,” according to Stephen Parks, then Curator of the James M. and Marie-Louise Osborn Collection at the Beinecke Library. Parks and Earle Havens (now a curator at Johns Hopkins University) published a book in 1999 entitled *The Luttrell File: Narcissus Luttrell’s Dates on Contemporary Pamphlets 1678–1730*, which compiles all of Osborn’s notes as well as additions by Parks, Havens, and others. The publication lists authors, titles, physical locations, and (where applicable) Wing numbers for identified Luttrell books, accompanied by any annotations he made to title pages. Over the next few years Earle Havens will be working on a project to turn *The Luttrell File* into an accessible online database of Luttrell’s metadata, reflecting additional discoveries made since 1999. The Clark Library will be working with Earle Havens to ensure that its Luttrell holdings are accurately reflected in the database, as there are many Luttrell books at the Clark that have turned up since 1999. The development of such a digital resource is promising, as scholars can use computational methods to query, visualize, and analyze the price and publication date information meticulously recorded by Luttrell. This data could also be marshaled to revise entries in online catalogs such as the ESTC and provide more historically accurate data about the production of early modern print ephemera.

The Clark’s *Poetry Longwaies* volume, as well as twelve additional books annotated by Luttrell, will be digitized through the recent award from the National Endowment for the Humanities. The Clark’s Luttrell books—especially *Poetry Longwaies*—may seem to stretch traditional notions of the annotated book. Rather than a single text marked-up by an individual aiming to document his or her reading experience, *Poetry Longwaies* is a bound archive of ephemeral print featuring what is primarily a set of rather banal annotations recording prices and dates. While Luttrell’s occasional interpretive annotations on title pages or margins record something more akin to “reader response,” on the whole *Poetry Longwaies* truly extends the concept of what an “annotated book” might look like and what kinds of volumes might be included in a corpus of annotated books. In any case, efforts to bring Luttrell’s collection into the digital age, be it through databases or digital scanning, will make great strides towards achieving a better understanding of early modern print and a greater chance at re-creating Luttrell’s historic library.

## Playing Up Spelling in an Age of Enlightenment

Sean O’Neil, *Kanner Fellow in British Studies*

Roll the die. A 6? Then list the eight punctuation marks. Roll again. A 1? Conjugate the verb “to have” in the past perfect indicative. Roll again. A 4? Identify the singular, accusative, first-person pronoun. If we were keeping score, how would you be doing at this point? These challenges come from a game invented in 1685 by Jean Mercier, a self-described “printer and musician” who lived in seventeenth-century Lyon. He published the game in a book, to which he gave a rather unwieldy title that translates as *[A] Game or curious method for learning the orthography of the French language by playing with a die or top: [being] very useful for young women and for all people without study, with a manner of writing numbers with the Roman numerals up to one million and a steganographic table for writing in secret* (fig. 1). Early modern games are already rare, and Mercier’s is rarer than most: there are four extant copies in the world, and the Clark’s volume is the only one outside Europe.

**How to Play.** So how do you play the game? First, you need to read the crash course in French grammar and spelling that makes up the majority of the book. Much of the content will be familiar to students of French today: Mercier describes the letters’ different sounds, distinguishes the comparative and superlative forms of adjectives, conjugates irregular verbs, etc. When you feel confident with the grammar, you’re ready for the game. All you need are a die, a piece of paper, a pen, and the game’s tables, which are found in the book (fig. 2). These tables contain all the different challenges, like “How many kinds of conjunctions are there?” There are three tables in total, and each spreads out across six pages, with each of those pages numbered from 1 to 6. Every challenge helpfully comes with a number that corresponds to the number of the page in the book where the solution to the challenge can be found. So, if you’ve forgotten how many kinds of conjunctions there are, for example, the table tells you the answer can be found on page 86. (Mercier, by the way, states that there are six.)

To begin, the players first decide how many points with which to start, and they then make the corresponding number of marks on the piece of paper for each player. Next, the two players choose which of the three tables they are going to use for their game and start rolling the die. Since each page of each table is numbered 1 through 6, a roll of any number corresponds to a particular page in the chosen table. After a player has rolled the die and turned to the corresponding page of the table, the opponent selects a challenge from any listed on the page. If the first player answers incorrectly, he or she loses a point from his or her original tally. The players take turns in this way until someone loses all of his or her points.

Mercier claims that players can improve their spelling even more by writing, rather than speaking, their solutions to the challenges. (We can think of this as the “full version” of the game.) At first glance, this addition might not seem to change the mechanics of the game too much, but consider the difference between having to say, “There are six types of conjunctions,” and having to write out, “There are six types of conjunctions.” For someone who is still learning how to spell more accurately,

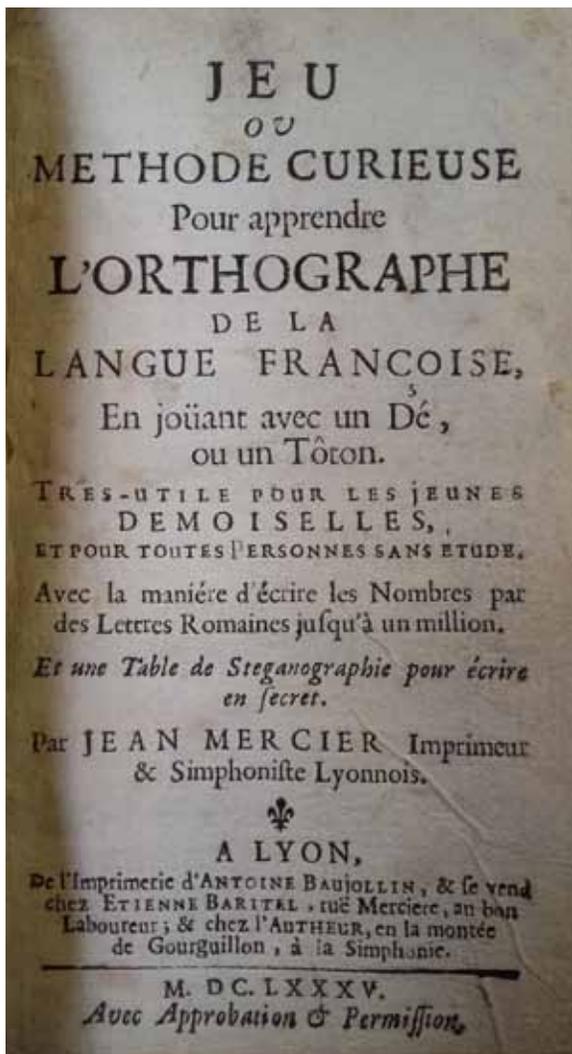


Fig. 1: Mercier's title page. Clark Rare PC2109.M55\*

Table de la seconde Partie. 61

Troisième Colonne.

3	3	1
45 Le 1 <sup>er</sup> Imparfait de l'Optatif du Verbe substantif.	47 Ce qui fait la différence des quatre Conjugaisons.	48 L'Imperatif des quatre Conjugaisons.
46 Le 2 <sup>e</sup> Imparfait de l'Optatif du Verbe substantif.	47 Le P.e. et de l'Indicatif des 4 Conjugaisons.	49 Le Present de l'Optatif des 4 Conjugaisons.
46 Le Parfait de l'Optatif du Verbe substantif.	48 L'Imperatif de l'Indicatif des 4 Conjugaisons.	49 Le 1 <sup>er</sup> Imparfait de l'Optatif des quatre Conjugaisons.
46 Le 1 <sup>er</sup> Plus-que-parfait de l'Optatif du Verbe substantif.	48 Le Parfait simple de l'Indicatif des 4 Conjugaisons.	49 Le 2 <sup>e</sup> Imparfait de l'Optatif des quatre Conjugaisons.
46 Le 2 <sup>e</sup> Plus-que-parfait de l'Optatif du Verbe substantif.	48 Le Parfait de l'Indicatif des 4 Conjugaisons.	49 Le Parfait de l'Optatif des 4 Conjugaisons.
48 Le Futur de l'Optatif du Verbe substantif.	48 Le Plus-que-parfait de l'Indicatif des 4 Conjugaisons.	49 Le 1 <sup>er</sup> Plus-que-parfait de l'Optatif des 4 Conjugaisons.
46 L'Infinitif & ses parties, du Verbe substantif.	48 L'Un - peu-Plus-que-parfait de l'Indicatif des 4 Conjugaisons.	49 Le 2 <sup>e</sup> Plus-que-parfait de l'Optatif des 4 Conjugaisons.
46 & 47 Le Participe & ses parties, du Verbe substantif.	48 Le Futur de l'Indicatif des 4 Conjugaisons.	50 Le Futur de l'Optatif des 4 Conjugaisons.

Fig. 2: Third page from the second table in Mercier's game. Clark Rare PC2109.M55\*

the chance of error is considerably greater when writing the solution, a fact that didn't escape Mercier: in the full version players lose a point for each and any mistake made when writing down a response.

**A Game for Whom?** Both Mercier's title and preface state that the book will benefit young women and all persons "without study." Taken at face value, this assertion can't be true. To begin with, in order to play the basic version of the game, a player must be able to read the challenges in the tables, and to play the "full version," he or she needs to be able to write. So, Mercier's advertisement notwithstanding, the game could not be of much use to true beginners. This fact, however, doesn't mean that there wouldn't have been a market for it.

Because teaching a child to read and write required a significant investment of both time and resources, schooling had traditionally been the purview of a relatively elite, male segment of European society. The Reformation, with some help from the printing press, began to change that reality. Protestant preachers valued more widespread literacy on largely theological grounds. If the faithful were to live by faith and Scripture alone, they needed to be able to read that Scripture. Catholic reformers also sought to increase literacy. Teaching children to read so that they could better learn their catechism came to be seen as an important tool in staunching the new Protestant heresies.

Although educational reformers advocated a broader literacy for both boys and girls, they didn't believe the sexes required the same kind or amount of education. The education of girls was almost exclusively framed in terms of preparation for Christian motherhood. People on both sides of the confessional divide understood that children spent their formative years primarily with their mother and, therefore, perceived mothers as crucial to the inculcation of religious orthodoxy. On the other hand, most considered mothers necessary simply to teach their children the basics; girls, therefore, only needed to learn a minimal amount. Enlightenment France operated under the same presumptions. Martine Sonnet's survey of girls' and boys' schools in eighteenth-century Paris found that if a boy went to school, he usually did so for four to five

years on average. Only one out of six girls who started school stayed four years. More commonly, girls attended school for only one year, the year before their First Communion.

The boys and girls who left school after four or five years were probably quite literate for the time, but they were only a minority of the students who attended school. Many of the other boys and almost all of the girls would have acquired merely basic literacy. After all, how well can a child learn to read and write in one or two years? In a cruel twist, many of them would have received just enough education to recognize how limited their skills actually were. These somewhat literate people, a great many of whom were young women, were the ones who stood to benefit the most from Mercier's game. For them, the game probably looked like an amusing way of addressing a deficiency of which they were only too aware.

**Gamifying Education.** The idea of teaching children with games has become popular among some teachers and researchers in recent years. "Gamification," the word most commonly used to name the phenomenon, describes any effort to introduce game mechanics into an educational context. The manner of such implementation varies. Some teachers dramatically alter curricula so that students learn primarily by playing games. Others adopt more cosmetic changes, such as giving students "missions" instead of "assignments."

Gamification is predicated on a distinction made in psychology between the kinds of motivations that compel people to do things. Some motivations are considered intrinsic whereas others are extrinsic. People are said to be intrinsically motivated if they do something because they take personal satisfaction in doing it. They are said to be extrinsically motivated if they do something because they want a reward or fear a punishment, both of which are meted out by someone else. Psychologists find that intrinsic motivations are usually more effective in the long term. Gamification advocates

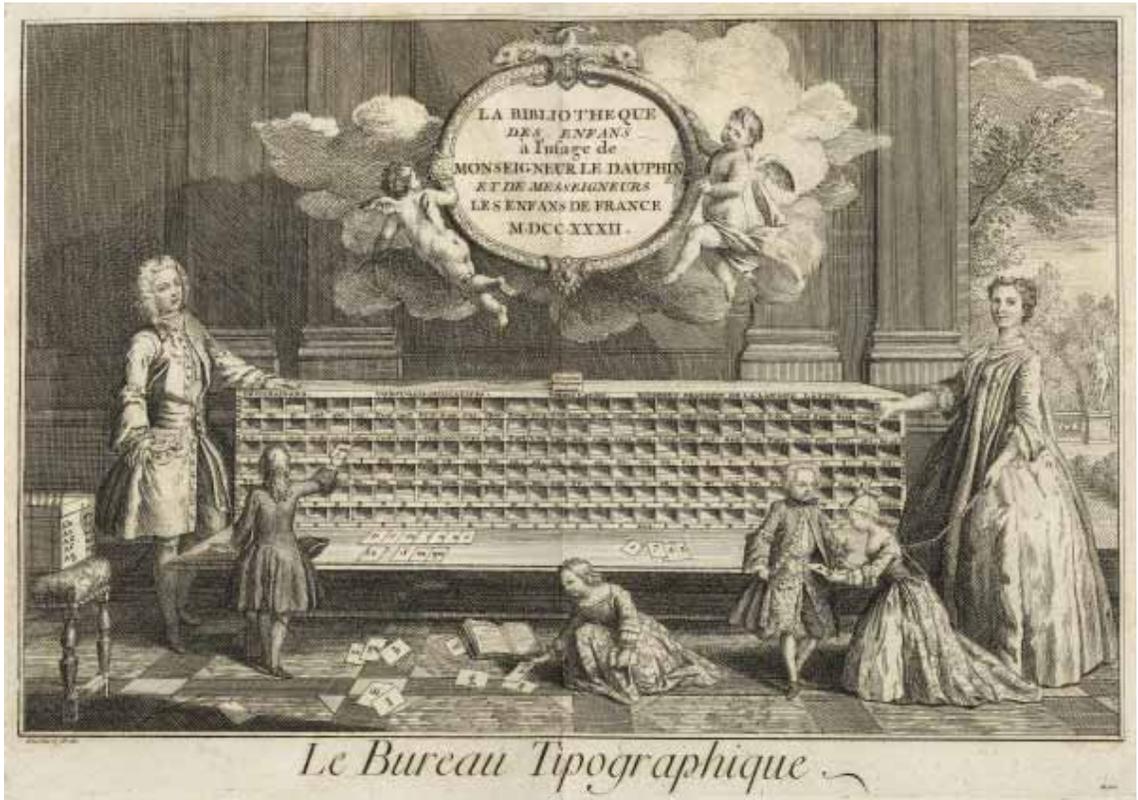


Fig. 3. Eighteenth-century illustration of Louis Dumas' "printer's desk."

argue that because children are intrinsically motivated to play games, gamified education will, therefore, be more successful than other methods that rely on extrinsic motivators.

As Mercier's game demonstrates, although the word "gamification" might be new, the pedagogical logic is anything but. Nor was Mercier the only early modern person to teach literacy by way of a game. In his *Some Thoughts concerning Education* (1693), the English philosopher John Locke describes a game in which children practice how to read syllables by rolling dice that feature the different letters of the alphabet rather than groups of dots. In 1733 the French teacher Louis Dumas invented a similar sort of game modeled on the printer's type case. He called it the *bureau typographique*, or "printer's desk," and the game pieces consisted of cards with different letters. Young children were encouraged to play with the cards, provided that they read aloud any syllables produced by the strings of cards they made. It was *Scrabble avant la lettre*, so to speak (fig. 3).

Not everyone was thrilled with gamification, however. In fact, the French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who was himself an educational reformer, openly critiqued Locke's and Dumas' games, saying:

People make a great fuss about discovering the best way to teach children to read. They invent "bureaux" and cards, they turn the child's bedroom into a printer's shop. Locke would have them taught to read by means of dice. Is not that a well-found invention? What a pity! A means more sure than all of those and which one will never forget is simply the desire to learn. Give the child this desire, and you can forget your "bureaux" and your dice. (*Emile*, livre II, trans. Anne-Marie Chartier, Édition la Pléiade, 358–89)

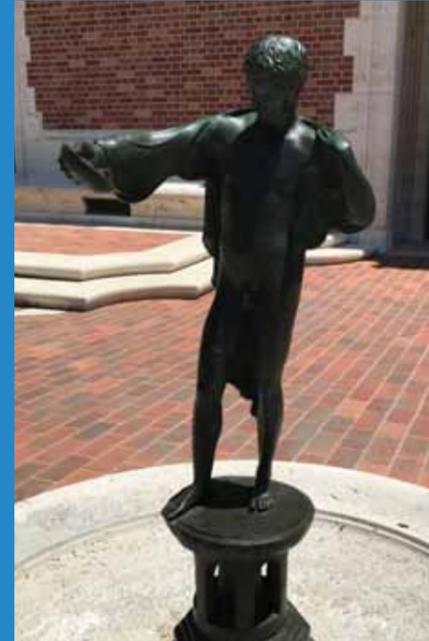
Though Rousseau doesn't mention Mercier here, it seems fairly safe to say he would have been similarly critical of Mercier's

game. Yet these two men have something in common: both wanted to design methods of teaching that drew on the child's "intrinsic" motivations. Thus, then, as now, the debate over gamification tends to arise not from disagreement over basic child psychology but over whether games themselves are intrinsic or extrinsic motivators. What makes a game a godsend or a gimmick depends on whether one thinks a child's desire to get points comes from within or without.

Not Just Child's Play. Although Mercier's game probably wouldn't gain much traction in today's French classroom, as a historical artifact, it can tell us a lot about how early modern people understood education in their world. The game tracks across its pages the aspirations and anxieties of a partially literate group of people, many of them probably women, who lived in a society in which reading and writing were rapidly becoming skills no longer limited to a bureaucratic or scholarly elite. Late seventeenth-century cities and towns were inundated with paper—newspapers, broadsides, manuscripts, books—all of them covered in written words. The people who played Mercier's game understood that the bigger game being played was increasingly a literate one, and they wanted a turn.

Note: The Clark offers a number of resources to those interested in pursuing additional study of early modern games. The library's collection includes, among others, several sets of pictorial playing cards; multiple copies of Charles Cotton's *Compleat Gamester* (1680); Jean Arbutnot's *Of the Laws of Chance, or, a Method of Calculation of the Hazards of Game* (1692); and an eighteenth-century version of that classic European board game, *The Game of the Goose*.]

# Restoration at the Clark



Stone Urns (above), Maid of the Garden Fountain (below), and The Birds Fountain (below right). Made possible by a gift in memory of Dr. Patricia Bates Simun and Mr. Richard V. Simun.

Boy with Sea Shell Fountain and Undine Fountain (above). Made possible by a gift from Roberta and Robert Young.



## Core Program, 2016–17: “Entertaining the Idea”

Julia Reinhard Lupton, *Professor, UC Irvine*

This year’s core program, entitled “Entertaining the Idea: Shakespeare, Philosophy, Performance,” comprised three linked symposia, organized by myself, Lowell Gallagher (UCLA), and James Kearney (UCSB). The goal was to bring together the best work being done on Shakespeare and philosophical questions with performance and performance studies, two areas often working without much meaningful contact or exchange. In the fall we asked participants to address a number of key words that link philosophy and performance, including *entertainment*, *acknowledgment*, *acting*, *hospitality*, and *ways of life*. The winter symposium explored the afterlives of *Romeo and Juliet* in translation and among other art forms, especially opera and ballet. In the spring participants took up Shakespeare at the limits of performance, with keynote lectures on Shakespeare and Hegel (Paul Kottman, New School) and Shakespeare and Kant (Sanford Budick, Hebrew University).

To entertain is to delight and amuse but also to receive guests and hence to court risk, from the real dangers of rape, murder, or jealousy to the more intangible exhilaration of self-disclosure in response to another. To *entertain an idea* is to play with it, to explore its shape and consider its implications in an open-ended manner before accepting or rejecting it. For four centuries Shakespeare’s plays have invited directors, actors, audiences, and readers to entertain a startling range of ideas. The ideas entertained in these three symposia included love and freedom in *Romeo and Juliet*, states of nature in *King Lear*, and acknowledgment and forgiveness in *The Winter’s Tale*. Written during the reformation of religion and the launching of modern political and economic forms that are with us still, Shakespearean drama addresses what it means to act, speak, live, and listen in a world whose points of orientation are under re-examination.

A distinctive feature of this year’s core program was the decision to incorporate a performance element into each symposium. In the fall UCI Professor of Drama Phil Thompson led a rousing workshop on speaking Shakespeare, drawing on his years of experience as a speech coach for the Utah Shakespeare Festival and other venues. We learned how to use scansion to communicate emotion and meaning. We also experienced the crucial role of breath in speech through a series of vocal exercises. Participants included UCLA undergraduates as well as conference participants and members of the community, including some local actors. J. K. Barret—an associate professor of English at the University of Texas, Austin, and current Huntington Fellow, who attended all three symposia and gave a paper at the third—affirms the value of the core program’s dual focus: “The perspectives on both particular productions and the preparation of performance that we saw enacted by

practitioners and theater critics was a particularly exciting addition to the scholarly program.”

In the winter Lowell Gallagher worked hard to organize a master class featuring singers from Opera UCLA and actors from the UCLA Department of Theater, under the direction of Peter Kazaras, Director of Opera UCLA. The group performed scenes from *Romeo and Juliet* by Shakespeare and Gounod. The presentation artfully alternated between theatrical and operatic traditions in a compelling duet of complementary media. Professor of Drama J. Ed Araiza participated from New York via a recorded interview. The special event was co-sponsored by the UCLA Office of Interdisciplinary & Cross Campus Affairs and UCLA’s English Department.

In the spring a day of substantial scholarly papers ended with a panel featuring *Los Angeles Times* theater critic Charles McNulty, theater theorist Martin Harries (UCI), and Shakespeare director Eli Simon (UCI). McNulty has attended almost all the major performances of *Lear* in the United



(front row) Sheiba Kian Kaufman and Ariane Helou; (back row) Katie Adkinson (UCSB), Alexandra Verini (UCLA), Kristy McCants (UCSB), Peter Cibula (UCI), Philip Aijjan (UCI), James Funk (UCI), Laura Hatch (UCI), and Tommy Cosgrove (UCI)

Kingdom and the United States in the past twenty years, and he has found each one oddly unsatisfying. He looked to the history of literary criticism, including foundational writings by Samuel Johnson, Charles Lamb, and A. C. Bradley, for insight into the difficulty that *Lear* poses for directors, actors, and audiences. Harries argued for a “barbaric *Lear*,” based on the artistic notes of Berthold Brecht. Simon described his own efforts to stage the play, which began with the unexpected death of the lead actor, his friend and colleague Dudley Knight, during the first week of rehearsals at UCI’s New Swan Shakespeare Festival.

“Entertaining the Idea” was also distinguished by lively participation from graduate students and recent doctoral graduates, who participated in special roundtables organized and moderated by James Kearney. These “lightning rounds” allowed young researchers to present their work to visiting scholars and the public. Twelve people contributed in the fall, and thirteen in the spring, with a total of twenty-five four-minute presentations on a range of projects. Laura Hatch (UCI, comparative literature) comments: “The roundtables gave me a chance not only to find a way to present my research creatively in a lightning round but also to make new friends and to catch a glimpse into their fantastic research projects.”

This year’s Ahmanson-Getty Fellows were Ariane Helou, who received her Ph.D. in literature from UC Santa Cruz,

## Playing Shakespeare in the Gilded Age

Ariane Helou, *Ahmanson-Getty Postdoctoral Fellow*

For those of us who approach Shakespeare studies as scholars or theater practitioners—or both—historical promptbooks are a fascinating resource. They are written records of stage productions, typically created by a member of the theater company; they document casting, set design, lighting and sound cues, blocking, stage business, and other aspects of performance practice. They may be the scripts used in rehearsals or, more commonly, souvenir editions created after the production, sometimes years later. The promptbooks of American actor Lark Taylor—acquired by William Andrews Clark Jr. for his library in 1923, though not cataloged until this decade—belong to the latter category. Lark Taylor's promptbooks for *As You Like It*, *Macbeth*, *Much Ado about Nothing*, *The Taming of the Shrew*, and *Twelfth Night* are windows into the work of two highly influential turn-of-the-century troupes, the Daly Company and the Sothern-Marlowe Company, which shaped the landscape of modern American theater.

John Lark Taylor (1881–1946) was born in Nashville, Tennessee, and began working as an actor in his teens. He soon moved to New York City and joined the troupe of director and impresario Augustin Daly (1838–1899). In January of 1906 he joined the company headed by actor-producers Edward H. Sothern (1859–1933) and Julia Marlowe (1865–1950), where he worked for eight seasons. The Taylor promptbooks at the Clark Library all document Sothern-Marlowe productions; in addition, *The Taming of the Shrew* documents Daly's production of the same play. Lark Taylor also acted in the celebrated *Hamlet* of 1922–23, which starred John Barrymore. Taylor's records of his artistic life are valuable as documents of historical performance practice. Moreover, they illuminate the professional networks of the great American theater-makers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Clark bought the promptbooks in the same year that Taylor performed in *Hamlet* opposite Barrymore, the most acclaimed American actor of his generation: that event likely raised Taylor's professional profile, though he never achieved the stardom of his famous collaborators. Today Lark Taylor's papers are housed in the special collections of the Vanderbilt University library; his souvenir promptbooks are held at the New York Public Library and the Folger Shakespeare Library as well as at the Clark Library.

The Clark's copy of *The Taming of the Shrew* is labeled in Taylor's hand on the first page as "Composite Prompt Book," based on the Daly production in which Taylor performed in 1899–1900, as well as the Sothern-Marlowe production: "I played with Sothern & Marlowe for about eight seasons.—beginning my work with them in Jan. of 1906." Taylor's *Shrew* book not only documents the work of two great American theatrical enterprises, but it also illuminates stylistic and symbolic shifts that took place between two generations of theater-makers, both in treatment of Shakespeare's text and in performance practice. Daly made liberal changes to the script, as he did for most of the Shakespeare plays he produced. He cut about a third of the text and rearranged the order of scenes, notably delaying Katharina's entrance to the second act. Daly also stretched the Induction—the prologue that frames the play as part of an elaborate trick played on tipsy tinker Christopher Sly—to two scenes and framed the whole narrative of *Shrew* as Sly's drunken dream (Kim Marra, *Strange Duets: Impresarios and Actresses in the American Theatre, 1865–1914*, University of Iowa Press, 2006, 60). By contrast, the Sothern-Marlowe production dispensed with the prologue entirely and opened with Lucentio and



(left to right) Charles McNulty, Julia Lupton, and Eli Simon

and Sheiba Kian Kaufman, who received her Ph.D. from UC Irvine. Ariane reflects on her time at the Clark: "My work is certainly the richer for this exchange of ideas with colleagues within the UC system and from around the globe; while I've been learning from their research, I've also become more grounded in my own approaches to studying and writing about Shakespeare and performance. And it is a real pleasure to work with the fabulous staff at the Clark Library, who have been so generous with their time and knowledge of the collections." Sheiba is similarly enthusiastic: "The depth, rigor, and collaborative intellectual community created by the core conferences greatly enhanced my capacity to read Persia conceptually through a philosophical framework informed by the historical contexts I've been discovering at the Clark's extensive collection of travelogues from writers such as Thomas Herbert and Jean Chardin."

Conveners Lupton, Gallagher, and Kearney have been collaborating together for over five years, beginning with a UCHRI grant, "With Shakespeare," which provided funds for intercampus travel so that faculty and students from four campuses could build new connections around Shakespeare studies. The original grant included Sean Keilen of UCSC, and the four campuses continue to collaborate on matters Shakespearean. The result has been a lively research exchange among our graduate students, several edited volumes, and the creation of two Shakespeare centers: the UCSC Shakespeare Workshop and the UCI Shakespeare Center, which sponsored the Saturday lunches for this year's symposia.

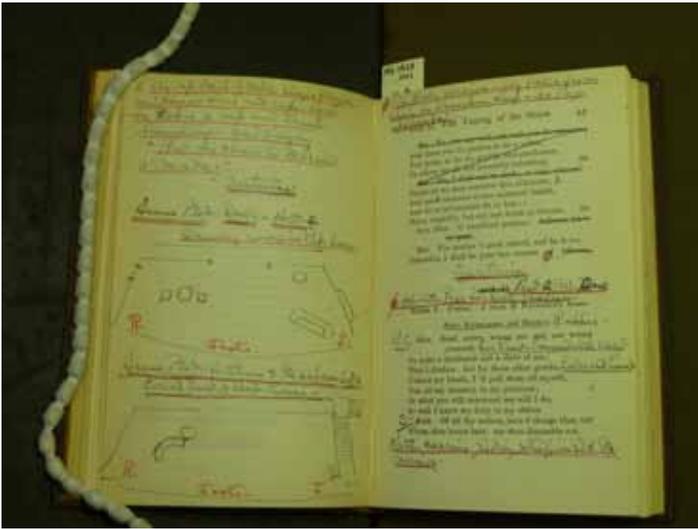


Fig. 1: p. 43 and facing interleaf, showing 2.1 sets & blocking for both productions. Clark Rare MS.1923.001

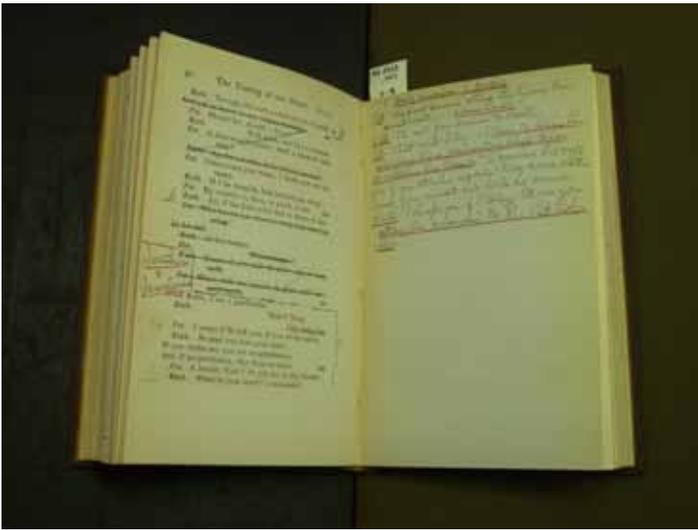


Fig. 2: p. 52 and facing interleaf, showing Daly's text for 2.1. Clark Rare MS.1923.001

Tranio's entrance at Act 1, Scene 1. They still had Kate enter at the top of Act Two, but without the Induction the delay was less extreme, and the production overall was focused more on the relationships and comedy bits among the central characters than on the Sly farce (fig. 1).

The promptbook records Sothorn-Marlowe's blocking, costumes, and set design. Taylor pointed out differences between the two productions by underlining his notes in red ink, writing in the margins "In Daly" or "S & M." In some cases he included alternate text as well: Taylor crossed out a salty exchange in Act 2, Scene 1 (Petruccio: "What, with my tongue in your tail?"), and on the interleaf wrote the Daly version, which, he noted primly, "I prefer" (fig. 2). Daly's script replaces Shakespeare's wasps and stinging tongues with bland dialogue, during which Petruccio attempts to kiss Kate and she "gives him resounding slaps twice." Whether Taylor's preference for Daly's version of this scene is based on the cleaner language or the heightened action, here, as in the rest of the play, the differences between the two productions are striking. The Sothorn-Marlowe version retains more of Shakespeare's text and scene order overall, even without the Induction. Taylor's textual notes for both productions are meticulous, but he tends to provide more details of blocking for Sothorn and Marlowe, while giving briefer summaries of the action in the Daly show. Perhaps this difference was because the Sothorn-Marlowe production was fresher in Taylor's memory or better documented in the working scripts from which he was copying.

The significance of Taylor's promptbooks extends beyond the New York City theater scene. Both the Daly and Sothorn-Marlowe companies launched touring productions; thus Taylor's promptbooks can teach us how audiences experienced Shakespeare's plays not only on Broadway but also across the country. In *Actors and American Culture, 1880–1920* (Temple University Press, 1984), theater historian Benjamin McArthur argues that the decades on either side of 1900—with Daly's company active before the turn of the century, and Sothorn-Marlowe after it—"marked the golden age of the American theatre as a national institution" as touring companies flourished and traveled widely (x). The Gilded Age was also a transitional era for the craft of acting itself, from the rigid, melodramatic style that dominated the nineteenth century to the more naturalistic modes suited to the work of modernist playwrights such as Henrik Ibsen (1828–1906) and Anton Chekhov (1860–1904), whose psychological realism influenced actors and directors on both sides of the Atlantic. As McArthur observes:

The change partook of the theatre's growth as urban middle-class entertainment with an audience that wished to see reflections of itself on stage. Modern dramas, which increasingly replaced classic fare, demanded that actors look to life for their inspiration instead of to stage traditions. The larger-than-life player of the traditional stage, who with his rant and broad gesture made no effort to conceal his theatricality, gave way to the comparatively subdued player of the new school, who sought to give the illusion of real life on stage. . . . A Paris critic commented about Daly's company during its European tour in the 1880s that "the propensity for naturalism shows itself in a thousand details. The fashion of entering, sitting, taking a chair, talking, taking leave, going out, coming in,—it is the usage of everyday life." (172)

By the time Lark Taylor arrived in New York and joined Daly's company, the troupe was already working in a naturalistic mode. While actors still tended to specialize in certain kinds of roles, the modern style allowed them to explore a wider variety of roles than did the old system, which had restricted each actor to playing a single type of character.

In addition to his embrace of modern acting technique, Daly's leadership style was also a contribution to the theater industry. Daly described himself as "Commander in Chief" of his troupe (Marra 33). He was authoritarian, controlling all aspects of rehearsal and production, and even governing his actors' behavior and dress when they interacted with the public outside of the theater. Through these tactics Daly aimed to "control the anarchy and disrepute associated with the unruly audiences and itinerant stars who had dominated much antebellum theatrical activity. In so doing, he achieved an unprecedented level of civility and artistic unity in stage production in the United States, set the mold for later autocrats, and thereby contributed instrumentally to the modernization of American theater" (Marra 2).

Lark Taylor, like most young actors, was trained through a system of apprenticeship, progressing over time from smaller to larger roles. Charting Taylor's roles illustrates how the repertoire shaped careers and how an actor might approach a single play from multiple perspectives, depending on how he was cast. In Daly's production of *Shrew*, Taylor played the Page, a servant boy whom the pranksters dress in gentlewoman's drag to pose as Sly's wife. With Sothorn-Marlowe, over the course of several years, he played the trickster servant Tranio, then Hortensio and Gremio, Bianca's suitors. (Taylor played the elderly Gremio in 1910, when he was only about thirty; his portrayal was helped by "a wig that was obviously trying to conceal an old man's

deficiencies in hair.—under this wig I wore a skull piece very shiny [sic]—with just a few whisps of white hair.”) Although Lark Taylor never achieved leading-man status in New York, he was a proficient character actor. In Barrymore’s *Hamlet*, for example, Taylor played two small but pivotal roles: Barnardo, the palace guard who opens the play with a haunting “Who’s there?” and the First Player, the actor’s actor whose empathetic performances propel Hamlet from indecision to action.

Taylor seems to have been aware of the potential interest of promptbook collectors in the celebrity connections of his theatrical work. His promptbook includes the cast list of Daly’s original production of *Shrew*, which premiered in 1887 when Taylor was a child in Nashville. It initially ran over 100 performances and was still being revived when Taylor joined the company in 1899. The production starred Ada Rehan—the company’s leading lady and one of the most famous actresses of her generation—as Katharina. Playing opposite her as Petruchio was John Drew Jr., a member of a prominent acting family and uncle of John Barrymore. (You’ve probably heard of the dynasty’s most famous descendant: John Drew’s great-great-niece and John Barrymore’s granddaughter, Drew Barrymore). A note added to the 1899 cast list, Taylor’s first show, identifies another scion of a famous theatrical family. The actor who played Grumio, Wilfred Clarke—no relation to William Andrews Clark Jr. of Montana and later Los Angeles—was the “Nephew of Edwin Booth,” the most celebrated American actor of the previous century. Wilfred was the son of Booth’s sister, Asia, and her husband, John Sleeper Clarke. Left unstated: Wilfred was also the nephew of actor and presidential assassin John Wilkes Booth.

Lark Taylor’s promptbooks have three functions: first, an overview of the production’s design and staging; second, a detailed account of Taylor’s own participation; and finally, what we might today call “fan service,” or gestures meant to appeal to the public’s interest in the celebrities themselves, separate from their Shakespearean roles. That third category accounts not only for the allusions to the Drew-Barrymore and Booth families but also for the very existence of souvenir promptbooks. Taylor created multiple copies of his promptbooks to satisfy a public interest that was probably fueled by his association first with Augustin Daly and later with Edward H. Sothorn and Julia Marlowe. Sothorn and Marlowe had established their individual careers before co-starring in *Romeo and Juliet* in 1904, beginning a collaboration that would last decades. The pair married in 1911, adding some off-stage intrigue to their reputation as “America’s greatest Shakespearean team” (McArthur 33). But Marlowe and Sothorn were also innovators in their industry, touring the country and playing at multiple theatrical venues in and around New York in order to reach wider audiences. Reviewing a performance in May of 1916, a *New York* magazine proclaimed Marlowe and Sothorn “more than merely actors and producers of plays; they have been a large cultural influence in our National life. They have withstood without flinching the tendencies toward the degradation of the stage, and they have spread wide a taste for the best that the theater has to offer” (*The Outlook*, 14 June 1916).

Lark Taylor’s promptbooks illuminate a formative period in American theater, a moment when the art form was becoming both increasingly sophisticated and more widely accessible to the general public. They bring to life not only the practices of the Shakespearean stage but also the web of professional and personal relationships through which they were developed and sustained. The promptbooks will continue to be a valuable resource for Shakespeare scholars and theater historians.

## Persian Habits at the Clark

Sheiba Kian Kaufman, *Ahmanson-Getty Postdoctoral Fellow*

In William Shakespeare’s *King Lear*, Edgar, disguised as Poor Tom, assists the distraught, elderly Lear on the heath by turning away three imagined barking dogs and thereby accommodating his dejected state in Act 3, Scene 6:

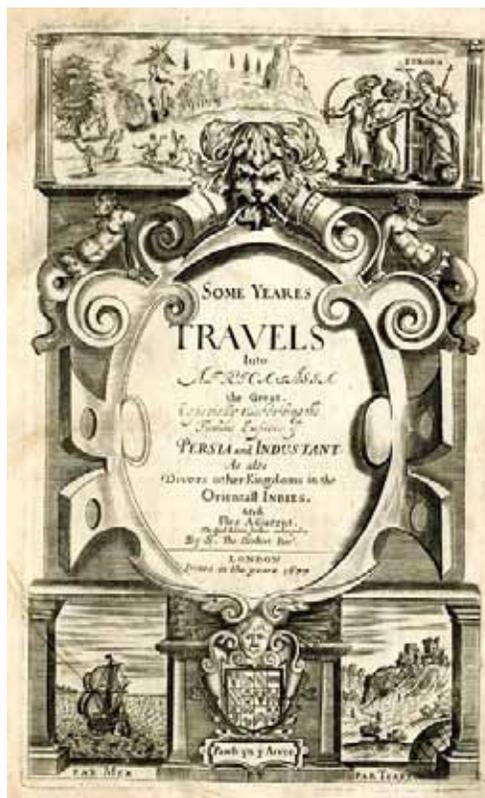
- KING LEAR The little dogs and all, Tray, Blanch, and Sweet-heart, see, they bark at me.
- EDGAR Tom will throw his head at them. Avaunt, you curs! Be thy mouth or black or white, Tooth that poisons if it bite; Mastiff, grey-hound, mongrel grim, Hound or spaniel, brach or lym, Or bobtail tike or trundle-tail, Tom will make them weep and wail: For, with throwing thus my head, Dogs leap the hatch, and all are fled. Do de, de, de. Sessa! Come, march to wakes and fairs and market-towns. Poor Tom, thy horn is dry.
- KING LEAR Then let them anatomize Regan; see what breeds about her heart. Is there any cause in nature that makes these hard hearts?
- [To EDGAR]
- You, sir, I entertain for one of my hundred; only I do not like the fashion of your garments: you will say they are Persian attire: but let them be changed.

Acknowledging Edgar’s service, Lear—in this instance of solidarity between two abject souls—proclaims: “You, sir, I entertain for one of my hundred, only I do not like the fashion of your garments. You will say they are Persian; but let them be changed.” Considering Edgar’s rags are far from any sartorial symbols of Eastern elegance, riches, and pomp, the image Lear claims to see is ironic and puzzling. At the same time, Lear’s lament on Edgar’s clothing reveals the presence of another persona for Edgar: an invisible Persian figure or Englishman dressed as a Persian, possibly a soldier or an ambassador, graciously aiding Lear in his confrontation with the rancorous dogs populating his suffering mind. Thus, Lear does not perceive Edgar as *Poor Tom*, who is attempting to salvage the king’s dignity and control over his lost fortunes, but rather an unknown figure with Persian adornments who succors him in his time of need.

The seemingly minor Persian allusion embedded in this Shakespearean scene affords a host of novel ways to think about how drama philosophizes about growth and change on individual, societal, and global levels. Persia, in my use and in how I assess it in Shakespeare’s reference, is a catalyst for analogical thinking, an idea associated with certain attributes that I have been researching in seventeenth-century travel writings this past year as an Ahmanson-Getty Fellow at the Center for 17th- & 18th-Century Studies. I had an opportunity to present my ongoing research at the conferences for this year’s core program, “Entertaining the Idea: Shakespeare, Philosophy, Performance.” The conferences encouraged a philosophical consideration of Shakespearean drama through an interdisciplinary framework that increased my capacity to think about how a concept—such as Persia—enables paradigmatic analysis that is a manifestation of both being and doing on stage. In the case of Shakespeare’s Persian reference in *King Lear*, does



Thomas Herbert. *A Relation of Some Yeares Travaille, Begunne Anno 1626*. London: Printed by W. Stansby, and J. Bloomer, 1634. Clark Rare DS7.H53\*



Thomas Herbert. *Some Yeares Travels into Divers Parts of Africa, and Asia the Great*. London: Printed by R. Everingham, for R. Scot, T. Basset, J. Wright, and R. Chiswell, 1677. Clark Rare f DS7.H53 1677\*

the invocation entertain the idea of a *Persianized* Edgar? Why does this conceptual configuration occur in this moment of desperation? How can this temporary persona accommodate hospitable bonds between Lear and Edgar? And most important, why Persia?

The collections of early modern travelogues at the Clark Library reveal a story of familiarity and fascination with Persia for Europeans. Persia, modern-day Iran, was a familiar place for early modern England. The image of Persia's esteemed past is rooted in its rich classical and biblical heritage, a cultural repository well-known through not only the biblical books of Daniel, Ezra, and Esther but also Herodotus' *Histories*, Plutarch's *Lives*, and Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, among other scholastic texts. This antiquated conception informed early diplomatic attempts with Persia as well as early biblical and classical dramas including *The Enterlude of Godly Queen Hester* (1561), *Kyng Daryus* (1565), and *The Wars of Cyrus* (1594). In 1561 a somewhat naïve and obsequious Elizabeth I attempted to forge diplomatic relations with Persia, leading to the failure of Anthony Jenkinson's initial envoy at the Safavid court of a flippant Shah Tahmasp I. During the mission Jenkinson was humiliated at the Persian court for being an "infidel" in the eyes of the shah, who had recently accepted the Treaty of Amasya (1555) with the Ottomans and was, therefore, less interested in pursuing an Anglo-Persian relationship. The next prominent phase in trying to forge a stronger and, in this instance, grandiose alliance included the largely unsuccessful attempts of the Sherley brothers, beginning in 1598 and leading to the acceptance of Anthony Sherley and later his younger brother Robert as ambassadors of Shah Abbas to European nations. Renderings of their adventures appear in Anthony Nixon's pamphlet *The Three English Brothers* (1607), a play *The Travels of the Three English Brothers* (1607), and Anthony's own account, *Relation of His Travels into Persia* (1613), among other Sherlian texts.

These unorthodox attempts were not particularly welcomed by Elizabeth, who had not sanctioned the Sherleys' initial voyage into Persia and had turned to trade with the Ottoman Empire. In 1626,

following an infamous physical confrontation between Robert Sherley and the Persian ambassador Naqd 'Ali Beg, the recently crowned Charles I sought to clarify and improve the diplomatic situation and sent Sir Dodmore Cotton, the first official English ambassador, to Persia. The most influential fruit of this ill-fated voyage, which resulted in the deaths of Cotton, Beg, and Robert Sherley, was Thomas Herbert's travel account of the embassy, expanded and republished for years to come, *A Relation of Some Yeares Travel* (1634, 1638, 1664, 1665, 1677). Herbert's numerous editions testify to his continuing interest in Persia and to a growing audience fascinated with travel writings on the Near East. In 1634 his account highlights "A Description of the Persian Monarchy" and the deaths of the ambassadors; by 1677 his enlarged text somewhat detaches from the particular journey to present a more sensational and comprehensive study of global adventure, one whose intricate frontispiece mythologizes the epic sojourn as part of a larger scheme of global traffic with a mythical Europa encountering various Eastern figures beyond her shores.

In contrast with the more steadily growing mercantile activity of the East India Company, inconsistency marks the fitful nature of Anglo-Persian exchanges of the period. The lapses in time and miscommunications, however, are partly responsible for the continuing accompaniment of stable classical and biblical conceptions of Persia and Persians in literature that inform the drama over the course of two centuries. Although less hospitable visions of Persia are found—for instance, in the tyrannical figure of Cambyses in Thomas Preston's *Cambyses, King of Persia* (1569) and the arrogant eponymous character of Colley Cibber's unsuccessful play, *Xerxes, A Tragedy* (1699)—these characters are exceptions rather than the rule in terms of Persian-themed drama of the period. In greater quantity are magnanimous representations of Persian royalty, as in the fictionalized rendition of Shah Abbas I as the Sophy in *The Travels of the Three English Brothers*. From his opening embrace of the traveling Englishmen to his final benediction of the marriage of his Persian niece to the Englishman Robert Sherley, the play emphasizes the king's hospitality toward his Christian guests through his frequent proclamations of liberality: "For thy sake do I love all Christians; / We give thee liberty of conscience." The Sophy's hospitality stems from his ability to invite the stranger, the uninvited Sherley, into his court without reservation and with respect to his faith. The play's emphasis on an intercultural and interreligious embrace presents Persianized hospitality toward English Christians as dynamic—as an active hospitality rather than a static and detached form of tolerance. Indeed, throughout the early modern period, it is noteworthy that hospitality, often in the form of a hospitable bond as narrated in Edgar and Lear's exchange on the heath, is at the forefront of such worthwhile attributes called upon to contemplate the issues of the day in a growing global early modern world.

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## In Memoriam

**Joyce Appleby**, Professor Emerita of UCLA, died on 23 December 2016 at her home in Taos, New Mexico. After graduating from Stanford University in 1950, she won a contest to work in the advertising department of the magazine *Mademoiselle* in New York. Publishing executive Harold W. McGraw Jr. offered her a job, but she returned to California to get married and began her doctoral education at Claremont Graduate University at the age of thirty-two, while also raising three children. Her final book, *Shores of Knowledge: New World Discoveries and the Scientific Imagination*, was published when she was eighty-four. According to her faculty profile she spent a career pursuing questions relating to “the impact of an expanding world market on people’s understanding of the world and their place in it.” Professor Appleby joined the faculty at UCLA in 1981, retiring in 2001, and served as Council Member from 1980 to 1983 and Chair from 1983 to 1986 of the Omohundro Institute of Early American History & Culture. She was also a much-valued and active member of the Center/Clark scholarly community, serving on many of the Center’s committees and frequently presenting her research at its programs. An Appleby advisee, UCLA Professor Carla Gardina Pestana recalls: “Beyond the direct advice Joyce gave, she was inspiring as a model. A woman in the academy who commanded the respect of the room, Joyce appeared unflappable.” The Chair of UCLA’s Department of History and long-time colleague Steven Aron observes: “It’s fitting, I think, that Joyce’s most recent book, *Shores of Knowledge*, dealt with the human imagination that prompted ‘new world discoveries,’ for she, like the scientists and explorers about whom she wrote, was a historian of broad imagination and unbounded curiosity. All who read her books, articles, and op-eds know that Joyce was a remarkable scholar, with a deep commitment to bringing her immense historical knowledge and perspective into the public realm. Those who were privileged to be her students know what a transformative teacher she was. And we who were fortunate to count her as a colleague and friend will forever miss her dazzling intellect, her passion for spirited debate, her immense integrity, her grace, her generosity, her hospitality, her wit, her kindness and, let’s not leave out, her perfect posture.”



**Robert Mankin**, distinguished member of the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies, died on 28 January 2017. He earned his Ph.D. at Johns Hopkins University in 1997 with a dissertation entitled “A history of contempt: Gibbon’s *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.” At the time of his death, he was Professor, Études Anglophones, Université Paris Diderot, specializing in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century intellectual history, often relating British authors to their continental European counterparts. Professor Mankin’s critical edition of Gibbon’s *Essai sur l’étude de la littérature* appeared in 2010 with SVEC. He described his particular fields of interest as “historiography (e.g. Edward Gibbon’s views of world history, learning and space) and philosophy (the way empiricism in philosophy developed in relation to the history of authorship).” Colleague Frédéric Ogée remembers Dr. Mankin as an “exceptional humanist, as creative as he was rigorous, constantly probing and sharing his immense and remarkable erudition, from Plato to *The Wire*.” He presented a paper in April 2012 on Edward Gibbon abroad at a Center/Clark conference, *Taste and the Senses in the Eighteenth Century*, co-organized by Ogée. A long-time friend of the Center/Clark community, Robert Mankin actively promoted an ongoing exchange with UCLA scholars. In July 2014 he partnered with Jean-Marie Boeglin and Barbara Fuchs to organize *Worlding the 17th–18th Centuries*, a conference held at Université Paris Diderot and co-sponsored by the Center/Clark.



**Kathleen D. Thompson** of Michael R. Thompson Rare Books passed away in Los Angeles on 28 February 2017. She was a devoted member of the Friends of the Clark Library, and with her husband Michael she was a longtime supporter who served on the former Director’s Advisory Council. The couple particularly enjoyed the Chamber Music at the Clark concerts, featuring string quartets, trios, and pianists. Born and raised in Cleveland, Mississippi, Kathleen received a humanities-based education at Millsaps College; she later moved to California and earned an M.L.S. at UCLA in 1975. Kathleen went on to work for a number of Los Angeles antiquarian booksellers, including Universal Books, Royer Art Books, and Zeitlin and Ver Brugge, before entering into a partnership with her husband and Carol Sandberg (a former UCLA classmate) in 1985. She was often the first person one met when visiting their shops on Melrose, Fairfax, and Third. For many years the Clark Library staff worked with Kathleen, Michael, and Carol to acquire important rare materials that have enhanced the library’s collections. Kathleen Thompson will be remembered fondly for her kindness, intelligence, witty sense of humor, and love of animals.



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