



# THE CENTER & CLARK NEWSLETTER

UCLA CENTER FOR 17TH- & 18TH-CENTURY STUDIES  
WILLIAM ANDREWS CLARK MEMORIAL LIBRARY

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## The Director's Column: Challenge of the Enlightenment

The Enlightenment has always been a controversial period. Considered by many to have been the epoch in which the complex of ideas, institutions, and social relations associated with modernity was forged, its interpretation has been tied very closely to evaluations of contemporary life. Because of this, powerful, contradictory symbols associated with the Enlightenment have been created, and these have in turn combined to reflect opposing characterizations of the period's legacy: Thus we encounter images of reason, liberation, revolution, self-discovery, and criticism vying with those of control, cultural imperialism, and antifeminism.

During the 1960s and the 1970s the "Enlightenment project"—defined by writers such as Jürgen Habermas and Peter Gay—was seen by many as the recipe that would help create a world open to liberal democracy, respectful of world peace, and cognizant of individual liberties and communal well-being. Recently these positive evaluations have been reversed. In the postmodern critique of contemporary culture and society, the Enlightenment has emerged as the movement responsible for generating the very opposite of what it supposedly stood for. According to its critics, the Enlightenment enshrined instrumental reason, sought to suffocate individual uniqueness under the blanket of universalism, provided the theoretical ammunition for enforcing the dominance of men over women and the educated over the ignorant, and let loose the demons of totalitarian revolution, Sadean sexuality, imperialism, and unrestrained capitalism. If one looks at the manner in which the Enlightenment has been interpreted and the passion that impels these interpretations, it is obvious that the Enlightenment serves as an important terrain upon which many of the most pressing issues facing society today are contested. As Michel Foucault, one of its most serious critics, proclaimed, "the question, what is Enlightenment? . . . is probably the major problem of modern philosophy."

"Challenge of the Enlightenment," the Center/Clark's yearlong series of programs for 1995–96, is the product of a joint endeavor by colleagues at UCLA and associated institutions to discuss some of the implications of recent debates concerning the Enlightenment. The series is designed to accomplish two objectives: to evaluate the challenge posed to modern society by positions formulated in the Enlighten-

ment and to grasp better the complex nature of this movement without resorting to the stereotypes and clichés often employed to define it.

In pursuing these objectives, we intend to probe five major themes, each of which will serve as the focus of one of the year's programs. The first program, organized by Maximilian Novak and Anne Mellor of the UCLA English department, is titled "Sensibility, Sex, and Madness." Its basic premise is that understanding sensibility provides the key to much of the culture and literature of the Enlightenment. If reason was one pillar upon which the Enlightenment constructed its project, sensibility was the other. Focusing upon what Novak and Mellor call the "culture of sensibility," workshops will investigate the tension between sensibility and self-interest, the various forms of sensibility, and its perceived excesses, such as madness and, in its later manifestations, sadism.

The year's second program, organized by Joyce Appleby and Gary Nash of the UCLA history department, will focus upon the Enlightenment's impact on America and America's impact on the Enlightenment. Though most studies of the period tend to concentrate upon Europe, it is important to



*A proof of the ticket to the Handel Commemoration, 1784, one of a collection of pictorial tickets now at the Clark Library (see pp. 4–6)*

acknowledge that the American Revolution and the American constitution were conceived within the context of the Enlightenment and that the Enlightenment's complex of ideas celebrating reform, reason, and universal freedom had a lasting impact upon both thought and action in the United States. The sessions of this program will examine key issues in eighteenth-century American thought and practice by highlighting three broad Enlightenment themes—truth, universalism, and justice.

Critics of the Enlightenment have often asserted that Enlightenment thought included a tendency to make a fetish of numbers and quantification. Our third program, entitled "Calculation, Chance, and the Enlightenment" and arranged by Theodore Porter of the UCLA history department, will focus upon measuring, counting, and calculating, and upon the significance of these activities as strategies of rationality in the late Enlightenment. Recognizing that Enlightenment rationality meant more than calculation, the program will also examine the limits of calculation and Enlightenment alternatives to calculation.

The fourth program, a conference arranged by Carlo Ginzburg of the UCLA history department, is titled "Erudites, Antiquarians, and Historians." Ever since the appearance of Arnaldo Momigliano's seminal article "Ancient History and the Antiquarian," there has been an increasing interest in the works of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century antiquarians, erudites, and historians. Still, the relationship between recent trends in historical writing and this current interest has never been fully articulated. The late-twentieth-century emphasis on historical narratives and the relative lack of interest in the notion of proof seem quite remote from the antiquarians' concern for proofs based on written and visual evidence, as well as from their propensity for conveying their findings in a nonnarrative form. The conference will try, through the use of case studies, to resurrect these early approaches and to situate them within current discussions on the nature of historical investigation and explanation.

The fifth theme to be discussed is political theory. The program, arranged by Hans Bödeker of the Max-Planck-Institute for History in Göttingen, Istvan Hont of the political science faculty at Cambridge University, and Peter Reill of the history department at UCLA, will focus on natural law and its elaboration. Natural law served as the basic ground upon which explorations of rights, duties, liberties, and human association were carried out. Perhaps of all discourses of the Enlightenment, this one has been the most controversial, in part because it served as the justification for revolutionary movements in the United States and France and also because it was the basis of modern reform attempts throughout the world.

A concluding program, being arranged by Peter Reill and Theodore Porter of UCLA and David Hollinger of the history department at the University of California, Berkeley, is tentatively entitled "The Career of the Enlightenment." Its aim will be to analyze the manner in which the Enlightenment has been constructed in various contexts, both past

and present. Anthropologists, historians, philosophers, musicologists, and literary critics will be invited to reflect upon the ways in which the Enlightenment has been conceived and why. The program will serve both to sum up some of the discussions of the previous sessions and to challenge us to deal with the Enlightenment's legacy as an integral part of contemporary discourse.

PETER H. REILL  
*Director*

## Recent Acquisitions

Early book auction catalogues are hard to find nowadays but are in great demand by those who study the practice of reading, the formation of libraries, and the history of ideas. Auctioneers gave these cheap and flimsy pamphlets gratis to potential bidders, who usually discarded them after the sale. Although very few of these bibliographical throwaways survive, they can tell us what books were available at a certain time, how they were sold, who owned them, and which ones were most highly esteemed. Now and then the Clark Library has been able to add to its seventeenth-century holdings, featuring a set of catalogues that belonged to the diarist John Evelyn or possibly his son, both ardent book collectors. Our most recent acquisition is the sixth earliest known English catalogue, offering for sale on 13 May 1678 two unnamed collections along with the library of Dr. Benjamin Worsley, who has been tentatively identified as secretary of the Council for Trade and Foreign Plantations. Evelyn also served on the council, as did John Locke, who succeeded Worsley in the post of secretary.

This catalogue contains only a few pamphlets concerning colonial affairs, but it does reveal other collecting interests worth noting here. An advertisement inserted in one copy of the catalogue (not ours) commends "the variety of the Editions of the Bible, of which Dr. Worsley bought up all that ever he could meet with." He did in fact meet with some of the great scholarly editions, such as the Aldine Greek Bible (1518), Robert Estienne's first critical redaction of the Vulgate (1528), the Plantin Polyglot, the London Polyglot, and the formidable "Sixtine edition" sanctioned by the Council of Trent. Awed by this stately array of folio Bibles, the auctioneers imply that Worsley was a doctor of divinity, but, if he has been identified correctly, he was actually a medical doctor, specializing in a purgative which he hoped to cultivate in America with a royal monopoly.

One of the three libraries dispersed in this sale included a vast amount of alchemical, Rosicrucian, and other esoteric writings, such as the cosmological speculations of Robert Fludd, the arcane inquiries of Michael Maier, the *Monas Hieroglyphica* of John Dee, and medical treatises of Paracelsus. Since all these were published abroad, we can assume that this comprehensive collection must have belonged to somebody with more than a casual interest in the Hermetic arts. In any case, the Worsley catalogue may be one of the earliest

documents recording the dissemination of occult literature in England—as well as the first of its kind to disavow shady practices, explicitly reassuring bidders that there would be no attempt to run up prices despite the “groundless and malicious suggestion of some of our own Trade.”

During the past year the Clark Library has made several auction purchases at very reasonable prices: a collection of eighteenth-century engraved pictorial tickets, described elsewhere in this issue; a 1712 edition of the Nahum Tate version of *King Lear*, with annotations in an early hand recording cuts, cues, and a few textual changes, mainly in the part of Gloucester; and Henry Homer’s 1790 edition of Pliny’s letters, bound by Kalthoeber, printed with the types of Edmund Fry, and inscribed in 1793 by one of the De Bure dynasty of French bibliographers, who considered it to be an elegant example of English typography. But perhaps our greatest success at auction this year was the acquisition of the autograph memoirs of Thomas Fairfax, commander in chief of the Parliamentary forces during the English Civil War and a leading proponent of the Restoration as well.

The Clark manuscript is actually one of several copies that Fairfax wrote in his retirement years to explain his military actions and political maneuvers during this tumultuous period “for the Satisfaction of his own Relations.” His cousin Brian Fairfax edited one of the family manuscripts for publication in 1699. The Clark manuscript shows some signs of revision and differs from the published version in several significant respects. For example, Fairfax composed an elaborate justification of his role in the capture and trial of the king, an episode which pitted him against army factions that he could no longer control. This manuscript depicts the army less charitably, denounces the most perfidious officers more directly, and vindicates the Parliamentary cause more defiantly, even alluding to divine intervention on that side, “for I can not believe that such wonderful successes shall be given in vaine.” Surely this important historical document should be available in a scholarly edition, with a textual apparatus that would restore passages omitted in the 1699 edition and adjudicate between variant readings in the surviving manuscripts.

Among other manuscripts that arrived this year, we should note a Jacobite verse satire on the coronation of George I; an English translation of Peter Megerlin’s “Copernican System of the World,” dated 1686 and illustrated with folding diagrams of the solar system; and a collection of devotional and occasional verse written between 1729 and 1757 by a woman who married into one of the more affluent families in the vicinity of Bath.

Manuscript notes in printed books often help us to understand how those publications were produced, distributed, and consumed. Anyone curious to know the life history of “the notorious female swindler of 1801” could buy Miss Eliza Robertson’s *Life and Memoirs* either from the author, currently residing in the Fleet, or from her friend Miss Sharpe, who signed a number of copies to certify that these were the genuine memoirs and not a spurious edition. Miss Sharpe’s



Eliza Robertson, “the notorious female swindler of 1801”

authenticating signature not only warned consumers of pirated editions but also advertised the fact that Miss Robertson’s scandalous exploits were hot property, as indeed they were, considering that her creditors had accused her of such enormities as “going about London to deceive in *men’s clothes*.” We now have another edition of Eliza Haywood’s *Memoirs of a Certain Island Adjacent to the Kingdom of Utopia*, with a printed key coyly identifying the characters in this titillating “secret history” with dashes and initials. Here and in many other copies readers could not resist the temptation to test their knowledge of high society by filling in the blanks and spelling out the names.

Attributions in manuscript have prompted our interest in two pamphlets on economics either owned by or associated with Rebecca Dingley, perhaps best known as the lifelong companion of Jonathan Swift’s “Stella,” Esther Johnson. One contemporary hand ascribes *Some Observations Upon Discourses Lately Published on the Publick Revenues and on the Trade of England* (1698) to Charles Montagu, Earl of Halifax, and another identifies the author of *Further Proposals for Amending and Settling the Coyn* (1696) as Sir William Temple. This latter attribution we can accept fairly confidently because Temple was related to Rebecca Dingley, and the Swift scholar A. C. Elias, Jr., informs us that the former inscription is probably in the hand of Swift, who was employed by Temple when these pamphlets first appeared.

Some sources attribute the French comedy *Charles II, Roi d’Angleterre, en Certain Lieu* (1789) to Louis-Sébastien Mercier, social critic, political theorist, and author of the best-selling *L’An 2440*, now considered one of the classics of futuristic fiction. Certainly it took a leap of imagination to set the scene of this “very moral” drama in a house of ill fame, where the Earl of Rochester teaches the Merry Monarch to behave in a manner more becoming his exalted position by arranging to steal his wallet and his watch. Mercier claims to have devised this jeu d’esprit for the amusement of

the Estates General “amidst their patriotic labors.” Indeed, we have just acquired several other items showing how English precedent influenced French political thought on the brink of the Revolution. Perhaps our most vivid example is a French translation of Marchamont Nedham’s defense of the Commonwealth, *The Excellencie of a Free-State*, bolstered in the French version (1790) with commentary culled from the works of Rousseau, Raynal, and Montesquieu.

Nor have we neglected cultural influences in the other direction, having just obtained the first English edition of Rousseau (1773–74) and the second English edition of Voltaire (1761–74, though all but nine volumes of this thirty-eight volume set belong to the first edition). The Englishman speaking in the *Dialogues entre un Français et un Anglais* (1788) remarks that his countrymen are better educated than the French in civic affairs, a major advantage when debating constitutional reform, as is the freedom of the press, “the mighty bastion of our liberty.” Thus the products of the press link one revolution to another, through the works of Marchamont Nedham or through the works of Voltaire and Rousseau, which could be printed in England with impunity. Books and pamphlets that once changed the course of history are to this day changing our interpretation of historical events, as we reassess their significance as indicators of public opinion, signs of continuity, and sources of new ideas. Ranging from records of the occult to monuments of the Enlightenment, these recent acquisitions can support those inquiries as well as research in other fields where the Clark Library has been building notable strengths for many years.

JOHN BIDWELL

## A Welcome and a Farewell

Early this year, the Clark Library was fortunate to appoint Stephen R. Tabor as its new head cataloguer and reference librarian. Stephen came to us from Riverside, where he was senior bibliographer at the English Short-Title Catalogue project. During the period he worked at Riverside, Steve held a concurrent position at the Huntington Library, where he did on-line cataloguing for the ESTC database. He had previously worked at Dawson’s Book Shop in Los Angeles, becoming acquainted there with all aspects of publishing and buying while also serving as a free-lance writer, editor, and cataloguer. Steve has been very active in the profession and brings to us a valuable combination of cataloguing expertise and a knowledge of the rare book trade. We are proud to welcome him to the Clark.

It was with sorrow that we said good-bye to John Bidwell, who left his post as Clark Librarian at the end of July after he and his wife, Andrea Immel, accepted positions at the Princeton University Library.

John came to the Clark as reference/acquisitions librarian in 1979 after serving in various library positions at Harvard, Williams, and the Rochester Institute of Technology. When

he became Librarian in late 1993, he assumed, in a sense, a new position, for it combined the duties of the Librarian with those of the reference/acquisitions librarian. His first task was to develop and implement a new collection policy. He did this with great success, as evidenced by the expanded additions to the Clark’s holdings. John also organized programs for the Center/Clark—including the recent impressive homage to Oscar Wilde and a visit from the Grolier Club—was active in fund raising, and established a highly efficient work plan for the Library staff, which had been significantly reduced by the recent round of budget cuts.

During his tenure at the Clark, John continued to pursue his scholarship, publishing regularly and often teaching courses both at UCLA and the Rare Book School in Columbia, Virginia. In everything he did, he proved himself an indefatigable worker and a person truly dedicated to rare books and collections. His expertise and his insight, along with his profound knowledge of the Clark and its mission, made for a unique combination of qualities. We shall miss John greatly, but we wish him and Andrea the very best fortune in their new positions.

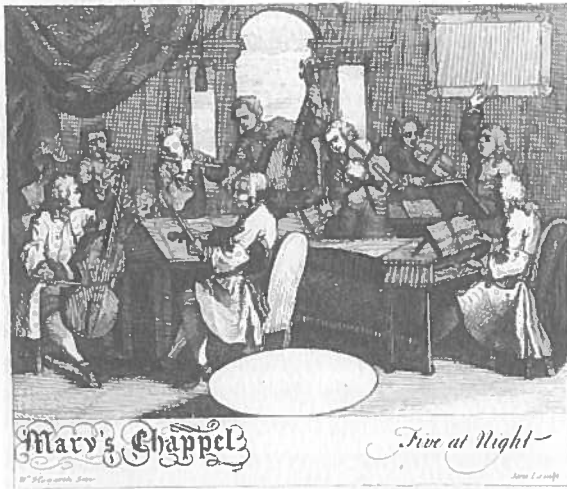
PETER H. REILL

## Engraved Pictorial Tickets

In May, the Clark Library acquired from Sotheby’s five lots of about one hundred and fifty concert tickets and related cultural objects produced between the 1720s and the 1830s. This collection illuminates in fascinating detail how people of that time treated things we consider entirely ephemeral as worthy of admiration and preservation. Tickets, invitations, trade cards, funeral notices, even advertisements, were created from engravings of the sort we define as art works.

The collection may simply consist of miscellaneous prints that came into a dealer’s office, but it may also have come from a scrapbook of printed objects that someone found interesting. A great majority of the items have clearly been pasted onto something, in some cases several times, and together they suggest a collecting tradition that remained strong right into the twentieth century. Numerous such scrapbooks are found in the Lewis Walpole Library, an off-campus part of the Yale University Library, where I had a study grant this summer. They include not only several elegantly bound volumes made for Horace Walpole but also two books of tickets probably dating from around 1900. Many of the items in these volumes are also found in the Clark collection.

The two earliest prints represented in the collection are associated with William Hogarth, for the satirist got his start partly by designing tickets for musicians and actors among his friends. One was originally done by him for the benefit night of the actor James Spiller at some point in the 1720s. The Hogarth authority Ronald Paulson was kind enough to identify the Clark item as a copy made by Jane Ireland for *The Graphic Illustrations of Hogarth*, published by her father



Samuel in 1794–99. As was the custom, this copy had been cut out of the book and pasted into some sort of volume. The other print—the design attributed to Hogarth, engraved by Michael Vandergucht, and copied by Ireland—depicts an ensemble of eleven musicians and reads: “Mary’s Chappel[.] Five at Night.” This item is most curious: the engraving portrays a secular setting while the phrasing seems to indicate a religious one, and concerts without a religious purpose were rarely held in churches. The ticket might have been done for a concert put on at the church of the manor house in Marylebone, often called the Chapel, or perhaps (with a heavy dose of irony) the musically prominent Marylebone Gardens nearby.

The bulk of the collection dates from about 1765 to 1795, a period of unusually rich and widespread cultural activity in London, especially in concert life. The main type of event represented is the benefit concert: almost every musician of note would give a slick and splashy concert for his or her own benefit once or twice each season, with programs involving a great diversity of composers, singers, and players. For these events, musicians found it advantageous to have tickets that were attractive and even artful; indeed, they seem to have prided themselves upon the appearance of the designs, which usually were done by their friends in the art world. The artists who dominated the design of tickets were Francesco Bartolozzi and Giovanni Battista Cipriani. Trained together in Florence, they developed a style of elegant but chaste neoclassicism that suited the cultural life of the period and carried intellectual pretensions through its allegorical figures. By the early 1790s Bartolozzi’s students identified themselves as such in signing their own pieces. That many copies of proofs of tickets produced in the period went into circulation, often probably put up on walls as artful decoration, indicates that the designs were also intended to be sold independently.

Concerts that offered old music—ancient music, as it was called—made use of neoclassical figures to particularly strong effect. While English musical life has not often been regarded as innovative, an aesthetically and ideologically defined canon of old works that were performed regularly was first devel-

oped in eighteenth-century England. The Clark collection includes proofs of two tickets to the now legendary Handel Commemoration in Westminster Abbey in 1784, one showing the composer being crowned with a wreath by a winged angel and the other showing his name on a massive tomb, with the text “The Dead Shall Live / The Living Die.” Four admission cards for the Concert of Ancient Music, founded in 1776, portray old instruments, chiefly a viol, and books of music manuscripts. The card from 1777, inscribed to admit a Mr. Sharp, is of particular interest because no programs prior to 1779 are extant.

Odd though it may seem, tickets generally did not specify dates or seat numbers. Since seats were rarely numbered, sponsors of cultural events often used the same designs from year to year and would sign and date each ticket, perhaps putting a seal upon it, making it legitimate for admission.

Tickets from this period exhibit interesting contrasts in size and in the extent of their text. Benefit tickets were usually fairly large and quite imposing in design, but had simple text: “For the Benefit of Mr. Giardini” was all that London’s most fashionable composer had to say. The more recently established of the two musicians’ pension funds, the New Musical Fund, strove to attract people to its concert with an even bigger ticket (the largest in the Clark collection) and an especially grand design. The Professional Concert, a highly respected, well-established series of orchestral concerts, had less to prove and therefore offered a tiny card with no more than its name. In some cases tickets had no printed words at all, for in the small, tightly knit world of the English elite, the occasion would be common knowledge. London was nonetheless big and impersonal enough that a black market of counterfeit tickets appeared from time to time, as Simon McVeigh, author of an excellent book on London concert life in this period, tells me.

The artfully designed concert ticket was closely related to a host of other sorts of cards in the collection. Tickets for balls and masquerades utilized similar kinds of sumptuous neoclassical designs; the Bath Assembly Rooms, for example, provided to its subscribers a small such card with little text,



this one inscribed on the back for admission to the Master of Ceremonies Ball. Cards might be printed for private theatricals, as was done for the ambitious series of performances held in 1785 and 1786 at Wynnstay, the seat of Sir Watkins Williams Wynn; the ticket, used for the entire series, shows a bust of Shakespeare looking down upon a group of revelers. Schools had invitations done for their presentations; those for the prestigious Westminster School feature Latin texts of the months and days of the performances.

Several announcements of book and music subscriptions in the collection also have designs similar to those on concert tickets, and there is a clear relationship between tickets and both trade cards and calling cards. The collection even includes a political print, a favorite among eighteenth-century collectors—a mock tribute to a candidate, “George Vandeput,” who, “a free Elector” assured the worthy inhabitants of Westminster, had “Acquired 4654 Votes without Bribery.”

The collection suggests to us vividly how “people of quality” in eighteenth-century England surrounded themselves in all their endeavors with elegant engraving. But by 1828 we can see modern utilitarianism beginning, in the ticket to the “Grand Selection of Sacred Music” at the Birmingham Music Festival for that year. The card, with its full statement of the event, its plain design, and its absence of allegory, indicates that tickets had begun to lose their artistic meaning.

WILLIAM WEBER  
California State University, Long Beach

## Boarding School Romps

The Clark Library owns a copy of Charles Coffey’s two-act ballad opera *The Boarding-School: Or, The Sham Captain*, which opened at Drury Lane in late January 1733. It was no success like his *Devil to Pay*, in spite of a cast featuring Kitty Clive as Jenny and Charlotte Charke as Molly, two “tawdry, hoyden overgrown romps” who want “tall huge” husbands as much as unlimited rations of bread and butter or custard pies. *The Boarding-School* lasted a mere four performances and was never revived, so it has rarely attracted the attention of theater historians. However, the ballad opera may well interest the scholar of eighteenth-century English popular culture: it seems to be the source of “Heigh ho! Who’s above?” a curious song found in the first nursery rhyme collection, *Tommy Thumb’s Pretty Song Book* (London: M. Cooper, ca. 1744). Trying to put “Heigh ho” into contemporary context should reveal something about the nursery rhyme’s reputation before it attained respectability as one of the cornerstones of the children’s literature canon.

Peter and Iona Opie, compilers of the *Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes* (1951), shrewdly guessed that “Heigh ho,” which masqueraded as “The Dog will bark” in *Tommy Thumb*, was probably a fragment from an unidentified song. Here the song apparently sanctions cruelty to animals: the

boy tries to convince a girl to hang her dog, and the accompanying vignette shows him holding out a rope to her while the poor beast shrinks against the wall. “Heigh ho” also appears in *Vocal Harmony; or No Song, No Supper* (ca. 1806), a collection of rhymes linked by the slightest of narratives: Miss Tenor performs a version quite close to Coffey’s original in order to win a piece of cake at her brother Tommy’s birthday party. Now it becomes clear that the boy in the song proposes to hang the dog because he wants to run away with its mistress and fears its barking will rouse the house. The Opies probably suspected that “Heigh ho” was not authentic children’s lore, because they left it out of all their popular anthologies like the *Puffin Book of Nursery Rhymes* (1963).

36 *The Boarding-School: Or,*

A I R XIX. Hey ho! Who's above?

He. Hey ho! Who's there?  
 She. No body here but I, my Dear.  
 He. Hey ho! Who's above?  
 She. No body here but I, my Love.  
 He. Shall I come up, and see how you do?  
 She. Ay, marry, and thank you too.  
 He. Where's your Governess? She. She is a-Bed.  
 He. Where are the Keys, my Love? She. Under her Head.  
 He. Go, go, fetch them hither,  
 That you and I may be merry together.  
 She. The Dog it will bark, and I dare not, I'll swear;  
 He. Take then a Halter, and hang up the Cur.  
 She. Oh! no. He. Why, why?  
 She. I'd not for a Guinea my Dog shou'd die.  
 He. Then farewell, my Dearest, for I must be gone.  
 She. Tarry, sweet: Tom, I'll be with you anon.  
 He. Oh! no. She. Why, why?  
 He. Your Dog is much better belov'd than I.

On the other hand, the song really had to be included in the *Dictionary* because there was no other evidence shedding light on its origins beyond its inclusion in two of the most extensive early nursery rhyme collections.

However, just because “Heigh ho” comes from a ballad opera about young lust does not necessarily mean that it could not have circulated from adult to child for several generations. Early modern English popular culture was incorrigibly bawdy, as Margaret Spufford has shown, so we cannot automatically assume that eighteenth-century adults felt as obliged to shield children from adult topics as responsible grown-ups from the mid-nineteenth century on have. Apparently eighteenth-century editors of nursery rhyme collections did not worry much about mingling genuine infant amusements like “See-saw, Margery Daw” with ribald songs.



Perhaps they simply followed the example set by nurses themselves, if Thomas D'Urfe's picture of a late-seventeenth-century nursery in *The Campaigners* (1698) is at all accurate. D'Urfe's adoring nurse Fardell may sing "Pat-a-cake" to her little charge Billy, but she also croons a lullaby in which she mentions fondling him so that he will grow up to be the sort of fellow the ladies "will run mad to . . . kiss, kiss, kiss." Finally, "Heigh ho" bears some resemblance to Henry Carey's "Young Roger came tapping at Dolly's window," another song from the same era, which we know circulated in the nursery for a time.

In the late 1780s, the great scholar-antiquarian Joseph Ritson was free to include rude rhymes in *Gammer Gurton's Garland*; by the 1890s, Andrew Lang could only reprint such material with the offensive parts altered in his *Nursery Rhyme Book*. But unlike some bowdlerized eighteenth-century rhymes, "Heigh ho" seems to have disappeared after the early 1800s, perhaps because James Orchard Halliwell omitted it from *Nursery Rhymes of England* (1842). Another possible explanation can be found in *Vocal Harmony*. After the performance of "Heigh ho," Tommy remarks, "I think every body should value the life of a faithful servant at more than a guinea; I would not take ten for our dog Keeper"—enlightened sentiments which could have been found in any of his children's books. Victorian anthologists probably deemed such a rhyme as "Heigh ho" unacceptable fare for the young on account of the unreconstructed attitudes toward man's best friend and the matter-of-fact depiction of an elopement in progress. After all, it is one thing for a young lady to run off with an inappropriate suitor, but it is something else to countenance a young man after he reveals himself capable of dispatching his beloved's pet to effect a silent escape. Certainly Isabella Linton would have been spared considerable anguish if she had realized when Heathcliff hanged her springer spaniel the night they left Thrushcross Grange that it was an ominous foreshadowing of the way in which her future husband would treat her, not testimony to his devotion. It is probably no coincidence that one rhyme which mentions hanging a dog, "I'll sing you a song, / Of two day's long / The woodcock and the sparrow; / Our little dog has burnt his tail / And he'll be hanged tomorrow"—supposedly sung impromptu to Fanny Burney by Dr. Johnson—is rarely found after 1800 except in a version so heavily rewritten as to be virtually unrecognizable.

The discovery that an act casually mentioned in an eighteenth-century children's book would eventually be considered too overwrought for anything except a romance novel is a delicious irony. It is tempting to regard a nursery rhyme as a "wild berry plucked in June," to borrow Robert Graves's lovely image. But the more we learn about histories of individual rhymes, the more difficult it is to maintain that these lyrics have been untouched by time, impervious to ideas circulating in society at large.

ANDREA IMMEL  
Curator of the Cotsen Collection  
Princeton University Library

## Fellows in Residence, 1995–96

JOHN S. A. ADAMSON, History, Univ. of Cambridge (Oct.–Nov.), "The 'Invention' of Sir Thomas Fairfax's *Short Memorials* of the English Civil War"

MARTIN ANDREWS, Typography & Graphic Communication, Univ. of Reading (Sept.), "The Life and Work of Robert Gibbings"

THOMAS BOND, English, Notre Dame Univ. (Spring), "Literary Transactions: The Emergence of the 'Philosophical Transaction' in the Literary Culture of England, 1691–1751"

LORNA CLYMER, English, California State Univ., Bakersfield (July–Aug.), "Rhetorical Constructions of Subjectivity in 18th-Century Poetry"

STUART HARTEN, History, Claremont Graduate School (Fall–Winter), "Despotic Fictions: The Discourse of Oriental Despotism and the Napoleonic Expedition to Egypt"

BRUCE JANACEK, History, UC Davis (Spring), "Piety and Redemption: The Religious Significance of Alchemy in Early Modern England"

MARGERY KINGSLEY, English, Cameron Univ. (May–July [1996]), "Tailoring Zeal: Prophecy and Allegory in Swift's *Tale of a Tub*"

LAURIE KANE LEW, English, Millsaps College (Fall–Spring), "Inheriting Reynolds: Images, Institutions, Publics"

ROBERT NASHAK, English, UCLA (Fall–Spring), "The Price of Admission: English Literature, Assent, and the Discourse of Collecting, 1660–1730"

JOEL REED, English, Texas Tech Univ. (Fall–Winter), "Academic Discourse: Instituting Nationalism in 17th- and 18th-Century England"

CANDLER SHEFFIELD ROGERS, English, Univ. of Otago (June–July [1995]), "Copyright and Conflict: The Intersecting Careers of Alexander Pope and Lewis Theobald"

ROY ROSENSTEIN, Comparative Literature and English, American Univ. in Paris (Nov.–Dec.), "Oscar Wilde and Jorge Luis Borges"

MARK SPENCE, History, UCLA (July–Aug.), "Dispossessing the Wilderness: American Indians and the National Park Ideal, 1870–1930"

DAVIDE STIMILLI, Comparative Literature, Yale Univ. (Oct.–Dec.), "Loss of Expression, Expressions of Loss: The Debate on Physiognomy in 18th-Century England and the Dialectic of Bashfulness and Embarrassment"

DAVID THOMAS, English, UC Davis (Fall), "Fictional Presences: The Cultural Logic of Oscar Wilde's Aestheticism"

AMANDA VICKERY, History, Univ. of London (Winter–Spring), "On Female Politeness: Genteel Women in 18th-Century England"

ROXANN WHEELER, English, Indiana Univ. of Pennsylvania (June–July [1995]), "'My Savage,' 'My Man': Color, Gender, and Nation in 18th-Century British Narratives"

LINDA ZATLIN, English, Morehouse College (Jan.–Feb.), "Continued Basic Research for the Catalogue Raisonné of the Drawings of Aubrey Beardsley"

## Calendar of Events, Fall 1995

All programs will take place at the Clark Library, 2520 Cimarron Street, Los Angeles, California 90018. Program details and registration forms will be available about a month before each event. Inquiries should be addressed to the Center office: (310) 206-8552.

### 20–21 October (Friday & Saturday)

*Challenge of the Enlightenment: Sensibility, Sex, and Madness.* The opening program of the yearlong series on the challenge of the Enlightenment, arranged by Anne Mellor, English, UCLA; and Maximillian Novak, English, UCLA. Registration deadline: 6 October.

Few scholars would deny that during the last half of the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth, there existed in Britain what one might call a culture of sensibility, which manifested itself most fully in the literature of the period. Yet a variety of questions remain. Extravagant notions of sensibility were found alongside equally powerful arguments about self-interest as the most universal human trait—arguments that dominated areas of study such as economics. What was the relationship between these apparently contradictory views? And although searches for origins are doomed to failure, it is clear that sensibility was also an element in literature during the Restoration, at least from the 1680s onward. Was this early manifestation different in any way from the sensibility against whose extremes protagonists were frequently warned in later works? And when and why does sensibility turn toward pleasure in the suffering of others, which leads to the excesses of de Sade and some of his contemporaries? These are among the problems that speakers will explore, always keeping in mind that an understanding of sensibility holds the key to much of the literature of the time.

### 12–13 November (Sunday & Monday)

*Enlightenment and Diaspora: The Armenian and Jewish Cases.* A two-day conference arranged by Richard Hovannisian, History, UCLA; David Myers, History, UCLA; and Benjamin Braude, History, Boston College. Registration deadline: 20 October.

This conference will examine the complex and multifaceted engagement of two prominent diaspora communities with the Eu-

ropean Enlightenment movement. Its particular focus will be on the comparative experience of Armenian and Jewish intellectuals and merchants in receiving, reformulating, and then disseminating Enlightenment values to their respective communities. Papers will address a wide range of topics, including the role of commerce in spreading the Enlightenment, the path of transmission of Enlightenment thought from Central and Western Europe to Eastern Europe and the Middle East, the tension between the Enlightenment and traditional religious authority, and the Enlightenment's role as stimulus to national identity. Throughout the conference, open discussion of the comparative experiences of the two diaspora communities will be encouraged.

### 17–18 November (Friday & Saturday)

*Challenge of the Enlightenment: The Enlightenment's Impact on America and America's Impact on the Enlightenment.* The second program of the series on the challenge of the Enlightenment, arranged by Joyce Appleby, History, UCLA; and Gary Nash, History, UCLA. Registration deadline: 27 October.

Viewed as a constellation of ideas celebrating reform, reason, and universal freedom, the Enlightenment had an enormous impact upon both thought and action in the United States. Enlightened discourse constituted a domain of meaning which gave shape and direction to the new American nation. Working with an idea of the Enlightenment detached from the reality it once purported to represent, this program will address three phases of the American engagement with eighteenth-century philosophy: the Enlightenment and Truth, the Enlightenment and Universalism, and the Enlightenment and Justice.

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