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A Message from the Acting Director

PATRICK COLEMAN, *Professor of French and Francophone Studies*

It is both an honor and a challenge to serve as Acting Director of the Center and the Clark for the 2009–2010 academic year. An honor, because of the high standards of scholarly research, librarianship, cultural programming, and public outreach set by Peter Reill, who is on sabbatical from his position as Director, and by Bruce Whiteman, who continues to serve as Head Librarian. I am also fortunate to be working with an excellent staff, whose many talents I have come to appreciate over the years and on whose competence and dedication I know I can rely over the course of this transitional year.

One aspect of this transition is the departure of Assistant Director Elizabeth Landaw, who has just left us to become Assistant Dean of the Division of Social Sciences in the UCLA College of Letters & Science. She has done a terrific job, not only in managing the nuts and bolts of administration, but in strengthening our relationships with the many friends of the Center and the Clark in the broader Los Angeles community. We are very sorry to see her go but we look forward to seeing her at our music programs even as she assumes major new responsibilities in the College.

The challenge I mentioned is more than the usual one of maintaining the standards of excellence our faculty, students, and friends have come to expect from the Center and the Clark. As many of you know, the university has only begun to struggle with the unprecedented budget cuts imposed by the state of California as a result of a general crisis in public finances. We still do not know what exactly this will mean for the current year, let alone the years ahead.

I am happy to say that thanks to prudent planning, we have been able to preserve our highest priorities in scholarly and cultural programming. We have been obliged to reduce the number of fellowships awarded to visiting researchers, but we are exploring new ways to make more of our resources available online. Yet, virtual research will never offer the possibilities for inspiration and serendipitous discovery that come through contact with original materials and conversations with expert librarians and fellow researchers, or the experience of concentrated scholarly discussion on a conference theme. All of these have been, and will continue to be, hallmarks of our enterprise.

As we move forward, I hope all those who have enjoyed the opportunities for academic and cultural enrichment we take pleasure in offering to the community will continue to support us in whatever ways they can. I look forward to seeing you at our events and learning from you as well.

Cultures of Communication, Theologies of Media in Early Modern Europe and Beyond

ULRIKE STRASSER AND CHRISTOPHER WILD, *Center and Clark Professors, 2009–10*

The early modern period has long been recognized as a time of revolutionary change in the uses of media and forms of communication. Much attention has been focused on the history of print and the book in particular. Without questioning the importance of this technology- and book-oriented perspective, this series of conferences considers print media alongside a range of other media with which they interacted (“multimediality”) and re-approaches the history of media in early modern Europe from an original and timely perspective. It resists the technological focus and teleological pull of the Gutenberg galaxy and concentrates instead on the



Image: “House of Prayer” from the book of Matthew, *The Bible* (London, 1701). From the Clark Library Collection.

powerful religious and theological currents informing communication and media. We suggest that the history of media in early modern Europe is best understood in its *longue durée* from the sixteenth through the eighteenth century and in reference to the long-term aftershocks of the Reformation and the profound transformation of both media and mediation it set in motion. The sixteenth-century reformers not only revolutionized the use of media, they also formulated their own theories about media and communication, addressing issues that remain of concern to modern media theorists who, however, rarely consider their theological precursors.

Protestants and Catholic reformers, albeit in confessionally distinct ways, responded to the same cultural crisis in mediation between God and humanity, as well as within the community of believers, particularly as the latter began expanding rapidly with the onset of global evangelization. Each camp developed theories and practices of optimizing “vertical communication” with the divine and “horizontal communication” among humanity. Consequently, the recourse to the different theologies of early modern reform can help us examine the complex and competing media cultures of the time and what helped drive technological changes. The transformation of media had a persistent corollary in the critique of mediation. Once unleashed, this critique would not go away, but would be reformulated throughout the early modern period and past it, and in a host of contexts within and beyond the religious domain.

Against this backdrop, our conference cycle takes as its starting point the conjunction of Reformation theology and the rise of new media in the sixteenth century to trace the ripple effects of these phenomena in the following centuries. Our sites of investigation include European cultures, “New World” spaces, and the trans-oceanic communication networks linking them. It will feature programs on *Theology as Media Theory*; *Media of Reform between the Local and the Global*; *Multimediality: Print Culture in Context*; and *Religious Media and the Birth of Aesthetics*.

Conference 1: Theology as Media Theory

Our first conference takes the historiographical commonplace “no Reformation without print” and proceeds from its chiasmic inversion “no print without the Reformation” to highlight the importance of theology to the fortunes of print and, more broadly, to the formation of media cultures throughout the early modern period. At the center of the Reformation was a crisis of mediation to which it responded and which it helped perpetuate. Mediation was thought to be fundamentally corrupted and corruptive and hence in need of reform. To name only a few examples, priesthood, liturgy, worship, and scripture had all been perverted and had to be restored to their original state of “pure communication.” Consequently, media were as much instruments of reform as they were its targets.

Conference 2: Media of Reform between the Local and the Global

This conference focuses on the unprecedented communicational challenges that arose from early modern Europe’s encoun-

ter with a larger world through the twin enterprises of global evangelization and colonial expansion. Here we analyze the multi-layered transformation of Europe’s media cultures that resulted from the need to communicate across greater distances and reach growing and culturally and linguistically diverse target audiences: from the emergence of new networks of correspondence, enabled by new maritime routes, to new practices and theories of translation between languages as well as cultures. In keeping with our overall approach, we will pay particular attention to the religious and theological underpinnings of the workings of global media and mediators.

Conference 3: Multimediality: Print Culture in Context

Here we return to the history of print to show what can be gained by situating print media within a broader landscape of mediality and intermediality. In the early modern period, the printed message was almost always complemented by the spoken word, just as the image was complemented by its written variant. When Luther translated and edited the *Gantze Heilige Schrift* one of his intentions was to simulate and even restore orality through this printing project. A similar motive of restoring and renewing orality can be discerned in eighteenth-century poetry. In exploring the intersections between orality and print we move beyond the dichotomy of spoken vs. written word that often still structures accounts of the “advent of print” towards a more complex and historically dynamic picture of intermedial interactions.

Conference 4: Religious Media and the Birth of Aesthetics

The concluding conference will test the hypothesis that aesthetics, which emerged as a discipline in the eighteenth century, has to be understood as a theory of artistic mediality that assimilated and secularized the media-theoretical positions articulated by the Protestant reformers. Not coincidentally, the first theorists of the beaux arts—one need think only of Baumgarten and Kant—came from religious milieus hostile to art and were thus particularly attuned to the specific character and power of the different artistic media. Just as the Enlightenment theater reform in Germany, France, and England can be understood as an internalization of anti-theatrical sentiment, eighteenth-century aesthetics must be considered as a theoretical response to the Protestant reform’s deep distrust of anything fictional and beautiful. So if our hypothesis holds true, the emergent discipline of aesthetics reveals itself to be the true heir to the Reformation’s theologies of media.

The Politics of “Prodigious Excitement”: Art, Anatomy and Physiology for the Age of Opposition

ARIS SARAFIANOS, *Lecturer, Department of Art History and Archaeology, University of Ioannina, Greece*

The British eighteenth century may be well-known for the foundation of respectable institutions of art such as the Royal Academy, the consolidation of politeness and sentimentalism in aesthetic experience, and the rise of ideal abstraction as the most elevated stylistic vehicle for the representation of the human figure. There are however a number of less canonical stories

to be explored in the intricate visual culture of the time. These include the emergence throughout this period of competing models of visual and emotional stimulation such as the sublime, as well as antagonistic and increasingly vocal forms of amplified imitation in the depiction of human anatomy. The book I finalized during the period of my post-doctoral fellowship at the Clark this year (2008–2009) entitled *Sublime Realism: Bodies, Medical Men and Art Professionals in Britain, 1757–1824*, examines the historical evolution of such heterodox modes. The book deals in particular with the links between new anti-canonical physiologies of sensibility and perception in aesthetic theory and the emergence of highly-naturalistic forms of anatomical representation in art and in medical science. My task was to show that such phenomena were driven by social and professional forces: complex alliances between rival sections within the two professions. Ultimately, I aim to connect the history of medicine with the history of art and literature as well as with cultural and intellectual history in order to build an interdisciplinary platform for a close comparative history of these fields which are too often separated.

Last year's core theme at the Center and Clark Library, *The British Atlantic in the Age of Revolution and Reaction*, together with the four international conferences organized around it, provided a unique program for the enrichment and finalization of this agenda. It also allowed a firmer grasp on the plurality, instability, interdisciplinary breadth and transformational nature of radical as well as counter-revolutionary practices in this period. The program focused upon the extensive transoceanic traffic of political and cultural practices, and its shifting angles were designed to accommodate both the British and American ends of this exchange. Under the heading "London," the second event in this series of conferences provided the opportunity to present new research regarding the wide range of heterodox activities in London art and medicine. The central theme of my paper was Jan van Rymsdyk, "the patron saint of medical illustration," and his collaborations with celebrated medical men of his time like William Hunter and his landmark *Anatomy of the Human Gravid Uterus* (1774). This topic brought the London metropolis into new focus as a necropolis: anatomy as a discipline played a crucial role in the reconstruction of the modern self and the forging of professional medical identities, but it was also an explicitly metropolitan phenomenon. Moreover, Rymsdyk and Hunter developed a specific kind of anatomical labor distinguished by its extreme and uncompromising realism which intertwined with a range of oppositional agendas in art, medicine and politics for decades to come. Together they were also ex-

tremely influential in introducing what their many disciples in the United States evocatively called "a taste for anatomy...almost...a rage for it." This rage was predicated upon visual practices: the anatomical theater became the site where numerous techniques of "inlarging the domain of the senses" met: public dissections, preparations, injections, drawings, casts, atlases, even paintings. In replicating the grit of processes of dissection, Rymsdyk's drawings incorporated the dynamic and rare experiences of the anatomical theater. In the same respect it was actually another project of Rymsdyk's, much less celebrated and under-researched, that caused a much more enduring impact: his anatomical paintings produced for two books composed by Charles Nicholas Jenty, another virtually unknown but no less important figure in British medicine. His original paintings for the illustrations of these extremely rare publications are today kept at the Pennsylvania Hospital in Philadelphia, commonly known as the Fothergill Collection. They number sixteen works by Rymsdyk, several impressive plaster casts of the pregnant uterus and other objects. This material is vital for numerous reasons. It is associated with two extraordinary figures in British medicine and art, both uniquely gifted émigrés:

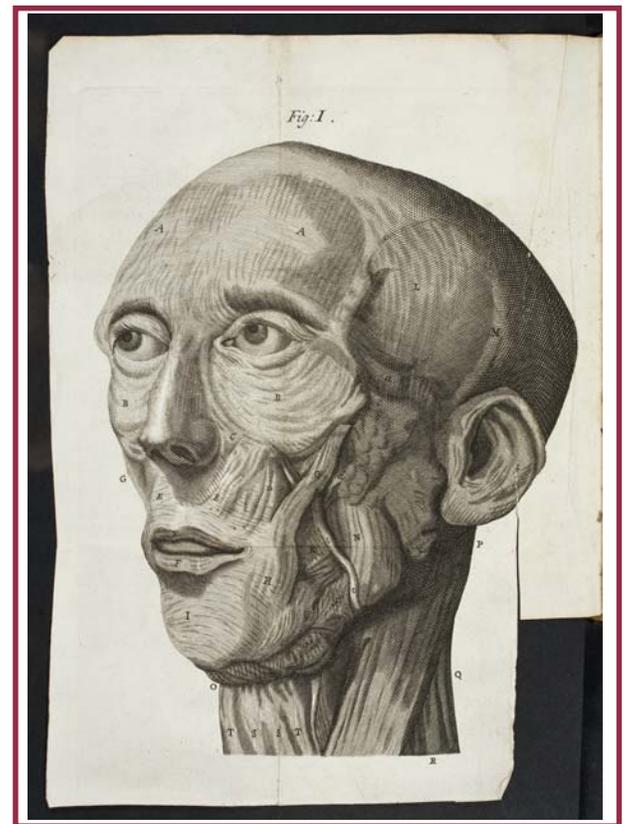


fig. 1: Plate from William Cowper's *Myotomia Reformata, Or, A New Administration of All the Muscles of Humane Bodies* (London, 1694).

the French surgeon Nicholas Jenty and the Dutch artist Jan van Rymsdyk. Both came to Britain with upwardly mobile aspirations which were never fulfilled. Both also had prolific, over-motivated yet precarious careers on the cutting edge of their respective professions and thus remained social and professional outsiders, little known to us until now. Better still, the financial and professional routes through which Rymsdyk's drawings for Jenty's books were brought here and the aspirations invested in them by the donor, another London physician, good friend of Benjamin Franklin's and active Quaker, John Fothergill, are particularly enlightening. This "migration" of objects made by two immigrants in London reflects the sophistication of transatlantic communications facilitated not least by the international networks of exchanges set up by Quaker communities across the Atlantic which, as my colleague Sarah Crabtree has shown, were particularly energetic in many other fields of social reform [see *Center & Clark Newsletter* 49]. The paintings were transported to Pennsylvania in 1762 by

the founding father of American anatomy and surgery, William Shippen Jr., who had studied in London with William Hunter, and befriended the donor, John Fothergill. The enthusiasm caused by the advent of the collection as well as the "extensive service" to which it was immediately put by the Pennsylvania Hospital Board are amply recorded in their minute books kept in the archives of the Hospital. The board took immediate measures to put this unusual gift on public display and build around it "courses of Lectures [concerning] the various Branches of Physical Knowledge." Their determination to provide broad public access to the collection not only to "students in physic" but also to all those who are "desirous to gain some general knowledge of the Structure of the Human body," is staggering by contemporary standards of secrecy and mystery in the taboo subject of anatomy. They advertised their intentions in the press and they received an enthusiastic public response which soon forced them to treat the scientific collection as a valuable monetary asset and a material investment with a holding value that exceeded their expectations. In 1764 the Board not only admitted that "The Premium paid for this Privilege [a Dollar per person] hath produced more than we expected" but also included the collection quite prominently on the list of assets in the Hospital's annual Capital Stock Report.

Such calculations reflect in a rather uncanny way our current evaluations of the historical value of these objects as works of art. Rymsdyk became well known to his contemporaries for his ability to imitate nature meticulously. Put into perspective, the effusions of his medical patron, Jenty, supply interesting indications of the genuine sensation felt for Rymsdyk's new visual technologies of anatomical spectacle: the painter's "performances," Jenty noted, "are looked upon as the best that have ever been done" while their maker was the "the ablest person we have in London, in anatomical performances." These facts, Jenty continued, were further validated by "several eminent persons of the profession" such as William Hunter who "have acknowledged the pictures to be the greatest masterpieces [...] that have ever yet been produced, and perhaps such as will hardly be rivaled." The Pennsylvania hospital pictures are indeed vintage specimens of Rymsdyk's contemporary reputation, exceptional in their visual and stylistic approach to the representation of nature. The painstaking tracing of sharp, minute and intricate details and linear webs of veins and nerves compose a visual field laden with complex sensory qualities, most fascinating to art historians. The meticulous focus on the viscera, the membranes and fascias of the human body gave

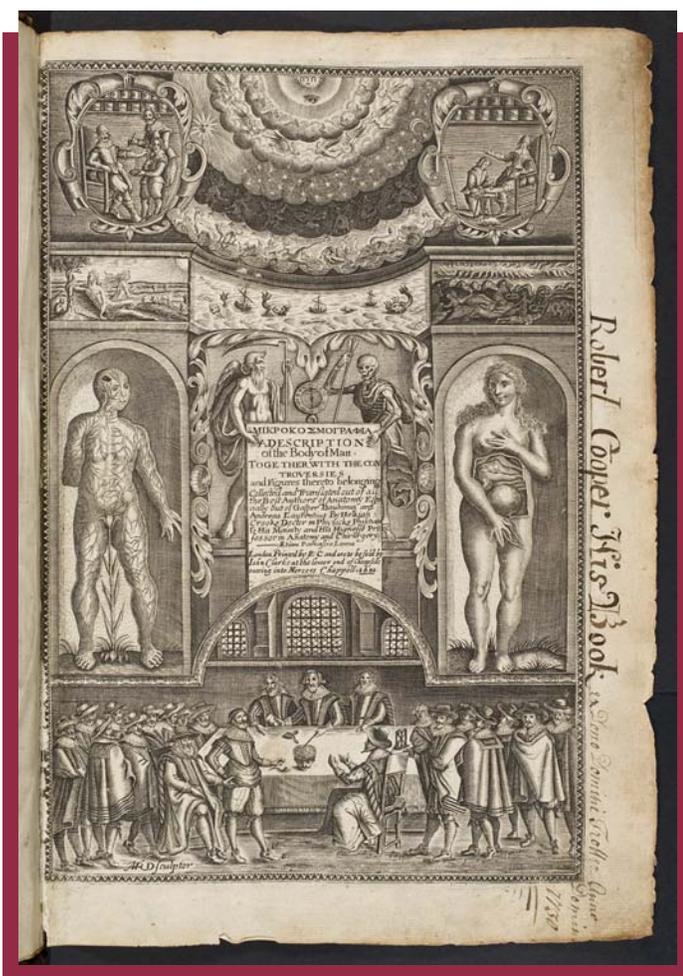


fig. 2: Title page of Helkiah Crooke's *Mikenkosmographia. A Description of the Body of Man. Together With the Controversies and Figures Thereto Belonging* (London, 1651).

Rymsdyk many opportunities for thrilling displays of virtuosity in the sensitive depiction of textures, light reflections, and subtle effects of wetness and transparency of flesh. The contrast between this delicacy and finesse of craftsmanship and the rawness and gore of dissection is also striking.

All of these aspects register anti-canonical sensibilities which coexisted uneasily with more traditional ways of representing the body in medicine and surgery as well as in art. Such images of superabundant detail introduced an aesthetics of minuteness where the intensity of the very small is pursued in direct response to emerging physical models of seeing and somatic economies of affect that, as in Edmund Burke's maximalist theory of the sublime, championed maximal excitation and increasing degrees of sensory labor. Such sensory economies ultimately redefined the notion of imitation in this period ushering in new, simultaneously critical, materialist, and extreme forms of imitation as ways of maximizing life, scientific knowledge, affects and effects of pictures. They also had genuinely revolutionary repercussions in contemporary art and visual worlds. Examining anatomical atlases and paintings, I surveyed the way in which dissectors, artists, and their audiences from William Hunter to George Stubbs and Horace Walpole, adopted similarly maximal physiologies of visual perception to celebrate the "fire" and "energy" of facsimile imitations of reality. Hunter's lectures on anatomy for artists at the Royal Academy as well as Stubbs's similar anatomical fervor in the Society of Artists—an organization antagonistic to the Royal Academy—introduced the "magic" and "force" of hard imitation as a leading source of the sublime in ways that provoked fierce opposition from the official art world. Ultimately, I argue, this opposition between neoclassical forms of anatomical abstraction cherished by royal academicians and connoisseurs, and heterodox types of hyper-naturalism popular with dissenting underworlds of taste, can be reconfigured as a bio-political opposition between competing economies of life, models of labor and perception as well as conflicting notions of health and disease. Such frequently bitter bio-political conflicts played a fundamental role in polarizing Jacobites, reformists, and counter-revolutionaries in art and in science during the post-revolutionary period. I analyze this topic by contrasting and comparing reformist models of "savage" anatomy and anatomical realism, which also introduced new radical notions of extreme expression as a vital artistic ideal, with the counter-revolutionary taste for polite anatomy which prevailed within such respectable institutions as the Royal Academy.

The social, professional, and political ramifications of this bio-aesthetic dispute around anatomical hyper-naturalism reverber-

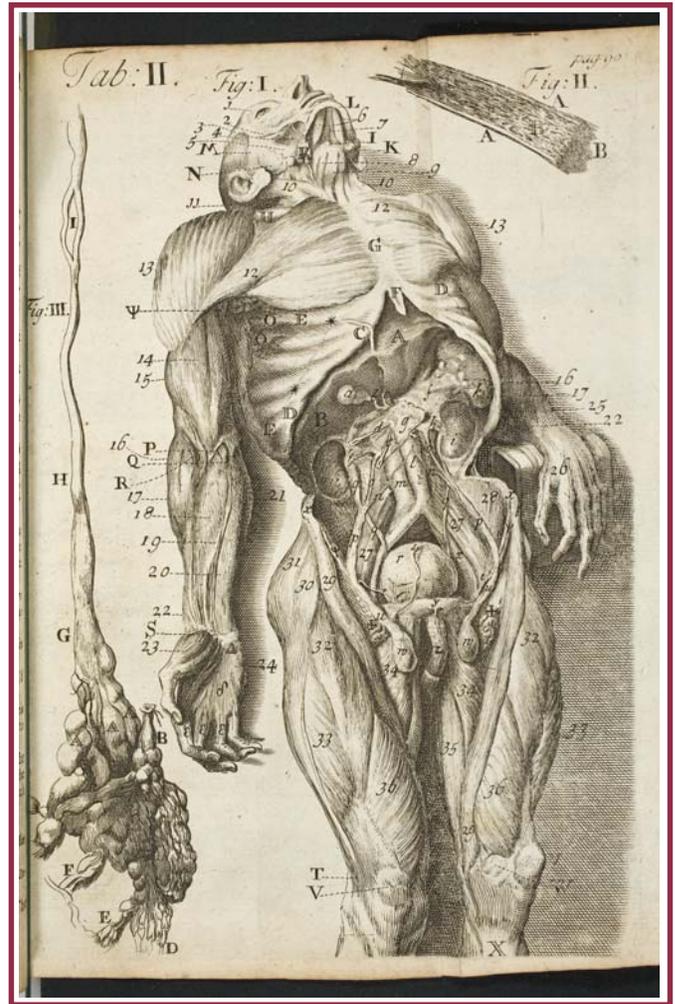


fig. 3: Plate from James Drake's *Anthropologia Nova; Or, A New System of Anatomy* (London, 1717).

ated in the politics of realism in art and in science for decades to come. But it is equally true that such connections amongst anatomy, embodied and physical forms of seeing, and broader social practices are thrown into further relief by developments immediately preceding the period examined in the present project. One of the most eye-opening experiences during my residence at the Clark library was directly linked to the important collection of medical books and dictionaries from the early modern period held here. The collection is particularly rich in seventeenth-century medicine—the age of medical revolution in Britain—and provides a most rewarding intellectual opportunity to retrace the extensions of late Enlightenment phenomena back to their historical origins. For the current project in particular, the Clark's distinct strength in collections of popular medicine and other vernacular and plebeian forms of medical practice has been particularly useful in furthering my under-

standing of the extensive dialogue of Burke's physiological sublime with the contemporary medical fringe (a subject I have elsewhere developed). From manuals of individual medicine (*Every Man His Own Doctor*) or domestic and family medicine (*Kitchen Physic*, *The Good Housewife Made a Doctor*, and *Physick for Families*) to a whole range of Neo-Hippocratic works dealing with the mechanical effects of non-naturals (for example, diet, air, environment, and passions), the Clark presents a comprehensive picture of this clandestine yet extremely influential tradition of "irregular" medical theory. Such little-researched empirical trends were still remembered, criticized but also accepted as a fraught but inescapable genealogical point of reference for eighteenth-century medical and aesthetic sub-cultures. The Clark's fascinating collections of "magnetic," "magical," "spagirical," and "hermetic" medicine (works by Christopher Irvine, William Salmon or F. Mercurius Helmont) reveal occult trends which resurfaced robustly in the late-eighteenth-century. The cult of the revitalization and enhancement of the senses by the likes of Philip De Louterbourg, the notorious painter and visual technician, or the craze with "electrical therapies" and "vital ethereal fluids," were predicated on mutations and modernizations of such languages and their fascination with the mysterious interactions between reality and artifice, magic and matter, "magical but natural physick" (as Samuel Boulton or William Williams put it). Such approaches frequently maintained a comparable degree of oppositional and reformist zeal often associated with medical reform, levelers (William Walwyn or Noah Biggs in *Mataeotechnia*) and the critique of the establishment of college physicians (Gideon Harvey) and their organizations. As such they continued to command ambivalent but significant responses from late-eighteenth-century medical radicals like John Brown and his followers the Brunonians in Scotland. Finally, the Clark's substantial holdings on seventeenth-century surgery and anatomy offer a unique platform for a fuller historical understanding of the messy transition towards the modern forms of "sublime empiricism" in eighteenth-century science. John Bulwer's *Pathomyotomia* (the study of body and mind relations in facial expression) or *Pathomachia* (the battle of affects) provide exciting precedents to later medico-aesthetic controversies around the dangerous bio-aesthetic subject of expression in art. Moreover, Robert Hooke's *Micrographia*, the first edition of William Cowper's folio anatomical atlas (1698) or Humphrey Ridley's rare *Anatomy of the Brain* (1695) and James Drake's *Anthropologia Nova* (1717) (but also works from

an entirely different world such as Alexander Ross's *Arcana Microcosmii* or Helkiah Crooke's *Mikrokosmographia*, 1651 [fig. 2]), allow ample insights into the historical genealogy and affective investments in "microscopical observations" and the sublimity of minuteness in anatomy. Embellished by illustrations, the same material also facilitates an instructive contact with visual styles of anatomical representation for which digital versions of these pictures cannot substitute, especially considering the present pitiable state of digital reproductions in seventeenth- or eighteenth-century databases. The illustrations to Drake's *Anthropologia*, for example, reveal the mixed and transitory worlds of anatomical knowledge in this period [fig. 3 and 4]. His drawings combine a rather premature matter-of-factness directly drawing from the dissection room, with allegorical styles of didactic anatomy where the "walking dead" are used to pacify

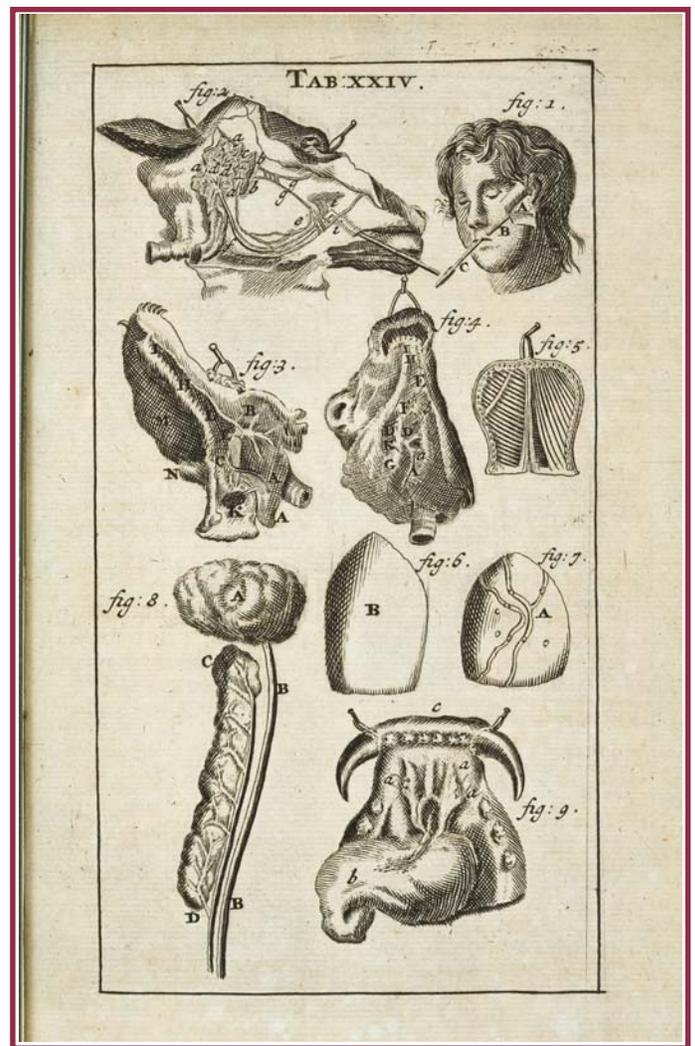


fig. 4: Plate from James Drake's *Anthropologia Nova; Or, A New System of Anatomy* (London, 1717).

anxieties about mortality while making moral references to the criminal status of the specimens used. Stylistically speaking, these works again underline the substantial differences between visual standards and interpretations of minuteness in this period and the unflinching regimes of hard imitation, facsimile hyper-naturalism and expressive realism which prevailed in art and medicine later on. They also bring to light a fascinating disjuncture between languages of textual and visual description. In Cowper's or Ridley's anatomies texts seem to vibrate with a detailed and sensory intensity which surpasses the visual "smartness" of their depictions. The aesthetic and affective expectations of these writers from their direct encounters with visual evidence are also remarkable. It may be true that Ridley sarcastically criticized those "illuminated philosophers, who see best when their eyes are shut," and he may have equally registered his wish to turn "the Mystick knowledge of nature from meer witchcraft to the object of Refined sence, or Philosophy." Yet his commitment to "accurate description" and "further and more nice scrutiny" as a means of intensifying the immediacy and impact of natural objects is unmistakably driven by similarly excessive, material and vital economies of affect. In this respect Hooke's understanding of science in his *Micrographia* summarizes well some of the important themes in the scientific aesthetics of the sublime later elaborated by Burke and other naturalists. Hooke explained: "I do not only propose this kind of Experimental philosophy as a matter of high rapture and delight of the mind, but even as a material and sensible pleasure." And he further emphasized the fact that the variety of things to be known is so vast, the processes so many, and the satisfaction of finding out new things so great, "that I dare compare the contentment which they [naturalists] will injoy, not only to that of contemplation, but even to that which most men prefer of the very senses themselves." This transformation of the mind into literally a vibrating sensorium has a consciously unconventional tone about it. And the physicality of such a bio-political economy of scientific affects would have a long career in revolutionary and reformist circles of eighteenth-century art, science, and ultimately political thinking. Tribute to the Clark, its collections, its people and its environs, this is the most appropriate place in Los Angeles where one is pleasurably reminded that scholarship and research are a *lived* and *felt* experience. Or, as Montesquieu would put it, there is nothing so "absolutely intellectual, which [the mind] does not feel": the "soul feels whatever it perceives," especially those pleasures "delightful to the mind."

Aesthetics and Politics in Edmund Burke

RICHARD BOURKE, *Senior Lecturer, Department of History, University of London*

Edmund Burke's copy of James Harris' *Three Treatises* (1744) [fig.1] can be found at the Clark Library.¹ Harris' work is concerned with the fine arts and is divided into three parts. The first addresses the subject of art in general; the second focuses on music, painting, and poetry in particular; and the final treatise is devoted to the topic of human happiness. In the second of the three treatises, Harris sets out his understanding of the arts as encompassing all areas of practical endeavour. These include medicine and agriculture as activities related to the drive to satisfy the necessities of life, but they also include music, the poetic and the plastic arts. These fine arts, instead of catering to practical necessity, contribute to "Elegance" in life.² But for Harris their existence demonstrates an important truth about human nature. A taste for types of mimetic activity whose purpose cannot be defined in terms of their utility shows that our faculties have been formed "for *something more, than mere Existence*."³ In the third treatise Harris spelt out his conclusion: apart from the satisfaction of needs, human aptitudes were formed for the appreciation of beauty. Moreover, the taste for beauty illustrated the sociable character of human beings.⁴

We know that when Burke first read his copy of Harris' *Three Treatises* he was working on a study of the pleasures of the imagination. His interest in this subject was to span his whole career. After abandoning the world of letters for that of politics in the mid-1760s, he continued to exhibit an acute awareness of the impact of aesthetic sensibility on forms of allegiance in public life. According to Burke, political affiliation was not reducible to bare utility. Reverence, respect, and disinterested affection all played a role in attaching populations to their governments. Since none of these forms of affection were based on utility, the sources of human loyalty and subordination would have to be sought elsewhere. Through the 1790s, Burke developed the argument that the feeling of allegiance was consolidated by taste. This claim attracted the attention of German Romantics from Novalis to Adam Müller, but in the process of adapting it to their own concerns they distorted the original content of Burke's thesis. It was clear to Burke that patriotic sentiments had an aesthetic dimension, but he was keen to insist that the duty of political obligation should not be confused with the whims of sensibility.

The idea that moral relations (or duties) are the product of a sense of propriety (or decorum) had originally been developed by Anthony Ashley Cooper, the Third Earl of Shaftesbury. James Harris made no secret of his debt to Shaftesbury's thesis. Man, he wrote in the *Three Treatises*, "*is truly a SOCIAL*

ANIMAL,” encapsulating the anti-Hobbism embodied in Shaftesbury’s own *Characteristicks*.⁵ Thus while Burke accepted that sociability was a natural human endowment fabricated by the wisdom of Providence, he rejected the idea that social obligations were equivalent to the rules of decorum. Burke’s criticism of this position is contained in Section XI of Part III of his *Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*.⁶ [fig.2] However, what Burke’s readers on the continent noticed was less his dissent from the deistic moral theory of the Third Earl of Shaftesbury than the novel anthropology that they found in the *Enquiry*. What struck them about this work was its rich account of the diversity of affective responses. The fact that for Burke these aesthetic responses had to be categorically differentiated from the virtues was no part of their immediate concern. It is true that Immanuel Kant was himself sharply to distinguish affective from ethical judgements, but this commitment was developed without any reference to Burke.

Kant was of course familiar with the basic outlines of Burke’s *Enquiry*. His debt to aspects of his predecessor’s analysis is ap-

parent in his *Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and Sublime*.⁷ But it seems probable that he first encountered the argument of the *Enquiry* in the summary version of the work supplied in 1758 in a review by Moses Mendelssohn. What fascinated Mendelssohn, as is evident both from his review and from his correspondence with Lessing, was Burke’s idea that a diminution of pain, as opposed to a positive experience of pleasure, generated a feeling of “delight.” In their correspondence, Lessing and Mendelssohn debated how best to translate this key Burkean term. Mendelssohn proposed “Frohseyn” (gladness) as the nearest German equivalent, and as the easiest means of distinguishing it from simple “Vergnügen” (pleasure).⁸ In a translation of the *Enquiry* to be found at the Clark that appeared in Riga in 1773, Burke’s “delight” is rendered by the interesting word “Beruhigung” (tranquilisation). We know that the anonymous translator was Kant’s later antagonist, Christian Garve, who was also responsible for the translation of Adam Ferguson’s *Institutes of Moral Philosophy*.⁹ But what was it that drew German philosophers

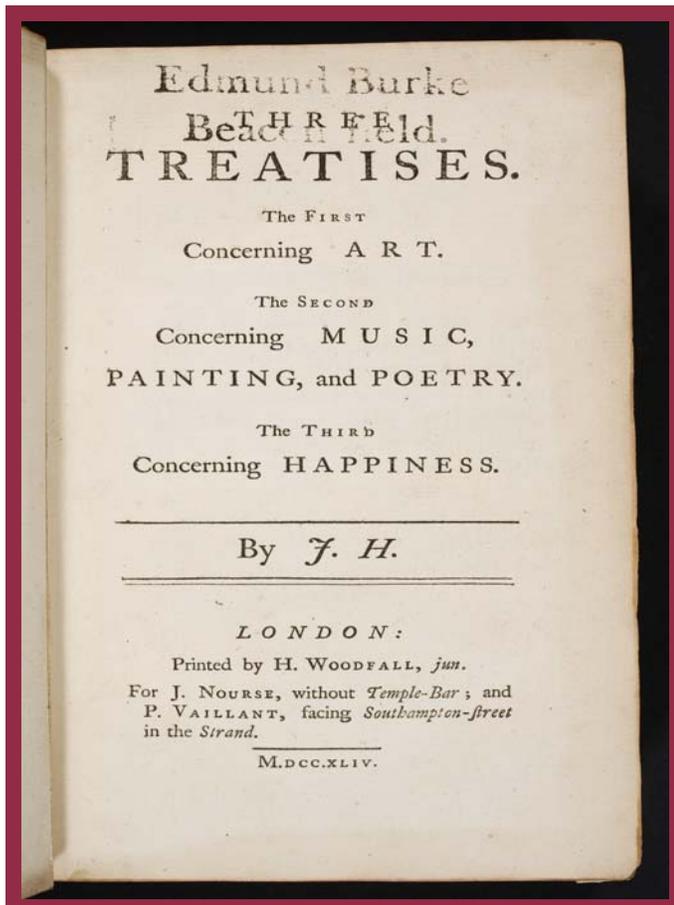


fig. 1: Edmund Burke’s copy of James Harris’ *Three Treatises. The First Concerning Art. The Second Concerning Music, Painting, and Poetry. The Third Concerning Happiness.* (London, 1744).

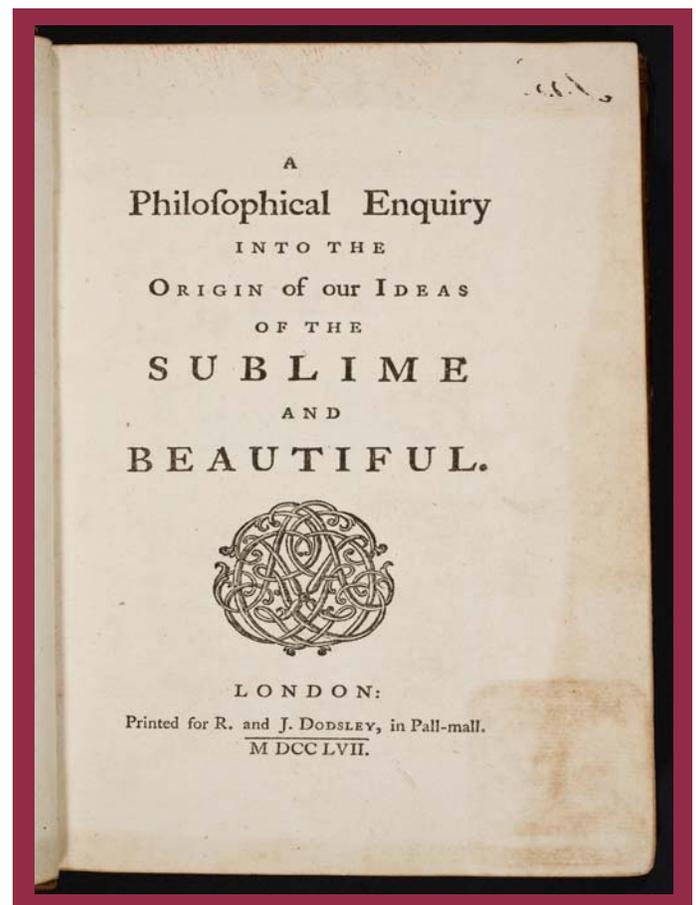


fig. 2: Edmund Burke’s *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (London, 1757).

and men of letters to the topics debated in Burke's *Philosophical Enquiry*?

What seems to have attracted such attention to the *Enquiry* in Germany is related to the cause behind the subsequent popularity of the *Reflections*. Burke's principles, as represented in both his aesthetic and political writings, appeared to multiply the grounds of human motivation. In the *Enquiry*, for example, his category of delight helped to show how it was possible for humans to identify with the misfortunes of their fellows in the absence of utilitarian advantage. Since delight was produced by the alleviation of pain or dread, it also made sense of the human attraction to objects of terror: authority could inspire reverence since moderated fear brought its own kind of satisfaction. At this point it becomes obvious how Burke's aesthetics lend support to his political theory. But, at the same time, his divergence from Shaftesbury and Harris makes clear the distinction in his thinking between the pleasures of taste and both moral and political value.

(Endnotes)

- ¹ James Harris, *Three Treatises: The First concerning Art; the Second concerning Music, Painting and Poetry; the Third concerning Happiness* (London, 1744). William Andrews Clark Memorial Library reference: *BH181 H31 1744.
- ² *Ibid.*, p. 53.
- ³ *Ibid.*, p. 54.
- ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 155.
- ⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 157. Cf. Anthony Ashley Cooper, the Third Earl of Shaftesbury, *Sensus Communis: An Essay on the Freedom of Wit and Humour in Characteristicks of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times* (London, 1711), 3 vols, I, pp. 37–93.
- ⁶ Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757, rev. ed. 1759) in *The Writings and Speeches of Edmund Burke: Volume I – The Early Years* eds. T. O. McLoughlin and James T. Boulton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 272.
- ⁷ Immanuel Kant, *Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and Sublime* (1764) in *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Immanuel Kant: Anthropology, History, and Education* eds. Robert B. Louden and Gunter Zöller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), *passim*.
- ⁸ Moses Mendelssohn, *Rezensionsartikel in Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste* (1756–1759) in *Gesammelte Schriften: Jubiläumsausgabe*, ed. Eva J. Engel (Stuttgart: Friedrich Frommann Verlag, 1977), vol. 4, pp. 216–36, p. 235. For his exchange with Lessing on the subject, see Mendelssohn to Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, 2 April 1758, in Moses Mendelssohn, *Briefwechsel I in Gesammelte Schriften: Jubiläumsausgabe*, ed. Bruno Straus (Stuttgart: Friedrich Frommann Verlag, 1974), vol. 11, p. 185. Lessing likewise reflected on Burke's concept of delight in his *Bemerkungen über Burkes Philosophische Untersuchungen über den Ursprung unserer Begriffe vom Erhabenen und Schönen* (1758–1759) in Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Gesammelte Werke*, ed. Paul Rilla (Berlin and Weimar: Aufbau-Verlag, 1968), vol. 7, pp. 273–4.
- ⁹ Edmund Burke, *Philosophische Untersuchungen über der Ursprung unserer Begriffe vom Erhabenen und Schönen* [trans. Christian Garvel] (Riga, 1773), p. 47.

Time Before the Line: The Seventeenth-Century Chronological Table

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His book, Cartographies of Time, co-authored with Anthony Grafton, will be published by Princeton Architectural Press in 2010.

During the eighteenth century in Europe, scholars experimented with new formats for the graphic representation of historical data including tables, trees, and graphs. The most novel among these were also the simplest. Beginning in the 1750s and 60s,

historians began to widely employ unilinear charts of history calibrated to a measured geometric scale. Borrowing techniques from cartography, they used fine engraving and oversized sheets to create a new kind of map of history; to use the modern term, they started to produce “timelines.”

This graphic innovation did not come out of the blue, however. During the three centuries since the invention of printing in Europe, scholars had been trying out new ways of organizing historical information. Formats came and went, but throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the tabular form established a millennium earlier by the fourth-century Roman Christian scholar, Eusebius, proved especially popular. The Eusebian table had many virtues: among others, it was well calibrated for the printed book. This is no accident: Eusebius's *Chronicle* was among the first works designed to take advantage of the physical features of the codex book, including the convenience of flipping from section to section for purposes of reference, a tedious process when using a scroll.



fig. 1: Title-page from Henry Issacson's *Satvni Ephemerides* (London, 1633).

In the realm of chronographics, Europe in 1650 was fully in the age of the table; for this the Clark Library collections offer abundant evidence. Among the key works in the Clark collection are Latin and English editions of the *Chronological and Historical Theatre* published by the German scholar, Christoph Helwig in 1609 [fig.2]. Like many works in the field, Helwig's chronography made few pretensions to originality, openly drawing on earlier works in the Eusebian tradition, especially those of Joseph Scaliger. The aim of the work was to represent the state of the field of chronology in the most compact and practical form. Compared to the thick tomes of many chronologers, Helwig's work is a study in efficiency, reducing each year to a line. To a novice reader, this compression can be daunting, as Helwig's table juxtaposes many chronological systems (*anni mundi*, *anni domini*, Julian years, Olympiads, years of Rome, and so forth). But, from a visual point of view, his system is strikingly intuitive.

Though less influential, a work such as the 1633 *Saturni Ephemerides* [fig.1] by the English chronologist and biographer, Henry Isaacson, offers both a better read than Helwig and a different perspective on the implications of the tabular format. He also

offers in his frontispiece, a wonderful allegory of History, posed with a written book, "so faire an Harvest" from "the seed of empty Ruine," and of Chronology, with a book of tables much like his own and "perspicill" (telescope) to "out-stare the broad-beam'd Dayes Meridian." While Helwig is careful to include only important historical events, Isaacson is more various in his selections. Occasionally in Helwig, one finds a bit of color, as where he notes, "1590, Breda taken by Maurice by a Strategem," to indicate the year when Maurice of Orange used a Trojan Horse tactic to sneak his soldiers past Spanish forces (concealing seventy men in a peat ship). But even in these cases, the historical significance of Helwig's choices is clear. Not so in Isaacson, who apparently never met a fact he didn't like.

Where the work of Helwig points to the efficiency of the chronological table, that of Isaacson highlights its surprising openness. In Isaacson, we find such canonically important events as the creation of man and the birth of Christ slotted indifferently among such miscellany as the labors of Hercules, the introduction of cherries to Britain, dancing by *cinque paces*, and the appearance of a dog with strange qualities. Isaacson's entry for this last reads:

fig. 2: Two-page spread from *The Historical and Chronological Theatre of Christopher Helvicus* (London, 1687), encapsulating the world's political history between 1553–1602.

used a complex system of symbols for the personal qualities of the historical figures mentioned on the chart. According to these symbols princes could be, among other things, accomplished, unfortunate, rich, liberal, peaceful, politic, courageous, bloody, effeminate, unremarkable, or addicted to pleasures. Their reigns might end by murder, battle, suicide, prison, strangulation, poisoning, beheading, exile, deposition, resignation, and—in a later revision—death from grief.

Many of the innovations of the chronographers of this period involved decisions about material form. For this reason, the preservation of the original works in the Clark Library is of special importance. Seventeenth-century chronographies were sometimes very big, as in Tallents; sometimes small, as in Parsons [fig.4]. As the Clark Library editions show, even decisions about paper stock were crucial to the proper functioning of these works. The chronographies of the period were considered more than mere books. In the words of the great *Encyclopédie*, they were *machines chronographiques*.

Today, in the age of the electronic book, it is worth paying special attention to this idea. Seventeenth-century chronographers were aware that their works were not generally read, but rather visually scanned. For the chronographers of the period, the book form itself was both provisional and disposable, and by the eighteenth century, many chronographers were eschewing it completely, preferring to make chronological wall charts resembling world maps or—of all things—scrolls, the very thing that Eusebius had abandoned more than a millennium earlier. One eighteenth-century scroll chronology stretched to 54 feet.

Much more can be said about each of these inventive and absorbing works, but their greater significance lies in their character as a group. Together they illustrate the development of his-

torical graphics in seventeenth-century Britain and the effort to develop techniques of graphic representation in the field of history comparable to those of modern cartography. The vast implications of these experiments would not be fully realized until the second half of the eighteenth century, but as the Clark collections show, by the middle of the seventeenth century the pursuit of alternatives to tabular chronography was already well under way.

Mr. Gielgud Regrets: Panic at the Wilde Centenary

ELLEN CROWELL, *Assistant Professor, Saint Louis University*

In *Oscar Wilde: A Biography* (1975), H. Montgomery Hyde recalls the October 16, 1954 Wilde Centenary celebrations, noting that it was “largely due to the persistent prodding of the London City Council by Mr. and Mrs. Barton” that a commemorative plaque was erected that day at Wilde’s Tite Street residence. In fact, Irene and Eric Barton worked tirelessly on *all* aspects of the Wilde Centenary. And as the Clark Library’s relatively unexplored “Wilde Centenary” files vividly demonstrate,¹ it was the willingness of some eminent person to unveil Wilde’s plaque, and not official permission, which proved most difficult to secure. Although careful planning had allowed ample time for finding a suitable candidate, the search was undertaken at a time when the arrest and public exposure of gay men for “acts of gross indecency” was at a fever pitch; in 1953 alone, over two thousand men were arrested and half of these prosecuted for homosexual offenses.² The contentious quest for Wilde’s unveiler unfolded over a 15-month period during which an unprecedented number of eminent persons were unveiled in the tabloids, including Rupert Croft-Cooke, Lord Montagu of Beaulieu, Peter Wildeblood, and Sir John Gielgud—whose own scandal, as Clark materials dramatically demonstrate, became entangled with the Wilde Centenary.

The May 1948 “Chelsea Week” program [fig.1] begins: “[S]ome names convey their meaning in their very sound. [...] The name ‘Chelsea’ falls sweetly on the ear, like music borne over running water. It is a *cheerful* sound, and Chelsea is a cheerful place.”³ The name “Oscar Wilde,” unmentioned in the program, still conveyed another less cheerful meaning; even the program’s coverage of the Chelsea Art Exhibition, which begins, “Ever since the renaissance reawakened the English intellect, the arts have flourished in Chelsea,” omits Wilde.

This omission prompted an impassioned letter to *The Times*: Sir,—This week is Chelsea Week. Now that the dust is settled, is it not possible to honour one famous resident of this borough with a commemorative plaque? Oscar Wilde has contributed a great deal of enjoyment to people of all classes, and quite recently there have been revivals of his



fig. 4: The oversized folio of Tallents’ *A View of Universal History* dwarfs William Parsons’ *Chronological Tables* (London, 1689), a duodecimo bound in red morocco, lower right corner.

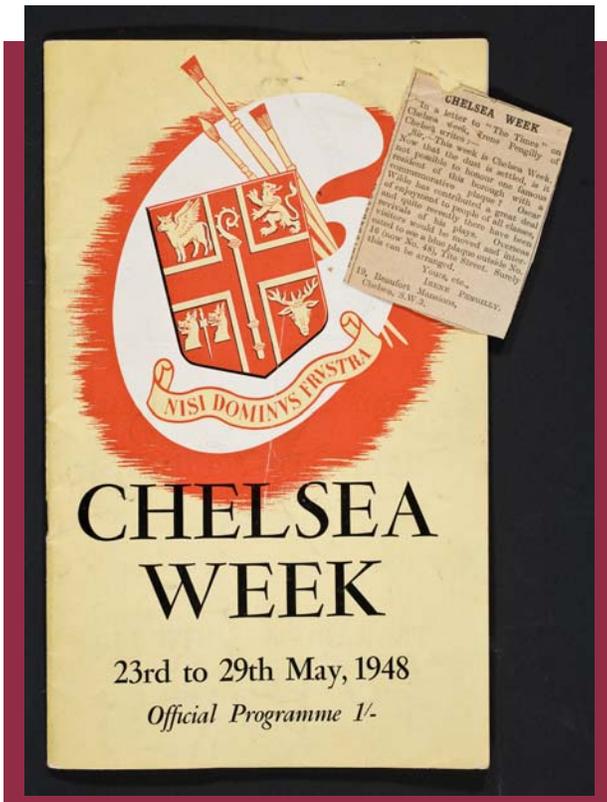


fig. 1: Cover of the 1948 “Chelsea Week” program with a news clipping from *The Times* of Irene Pengilly Barton’s letter to the editor objecting to the omission of Wilde’s name as important to the Chelsea arts scene.

plays. Overseas visitors would be moved and interested to see a blue plaque outside No. 16 (now No. 48) Tite Street. Surely this can be arranged.

Yours, &c, IRENE PENGILLY⁴

Clark manuscripts suggest that “Irene Pengilly” was a pseudonym used on this occasion by Irena Rowlands-Wisbeach, who in the same year married London bookseller Eric William Wild Barton (1909–1997), a man whose interest in Wilde was apparently inscribed at birth. Barton’s early training with booksellers Dulau & Company, from whose 1928 sale catalog the Clark acquired the core of its Wilde collection, led to a distinguished career in the book and manuscript trade.⁵ The Bartons therefore shared an interest in Wilde, and spent the early years of their marriage working to preserve his memory.

In the spring of 1953 Eric Barton contacted H. Montgomery Hyde, mentioning Irene’s letter to *The Times* and asking Hyde’s opinion. Hyde replied that although he was “interested” in the proposed plaque, and in Irene’s “advocacy of it in *The Times*,” he doubted the city would grant permission.⁶ However, as Clark holdings demonstrate, the Bartons had little difficulty with official permissions. On July 6th, the couple was notified by solicitors Bartlett and Gregory that “provided nothing except that Oscar Wilde lived at 34 Tite Street is put on the plaque [the current residents] are agreeable to it being erected,”⁷

and on August 4th the London City Council approved their petition. The L.C.C. cautioned that it would be “some months” before the plaque could be erected, as “the design has to be approved and the plaque go through a long firing process,” but the Bartons were in no hurry. The unveiling was not scheduled to occur for another year: on the October 16, 1954 centenary of Wilde’s birth.

The next step was to secure an unveiler. First approached was Wilde’s contemporary Max Beerbohm, who in September 1953 replied that although he was “so very glad to hear that there is to be a plaque on Oscar Wilde’s house” and was “much honored by your opinion, and by that of your Wife, that the unveiling ceremony should be performed by me,” ill health prevented his acceptance. Beerbohm likewise rejected the suggestion of his unveiling “by proxy,” arguing that this would ensure “an unsatisfactory and rather dismal affair” and insisting that the office “be performed by some actually present and visible person” (Clark MS). He then offered a suggestion.

“Part of Oscar’s claim on posterity, and the part which is perhaps most familiar to the present generation,” Beerbohm argued, “is his dramatic work. So I imagine that John Gielgud, who is generally regarded as the leading actor of to-day, might be a good selection?”⁸ Sir John Gielgud (knighted only three months earlier, in part for his de-

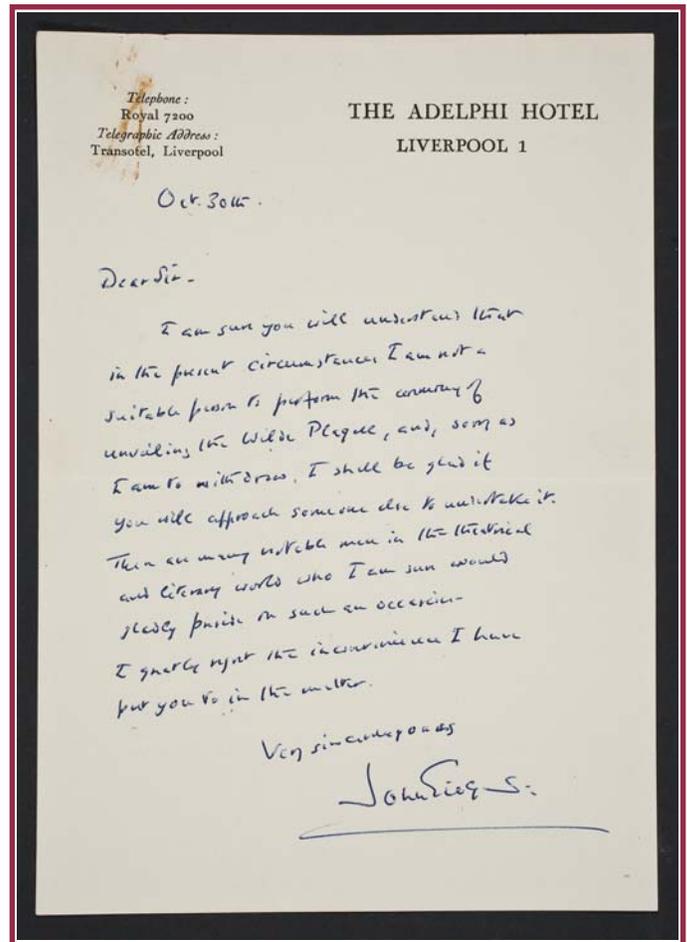


fig. 2: John Gielgud’s letter of resignation to the Centenary Committee, October 30, 1953.

finitive revival of *The Importance of Being Earnest*) had spent August 1953 holidaying in Italy,⁹ and his August 17th visit to “perky and delightful”¹⁰ Max Beerbohm likely motivated this suggestion. The Bartons approached Gielgud immediately, and on October 1st the actor wrote that he “would be very glad to unveil the plaque.”¹¹

Gielgud secured, the Bartons now turned their attention to establishing a Wilde Centenary advisory committee. Montgomery Hyde, Max Beerbohm, and Louis Wilkinson, who as a young man initiated a correspondence with Wilde, all agreed to serve, and on October 16th, 1953 the Bartons for the first time met Wilde’s son Vyvyan Holland and his wife Thelma—an occasion recorded by Thelma Holland on October 18th: “It has only just occurred to us that the day we met was Oscar’s birthday so the happy coincidence should augur well for our future plans.”¹² This happy coincidence was unfortunately followed by an ironic tragedy: two days later, on October 20th, Gielgud was arrested in a Chelsea public lavatory and charged with “persistently importuning for an immoral purpose,” and the arrest was widely covered by a tabloid press ravenous for material relating to homosexual scandal.¹³

Gielgud’s crisis posed a significant problem for the Centenary committee. Vyvyan Holland contacted Max Beerbohm, who immediately wrote Eric Barton:

Many thanks for your letter of the other day. Since then I have had one from Vyvyan Holland, sending me a press cutting about the tragically unfortunate case of John Gielgud. I have just been writing to Vyvyan fully agreeing with his opinion that the unveiling of the plaque must of course, in the circumstances, be done by some other man. I daresay, Gielgud will himself have written, of his own accord, to this effect.¹⁴

After being so publicly “unveiled”—and only blocks from Tite Street—Gielgud was as eager as anyone to avoid spectacle, and he likely apprehended the absurd dramatic irony his participation would represent. On October 30th Gielgud formally resigned his role [fig.2]:

Dear Sir,

I am sure you will understand that in the present circumstances I am not a suitable person to perform the ceremony of unveiling the Wilde plaque, and, seeing as I am to withdraw, I shall be glad if you will approach someone else to undertake it. There are many notable men in the theatrical and literary world who I am sure would gladly preside on such an occasion—I greatly regret the inconvenience I have put you to in the matter.

Very sincerely yours
John Gielgud¹⁵

Forced to find another unveiler, the Bartons next approached Edith Evans, who—despite her recent triumph against Gielgud as the definitive Lady Bracknell—wrote that “it would be better if you had a man to perform this ceremony,” since as a woman she “[did]

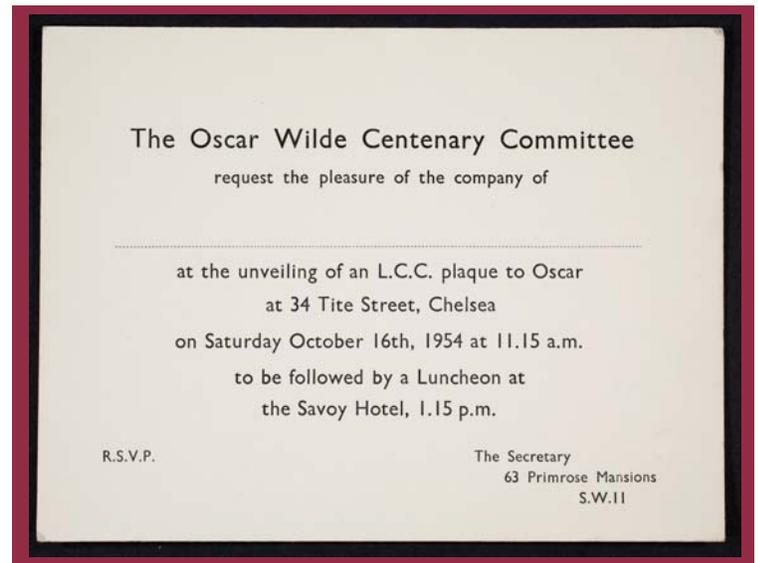


fig. 3: An invitation to the unveiling ceremony of the London County Council’s blue plaque commemorating Oscar Wilde, “wit and dramatist” who once lived at 34 Tite Street.

not feel qualified.”¹⁶ Louis Wilkinson advised against another actor, “for the fame of actors is rapidly transient. In fifty years time few will know of Sir Laurence Olivier or Michael Redgrave” and suggested instead the current Lord Queensberry—a choice “of lasting literary-historical interest, the Lord Queensberry of 1954 doing public honor to Wilde, redressing the insults and injuries [...] inflicted by the Queensberry of 1895.”¹⁷ This suggestion was dismissed; the Bartons shared Vyvyan Holland’s opinion that “this is a Wilde, not a Douglas centenary which will no doubt be celebrated on October 22, 1970 with appropriate pomp and maybe another plaque.”¹⁸

Invitations and rejections continued to cross in the mail. T.S. Eliot declined, arguing that “the person chosen to unveil the memorial should be [...] a wholehearted admirer,” and he had “never been a warm admirer of the work of Oscar Wilde.”¹⁹ E.M. Forster voiced objections paranoid rather than aesthetic: although he admired Wilde, he refused “so prominent a part in the proposed ceremony.” Commenting on the “difficulties” of commemorating Wilde in a cultural moment obsessed with queer scandal, Forster cited “ill-judged prosecutions” and “venomous activities in a certain section of the press,” and mused that a few years earlier, “the situation would have been easier.” Forster ironically concluded by asking whether the committee had considered asking a woman, (“preferably an eminent actress”), as shifting focus away from eminent men might be a “desirable move.”²⁰

Laurence Olivier declined in June; Bertrand Russell in July; and in August, Cecil Day Lewis refused to compose a poem for the event, stating that “to write a poem of that sort, with any hope of success, one must feel some sort of affinity with the subject, & this is, alas, lacking in my case.”²¹ Finally, responding to a personal request from Vyvyan Holland, Compton Mackenzie stepped in: “My Dear Vyvyan, I shall be proud to come down on the 16th and preside at the unveiling ceremony in Tite Street. [...] It is indeed a

volte face.”²² The ceremony, followed by an elaborate luncheon at the Savoy Hotel, went off without a hitch. That evening, Thelma Holland wrote to express her family’s thanks and friendship:

Dear “Mr. and Mrs. Barton,”

I cannot go to bed tonight without writing to you both and adding to the very heartfelt tributes that were justifiably given to you today.

The design still goes on and it seems extraordinary that we first met a year ago today.

We both value your friendship tremendously and consider it in a very unusual light. Inspired faith and admiration create around everyone what Louis Wilkinson described as ‘sunlight inspired by Oscar Wilde.’

This letter, noteworthy because it was written on the 16th of October 1954 and was signed by Thelma, Vyvyan, and Merlin Holland, underscores that the Wilde Centenary was indeed a triumphant affair. But as the Clark’s collection demonstrates, some of what occurred behind the scenes was more *déjà vu* than *volte face*.

(Endnotes)

¹ The Clark’s “Wilde Centenary” files offer scholars a view of the Wilde Centenary event from its inception through its aftermath. Its files include correspondence, invitations [fig 3], press clippings, photographs, guest lists, encomium transcriptions, catering receipts, seating charts, and more. Such a comprehensive collection was likely obtained all at once and from one donor. The Centenary archive contains a 1954 letter from Lawrence Clark Powell, then director of the Clark, expressing regret that he could not attend but inviting the Bartons to preserve their efforts with the Clark Library: “I should be happy to receive from you for the collection any material that is published, even ephemera, relating to the Centenary celebration” (Lawrence Clark Powell to Eric Barton, August 11, 1954. Unpublished letter, William Andrews Clark Memorial Library). It is therefore likely that the Bartons themselves donated this valuable archive.

² See Matt Houlbrook. *Queer London: Perils and Pleasures of the Sexual Metropolis, 1918–1957*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

³ *Chelsea Week Official Programme* (Clark Library).

⁴ Letter to the Editor. *The Times*, 24 May 1948, p. 5.

⁵ In his 1997 obituary for Eric Barton, Timothy d’Arch Smith remembered the collection on offer at Barton’s Baldur Bookshop as one “largely of an ephemeral nature - postcards, magazines, posters, letters, memorabilia,” and focused in large part on the life and writings of Oscar Wilde. (Timothy d’Arch Smith. *The Independent*, 7 June 1997). <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/people/obituary-eric-barton-1254603.html>)

⁶ H. Montgomery Hyde to Eric Barton, 7 May 1953. Unpublished letter, Clark Library.

⁷ London City Council to Eric Barton, 6 July 1953. Unpublished letter, Clark Library.

⁸ Max Beerbohm to Eric Barton, 14 September 1953. Unpublished letter, Clark Library.

⁹ See John Gielgud. *A Life in Letters*. Ed. Richard Mangan. (New York: Arcade, 2004), pp. 168–170.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 169.

¹¹ John Gielgud to Eric Barton, 1 October 1953. Unpublished letter, Clark Library.

¹² Thelma Holland to Mr. and Mrs. Barton, 18 October 1953. Unpublished letter, Clark Library.

¹³ See Jonathan Croall. *Gielgud: A Theatrical Life* (New York: Continuum, 2001) and Sheridan Morley. *John Gielgud: The Authorized Biography* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2002).

¹⁴ Max Beerbohm to Eric Barton, 28 October 1953. Unpublished letter, Clark Library.

¹⁵ John Gielgud to Eric Barton, 30 October 1953. Unpublished letter, Clark Library.

¹⁶ Edith Evans to Eric and Irene Barton, 5 November 1953. Unpublished letter, Clark Library.

¹⁷ Louis Wilkinson to Eric and Irene Barton, 11 November 1953. Unpublished letter, Clark Library.

¹⁸ Vyvyan Holland to Irene Barton, 1 September 1954. Unpublished letter, Clark Library.

¹⁹ T.S. Eliot to Eric Barton, 19 March 1954. Unpublished letter, Clark Library. Eliot did, however, attend the unveiling in an unofficial capacity.

²⁰ E.M. Forster to Eric Barton, 14 July 1954. Unpublished letter, Clark Library.

²¹ Cecil Day-Lewis to Eric and Irene Barton, 17 August 1954. Unpublished letter, Clark Library.

²² Compton Mackenzie to Vyvyan Holland, 9 August 1954. Unpublished letter, Clark Library.

Eric Gill and the Making of Sculpture in the Early Twentieth Century

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My visit to the Clark Library at the end of 2008 was directly related to the subject of my PhD research, “Eric Gill and Transformative Practices in British Sculpture 1909 to 1940: Contexts, Networks and Contradictions” (University of Brighton, UK). I was specifically looking for evidence of Gill’s sculptural practice, the extent of his collaboration with contemporary artists, architects, galleries and, most importantly, with his apprentices, assistants, and associates in the business of sculpture production. I examined his diaries, ledger books, cash analysis books, books containing lists of works, and correspondence. One thing that became increasingly clear during this research was that collaboration was more central to Gill’s work than I had previously understood.

This article will demonstrate the value of archival research in understanding the changes in Gill’s working practices, from early in his sculptural career until later in his life when he was a more established artist. This will include an overview of the types of sculptures he made, the commissions he received, the assistants he employed and the payments he made to them as well as received for his work. This comparison between different periods of his life displays the changing priorities in the division of his time between different types of work.

In order to illustrate a detailed picture of Gill’s day-to-day practice, I will describe one case study in particular. This will reveal the collaborative nature not only of Gill’s sculptural production, but his other works as well. In conclusion, what I aim to show is that Gill’s working practices throughout his life uncover the complexities of sculptural production in early twentieth century Britain. In histories of this period the notion of “direct carving,”²¹ a method which Gill fervently promoted, is presented as an unproblematic move towards authenticity. What Gill’s day-to-day practice reveals, however, is that the professional networks and collaboration he used to become a successful artist were in fact very similar to those used by previous generations.

Gill moved to London in 1900 to take up a post as an apprentice draughtsman in the architectural practice of W.M. Caröe. After three years, during which Gill took evening classes in writing and illumination at the Central School of Arts and Crafts, and stone masonry at the Westminster Technical School, he left the practice and set up his own letter-cutting and calligraphy

1902

1	J. D. Batten	Tomstone Batten
2	"	" Junod
3	"	Receipt form
4	F. C. Carter	Drawings (Embroidery)
5	"	Names over doors
6	M. C. Corlette	Perspective (Liverpool Cathedral)
7	L. C. C. Schorn	Notices (Book)
8	Mrs. Morris	Pedigree in Book

fig. 1: Page listing work completed in 1902, from "List of inscriptions and other works, 1902-1910."

business.² In 1906 he took on his first assistant, Herbert Joseph Cribb, who went on to become Gill's apprentice in 1907, and subsequently a life-long assistant. Cribb went with Gill to live in the village of Ditchling in Sussex in 1907, by which time Gill was becoming increasingly successful.

According to his "List of inscriptions and works, 1902-1909" [fig. 1],³ he listed nine commissions for 1902, a number that increased over the years until 1910 when he received a total of thirty-eight commissions. By this time, Gill was not only producing lettering but also sculpture. He was working closely with the sculptor Jacob Epstein (from whom he received three of his 1910 commissions), as well as meeting regularly with people on the London avant-garde art scene such as William Rothenstein and Roger Fry. Diary entries from 1910 show that Gill met with Fry at least eight times either in London or at Fry's home in Guildford, and that he met with Rothenstein at least twenty-eight times, partly because Rothenstein was painting Gill's portrait.⁴

Gill's commissioned work during this early period of his career, both in London and subsequently in Ditchling, was mainly for inscriptions and calligraphy. During this time he also worked closely with his brother Max Gill, who had moved to London in 1902. In Gill's "Memorandum of Expenses chargeable to Jobs Jan 1910 to Dec 1911"⁵ he writes next to a number of jobs listed in 1910: "given to L.M.G." (Max was christened Leslie Macdonald). Presumably Gill was passing on work that he himself did not have time to do, despite having an apprentice and at this time another assistant, Frederick White.

Gill's records in the Clark Library show the extent to which he relied on his apprentices and assistants, not only in his early career while developing his reputation, but also later on, when his career was firmly established. During his life, from his first assistant in 1906, Gill employed a total of six apprentices and twenty-three assistants for varying periods of time.⁶

In 1910, six of the fifty-eight jobs listed in Gill's records were sculptures made for his own pleasure, the rest being inscription and sculpture commissions [fig. 2].⁷ By 1933 Gill was recording inscriptions, sculptures, articles he was writing, lectures given, engravings, and typography designs for books. These records indicate that all the sculptural and inscriptional work were commissions.⁸ This dramatic increase in work was made possible by the work done by the letter cutters and sculptors working in Gill's workshop, though their contributions were rarely referred to.⁹ Mostly, this work was limited to cutting inscriptions from Gill's drawings, and moving, roughing out, and polishing Gill's sculptures. Assistants were paid by the hour depending on the type of work, as well as the length of their experience.

Job no. 350, *Easton Gibb (monument to his wife)*, 1910, is listed in Gill's records with the following payments alongside (in pounds-shilling-pence):

1. C. Smith (for moulding) £1-14s;
2. Mason (casual) 6s;
3. Gill 272 hours £40-16s;

1910

			Cr.	Dr.	Cr.	Dr.		
324	B. C. Boulter	✓	30	0	0	30	0	0
325	Nicholson & Corlette	✓	2	2	6	2	2	6
326	R. Water Colour Soc.	✓	4	5	0	4	5	0
327	L. C. C. (Class)	✓	12	12	0	12	12	0
328	Miss Oughton	✓	11	11	0	11	11	0
329	Mrs. Farrall	✓	43	0	7	43	0	7
330	W. Rothenstein	✓	20	0	0	20	0	0
331	"Joie"	✓	100	0	0	100	0	0
332	"Welt-Schmerz"	✓	20	0	0	20	0	0
333	"ΘΑΛΑΣΣΑ" (with spine)	✓	17	5	0	17	5	0
334	do inscript.	✓	4	6	6			
335	F. Grisell	✓	15	0	0	15	0	0
336		✓						
337	} Given to L.M.G.	✓	1	10	0	1	10	0
338		✓						
339		✓	5	0	0	5	0	0
340	J. M. Barrie	✓	11	5	0	11	5	0
341	Board of Trade	✓	2	2	0	2	2	0
342	T. J. Cadden Sanderson	✓	4	4	0	4	4	0
343	Geoffrey Lupton	✓	15	0	0	15	0	0
343 A	Junia Vincent	✓	3	0	0	3	0	0
344	Gladstone League	✓	12	12	0	12	12	0
345	Randall Wells	✓	10	6	0	10	6	0

fig. 2: Page showing work completed in 1910, from "List of Works, 1910-1940."

4. Cribb (for kerbing¹⁰ and other carving) 210 hours £8-1s-3d;
5. White (for kerbing and headstone) 85½ hours £1-1s-6d.[fig. 3]¹¹

Unfortunately Gill does not go into detail as to what each of the people here is doing; the numbers of hours given for each, however, are an intriguing insight into this collaborative process. It is also interesting that at this stage Gill is also employing two workers outside his workshop, C. Smith to do the moulding, and a mason to carry out carving work. Cribb, having worked with Gill since 1906, was paid nine pence an hour; White, having only just started in 1910, was paid three pence an hour. Gill paid himself three shillings an hour on this job.

In 1927, when Gill was preparing to hold a solo exhibition at the Goupil Gallery in London, he asked Cribb to assist him with his largest free-standing sculpture [fig. 4]. When Gill had left Ditchling for Wales in 1924, Cribb had stayed in Ditchling.¹² In 1927, just before Gill moved from Wales to Buckinghamshire, he spent nearly all of his time in London and hired a studio in Chelsea from September 1927.¹³

From information in Gill's and Cribb's written records,¹⁴ the story of the making of the sculpture *Mankind* (1927–8, Tate, London) can be revealed. Shortly after taking the keys to the London studio, Cribb helped Gill install a large piece of Hoptonwood stone previously in the yard of Gill's (now Cribb's)

350-

Easton Gill. Monument.

May 19	Flax.		7	8	
	Barnes acc (for stone)	5	10	0	
June 27	Turner do (carriage)	7	6		
	C. Smith do (moulding)	1	14	0	
July 8	Mason (cease)	6	0		
Aug 2	A.H. Turner acc. (No 2)	8	6		
Oct. 1	A.E.R.G. = 140½ =	21	1	6	
Sept. 9	Tip to stone chisels	1	0		
Nov. 1	A.E.R.G. = 120:	18	0	0	
Nov. 20	Cribb to do.	210.	5	5	0
"	do kerbing	112½	2	16	3
"	White do	13¾	11	0	
"	do headst.	41¾	10	6	
" 28	A.E.R.G.	11½	1	14	6
	5%				
			£	29	6
				88	0
					3
	(See letter book No. 496)				
Sept. 20/10	Rec'd on acc.	50	0	0	
Dec 16-10	do in settlmt	50	0	0	
			£	100	0

P.T.O.

fig. 3: Page detailing payments for job no. 350, from "Memorandum of Expenses chargeable to Jobs, Jan 1910 to Dec 1911."

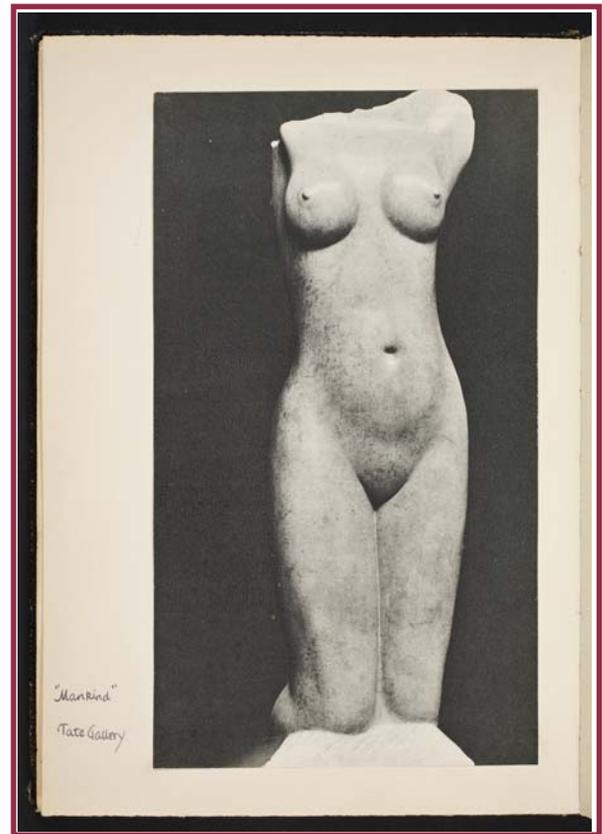


fig. 4: Photograph of "Mankind" carved in Hoptonwood stone, Gill's largest free-standing sculpture, from Eric Gill's scrapbook entitled *Album*, ms. Gill box 163.

Ditchling workshop. In November 1927 Gill's son-in-law, Denis Tegetmeier, worked on the stone for a total of four days. Tegetmeier was a complete novice, however in the "Ledger June 1927 to September 1933" Gill writes that he pays Tegetmeier £6-4s for "pointing H.W. Stone" [fig. 5].¹⁵ Pointing is a method used by sculptors to scale up the rough form of a small model into a larger piece of stone, but can also be used to describe roughing out a stone block.¹⁶ This discovery in Gill's records has shown the extent to which Gill moved away from his ideology of direct carving as he became more successful.

Cribb returned to Gill's studio in January 1928 to spend a further thirteen days (102 hours) working on the sculpture—at the very least polishing the eight-foot figure. Gill subsequently put *Mankind* in the Goupil Gallery exhibition, and sold it to the sculptor Eric Kennington for £800. For his work, Cribb was paid £12-17s-6d; this is approximately two shillings and six pence per hour and shows the increased skill and experience of Cribb since his earlier work with Gill in 1910.

Gill had written about the nature of sculptured objects in his 1918 essay "Sculpture."¹⁷ His main thesis was the unity of the work of the artist and the craftsman; the person who conceived the sculptural form should also be the person who executed the form out of one material. His ideas, coming as they did at the same time as the carved work of artists on the European continent such as Constantin Brancusi and Paul Gauguin, were very influential on Gill's contem-

poraries and the subsequent generation. Early in his career, Henry Moore said that the transition to direct carving was a “hard fight for the practice and recognition of direct carving, and the sculptors of my generation have to thank Epstein, Gill, and Gaudier-Brzeska for the victory.”¹⁸

As this brief overview of Gill’s day to day working practices shows, creating sculpture in the early twentieth century was in fact more collaborative than at first appears. For Gill this was not only in the making of his sculptural works, but also in the execution of his inscriptions. His reliance on the skill and ability of his assistants enabled Gill to carry out the wide range of other activities that can be seen in his list of works from the early 1920s onwards. Gill was a key figure in early twentieth-century Britain, attempting to redefine the nature of sculpture in relation to ideas of authenticity and truth to materials. However, he created a persona as an isolated craftsman and art-world exile which has precluded balanced accounts of his work. My thesis will question many of the mythologies surrounding Gill’s work as a sculptor and so map the complexities of sculptural practice lying behind the ideologies of modernist sculpture production.

(Endnotes)

- ¹ Direct carving refers to a method by which the sculptor conceived and produced the final work of art without the use of maquettes or assistance.
- ² He later went into partnership with Lawrence Christie as “Inscriptional Carvers and Calligraphers,” which lasted from 1906 until 1908. F. McCarthy, *Eric Gill*. (London: Faber & Faber, 1989), p.66.
- ³ William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, University of California, Los Angeles. List of inscriptions and other works, 1902-1910 (Series 7, Sub-series 1, Rota 2).
- ⁴ Clark Library. Diary 1910 (Series 1, Sub-series 1, Box 1); *Eric Gill and Alice Mary (née Kneustub), Lady Rothenstein* by Sir William Rothenstein, oil on canvas, circa 1914 (National Portrait Gallery, London NPG5508).
- ⁵ Clark Library. Memorandum of expenses chargeable to jobs, January 1910 to December 1911 (Series 7, Sub-series 1, Rota 8).
- ⁶ Listed in D. Peace, *Eric Gill: The Inscriptions* (Boston: David R. Godine, 1994), p.173 (based on *The Inscriptional Work of Eric Gill: An Inventory* by Evan R. Gill, 1964).
- ⁷ Clark Library. List of Inscriptions and other works 1902-1910 (Series 7, Sub-series 1, Rota 2); Memorandum of Expenses chargeable to Jobs Jan 1910 to Dec 1911 (Series 7, Sub-series 1, Rota 6); List of Works 1910-1940 (Series 7, Sub-series 1, Rota 3).
- ⁸ Clark Library. List of Works 1910-1940 (Series 7, Sub-series 1, Rota 3).
- ⁹ Very few works by Gill’s assistants are signed, an exception being the war memorial tablet at the entrance to the Victoria & Albert Museum, London. This work, drawn by Gill and carved by Herbert Joseph Cribb, has in two squares at the corner of each base the initials: in one, “EG” and in the other “JC”.
- ¹⁰ Curbing or kerbing (British spelling) refers to the decoratively molded edge running around the base of the monument.
- ¹¹ Clark Library. Analysis Cash Book, January 1st 1909 to December 31st 1915 (Series 7, Sub-series 1, Rota 14); Memorandum of Expenses chargeable to Jobs Jan 1910 to Dec 1911 (Series 7, Sub-series 1, Rota 6).
- ¹² Cribb’s younger brother Lawrie, having trained with Herbert Joseph in Ditchling from about 1921, had gone with Gill first to Wales and then to Buckinghamshire, becoming his primary assistant and running the workshop until Gill’s death in 1940.
- ¹³ Clark Library. Diary 1927 (Series 1, Sub-series 1, Boxes 2 and 3).
- ¹⁴ Clark Library. Diaries for 1927 and 1928 (Series 1, Sub-series 1, Boxes 2 and 3), job no. 1021 in Ledger, June 1927 to September 1933 (Series 7, Sub-series 1, Rota 10); Herbert Joseph Cribb archive, private collection. Diary, 1928.
- ¹⁵ “H.W. Stone” is short for Hoptonwood stone, out of which *Mankind* was carved. Clark Library. Ledger June 1927 to September 1933 (Series 7, Sub-series 1, Rota 10).
- ¹⁶ An image of Gill’s workshop shows a partially finished *Mankind* together with the small sculpture of *Eve* carved in the same period (catalogue number 177, p. 158 in Judith Collins. *Eric Gill: The Sculpture*, London: Herbert Press, 1998). The similarities of form of these two sculptures suggest that *Eve* may have been the model Gill used for the pointing process.

Date	Description	Amount
1927 Oct. 21	Exp. at Gledes Place (into P.C. book)	6. 9. 6
" "	" " " "	1. 11. 1
" "	" " " "	12. 5. 0
" "	" " " "	1. 18. 6
" 22	Genl. exp. carting lay etc.	15. 0
" 26	Exp. tax	10. 4
Nov. 26	" exp. at G. Place to date	11. 0. 6
" "	O.T. printing H.W. Stone	5. 4. 0
Dec. 9	" " " "	5. 0. 0
" 31	" " " "	15. 0. 0
" 15	Knight & Williams shipping stone? Carriage etc.	8. 13. 5
" "	Exp. stone from stone for hole from kitchen & carriage	1. 0. 0
" 31	Exp. at Gledes Place to date	6. 2. 6
" "	Exp. mtd by error Dec. 7 & 8	2. 3. 4
1928 March. 23	Exp. at Gledes Place (into P.C. book) (continued)	16. 10. 6
" "	H.W. Stone etc. 5	46. 11. 10
" "	Tools & Materials	17. 2
" "	Carriage & Carting	15. 14. 8
		£138. 7. 11
May 12	P. to Dr. O.C. for 2 inscriptions	50. 0. 0
June 22	Goupil Gallery exp. etc.	19. 2. 8
" 6	Carriage & Carting	13. 2. 6
Aug 16	bill " "	8. 2. 0

fig. 5: Page listing payments for various work relating to job no. 1021 (all sculptures made for the Goupil Gallery exhibition in February 1928), from “Ledger, June 1927 to September 1933.”

¹⁷ Published by the St Dominic’s Press, Ditchling in 1918 (first published in *The Highway* in June 1917).

¹⁸ Quote from *Carving Mountains: Modern Stone Sculpture in England 1907–1937* (Kettle’s Yard Exhibition Catalogue. Cambridge, 1998), p.17.

“The Decadent 1890s: English Literary Culture and the Fin de Siècle,” A National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Seminar, June 22-July 24, 2009

JOSEPH BRISTOW, *Professor of English, UCLA*

At 9:30 a.m. on Monday, June 22, 2009, fifteen visiting scholars assembled around a large square arrangement of tables in the drawing room of the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library. For three hours on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday mornings (apart from Independence Day), across the course of five busy weeks, these colleagues, who had traveled from many different parts of the United States, would convene to discuss some of the more contentious writings associated with London’s literary *fin de siècle*. With the unfailing assistance of the Clark staff (particularly the graduate student assistant, Chris Bullock), our experience of the library could not have run more smoothly. Time and again, our helpful librarians—Bruce

Whiteman and Carol Sommer—alerted us to items in the library that supported our readings. Moreover, Manuscript and Archives Librarian, Becky Fenning enabled us to understand the best ways of using the online finding-tools to navigate through the Clark’s extensive catalogue.

Generously sponsored by the National Endowment for the Humanities, this summer seminar brought together researchers at different stages of their careers, all of whom wanted to share and expand their knowledge of “The Decadent 1890s”: the “naughty” decade that featured the emergence of the Rhymers’ Club, the appearance of the *Yellow Book* and the *Savoy*, and the sentencing of Oscar Wilde to two years in solitary confinement with hard labor. It was a controversial age in which writers such as Arthur Machen made the Gothic look more perverse than ever before. At the same time, this much talked-about period witnessed the growth of “New Woman” fictions by outspoken writers such as George Egerton (Mary Chavelita Dunne Bright) and Ella D’Arcy. Moreover, the decade brought to prominence several gifted women poets, such as “Michael Field” (Katharine Bradley and Edith Cooper), Alice Meynell, and Dollie Radford, whose writings radically revise the lyric tradition. In the world of art, it was the time when the *enfant terrible* of the era, Aubrey Beardsley, shot to fame before going to a very early grave. And by 1900, when the Victorian age would soon officially expire, the reign of “Decadence” would come to an end once Arthur Symons (the poet and critic who had brought the term to the attention of English-speaking audiences in 1893) turned his back on a word that had been unhelpfully linked with the worst kinds of degeneracy and dissipation.

This was the second time that I had the privilege to direct a five-week NEH seminar at the Clark. (The first occasion was in 2007, when fifteen scholars convened at the Clark to explore the library’s unrivaled archival resources relating to Wilde and his circle.) I encouraged the visiting scholars to make as much use as possible of the Clark’s remarkable holdings, which include not only the Oscar Wilde collection but also smaller archives that include George Egerton’s letters and Dollie Radford’s manuscripts. Each and every seminar member brought a tremendous amount of goodwill to a series of lively debates that encouraged everyone involved to re-evaluate his or her critical approach to this brief but significant period of literary history. Furthermore, the seminar provided the visitors with access not just to the Clark but also UCLA’s magnificent library system, which enabled them to advance their current research projects on late-Victorian literary history.

Kasey Baker (Texas A&M—Kingsville), who specializes in Victorian poetry, provided us with close and exacting interpretations of *fin-de-siècle* lyrics. Megan Becker-Leckrone (University of Nevada—Las Vegas), who edits *The Pater Newsletter*, heightened our awareness of the relevance of literary theory whenever we addressed critical problems arising from our study of the 1890s. Sally (“Brooke”) Cameron (Concordia University) contributed her understanding of the ways in which late-Victorian and early twentieth-century writings depict women’s position in an economic system that is shifting emphasis from production to consumption. Tracy Collins (Central Michigan University) expanded our knowledge of the “New Woman” as a figure that emerged when girls and young women were taught athletics and gymnastics in school.

Marc DiPaolo (who, until recently, taught at Alvernia University) used his time at the Clark to complete an essay that compares Wilde’s *Intentions* to Tolstoy’s *What Is Art?* Meanwhile, Lisa Hager (University of Wisconsin—

Waukesha) not only expounded on her insights into *fin-de-siècle* fictions that represent women mentors; she also went out of her way to assist those of us who needed help with the increasing demands that technology places on our research. Emily Harrington (Pennsylvania State University) helped us understand many of the finer points of Michael Field’s and Alice Meynell’s poetics; currently, she is completing a full-length study of emotional intimacy in late-Victorian women’s poetry. Kate Henderson (Arkansas State University) taught us much about the ways in which women writers of the 1890s made advances in the short story form. Simon Joyce (College of William and Mary) elucidated the evolution of naturalism in English literary culture at this time.

Kristin Mahoney (Western Washington University) threw extensive light on the manner in which types of literary aestheticism and Decadence persisted after 1900, especially in the work of Frederick Rolfe (“Baron Corvo”) and Max Beerbohm. Diana Maltz (Southern Oregon University) generously shared her immense knowledge of the links between socialism and aestheticism, especially in connection with the Fellowship of the New Life, with which a number of prominent 1890s writers were associated. Beth Newman (Southern Methodist University) enabled us to see the richness of literary allusion in many of our readings, particularly the lyrics of Michael Field. So Park (Gustavus Adolphus College) broadened our awareness of the style in which religious discourse remains embedded in many of the secular literary writings of the period. Julie Townsend (Redlands University), whose research is based in nineteenth-century French studies, clarified how avant-garde literary developments in Paris traveled to London during this decade. And Julie Wise (University of South Carolina) made successive raids into the Dollie Radford archive; her discoveries have expanded her current work on poetic form and political attitudes in the Victorian period.

In our final week, we had the opportunity to develop our discussions and researches with two distinguished visitors, Mark Samuels Lasner and Margaret D. Stetz (both of the University of Delaware). These renowned scholars have an unmatched base of research in the literature of the English *fin de siècle*. Mr. Lasner, who is famous for his remarkable collection of rare books from the 1880s and 1890s, gave a richly textured talk on Oscar Wilde’s presentation copies. Professor Stetz, who is an expert on women writers of the 1890s, illuminated our understanding of George Egerton’s creative and personal intimacy with Norwegian novelist, Knut Hamsun. Most kindly, Professor Stetz, when she learned that we planned to discuss the *Savoy* magazine, delivered an additional paper on this pioneering periodical. Many of the seminar members took the opportunity to meet with Mr. Lasner and Professor Stetz on an individual basis.

Plans are afoot to bring the fruits of “The Decadent 1890s” to a public audience in October 2010. The Center for 17th- and 18th-Century Studies aims to sponsor a day-and-a-half conference featuring papers by the visiting scholars. In all probability, the proceedings will provide the basis for an edited collection of essays. In the meantime, the seminar members remain in regular contact through a “Google” discussion ring, and already it is clear that some of us will be forming panels and giving papers at conferences where we can continue to impart our growing knowledge of England’s literary *fin de siècle*.

The WILDE ARCHIVE: Researching Fin-de-Siècle Culture and Writing (English 181F-1)

The Wilde Archive, the Ahmanson undergraduate seminar for spring 2010, will be directed by Joseph Bristow, English, UCLA. Sessions will be held at the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library on Tuesdays, from 1:00 p.m. to 3:50 p.m. Enrollment is limited to ten participants, and those who successfully complete course requirements will receive an award of \$1,000.

Using the extensive resources of the Oscar Wilde archive held at the Clark Library, this seminar focuses on different ways of researching topics relating to both the writer's controversial life and his links with other artists and writers of the 1880s and 1890s. The seminar draws on published and unpublished materials to consider such issues as Wilde's income, his successes on the London stage, the trials of 1895, his prison years, his links with publishers such as John Lane and Elkin Mathews, and his relations with painters and

illustrators such as Aubrey Beardsley, Charles Ricketts, and James Whistler. This seminar will be of particular interest to undergraduates who wish to acquire advanced research skills in the humanities. Course requirements include two research papers.

During the week of March 8, 2010, Joseph Bristow will conduct interviews with students who would like to enroll. Prospective students should submit the following documents to Professor Bristow: a letter explaining their reasons for wanting to enroll in class, a print-out of their DPR, and a resumé containing contact information. The documents should be submitted to Professor Bristow in the UCLA English Department Main Office by Friday, February 26, 2010. Phone: 310-825-4173



Portrait of Oscar Wilde drawn by Albert Sterner, dated [18]91. Autograph of Wilde appears in the corner.

The Year at a Glance: Academic and Public Programs, 2009–10

Programs are held at the Clark unless otherwise noted. Detailed, frequently updated information about the year's programs appears on the Center's website (<http://www.humnet.ucla.edu/humnet/c1718cs/>); registration and concert reservation forms are posted to the site well in advance of deadlines for their receipt. Program brochures are mailed to subscribers at the beginning of fall, winter and spring terms. For additional information, please call 310-206-8552.

30–31 October. *Stories of Saint-Domingue, Stories of Haiti: Representing the Haitian Revolution, 1789–2009*. Conference arranged by Jeremy Popkin.

1 November. *Chamber Music at the Clark*: Augustin Hadelich and Ian Parker.

7 November. *Kenneth Karmiole Lecture on the History of the Book Trade*: Michael Suarez lecture titled *Learned Book Illustrations, their Patrons, and the Vagaries of the Trade in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century England*.

15 November. *Chamber Music at the Clark*: Aviv String Quartet.

4–5 December. *Cultures of Communication, Theologies of Media in Early Modern Europe and Beyond*—Session 1: *Theology as Media Theory*. First session of the year's four-part core program, arranged by Ulrike Strasser and Christopher Wild, Center and Clark Professors, 2009–2010 (see pp.1–2).

22–23 January. *Media of Reform between the Local and the Global*. Second session of the year's core program.

31 January. *Chamber Music at the Clark*: Leipzig String Quartet.

7 February. *Poetry Afternoons at the Clark*: Nathaniel Tarn.

14 February. *Chamber Music at the Clark*: Ebène Quartet.

26–27 February. *The Arts and Sciences in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Naples: Discovering the Past, Inventing the Future*. Conference arranged by John Marino.

5–6 March. *Multimediality: Print Culture in Context*. Third session of the year's core program.

7 March. *Chamber Music at the Clark*: Artemis Quartet.

21 March. *Chamber Music at the Clark*: Kevin Kenner.

23–24 April. *Religious Media and the Birth of Aesthetics*. Conclusion of the year's core program.

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