

THE CENTER & CLARK NEWSLETTER

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

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A Lifted Veil

Last summer, while compiling a checklist of art objects owned by the Clark Library, Renée Chin, a UCLA undergraduate and a Getty intern, discovered a portrait of George Eliot in the art storage room. Senior Library staff had not seen this portrait before and an internal inventory conducted in 1936 appears to have been the last documentation of its existence.

The painting was executed early in 1850 during Eliot's stay abroad. The previous summer, Eliot had traveled to the Continent with her friends Charles and Cara Bray. When the Brays returned to England, Eliot remained in Geneva and in October became a boarder at the home of a Swiss artist, François D'Albert Durade, and his family. In a letter to the Brays dated 15 February 1850, Eliot writes: "You will be amused to hear that I am sitting for my portrait—at M. D'Albert's request-not mine. If it turns out well, I shall long to steal it to give to you-but M. D'Albert talks of painting a second and in that case I shall certainly beg one" (G. S. Haight, ed., *The George Eliot Letters*, Yale, 1954–78).

Although there is no evidence that the Brays ever received a copy, D'Albert did eventually paint several. Kathleen Adams (Those of Us Who Loved Her, George Eliot Fellowship, 1980) identifies three copies: "One of them was purchased from the painter's son Alphonse in 1905 by the National Portrait Gallery. . . . A second copy was given to Mary Ann [George Eliot] and was sold with other relics of George Eliot by the executors of Gertrude Lewes . . . in June 1923. Its present whereabouts are unknown. A third copy was painted for John Cross in 1881 and this now hangs in Coventry City Libraries." Haight mentions a fourth, an enlarged version painted by D'Albert in 1885 and presented by his sons to the Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire in Geneva.

The portrait given to Eliot and eventually sold at auction is the one that has come to light at the Clark. A label on the back of the portrait indicates that it once belonged to "Mrs. C[harles] L[ee] Lewes" (Gertrude). It was Charles Lewes's father, George Henry Lewes, whom Eliot lived with for twenty-four years until his death in 1878. Eliot thereupon named Charles her heir, and in 1880 he inherited the painting. A second label shows that, shortly after Charles's death, his widow lent the portrait to the New Gallery for the Victorian Exhibition, 1891-92. Some thirty years later, on 27 June 1923, Sotheby's auctioned it among a lot sold "by Order of the Executors of the Will of Gertrude . . . Lewes, being part of the Property of George Eliot bequeathed by her to Charles

Lee Lewes." It went for six pounds to "Spencer"—probably Walter T. Spencer, a London rare book and print dealer. From Spencer the painting passed directly or indirectly to an American bookseller, Alice Millard, who in turn sold it to William Andrews Clark, Jr., on 1 January 1924 for \$325.

A local conservator, Susanne Friend of ConservArt Associates, was called in early this year to analyze and treat the painting. She determined that it was not executed in oil, as earlier commentators had thought, but in a water-soluble paint. This discovery suggests that the portrait now at the Clark may be the original, the preliminary study from which D'Albert later made the copies in oil. Although it was in generally good condition, layers of dirt and mold obscured



Portrait of George Eliot, aet. 30, by François D'Albert Durade (1850; 13¾" x 101/2"). Photo by Susanne Friend, taken during the cleaning process.

the background, highlights, and details of dress, which are reemerging with vivid clarity as the surface is cleaned. When the cleaning is complete, the portrait will hang in the drawing room. We hope that this will be the first of many restoration projects to preserve the Library's artwork.

> SUZANNE TATIAN Reader Services

Hidden Assets

Every research library is a collection of collections, some donated, others purchased, some highly regarded, others overlooked at times, but all contributing to the net worth of the institution. Librarians strive to preserve and catalog these collections, hoping they will generate interest among the scholarly community—but inevitably some undervalued holdings do not receive the attention they deserve. Even at the Clark Library the portfolio of collections is somewhat more diversified than one would expect, despite the Library's long-standing commitment to its core responsibilities in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the 1890s, and modern graphic arts. This very specialized library contains some exceptional collections, meriting careful consideration and ranking among the most precious cultural assets of UCLA.

And these are not just odds and ends, acquired by accident, duly cataloged, and promptly forgotten; they are all significant additions to the Library, representing differing perceptions of its mission, constituency, and resources. Some of them date back to its very beginnings, before William Andrews Clark, Jr., had decided what it should achieve and where he should concentrate his efforts. Nevertheless, we would like to think that he embarked on these excursions more on intuition than on impulse. While on a business trip in Salt Lake City, he purchased sixty-one editions of the Book of Mormon, possibly on a whim, but more likely because he already owned a first edition, which inspired him to buy a string of later editions and a multitude of translations. Among other forays in Western Americana, he acquired eighteen Mexican manuscripts including a report on the government of California in 1829, which we now know to be in the hand of Agustín V. Zamorano, the first printer in this part of the country. Clark strayed in quite a different direction on his trips to Paris, where in addition to the classics in our period he obtained sixteenth-century highspots of French literature such as the first edition of Montaigne's Essais and assorted first editions of Ronsard.

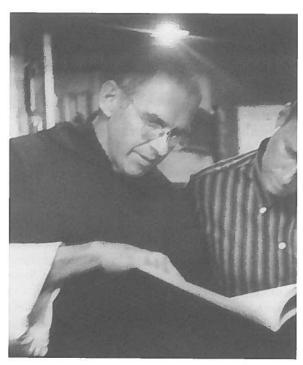
Although Clark never doted on early printing, he did admit more than a dozen incunabula for reasons we cannot ascertain. Not long after he died in 1934, his librarian selected several more, bringing the total to thirty-two. Why did his librarian succumb to this temptation? Nobody knows, though we should be grateful for these captivating examples of fifteenth-century typography, especially Petrarch's Historia Griseldis, which may be the earliest printed book at UCLA if the incunabulists are correct in dating it "about 1469."

We are glad to have it because this moral tale of the patient wife reappears in our many editions of Chaucer and in one of our eighteenth-century operas, featuring the famous castrato Senesino in the part of the domineering husband. Historians of science are still debating the significance of another Clark incunable, Regiomontanus's Epytoma in Almagestum Ptolemaei (1496), noteworthy for bringing certain discrepancies in the Ptolemaic system to the notice of the student astronomer Nicolaus Copernicus. We can now follow Copernican thought back to the beginning and up to the eighteenth century, having just acquired a manuscript English translation of Peter Megerlin's Systema Mundi Copernicanum.

Clark's taste in nineteenth-century literature centered on Dickens and other authors in the middle of the century but did not preclude Byron and Scott at one end or Robert Louis Stevenson at the other. Clark esteemed Stevenson's works so highly that he bought twenty-five of them at once, uniformly bound, one of his first auction purchases after he became a serious collector in 1917. More adventurous in later years, he obtained a presentation copy of *Treasure Island*, the privately printed Father Damien, and a Catriona curiously embellished with a self-portrait of the author. He closed out the century on the French side with a run of novels by Zola, inscribed, although Zola was not very much in sympathy with Oscar Wilde, who is our focal point in the fin de siècle.

Beginning with manuscripts, correspondence, and first editions bequeathed by Clark, our Oscar Wilde collection has grown in concentric circles over the last sixty years to encompass subcollections devoted to other 1890s figures, such as Max Beerbohm, Aubrey Beardsley, Alfred Douglas, and John Lane. Perhaps the least known but most promising of these subcollections consists of a nearly complete run of William Butler Yeats, including more than thirty holograph letters, a few manuscripts, all of the great rarities from Mosada to The Hour-Glass, and even a sub-subcollection on the Irish Theatre movement. We also have two copies of A. J. A. Symons's Yeats bibliography with his manuscript additions and revisions as well as a respectable collection of his other literary undertakings leading up to his famous biographical experiment, The Quest for Corvo. For obvious reasons, we have sought the correspondence of "A. J." with friends of Oscar Wilde, but we have also gathered papers relating to his First Edition Club and some of his biographies in manuscript. The quest for A. J. may have caused us to wander off the beaten path, though we now have another subcollection capable of supporting research on its own.

Although we have made some detours in our time, few would expect us to have swerved into the field of contemporary American poetry, where we have never ventured before and may never enter again. But we have another core collection in the graphic arts, which explains why we have a major archive of the work of William Everson, a master printer and one of the most important poets of the Beat Generation. The Clark collection contains his earliest literary efforts in the 1930s and papers representing a burst of creativity in the 1940s, when he started to reach a national audience in



The poet and printer William Everson, known as Brother Antoninus when he was a member of the Dominican order.

association with fellow poets Kenneth Rexroth and Robert Duncan, and began to experiment with handpress printing in the Arts and Crafts tradition. In addition to the literary manuscripts, the Clark has his correspondence of this period, his notes on printing techniques, and a five-hundredpage spiritual autobiography, "Prodigious Thrust." The Bancroft Library at UC Berkeley contains a complementary archive of his work after he converted to Catholicism in 1949. The credit for assembling the Clark archive goes to Director Emeritus Lawrence Clark Powell, the first to perceive Everson's potential and to encourage his career. In 1985 the Library reorganized the collection and completed a comprehensive guide with an itemized list of literary manuscripts and folder-level descriptions of correspondence, nearly thirteen hundred letters in all.

The Clark has many other unlikely collections—early American children's books, ballad broadsides about Napoleon, and a box full of French academic and commendatory verse celebrating military victories, dynastic marriages, and other festive occasions in the time of Louis XIV. These fourpage congratulatory odes are unrecorded in union catalogs and cataloging databases, but not for long. Just last month our new head cataloger, Stephen Tabor, began to report our holdings to OCLC. Improved cataloging methods will ensure that these hidden treasures will be valued properly and that our future acquisitions will never sink out of sight, no matter how scholarly fashions and institutional priorities may change. Even so, those who explore the most distant reaches of the Clark collection can expect an occasional surprise.

> JOHN BIDWELL Librarian

On-Line Finding Aids to the Clark

W. A. Clark, Jr., was always of two minds about public access to his book collection. On the one hand, he had a series of catalogs finely printed in limited editions by John Henry Nash and sent them as gifts to selected friends, other book collectors, and libraries. On the other, he seems not to have conceived the library building as a public-access facility; and the appearance of any of his catalogs on the market caused him great annoyance. When possession of the Library passed to UCLA in 1934, though, intellectual access to the collection became a primary concern, and over the next five decades the card catalog grew to become one of the glories of the Clark Library.

Until 1974 the only way one could explore the Clark's holdings was to pay us a visit. In that year, G. K. Hall in Boston published a "snapshot" of the card catalog, the fifteen-volume Dictionary Catalog of the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library. A copy of this set may be found on every campus of the University of California and at many research libraries throughout the country. For the technophobe it remains the only, and increasingly out-of-date, extramural access to the Clark's printed books.

If the Hall catalog had appeared a decade later it would have made a timely memorial to our venerable card file. By 1985, UCLA's on-line catalog ORION was up and roaring. Even traditionalists recognized the advantages of making an updated guide to the Clark's holdings accessible to the UCLA community, and in that year we began shipping out our catalog cards for transcription to electronic format. Since then we have done all our cataloging on-line. We maintained the card catalog in parallel with ORION until 1992, when we finally "closed" it—that is, stopped adding cards. Like most rare book libraries, we still love our card catalog and will not be throwing it away any time soon. But it will grow increasingly incomplete while the on-line version becomes an increasingly accurate record of our holdings. (I qualify the "accurate" because the Clark on-line catalog is not yet complete. About 10 percent of our printed-book records have yet to be added. Most of the manuscripts, and other media such as microfilm and artwork, remain accessible only through the card catalog or other finding aids available on-site.)

The growth of the Internet is now providing researchers worldwide with on-line access to the Clark's catalog. Three databases are available to anyone who has Telnet capability.

The most easily accessible is MELVYL, the union catalog of all the University of California libraries. MELVYL is available on every UC campus; for dial-up access, Telnet to "melvyl.ucop.edu." There is no charge, and help screens provide all that is needed to start searching. Search results can be limited to the UCLA libraries (use the "at UCLA" command) but not to the Clark specifically.

A second choice for searchers is ORION, the on-line catalog of the UCLA libraries. ORION is more complicated for beginners to use than is MELVYL, and access from off campus costs money unless one is a UCLA faculty member; it is always available free at UCLA libraries. The charge for private dial-in depends on the time of day one logs on but tends to run around one to four dollars per hour for UCLA nonfaculty staff and five to eight dollars per hour for non-affiliates. Contact UCLA Library Information Systems, (310) 825-7557, for details.

Researchers working on English materials should not ignore the English Short-Title Catalogue. ESTC is a machinebased continuation of the great printed catalogs of English imprints, STC (for 1475 to 1640) and Wing (for 1641 to 1700). It now contains records of the eighteenth-century English materials held by most of the major libraries and many smaller libraries in the English-speaking world. Recently, full catalog descriptions have been added for two-thirds of the entries in STC and one-third of those in Wing. The Clark Library's eighteenth-century printed-book holdings are substantially recorded here, often in greater detail than in our own catalog; and our Wing-period holdings will soon be added. For private researchers, Telnet access has been rather expensive—nearly a dollar a search—and the proprietor of the database, Research Libraries Group, is about to implement a restructuring of access modes and costs. Librarians at the Clark can offer advice on the various new ways of consulting ESTC which should be available by the time this article appears.

The debate over the merits of manual versus machinereadable catalogs is apt to continue well after most academic libraries have gone over to automation. The computer is in the ascendant, if only for economic reasons. One happy consequence is that the Clark's holdings may now be explored from beyond the walls by a growing number of scholars.

Stephen Tabor
Catalog/Reference Librarian

Fellows' Research on Life Studies

[The Center/Clark's yearlong program for 1994–95, "Life Studies: Autobiography, Biography, and Portrait in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," enjoyed the participation of three Ahmanson/Getty fellows. They discuss their research below.]

I - THE INVENTION OF CONSTANCE DE SALM

Born into the French provincial nobility as Constance-Marie de Théis, celebrated during the Revolution as Citoyenne Pipelet, the *femme philosophe* who died the princesse de Salm claimed a prominent position within the republic of letters that has become a locus of scholarly debate. In every incarnation, she crafted herself for the public. An accomplished author who published her plays, poetry, and *Pensées* without apology, Salm fully expected public recognition of her genius. As she neared the close of her life, she might well have believed her ambitions fulfilled. Applauded at new educa-

tional institutions such as the revolutionary *lycées*, appointed to provincial scholarly societies, lauded as a *salonnière*, Salm earned a renown matched by only a handful of her female contemporaries. In an explicit bid for immortality, she painstakingly prepared her voluminous correspondence for publication and selected, from her vast corpus, those works to be published in her *Oeuvres complètes*. She had largely faded from public memory within a generation.

The first problem posed by this life story, then, is one of historical memory. Salm was a prominent salonnière as salons entered their decline, an adherent of Enlightenment classicism during the rise of romanticism, and a self-described philosophe in the era of the triumph of feminine domestic fiction. Her identities appear, at first glance, to fit uneasily with her times. Yet Salm represented less the quintessential outsider than a transitional figure in a revolutionary age. Her story raises a series of compelling questions about the relationship of late-eighteenth-century canon formation to political and intellectual revolutions, the receptivity of male and female readers to various literary genres, and the nature of historical memory.

Salm's extraordinary public victories in her own lifetime also complicate considerably our understanding of what Joan Landes has called the fall of "public" woman in the Age of Revolution. Throughout the years of revolution and into the nineteenth century, Salm wielded power as a woman with privileged access to print culture. The written word was the forum, as she put it, through which she remained "in contact with the universe." Forging a "reasonable" distance from the domestic models suggested by Rousseau and his revolutionary heirs, Salm refused relegation to the private. But if Salm publicly proclaimed women's right to the pen, she never attained the full prerogatives of the individual. As I have argued in "Laws of Nature/Rights of Genius: The Drame of Constance de Salm" (in Going Public: Women and Publishing in Early Modern France, ed. Elizabeth Goldsmith and Dena Goodman, Cornell University Press, forthcoming), the disjunctures and lacunae in the narratives of the self that she left to posterity suggest the difficulties she faced in her attempt to forge a coherent, unified persona. Salm, deeply invested in a notion of a self possessed of free will and moral responsibility, consciously defined herself as a shaper of public opinion. Yet her life demonstrates even more forcefully the power of public opinion to circumscribe the boundaries of the female self. Her laborious and consuming efforts to craft and to control her own public image open a new critical perspective on the narratives of an autonomous self to which we are heir, and suggest the processes through which subjectivity took shape in dialogue with publicity in the Age of Revolution.

During my fellowship at the Clark Library, I have juxtaposed Salm's modes of self-narration to journalists' representations of her persona and to the public reception of her work. My focus has been the multiple "publics" within which she defined herself in the eighteenth century, including the republic of letters, redefined through the *lycées*, the limited public of her salon, and the female literary public. Salm's extensive correspondence suggests her ambivalent relationship to the literary ambitions of her female contemporaries. Repeatedly compelled in self-defense to express support for women's right to the pen as a general principle, she preferred the status of "exceptional woman" to the more troublesome title "defender of women" and measured her own achievements against those of her male peers. She left behind an extensive record of her friendships with prominent men of letters with whom she sustained a correspondence, in some cases, through half a century. Yet Salm also engaged in a series of intimate epistolary exchanges with women as diverse as her young provincial admirer Sophie de Salis, the salonnière Sophie Gay, and the princesse de la Tour et Taxis. The nature of the friendships that she forged with women in the process of developing her own public identity as femme de lettres sheds light upon the processes through which a female literary public took shape in the revolutionary era.

Salm's friendship with the moderate republican editors of La décade philosophique, who attended her salon faithfully, reviewed her work warmly, and published her poetry on demand, also provides an unusual opportunity to explore the intimate connection of authorship to shifting paradigms of individualism and domesticity in late-eighteenth-century republican circles. Girodet's lithograph, reproduced here, in which Salm appears surrounded—one might say dwarfed by the busts of the male intelligentsia, bespeaks her ambivalent position even within the limited public of her salon. The paradox whereby the very men who christened Salm "Muse de la Raison" also urged women to preserve themselves from "the contagion of letters" and denied women the capacity for genius suggests the tenuous identity of the individual in his post-Thermidorian embodiments. Female authorship, particularly when it spilled beyond the "feminine" genres, was experienced as newly aggressive in circles in which



Foldout from Oeuvres complètes de Madame la princesse Constance de Salm, vol. 2 (Paris, 1841). University Research Library, UCLA.

the identity of the male individual coalesced, above all, in

My broad objective has been the application of the tools of cultural history and critical and feminist theory to problems of writing, gender, and subjectivity. This approach, which uses Salm's studied dance with "public opinion" to highlight the nature of identity formation in one specific historical location, exposes even the purportedly bounded, autonomous self as a complex process—not a product—of negotiation. The permeable boundaries between self and public in Salm's fractured narratives suggest that we shift our attention from a theory of a public sphere defined by the free exchange of ideas between rational individuals to the public practices through which the individual was constituted.

> ELIZABETH COLWILL Department of History San Diego State University

II - THE ORIGINS OF THE INDIVIDUALIST SELF

Thanks to the narrative turn currently being taken by some in the humanities (a recent spin-off of the broader and more familiar "linguistic turn"), scholars in all fields have become aware of the close relationship between narrative and the self. My study, entitled "The Origins of the Individualist Self: Autobiographical Practice and Self-Identity in Britain, 1591-1791," is intended to make a contribution to our understanding of both narrative and selfhood from the perspective of cultural history. One might call it an exercise in the literary-historical-anthropological.

The project has two principal objectives: one literary-historical, the other historical-anthropological. In pursuing the former, I attempt to identify the various traditions of autobiographical discourse in early modern Britain which contributed to the making of "autobiography" proper—the retrospective, first-person, narrativized prose life history common to the nineteenth century. In pursuing the latter, I attempt to represent this confluence of discursive traditions as the process of constructing a peculiarly modern form of selfidentity—that of the person as an autonomous, self-authorizing "individual." In other words, I attempt to write the account of the emergence of modern autobiographical discourse in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Britain as a chapter in the story of the acculturation of the individualist

Numerous historians and sociologists have identified early modern England as the birthplace of modern individualism, a conception which has long been a commonplace of historical and social studies. It remains, for instance, an unquestioned premise in most of the recent work on consumer culture in Britain during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which assumes that people embodied a peculiarly modern kind of self-identity: that of the self-centered, unified, autonomous agent who views himself as his own telos. However, this image teeters on a precarious foundation. In fact, we know very little about the self-identities of historical agents during this or any other period besides our own. Early modern theoretical writings—for example, treatises of Protestant theology and industrial capitalist economic rationality-have led us to conclude that ordinary people in their day were, in the words of one recent scholar, "rampant individualists." But how did theoretical discourse trickle down into personal practice? Did early modern men and women actually imagine their self-identities along the lines we moderns (or, some may prefer, postmoderns) have ascribed to them; and if so, how, why, and to what degree? These are the anthropological questions my study explores.

Recent work in psychology, ethical philosophy, and literary studies has indicated the central role played by autobiographical narrative in a person's self-conceptualization. In this view, a self is a constructor of narratives about a life, an autobiographical practitioner. Following this insight, I look at a broad range of autobiographical writings in early modern Britain in order to discover what kinds of selves contemporaries created. I ask of these writings, why this narrative or that, and not some other? I pose the question first, by defining the content or substance of the narratives—asking, what are these texts fundamentally about? Analysis thus far has indicated that their subject matter is unlike that of modern autobiographical texts. Rather than accounts of personal achievement or stories of self-discovery-narratives typical of the individualist self, as I conceive it-early modern British autobiographers wrote about the work of Providence, or about family honor. Despite the obvious tendency of autobiographical discourse to individualize, writers do not seem to have employed the concept of personal autonomy before the latter half of the eighteenth century, which suggests that only then did a definitive shift in the form of self-identity commence.

Second, besides considering their content, I examine the writings as specimens of early modern autobiographical form. I ask, are the narratives narrativized; that is, do they contain a manifest or latent story form? As Hayden White has shown, history conceived in story form represents a different mode of human consciousness than history composed as chronicle or annals, which lack closure. The closure achieved through narrativization constitutes individual authority. Thus the configuration of life history as story (as opposed to res gestae, for instance) indicates a particular authority over personal experience: the autobiographer who writes a narrativized autobiography constitutes himself as the author of his self. This authority is, in my view, the sine qua non of individualist self-identity. Autobiographies lacking narrative closure diaries and memoirs, for example—fail to constitute such authority, and represent an alternative form of selfidentification. My analysis so far indicates that narrativity does not appear in autobiographical writing in Britain until the mid-eighteenth century. This fact, together with the aforementioned change in subject matter, suggests that at the personal level, individualism in Britain did not become significant until much later than we have preferred to imagine.

Complementing the development of narrative form is the development of the material form of the autobiography as text, which my study also addresses. The modern autobiography is almost always a book, a fact which bears implications for both the history of the genre and the acculturation of the individualist self. The seventeenth century saw a significant change in the medium of the autobiographical text: diaries, journals, and other forms of first-person discourse were being written on paper in increasing numbers, and some (or parts thereof) made their way into print. Whose experience was most likely to be written down, and whose then printed? Why? What was the interest in preserving certain forms of autobiographical writing, and how did such writing's appearance in print, as a consumable commodity, affect contemporary self-identity and autobiographical practice? Was there some relationship between the authority conferred by print and the authority achieved through autobiographical narrativity? On the basis of what I have been able to determine so far, I believe the answer to this latter question is yes. However, the relations are complex; moreover, they bear directly on the question of the origins of individualism, as I conceive them.

These are, I believe, interesting and useful questions which have not yet been posed either of early modern autobiographical discourse or of individualism. By arriving at plausible answers to them, I hope at least to show that both institutions have peculiar yet also interdependent histories of which we are at present but dimly aware.

> MICHAEL MASCUCH Department of Rhetoric University of California, Berkeley

III - CONNECTING MEMORY TRACES

During my fellowship I have pursued the attempt to connect cognition and culture through historical studies of theories of memory, brain, and self. With a background in modern philosophy of mind and in history of science, I am working toward a historical cognitive science. This orientation opens up neglected areas in early modern neuroscience and moral physiology and is potentially useful for polemical purposes in current debates about narrative truth in memory.

My primary project has been the completion of a book, provisionally titled "Connecting Memory Traces: Animal Spirits, Neurophilosophy, and the Phantasmal Chaos of Association." In it I reread philosophical and medical theories of brain, memory, and association from Descartes to Coleridge and apply them to modern connectionist cognitive science. I argue that the theory of animal spirits (material fluids acting as bearers of neural information) supported early modern views of memory quite unlike the familiar image of a static repository in which independent items are kept in cold storage until called up by an executive will. Memories were not bodies stored in a place but motions of, or patterns in, animal spirits. Since the fickle spirits were in incessant motion, however, representations in memory could only be transient rather than enduring: they had to be reconstructed in new contexts rather than faithfully reproduced.

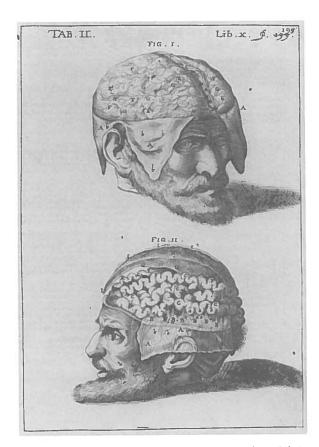
Awareness of this "distributed" model of memory (accepted in different forms by some English natural philosophers as well as French Cartesians) throws unusual light on a number of issues about the self and the past. Seventeenth-century "mechanism," in neuroscience at least, allowed more dynamic or baroque activity in body and brain than is often noticed: the body was permeated (via its animal spirits) by culture and environment. Machines and automata in the fabular world of Descartes's L'homme do not simply signify passive matter: these animated statues not only dream and feel but also remember, entailing that each physical system, even without a soul, displays individual bodily difference (in brain traces and spirit motions) owing to history, culture, and environment. Mental representation did not have to be either pictorial or syntactic, image or word, but had an alternative neurophilosophical basis in superposed spirit motions blending with each other.

But the threat of catastrophic interference, what Henry More called "a great deal of preposterous confusion" in the memory, which such models seemed to allow, implicated neurophysiology directly in debates about the appropriate ordering of the individual past. If memories are intrinsically chaotic, prone to "a disorderly floating" in the brain as Glanvill wrote with distaste, then the continuity of present self with past actions required for moral, juridical, and eschatological responsibility is challenged.

The understanding of responses to these dilemmas requires that neuroscience be linked to "life studies" and early modern norms for self-government. Some sought techniques for consciously imposing stasis, and thus purity, on what Malebranche called "those dangerous [brain] traces that corrupt the heart and mind": he suggested, if other cognitive ways to "divert or control the unruly spirits" failed, that we "carefully attach the thought of eternity, or some other solid thought" to fix the folds of the brain in place. But memory motions kept, inconveniently, intruding into the highest domains of rational thought, escaping the attentions of the will.

As idealized and aestheticized views of the self as free rational male moral agent narrowed in the eighteenth century, at least in England, the domain of moral physiology became increasingly problematic. In the Lockean tradition in philosophy and literature, continuity of self rested on consciousness extended into the past by memory: but if memory depends on the transient, random, violent motions of fleeting animal spirits, then stability is unlikely. The putative moral subject cannot separate out past and present and is embedded instead in the whirling world of Tristram Shandy, whose animal spirits have been "ruffled beyond description" by the sad circumstances of his conception.

This interpretation is underlined by a puzzle in the history of neurophysiology, one which has been noticed by Foucault, G. S. Rousseau, and others, but never directly ad-



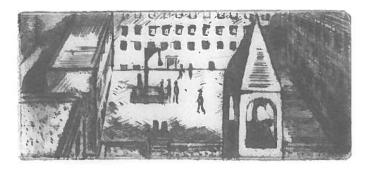
From Daniel Bucretius, De Humani Corporis Fabrica Libri Decem (Venice, 1627). History and Special Collections Division of the Louise M. Darling Biomedical Library, UCLA.

dressed. Animal spirits were eliminated as theoretical entities from the 1740s on. Why? This was not the inevitable triumph of a successor theory, for neural electricity was not well developed or accepted before, at the very earliest, the 1770s. The quick and nimble spirits lost their attraction as hypothetical constructs, I argue, just as the irregularities and confusion in cognition and memory which they allowed became unacceptable, as the newly moralized image of the man of feeling was increasingly vulnerable to the fragility of memory motions.

In modern approaches to personal identity, theorists are attracted to two domains, which are in some tension. On the one hand, the self is what Dan Dennett calls "a centre of narrative gravity," spinning itself in language and image, creating different selves in different narrative contexts. On the other hand, it is important to acknowledge bodily constraints on self-creation, and the ways that new life stories in turn affect bodies and bodily experience. The neurophilosophy and history of memory provide one way to keep both narrative and body in mind, particularly when it is acknowledged that the past can influence and constrain present selves without having been passively stored in a timeless register.

> JOHN SUTTON Department of Philosophy University of Sydney

The Legacy of Reading Gaol





On 25 May 1895, Oscar Wilde was sentenced to serve two years in prison. Observing the hundredth anniversary of his incarceration, the Center/Clark will present a program, on 3 June 1995, considering the impact of Reading Gaol on Wilde's life and poetry. An accompanying exhibition will feature the recently rediscovered typescript of his *Ballad of Reading Gaol*, acquired by the Clark in 1994. Materials documenting the origins and interpretation of the poem will be on display at the Library through September. Reproduced above are etchings by Rudolph Schlichter (1890–1955) from *The Ballad of Reading Gaol* (Munich: O. C. Recht, 1923), one of the many illustrated editions included in the exhibition.

Chamber Music Series

Concluding its first season this April, the series titled "Chamber Music at the Clark" met with success among the public and received favorable attention from the press. The Library drawing room—admired both for its acoustics and for its beauty—was filled to capacity at each of the year's three programs. "As a concert venue, the handsome . . . Clark Library is for the happy few, but not only the wealthy happy few," commented Herbert Glass of the Los Angeles Times.

The series, generously supported by the Ahmanson Foundation, was conceived as a way of enhancing the cultural life of the community by offering concerts of the highest quality at a modest admission fee. Although only a portion of the devotees were able to obtain seating at the Clark events, all three programs were subsequently broadcast in full by KUSC, the radio station of the University of Southern California. KUSC's Alan Chapman hosted the concerts, providing commentary on the pieces performed.

Four concerts are planned for the year 1995–96. The American String Quartet, the Bartok Quartet, and the Endellion String Quartet will perform in January, March, and April, respectively. Negotiations with a fourth ensemble are in process. Procedures for making reservations will be announced in late fall.

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