



THE CLARK NEWSLETTER

Bulletin of the UCLA Center for 17th- and 18th-Century Studies

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Center NEH Fellowships

FELLOWS FOR 1989-90

The Center for Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Studies has awarded fellowships sponsored by the National Endowment for the Humanities to seven scholars pursuing research on the topic "Conceptions of Property." The fellows will be in residence at the Clark and UCLA for either one or two quarters and will discuss their research at various Center workshop sessions during the academic year (please see insert to this issue of the *Newsletter* for dates and titles). The program on "Conceptions of Property" is part of the Center's three-year investigation of "Consumption and Culture," sponsored by the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Currently in residence are Jeffrey Barnouw, Department of English, University of Texas at Austin; Nina Gelbart, Department of History, Occidental College; and Gerald MacLean, Department of English, Wayne State University. Arriving in the winter or spring quarters will be Donna Andrew, Department of History, University of Guelph; Timothy Keirn, London School of Economics; Margaret Somers, Department of Sociology, University of Michigan; and Linda Zionkowski, Department of English, Ohio University.

FELLOWSHIPS FOR 1990-91

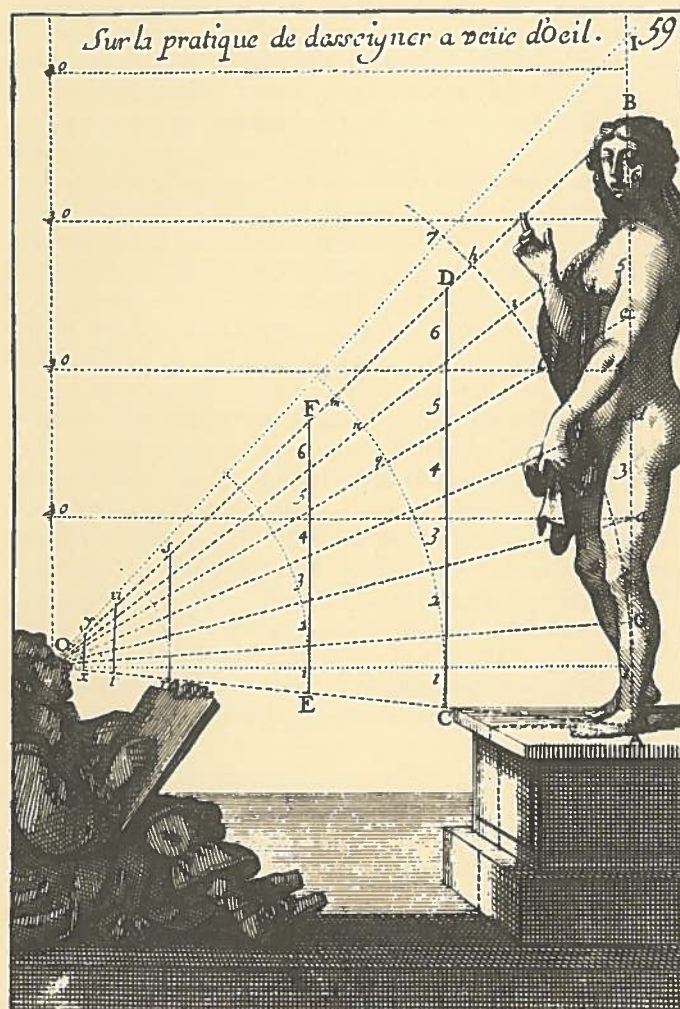
Fellowships sponsored by the National Endowment for the Humanities will be awarded for academic year 1990-91 for research on the theme "The Consumption of Culture: Word, Image, and Object in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries." Topics to be investigated include: changing patterns of taste, the formation of literary and aesthetic canons, and the development of genres; the audience for literature, the theater, and the visual and plastic arts; the production and consumption of the applied and decorative arts, including architecture; and the role of patrons and markets in aesthetic and literary production. Fellows will be expected to attend the Center's lectures and workshops and to present a paper on the results of their research.

Fellows can be appointed for one, two, or three quarters; the stipend is \$9,166 per quarter. Preference will be given to those who are at an early stage in their academic career, although all scholars engaged in research relevant to the topic are encouraged to apply.

Applicants should submit a curriculum vitae, a description of a research project, including an account of its rele-

vance to the announced theme, and the names of three referees, who should send their letters of recommendation directly to the Center. Applicants should state whether they wish to spend one, two, or three quarters in residence. All materials must be submitted by 1 February 1990 to:

The Fellowship Secretary
UCLA Center for 17th- and 18th-Century Studies
1100 Glendon Avenue, Suite 1548
Los Angeles, CA 90024-1404



Center NEH Fellowships for 1990-91 will support research on "The Consumption of Culture: Word, Image, and Object." Illustration from Abraham Bosse's *Traité des pratiques géométrales et perspectives*, enseignées dans l'Académie royale de la peinture et sculpture (1665).

Research Reports — VIII

Jonson on Shakespeare

[Jonathan F. S. Post is Professor of English at UCLA and Associate Director of the Center for Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Studies. He is the author of books on Henry Vaughan and Sir Thomas Browne as well as a number of essays on seventeenth-century poets. The following article is excerpted from the chapter on Ben Jonson in his forthcoming *History of Seventeenth-Century Poetry*, to be published by Routledge and Chapman as a volume in their History of English Poetry series. This chapter, researched in part at the Clark Library, is concerned with redetermining Jonson's place in the formation of seventeenth-century letters.]

To speak of Jonson in "To Penshurst" as fully transporting a classical ideal of moderation onto English soil, to identify him, in other words, as a neoclassicist, is not to suggest that the act of transposing—of receiving, assimilating, and revaluing—the significant prestige attached to antiquity was necessarily a simple one. Thomas Greene, the latest in a long line of critics on this subject, has eloquently traced, in *The Light in Troy* (1982), both the cultural impediments to an easy transcription—or as Greene would say, invention—of a classical idiom in England and the complex moral and artistic dynamic within Jonson that enabled him to receive the past into the present, to think not anachronistically about Horace, Martial, or Catullus but to respond to them as contemporaries, with the kind of easy hospitality he rarely accorded contemporary poets. When, for instance, Jonson presents his (now) famous English version of Catullus's "Vivamus mea Lesbia" in *The Forrest* ("Come my Celia"), he invites us not only to admire the splendidly wrought octosyllabic line but to chart the line of descent itself, from the poem's origins in Catullus, through its appearance in *Volpone* (1606), where it was first sung in English, to its anthologized place in a volume that might, at first, cause us to puzzle over the principle of selection. (Is the poem somehow not about love?) And in another lyric from *The Forrest*, suggestively entitled "To the same," the author invites us to witness even more precisely the actual process of naturalizing a text from the past, of creating, in effect, a small classic. The pleasure of counting kisses in Catullus, kisses whose numbers are said to equal the "Libyan sand that lies on silphium bearing cyrene, between the oracle of sultry Jove and the sacred tomb of old Battus; or as many as are the stars when night is silent," finds a no less exotic system of measurement in the English landscape:

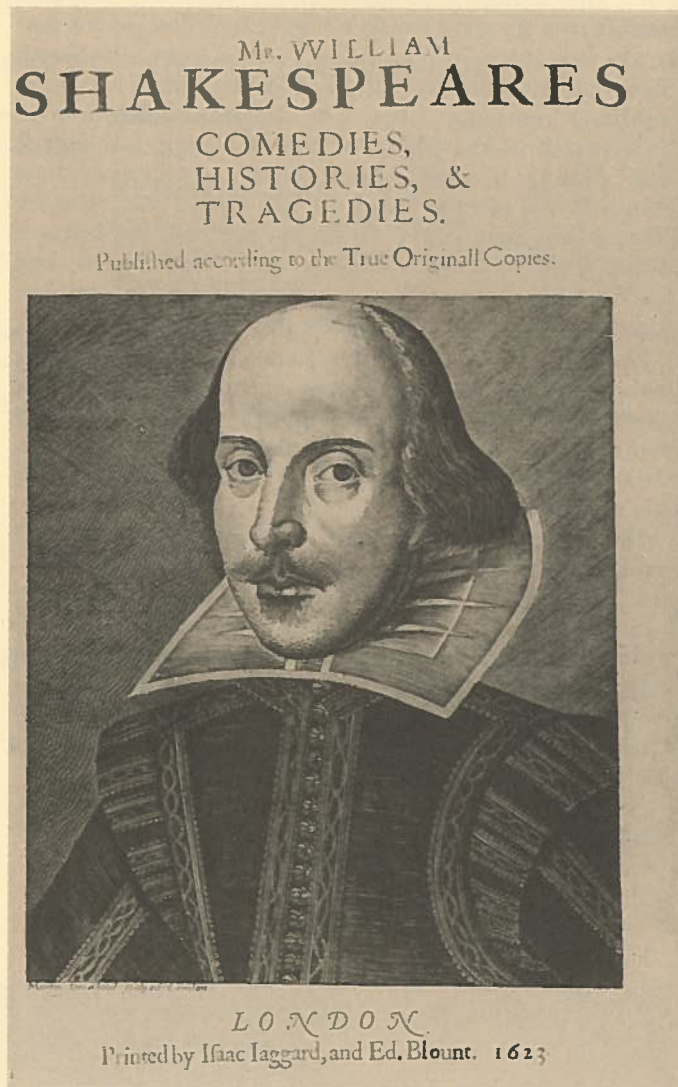
First giue a hundred,
Then a thousand, then another
Hundred, then vnto the tother
Adde a thousand, and so more:
Till you equall with the store,
All the grasse that *Rumney* yeelds,
Or the sands in *Chelsey* fields,
Or the drops in siluer *Thames*,
Or the starres, that guild his streames,
In the silent sommer-nights,
When youths ply their stolne delights.

The idea of conscious selectivity, so evident here in the careful disposition of place names, goes to the heart of Jonson's art, and it is nowhere more evident than in his penchant for judging contemporary authors according to strenuously held standards of decorum—for placing them in careful relation to himself and within the literary culture of the early seventeenth century. Jonson's remarks about other poets in his *Conversations with Drummond* have achieved legendary status for their acuity and severity: "Drayton feared him, and he esteemed not of him"; "That Donne, for not keeping of accent, deserved hanging"; and so on. But more to the point, because more public, is the considerable number of commendatory poems he wrote for specific literary occasions, enough, in fact, to make another separate volume of poetry. The list of poets reads like a literary *Who's Who* of the early seventeenth century. George Chapman, the translator of Homer, is there, along with the popular Nicholas Breton, the prolific Michael Drayton, Sir Walter Raleigh, William Browne, and of course that other William—Shakespeare. Present, too, are minor writers and acquaintances like Donne's friend Christopher Brooke, John Beaumont (brother of Francis, the dramatist, commended in the *Epigrammes*), and Jonson's apprentice from the stage, Richard Brome. Little of significance, in fact, was published that did not come bearing Jonson's seal; and from the many commendatory poems to the actual creation of a *Tribe of Ben*, it was only a small step.

Until recently and with a few notable exceptions, commendatory poetry has almost always been read as marginal verse—as so much puff produced by the author's friends. And so it often is. But we ought to recognize that it was also the place in the earlier seventeenth century where poets often practiced what goes by the name of literary criticism today. Before the advent of the critical essay at the end of the century, it was one of the principal sites where literary—as well as political—values were contested and from which a canon of authors emerged, a site, furthermore, that in its significant growth during the course of the seventeenth century testifies to a general cultural shift in which poetry moved part way out of the salon and into the streets, went from manuscript into print.

Jonson's place in effecting this transition is crucial, and not just because as an author of note he made it his business to be engaged frequently in writing commendatory poetry. In his hands, commendatory verse acquired a critical weight and mass it simply had not had in English. Under his imprimatur, the commendatory sonnet that prefaced the late Elizabethan poem—the sonnet of praise, of which a vestigial example is his early poem to Nicholas Breton—gave way to the literary epistle, that spaciouly Horatian form in which judgments could be enacted, in which an estimation, in the double sense of both esteeming and measuring, could be "performed"—a word that helps to mark off the Jonsonian commendatory mode from that of his immediate predecessors. And it was in the form of the epistle, not the sonnet, that subsequent authors like Carew and Marvell, building on Jonson's example, produced some of the most important acts of literary criticism in the century, including, as the law of literary inheritance would have it, Carew's poem on Jonson.

Jonson's most famous—and controversial—commendatory act is, of course, the eulogy on Shakespeare that prefaced the 1623 folio edition of the dramatist's works, which Jonson, it is thought, may have had a hand in producing. (The folio also includes a brief epigram by Jonson, "To the Reader.") As the reigning literary authority of the day as well as sometime rival and friend of Shakespeare, Jonson was an obvious choice for this occasional task, and something of the complexity of his response, or rather something of the complexity of the situation in which he found himself, as the author of the 1616 *Workes*, is indicated by the full title, "To the memory of my beloved, The Avthor Mr. William Shakespeare: And what he hath left vs." Friend, author, and authority—these different and potentially conflicting perceptions run through a poem that, since the days of Dryden and Pope, has inspired powerfully conflicting views from its readers: some, like Dryden, dismissing the poem as an "insolent, sparing panegyrick," others, like Pope, praising it for its unstinting humanity, and still others assessing these critical perspectives in light of classical theories of praise—especially those enunciated by Horace in the *Ars poetica* and *Sermones* (bk. 1, satires 4 and 10.)



Title page of the First Folio (1623) of Shakespeare's plays.

Wherever we eventually land in this debate—and a poem as complex as this ought to make us wary about choosing sides too quickly—a fair place to begin is with the recognition that probably no one had a keener idea about what was at stake in commemorating Shakespeare than Jonson. Whether or not tales of their rivalry as told by near contemporaries like Thomas Fuller are apocryphal, it is clear that none of Jonson's other commendatory poems so seriously engaged his attention. (Although longer and initially troubled by issues of friendship, the poem to Drayton is so uncharacteristically accommodating in its enthusiastic survey of Drayton's writings as to prompt suspicion that it is a send-up.) The problem facing Jonson was not simply how to praise a contemporary but how to estimate an author of Shakespeare's amplitude who was already a part of history. And Jonson's response, one that betrays both generosity and anxiety—"Am I thus ample to thy Booke, and Fame," reads the second line—is to do unto Shakespeare what Jonson, in effect, had already attempted to do unto himself in the 1616 *Workes*: to make Shakespeare into a canonical author—to preside over the act of coronation itself, an act, however, that inevitably and paradoxically only further underscores significant individual and historical differences between the authors.

In fact, of the many commendatory poems that grew up around the four folio editions of Shakespeare's works in the seventeenth century (1623, 1632, 1664, and 1685), only Jonson's is thoroughly motivated to define Shakespeare's place in the full panorama of literary history. After the opening sixteen lines, in which Jonson elaborately prepares himself to receive Shakespeare in his fullness, he arrives at the moment of summoning:

I, therefore will begin. Soule of the Age!
The applause! delight! the wonder of our Stage!
My *Shakespeare*, rise. . . .

Jonson also arrives at his subject—where he will put Shakespeare; and it is not in the place already prepared by the minor poet William Basse. Basse's popular elegy to Shakespeare, which Jonson must have seen in manuscript, begins with the apparent assumption that Shakespeare is to be buried in Westminster Abbey:

Renowned Spencer lye a thought more nye
To learned Chaucer, and rare Beaumond lye
A little neerer Spencer, to make roome
For Shakespeare in your threefold, fowerfold Tomb.

In a pointed correction, Jonson vastly extends the field of reference, and in doing so helps to lay the groundwork for our modern view of Shakespeare as not only England's pre-eminent author but, as a rival of the great classical dramatists, a symbol of England's cultural dominance as well:

My *Shakespeare*, rise; I will not lodge thee by
Chaucer, or Spencer, or bid Beaumont lye
A little further, to make thee a roome:
Thou art a Monument, without a tombe,
And art alieue still, while thy Booke doth liue,
And we haue wits to read, and praise to giue.

That I not mixe thee so, my braine excuses;
 I meane with great, but disproportion'd *Muses*:
 For, if I thought my iudgement were of yeeres,
 I should commit thee surely with thy peeres,
 And tell, how farre thou didst our *Lyly* out-shine,
 Or sporting *Kid*, or *Marlowes* mighty line.
 And though thou hadst small *Latine*, and lesse *Greeke*,
 From thence to honour thee, I would not seeke
 For names; but call forth thund'ring *Æschilus*,
Euripides, and *Sophocles* to vs,
Paccuius, *Accius*, him of *Cordoua* dead,
 To life againe, to heare thy Buskin tread,
 And shake a Stage: Or, when thy Sockes were on,
 Leaue thee alone, for the comparison
 Of all, that insolent *Greece*, or haughtie *Rome*
 [S]ent forth, or since did from their ashes come.
 Triumph, my *Britaine*, thou hast one to showe,
 To whom all Scenes of *Europe* homage owe.
 (Lines 19–42)



The imposing and elaborately classicized title page of the 1616 folio edition of Jonson's *Workes*. The quotation on the frieze, from Horace's *Ars poetica*, is translated elsewhere by Jonson as "Each subject should retaine / The place allotted it, with decent praise." The lines below the title are also from Horace: "I do not work so that the crowd may admire me; I am contented with a few readers" (*Sermones* 1.10.73–74).

"Triumph, my *Britaine*": Jonson never played the role of James with greater fervor; but there is also more than a touch of the Shakespearean thaumaturge here. In his commendatory verse to poets, Jonson frequently used stylistic imitation as an honorific device, and his promise in these lines to call forth spirits from the vasty deep ought to call forth a host of Shakespearean figures as well, especially that last playwright-as-magician, Prospero himself. Along with their mutual concern with summoning and name magic—and surely part of Jonson's interest in the more obscure "*Paccuius*, *Accius*, [and] him of *Cordoua* dead" (i.e., Seneca) is the opportunity to perform a bit of verbal prestidigitation on the nearly forgotten—Jonson's apparently graceless pun on Shakespeare's name ("shake a Stage") plays allusively but not gratuitously with this act of overlapping. It returns us to the scene of Prospero's farewell to magic, in which one sign of his power involved how "the strong-bas'd promontory / . . . I made shake" (*The Tempest* 5.1.46–47).

Jonson's reminiscence here may be said to attempt to catch the spirit of amplitude itself in order to do full justice to this new canonical author. But if there is some irony in the fact that when scholars refer to the First Folio today, they mean Shakespeare's, not Jonson's, it is also possible that the twist would not have been lost on Jonson: for the remainder of the poem seeks a more contained, sober, and intimate estimation of Shakespeare's art along peculiarly Jonsonian lines. The dramatist celebrated in the first half of the poem as "not of an age, but for all time" (line 43) is historicized in the second half as a fellow laborer in the muse's vineyard ("he, / Who casts to write a liuing line, must sweat" [lines 58–59]); and the features Jonson finds to praise—Shakespeare's "well torned, and true filed lines" (line 68)—are precisely what Jonson, not Shakespeare, brought to English poetry.

There is insolence as well as honor in holding another to the standards one most cherishes; but there is a fall of another sort recorded in this poem as well: a fall into art from nature, from a necromantic view of language spoken when "all the *Muses* still were in their prime" (line 44) to a view of language as pounded out "Vpon the *Muses* anuile" (line 61). In the poem Jonson attributes both qualities to Shakespeare, but the latter art is Jonson's and the former Jonson's only by imitation. Whether Jonson was making a virtue out of a necessity here is probably impossible to tell, but the revaluing does not seem so much "insolent" and "sparing" as inevitable—the powerful reflex of a poet who, perhaps in spite of himself, knows that he has helped to give away the store that he has also helped to create:

But stay, I see thee in the *Hemisphere*
 Aduanc'd, and made a Constellation therel
 Shine forth, thou Starre of *Poets*, and with rage,
 Or influence, chide, or cheere the drooping Stage;
 Which, since thy flight from hence, hath mourn'd like
 night,
 And despaire day, but for thy Volumes light.
 (Lines 75–80)

JONATHAN F. S. POST

Hints from la Nouvelle Héloïse

"I would fain wear in fashion as long as I can," remarked Dorimant; "'Tis a thing to be valued in men as well as baubles." Certainly during the Restoration, a beau like Robert Feilding (Handsome Feilding, as he was called) could win as much notoriety for decking out his footmen in livery of a fantastical yellow hue as for extravagance, dueling, and bigamy. In the eighteenth century, Dorimant continued to speak not only for a "thing of silk" like Lord Hervey but even for the occasional man of letters like Goldsmith, whose taste for suits of "Tyrian bloom satin" (£8 2s. 7d.) and blue velvet (£21 10s. 9d.) compelled him to write for the bookseller W. Griffin, who paid off his tailor's bills.

Recognizing that clothing was a particularly potent indicator of taste and status in this period, costume historians have investigated everything from the aesthetics of sumptuous textiles to the history of their manufacture. However, costume historians are generally silent on one all-important point. What was to be done with his garniture by Le Gras if Sir Fopling Flutter was forced to yield the wall and shoved into the muddy kennel? Surely even Strephon's Celia, "array'd in Lace, Brocades and Tissues," had her finery cleaned occasionally. While increasing numbers of people may have had the means to wear elegant fabrics and trimmings, the incurably practical may well wonder if they also had the wherewithal to launder their gowns and waistcoats thoroughly and conveniently. (Goldsmith's tailor's bills also reveal that it cost as much as fourteen shillings to have a suit professionally cleaned.) The solution to this quotidian problem of increased affluence can be found in an unlikely place: the 1770 edition of Hannah Glasse's *Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy*. Buried in the appendix are instructions to servants for dry cleaning fine fabrics. The inclusion of two such "recipes" suggests that modish garments once soiled were not necessarily condemned to the secondhand market. I offer these directions to the interested reader without, however, having tested them on any of the tarnished lace hidden away in the depths of my closet.



Richard Suett appears in embroidered brocade as Bayes in The Rehearsal. From Bell's British Theatre, vol. 27 (1796).

How to clean gold or silver lace.

Take alabaster finely beaten and searced, and put it into an earthen pipkin, and set it upon a chaffing-dish of coals, and let it boil for some time, stirring it often with a stick first; when it begins to boil, it will be very heavy; when it is enough, you will find it in the stirring very light; then take it off the fire, lay your lace upon a piece of flannel, and strew your powder upon it; knock it well in with a hard cloth brush; when you think it is enough, brush the powder out with a clean brush.

To clean white sattins, flowered silks with gold and silver in them.

Take stale bread crumbled very fine, mixed with powder blue, rub it very well over the silk or sattin; then shake it well, and with clean soft cloths dust it well: if any gold or silver flowers, afterwards take a piece of crimson in grain velvet, and rub the flowers with it.

ANDREA IMMEL

*Clark Library Dissertation Fellow
1988-89*

Rhetoric at the Clark

[Lawrence D. Green, Associate Professor of English at the University of Southern California, directed the seminar he describes here and is supervising the production of a comprehensive checklist of the Clark's holdings in rhetoric.]

The Clark Library has extensive holdings in the history of rhetoric, but not many scholars realize the strength of the collection. In great part this situation reflects the history of rhetoric itself in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; many subdisciplines which had long been part of rhetorical study constituted themselves as disciplines in their own right, obscuring their continuity with the tradition, while new works in rhetoric often simply did not use, or even denied, the name. Indeed, many of the more interesting discussions about rhetoric are buried within prefaces to works in a wide variety of fields, ranging from history and theology to travel books and editions of the classics. With the decline in the fortunes of rhetoric earlier in our own century, the significance of these materials was not always recognized by scholars and librarians, and many library catalogues supply only a few hints.

A project is now under way at the Clark to produce an annotated checklist of its holdings in rhetoric, and the need is all the more pressing as the Library rapidly acquires more materials, and a greater variety of materials, in rhetoric. The project itself began as a graduate seminar sponsored by the Rhetoric-Linguistics-Literature Program in the Department of English at the University of Southern California. The seminar, which met this past spring, represented a collaborative effort by the Clark and USC, and while the Clark has hosted many graduate seminars that take advantage of its holdings, this was the first one actually to attempt a systematic exploration of the collection. There were several goals for the seminar: to initiate

a scholarly checklist, to teach bibliographical techniques, to broaden the understanding of rhetoric, and to encourage doctoral research.

The provost's office of USC provided computer equipment and software for keeping track of masses of material, while the Library's staff provided technical and bibliographical expertise. The software was specially designed to move the students through four stages of investigation of a given title, so that, while their interests and training remained firmly those of scholarly end-users, at the same time they would acquire a sense of what professional librarians seek to do and why different collections are structured as they are. The first two stages focused on the specifics of identification, most of which could be quickly gleaned from a catalogue and from an examination of the actual item. The third stage required an introduction to bibliographical issues and library procedures: transcribing imprints, verifying citations, identifying editions, and, most importantly for the traveling scholar, locating copies in other libraries. Guest lectures and instruction by John Bidwell and other Clark librarians were crucial at this point, addressing such problems as book production, printing techniques, preservation, and theories of classification. The fourth stage moved back into the realm of the end-user scholar and historian of rhetoric: researching the history of publication, other editions, and scholarship on the item, and analyzing the contents. By the end of the seminar, not unexpectedly, a great many more titles had been researched through the first two stages than through all four.

The seminar itself had its genesis in the disparity between what the Clark catalogue made readily accessible and what scholars who had used the collection had discovered on their own. The twenty-seven titles of early books catalogued under the subject headings for rhetoric were combined with lists supplied by other scholars; the initial number was thus boosted to nearly one hundred and fifty. During the first weeks students researched these titles and gathered others which radiated out from them,

recording their findings directly onto the computer. These findings were printed and studied in common each week; some titles proved to be of only passing interest to the study of rhetoric, and others were more rewarding. As the students became more familiar with the collection, the project, and the varieties of documents in rhetoric, they began a systematic search of the Clark shelflist. The resulting search list, as it now stands, is intended primarily to identify materials which are worth further examination, and the number of items on it (now well over a thousand) will be sharply reduced as those items are scrutinized.

The Clark also has a rich collection of recently acquired materials which have not been fully catalogued, and the members of the seminar devoted the major part of their efforts to these holdings. Producing even an initial search list of these new materials required that each item be physically examined, and the process was time-consuming. Since such scrutiny had to take place inside the stacks area itself, the process required coordination with the Library Invigilators. The students also said that it was desperately cold working back there.

The project as it now stands is still far from complete, but several lines of research have already emerged from it. One study investigates the ideology of literacy in the Free-School Movement; another looks at changes in the self-conscious rhetoric of historiography during the eighteenth century, both on the Continent and in England; yet a third analyzes classroom pedagogies based upon the *ars memoria*.

We hope that within the year there will be available a complete checklist of all the Clark's holdings in rhetoric. When that checklist is eventually published, scholars outside of Southern California will find it convenient to plan research trips based upon these holdings. Given the wealth of rare holdings throughout the Los Angeles area, a union catalogue of materials in rhetoric at the various libraries may also prove useful, but that further project must wait upon the present one.

LAWRENCE D. GREEN



Professor Lawrence D. Green with seminar members (l. to r.) Kathleen Chapman, Susan Reed-Jones, Mary-Antoinette Smith, and Lynn Wright. Other participants in the rhetoric project are Sandra Ross, Giles Slade, and Jeff Wheeler.

The Glorious Revolution? — Matter for Debate

[Harry T. Dickinson's article on the Revolution of 1688–89, featured in *Newsletter* no. 15, prompted the comment by Murray G. H. Pittock that appears below. Professor Dickinson's response follows.]

It was interesting to read Professor Dickinson's article on "The Glorious Revolution of 1688–89" in the Fall 1988 *Newsletter*. Professor Dickinson is always lucid and precise in his exposition of the history of this period. However, it will surely be surprising to scholars to see so little reference in his article to the revisionist school of British historians, who have created a major controversy over the whole status of 1688–89 and its political consequences. In the 1715–54 volumes in the *History of Parliament* series, which appeared as long ago as 1970, Romney Sedgwick and Eveline Cruickshanks argued that the legacy of 1688 formed no consensus but was strongly and practically

opposed in Parliament by Jacobitism. This and related arguments have been elaborated in the work of many scholars since. In particular, Jonathan Clark's *English Society, 1688-1832* (1985) has challenged the entire notion of the Revolution as a constitutional event, instead arguing that an ancien régime persisted till 1832. Clark notably and at length also challenges the idea that Locke was ever a serious contributor to contemporary political ideology.

Clark's arguments have caused one of the most profound divisions among historians for many years, and have received spectacular public attention. The emerging revisionist view that there can be no notion of a stable parliamentary, let alone ideological, response to the claims of prerogative and the images of kingship finds expression in the work of Paul Monod, Daniel Szechi, Eveline Cruickshanks, and others. The vision of an ancien régime stretching far beyond 1688 is by no means damaged in the work of some historians of the Left, such as E. P. Thompson, whose *Whigs and Hunters* (1975) emphasizes the increasingly oppressive nature of the post-Revolution state.

Professor Dickinson may disagree with these scholarly developments, but it seems strange that he does not mention them in his summary of historical change in the era of the Revolution.

MURRAY G. H. PITTOCK
University of Aberdeen

* * * * *

Mr. Pittock has obviously been captivated by the work of a minority of revisionist scholars who have tried to claim that the Tory party was fully committed to the Jacobite cause in the decades after 1688, but some of his comments on my short essay are so ill founded that they merit a reply. I would like to make the following points:

1. In my references I mentioned only five modern scholars. Quite obviously, I could have referred to dozens of others if space had permitted. I find it curious that Mr. Pittock was so exercised about the fact that I did not mention a work of reference like the *History of Parliament* volumes, which deal with members of Parliament and constituencies in the years from 1715 to 1754, or to the work of Jonathan Clark on *English Society, 1688-1832*, which only breaks new ground with its views on Hanoverian England. Neither of these sources can be regarded as significant works on the Glorious Revolution. I fear Mr. Pittock's anxiety to see them mentioned indicates his own ideological commitment to a conservative interpretation of English history after 1688.

2. At no stage, in my essay or in previous publications, have I sought to claim that a political or ideological consensus was reached in 1688-89 or soon thereafter. Indeed, I have always accepted that there were conflicting views about the Glorious Revolution, both at the time and ever afterwards. I fully accept that some Tories never accommodated themselves to the Glorious Revolution and that some were supporters of a Jacobite restoration. Nothing in my essay implied that there was no Jacobite opposition to the events of 1688-89. I would add here, however, that I am unconvinced by those scholars, including Jonathan Clark and Eveline Cruickshanks (but not Paul Monod),

who have claimed that the Tory party under the first two Georges was overwhelmingly committed to the Jacobite cause. I find Linda Colley's *In Defiance of Oligarchy* (1982) far more convincing.

3. I never denied that some Tories opposed the Glorious Revolution. What I sought to stress in a very short piece was that there were some liberal, even radical, consequences of the Revolution.

4. Jonathan Clark is not a recognized expert on the Glorious Revolution, and *English Society, 1688-1832* cannot simply be cited as an unchallengeable authority on the Revolution. Indeed, it cannot be regarded as quite the earth-shattering work that Mr. Pittock believes it to be. He should read some highly critical reviews of it in such journals as the *Times Literary Supplement*, *Times Higher Education Supplement*, *English Historical Review*, *Past and Present*, *Albion*, *Enlightenment and Dissent*, *Durham University Journal*, etc.

5. I am quite unconvinced by Dr. Clark's claim that England was an ancien régime state on the European model from 1688 to 1832.

6. I am astonished at Mr. Pittock's breathtaking claim that Jonathan Clark challenged notably and at length the idea that "Locke was ever a serious contributor to contemporary political ideology." I very much doubt if Clark or anyone else believes that Locke's *Two Treatises* was not serious, was not a significant work of political ideology, or was not published during the debate on the Glorious Revolution! I presume that what Mr. Pittock meant to claim was that Locke should not be regarded as either the major ideological influence on the Whigs after 1688 or as the dominant shaper of English political ideology over the following decades. But, if that is his argument, he cannot claim that it was first put forward by Jonathan Clark. John Dunn and John Kenyon put forward this thesis long ago and, if Mr. Pittock reads my *Liberty and Property* with some care, he will find I made this point in 1977. Jonathan Clark frequently writes as if his ideas were newly minted (see, for example, his long section on the Industrial Revolution in *English Society*), when, in fact, they are derived from the earlier work of other scholars. Mr. Pittock shows his own unfamiliarity with the secondary historical literature when he fails to perceive this elementary fact.

7. Mr. Pittock is easily converted by "spectacular public attention." I am afraid it is no evidence of the scholarly merits or persuasive force of an author or his work.

H. T. DICKINSON
University of Edinburgh

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Spring 1989 at the Clark (clockwise from top left): Participants at one of the Center workshops on "Consumption and the World of Goods." Performers at a seminar on baroque dance, arranged by Wendy Hilton (photo left center). John Bidwell and visitors in the drawing room during a tour. An eighteenth-century cookery book in the exhibit "A Matter of Taste," mounted in connection with the seminar "Food and Wine in the 18th Century"; Simon Varey, organizer of the event; Professors Varey and Ronald Tobin with audience members; food authority Marilyn Harris; wine historian Darrell Corti.