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The Growth of Shakespeare's Library: Paul Chrzanowski's Second Gift to the Clark

Nina Schneider, *Clark Head Cataloger*

In 2008 the Clark Head Librarian, Bruce Whiteman, received a once-in-a-lifetime query: "Was the library interested in a major donation of rare and valuable books that may have been read by Shakespeare?" Paul Chrzanowski, a physicist at the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, had been collecting a library of English books that Shakespeare read or might have read during his lifetime. They comprised texts on history, religion, literature, poetry, drama, and science. Donated the following year, the 72 works served as both direct and indirect sources of Shakespeare's works, including the second and fourth folios of his works, as well as a 1619 quarto of one of his plays. Paul was looking for a new steward who would value these books and make them available to faculty, scholars, and students. We were lucky. It was the most important and significant gift the Clark Library ever received.

The Clark celebrated this generous and thoughtful donation with a special event that included a display of the books and a talk by Paul about how he became interested in the subject, as well as tales of his adventures in book collecting. During the question-and-answer session, someone in the audience asked what he was collecting at the moment. With a bittersweet tone in his voice, he answered that his significant acquisitions of the early modern period were over, and a few more titles that he would have liked to own were either in research libraries already or so scarce that he probably wouldn't have a chance to buy them.

While inspecting the books upon delivery to the library, the appraiser, Michael Thompson, mentioned to Paul that he knew about a very rare first edition of John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*, currently on the market. Anyone standing in that room would have known immediately that Paul's collecting days were far from over.

Early this year, the Clark Library received nine additional titles that Mr. Chrzanowski has collected since that fateful moment over boxes and bubble wrap five years ago. They range in date from 1563 to 1765 and include three multi-volume sets of the works of Shakespeare: the 1725 quarto edited by Alexander Pope, the first illustrated edition of 1709, and Samuel Johnson's edition of 1765. The Johnson edition is not currently owned by the Clark Library. Six titles are new to UCLA and two of the nine titles are only available in libraries on the East Coast or in Great Britain. One is a unique manuscript.

Foxe's 1563 *tour de force* is among this donation. At nearly 1800 pages, the folio chronicles the history of the Christian church and the persecution and deaths of "true believers." Commonly called the *Book of Martyrs*, it is illustrated with numerous woodcuts depicting gruesome torture with examples documenting suffering and death during the reign of Queen Mary. One can easily understand how the



First edition of Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*. [Actes and Monuments of these latter and perillous dayes (London: John Day, 1563) *Chrzanowski 1563f]

work validated England's split with Rome, invigorated Puritanism, and antagonized relationships between Elizabethan England and Spain, because copies of the *Book of Martyrs* were put on display in English cathedrals. The book can be compared to Paul's 2009 donation of John Wilkes' copy of the greatly expanded 1641 edition.

Roger Ascham's *The Scholemaster, or, Plaine and Perfitte Way of Teaching Children, to Understand, Write, and Speake, the Latin Tongue* (London, 1573) was the product of a pedagogical system Ascham developed while tutoring Princess Elizabeth. The first edition was published in 1570 but quickly went into multiple editions. In this copy a note from a previous owner states, "It is amusing that Ascham's widow dedicated this to Lord Burleigh, whose Latin was so bad that the first English translation of More's *Utopia* was made for his benefit."



This large folio manuscript of 50 leaves is written in two secretary hands (and notes in a third), with nearly 500 hand-painted coats of arms in color. ["The Names and Creacions of All or the Most of the Nobilitie from William the Conqueror Until the Yeare of Grace 1586 ..."] (England: ca. 1590) *f Chrzanowski 150n].

Also included is the first edition of an anthology of English poetry, compiled by Robert Allott. *Englands Parnassus, or The Choyest Flowers of Our Modern Poets* was published in 1600 for Nicholas Ling, Cuthbert Burby, and Thomas Hayes, identified only by their initials on the title page. The provenance of this particular volume can be traced from the eighteenth century through armorial bookplates, inscriptions, and booksellers' notes. It includes a number of extracts from Shakespeare's poems and early plays, as well as selections from Jonson, Marlowe, Spenser, and others.

Greenes Arcadia, or, Menaphon: Camillaes Alarum to Slumber Eupheus in His Melancholy Cell at Selexedra is the fourth edition of the widely popular romantic adventure. Altogether, there are fewer than a dozen extant copies of the earlier editions. Thomas Nashe, a friend of Robert Greene, wrote the "Preface to the Gentleman Students of both Universities" and served as a model for one of Shakespeare's characters in *Love's Labour's Lost*.

A collection of comedies, written by John Lyly and published together for the first time in 1632 by William Stansby for Edward Blount, is significant for a number of reasons. *Six Court Comedies, Often Presented and Actted before Queene Elizabeth by the Children of her Maiesties Chappell, and the Children of Paules* provides a glimpse into court life and amusements. Lyly is praised as "the onely rare

poet of that time" and "vnparalleld" for good reason. He is the first playwright to use multiple literary and historical sources for his works, and he influenced Shakespeare to do the same.

The final volume of this donation is a late sixteenth-century manuscript. Written in three separate hands, "The Names and Creacions of All or the Most of the Nobilitie from William the Conqueror Until the Yeare of Grace 1586," was likely produced in England in 1590, or thereabouts. The folio contains almost 500 hand-painted coats of arms, with the names and titles of the aristocracy. The armory was recorded chronologically and includes some biographical information.

With the addition of these nine titles, the Clark Library is able to offer researchers further opportunity to study the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries through the lens of literature, education, and history. UCLA, the Center for 17th- and 18th-Century Studies, and the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library are profoundly grateful to Paul Chrzanowski for his generosity.

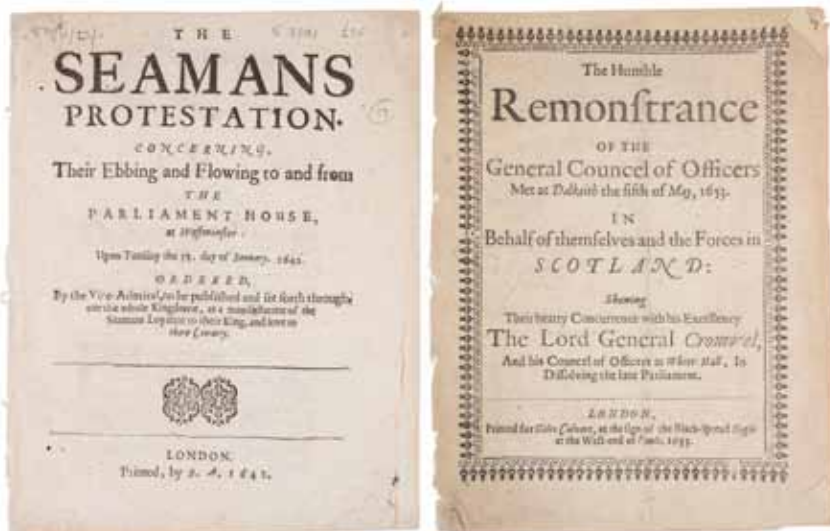
Confrontations between English Pirates and Spanish Officials in the Caribbean

Amanda J. Snyder, *Ahmanson-Getty Postdoctoral Fellow, UCLA*

As an Ahmanson-Getty postdoctoral fellow this year, I participated in the Iberian Globalization of the Early Modern World core program at the Clark Library. My work on early modern piracy and settlement in the Caribbean focuses chiefly on the island of Jamaica's transition from a Spanish territory to an English colony in the mid-seventeenth century, under the Interregnum rule of Oliver Cromwell. I argue that pirates, exiles, and maroons made possible the establishment of the English colony at Jamaica. The island was not simply a backwater to either the Spanish or the English as many modern scholars argue. My research echoes the now fifty-year-old study by Francisco Morales Padrón that shows Jamaica's importance within Caribbean affairs. I analyze how crime aided Caribbean settlement and how the criminal labels affected developing Caribbean identities. European settlement in the Caribbean, in Jamaica especially, grew out of criminal and exile communities, not "proper" English or Spanish societies of religious reformers, landed gentlemen, or wealthy merchant-adventurers. The collections at the Clark have enhanced this research and aided me significantly in constructing my book manuscript, especially in regard to my reevaluation of Interregnum naval plans and foreign policy.

Aside from the physical copies of the English *Calendars of State Papers* and access to *Early English Books Online*, the Clark has a number of seventeenth-century letters from English soldiers and diplomats that are important to my research. Some such letters recount the "unheard of Popish cruelties towards Protestants beyond the Seas" that added fuel to Anglo-Spanish tensions in the New World. My research has made use of several Spanish Inquisition trials spanning the Atlantic from Seville, Spain to San Juan de Ulua and Veracruz, Mexico. English sailors and pirates occasionally found themselves subject to the New World Inquisition proceedings marked as "luteranos." Luteranos was a broad term used to refer to Protestants. By labeling pirates as luteranos, the Spanish could justify imprisoning and prosecuting Englishmen in the New World. The English then used these cases as justification for continued raiding and conflict with the Spanish in the Americas. The cycle of violence, retribution, and reprisal continued.

Other letters, like *The Humble Remonstrance of the General Councel of Officers Met at Dalkeith the fifth of May, 1653*, stress the



The *Seamans Protestation* (Pam coll 1642) was a call-to-arms for the Cavaliers in support of the King. Ultimately, Cromwell and his Roundheads made the English navy their own. In *The Humble Remonstrance of the General Council of Officers* (Pam coll 1653) the officers in Dalkeith, Scotland stressed their soldiers' fidelity to keep fighting for Cromwell.



Sir Richard Fanshawe illuminated Cromwell's intricate foreign policy towards Spain and Portugal. [Fanshawe, *Original Letters* (*DP185 F21)]

Scottish soldiers' desire to keep fighting for Oliver Cromwell and the Parliamentary cause and to never "be led back again to stoop to any...yoke of Bondage, either in Spiritual or Temporal Kingle Power" (Anonymous, 7). Cromwell the politician knew how to speak to the general populace and gain its favor. It is his work as a politician, not just as a religious fanatic, that has received much less attention in modern scholarship. Few historians have made detailed study of Cromwell's foreign policy. Some of these rarer publications, like Charles Korr's *Cromwell and the New Model Foreign Policy* (1975), can be found in the Clark's reference holdings. Combined with primary sources available at the Clark like the *Original Letters of his Excellency Sir Richard Fanshawe, during His Embassies in Spain and Portugal* and letters from René Augier (a Parliamentary agent in Paris who served under Charles I and throughout the Interregnum) these unique resources offer important insights into the intricate and rather insightful foreign policy of Cromwell and his main advisor and secretary, John Thurloe.

The seventeenth-century diarist and Restoration naval administrator Samuel Pepys remains one of the few contemporary writers to praise Interregnum naval preparations and organization. Pepys' writings, including his *Naval Minutes*—also among the holdings at the Clark—are among some of the canonical texts for seventeenth-century historians. While Pepys wrote post-Interregnum, his commentary and praise of Parliamentary and Protectorate policy further substantiates my research in calling for a reexamination of Interregnum naval policy. While not all criticism of the Protector is undeserved, Cromwell's naval schemes, organization, and his foreign policy merit greater attention. Cromwell's New Model Army has received much scholarly attention, but his New Model Navy, especially in the Atlantic, deserves the same treatment. As stated by an anonymous author in the 1642 *The Seamans Protestation*, the navy provided for "the keeping of a Crown upon a Kings head, for the procuration of the Subjects Loyaltie, and unfeigned fidelity to their Monarch, for the flourishing of Traffique and Marchandizing this Kingdoms right-hand [and for] the continuation of all" (Anonymous, 2). Though this protestation was meant to be a call-to-arms for the Cavaliers in support of the King, it was instead Cromwell and his Roundheads who made the Navy their own and won the fidelity of the sailors, who, "always abroad," continued to build England's Atlantic empire (Anonymous, 2).

In addition to the vast number of plays (dramas, comedies, and satires) available in the Clark's seventeenth-century holdings, there is also a collection titled *Spanish Letters: Historical, Satirical, and Moral; of the Famous Don Antonio de Guevara: Bishop of Mondonedo, Chief Minister of State, and Historiographer Royal to the Emperor Charles V.* The collection, printed in 1697, shows a progression of Anglo-Spanish relations over the seventeenth century. Studied in combination with original letters, like those of the aforementioned Fanshawe, the researcher can ascertain a great deal about not only the English state's opinions and dealings with Spain and her officials but also of the general populace's reception of those political maneuverings. Some of the deductions are further enhanced by comparison with works like *The Last Memorial of the Spanish Ambassador Faithfully Translated into English* (1681) and the summary *Merchant's Complaint against Spain* (1738). *The Merchant's Complaint* creates a dialogue among Henry VIII, Edward VI, Prince Henry, Queen Mary, Queen Elizabeth, and Queen Anne over Spanish "pretensions...depredations and cruelties" against English merchants in the New World. Though these works were published later than my study, the enduring legacy of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Anglo-Spanish war is important to note. The works include and draw from significant Parliamentary letters, diplomatic correspondence, and legal proceedings of the earlier period as evidence to support their arguments.

I close with much thanks and gratitude to the UCLA Center for 17th- and 18th-Century Studies and to the staff and librarians at the Clark for all their consideration and support during my residency. The Clark has been an amazing place to work this past year, and I am ever grateful for the opportunity to have worked here.

To Tune the Nation: English Political Verse, 1678–1689

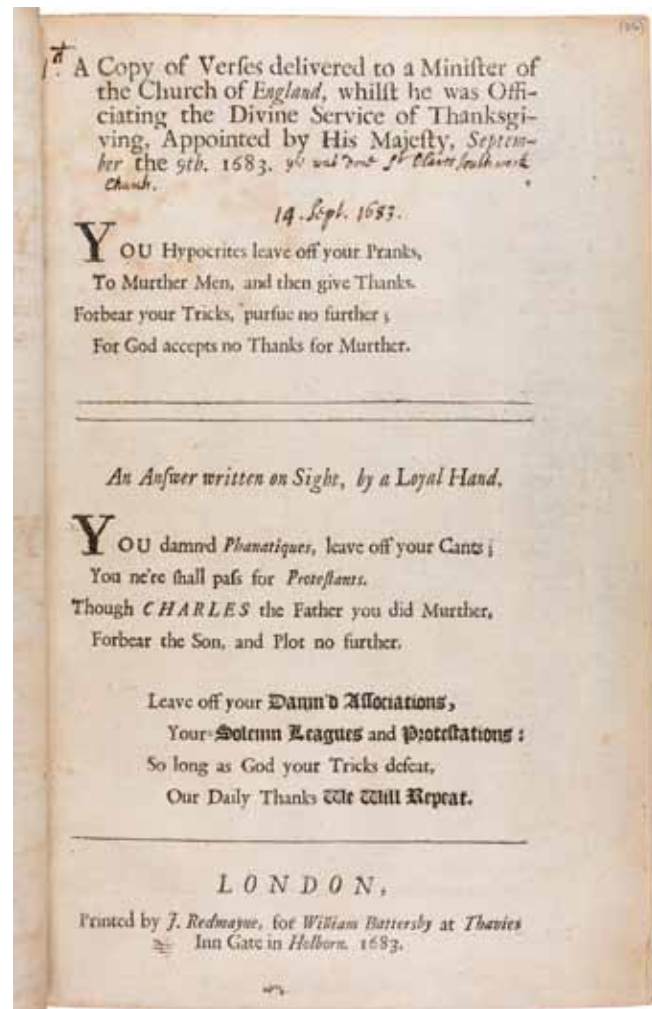
Leanna McLaughlin, *Clark Predoctoral Fellow, UC Riverside*

In the 1683 preface to *City Politiques*, John Crowne almost carelessly remarked, “Parliament...no doubt they will endeavor to tune the Nation.”¹ Crowne described perfectly, in four words, poetry’s role in the events of latter seventeenth-century English political culture. Average English men and women could not escape the canon-like overlapping of verse and song. Well-known tunes permeated the culture. But lyric and verse did not just fill the air with sound; they were purposefully designed in this period to adjust the political opinions of an increasingly active body politic. Contemporaries used poetry, songs and other verse “to tune the nation.” Crowne’s concern, however, was not that Parliament was swaying its members to one vote or another, but that poets were encouraging “a Rabble [to] fling dirt in their faces.”² By studying the media and genres that concerned contemporaries, we can better understand public agitation and the formation of party during the 1680s.

It is first necessary to identify early modern poetry as a potent political force. Many scholars have blended poetry as a source with other forms of propaganda, such as pamphlets, sermons, or petitions, to understand the totality of partisan messages, but this genre deserves to be studied independently. Poetry and song could be used as a top-down means of partisan communication from members of Parliament, civic administrators, the aristocracy, and even circumspectly, the monarch.³ Yet as innumerable contemporary complaints indicate, members of the lower social orders also wrote verse as an outlet for criticisms, grievances, and anxieties. Rhymes, tunes, and other metered messages created a sort of common talking ground for all members of the body politic. Moreover, print provided the medium that allowed the lower sorts and the elite to connect through verse.

For several years I have been exploring the role of printed and manuscript political poetry and song on English partisanship and political action from the Popish Plot to the Glorious Revolution, 1678–1689. With the original intention of scouring the Clark’s holdings for poetic miscellanies, commonplace books, and other manuscript materials for clandestine political poetry, my tenure at the Clark focused increasingly on the extensive broadside and printed poetry collections held there. Prior to my work at the Clark, I had uncovered and cataloged slightly more than 1,000 printed verses for this ten-year period. During my two-month fellowship, I added nearly 450 more. These printed poems not only included items missed that conformed to my original searches but also new avenues of versed political communication: prologues and epilogues of plays, song collations, lesser rejoinders to well-known epics, and couplets or quatrains at the ends of pamphlets.

These discoveries demonstrated to me that printed and orally broadcasted verse had multiple elements. First, printed verse communicated ideology by acting as a sort of news system. Rather than actual objective reporting, poetry and song behaved like news commentary. Some versifiers used the medium as a serious means of buttressing political favorites or lambasting opposition. Other poets satirized, and sometimes vilified, occasions that warranted comment. Present during formal congregations such as parades, feasts, pageants, and at informal gatherings, like pubs, coffeehouses, street performances, and firesides, verses were so pervasive that contemporaries had no difficulty receiving news, biased though it was. Printed poetry, therefore, kept the populace aware of the deepening partisanship of the 1680s.



“A Copy of Verses Delivered to a Minister of the Church of England Whilst He Was Officiating the Divine Service of Thanksgiving, Appointed by His Majesty, September the 9th, 1683.” If taken at its word, this printed text demonstrates political poetry in action and it also exhibits the swiftness of reply, as there is a rejoinder “Written on Sight” accompanying it. [Poetry, Longvines no. 26 (*PPR1213 p74)]

Second, more than just reflecting on intensifying partisanship, poems and songs were also an intrinsic element of many planned and spontaneous demonstrations throughout the decade as well. Songs and poems could be heard in the crowds of pope-burning processions, apprentice demonstrations, entertainments, and festivals, making it a significant element of indoctrination. Verse consolidated feeling, heightened fervency, and provided unity. Verse also acted as an element of memory. A replayed tune or simple refrain could almost instantaneously remind listeners of an event and allow them to relive experiences. Simply put, verse lingered.

Third, both parties used printed verse to encourage particular behaviors in readers and listeners. Not all attempts to sway conduct were overtly political. Poetic calls for people to mourn, listen, seek vengeance, pray, rejoice, sing for the cause, take oaths, toast, be loyal, be silent, avoid faction and civil war, avoid association, feel shame, and remember were all featured in the bombardment of messages the populace heard. Some poems, however, were clearly written to decide political activities, such as vote casting, as demonstrated in *A Seasonable Memento for All that Have Voyces in the Choyce of Parliament*:

Would you be free from all the Yoaks of Rome?
And sit in Peace and quiet at your Home?...
Would you be Free-born Subjects as you are,
To whom you give your Votes, then have a care...
Choose Solid sober Men, of good esteem,
That may our King from Ruine soon Redeem.⁴

In short, contemporaries used printed verse and song throughout the decade to understand, take part in, and encourage political partisanship. After a decade of being bombarded with partisan messages, mostly of an anti-Catholic nature, the most influential element of poetic politics was the creation of an atmosphere that was amenable to the regime change offered by William of Orange. Printed poetry was able to provide people with information that allowed them to make significant decisions regarding politics. It also catalyzed momentum when political change was offered by fomenting the crowds and by promoting popular involvement in the affairs of state.

Just before John Crowne noted that Parliament would “tune the nation,” he exclaimed that “half the nation was mad and no Man that [he] saw had cause to be so but the Poets....Tameness in a Poet is as great a Disease as frenzy in another, and when a Poet does not rave, his Wits are not right.”⁵ Poets during this decade did rave and froth like rabid dogs; they were responding to an atmosphere of agitation, just as much as they were helping to create it. But if John Crowne is to be believed, their wits were justified.

1. Mr. (John) Crown, *Crowne's Plays*: [no. 7] *City Politiques: a comedy as it is acted by his Majesties servants*, 1683. William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, *PR3388.C2 A1 v. 1; ESTC no. R17456.

2. Ibid.

3. It is alleged that Charles II gave John Dryden inspiration for “The Medal,” a poem attacking Whig partisan activities.

4. Anon., *A Seasonable Memento for all that have Voyces in the Choyce of a Parliament*, Clark Library, *fPR3291.S439; ESTC no. R37238.

5. John Crown, *City Politiques: a comedy as it is acted by his Majesties servants*, 1683, ESTC no. R17456.

Eighteenth-Century Publishers and Women Writers: Alliances and Antagonisms

Isobel Grundy, Professor Emeritus at the University of Alberta

This essay is based on the Ninth Annual Kenneth Karmiole Lecture on the History of the Book Trade in 2013.

My title sounds modern, not eighteenth-century. Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century publishers were of course called booksellers, or stationers. The phrase “women writers,” so current today, was hardly heard; women who published were “female authors.” Verbal changes signal change in these human roles. To publish was potentially suspect when aspects of the public sphere were held in low regard; publishers might be seen less as enablers of literature than as its parasites. Printing and publishing, as trades, were not the province of gentlemen, still less of ladies. It is tempting, now we no longer value gentility or a gendered separation of spheres, to construct a progressivist story leading from women silenced to women published.

The story does trace a shift in the forces driving literary circulation, from traditional social roles to primarily commercial transactions. Female authors became a recognizable group; the book trade developed more or less a modern form. Individual publishers made fortunes and aspired to professional, not tradesmen, status; gradually women acquired business agency. In some decades female gender even accrued market value.

Women often declared their gender on title-pages, seeking to explain or apologize or claim special consideration, with “by a Lady” or sometimes “by an Old Woman” or “By a Daughter of the Church of England” (Mary Astell), or even “By a Woman” (of which I know of just three, including Eliza Fenwick’s *Secresy*, or the *Ruin on the Rock*, 1795).¹ Fenwick’s radical “By a Woman” fits her subject-matter—female struggle for rational self-determination. “By a Lady” eschews defiance by partnering authorship with class status; high rank asserted respectability, even in the marketplace.

Sometimes religious writers cited equality before God, claiming divine authority, which over-rode social codes. The Dissenting sects harbored many publishing women, and the Society of Friends (Quakers) was especially certain that women were no less fit than men to publish God’s word. Their practical, acted-out blindness to both class and gender difference shocked non-Quakers, yet others agreed that Christianity was in *principle* blind to these differences too. Dissenting woman writers inhabited a zone outside customary gender rules.

The Quakers nurtured, too, a woman who was herself a publisher, the most successful of all those (mostly widows succeeding to their husbands) who entered this masculine territory. Tace Sowle took over from her father in 1691, and her half-century of successful publishing served many women writers. Outside the Quaker exception, the Anglican, High-Tory Elinor James headed her husband’s firm even during his lifetime, but she published entirely male authors excepting herself. At the end of the eighteenth century Elizabeth Newbery (succeeding her uncle John Newbery) and Mary Jane Godwin (an equal partner with her husband William) published for children, while women (many of them writers) were active, too, in the circulating-library business.

Great ladies, like religious dissenters, stood outside the zone of normal gender restrictions. Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, unapologetically voiced her “desire to have [her] Works Printed.” Her rank empowered her ambition, though public opinion mocked her for it. She apparently took great care in choosing printers and publishers. Mortality among them allowed several fresh choices, and by chance or choice she repeatedly chose women.

She dropped her first printer, Thomas Roycroft, complaining in *Nature’s Pictures*, 1656, that her books were “cruelly disfigured by ill printing.” Her next publisher died, and she used his widow, Alice Warren, until Warren handed on the business. Cavendish’s next publisher also apparently died; so did her next, and she stayed with his widow, Anne Maxwell, thereafter.² Unlike women choosing some male associate’s publisher (as Damaris Masham chose John Locke’s), the highly professional Cavendish ignored the firm her husband used.³ Yet she still valued manuscript: in copies for presentation she made careful corrections in ink.⁴

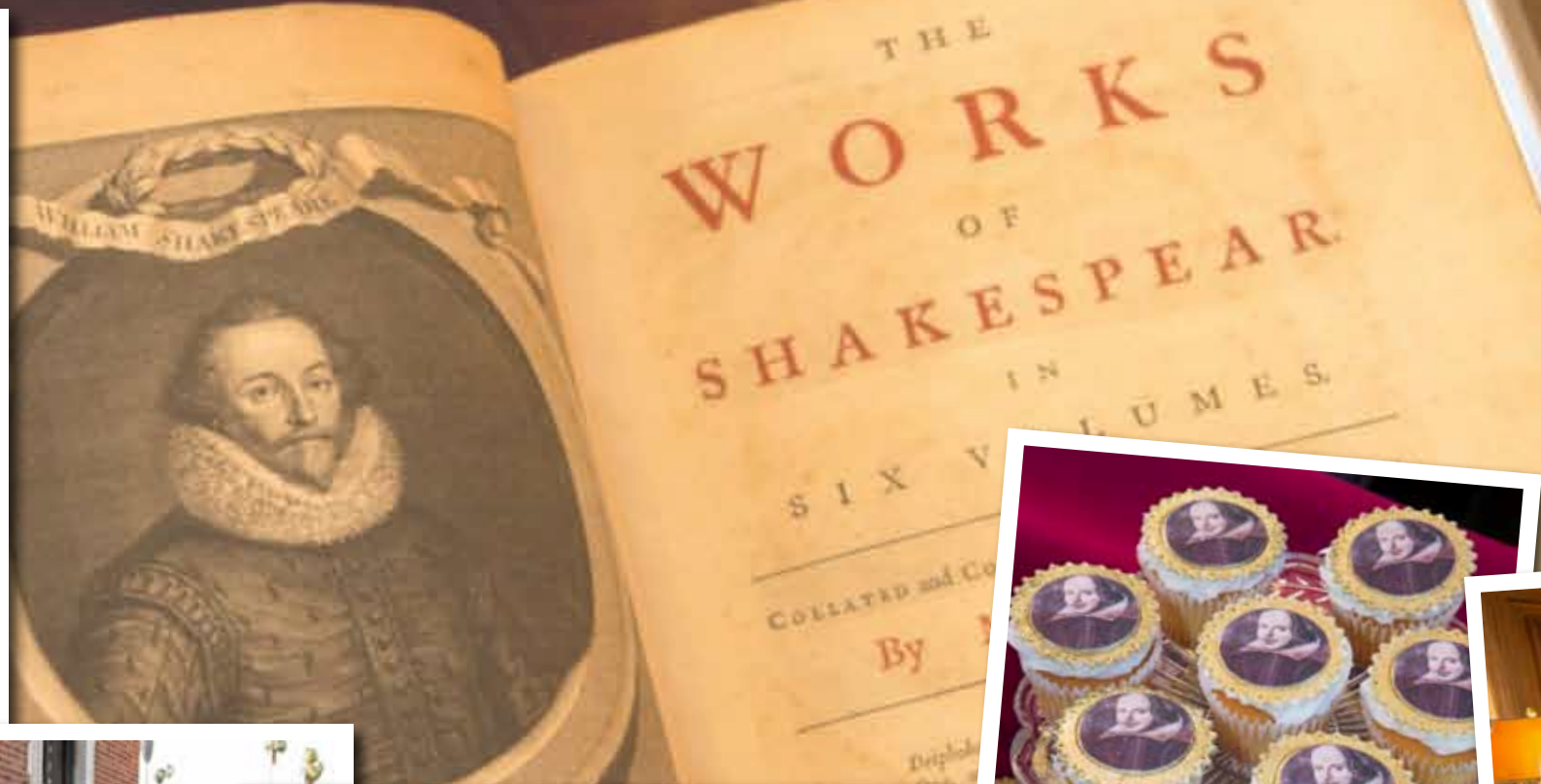
Equally proactive was the middling-rank poet Katherine Philips. Philips, however, concealed her tracks, if we accept that Richard Marriot’s “pirated” *Poems by the Incomparable, Mrs K. P.*, 14 January 1664 (apologetically withdrawn four days later), was too accurate and handsome for a piracy. Philips probably did as Alexander Pope did later with his letters: issue an edition, then disown it while using it as excuse for an authorized replacement.⁵

Damaris Masham jocosely concealed her desire for print. She wrote to Locke of publishing—but only an affidavit about her housekeeping skills. She also wrote that publishing poetry was “much the Fashion of late for our sex, Though I confess it has not much of my Approbation because (Principally) the Mode is for one to Dye First” (like, recently, Anne Killigrew). While living, Masham committed two books to print

[continued on pg. 8]

Shakespeare's Bookshelf: New Additions to the Paul Chrzanowski Collection

On April 23 the Center and the Clark celebrated new additions to the Paul Chrzanowski Collection with a special event that also marked the 450th anniversary of William Shakespeare's birth. Paul Chrzanowski gave a short collector's talk in the library. Volumes from this important collection were displayed in the bookrooms, while outside, actors from the Independent Shakespeare Company performed scenes from Shakespeare plays.



[continued from pg. 5]

without her name but without serious concealment. Her preface to the first claims high-ranking male endorsement and notes that she had not originally intended publication; but she does not apologize. The errata list in her second book indicates professionalism; the preface again conventionally asserts that she published only at the request of friends.

"Request of friends" suggests Pope's dunces, who write for sorely-needed money in a world where need is shameful. The issue of earnings did not arise for Cavendish, Philips, or Masham, but later in the eighteenth century the motive of need became acceptable—particularly for the "weaker" sex and particularly for those seeking advancement or patronage not for themselves but for a husband or other male relation. Educational or religious motives were smiled on, too, and some writers, quite assertively for women, cite Christ on the subject of hiding one's talents or light under a bushel.

Women besides Cavendish found ways to avow the desire for fame. Elizabeth Clinton, Countess of Lincoln, in *The Countesse of Lincoln's Nurserie*, 1622, had a male supporter write that she was "desirous for the glory" of her sex as well as that of God. Hannah Wolley boldly stated in *The Cook's Guide*, 1664, "I would not willingly dye while I live, nor be quite forgotten when I am dead." Several Restoration women self-identified as champions of their sex (which assumes a battle of the sexes).

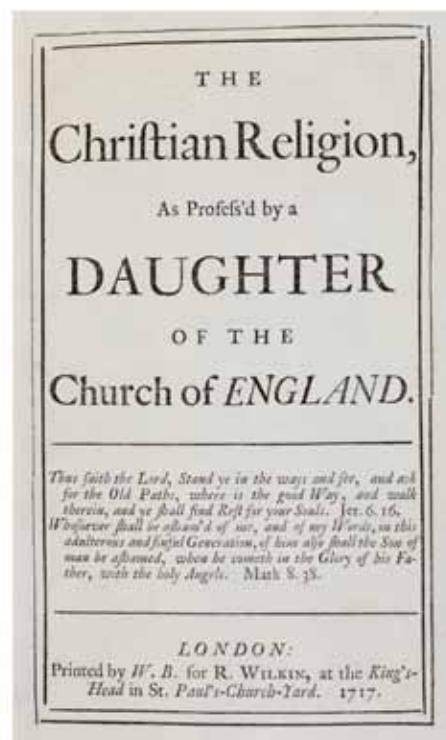
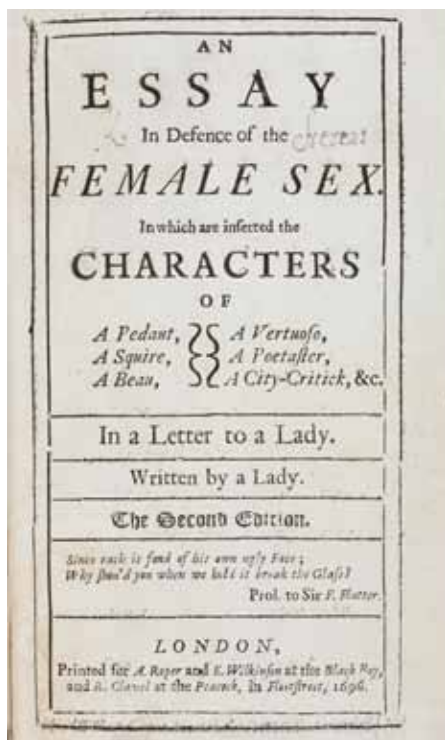
Among such champions Aphra Behn chose and negotiated with publishers; though often poor, she aimed to live, not barely survive, by writing. The next generation found negotiation easier, although contemporary responses show that it could compromise class status. A woman selling the produce of her brain somehow suggested a woman selling her body.

Mary Astell, exceptionally, enjoyed the kind of relationship with her bookseller, Richard Wilkin, that fortunate men enjoyed, as comrades-in-arms. She used his shop as library, office, social center, and correspondence address. He shared her views, promoted her writing, and kept publishing her after she went out of fashion: patronage without condescension.⁶

By now women's writing had market value. Edmund Curll, who catered for, perhaps helped to create, "a new lower end for the book market,"⁷ understood that sex sells and that female writers are sexualized as male writers are not. He was therefore sometimes a boon to women writers and sometimes a bane.

Curll exploited Lady Mary Wortley Montagu by printing three of her topical mock-eclogues (a hot manuscript property, combining celebrity, scandal, and sex) as *Court Poems*, 1716. The resulting *brouhaha* probably shaped her later discomfort about print. He exploited Elizabeth Thomas (by printing private letters she had sold him when desperate for money), causing Pope to pillory her in *The Dunciad*, planting her inaccurately in literary history as a whore instead of a writer.⁸ Curll exploited Elizabeth Singer Rowe (by then revered as a religious writer) by re-issuing her early, worldly poems.

By blackmail or manipulation, Curll brought about the creation as well as the printing of Delarivier Manley's *The Adventures of Rivella*, 1714. He circulated a rumor that he would publish a biography of her (unauthorized, presumably scurrilous), then negotiated with her to drop this in favor of her fictional *autobiography*. *Rivella* does not say Manley had support in these dealings from her printer-



Women often declared their gender on title-pages, seeking to explain or claim special consideration: "by a Lady" asserted respectability; "by a Daughter of the Church of England" cited equality before God. [Essay in Defense of the Female Sex (*PR3316 A69C5 1717); The Christian Religion (*PR3316 A69B2) ; The Christian Religion

bookseller partner, John Barber, but does say she brought her sister to the negotiations: gendered, feminine support (Rogers 51-2).

Curll's interventions could be benign. Susanna Centlivre and Martha Fowke apparently liked dealing with him. We owe him Sarah Butler's extraordinary *Irish Tales* (based on Old Irish epic poetry). We may owe him Jane Barker's novels, since he published the first—probably snapped up in manuscript like Montagu's eclogues. Barker writes of literary ambition but not of business dealings: the novel "had not yet learned to accommodate the . . . economic experiences of women."⁹ Curll continued to publish Barker when she was poor, old, and a known Jacobite. He advertised her books generously but supplied his own sexed-up titles (50-1).

His career helps to explain women's continuing anxieties about print. Lady Chudleigh repeatedly refused to publish. Montagu claimed (falsely) that she had never willingly done so. Catharine Cockburn wrote that the female poet "flies not more from infamy than fame," although she negotiated with the *Gentleman's Magazine* about placing a poem there and about printer's errors.

Such attitudes were not universal. The laboring-class Mary Leapor's patron Bridget Freemantle urged her and helped her to publish by subscription. With no such profit motive, the highly respectable Elizabeth Tollet required that her executors should "with all convenient Speed after my decease publish and Print my Writings in Verse."

By the end of the century publishers excelled in commercial flair; authors mostly lacked it. James Raven has shown how the cards were stacked. Publishers took a risk in that few novels succeeded at all, but even modest success brought them sizeable profit. Authors normally sold their copyright cheaply, so even success brought them nothing.¹⁰

Business dealings still threatened respectability for women who laid claim to gentility. Isabel Hill, who died in 1842, was praised by her brother for feeling that publication was "in some measure, a violence done to the principle which her clear mind recognized as the guiding one of her sex,"¹¹ the principle of modesty.

While it took immersion in trade to compromise a man's gentry status, a gentlewoman's status could be threatened by money dealings of any

kind. Mary Wollstonecraft's business transactions in Scandinavia on behalf of Gilbert Imlay (about which she is silent) were perhaps her most revolutionary activity.

More typical of female attitudes to "business" was the panic of Frances D'Arblay (formerly Burney) in 1821 over legal, not literary, dealings. Summoned to meet a City lawyer, she wrote: "I never had the smallest business of the kind upon my hands before." Her account of her alarming foray into the masculine realm of Lincoln's Inn makes it a kind of knightly quest, with her maid as companion and her dog as "Esquire." Entering the inner sanctum at last, she "determined to behave like a man."¹² Only role reversal, she felt, would serve in a business office, though she could deal briskly with publishers by letter.

Ladies experienced payment (which for copyright was "usually pitiful") as alienating, even humiliating (Raven 50). Frances Brooke freely promoted her works among friends but was deeply embarrassed when Dodsley lost money on *Emily Montague*, as if about a personal failing. Many, like Sarah Harriet Burney and Charlotte Smith, experienced publishers as avaricious, antifeminist bullies.¹³ Smith responded not only in savvy business letters but also in her brilliant satirical sketch in *The Banished Man*, 1794, of the illiterate Joseph Clapper, based transparently on her former publisher Joseph Bell.

Yet counter-examples continued. Thomas Hookham published and paid for seven successive novels by the young Laetitia-Matilda Hawkins from 1780, undeterred by declining sales. Jan Fergus deduces that Hookham saw himself as a patron here, and Hawkins started by wanting money not for herself but for "a whim of girlish patronage." So this strangely non-commercial transaction stood outside business norms.

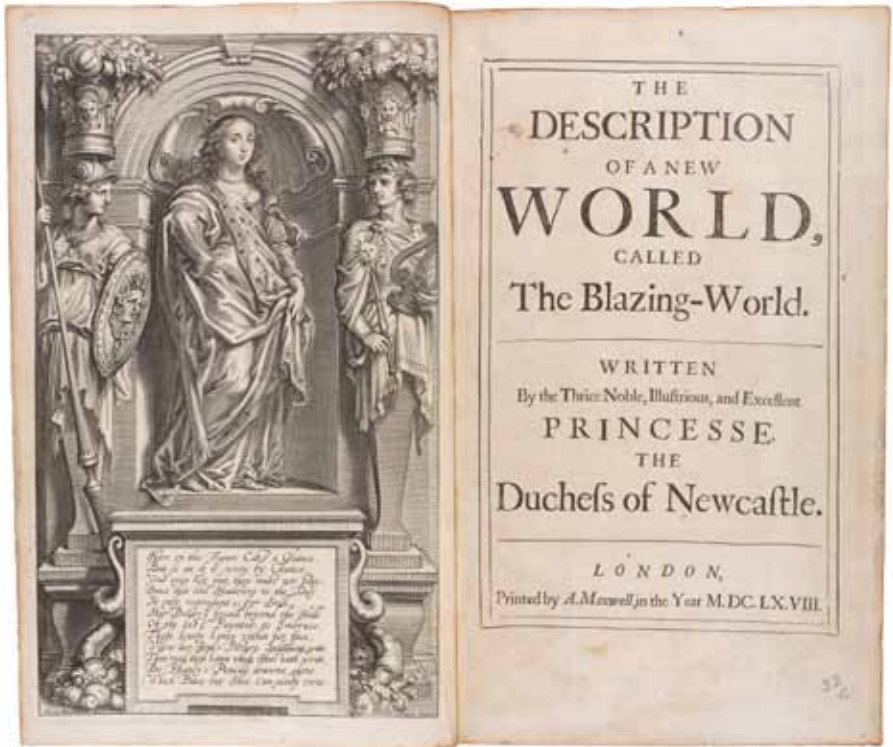
The system could mangle the ignorant even through a well-disposed publisher. Jean Marishall never forgot the humiliation of her print debut in the 1760s. She showed some writing-in-progress to the brothers Noble (prolific fiction-publishers) and supposed their promised "very genteel price" would amount to around a hundred guineas. But her female co-conspirator returned crushed from Noble: "With a voice scarce articulate, she pronounced—five guineas!"

Relating this story later in print, Marishall had the words "five guineas!" set in miniscule type, to represent her friend's faltering voice. From the market-place she fled to traditional patronage, seeking royal endorsement. But after she had her volumes specially, expensively bound, the queen's gift of ten guineas was another humiliation.

Copyright price did not rise for the next generation. Many fiction-writers were flat broke, and an "assured income" from writing was for most "an unrealizable dream" (Raven 50). Nevertheless, and although frequent anonymity makes numbers unreliable, it seems that in the 1780s and 90s as many women as men were publishing fiction, (Raven 17) and even "that female authorship was being deliberately promoted" (Raven 48). Perhaps publishers liked women because most would take so little; but a few became marketplace winners.

When even second editions were rare, slightly more women than men reached a fifth, and women predominated among the stars whose copyrights fetched three-figure sums (Raven 52). Some drew on male support (Charlotte Lennox, Maria Edgeworth); others managed alone. These women novelists (none of them *only* novelists) were a new breed: at home in genteel society, yet thoroughly professionalized.

Two publishers, Joseph Johnson and William Lane, represent



Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, took great care in choosing printers and often selected women. Anne Maxwell published this folio. [Newcastle, *The Description of the New World* (*IPR3605 N2D4)]

contrasting late-eighteenth-century attitudes to women: as political agenda and as commodity. Johnson, a leading radical, supported progress in women's rights as in politics and science. He published Barbauld, Edgeworth, Wollstonecraft, and key texts like *The Laws Respecting Women* (anonymous, 1777), as well as of most of his generation's dead-white-male canon. John Aikin called him "Father of the booktrade" and he was personally like a father to Wollstonecraft (who used his house as Astell had Richard Wilkin's).

Johnson's contemporary, Lane of the Minerva Press had more purely commercial interests. A mass-marketeer in publishing and a circulating-library chain, he was unscrupulous in unauthorized use of famous names, setting that of feminist writer Mary Ann Radcliffe to two lurid gothics not by her, because the name Ann Radcliffe would sell.

Lane's Minerva list began with equal numbers of women and men; the proportion of women gradually crept up. Among some lurid gothics and much non-fiction, it centered on intelligent, versatile novelists (Regina Maria Roche, Anna Maria Bennett, Elizabeth Meeke),¹⁴ who deal in clichés but not without critical awareness. Roche's best-seller *The Children of the Abbey*, the "first Irish national tale," influenced details in Austen's *Emma*. Bennett's *Vicissitudes Abroad* sold 2,000 copies on publication day at the whopping cost of 36 shillings the set. Susanna Haswell Rowson's *Charlotte Temple*¹⁵ has been called "the most popular novel in America before *Uncle Tom's Cabin*."

Reviewers and others saw Minerva books distortedly, with unmistakably misogynist contempt, as sentimental romances (think Harlequin), read by silly girls ripe for ruin by a tale of seduction. Lane, like Johnson, was apparently generous to authors. He paid the future Mary Martha Sherwood forty pounds for the copyright of *Margarita*, 1799. Eliza Kirkham Mathews depicts him in *What Has Been*, 1801, as a benefactor who saves the author-heroine from starvation.¹⁶ This generosity, however, may have been business, with depictions of Lane as philanthropist as among his famously innovative advertising and publicity methods.

But if Lane did stage-manage flattering self-portraits, he also tolerated mockery. Anna Maria Bennett ends her Minerva novel *Ellen*,

Countess of Castle-Howell, 1794, by imagining readers' cynicism over her impossibly perfect characters. Not so, says Bennett: her formerly distressed, now happy protagonists do have faults—but faults now concealed by high social status and the veil of "IMMENSE RICHES!" Such play with generic convention does not merit literary contempt.

At the end of the eighteenth century, publishers were prospering, from the reformist disapproved by conservatives for his stance on women's rights, to the mass-production expert who was despised for publishing women. Women writers made half of a highly developed market, and along with charity cases they included activists, triumphant best-sellers, formula-fiction producers, and artists of the first rank.

1. These and many other facts here, with all unattributed quotations, come from *Orlando: Women's Writing in the British Isles from the Beginnings to the Present*, Cambridge University Press, by subscription online at orlando.cambridge.org. This resource enables searching not only for specific writers and publishers but also for material within such tags as Motives, or RelationsWithPublisher, or PenaltiesForWriting.

2. Cameron Kroetsch. "List of Margaret Cavendish's Texts, Printers, and Booksellers." Shawn W. Moore ed. *Digital Cavendish Project*, www.digitalcavendish.org.

3. Except for her life of him in Latin translation.

4. James Fitzmaurice, "Margaret Cavendish on Her Own Writing: Evidence from Revision and Handmade Correction," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 85: 3, 1991, 297–308.

5. Germaine Greer. "Editorial Conundra in the Texts of Katherine Philips." Ann M. Hutchison ed. *Editing Women: Papers Given at the Thirty-First Annual Conference on Editorial Problems*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1998, 86.

6. Ruth Perry, *The Celebrated Mary Astell: An Early English Feminist*. University of Chicago Press, 1986, 7, 68–70, 185, 208, 212–14.

7. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

8. T. R. Steiner, "The Misrepresentation of Elizabeth Thomas," *Curl's Corinna*, *Notes and Queries* 228 (1983), 506–8; Paul Baines and Pat Rogers, *Edmund Curl, Bookseller*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007, 171–3.

9. Kathryn R. King and Jeslyn Medoff, "Jane Barker and her Life: The Documentary Record," *Eighteenth-Century Life*. 21: 3 (November 1997), 28.

10. James Raven, "Historical Introduction." Peter Garside, Raven, and Rainer Schöwerling eds. *The English Novel 1770–1829*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000, 1: 94–7, 101–3.

11. Benson Earle Hill. "Memoir of the Late Isabel Hill." *The Monthly Magazine*. (February 1842): 190.

12. Frances Burney, *The Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney (Madame D'Arbly)*. Joyce Hemlow and Althea Douglas eds. 12 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972–1984, xi. 268–9.

13. The *Orlando* tag, "Relations with Publishers," reveals Dodsley allegedly behaving this way to Jane Warton (acting through her brothers), Robinson to Clara Reeve, Cawthorn to Cassandra Cooke, John Marshall to both Sarah Trimmer and Hannah More, Blackwood to Caroline Bowles.

14. *ODNB*. It takes no note of Deborah McLeod's authoritative unpublished dissertation "The Minerva Press" (University of Alberta, 1997).

15. Unique copy of the Minerva edition at the University of Virginia.

16. Unique copy of the Minerva edition at the University of Virginia.

Our Editor Retires

May 2014 saw the official retirement of one of the Clark Library's most stalwart champions, our editor, Suzanne Tatian. Suzanne's career at UCLA began in 1976 at the Medical Center but truly flourished when she joined the library's staff in 1988. In Suzanne's case, mere job titles can't hope to encompass her contributions to the Center and the Clark. Nonetheless, those job titles describe a grand pedigree: Reading Room Supervisor,

Fellowship Administrator, Newsletter Editor, and Clark Site Manager. For those of us lucky enough to have worked alongside Suzanne, we also celebrate her as Docent Extraordinaire, Chief Cat Wrangler, Fount of all Clarkian Knowledge, and Vociferous Protector of Everything Clark.

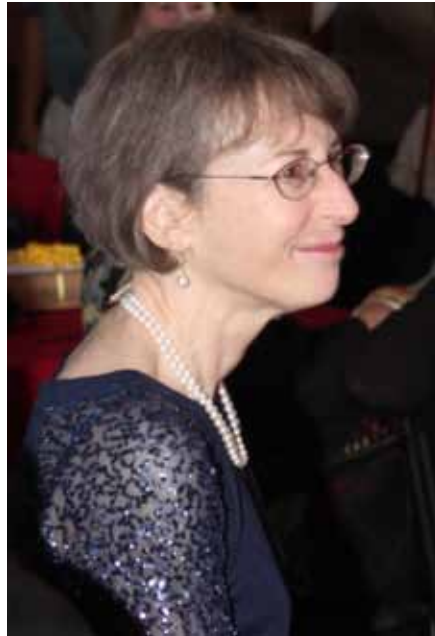
Bruce Whiteman, Head Librarian Emeritus of the Clark, described Suzanne as the "public face of the library"; he even posited a psychic connection between Suzanne and the library's benefactor, William Andrews Clark Jr. Staff and scholars alike universally praise the depth and passion of Suzanne's knowledge of the library and its collection. Retired Clark staff member, Fran Andersen, compares Suzanne to Cora Sanders, Clark Jr.'s own librarian, lauding her for her "good instincts, and wise judgment." Scott Jacobs, Senior Reader Services Assistant, concurs but notes with a grin that nary a "box of candy, a cake, or any other sweet was safe" from Suzanne.

Suzanne's influence has touched every part of the library from reading room procedures to the HVAC system. Her work is evident in every nook and cranny of the library. Suzanne's relationships with vendors and campus Facilities workers are the reason the doors still open and the pictures stay on the walls. Beyond such maintenance, Suzanne has been instrumental in much restoration work at the Clark. Recently this included the restoration of Clark's Steinway grand piano, the refurbishment of a pair of reproduction, eighteenth-century camelback armchairs, and the restoration of a portrait of John Dryden.

We like to imagine that in some age to come, a future scholar will pick up the trail of Ms. Tatian's influence. This academic sleuth will find countless thank-you credits in scholarly books and articles born from research at the Clark. They will find Suzanne's earliest newsletter contributions and trace a trail to her first issue as editor. Perhaps a great-minded memoir or two will recall the tenacious Suzanne Tatian of the Clark Library. The Clark Library has its place in history, and Suzanne has secured her place in the library's history.

Last October, Clark staff, scholars, friends, and family gathered to celebrate Suzanne's hard-earned retirement. We held a delightful tea party in the conference room. There were lots of cakes. It was a fitting and wholly Clarkian event, and we were able to present Suzanne with her very own pieces of Clarkophilia. These gifts included a 1920 edition of John Dryden's *All for Love*, Thomas Gray's *An Elegy Written in a Country Church-Yard*, and a book of fifteen sonnets by Petrarch presented to Harrison Post by William Andrews Clark, Jr. We here at the Center and the Clark will sorely miss Suzanne. As Bruce noted in his dedication during the retirement party, the Clark and Center seem "unthinkable" without her. Indeed, Bruce's speech left us with a quandary, who now shall meet with the spirit of Mr. Clark to ensure his wishes are carried out?

Those who remain hope to live up to the fine legacy Suzanne has created.



Suzanne Tatian at the tea party held to celebrate her retirement.

Be a Friend of the Clark Library: New Giving Opportunities

We are pleased to announce new giving opportunities to support the Clark Library and Center for 17th- & 18th-Century Studies. Annual gifts provide essential support to expand the Clark's holdings, attract and support innovative interdisciplinary research, offer affordable academic and cultural programs, and sustain the elegant library facility, its antiques, and grounds. To help the Clark and Center fulfill its mission, please consider becoming a Friend at any level.

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- Acknowledgment on Center website, newsletter, and music programs

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- May attend all academic programs at no charge
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 - Two Arts on the Grounds performances at the Clark with reserved seating
 - Book Acquisitions Reception at the Clark
- Acknowledgment on Center website, newsletter, and music programs

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Arts on the Grounds: Summer Theater at the Clark

UCLA's William Andrews Clark Memorial Library seeks to create intersections between literature and the performing arts through its Arts on the Grounds program. In 2012–13, the Clark launched its collaboration with L.A. Theatre Works, which brought to the library's drawing room a dramatic version of Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*, as well as Pierre Corneille's *The Liar*. Building on the excitement over this initiative, we expanded it to include an outdoor performance program set in the Clark's five acres of beautiful gardens, public spaces, outdoor "rooms," and lawns. Outdoor performances for summer 2014 will include modern interpretations of classical theater and site-specific productions designed for the Clark grounds.

July 25–27 & August 2–3
Oscar Wilde's *Lady Windermere's Fan*
performed by CHALK Repertory Theatre
www.chalkrep.com

September 6–7
Playwrights' Arena Performances
www.playwrightsarena.org

Tickets will be sold directly from the relevant theater company's website (see above) and will become available as the summer progresses.

Our email list (see below) will distribute announcements as tickets become available.

The Henry J. Bruman Summer Chamber Music Festival

Each summer the Center hosts a free chamber music festival on campus. The festival is made possible by the Henry J. Bruman Trust; by a gift from Professors Wendell E. Jeffrey and Bernice M. Wenzel; by a gift in memory of Raymond E. Johnson; and with the support of the UCLA Center for 17th- & 18th-Century Studies. This year's concerts are:

Tuesday, July 15—Fiato Quartet
Tuesday, July 22—iPalpiti Soloists
Tuesday, August 12—Ensemble in Promptu
Thursday, August 14—California String Quartet

All concerts will be held in Korn Convocation Hall, UCLA Anderson School of Management, from noon–1:00 p.m. Admission is free. No ticket is required. Seating is limited and available on a first-come, first-served basis.

Programs and more information: www.c1718cs.ucla.edu/bruman14

Exhibitions at the Clark

The Clark Library mounts four exhibitions annually, each with an opening and reception. Please check our websites for the dates of openings. Viewings are **by appointment only**, please call 323-731-8529.

Current: "The Tears of the Press': Print and Authority in 17th-Century England" curated by students in Professor Stephanie Koscak's history capstone seminar, "Media and Politics in Early Modern England."



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The UCLA Center for 17th- & 18th-Century Studies
10745 Dickson Plaza, 310 Royce Hall,
Los Angeles, CA 90095-1404
Telephone: 310-206-8552; fax: 310-206-8577
Web: www.c1718cs.ucla.edu
E-mail: c1718cs@humnet.ucla.edu

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The William Andrews Clark Memorial Library
2520 Cimarron Street,
Los Angeles, California 90018-2098
Telephone: 323-731-8529; fax: 323-731-8617
Web: www.clarklibrary.ucla.edu
E-mail: clarklib@humnet.ucla.edu

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