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A Message from the Acting Director

Patrick Coleman, *Professor of French and Francophone Studies*

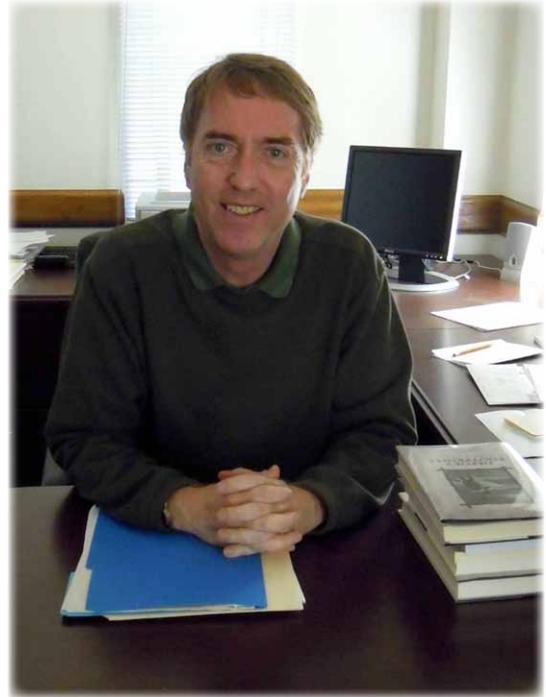
As this year draws to a close, I would like to say what a privilege it has been to serve as Acting Director of the Center and the Clark. A great part of that privilege has been the opportunity to become better acquainted with some of the many people who share the enthusiasm of the faculty, librarians, and staff for the life and work of this institution.

The mission of the Center and the Clark is to nurture, articulate, and share the new ideas that emerge from imaginative encounters with old books, and the new musical knowledge that can only be communicated when what has been written down is actualized in the immediacy of live performance. Our programs on poetry and the book arts also remind us of the irreplaceable contribution of verbal and material craftsmanship to the life of the mind through the education of the eye, the ear, and the hand. There is space here only to mention our year-long Core Program on “Cultures of Communication and Theologies of Media,” so ably directed by Christopher Wild (UCLA-University of Chicago) and Ulrike Strasser (UC Irvine), and so much enlivened by our Ahmanson-Getty postdoctoral scholars, Brendan Prawdzik, Jordana Rosenberg, and Tom Lolis.

But the life of the Center and the Clark is not only that of the scholars, performers, printers, and poets who appear on our stage. It is the life our audiences bring to us, through their intellectual curiosity for those new ideas, their informed appreciation of those performances, their concern for the preservation of precious books and manuscripts, and last but by no means least, the financial support that ensures that all these activities will continue to flourish in the future. Our final program was our annual event honoring the members of the Director’s Advisory Council and other donors and friends, and this year I was pleased to welcome as our speaker someone who combines the passions of both the scholar and the performer, Susan McClary, Distinguished Professor of Music and Vice-Provost of the International Institute here at UCLA.

There are many other people I wish to thank for making these activities possible. First, the wonderful staff at the Center, who have made everything run smoothly despite budget cuts and a shortage of personnel. Suzanne Tatian, Fritze Rodic, Alastair Thorne, and above all Candis Snoddy, our Assistant Director, have worked tirelessly and with unfailing good humor to keep our show on the road. I’d also like to thank our student assistants Brynn Burke and Nicole Kam, and our volunteers Annette Korbin, Jamie Henricks, and Ashley Johnston, for pitching in wherever they were needed to help out.

Of course, this institution wouldn’t be what it is without the dedication and loving attention to detail of our librarians. Bruce Whiteman, our Head Librarian, is unparalleled in his ability to discover the books we need to acquire, as well as his talent for identifying the needs we didn’t know we had until the remarkable books came in.



Acting Director Patrick Coleman, 2009–2010.

The poetry reading that he and Estelle Novak put on each year is a highlight of our public programs. The efforts Carol Sommer, Nina Schneider, Rebecca Fenning, and Scott Jacobs, along with Jennifer Bastian, Chris Bullock, and Derek Quezada, continue to bring our catalogue and other research tools up to date, to give a helping hand to that famous serendipity the scholars who come to the Clark so often talk about, and to deal with, shall we say, the quirks of our facilities, are nothing short of remarkable. Together with the active participation of our diverse audiences, the efforts of all these colleagues have been crucial in creating a dynamic and ever-renewed sense of community in the work of the Center and the Clark.

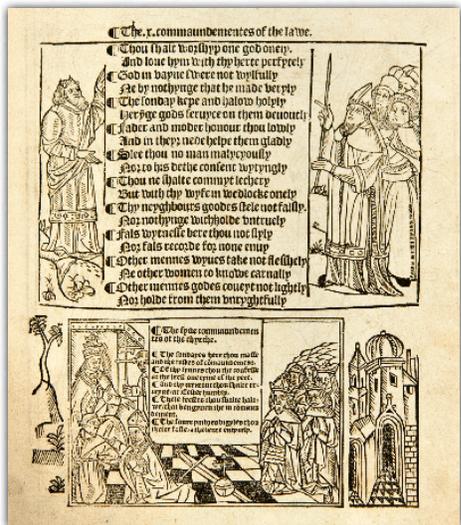
Shakespeare’s Reading List: Paul Chrzanowski’s Gift to the Clark

Bruce Whiteman, *Head Librarian*

Dr. Paul Chrzanowski, a physicist at the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, has donated a collection of books to the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library that constitutes the most important and valuable gift the Library has ever received. Chrzanowski received his Ph.D. from the University of Maryland, where he studied general relativity, and after post-doctoral studies at Oxford, Cambridge, and the University of Texas, he has spent his whole career at the Livermore

Laboratory.

Paul began collecting many years ago, and after focusing briefly first on fine press books and subsequently on antiquarian cartography, he decided to build a collection of English books around the theme of what William Shakespeare read or might have read. Even twenty years ago this was a brave undertaking, as such books were already very scarce on the market, not to mention expensive.



The first appearance of the Ten Commandments in English, printed by Wynkyn de Worde. *Fleur des Commandemens de Dieu*, London, 1510.

The resulting library of seventy-two books, spanning the years 1479 to 1731, constitutes an extraordinary collection—all of which the collector not only bought but read as well. The earliest book in the collection is *The Cordyal of the Four Last and Final Things*, a well known work on eschatology attributed to Gerard van Vliederhoven, printed by William Caxton (England's first printer) in 1479, of which only eleven other copies are known. This is the first Caxton to enter any University of California collection. Other rarities include the first edition of John Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*, printed by Richard Pynson in 1494; four books printed by Wynkyn de Worde, Caxton's successor, between 1495 and 1515; important texts probably known to Shakespeare such as Holinshed's *Chronicles* (1577) and North's translation of Plutarch (1579); a second edition (1613) of the King James version of the Bible; and the 1619 quarto edition of Shakespeare's *Henry the Sixth* as well as the second and fourth folios of the Shakespeare plays, 1632 and 1685 respectively. The only eighteenth-century book in the gift is the Wycliffe version of the English Bible, made in the late thirteenth century and known in many manuscript copies, but not actually printed until 1731.

This wonderful collection adds substantially to the Clark's holdings, especially in a period preceding the Clark's main area of strength (the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries). William Andrews Clark, Jr. focused on the period from 1660–1725, but he did also acquire a good deal of Shakespeare (as well as his Elizabethan and Jacobean contemporaries), and the Chrzanowski collection broadens and deepens the Clark's ability to provide substantial research material for scholars of English literature of the post-medieval period. The Clark and the Center are deeply grateful to Paul Chrzanowski for his generous gift.

[To view catalog records of all 72 books, go to <http://catalog.library.ucla.edu> from the Search and Find menu, click on UCLA Library Catalog and type "Chrzanowski" in the search field. Ultimately a printed catalog of the books will be published.]

Learned Book Illustrations and Their Patrons in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century England

Michael F. Suarez, S.J.

When Dryden's lavish folio *Works of Virgil* was delivered to subscribers in July 1697, it contained 101 leaves of plates variously signed by some of the finest designers and engravers of the seventeenth century: M. Vander Gucht, W. Hollar, F. Cleyn, and P. Lombart. Jonathan Swift mocked the *Virgil's* "Multiplicity of God-fathers" in his *A Tale of a Tub* (1704), a remark routinely interpreted as referring to the book's three dedicatees, Lords Clifford, Chesterfield, and Mulgrave. Ever the keen observer of the book trade, Swift was most probably also adverting to the fact that the London publisher Jacob Tonson had initiated a subscription for the plates at £5 each, every engraving having a dedicatory cartouche bearing an inscription and the arms of the benefactor.

Ostensibly, each patron was paying for the costs associated with producing a beautiful image to accompany Dryden's new translation. Thus, the *Works of Virgil* did not have three God-fathers, but more than one-hundred-and-three, all of them peers. Swift's joke may not stop there, however, because the plates in the Dryden-Tonson publication were not new productions at all. Tonson had somehow obtained the old plates (also sponsored by subscribing nobility) for John Ogilby's 1654 *Virgil*, simply erasing the earlier dedications and replacing them with new names and heraldic arms. Hence, the mischievous Swift might well be insinuating that this most respectable volume—



Works of Virgil, translated by John Dryden, published by Jacob Tonson, 1697.

the offspring of a revered poet working in close partnership with the outstanding literary publisher of his day—had not three God-fathers, nor even one-hundred-and-three, but a "Multiplicity" of more than two-hundred. Because Ogilby's original one-hundred subscribers had already paid for most of the costs associated with making the plates, the Dryden-Tonson *Virgil* was a dubious enterprise. Perhaps, Swift's jibe suggests, some patronage arrangements are more legitimate than others.

The ever-enterprising and often-innovative Tonson was no mere recycler, however. On certain plates the publisher decided to alter the faces appearing in the originals, making them portraits of particularly important subscribers. A good case in point is the plate facing Virgil's "Bucolicks" in the Ogilby edition, dedicated to William Seymour; under Tonson's direction, the generic rendering of a young rustic (with panpipe, shepherd's crook, and faithful pooch) is transformed to have the face of John Lord Somers, a great patron and close Tonson associate who had very recently been made Lord Chancellor of England. Similarly, when the Roman Catholic Dryden adamantly refused to dedicate his translation to William III, but chose instead three peers outspoken in their opposition to the monarch, Tonson sought to make amends to king and court by instructing his engraver to retouch the Ogilby plates so that Virgil's hero Aeneas clearly has William's distinctive

hooked nose. These and other instances of transfiguring a generic character into a recognizable dignitary inhabiting the classical scene, though hardly typical, raise fascinating questions about the dynamics of patronage for highly illustrated, learned folios in Restoration and early eighteenth-century England.

It was John Ogilby, the dancing-master-turned-publisher, who initiated the practice of plate subscription from English elites who proved only too willing to see their names on a Wenseslaus Hollar or Robert Vaughan engraving in a learned folio. English publishers—including Richard Blome, Henry Herringman, Jacob Tonson, and the Oxford University Press—adopted this practice for their most elaborate books in natural history, classics, heraldry, philosophy, history, and geography. Self-publishing authors such as Sir William Dugdale, arguably seventeenth-century England’s most distinguished antiquary, also availed themselves of such patronage.

Ogilby is chiefly thought of today, if he is thought of at all, as one among the many authors and booksellers whom Alexander Pope ridiculed in the *Dunciad* (1728, 1729, 1743), but he deserves a better remembrance. Ogilby was a dancer—he very likely performed in Ben Jonson’s masque *The Gypsies Metamorphosed* in 1621—who became a

bore London imprints and were produced in London—were printed using Dutch types (often on Dutch paper), and featured engravings predominantly by Dutch artists. The 1697 Tonson-Dryden *Virgil*, for example, presented its readers with a double-page title engraved by R. von Audenaerde, with beautiful historiated initials and elaborate headpieces by J. Baptiste after T. Goeree, and with the text in type (“Ascendonica”) by Dutchman Christoffel van Dijck. Additional engraving was provided by C. Huyberts. Hence, this milestone of ‘English’ book arts and ‘English’ publishing was in many respects a Dutch production.

Another work calculated to engender national pride was not a classical translation, but rather an edition of a classical work. *The Surviving Works of Julius Caesar (C. Julii Caesaris Quae Extant)*, edited by Samuel Clarke and published by Jacob Tonson in 1712, features 87 engraved plates and maps, many of them double-page. Dedicated to the Duke of Marlborough, victor in the Wars of Spanish Succession, this Latin work declares that the English general is the modern-day Caesar, drawing parallels between its English hero and his Roman forebear.

Perhaps the greatest instance of the book-as-monument in the whole of the eighteenth century, Tonson’s *Caesar* numbers among its



Works of Virgil, translated and published by John Ogilby in 1654.



John Milton's Paradise Lost, subscription edition published by Jacob Tonson in 1688.



Robert Plot's The Natural History of Oxfordshire published by Oxford University Press in 1677.

dancing-master, an occupation affording him many contacts among the nobility that would prove highly useful in the years to come. In the late 1640s, he became involved in translating classical works, which led him into publishing. His sumptuous *Virgil* (1654) is a monument of bookmaking in every respect, and the engravings are the volume’s pièce de résistance. The book had a long list of subscribers, but Ogilby hit upon the additional expedient of having an elite sponsor for each full-page illustration in order to defray the considerable expenses of its production: artist, engraver, metal plate, special paper, and printing on a rolling press wholly apart from the letterpress.

The £5 plate-subscription fee he charged was worth some £707 (or \$1,310) in 2008 purchasing power (the most recent year for which such comparisons are available), no trivial sum of money. If we calculate the fee in terms of average earnings, however, then the 2008 value of that £5 is an astonishing £7,950 (or \$14,700), a remarkable sum that gives some indication of the degree to which Ogilby’s *Virgil* and its publishing progeny were sponsored by and created for cultural and financial elites of the highest order.

Classical translations into English appealed to the nationalistic pride of knights, barons, viscounts, earls, marquesses, and dukes. Ironically, however, most plate-subscription books—although they

patrons Prince Eugene of Savoy (Marlborough’s co-commander at Blenheim), Christian Ludwig, Margrave of Brandenburg (for whom Bach composed the six eponymous concertos), and a host of English nobles. As before, this emblem of English achievement—Marlborough’s decisive generalship was much celebrated among England’s continental allies and Clarke’s editing was a notable scholarly milestone—was in many respects a Dutch book. The title page was engraved by C. Huyberts after Audenaerde and the portrait of Caesar is by J. de Leuw. Tonson himself traveled to Holland in 1703, the year after Marlborough’s great victory, to commission the engravings and to purchase the finest paper obtainable for the greatest book he would ever make. Regrettably, because this work (intended for Continental consumption as much as for an English audience) is entirely in Latin, book historians have largely neglected what may well be the most politically charged and triumphalist instance of English bookmaking in the eighteenth century.

A number of early plate-subscription books were products of industrious Anglican divines who found that Cromwell’s rise to power kept them from the mainstream of English public life, thus providing them with unanticipated time for scholarly work. (Brian Walton’s London Polyglot Bible in six commanding folios (1654–57), although

not a plate-subscription work, is the most celebrated instance of this phenomenon.) William Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum* (vol. 1, 1655; vol. 2, 1661), begun more than a decade before its initial publication and self-published with borrowed money, is a good example. Dugdale, like Ogilby, initiated a subscription to meet the costs of producing prospects of the great abbeys executed by Hollar and Daniel King. Although Ogilby's *Virgil* came into public view shortly before Dugdale's *Monasticon*, there is an argument to be made that the use of this publishing innovation in England begins with the herald-antiquary, rather than the quondam dancing-master.

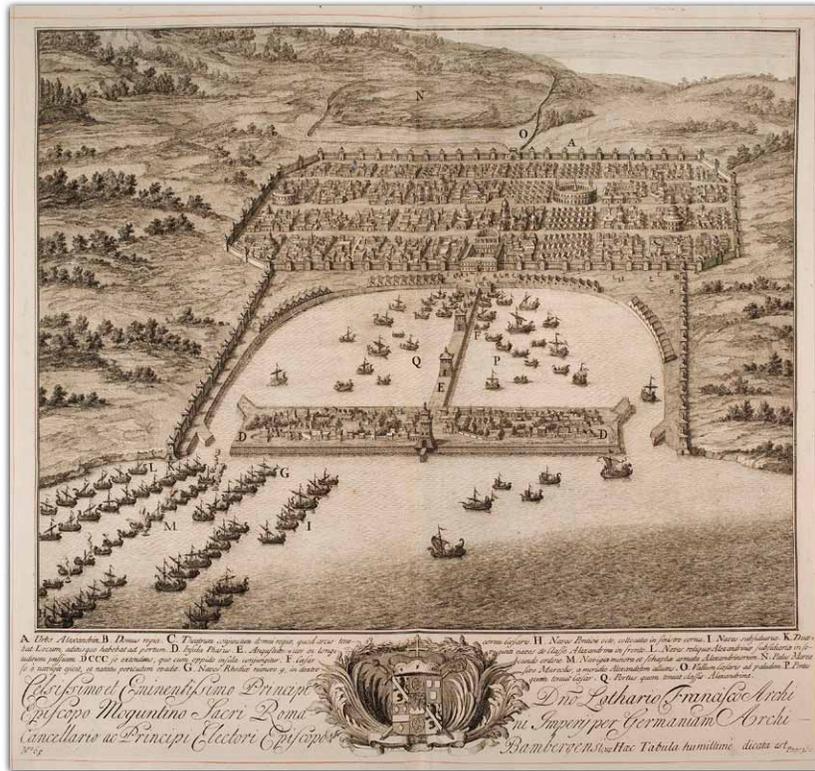
Whatever the case, Dugdale's first volume (which he sold to booksellers who then retailed it to customers) proved sufficiently successful to fund the second, which also featured full-page illustrations funded by subscription. Taken together, the two tomes had a profound effect on English historiography, establishing the central importance of "diplomatic" (literally, folded documents; hence our word "diploma"), or the study of charters, as primary research resources for medieval history. It may seem improbable that a book on English monasticism first published in Cromwell's Protectorate should prove so successful, but it is important to bear in mind that Dugdale, who was Chester Herald of Arms in Ordinary, found a large audience, not among the newly powerful, but among the old elites.

Many of the illustrations for the *Monasticon* became available for public consumption quite apart from Dugdale's erudition, when the English engraver Daniel King re-printed them (along with some new views) in *The Cathedrall and Conventuall Churches of England and Wales* (1656). Issued just a year after Dugdale's first volume, it makes no mention of either the *Monasticon* or its author; intriguingly, many of the plates are in different states, some of which clearly antedate those found in the *Monasticon*, indicating that King was producing his own volume even as he was preparing Dugdale's work. Evidence from the Stationers' Register suggests that, despite that antiquary's undertaking a subscription to finance the illustrations, the actual plates (in this case, etchings, rather than engravings) belonged to the artist King.

Strapped for cash, Dugdale most probably welcomed the savings he made by allowing King to own the plates, perhaps imagining that his collaborator would reuse the metal for new projects, rather than publish a book of his own. *The Cathedrall and Conventuall Churches* is thus akin to the Tonson-Dryden *Virgil* in that it recycles images from an earlier publication, but there the similarities end. Daniel King's volume came on the heels of Dugdale's tome, rather than a generation afterwards. Unlike the Tonson-Dryden production, the names and arms of all the original plate-subscribers were retained, so that the patrons of the *Monasticon Anglicanum* soon found themselves appearing as the gracious sponsors of a more accessible, popular, and moderately priced work than Dugdale's learned Latin monument of English ecclesiastical antiquities.

Scientific publications in fields as diverse as biology and astronomy—both highly dependent on accurately rendered illustrations—benefited considerably from plate subscriptions, even if such splendidly

produced works did not always prove to be financially successful. Francis Willughby's *De Historia Piscium* (1686), typically known as "Willughby's Fishes," was printed at great expense by the Oxford University Press for the Royal Society in London. John Ray, who is often said to be the father of English natural history, compiled, edited, and considerably augmented the work of his friend and close associate who had died in 1672. John Fell, famous for reviving the University Press and animating English typography by commissioning the "Fell types," supervised the work through the press.



C. Antii Caesaris Quate Exanti, edited by Samuel Clarke, published by Jacob Tonson, 1712.

Central to this innovative volume on ichthyology and taxonomy were 187 full-page engravings of fish and other sea creatures (e.g. eels, whales), all to be paid for by plate subscription. Sir Christopher Wren, Sir Hans Sloane, Thomas Gale, and Sir Tancred Robinson were among the distinguished company of sponsoring virtuosi. Samuel Pepys gave £50, enough to see his name (and title as president of the Royal Society) appear on seventy-nine plates, but even with such largesse, the project proved too ambitious for the Society, so severely straining its finances that it was unable to undertake the publication of Isaac Newton's *Principia Mathematica* (1687). It was said that the Society's resources became sufficiently illiquid to justify compensating its officers for a long time thereafter by offering them multiple copies of *De Historia Piscium* in lieu of cash.

Ironically, it was the Oxford antiquary Robert Plott who exhorted the Royal Society to take on a bountifully illustrated Willughby-Ray volume, urging that plate subscription would be the best way to underwrite the cost of a project guaranteed to impress. Plott's *Natural History of Oxfordshire* (1677), the work that secured him both his lofty post at Oxford—Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum and Professor of Chemistry—and his fellowship in the Royal Society, was among the Restoration's most successful books featuring subscribed plates. The professor's miscalculation was, it seems, chiefly one of scale. With its 187 illustrations, "Willughby's Fishes" was far and away the largest plate-subscription project undertaken in the seventeenth century.

Plott's *Oxfordshire*, in contrast, had a mere sixteen views. His *Natural History of Staffordshire* (1686), which appeared in the same year as the "Fishes" and was issued from the same press, had 37 plates, one-fifth of what one finds in the Royal Society's blockbuster (and bank-breaking) undertaking.

Booksellers, self-financing authors, and learned societies all found plate subscription a useful expedient to finance the substantial, up-front production costs associated with large-scale book illustration. Of all the many kinds of publishing projects employing this form of patronage, county histories were consistently the most fiscally successful, not least because each region had a ready supply of wealthy landowners who were only too happy to see their estates portrayed in such a work. Moreover, patrons were easily identified and very likely to have a genuine interest in the volume's success. The market for a county history was reasonably well defined and the principal distribution network already established. Hence, it is easy to understand why this genre continued to attract subscriptions for etchings and engravings throughout the eighteenth century, even when the practice was in decline for other kinds of publishing projects. Plott was over-confident about the success of *De Historia Piscium* because his experience of illustration subscriptions for the two county histories he authored was naturally focused, reasonably limited, and highly congenial.

Plate subscription was but one of several innovative fiscal strategies that Ogilby, Tonson, and their contemporaries employed to address the problem of financing works that were especially expensive to produce. (Many friends of the Clark will recall, for example, Tonson's elaborate subscription edition of *Paradise Lost* [1688].) As my research continues, I want to know more about the patrons of plate-subscription books: their political activities, networks of association, and cultural affinities. I also hope to deepen my understanding of the financial strategies developed to address the ever-present problems of capitalization and cash flow among the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century publishers.

I am thinking too about the commercial and cultural legacies of plate subscription, a practice that may have had important implications for Alexander Pope's highly inventive Homer subscriptions (*Iliad*, pub. 1715–20; *Odyssey*, pub. 1725–6), as well as the printing and financing of his 1717 *Works*. In Joseph Spence's *Anecdotes*, Pope's friend reports that Ogilby's translation of Homer ["that great edition with pictures," as Pope called it] "was one of the first large poems that ever Mr. Pope read" when he was "about eight years old." Spence also records that Pope in his old age "spoke of the pleasure it then gave him, with a sort of rapture."

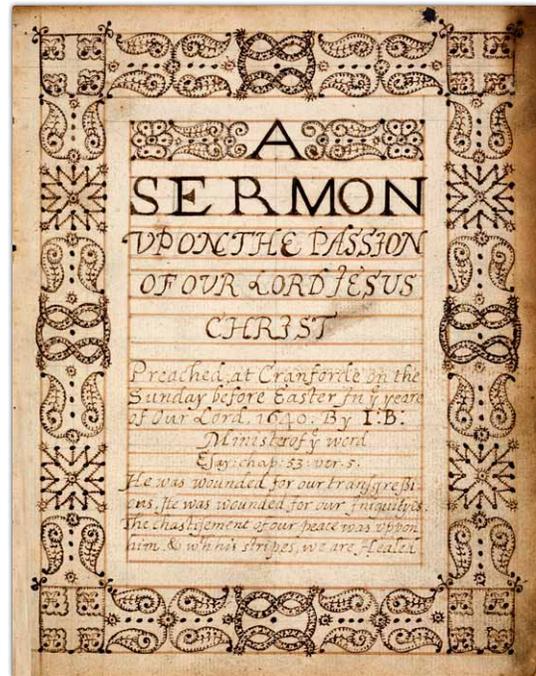
Regrettably, there is no modern study of plate subscription, despite its considerable impact on book-trade practices and the publication of genuinely important learned works all the way into the first decades of the nineteenth century. In the Fifth Annual Kenneth Karmiole Lecture on the History of the Book Trade, I gathered and scrutinized examples of this fascinating but hitherto scarcely-recognized book species, charting its genesis and efflorescence. The encouragement of the Lecture's generous patron, of my learned auditors, and of the Clark Library gives me cause to hope that in the fullness of time seventeenth- and eighteenth-century English plate-subscription books will have their stories told in a richly-illustrated, learned 'folio' of their own.

[Michael F. Suarez, S.J. is Director of the Rare Book School at the University of Virginia and co-editor of *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, Volume 5, 1695–1830 (2009) and *The Oxford Companion to the Book* (2010). He delivered the Fifth Annual Kenneth Karmiole Lecture on the History of the Book Trade at the Clark Library in November 2009.]

Reading John Bourcher's Seventeenth-Century Gift Book

Andrea C. Lawson

John Bourcher presented a hand-written and embellished book, "A Sermon Upon The Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ," to Michael and Elizabeth Bowyer, in 1640.¹ As the first page of the manuscript reveals, the author preached a portion of the text at Cranford shortly before Easter in the same year that he gave it to the Bowyers. He decorates his title page with carefully penned borders of geometric stars, leaves, and coils of rope. The painstakingly drawn shapes emphasize the handmade nature of an object that functions as a reminder to the recipient of the giver. By penning a book, John Bourcher offers his identifying gift, or strength, and attempts to prompt the Bowyers to think of him when



Decorated title page of a sermon and poem written by John Bourcher and given to his patron friends Mr. & Mrs. Michael Bowyer in 1640.

they read it. But this can only work if the Bowyers recognize and value Bourcher in the gift. According to Mark Osteen, "it is givers and receivers who imbue objects with the personality of the original giver and who therefore perceive some spirit within objects that preserves the imprint of the original owner."² Both giver and recipient can maintain the link that the gift offers by remaining of one mind about the manner of its receipt, interpretation, and reciprocation. Bourcher attempts to guarantee such unification by using his dedications to direct the Bowyer's interactions with his text.

The dedications create the character that the recipient should embody, as he reads and acts upon their messages. Once the title page establishes the fundamental elements of the text, Bourcher launches into his dedication to Michael Bowyer. Bowyer (1599–1645) was a principal actor for both Queen Henrietta's Men and the King's Men. For the function of this text, he is John Bourcher's "only True, and therefore worthily Respected Freind, and Benefactor." It is important to note that patronage and gift giving were not separable economies. Sharon Kettering notes "gift-giving was a euphemism for patronage, the material assistance and protection of a patron. Clientage was the loyal service that a client owed in exchange, sometimes disguised as voluntary assistance."³ Thus it is compulsory for Bourcher to address

his patrons, to play the role of a gift-giver as well as a supplicant for patronage in his dedicatory address.

On a page decorated with flowers and stars, Bourcher sends another clear message (although first delivered in Latin): “A Benefit received, requires A Duty at the handes of the Receaver.” Bourcher feels indebted to Bowyer and seeks a way to repay him. Bourcher may also, of course, use the excuse of feeling obligated to subtly solicit further patronage from Bowyer. Arthur Marotti agrees that the burgeoning print culture insured that

through the praise and idealization that supposedly enhanced the patron’s current and future esteem and reputation, writers presented themselves not simply as dependents, but also as parties to an (albeit unequal) gift exchange, empowered by the immediate and continuing efficacy of the print medium whose material features memorialized author and patron simultaneously.⁴

Bourcher attempts to create an unequal gift exchange in which he plays the humble author, while offering a gift that his reader cannot adequately reciprocate: memorialization.

Bourcher claims that ingratitude is a heavy sin, and in order to avoid it, he must find a way to thank the Bowyers. He explains that “As I have bene Partaker of your Purse, so you should be partaker of some of the fruits of my Labours.” He speaks of the exchange of money for a hand-copied sermon in terms of consumption, and all are intimately connected through this consumption and production. Bourcher takes money from Bowyer in order to live as a minister, writing and delivering sermons to the people of Cranford. Bourcher’s sermons, or fruits, grow from the money, so it is appropriate to give these sermons back to the man who facilitated them. Bourcher shows Bowyer what his funds have sponsored. Bourcher explains that the book contains three sermons, two of which were delivered to an appreciative audience, and a Passion poem. He tells us that sickness, one that he does not believe he will recover from, keeps him away from the pulpit, and apparently allows him time to pen the book. This is also not just a gift of thanks, but perhaps a farewell gift as well, that gives directions for its use: “If it shall please you, at your leysure, to Redde it over, you cannot but say, that I wrote it feelingly, for that, therein, myne owne state, and condition is paynted out, to the life.” Bourcher leaves a piece of himself behind in the text through its content. It is written and decorated by his hand, as he lies ill and unable to continue his work. A reminder of his illness may also be another gentle reference to his need for continued patronage.

Bourcher closes the embellished dedication by marking his Passion poem as dedicated to Elizabeth Bowyer, with the sermons evidently designated for Michael Bowyer. Bourcher prettily writes that he

must include both spouses in the text in order to best represent the nature of their relationship, which is united in “One Bed, One Hart,



Dedication to Michael Bowyer. Page + detail.



and One Love.”

Bourcher, finished with the content of the book and the directions for its use, has only to explain to his dedicatee how he should reciprocate. According to Bourcher, Bowyer should “keep it by you, that, looking

upon it, nowe, and then, when He is Dead, and gonne. He may still live in your Remembraunce.” Bourcher simply communicates, use the book, and remember me when you do. Bourcher continues the gift chain by writing that if Bowyer does this, he will pray for his safe journey to Heaven. By taking these steps, dying or not, Bourcher takes control of the relationship by scripting its future. Bowyer gave him money, and this dedication communicates that Bourcher reciprocates with the book, then Bowyer should in turn respond by reading the book and thinking of the author, and the author will then pray for him. Bourcher, while claiming he has no means of reciprocating, actually pens words that create three links in the chain of their relationship.

Bourcher’s second dedication, to Elizabeth Bowyer, follows the sermons and precedes the Passion poem. Bourcher continues with the concept of the book as an active, living object by stating, “Goe Little Booke, Present thy Masters Love To Her, who is The choycest Turtle Dove of His best freind.” Bourcher writes himself as the master

of the book, directing its role in her life. He distances himself from her at the same time, though, by stating that he loves her because she is his best friend’s wife. This book, therefore, acts as an intermediary for



Dedication to Elizabeth Bowyer. Page + detail.



Bourcher so that he does not have to directly address

Mrs. Bowyer: in the dedication, he simply tells the book what it should say to her. Bourcher writes this dedication in rhyming couplets, praising the beauty of the woman and her soul in a traditional manner. Even though Bourcher has already designated himself as permanently indebted to the Bowyers, and on his deathbed, he again takes charge of them through the text by insisting on praying for a Godly life for Mrs. Bowyer. By doing so, he directs her future actions just as he does with her husband. She must

love her God with all Her Hart,
And with Good Mary, choose the better part,
That she may meditate upon the Crosse
Where Her Redeemer, with his owne lives losse
Purchast Her freedome from Hells deepe abisse.

Bourcher puts himself in a position of authority over his patroness by showing her how valuable the content of his book is. He then uses the rest of the dedicatory poem to introduce us to the subject of the poem: the Passion. He directs the book to “spread ope thy leaves” so that Mrs. Bowyer may benefit from its content. This living text takes Bourcher’s place in their home and promotes the continuation of their relationship, cemented by the exchange of objects.



John Bourcher's closing to the Bowyers.

[continued on page 10]

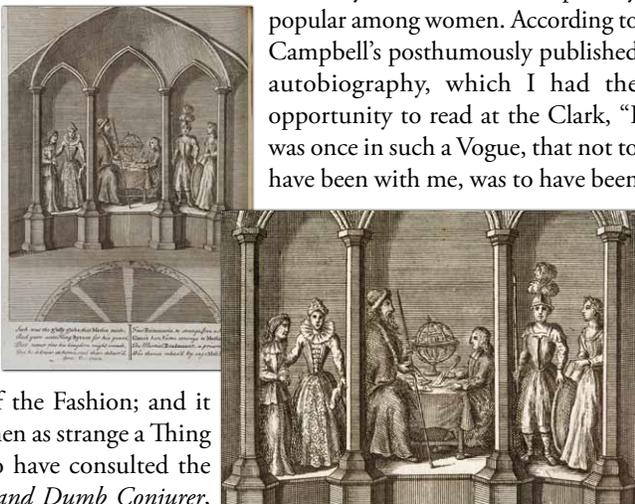
Merlin's Cave, Duncan Campbell, and Female Futurity in the Early Eighteenth Century

Jennifer Locke

The Rarities of Richmond (1736), a copy of which is available at the Clark Library, describes two installations commissioned in 1732 by Queen Caroline: the Hermitage, which included a series of busts honoring important men in science and theology, and Merlin's Cave, which featured a tableau of wax figures. B. Sprague Allen calls the construction of these two structures one of the few "comic incidents" in gardening's history and mocks their "hybrid" construction, calling Queen Caroline's taste "absurd."¹ Others, however, have pointed to the more serious political statements inherent in both structures, especially Merlin's Cave.² This "cave," really a thatched hut, contained wax figures depicting Britain's past and future. In the center of this structure were two figures representing Merlin and his secretary, and surrounding them were figures of powerful British women, including, most sources agree, Henry VII's queen and Queen Elizabeth. Two other figures have been variously identified: one is either Minerva, Britomart, Britannia, or Bradamante; the other is either Queen Elizabeth's nurse, Britomart's nurse, Melissa (the prophetess who accompanied Bradamante), or Mother Shipton.³ Judith Colton argues that Queen Caroline hoped the figures would represent her ability to unite Britain through a connection to its Arthurian past.⁴ However, her choice to depict Merlin was controversial and set the queen up for ridicule because of Merlin's associations with charlatan magicians and the opposition's desire to equate Walpole with this kind of charlatanism.⁵ Whatever the cave signified, it clearly had cultural and commercial power; it inspired miniature replicas and several theatrical productions that included Merlin as a character or even took place within the cave.⁶

What scholars writing on Merlin's Cave have not emphasized is the importance of the object towards which Merlin is directing his gaze. *The Rarities of Richmond* describes Merlin "sitting at a Table in a musing Posture . . . his Eyes cast towards that Shelf, in the Nich [sic] next him, whereon stands the Life and Predictions of the late celebrated *Duncan Campbell* the *North-British* Conjurur."⁷ Duncan Campbell (1680-1730), whom Colton briefly calls "a latter-day Merlin,"⁸ was a deaf and dumb Scotsman who was the eighteenth century's most famous practitioner of the second sight, and who had died not long before Merlin's Cave was constructed. He was a celebrity in London, and especially popular among women. According to Campbell's posthumously published autobiography, which I had the opportunity to read at the Clark, "I was once in such a Vogue, that not to have been with me, was to have been

Frontispiece of Merlin and his secretary in center flanked by figures of important British women, part III of *Rarities of Richmond*. Page + detail.



out of the Fashion; and it was then as strange a Thing not to have consulted the *Deaf and Dumb Conjurur*, as it is now not to have seen



Engraved frontispiece of Merlin's Cave, part II of *Rarities of Richmond*, London, 1736.

the *Beggars Opera* half a dozen Times, or to admire *Polly Peachum*."⁹ Campbell claims many members of the Royal Cabinet sought his predictions, and that Queen Anne herself was "no Stranger to my Scrawls."¹⁰ He counted among a list of "my Friends" such well-known female writers as Susanna Centlivre, Martha Fowke, and Eliza Haywood.¹¹ As a predictor whose primary clientele were women, Campbell was at the center of debates about women's futures in the 1720s, and varying accounts of his predictions reveal larger concerns about the nature of futurity, who was authorized to read the future, and the ways in which gender was employed in these debates. His placement in the cave near Merlin and powerful female British figures suggests new possibilities for women as Merlin seems to receive renewed inspiration from Campbell's second sight.

I arrived at the Clark in the summer of 2009 hoping to find useful material for a dissertation on eighteenth-century visions of the future that discussed the second sight alongside various other modes of projecting futurity. In this project, I argue that the eighteenth-century novel provided a medium through which writers could experiment with, test, and critique various ideas about the future, and that eighteenth-century women writers in particular turned to marginalized forms of projection (such as fortunetelling and the second sight) because they lacked access to many of the economic, political, scientific and social institutions that prescribed individuals' futures. The Clark possesses a rich archive of eighteenth-century cultural material that helped me investigate some of these varied forms of projection, including astrological almanacs, treatises on the second sight, and various accounts of Duncan Campbell's life and work as a soothsayer. While I knew a little bit about Campbell and Eliza Haywood's interest in him before my month at the Clark Library, it was not until I spent time reading through the archive that I realized the extent to which women are central to accounts of the second sight. Parallels between Campbell and female superstition were often used to denounce his authority, while some of Campbell's strongest defenders were women writers who claimed that they were empowered by the information he provided them about their futures.

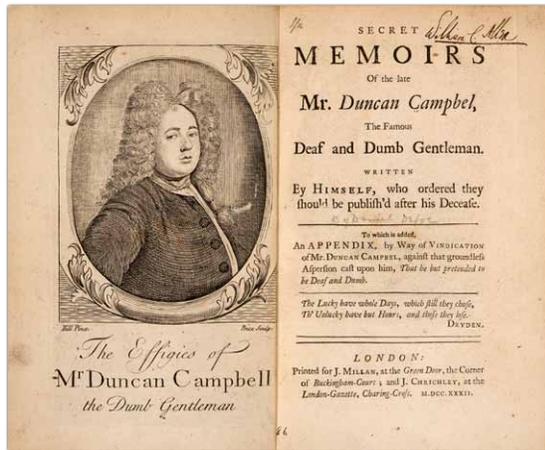
In Eliza Haywood's *A Spy on the Conjurer* (1725), the narrator Justicia reflects with awe on the first time that Campbell revealed her fortune to her. She remembers that "It was in his Hand-Writing I first beheld the dear fatal Name, which has since been the Utter Destruction of my Peace" and "in his Predictions [that] I saw the Ruin of my Fortune in the Loss of my Father."¹² What is remarkable about this passage is that Campbell has not only shared his knowledge of the future with Justicia, but allowed her herself to envision it; after reading Campbell's predictions, she "beheld" the name of her ruiner, and "saw" the downfall of her fortune. Justicia comes to believe in Campbell because of the

century. Tremendous interest in Campbell led to his use as a literary placeholder for many different ways of thinking about futurity. My attempts to untangle these various representations shifted my focus unexpectedly, as Campbell moved from being a small part of a chapter on Haywood to the central topic of the chapter itself.

(Endnotes)

- 1 B. Sprague Allen. *Tides in English Taste*. Vol. II. (New York: Pageant Books, Inc., 1958), pp. 135-6.
- 2 See Judith Colton. "Merlin's Cave and Queen Caroline: Garden Art as Political Propaganda." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 10.1 (1976), pp. 1-20, and Paula Backscheider. "The Shadow of an Author: Eliza Haywood." *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 11.1 (1998), pp. 79-102.
- 3 For identifications of the figures, I am indebted to Colton.
- 4 Colton, p. 13.
- 5 *Ibid*, pp. 15-16.
- 6 See Allen, pp. 137-8.
- 7 *The Rarities of Richmond*. (London: 1736), p. 9. William Andrews Clark Memorial Library.
- 8 Colton, p. 10.
- 9 *Secret Memoirs of the Late Mr. Duncan Campbel, the Famous Deaf and Dumb Gentleman*. (London, 1732), pp. 13-14. Clark Library.
- 10 *Ibid*, p. 12.
- 11 *Ibid*, p. 131.
- 12 Eliza Haywood. *A Spy on the Conjurer*. (London, 1725), p. 13. Clark Library.
- 13 Martha Fowke. *The Epistles of Clio and Strephon*. (London, 1720), pp. 14-15.

Frontispiece and title page to Duncan Campbell's posthumously published autobiography, 1732.



accuracy of his fortune-telling, but Haywood seems more interested in him because of the opportunities his shared sight affords women. Indeed, Haywood's characterization of Campbell as someone who can pass his gift along to women is picked up even more strongly in an epistolary poem penned by Martha Fowke in 1732, and dedicated to Campbell:¹³

...Among the Thousand Wonders, thou hast shown
 I, in a Moment, am a Poet grown;
 The rising Images each other meet,
 Fall into Verse, and Dance away with Feet;
 Now with thy *Cupid* and thy *Lamb* I rove,
 Thro' every Bloomy-Mead, and fragrant Grove.
 A thousand Things, I can, my self, Divine,
 Thy little *Genii* whisper 'em to Mine . . .

Here, Campbell inspires the speaker to become a poet. Her knowledge of him allows her, too, a special kind of vision in which she can see images and arrange them into verse. She too interacts with his familiars (the cupid, lamb, and genii), and is able to divine herself "A thousand Things" in the future. She compares the second sight with the art of representation, arguing that seeing and hearing these images and becoming a poet who arranges them are parallel functions. She and Campbell thus share both insight and the talent of placing visions into language.

When viewed in the context of Haywood's and Fowke's writings on Campbell, the incorporation of Campbell's book in the cave takes on a new importance. In the cave, Merlin looks to the second sight for inspiration rather than a present-day political or economic advisor because the second sight could go beyond the limitations of institutions that excluded and systematically disempowered women. Finding *The Rarities of Richmond* along with the vast quantity of other materials on Duncan Campbell at the Clark enabled me to clarify the extent to which Campbell was an especially important figure for reimagining female futurity, and to draw wider conclusions about the connections between epistemology, gender, and power in the early eighteenth

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Connecting Eighteenth-Century Print and Manuscript Practices: The "Pleasures of Marriage" talks back to *The Pleasures of a Single Life*

Cheryl Nixon

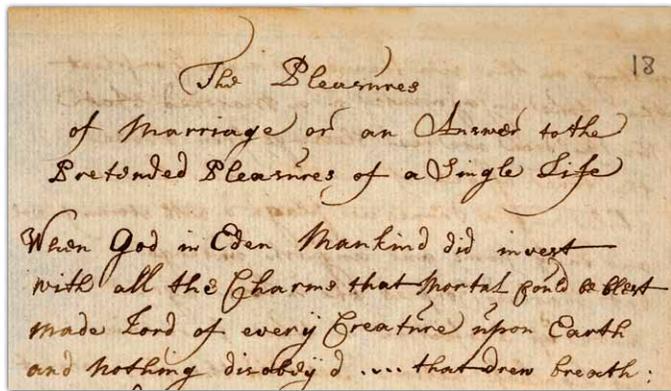
A 218-line poem held at the Clark Library presents detailed arguments in favor of marriage, asking, for example,

What Pleasures can be greater than a Wife
 In Lawful Charms to Lead a pleasant Life?
 Nothing on this side Heaven is more compleat
 Than the time enjoyed in a married State¹

As its title, "The Pleasures of Marriage, or an Answer to the Pretended Pleasures of a Single Life" (1705), indicates, this poem is responding to a caustic critique of marriage offered by *The Pleasures of a Single Life, or the Miseries of Matrimony* (1701).² Attributed to Ned (Edward) Ward, this poem opens with the lines,

Wedlock, Oh! Curss'd uncomfortable State,
 Cause of my Woes, and Object of my hate
 How Bless'd was I? Ah, once how happy me?
 When I from thy uneasy Bonds was free,

These two poems participate in a popular debate that not only explores the pleasures of marriage, but seems to enact the pleasures of cheap print pamphleting. Additional titles held by the Clark include *An Answer to the Pleasures of a Single Life: Or the Comforts of Marriage Confirm'd and Vindicated* (1701), *The Fifteen Comforts of Matrimony* (1706), and *The Fifteen Comforts of Whoring, or The Pleasures of a Town-life*



Close-up of the front page of a hand-written poem, "The Pleasures of Marriage," which closes with, "Written by a young lady that wants a bedfellow, 1705."

(1706), among many others.³ Loosely categorized as marriage tracts, these works evidence an audience engaged in constructing the social meaning of marriage and using literary forms in a dialogic and even combative manner in order to do so.

What the Clark Library holdings reveal to be most interesting about this popular debate, however, is that it occurs in both manuscript and print. "The Pleasures of Marriage" is an eight-leaf manuscript comprised of small (7" x 4 1/2"), now-unbound leaves. Crammed full of tiny, carefully-formed and error-free script, it constitutes an example of what Harold Love famously terms "scribal publication" or the copying and circulation of manuscript texts within a well-defined marketplace for script.⁴ Even with the wide-ranging electronic resources available today, I have not yet been able to locate a printed copy of "The Pleasures of Marriage." However, this manuscript is clearly a participant in a popular social debate that might be wrongly understood as occurring only within print.

Investigating "The Pleasures of Marriage" and its pamphleting context not only allows the tracing of a lively "back and forth" relationship between popular print and popular manuscript, but encourages a reevaluation of that relationship. In addition to countering to the arguments offered by *The Pleasures of a Single Life*, this manuscript mimics elements of several additional print poems, indicating that it is a knowing response to and skillful interweaving of its printed companions. For example, it opens with an invocation of Eden, which is similarly featured in the first lines of the earlier *An Answer to the Pleasures of a Single Life: Or the Comforts of Marriage Confirm'd and Vindicated*. New interpretative possibilities are indicated by this set of eight manuscript leaves: is the public/private nature of marriage and sexuality best captured in popular manuscript forms? In addition, these thematic and formal connections provide a foundation for a broader questioning of literary production and circulation. The manuscript poem shows that pamphlet debates can be wider than indicated by print, as they may include manuscript

reactions now lost or forgotten. The poem indicates that manuscript literature is embedded in less courtly contexts and addresses more broadly social themes than might be assumed.

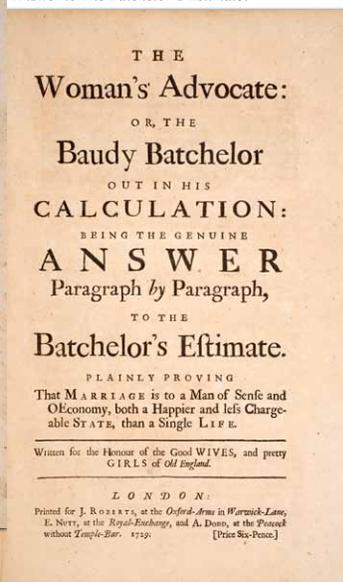
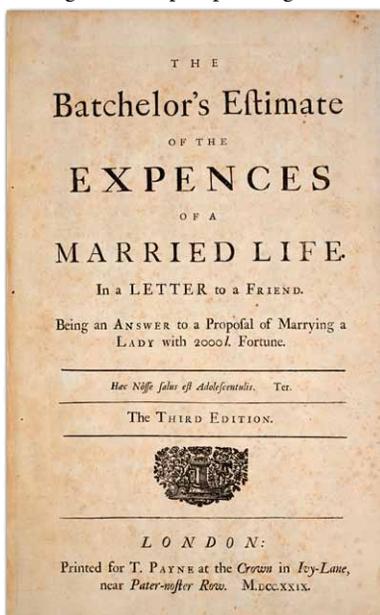
Opening the eighteenth century and responding to earlier sources, "The Pleasures of Marriage" shows that manuscript practices often associated with the seventeenth century also characterize the developing age of print. "The Pleasures of Marriage" encourages a multi-faceted exploration of the fluidity of print and manuscript throughout the eighteenth century, an exploration that should encompass the social, popular, anonymous, and everyday interactions of print and manuscript. The Clark Library encourages just such an investigation with its extensive holdings in public manuscript, personal and family manuscript, and printed tracts and pamphlets.

This "Pleasures of Marriage" debate is a case study within a larger project that locates and defines multiple examples of four different interactions between popular print and manuscript; these broadly-conceived categories attempt to capture literary practices that connect everyday print reading to everyday manuscript writing. First, the manuscript "imaginative relocation" of print includes well-known practices such as adding manuscript to print through marginal annotating and replicating print in manuscript through activities such as commonplace bookkeeping. Second, "mediated record formulation" encourages individuated manuscript writing according to predetermined printed forms; these manuscript practices include account bookkeeping, form letter writing, and entry-journal-keeping. These practices are defined by instructional manuals or books that contain spaces that encourage specific manuscript activities. The third form of manuscript/print interaction includes "literary imitation and evolution," in which print literary forms are imitated in everyday writing, with that manuscript activity then influencing those literary forms. This circular process includes practices such as travel writing, letter writing, and meditative diary writing. The fourth form emphasizes "literary

invention and production," which encompasses the scribal formulation and publication of new work, as seen in "The Pleasures of Marriage," or the manuscript drafting of new work for print. Finally, these manuscript practices often overlap and are often self-reflectively mixed, satirized or critiqued; thus, this project calls attention to manuscript's transformational immediacy and individuality, showing how it influences print by playfully debating, mocking, or subverting it.

Another series of Clark holdings shows how the fluid relationship between print and manuscript can be less directly evidenced than in the "The Pleasures of Marriage" debate, yet leaves tantalizing traces of a more pervasive role in everyday

Comically imaginative debate between *The Batchelor's Estimate of the Expenses of a Married Life* and *The Woman's Advocate, or the Baudy Batchelor's Answer to The Batchelor's Estimate*.



reading and writing practices. Continuing to write on the popular topic of marriage, Ned Ward published a comic pamphlet *The Batchelor's Estimate of the Expenses of a Marriage Life* (1725), which triggers two hilarious responses, *The Married Man's Answer to The Batchelor's Estimate* (1729) and *The Woman's Advocate, or the Baudy Batchelor Out*

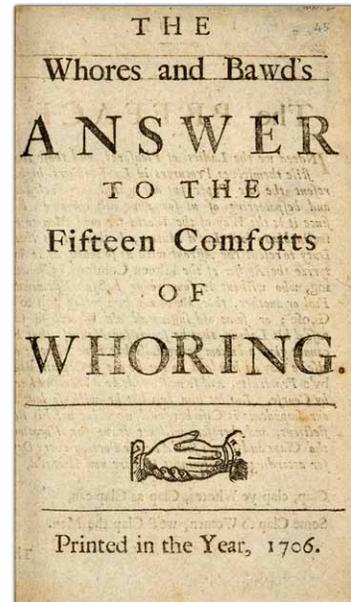
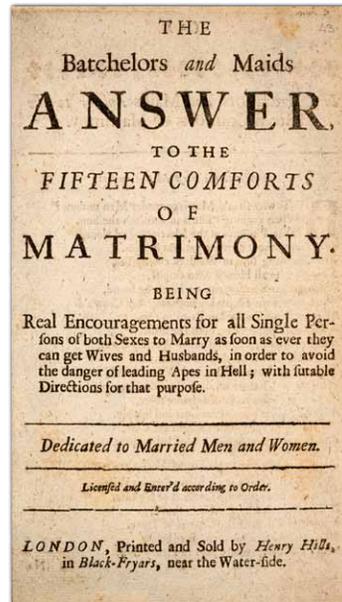
in *His Calculation: Being the Genuine Answer Paragraph by Paragraph to The Batchelor's Estimate* (1729).⁵ *The Batchelor's Estimate* is a satirical listing of the expenses of married life in a record-keeping account. Taking the form of a line-by-line account, a monetary amount is attached to each expense; for example, the married man's wife's "Expenses of Tea, Coffee, Chocolate, Sugar, Spirits, and fresh Supply of China yearly" is estimated as costing £12.

Countering that account, *The Woman's Advocate* offers a line-by-line refutation of the batchelor's calculations for food, clothing, and entertainment. In *The Batchelor's Estimate*, the "Nursing, Maintaining, Education, Cloathes, Schooling of our Children" is calculated at £30; the woman's witty reply to this presumed cost of raising children includes, "Don't reckon your Chickens before they are hatched."⁶ Although these accounts are purely imaginary, created to encourage a comic debate that will sell pamphlets, they are rooted in well-known, very real manuscript practices. One need only turn to the Clark's holdings of account books and family papers to find several manuscript ledgers that use the same accounting forms as *The Batchelor's Estimate* debate.⁷ These manuscript account books, pre-dating the printed pamphlets, show just how well understood the manuscript practices of the everyday writer were in the eighteenth century—so well understood that they can be transformed into the comic print consumed by the everyday reader.

(Endnotes)

- 1 "The Pleasures of Marriage, or an Answer to the Pretended Pleasures of a Single Life" (Clark ms.P7241 1705).
- 2 Edward Ward, attributed. "The Pleasures of a Single Life, or the Miseries of Matrimony" (London, 1701; Clark edition: [1709?])
- 3 Anonymous, *An Answer to the Pleasures of a Single Life: Or the Comforts of Marriage Confirm'd and Vindicated* (1701); Anonymous, *The Fifteen Comforts of Matrimony* (London, 1706); and Anonymous, *The Fifteen Comforts of Whoring, or The Pleasures of a Town-life* (London, 1706).
- 4 Harold Love, *The Culture and Commerce of Texts: Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998).
- 5 Edward Ward, *The Batchelor's Estimate of the Expenses of a Marriage Life* (London, 3rd edition: 1729); Anonymous, *The Married Man's Answer to The Batchelor's Estimate* (London, 2nd edition: 1729); and Anonymous, *The Woman's Advocate, or the Baudy Batchelor Out in His Calculation: Being the Genuine Answer Paragraph by Paragraph to The Batchelor's Estimate* (London, 1729).
- 6 *The Batchelor's Estimate*, 8; *The Woman's Advocate*, 9.
- 7 Anonymous, [Account book], Clark ms.1976.001; Anonymous, "An account of money pd...; a copy of Mr. Firger acct's," Clark ms.1980.001; Anonymous, *Miscellanea curiosa*, Clark ms.2009.023; Charles Jones, [Account book], Clark ms.1945.005; Timothy Tyrrell, [Account book with mathematical exercises], Clark ms.1945.001.

[Cheryl Nixon, Associate Professor of English and Graduate Program Director for the Department of English at the University of Massachusetts Boston, was a Clark Fellow in 2009–2010]



Two examples of the lively argument over married and single life from a collection of pamphlets bound together in *Tracts on Matrimony*, 1701–1709 at the Clark Library.

Bruman Summer Series 2010 Canceled

To all our Patrons

It is with regret that we announce the cancellation of the Henry J. Bruman Summer Chamber Music Festival for the summer of 2010. The Anderson School Korn Convocation Hall, which serves as our venue, will be closed for major renovations this year, and unfortunately no other campus location can accommodate us.

Regardless of this year's hiatus we very much want to thank the sponsors of the Bruman series, and we look forward to continuing this important festival next year.

Sincerely

Patrick Coleman

Acting Director of the Center for 17th- & 18th-Century Studies

[continued from page 6]

(Endnotes)

- 1 John Bourcher, "A Sermon Upon the Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ," 1640, MS.1951.003, William Andrews Clark Memorial Library.
- 2 Mark Osteen, "Questions of the Gift," in *The Question of the Gift: Essays Across Disciplines*, ed. Mark Osteen (London: Routledge, 2002), 4.
- 3 Sharon Kettering, *Patronage in 16th- and 17th-Century France* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2002), 131.
- 4 Arthur F. Marotti, "Patronage, Poetry, and Print," in *Patronage, Politics, and Literary Traditions in England, 1558–1658*, ed. Cedric C. Brown (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1991), 21–22.

[Andrea C. Lawson is an independent scholar who received a Clark Short-Term Fellowship in 2009–2010]

Restoration England, Wilde, and Fine Printing: Classes at the Clark

Bruce Whiteman, *Head Librarian*

Although the Clark is always available for classes, this quarter has been particularly busy, as three courses have been taught or largely taught in various book rooms in the library.

Professor Leo Braudy, the Leo S. Bing Chair in English and American Literature at the University of Southern California (and incidentally well known as a film critic and historian) teaches a Restoration literature course at the Clark most years. His graduate classes (this semester, a seminar consisting of five students) benefit greatly from access to the Clark's deep holdings in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century literature, including the works of Dryden, Pope, Defoe, and Swift.

Professor Joseph Bristow, who is a familiar figure to regular readers of this newsletter, is a major scholar of the works and life of Oscar Wilde. Joe has taught various courses at the Clark, and this quarter led the Ahmanson Undergraduate Seminar which focused on Wilde and the culture of the English fin de siècle. This sponsored annual seminar taught by UCLA faculty introduces undergrads to the scholarly world of a major research library. Galvanized by the opportunity to work with rare books and manuscripts, these students often go on to graduate work and become regular users of primary research materials. Joe has thirteen students this quarter, and they are all enjoying the Wilde archive which is one of the jewels of the Clark's collections.

Professor Johanna Drucker is also teaching a course this quarter that has met primarily at the Clark. Johanna was appointed the inaugural Breslauer Professor of Bibliographical Studies in the Department of Information Studies in 2008, and is well known as both a book artist and a scholar of twentieth-century bookmaking. Her course, "Modern Art of the Book", focuses on the Clark's rich holdings of the fine press

printers of Southern California in the period from 1910 to the present. Each student is researching an individual printer, and the class project will consist of an exhibition at the Clark in the fall of 2010, tentatively entitled *Poets, Presses, Typstickers: Publishing and Fine Press Printing in California 1910-1970*. With Brian Kim Stefans of UCLA's English Department, Johanna is also putting together a one-day symposium that will engage the issues raised by the exhibition. **From Bohemia to Conceptual Writing: Books, Presses, and Publishing in the Cultural Life of 20th-Century California** will take place at the Clark Library on Saturday, October 9.

Exhibits at the Clark

The Clark Library mounts four new exhibits annually. There will be an exhibition opening and reception for each one. Please check our websites for announcements on the dates of exhibition openings.

April–June: *The Invisible World Revealed: Selected Works of the Occult* curated by Brynn Burke and Derek Christian Quezada, UCLA Information Studies students.

July–September: *Utopia: The Search for the Ideal Society* curated by Carol Sommer, Head of Reader Services.

October–December: *California and the Fine Press Tradition 1910-1970* curated by UCLA Information Studies students working with Professor Johanna Drucker.

Please call the library at 323-731-8529 to make an appointment to view any exhibit.



The Invisible World Revealed: Selected Works of the Occult, exhibit reception

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