

Copyright

by

Rachel Marie Schneider

2014

**The Dissertation Committee for Rachel Marie Schneider
certifies that this is the approved version of the following dissertation:**

Some Versions of the Fragment, 1700-1800

Committee:

Lance Bertelsen, Co-Supervisor

Matt Cohen, Co-Supervisor

Lisa L. Moore

Samuel Baker

Karen Pagani

Some Versions of the Fragment, 1700-1800

by

Rachel Marie Schneider, B.A.; M.A.

Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at Austin

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Texas at Austin

August 2014

“Generally, incomplete or verbless sentences of the acceptable type are not classified as ‘fragments,’ but technically they are precisely that. Thus, it is possible, in good usage, to write fragments. Possible but difficult.”

—Bryan Garner, *A Dictionary of Modern American Usage* (1998)

Acknowledgements

I must first thank my co-directors, Lance Bertelsen and Matt Cohen, for their unflagging support. Lance Bertelsen entered my project at a critical moment and offered me support and guidance to articulate my inquiry; without this, I would have never completed this fragment dissertation. His always insightful and substantial comments on my work—alongside his scholarly example—have been a model of mentorship. Matt Cohen provided the right balance of emotional support and intellectual challenge to help me emerge as a scholar. He has been extremely generous with his time and energy, not only telling me what my project was doing when I couldn't see it, but pushing me to develop critical frameworks of my own. Together, Lance and Matt have been the perfect advisors. I couldn't ask for better.

Lisa Moore has encouraged me from my earliest graduate school days. My experiences in her Transatlantic Feminism and the Age of Revolution course were critical to my intellectual development, and her later support, encouragement, and wisdom continue to help my progress both as a scholar and as a person. I appreciate her standing behind me, whether it's involved writing recommendation letters or serving me tea and sympathy.

I also must thank Sam Baker and Karen Pagani for their work as committee members, who now probably know too much about eighteenth-century fragments. Sam Baker has also long been an intellectual catalyst for me, generously listening to my ideas and suggesting new avenues to wander.

Rob Mitchell and Janine Barchas read the prospectus and provided valuable feedback—Janine Barchas in particular urged me to think of the fragment as a genre. Beth Hedrick set my project's path with her early advice to read all the fragments, which changed its scope entirely.

My research was possibly only with the financial assistance of the Houghton Library, the William Andrews Clark Library, the Bodleian Library and the Centre for the Study of the Book, the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies, and the British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies. The many librarians and scholars at these institutions and others helped me navigate the archives and provided much needed advice and companionship: at the Bodleian, Alexandra Franklin; at the Clark, Jennifer Bastian, Scott Jacobs, Becky Fenning Marschall, and Becky Ruud; at the Harry Ransom Center, Molly Schwartzburg and Pat Fox; at the Houghton, Peter Accardo, Rachel Howarth, and John Overholt; and at the Huntington, Gayle Richardson and Stephen Tabor.

I've benefited from numerous supportive colleagues in eighteenth-century studies at UT and abroad. At UT, Kevin Bourque, Molly O'Hagan Hardy, Dustin Stewart, and David Harper have been stalwart and supportive mentors as well as witty and wonderful friends. While I am especially grateful to Kevin for introducing me to the colon, Kevin, Dustin, and Molly have all read parts of my work and their feedback has been deeply appreciated. Outside of UT, Cynthia Wall, J. Paul Hunter, George Justice, Devoney Looser, and Emily Friedman welcomed me to the field and from early on have treated me kindly. Adam Rounce and Louise Curran have provided a home away from home, whether in Oxford or at ASECS. Conversations with Paula Bakscheider, Jonathan Kramnick, Ashley Marshall, Megan Lea Peiser, Alexander Régier, and Carrie Shanafelt provided encouragement that I had something worth saying.

My Austin community has sustained me in so many ways. Hala Herbly and Stephanie Odom provided needed humor and emotional support. Trish Roberts-Miller and her writing group—including Connie Steel, Marjorie Foley, Tekla Hawkins, Megan Eatman, and Nicole Gray—helped me conceive of my project for scholarly audiences beyond my immediate purview. Their friendship, along with that of Meghan Andrews, Emily Bloom, Cate Blouke,

Lauren Gantz, Brianna Hyslop, Jessica Kilgore, Scott Nelson, Sarah Orem, Thomas Spitzer-Hanks, Laura Thain, Meg Vail, and Rachel Wise, among others, has made Austin a cherished home for me. I've valued the support of distant friends, too: Josh West, Anna Striker, Chris Riedel, Liz White, Charlotte Christensen, Joel Nasman, Helen Goodman, and Laura Hough. Bennu Coffee provided needed workspace, stimulating beverages, and excellent baristas that kept me going through the daily grind of writing. I'm also thankful to the many faculty here at UT, particularly Elizabeth Cullingford, Wayne Lesser, Mark Longaker, Coleman Hutchison, Daniel Birkholtz, and Michael Winship, who have given me feedback and support for my work. My list here is certainly incomplete, but I encourage you, if you read this, to include yourself. I only hope I can do you all proud.

Finally, I must thank my family for their love and patience: Joan, Tom, Carol, Heather, Jen, Taffy, David, Nolan, and James. I'm also grateful to John Bradley for sitting with me in coffee shops, helping me break down writing tasks into manageable goals, and giving me the confidence, love, and support to finish this fragment dissertation.

Some Versions of the Fragment, 1700-1800

Rachel Marie Schneider, Ph.D.

The University of Texas at Austin, 2014

Supervisors: Lance Bertelsen and Matt Cohen

Some Versions of the Fragment, 1700-1800 examines the eighteenth-century literary print fragment archive to redefine the fragment as a genre typified by its materiality. Eighteenth-century fragments included not just sentimental poems, but novels, satires, and political pamphlets. They are both long and short; written by famous and anonymous authors; canonical and unknown. This dissertation, in recuperating the eighteenth-century fragment's rich variety, offers a taxonomy that includes three versions of the fragment: the unintentional, the intentional, and the complete. Examining the fragment in this way not only provides categories that can help us better understand how fragments fit within various social and cultural conditions in the eighteenth century, but also how these ways of understanding the fragment can help critics account for its evolutions today. Previous analyses of the literary fragment have emphasized its metaphorical qualities and its formal dimensions. This dissertation argues that the genre is defined no less by its materiality: prefaces, punctuation, and page arrangements are the common constitutive elements shared by all three versions of the fragment. By paying attention to the eighteenth-century fragment's materiality, critics today can better account for the fragment's role in the period's generic developments, as well as its evolving literary marketplace.

Table of Contents

| | |
|--|-----|
| List of Figures..... | xi |
| Introduction..... | 1 |
| Eighteenth-Century Dictionary Definitions of the Fragment..... | 7 |
| Literary-Critical Definitions of the Fragment..... | 11 |
| Archival Descriptions of the Fragment..... | 18 |
| Chapter Descriptions | 20 |
| Chapter One: Critical Contexts for Fragment Writing..... | 24 |
| Rhetorical Fragments | 24 |
| Punctuating Fragmentation | 37 |
| Fragment Aesthetics..... | 43 |
| Cognition and the Fragment | 54 |
| Antiquarians and Fragments | 57 |
| Conclusion | 65 |
| Chapter Two: Unintentional Fallacies, Unintentional Fragments | 66 |
| The Unintentional Fragment: An Overview..... | 71 |
| “I on my Journey all alone proceed”: Churchill’s <i>Journey</i> | 75 |
| The Case for Developing Authorship: Wollstonecraft, Beattie, and Carter ... | 102 |
| Chapter Three: Intentional Fragments..... | 119 |
| The Intentional Fragment: An Overview..... | 125 |
| <i>A Fragment, A Key</i> , and Communities of Political Satire | 135 |
| The American Crisis and the Intentional Fragment | 171 |
| <i>Tristram Shandy</i> and Personal Fragments..... | 192 |
| Chapter Four: Complete Fragments | 200 |
| The Complete Fragment: An Overview..... | 206 |
| Complete Fragments in <i>The Hermit of the Forest, and the Wandering Infants. A Rural Fragment</i> | 208 |
| The Complete Fragment as Part of a Whole: <i>Freewill, Foreknowledge, and Fate</i> . 228 | |
| Form’s Function and Complete Fragments..... | 238 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| Chapter Five: Conclusion. A Fragment..... | 244 |
| Bibliography..... | 261 |

List of Figures

| | |
|--|-----|
| Figure 0.1: Title page of <i>The Muse in Good Humour</i> (1745)..... | 2 |
| Figures 0.2 and 0.3: “A Fragment” from <i>The Muse in Good Humour</i> (1745). 2.143-4... | 3 |
| Figure 1.1: John Holmes, <i>The art of rhetoric made easy: or, the elements of oratory briefly stated, and fitted for the practice of the studious youth of Great-Britain and Ireland</i> (1739). 46. | 32 |
| Figure 1.2 and 1.3: Laurence Sterne, <i>The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman</i> . Vol 1. (1760). 48-9..... | 35 |
| Figure 1.4: Joseph Robertson, <i>An Essay on Punctuation</i> (1785). 141. | 41 |
| Figure 2.1: William Hogarth, <i>The Bruiser</i> (1763)..... | 77 |
| Figure 2.2: Charles Churchill, <i>Poems</i> . By C. Churchill. First Edition, 1765 and Fourth Edition, 1769..... | 83 |
| Figure 2.3: Marginalia from <i>Poems by C. Churchill</i> (1765)..... | 96 |
| Figure 2.4: Marginalia from <i>Poems by C. Churchill</i> (1765)..... | 97 |
| Figure 2.5: Drawing labeled “Churchill” in <i>Poems by C. Churchill</i> (1765). | 99 |
| Figure 2.6: Marginalia in Churchill’s <i>Journey</i> (1765). | 100 |
| Figure 2.7: Elizabeth Carter, <i>All the works of Epictetus</i> . Title Page. 1759. | 113 |
| Figure 3.1: Excerpt of letter dated 22 February 1750/1, copied by Peter Nourse... | 119 |
| Figure 3.2: Jonathan Swift, <i>A Tale of a Tub</i> (1704)..... | 127 |
| Figure 3.3: Jonathan Swift, <i>A Tale of a Tub</i> . Fifth Edition (1710). | 128 |
| Figure 3.4: Jonathan Swift, <i>A Tale of a Tub</i> . (1704)..... | 129 |
| Figure 3.5: Jonathan Swift, <i>A Tale of a Tub</i> . (1704)..... | 131 |
| Figure 3.6: Samuel Richardson, <i>Clarissa, or The History of a Young Lady</i> . Volume 5. (1748). | 133 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| Figure 3.7: Henry Stebbing, <i>A Fragment</i> (c. 1750), Second Edition. | 137 |
| Figure 3.8: Henry Stebbing, <i>A Fragment</i> (c. 1750), Second Edition. 9-10. | 139 |
| Figure 3.9: Henry Stebbing, <i>A Fragment</i> (c. 1750), Second Edition. 11. | 141 |
| Figure 3.10: Henry Stebbing, <i>A Fragment</i> (c. 1750), Second Edition. 28. | 142 |
| Figure 3.11: Upper section of the title page from <i>Another Fragment</i> (1750?). | 144 |
| Figure 3.12: <i>Another Fragment</i> (1750?), 1. | 146 |
| Figure 3.13: <i>Another Fragment</i> (1750?), 4. | 146 |
| Figure 3.14: <i>Another Fragment</i> (1750?), 13. | 147 |
| Figure 3.15: <i>The Fragment. Ch. XII.</i> (1750?), 12-13. | 148 |
| Figure 3.16: Henry Stebbing, <i>A Fragment</i> . Third Edition, 4. | 157 |
| Figure 3.17: Henry Stebbing, <i>A Fragment</i> (c. 1750), Second Edition. 28. | 159 |
| Figure 3.18: <i>The Annals of Administration</i> (1775). 26-7. | 185 |
| Figure 3.19: <i>A dialogue, between a southern delegate, and his spouse</i> (1774). 5. | 187 |
| Figure 3.20: <i>A dialogue, between a southern delegate, and his spouse</i> (1774). 11. | 189 |
| Figure 3.21: Laurence Sterne, <i>The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman</i> . Vol 5. (1762) 6. | 195 |
| Figure 3.22: Isaac Brandon, <i>Fragments: in the manner of Sterne</i> (1797). 97. | 198 |
| Figure 4.1: Thomas Tickell, "A Fragment of a Poem upon Hunting," <i>Poems upon several occasions</i> (Dublin, 1726). 144. | 204 |
| Figure 4.2: Cover of Richard Johnson, <i>The Hermit of the Forest, and the Wandering Infants. A Rural Fragment</i> (New York, 1800). | 211 |
| Figure 4.3: Richard Johnson, <i>The Hermit of the Forest</i> (Boston, 1789). 29. | 220 |
| Figure 4.4: Richard Johnson, <i>The Hermit of the Forest</i> (New York, 1800). 6. | 221 |
| Figure 4.5: Richard Johnson, <i>The Hermit of the Forest</i> (London, 1799). 16. | 222 |
| Figure 4.6: William Hogarth, [<i>The new metamorphosis.</i>] 1724. | 223 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| Figure 4.7: Richard Johnson, <i>The Hermit of the Forest</i> (Boston, 1789). 20. | 225 |
| Figure 4.8: Richard Johnson, <i>The Hermit of the Forest</i> (Philadelphia, 1793). 21..... | 225 |
| 226 | |
| Figure 4.9: Richard Johnson, <i>The Hermit of the Forest</i> (Charlestown, 1798). 21..... | 226 |
| Figure 4.10: Richard Johnson, <i>The Hermit of the Forest</i> (New York, 1800). 20. | 226 |
| Figure 4.11: Abraham Tucker, <i>Freewill, Foreknowledge, and Fate</i> . (1763). iv-v..... | 230 |
| Figure 5.1: Jane Austen, <i>Sanditon</i> manuscript. 2.36. | 250 |
| Figure 5.2: Jane Austen, “A Fragment – written to inculcate the practice of Virtue” manuscript. | 252 |
| Figure 5.3: Screenshot of tweet from @runofplay..... | 256 |
| Figure 5.4: Screenshot of tweet from @MayorEmanuel | 257 |

Introduction

The fragment as a genre of text is an eighteenth-century phenomenon. Over the century, hundreds of authors explicitly titled their works as “fragments.” Fragments are central to eighteenth-century studies both as source and as critical metaphor, yet scholars have left unexplored the fragment’s historical circumstances of production and its materiality. This dissertation describes what makes a fragment a fragment and how its unique properties distinguish it from other kinds of texts. The fragment exemplifies the generic innovation typical of eighteenth-century texts, but it cannot itself be easily defined as a genre.¹ There are fragment-novels, fragment-poems, and fragment-pamphlets; delineating the fragmentariness that unites these texts is difficult to do, especially as these fragments are scattered across time as well as type. This *mélange* threatens to make “fragment” an empty term. This dissertation argues that the fragment is a particular and peculiar form of writing that developed and gained popular currency in the eighteenth century. Fragments offer scholars opportunities to reconsider the relationships among literary form, textual materiality, authorial intent, readerly reception; this dissertation also shows the fragment’s deep connections within eighteenth-century intellectual discourse. I begin here with a brief reading of “A Fragment” to provide examples of the questions fragments raise.

“A Fragment” here refers to a poem in Mary Cooper’s 1745 publication *The Muse in Good Humour, Or, A Collection of the Best Poems, Comic Tales, Choice Fables, Enigmas, &c. From the most Eminent Poets. With some Originals*, whose full title occupies almost an entire page.² The page

¹ Genre is a common term to literary study that has been used in numerous ways. I will offer my own definition of genre later to show why the fragment is a genre, and what distinguishes genre from similar terms.

² According to James Raven, Cooper’s *Muse in Good Humour* is actually pirated from John Noble’s more popular *The Muse in Good Humour*, first published in early 1744, but which was reprinted through nine editions over the next 50 years. The revised and expanded edition of May 1744 lists the work as available at Mary Cooper’s shop,

catalogues the collection's various wares for potential buyers to examine, and "A Fragment" is only one of these works. What might such a vague title have meant to a curious book-buyer in 1745? Did it spur readers to purchase the book to learn more, or did it imply some hint of what might be expected in the text? What distinguishes a fragment from the collection's other poems, comic tales, enigmas, or *ſc.*?

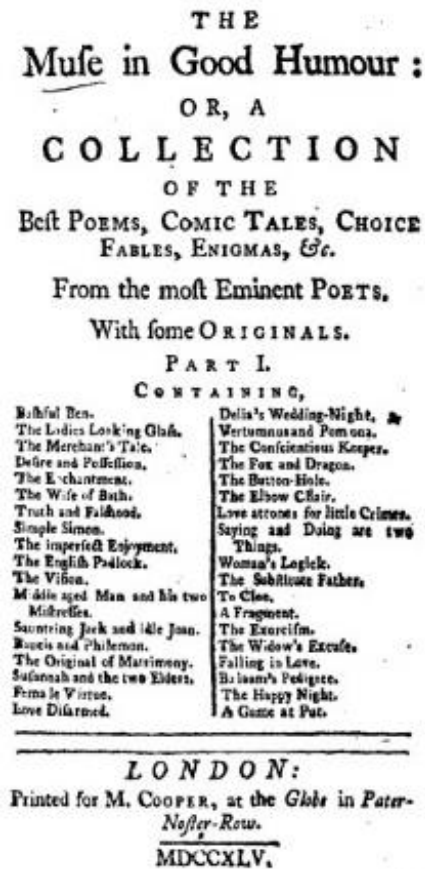


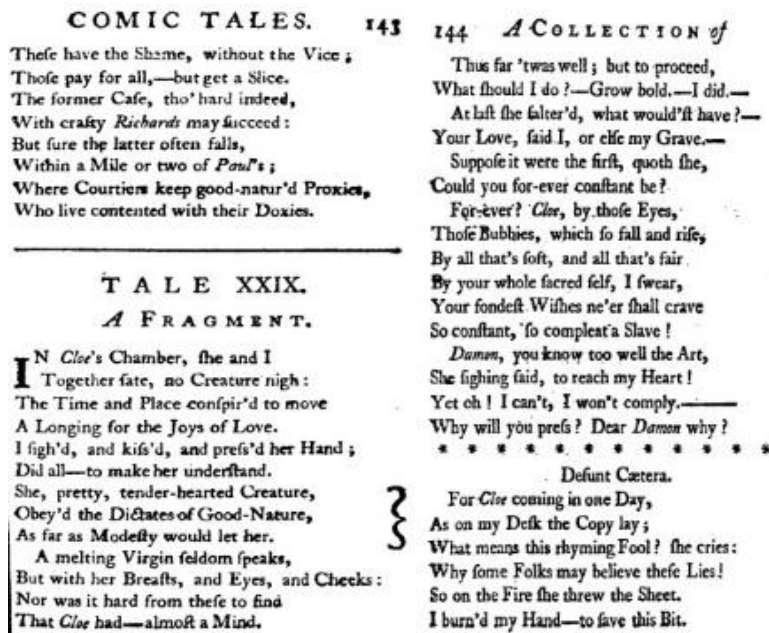
Figure 0.1: Title page of *The Muse in Good Humour* (1745).

From Gale. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. © Gale, a part of Cengage Learning, Inc.

Reproduced by permission.

but by mid-1745 she was pirating her own version of the text, appending to it the "Collection of Moral Tales" of which *A Fragment* is part. For more information on this text and the Nobles, see James Raven, "The Noble Brothers and Popular Publishing, 1737-89," *The Library*, 6th ser., 12 (1990): 293-345.

“A Fragment” in this case is a poem—also here called a “Tale.” If some of the pieces that appear on the title page are labeled “tales,” it’s because each tells a story. “A Fragment” is a fragment because its story contains a critical interruption. The male narrator Damon begins in an intimate situation with his love Cloe: they are “together safe, no creature nigh,” sharing “a Longing for the Joys of Love.”³ The narrator uses physical caresses “to make her Understand” his meaning, which she cannot (as a good girl) fully reciprocate: “She, pretty, tender-hearted Creature / Obey’d the Dictates of Good-Nature / As far as Modesty would let her.”⁴ The narrator presses on, and the conversation turns into negotiation: he asks what she wants, she demands his loyalty. As she sighs, the poem is interrupted:



Figures 0.2 and 0.3: “A Fragment” from *The Muse in Good Humour* (1745). 2.143-4.

From Gale. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. © Gale, a part of Cengage Learning, Inc.

Reproduced by permission.

³ *The Muse in Good Humour, Or, A Collection of the Best Poems, Comic Tales, Choice Fables, Enigmas, &c. From the most Eminent Poets. With some Originals*, 2.143.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 2.144.

The asterisks here rip across the page, cutting off the story. The “desunt caetera,” like the asterisks, announces that the rest is missing. The poem’s frame narrative emerges: Damon’s verse, which we have just read, has been found by Cloe. As she worries that others might “believe these lies,” she destroys the verse; what is above the asterisks is what Damon saves from the fire. There are several levels of representation here: Damon’s verse retelling a tryst, Cloe’s discovery of the verse, and Damon’s reprinting the whole for the readers of *The Muse in Good Humour*. The interrupted text mirrors Damon’s frustrated desires, which Cloe’s fire and her virtue alike destroy.⁵ Damon and the readers are denied consummation as the poem ends without ending. The poem is “A Fragment” because the narrative lacks formal resolution and that fragmentation appears on the page. The asterisks separate the two narrative frames and block readers’ access to the unknowable part of the tale: did a consummation occur?

However, *The Muse* implies a further story. If “The Recluse” is the tale following “A Fragment,” “To Cloe” is the next tale. “To Cloe” follows in content from “A Fragment” as the speaker (Damon) addresses “cruel *Cloe!*” and asks her, “[i]f not for mine, for your own Sake, / Bless me with—what you must partake!”⁶ He attempts subtle seduction throughout the poem, implying his sexual desire in lines like “You know, when Hands and Hearts combine, / ‘Tis but that—something else may join.”⁷ However, he claims his intentions are “in Matrimonial Way,” and leaves it for her to decide his fate: “But if to neither you’ll agree, / This Billet burn, and pardon me.”⁸ Both poems are supposedly recovered from the flames,

⁵ However, the self-consciousness of the poem may also suggest that Cloe here performs chastity for Damon and readers of “A Fragment.” In such a reading, Cloe leaves the fragment to preserve what remains of her reputation. If her virtue has been lost in the embedded poem, here she successfully interrupts its retelling. In a larger collection of “comic tales,” “A Fragment” offers its readers bawdy possibilities. The multiple readings themselves are part of what makes this a fragment: readers supply their own ending as they choose.

⁶ Ibid, 2.153.

⁷ Ibid, 2.153.

⁸ Ibid, 2.154.

but the context is unclear: is this his plea before the events in “A Fragment,” his apologetic appeal afterward, or an unrelated work?⁹ If both end in some suspension, what makes one a fragment and one not? What makes “A Fragment” different from any of the other pieces in this anthology?¹⁰ How to read these poems together, and how to think about these two separate but related texts is part of the work this dissertation undertakes.

This quick peek at “A Fragment” shows that detailing the fragment’s qualities is difficult work. Fragmentariness recurs in many texts, but its presence does not always make something a fragment. By bringing close reading and book history practices to bear upon these texts, we can define the fragment through its physical expression and its thematic content, and better explain what cultural work fragments perform—then and now. But before I do this, I must clarify the critical terms this dissertation relies upon as well as explain the value of this dissertation’s categories.

The desire to taxonomize or to argue for genre categories has been rightfully contested by critics including Jacques Derrida.¹¹ In the *PMLA*’s October 2007 special issue on genre, Wee Chi Dimock describes the futility of genre categories, which cannot adequately capture the texts inscribed by the descriptions:

The history of genre has never been without its lapses, a fact worth keeping in mind—as a cautionary warning and as a heuristic. Michael Wood has written on the ‘unfinishable’ work as a genre, salient as a special case. But unfinishability might also be said to be a systemic failing in all genres—a

⁹ Cloe was a common poetic moniker.

¹⁰ While fragments appears in anthologies, and anthology reading may present similar reading conditions to the fragment, anthologies are not fragment. For more on anthologies, see Leah Price, *The Anthology and the Rise of the Novel: From Richardson to George Eliot* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

¹¹ Jacques Derrida, “The Law of Genre,” trans. Avital Ronell, *Critical Inquiry* 7 no. 1 (Autumn 1980): 55-81.

productive failing—in the sense that none is a closed book, none an exhaustive blueprint able to predict and contain all future developments.¹²

In this description, genre itself seems fragmentary as it resists closure. This may explain why critics struggle to settle on a single definition of genre. Ralph Cohen gives an incomplete overview: “Genre has been defined in terms of meter, inner form, intrinsic form, radical of presentation, single traits, family traits, institutions, conventions, contracts, and these have been considered either as universals or as empirical historical groupings.”¹³ As I will show later, critics of the fragment have used many terms to describe it, including “interest,” “mode,” and “genre.” These words all attempt taxonomy, but the connotation of each attenuates its claims. This dissertation does not propose a strict and absolute system of categorizing eighteenth-century texts.¹⁴ While this dissertation is descriptive, it does not, like Gérard Genette’s *Paratexts*, narrate progression within the categories it designates. This dissertation builds its claims from a broad textual archive, but does not engage in distant reading as articulated by Franco Moretti.¹⁵ I identify trends within the eighteenth-century fragment

¹² Wee Chi Dimock, “Introduction: Genres as Fields of Knowledge,” *PMLA* 122, no. 5 (October 2007), 1377-8.

¹³ Ralph Cohen, “History and Genre,” *New Literary History* 17, no. 2 (Winter 1986), 203-4.

¹⁴ A useful reference here is Paula McDowell: in an article on classification and ephemera, she notes that the term has different meanings for collectors, archivists, and literary scholars, but turns that into a strength: “by incorporating a degree of flexibility and ambiguity, and leaving certain terms open to multiple definitions, classifications represent multiple constituencies and function across different social worlds” (48). My dissertation hopes to be useful beyond eighteenth-century studies in particular by recognizing the variance of fragments and genre. Likewise, what’s also important that emerges in McDowell’s article is the importance of classification systems to eighteenth-century readers and authors. Insofar as fragments defy tight classification, they present an interesting case study. For more, see McDowell, “Of Grubs and Other Insects: Constructing the Categories of ‘Ephemera’ and ‘Literature’ in Eighteenth-Century British Writing,” *Book History* 15 (2012): 48-70.

¹⁵ See Moretti, *Graphs, Maps, Trees: Abstract Models for a Literary History* (New York: Verso, 2005). While my research is influenced by Moretti’s example, I care as much for the individual fragment’s textual details as for larger trends in the literary marketplace.

market, but my interpretive claims are substantiated by a close attention to textual detail, especially the text's material instantiation.¹⁶

Thus, when I propose that the fragment is a genre, I incorporate in “genre” this sense of materiality: a method to label texts that share defining characteristics, whether those are based on common themes, formal structures, materiality, or paratextual strategies. The fragment is a genre where these all operate, and the large majority of such texts share several of these characteristics, if not all of them. Eighteenth-century fragments and genre alike instantiate in a particular way that does not apply transhistorically to postmodern fragments; however, we can learn much about how eighteenth-century fragments inform the work postmodern fragments do. To begin untangling the fragment's webs of signification, this introduction locates the competing definitions of the fragment offered by eighteenth-century dictionaries and literary reviews, contemporary critics, and finally the actual fragment texts that my research has uncovered.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY DICTIONARY DEFINITIONS OF THE FRAGMENT

We can begin to explore how eighteenth-century audiences might have read works like “A Fragment” by considering what readers then might have understood the word “fragment” to mean.¹⁷ Fragment, as defined by the *Oxford English Dictionary*, derives from the Latin word

¹⁶ Material, like genre, is a term frequently invoked in scholarship. In his review for *Early American Literature*, Matthew P. Brown points out that the term is more invoked than explained: “Yet like history, materiality can be construed in all kinds of ways ... despite ‘materiality’'s standing as a popular buzzword for book history (perhaps because of it), few terms so central to an area of inquiry have been so underexamined” (660-1). To try not to contribute to this confusion, I suggest that my understanding of “material instantiation” to refer to the way the text is printed and appears on the page. I use material because of its popularity within book history discourse, even when perhaps this is not the best term. Eighteenth-century hand-presses invite critics' fingers to explore the raised impressions of the printed page, but what I am strictly discussing is a visual and not a tactile sensation. Perhaps the sensory confusion in this use of “material” persists because book historians sometimes want to distinguish between the words-as-meaning and words-as-image—in any case, my use of “material instantiation” invokes the text as it appears on the page, along with any marginal commentary, punctuation, etc. that appears with it. See Brown, “The Tiger's Leap and The Dog's Paw: Method, Matter, and Meaning in the History of the Book,” in *Early American Literature* 44, no. 3 (2009): 657-75.

¹⁷ While I will take up the question of titling strategies more explicitly later in the dissertation, because part of my argument is that titles matter for meaning, I will generally at least in the first instance use the complete title

frangere, which means “to break.” The word historically has described parts or pieces of objects, whether those are shards of pottery, a meal’s remainders, leftover ideas or traditions within large religious movements, or portions of text. The *OED* dates the first application of “fragment” to texts to 1614; however, the *English Short Title Catalogue* reveals that the 1597 edition of Francis Bacon’s *Essays* includes a section titled “Of The Colours of good and euill a fragment.”¹⁸ However, while Renaissance thinkers often contemplated fractured works of art, few texts published before 1700 used the word in titles.¹⁹

“Fragment” sometimes had a somewhat negative connotation, as the idea of brokenness or “imperfection” recurs in definitions. Benjamin Martin’s 1749 *Lingua Britannica reformata: or, a new English dictionary, under the following titles, viz. I. Universal; [...] To which is prefix’d, an introduction, containing a physico-grammatical essay on the propriety and rationale of the English tongue* defines the fragment as “a piece of a thing broken, a shred, or scrap.” “Broken” suggests unusable, corrupted, or potentially pathological; imperfection may be productive, but there’s generally a negative connotation for such words. Shred or scrap could fit texts and objects alike, but such disparate pieces tend only to be useful when connected with a whole.

Eighteenth-century dictionaries did not generally stress the fragment as specifically a printed phenomenon. Johnson’s famous 1755 *Dictionary of the English Language*, which defines the fragment as “a part broken from the whole; an imperfect piece” includes a citation from Isaac Watts’s *Improvement of the Mind* that refers to written fragments, but “piece” is not an exclusively literary term.²⁰ John Kersey’s *A New English Dictionary, or a Compleat Collection of the*

for a work, but may abbreviate to a shorter title thereafter, as with *The Muse in Good Humour, Or, A Collection of the Best Poems, Comic Tales, Choice Fables, Enigmas, &c. From the most Eminent Poets. With some Originals*. I do so for concision’s sake only, because eighteenth-century titles are frequently long.

¹⁸ Francis Bacon, *Essays. Religious Meditations. Places of persuasion and dissuasion. Seene and allowed* (London, 1597).

¹⁹ Leonard Barkan’s *Unearthing the Past: Archaeology and Aesthetics in the Making of Renaissance Culture* (New York: Yale University Press, 1999) examines the influence of Classical sculptures on Renaissance culture.

²⁰ Samuel Johnson’s definition was influential; his exact phrasings “part broken from the whole” and “imperfect piece” appeared in dictionaries over and over again, including the dictionaries of Thomas Sheridan, Thomas Brown, Stephen Jones, John Bentick, Anne Fisher, and Francis Allen.

Most Proper and Significant Words, printed first in 1702, defined a fragment as “*a broken piece of any thing*,” a definition that remained the same in the *Dictionary*’s 1772 eighth edition. However, Benjamin Defoe’s 1735 *A compleat English dictionary. Containing the true meaning of all words in the English language: also the proper names of all the kingdoms, towns, and cities in the world: properly explain’d and alphabetically dispos’d* recognized that fragment could refer to parts of texts: “A FRAGMENT, a broken Piece or Part of a Thing; also imperfect Sentences mentioned by one Writer, and not to be found in the Original quoted.” What makes Defoe’s definition particularly intriguing is that “imperfect Sentences mentioned by one Writer” differs from titling strategies like Bacon’s in that it connects the fragment to (mis)quotation. Likewise, John Marchant’s 1760 *A new complete English dictionary, peculiarly adapted to the instruction and improvement of those who have not had the benefit of a learned or liberal education, [...] To which is prefixed a compendious grammar [...] by D. Bellamy [...] Mr. Gordon, and others* lists: “FRAGMENT [S.] a part broken from the whole; an imperfect piece; also, some remains, or scattered pieces of old authors, whose entire works have been lost.” The “remains” and “scattered pieces of old authors” turns pieces into prose, metaphorically. This definition moves from seeing fragments as parts of wholes to whole descriptions of parts.

Common among these definitions is the sense that—while fragments are pieces of unfinished or incomplete objects, and there is some negative connotation to the fragment as “broken” or “imperfect”—fragmentation can be understood as a form of writing as well as a physical object. However, these definitions also show that eighteenth-century writers—at least those engaged in writing dictionaries—did not conceive of the fragment as a literary genre in the way they did the epic and the satire. This may be because no contemporary critic theorized the fragment as a genre, or because the fragment is neither constructed like nor functions similarly to such genres. Even a relatively formless genre like the novel shares similar kinds of

narrative structures or repeated tropes.²¹ Fragments may share similar typographic and paratextual strategies—including dashes, asterisks, and explanatory prefaces—but little thematic or formal consistency. In fact, fragments may sometimes only be recognized by their titles.

Eighteenth-century critics took cautious note of the fragment. For example, *The Monthly Review*, describing the pamphlet *A fragment, sent from a gentleman at Naples, to his friend at London*, shows critics distinguishing fact from fiction in fragments: “This pretended fragment is designed as a satire upon the college of physicians, and consists of many dirty personal invectives. If what [M]r. Pope says is true, that ‘want of decency, is want of sense,’ the writer’s understanding will scarce be held in great esteem for this production.”²² While the critic disdains the “dirty personal invectives,” he also recognizes this as “a pretended fragment,” where “pretended” might be descriptive or generic. When the *Critical Review* picks up *A Fragment which dropped from the Pocket of a certain Lord, on Thursday the 23d of April, 1789, on his Way to St. Paul’s with the Grand Procession*, it has little that is nice to say: “We apprehend there is an erratum in the title of this pamphlet, and that instead of *Lord*, we ought to read, *Grub-street author*. But let the Fragment drop from whom it might, it certainly was not worth the picking up, far less the publishing. A more insipid production, though stuffed with poetical quotations, we do not remember to have seen.”²³ *A Fragment* is disposable, though not because of the fragment form—because of its content. Just as the *Monthly*’s reviewer objects to the fragment’s satire, so does the *Critical*’s reviewer here.

However, “fragment” occasionally appears alongside other, related, kinds of texts. The *Edinburgh Weekly Magazine*’s review of *Anecdotes of Olave the Black, King of Man, and the Hebridian*

²¹ Thus, we can recognize subgenres like the gothic novel, the sentimental novel, and the epistolary novel.

²² *The Monthly Review* 10 (February 1754): 148-9.

²³ *Critical Review* 68 (July 1789), 73.

Princes of the Somerled Family begins with the following sentence: “This curious fragment of ancient northern history, will be a most acceptable present to the antiquary; while the critic in philology will find some amusement from the little poetical Eulogies of the Islandic Bard.”²⁴ “Fragment” here describe *Anecdotes* as a genre, suggesting that some critics did not distinguish among anecdote, tale, sketch, or fragment. “Fragment” might work to describe the anecdotes as not comprising a complete story, rather than an unfinished work per se. While the reviews only proliferated after the mid-century, and thus cannot represent the same shifts in description as the eighteenth-century dictionaries, they may still register changes in attitudes towards fragment texts.

LITERARY-CRITICAL DEFINITIONS OF THE FRAGMENT

If eighteenth-century critics disparaged fragments, today’s critics embrace the fragment’s potential for expression. The early treatments of the fragment, including Phillippe Lacoue-Labarthe and Jean-Luc Nancy’s *The Literary Absolute: The Theory of Literature in German Romanticism* and Thomas McFarland’s *Romanticism and the Forms of Ruin: Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Modalities of Fragmentation*, blur discussions of fragmentation and fragment writing in their analysis of English and German Romantic philosophies. This interest in the relationship between form and content threads through critics’ responses ever since and remains a key concern in the chapters that follow. This section gives a brief overview of the critical conversation surrounding the fragment to position this dissertation’s contribution within that field. No matter if the attention is to the fragment’s cultural project or the authorial creation of fragments, this dissertation argues that the fragment’s material status constitutes it as a genre.

²⁴ *Edinburgh Weekly Magazine* 53 (Sept 27 1781), 383.

Fragment criticism often deals as much with thematics of fragmentation as with literary fragments themselves. Critics have made arguments about the fragment's significance through its connection to widely-shared cultural concerns. For example, Susan Manning's *Fragments of Union: Making Connections in Scottish and American Writing* argues that Scottish and American writers, whose political concerns centered in concepts of national fragmentation and union with Britain, expressed that not just at the level of literary form, but even at the level of grammar and syntax. In her own words, "[t]he rhetorical and psychological ramifications of federative and incorporative models from the political realm are what we might term 'transitive structures' which propagate and translate themselves as ways of thinking and formulating ideas in a more diffuse but also a more precise way than consciously held political (ethical, philosophical, poetic) beliefs."²⁵ This claim implies an assumption that intellectual models contribute to the form of their expression. Manning locates this within texts including James Boswell and Henry Mackenzie as well as Thomas Jefferson and William James, claiming that "[i]rrespective of the views expressed by their authors, the Scottish and American texts I consider reveal an impulse to create narrative, a unified story, cut into or frustrated by the fragmentation, either grammatical, or formal (elisions, missing episodes), or in the embedded structures of the exposition itself (the untold 'other tale')."²⁶ Manning doesn't limit herself to texts labeled as fragments explicitly, but reads texts for strategies of fragmentation. This approach, like others that follow, seeks to associate fragment forms with specific ideological content.

²⁵ Susan Manning, *Fragments of Union: Making Connection in Scottish and American Writing* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 9.

²⁶ *Ibid*, 13.

Sandro Jung's *The Fragmentary Poetic: Eighteenth-Century Uses of an Experimental Mode*, specifically about eighteenth-century fragment poetry, recognizes in the fragmentary "mode" a means of expressing social anxieties:

I suggest that classical perfection, in the guise of neo-classical architecture in Britain and media of visual and literary art, served as both an ideal and tangible means to counter the sense of instability that permeated society. Writers frequently voiced anxieties about personal and national identity, as well as the feared breakdown of the social order, through modes of incompleteness and ambiguity, emphasizing the fragmented and divided state of the cultural landscape of post-Union Britain.²⁷

Jung here shares Manning's attention to union and fragmentation, though from the British perspective. He also shifts from Manning's "impulse" to "mode." He defines the fragmentary as "a mode, like satire, that can use any genre and alter it formally and morphologically, or reflect its fragmentariness semantically and thematically,"²⁸ which allows him to read this mode across epic poetry, "'invented' fragments"²⁹ like Wardlaw's *Hardyknute* and Macpherson's *Fragments of Ancient Poetry*, and ruins in Charlotte Smith's and William Wordsworth's poetry. Inger Sigrun Brodey's study of sensibility and ruin likewise connects picturesque landscapes with literary tropes in Mackenzie's *Man of Feeling*.³⁰

Elizabeth Wanning Harries's *The Unfinished Manner: Essays on the Fragment in the Later Eighteenth Century*, the first work that explicitly addressed the eighteenth-century fragment, analyzes eighteenth-century cultural ideologies alongside the fragment like Brodey and Jung.

²⁷ Sandro Jung, *The Fragmentary Poetic: Eighteenth-Century Uses of an Experimental Mode* (Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 2009), 13.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 15.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 24.

³⁰ Inger Sigrun Brodey, *Ruined by Design: Shaping Novels and Gardens in the Culture of Sensibility* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 92-4.

She shows “that the romantic fragment is not a completely new departure, that it depends on the fragmentary procedures and justifications that developed, at least in part, in the later eighteenth century.”³¹ She distinguishes between “planned and unplanned fragments,” engaging in taxonomical work similar to this dissertation’s.³² Wanning Harries explores cultural influences including the ruin, precedents in Petrarch, Rabelais, and Cervantes, and the gendering of aesthetics and language as they mark the fragment as feminine. Her texts are canonical: Swift, Sterne, Richardson, and Coleridge, for instance.

Harries, Jung, Brodey, and Manning all respond to a structuring claim repeated by Romanticist critics: that the fragment is explicitly and implicitly Romantic. This claim is made first in Thomas McFarland’s *Romanticism and the Forms of Ruin: Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Modalities of Fragmentation* and Marjorie Levinson’s *The Romantic Fragment Poem: A Critique of a Form*.³³ Levinson argues that “[a]lthough poetic fragments occur in periods other than the Romantic, criticism tacitly assigns them an unusually motivated and expressive condition within the early nineteenth century [...] The fragment, like the novel, is felt not merely to reflect but to focus the sensibility of its originary or associated epoch. It figures in our criticism as an *exemplary* Romantic expression.”³⁴ Alexander Régier later reiterates this claim: “[f]ragmentation and Romanticism have a special relationship.”³⁵ Again, as eighteenth-century critics connect the fragment to the ruin, the sublime, and national identity, Romanticists define the fragment or fragmentation in terms of Romantic ideology, as Levinson’s definition of the

³¹ Wanning Harries, *The Unfinished Manner: Essays on the Fragment in the Later Eighteenth Century* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1994), 5.

³² *Ibid.*, 2-5.

³³ Other critics who make some similar claim include Balachandra Rajan, *The Form of the Unfinished: English Poetics from Spenser to Pound* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985); Christopher A. Strathman, *Romantic Poetry and the Fragmentary Imperative: Schlegel, Byron, Joyce, Blanchot* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006); David Duff, *Romanticism and the Uses of Genre* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009); and Alexander Régier, *Fracture and Fragmentation in British Romanticism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

³⁴ Levinson, *The Romantic Fragment Poem: A Critique of a Form* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 5-6.

³⁵ Régier, 2.

fragment shows: “an unfinished poem (visibly incomplete or so identified by title or note) written by an English Romantic poet and published during his lifetime or posthumously—a poem whose irresolution invites assimilation as a formal directive and thus functions as a semantic determinant.”³⁶ Levinson sees irresolution as a Romantic value, making the fragment Romantic. Régier also suggests that “Romanticism already reflects on, and articulates, its own melancholy insight that the expulsion from heaven is part of the reason Romanticism can never think itself out of itself.”³⁷ Because Régier also desires, like Lacoue-Labarthe and Nancy, to show how Romantic modes of thinking exist today, the fragment becomes the Romantic modality *par excellence*.³⁸

An important difference to note is that the eighteenth-century critics (Manning, Jung, Wanning Harries, and Brodey) generally read the fragment through local cultural and intellectual circumstances: that is, that the fragment is the result of unique authors writing within a socio-historical context. The Romantic critics interpret the fragment as theory, and concern themselves largely with ideology. This dissertation, while building on both traditions, entertains the material relationship between form and content, fragment and ideology. While I also trace cultural and historical concerns through many fragment texts, and view the fragment through the period’s developing ideas of authorship, the canonical and non-canonical fragments this dissertation explores suggest that the fragment cannot be tied to a particular theory, context, or ideology. For example, *contra* Jameson, the fragment as a genre remains open to many, even contradictory, ideological positions.³⁹ Eighteenth-century authors often share this concern to link the form they write in to the content they produce because it

³⁶ Levinson, 14.

³⁷ Régier, 17.

³⁸ Important also to note about Régier’s work: whereas Levinson explicitly claims the fragment as a genre, Régier explicitly “shift[s] the focus from the question of ‘the fragment’ as genre to ‘fracture’ or ‘fragmentation’ as notions that create a new explanatory or exploratory grid through which to understand broader categories such as Romanticism” (25).

³⁹ Frederic Jameson, *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Significant Act* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

is rhetorically and artistically effective to make words match meaning and because they fear what confusion might occur if the meaning is not clear.⁴⁰ This dissertation suggests that this anxiety keeps being reproduced in eighteenth-century critical and fragment writing in part because this relationship is difficult to pin down. Authors and readers always hope that their words can be interpreted. Authorship as an idea relies on one creator and one intentional meaning for a text, but the often anonymously published fragments are as often authored and reinterpreted by the booksellers and readers who interact with them.⁴¹

Likewise, whereas prior critics largely rely on master narratives from political or intellectual histories to provide a critical lens for examining fragment texts, this dissertation concerns itself more locally. I reframe canonical uses of the fragment within a wide context of more occasional, local, or seemingly marginal deployments, which use a wide range of visual, bibliographic, and textual-formal strategies for evoking fragmentation. By thinking about how these fragments' visual presentation relies on and informs eighteenth-century reading practices, and how their physical production and publication suggests something about the interpretive practices eighteenth-century readers brought to bear on these texts, we can better understand not only the fragment's role within the eighteenth-century literary marketplace, and the period's other generic innovation, but also something about why fragments established such an appeal, and how the market for fragments affected literary developments in the period

⁴⁰ For an example, Alexander Pope's *The Dunciad* satirizes the literary dunces of Grub Street by rendering them as braying asses whose language cannot be understood: "now thousand tongues are heard in one loud din: / The Monkey-mimicks rush discordant in."

⁴¹ D. F. McKenzie balances this well in *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*: "My argument therefore runs full circle from a defense of authorial meaning, on the grounds that it is in some measure recoverable, to a recognition that, for better or worse, readers inevitably make their own meanings" (18). For a similar example, Coleman Hutchinson argues that book historians must give up simple ideas of authorship: "For better or worse, authorial narratives often prove anything but simple. Here, the concept of authority is vexed by the number of agents who took part in the production and reproduction of Q: several agents could make competing claims of responsibility for, or authority over, Q." See Hutchinson, "Breaking the Book Known as Q," *PMLA* 121, no. 1 (January 2006), 46. Hutchinson does not go so far to say that authorship is shared, but wants us to be cautious of how we assign authority to texts, and where we do so.

more broadly. Régier's claim that "[a] genre of concept that fulfills its self-definition by being incomplete—fragmentary—has an evidently problematic representational status"⁴² suggests why the fragment is rich for eighteenth-century studies, which is currently occupied with considering questions of embodiment, reiterability, and the material object.⁴³

The pages that follow, by analyzing eighteenth-century fragments, retell part of the incomplete story of eighteenth-century genre. Fragments were not merely metaphors, but were constituted through embodied textual practices involving readers, authors, and booksellers within and for specific historical moments. What readers thought of fragments, why writers wrote them, and how editors framed them are the questions with which I contend. Answering them helps us comprehend not only what precisely eighteenth-century writers and booksellers meant in deploying the term to describe numerous texts, but also how they participated in the eighteenth-century marketplace of books and ideas. A more nuanced cultural and political taxonomy accounts for the differences among the kinds of texts that come to be called fragments. This vocabulary may serve not only to describe eighteenth-century texts, but also postmodern modes of communication like the blog or the tweet indebted to this historical tradition. To theorize connections among fragments, however, we must consider the archives from which they come.⁴⁴

⁴² Ibid, 4.

⁴³ For instance, the 2014 Annual Meeting of the American Society of Eighteenth-Century Studies featured panels on textiles, historical reenactment, celebrity culture, the female body, and President Roach's talk about "Invisible Cities and the Archeology of Dreams," which discusses the limits of analyzing authorial intent. Material culture and book history likewise share implications for the discipline's larger push towards the digital humanities, where critics must consider the problems of digitally representing material texts. This anxiety likewise appears in eighteenth-century objects, which frequently pretend to faithfully reproduce found manuscripts.

⁴⁴ I owe my methodology to the increased availability of eighteenth-century materials through *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Ashley Marshall's *The practice of satire in England, 1658-1770* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), which redefines shifts in satire through the analysis of non-canonical texts, acknowledges that "inclusivity of the sort I am attempting here would of course have been all but impossible only a few years ago. The smallness of the canon stems in part from real difficulties in finding and reading the many noncanonical works" (8).

ARCHIVAL DESCRIPTIONS OF THE FRAGMENT

Through a careful review of databases like the *English Short Title Catalog* and *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, as well as physical archives including the Bodleian Library, the British Library, the Harry Ransom Center, the Houghton Library, the Huntington Library, and the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, I have identified 263 unique, separately published eighteenth-century fragments.⁴⁵ This number does not include fragments published within other collections or newspapers, which represent another major source for material.⁴⁶ These titles include a range of material from short one-page poems to multi-volume novels.⁴⁷ The typical bulk of a fragment depends on its subgenre: for example, fragment poems generally tend to be a few pages long, though some can be longer collections; fragment pamphlets generally run about 30-50 pages.⁴⁸ And while a Romantic-inspired collective imagination might think of the fragment poem as the typical work, eighteenth-century fragments are more likely to be prose pieces.

From reading works explicitly titled as “fragments,” I have derived several common features across this category. Fragments typically include (1) the use of asterisks, dashes, or other punctuation to signal a break in the text, (2) prefaces, footnotes, or other kinds of

⁴⁵ This list is not exhaustive. Since the majority I cite are derived from searching the *ESTC* for works including “fragment” or “fragments” in the title, works that are fragments but not titled “fragments” might be left off the list. Also, incomplete or imperfect OCR searches or database records might exclude other fragment works. While I hope that the specific number I’ve listed here makes clear that this is a reasonably large archive from which to derive generalizations, further research would reveal still more fragments of this kind.

⁴⁶ Due to the limitations of time and space, I have not exhaustively researched fragments that were published in period newspapers. That corpus represents another opportunity, but from those fragments I have happened upon in such sources, appearances seem to confirm many of the conclusions I have drawn from my research.

⁴⁷ Examples of such novels include Ann Yearsley’s *The Royal Captives, a fragment of secret history* (London, 1795) and John Robinson’s *Love Fragments* (London, 1782). For poems, many of them are collected in larger miscellanies which cite the titles of all included poems on the title page, like *Poems, containing John the Baptist. Sir Malcolm and Alla, a tale, Shewing to all the world What woman’s love can do. War a fragment. With a monody to John Henderson; and a Sketch of his character* (London, 1795). Others might be broadsides like *Gisbal, an hyperborean tale: translated from the fragments of Ossian the son of Fingal* (1762).

⁴⁸ Some of the more famous fragments are actually full books of poems or book-length poems, like James Macpherson’s *Fragments of Ancient Poetry* (Edinburgh, 1760) or Lady Elizabeth Wardlaw’s *Hardyknute* (London, 1719).

notation that describe the works as fragments, (3) titles which include the word “fragment” or “fragments” within them, (4) thematic material of rupture, disunion, or destruction, and (5) plots that begin *in medias res* or have no formal ending. While not every fragment analyzed hereafter shares all these traits, they generally have several of them to qualify.

These works frequently include generic markers other than the term “fragment” in titles. Examples of these include “history,” “secret history,” “chronicles,” “anecdote,” “tale,” “sketch,” “dialogue,” “letter,” “invocation,” “parody,” “poem,” “essays,” “life,” “sermon,” “fugitive pieces,” and “picture.”⁴⁹ There are also fragment subgenres like the “oriental fragment,” the “prophetic fragment,” the “heroic fragment,” the “ancient fragment,” the “philosophical fragment,” the “poetical fragment,” the “rural fragment,” the “historical fragment,” and the “original fragment.” From this list, we can derive several conclusions. For one, descriptors that suggest a text is either short or potentially incomplete are linked to the fragment, like “sketch,” “anecdote,” and “fugitive pieces.” Likewise, as the period goes on, the fragment divides into subgenres. Some subgenres mention location, like rural and oriental fragments; others convey content like prophetic, philosophical, and poetical. It’s difficult to say exactly when “fragment” might have conveyed a particular meaning to its readers, but these fragment subgenres suggest that at some point the fragment transformed from being a part of a title to being a genre indicator.

Most of these works are not canonical. Even works by canonical authors, like Charles Churchill’s *The Journey. A Fragment*, tend to have received little critical attention. The majority were published anonymously, though many of these have received attributions thanks to the

⁴⁹ This appears in three separate titles, but was a popular generic indication within the period. Michael McKeon has discussed how political realignment post-Revolution reproduces new ethical categories underlying the public/private divide in a variety of arenas in *The Secret History of Domesticity: Public, Private, and the Division of Knowledge* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005).

careful work of past bibliographers.⁵⁰ Among works with attribution, most have male authors, generally men who were university educated.⁵¹ I include novels that are recognizably fragments, based on this archive, but which do not include “fragment” in the title, like *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman* and *The Man of Feeling*. Still others could potentially be included (for example, texts that describe themselves as found documents), but I have limited my analysis to texts either with “fragment” in the title or which incorporate the kinds of visual and paratextual strategies similar to those fragment-titled works. In this dissertation I attempt to read canonical and non-canonical texts alike, in part because I do not wish to suggest that the literary fragment is para-canonical, and in part because I argue for the fragment as a genre itself.

CHAPTER DESCRIPTIONS

The first chapter, “Critical Contexts for Fragment Writing,” addresses how the fragment relates to a range of eighteenth-century discourses. While few eighteenth-century individuals theorized the fragment directly, questions of fragment and form lurk within many intellectual disciplines. Examples of this include aesthetic theories like Lord Kames’s concept of “ideal presence,” architectural discussions of the ruin, theories of punctuation, and rhetorical figures of broken speech.⁵² While critics like Brodey have read the fragment in terms

⁵⁰ For instance: of the 22 unique fragments printed between 1760-9, eight were published with names or identifying texts on the title page, ten were published anonymously or under pseudonyms that have or were identified then, and four appeared anonymously and either have unclear attribution or no attribution at all.

⁵¹ While the number of unattributed texts makes it impossible to establish this definitively, of the attributed fragments only a few had female authors: Mary Larter, Lady Elizabeth Wardlaw, Ann Yearsley, for instance.

⁵² The Introduction to *Dionysius Longinus on the Sublime* (Dublin, 1792) does not use the term fragment, but refers to the “valuable remnants of antiquity” (25) that the editor has collected; these “remnants” can be used interchangeably with “fragments,” since the texts here indicated are incomplete, “damaged too much and shattered by the storm” (25). Likewise, while the ellipsis has no direct connection to the fragment, ellipses appear in both eighteenth and twenty-first century texts to represent absent material. Texts like Charles Bland’s *The Art of Rhetorick, as to Elocution; explain’d: and familiarly adapted to the capacities of school-boys, by way of Question and Answer; in English* (London, 1706) explains how rhetorical figures like aposiopesis represent moments where we “break-off our Speech abruptly, and seem to conceal what we at first intended to say further out of a some Passion, or other” (42).

of the aesthetics of ruin and the sublime, I show how Edmund Burke's theories of the sublime and the beautiful posit connections among completion, size, and language in a way that relates to rhetorical theories of fragmented speech. It reveals connections between rhetorical education and empirical discourse most famously elaborated in John Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*. Locke's *Essay* describes a theory of human cognition based on empirical observation and sensory perception which can be considered in relation to literary interpretation. I also examine how antiquarian practices inform fragment interpretation. These all endeavor to explain how or in what ways the sensory experience of reading fragments invites readers to interpret them. Because the fragment exists as the remnant or piece of a (supposed) larger work, readers must interpret it in terms of both its form and content.

The second chapter, "Unintentional Fallacies, Unintentional Fragments," discusses fragments that are incomplete for reasons other than authorial intent.⁵³ This category includes works abandoned by their authors before completion, works left unfinished because of the author's demise, and works that exist only in an unfinished state because the rest of the text has disappeared; this last group includes classical fragments republished during the period and described as fragments by their editors as well as texts left incomplete by editorial intervention.⁵⁴ I focus on several unintentional fragment texts: Charles Churchill's *The Journey. A Fragment* (1765); Mary Wollstonecraft's unfinished *The Wrongs of Woman, or Maria; A Fragment* (1798); James Beattie's *Essays and fragments in prose and verse, by James Hay Beattie* (1794), which anthologizes Hay's dead son's literary legacy; and Elizabeth Carter's translation of Epictetus' *Works* (1758). These fragments represent conventional understandings of the fragment. This

⁵³ Here and throughout I use "authorial intent" to refer to the deliberate choice and action of an author in the writing and publishing of their work.

⁵⁴ The process of making these determinations has been difficult; generally I here rely either on previous biographical studies or contemporary prefaces where the editors indicate the text's status. These prefaces may be fictitious or deceptive, but since my argument in this chapter will explore how editors present these texts to readers, their truthfulness can be in some sense put aside.

chapter explores editorial practices that framed readers' experiences of fragments as well as readerly strategies of interpretation by investigating how editors responded to audience through prefatory materials and editorial practices.⁵⁵ While the model of the sole genius was developing in law and in literary culture, these texts and others treat how authorship was occupied by editors, booksellers, printers, and readers alike.

The third chapter, "Intentional Fragments," treats the largest category of fragments: those written to be incomplete by their authors. This includes works represented as fragments by their prefatory materials or by punctuation, works presented as "incomplete" within their prefaces but which have complete endings, and works found in so-called incomplete form without significant authorial or textual history. These fragments frequently play with narrative, textual, and formal literary conventions. As such, this chapter interrogates what it means to write fragments intentionally. This chapter explores the part fragment writing played in political discourse by discussing and describing numerous political fragments heretofore critically neglected, including Henry Stebbing's *A Fragment* (1750) and *A dialogue, between a southern delegate, and his spouse, on his return from the grand Continental Congress. A fragment, inscribed to the married ladies of America, by their most sincere, and affectionate friend, and servant, Mary V.V.* (1774). This chapter also considers how fragments like Mary Latter's *Pro & Con; or, the Opinionists: an Ancient Fragment* (1771) and Thomas Medley's *Hotch potch. Containing a conclamation of original pieces, a higgledy-piggledy of controversies and opinions on various interesting Subjects; Detections and Confutations of Vulgar Errors, and Errors not Vulgar; Extraordinary Incidents; And a Salmagunda of Lucubrations; Intended as the true Pabulum Mentis* (1774), both of which explicitly claim influence

⁵⁵ Critical works on how authority and authorship were conceived during the period include Michel Foucault, "What is an Author?" in *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice*, trans. Donald F. Bouchard and Sherry Simon, ed. Donald F. Bouchard (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1977); Jody Greene, *The Trouble with Ownership: Literary Property and Authorial Liability in England, 1660-1730* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005); and Mark Rose, *Authors and Owners: The Invention of Copyright* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1993). I mean "readerly practices" here to include tactics like marginalia; for more, see Heather Jackson, *Marginalia: Readers Writing in Books* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2002).

from Laurence Sterne's *Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman* (1759-67), exemplify a kind of personal fragment, where sublime fracture is part of the text's formal and thematic construction.

The fourth chapter, "Complete Fragments," takes up fragments that are—seemingly paradoxically—complete: ones that formally or narratively conclude but are smaller parts of larger works, fragments that contain motifs of fragmentation, or fragments that only appear so by their titles. This chapter reads works that use thematic but not narrative fragmentation, such as Richard Johnson's *The Hermit of the Forest, and the Wandering Infants. A Rural Fragment* (1789); Abraham Tucker's *Freemill, Foreknowledge, and Fate* (1763); and Thomas Tickell's "A Fragment of a Poem upon Hunting" (1726), which is only nominally a fragment. These fragments challenge our most basic definition of the fragment as premised on modes of incompleteness. Because these works come to formal completion, this chapter revisits understandings of what is essential to the idea of the fragment for writers in the period.

The dissertation's conclusion, "A Fragment," reads the fragment forward through one of the eighteenth century's great authors, Jane Austen. Examining her final unfinished project *Sanditon* (1817) allows us to assess Austen's specific relationship to the literary fragment alongside how modern critics like R.W. Chapman, in editing her fragments for publication, construct our ideas of eighteenth-century fragments. Access to Austen's manuscripts can help reveal how her literary fragments have been framed for contemporary consumption and thus can demonstrate how the fragment itself as a literary medium has taken shape in online discourse. Also, I argue that our contemporary moment's digital remediation of fragments can be understood through the same comparative angles that book history and textual studies offer eighteenth-century fragments.

Chapter One: Critical Contexts for Fragment Writing

Fragment writing emerged in the eighteenth-century, but not out of a vacuum. As J. Paul Hunter links the novel's development to cultural trends and technological developments like the newspaper's birth, so the fragment emerges from similar conditions.⁵⁶ This chapter overviews some of the cultural trends and theoretical developments that formed part of the worldview of the eighteenth-century reader. While we cannot hope fully to recover or understand how each individual reader might have approached the fragment, we can examine what kinds of cultural contexts, familiar to a broad eighteenth-century readership, might have informed the reception of a literary fragment.

This chapter examines the fragment through four frameworks. Rhetoric textbooks and punctuation manuals modeled figures and marks of omission or pause that were imported into eighteenth-century fragments; these marks would have been familiar to readers outside of fragments, and may have helped readers interpret fragment texts. Aesthetic theories of the sublime and the beautiful, along with the popular trend for ruins, suggest how the fragment text or its descriptive practices might affect readers. Empirical theories of cognition and learning rely on a sense and sensation of the partial. Finally, antiquarian practices not only provided frameworks for analyzing fragments, but also popularized fragments as objects of interest. In some cases I provide analysis of fragment works to show how these frameworks come up, while in others I tease how this analysis will be useful in later chapters.

RHETORICAL FRAGMENTS

John Locke's 1693 *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* was a guiding text for early

⁵⁶ Hunter's *Before Novels: The Cultural Contexts of Eighteenth-Century English Fiction* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1990) discusses how "novelty" emerges because improved road conditions helped enable the circulation of the daily journal in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century (11-18).

eighteenth-century educational theory. If not generally practiced, Locke's theories were widely known: writers like Samuel Richardson and Daniel Defoe, among others, commented on them.⁵⁷ Locke's *Some Thoughts* addresses concerns about raising and educating children, from swaddling to having children wear thin shoes to inure them to wet conditions. More relevant for this dissertation, Locke discusses instruction in languages. While Locke recommends Latin as "absolutely necessary to a gentleman," he also suggests that individuals intended for trades need not learn Latin.⁵⁸ He recommends that Latin be learned through the transcription of "some easy and pleasant book, such as Aesop's Fables," where the students writes both English and Latin translations in alternating lines.⁵⁹ He also recommends that students write letters, since most gentleman write in that genre: "the writing of letters has so much to do in all the occurrences of human life, that no gentleman can avoid showing himself in this kind of writing."⁶⁰ He compares this to current practices: "They have been taught rhetoric, but yet never taught how to express themselves handsomely with their tongues, or pens, in the language they are always to use, as if the names of the figures that embellished the discourses of those who understood the art of speaking, were the very art and skill of speaking well."⁶¹ Writing instruction—and commonly, writing instruction with a rhetorical background—is another mode through which to consider how eighteenth-century readers approached fragment writing. Some of the very rhetorical figures that Locke dismisses name practices of ellipsis or fragmentation in writing.⁶² These rhetorical approaches help explain why Chapter

⁵⁷ Ezell, "John Locke's Images of Childhood: Early Eighteenth Century Response to *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 17, no. 2 (Winter 1983-4): 139-55.

⁵⁸ Locke, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, Ed. John William Adamson (New York: Longmans, 1912), 125.

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, 128.

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, 156.

⁶¹ *Ibid*, 155.

⁶² "Dismisses" may not be the right word: Locke certainly values writing instruction and generally much of the same methodology as teaching languages, though he prefers written to oral communication as the primary mode in which students should compose. Also, while Locke certainly prefers a practical education to a classical one, he admits such learning to be useful for gentlemen.

3's pamphlet *The Annals of Administration* uses the fragment form to celebrate Burke's political eloquence.

Before we analyze these rhetorical figures, it's necessary to describe the kinds of literary education available in the period and who was likely to have access to them. Grammar schools—more broadly accessible than university education—commonly taught rhetorical figures as a basic means of composition. A full classical education, only available to elites, included rhetorical texts and the canons of rhetorical theory as a part of a Latin and Greek-based education. In American schools, for example, students at Rhode Island College in 1783 read rhetorical texts in their second and third years, including Longinus's *On the Sublime*, Cicero's *De Oratore*, John Ward's *A System of Oratory*, Robert Lowth's *Short Introduction to English Grammar*, and Thomas Sheridan's *A Course of Lectures on Elocution*.⁶³ Much of that education focused on oral, not written, delivery. Students engaged in recitation as part of their instruction, memorizing material side-by-side with their fellow students.⁶⁴ Likewise, as that list of texts indicates, delivery remained an important rhetorical canon in the eighteenth century.

However, Linda Ferraira-Buckley and Winifred Bryan Horner note in their study of eighteenth-century writing pedagogy that, “[e]ven though rhetoric had long privileged the study of oratory, students had always been immersed in various written exercises to develop their stylistic virtuosity and had composed themes to master organization and form, although these had been considered scripts for oral delivery or preparatory training for writing speeches. For most of our period, writing instruction built explicitly on this rhetorical tradition.”⁶⁵ In other words, eighteenth-century instructors interwove oral and written composition in their

⁶³ Mark Longaker, *Rhetoric and the Republic: Politics, Civic Discourse, and Education in Early America* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2007), 42.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁶⁵ Linda Ferreira-Buckley and Winifred Bryan Horner, “Writing Instruction in Great Britain: Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries,” in *A Short History of Writing Instruction: From Ancient Greece to 20th-Century America*, ed. James J. Murphy (Davis, CA: Hermagoras Press, 2001), 177.

assignments and their readings. What changed that was the introduction of new educational venues and new theories of composition, as well as the increased growth of a more explicitly written culture.⁶⁶ Concomitant with this, too, was the shift to using English as the language of instruction in place of Latin; by the century's end, classes at both Oxford and Cambridge were almost entirely conducted in English.⁶⁷

According to the classic history on the subject, M.L. Clarke's *Classical Education in Britain 1500-1900*, Oxford and Cambridge students were required in their first year to take classes in rhetoric where "the lecturer on rhetoric was to use the works of Aristotle, Cicero, Quintilian or Hermogenes."⁶⁸ While some of this writing instruction was done in Latin, it was during this period that dissenters' schools and the public universities like the University of Edinburgh had professors like George Campbell, Adam Smith, and Hugh Blair who pushed forward rhetorical education, even giving public lectures on the subject. Ferreira-Buckley's overview of eighteenth-century writing education explains how an evolving eighteenth-century print marketplace accelerated the shift to English: "The literary scenes of London, Edinburgh, and Dublin were intellectually lively, giving rise to such journals as the *Spectator*, *Rambler*, and *Edinburgh Review*, all of which helped to standardize, even valorize, English."⁶⁹ These journals, which all discussed proper ways to write, formed a key context for the fragment's evolution.

These journals also shared certain tastes and writing styles that influenced the Scottish belletristic tradition, which prizes writing that conforms to certain linguistic styles.⁷⁰ Like

⁶⁶ Hunter discusses how a gradual shift away from oral culture through the seventeenth century informs genre changes: "It is not that print outbid talk or overwhelmed it, so much as that oral culture lost its occasion and its cultural sanctions. [...] By the mid-eighteenth century, we can see novelists bidding to be a substitute for communality" (157-8).

⁶⁷ See M. L. Clarke, *Classical Education in Britain 1500–1900* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1959), 67.

⁶⁸ Clarke, 61.

⁶⁹ Ferreira-Buckley and Horner, 175.

⁷⁰ From *belle lettres*, or beautiful writing. The tradition's roots are French, but popularized in English by such rhetoricians as Adam Smith and Hugh Blair. Such instruction occurred in public lectures, which spread through the notes taken by students at these lectures, but Blair was brought to publish his *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* in 1783 to preserve his work. Smith's theories of rhetoric only survive through students' notes. The most

David Hume and Joseph Addison, for example, Hugh Blair sees taste as “a faculty which mediates between sense and intellect, founded both on reason and on the ‘native feelings of man.’ While taste is an essential element of human experience, it is also a quality that people possess in different degrees based on their distinct individual dispositions and cultural training.”⁷¹ An educated taste can thus discriminate good style from bad. Blair in his *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* makes some important points about rhetoric and style: “the real and proper ornaments of Style arise from Sentiment.”⁷² Blair juxtaposes here rhetorical figures and tropes, popular in rhetorical instruction, against the circumstances that produce them. What makes writing “beautiful” for Blair is how well its language adheres to the emotions it conveys. An author should only include “ornaments” like tropes insofar as they makes sense for his or her objective. Blair illustrates: “A writer of genius conceives his subject strongly; his imagination is filled and impressed with it; and pours itself forth in that Figurative Language which Imagination naturally speaks. He puts on no emotions which his subject does not raise in him; he speaks as he feels; but his Style will be beautiful, because his feelings are lively.”⁷³ Blair’s “writer of genius” is the actor in this sentence, but this individual’s rhetorical choices seem unconscious: the imagination is filled, the imagination pours forth. However, the “genius” of the author’s emotions somehow naturally deploys itself well, with cultivation. The “writer of genius” always knows how to choose the correct figures based on his or her feelings. Tropes for Blair here are something that have value, when deployed correctly.

Blair speaks about tropes in a balanced fashion: “I begin with repeating an observation, formerly made, that neither all the beauties, nor even the chief beauties of composition,

modern editions of each are Hugh Blair, *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres*, ed. Linda Ferreira-Buckley and S. Michael Halloran (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2005) and Adam Smith, *Lectures on rhetoric and belles lettres*, ed. J. C. Bryce (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983).

⁷¹ Lois Agnew, “The Civic Function of Taste: A Re-Assessment of Hugh Blair’s Rhetorical Theory,” *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 28, no. 2 (Spring 1998), 29.

⁷² Hugh Blair, 196.

⁷³ *Ibid*, 196.

depend upon Tropes and Figures.”⁷⁴ While they are not “the chief beauties of composition,” they have value when called on by the subject and the writer’s feelings. In fact, “[f]igures, in order to be beautiful, must always rise naturally from the subject.”⁷⁵ Blair, like many other eighteenth-century critics, links form with content.⁷⁶ Both must agree or “always rise naturally” from each other. Implicit in Blair’s discussion are his own rhetorical goals—for Thomas M. Conley, Blair represents “the tradition of rhetoricks designed to transform students into gentlemen—and ladies, we must hasten to add—if not in Parliament, the pulpit, or bar, then certainly in polite conversation.”⁷⁷ In other words, Blair’s rhetorical rules reinforce social rules. Critics have linked this interest in style and taste to certain historical conditions and socioeconomic values. Mark Longaker argues that rhetorical instruction, including disputation exercises and literary societies, was used to inculcate republican virtues in American citizens, before the Revolutionary period itself.⁷⁸ Lois Agnew suggests that “Blair’s appropriation of the literary discourse into the province of rhetoric reflects his attempt to restore the force of classical rhetoric through applying its principles to the changing cultural conditions that surrounded him.”⁷⁹ Just as Blair recommends that one’s rhetoric match its subject, the speaking subject’s language must be attuned to the political and social situation from which it emerges. The same with education: an individual intended for a particular social class needs a particular education.

The dominant approach to writing instruction grew out of combination emphases on Latin verse translation, grammar, and rhetoric. As Ferreria-Buckley explains,

⁷⁴ Ibid, 195.

⁷⁵ Ibid, 195.

⁷⁶ Or, as Thomas Lockwood points out in *Post-Augustan Satire: Charles Churchill and Satirical Poetry, 1750-1800* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979), design with subject.

⁷⁷ Thomas M. Conley, *Rhetoric in the European Tradition* (New York: Longman, 1990), 223.

⁷⁸ Longaker, 39.

⁷⁹ Agnew, 27.

The trivium of grammar, logic, and rhetoric proved solid, if somewhat tired, training in communication skills. Texts such as John Holmes's *The Art of Rhetoric Made Easy* (London, 1739), John Lawson's *Lectures Concerning Oratory* (Dublin, 1758), and John Ward's *System of Oratory* (London, 1759) reveal typical pedagogical approaches. Instructors believed that in order to learn to read, one first had to learn to spell, and that, in like fashion, in order to learn to write, one first had to learn grammar. Students thus progressed from words to sentences to paragraphs to themes and finally to lengthier compositions or orations. Memorizing and modeling were common methods of improving student writing.⁸⁰

In addition, because of growing written literacy, the number of such guides increased during the period. Many instruction manuals in rhetoric or writing featured discussion of punctuation and rhetorical figures that embodied fragmented speech. These figures, which would have been familiar to a significant portion of the audience for literary fragments, provided one context for reading and interpreting this genre.

A closer look at John Holmes's 1738-9 *The art of rhetoric made easy: or, the elements of oratory briefly stated, and fitted for the practice of the studious youth of Great-Britain and Ireland: in two books* suggests how composition instruction framed reading attitudes. *The Art of Rhetoric*, printed four times between 1739 and 1766, positions itself as a textbook for grammar students in the introduction: "not One [Rhetorical Treatise], that I've had the Happiness to meet with, in every Respect adapted to the Capacity, or fitted for the Use, of Youth in Grammar-Schools; especially in this Day, when School-Boys are expected to be led, sooth'd, and entic'd to their Studies." Since the reading public included many "Youth in Grammar-Schools" or their

⁸⁰ Ferreira-Buckley and Horner, 179.

equivalents, this work represents shared knowledge for that body, especially as it does not purport to innovate. In fact, Holmes sells his work on the basis of its encyclopedic grasp of the rhetorical tradition, “collected and composed from the whole Body of *Orators* and *Rhetoricians* ancient and modern.” *The Art of Rhetoric* emphasizes elocution, which for Holmes “consists in the finding out *proper, polite, and ornamental* Expressions to signify our Thoughts.” While his focus on orality is consistent with educational practice, Holmes’s examples apply equally to both mediums. Likewise, “proper, polite, and ornamental expressions” privileges language suited to the moment and the subject discussed.

Holmes’s instruction in *The Art of Rhetoric Made Easy* celebrates correctness, whether involving “Grammatical *Plainness* and *Propriety*”⁸¹ or “the *Purity, Perspicuity, and Politeness* of Language.”⁸² A similar correctness applies to the idea of Dignity in writing, which “is that which *adorns* Language with *sublime Thoughts*, and *Rhetorical Flowers*, such as noble *Tropes*, moving *Figures*, and beautiful *Turns*.”⁸³ Holmes defines figures in particular to be “the Fashioning and *Dress of Speech*; or, an *Emphatical Manner of Speaking*, different from the Way that is ordinary and natural: expressing either a *Passion*, or containing a *Beauty*” and lists several that represent or express interrupted speech or fragmentary thought.⁸⁴ Holmes sets off figurative speech from a low or common style, as figures are tied to emotional communication or moral truth. He lists and further defines twenty of the “PRINCIPAL and most moving FIGURES in *Speech*” in a rhyming list, which includes:

IV. APOSIOPESIS, pausing, Thoughts rejects.

V. APOPHASIS, t’enforce, slights or says less.⁸⁵

⁸¹ John Holmes, *The art of rhetoric made easy: or, the elements of oratory briefly stated, and fitted for the practice of the studious youth of Great-Britain and Ireland: in two books* (London: 1738-9), 26.

⁸² *Ibid*, 27.

⁸³ *Ibid*, 28.

⁸⁴ *Ibid*, 43.

⁸⁵ *Ibid*, 44.

He expands on these definitions with lengthy lists of examples, mostly from classical texts, with relevant Biblical verses cited. Using both examples makes his text legible to readers with and without classical training, though the models are presented without discussion, as seen here.

IV. APOSIOPESIS, Ἀποσιώπησις, *Suppression*,
 from ὑποσιώπησις, *oblitico*; AS, Ego te, furcifer, si vi-
 vo; *Ter. Eun.* Quos ego—sed præstat motos com-
 ponere fluctus; *Virg. Æn.* 1. Quem quidem ego
 si sensero— Sed quid opus est Verbis; *Ter. Andr.*
 Si quis me quærit rufus— Præsto est, desine; *Ter.*
Phorm. De nostrum enim omnium—non audeo
 totum dicere; *Cic.* See also 2 *Cor.* xii. 6. *Psalms*
 vi. 4. *Luke* xiii. 42. 1 *Kings* xxi. 7. *John* xii.
 27. &c. .

Figure 1.1: John Holmes, *The art of rhetoric made easy: or, the elements of oratory briefly stated, and fitted for the practice of the studious youth of Great-Britain and Ireland* (1739). 46.

From Gale. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. © Gale, a part of Cengage Learning, Inc.

Reproduced by permission.

Other rhetorical texts define these terms more fully. Thomas Gibbons’s *Rhetoric; or, a view of its principal tropes and figures, in their origin and powers: with a Variety of Rules to escape Errors and Blemishes, and Attain Propriety and Elegance in Composition* describes apophasis as “denial” and defines it as “a Figure by which an Orator pretends to conceal or omit what he really and in fact declares.”⁸⁶ By Gibbons’s definition, this figure might well graphically include something like “**** ** ** ** ** *****” from *Tristram Shandy*, which seems to conceal an indecent meaning which can easily be deciphered from context.⁸⁷ While Anthony Blackwall’s *Introduction to the Classics* anglicizes the term and explains Omission to include “when an Author pretends,

⁸⁶ Thomas Gibbons, *Rhetoric; or, a view of its principal tropes and figures, in their origin and powers: with a Variety of Rules to escape Errors and Blemishes, and Attain Propriety and Elegance in Composition* (London, 1767), 157.

⁸⁷ From Volume 5; stands for “piss out of the window.”

that he conceals and omits what he declares,” which he illustrates with a speaker avoiding mention of “my Adversary’s scandalous Gluttony and Drunkenness.”⁸⁸ This example doesn’t include punctuation strategies like the fragment, but the general effect of this strategy—”serviceable to an *Orator* in proposing his weaker Arguments; which yet he knows lie more level to the Capacities of some Part of his *Audience*”—seems to match.⁸⁹ The indecencies or political meanings or sentimental yearnings the asterisk or ellipsis might conceal deliver weak or unauthorized content.

John Ward’s *A system of oratory, delivered in a course of lectures publicly read at Gresham College*, like Anthony Blackwell’s book, seems intended for a broader audience as it uses English and Latin terms alike to describe certain figures. He defines aposiopesis as separate from other figures of lost speech: “Sometimes a passion has that effect, not so much to render a person doubtful what to say, as to stop him in the midst of a sentence, and prevent his expressing the whole of what he designed. And then it is called *Aposiopesis*, or *Concealment*. It denotes different passions. As anger, which by reason of its heat and vehemence, causes persons to break off abruptly in their discourse.”⁹⁰ The breaking off, which involves punctuation marks in speech not described by Ward, is to be interpreted by context. While it expresses emotion, it encodes no particular example.

While hopefully this brief survey of rhetoric textbooks shows that rhetorical figures of broken speech were familiar to a wide audience, and that frequently their understanding of linguistic fragmentation is grounded in emotional excess, a tension of speaking without speaking, fragment writers themselves sometimes articulated their awareness of rhetorical

⁸⁸ Blackwell, *An introduction to the classics; containing, a short discourse on their excellencies; and directions how to study them to advantage. With an essay, on the nature and use of those emphatical and beautiful figures which give strength and ornament to writing* (London, 1718), 186-7.

⁸⁹ Blackwell, 186.

⁹⁰ John Ward’s *A system of oratory, delivered in a course of lectures publicly read at Gresham College* (London, 1759), 96.

concepts of omission, silence, and concealment. Laurence Sterne's *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman* acknowledges its own interest in aposiopesis, as a conversation between Walter Shandy and his brother Toby about midwives and doctors⁹¹ trails off with Uncle Toby's words: "My sister, I dare say, added he, does not care to let a man come so near her ****." ⁹² This editorial lapse is then addressed by the narrator: "I will not say whether my uncle *Toby* had completed the sentence or not;—'tis for his advantage to suppose he had,—as, I think, he could have added no ONE WORD which would have improved it."⁹³ The playfulness of ONE WORD, which runs over to be the first words on the next page, emphasizes the specific gap left by the asterisks, just as it perfectly upsets the sentence's supposed meaning: the (un)added word could add much delight.⁹⁴ Uncle Toby's shyness about privates suggests that he may be the asterisks' author, but the multiple dashes that punctuate Tristram's narration of the moment may also depict his own hesitation too.⁹⁵

As the text goes on, the text builds on this absence and shifts attention to the rhetorical device itself:

⁹¹ For another reading of this scene, see William J. Farrell, "Nature Versus Art as a Comic Pattern in *Tristram Shandy*," *ELH* 30 no. 1 (March 1963), 16-35.

⁹² Laurence Sterne, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*. Volume II. 2nd ed. (London, 1760), 47.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 47-8.

⁹⁴ The word remains "ONE WORD" in the 1781 Harrison and Company edition and the 1794 Cadell edition, so the printers and booksellers seem to respect the capitals' importance to the joke. Dodsley's second edition is set with the page break effects, as are his fifth and sixth editions. What may be significant is that the page number is different in these later editions—page 50 is where "ONE WORD" heads the page. This may suggest that the early editions are based on the York printing, and Sterne's later printer copied the design to preserve this effect. For more on *Tristram Shandy's* early publication history, see John M. Yoklavich, "Notes on the Early Editions of *Tristram Shandy*," *PMLA* 63, no. 2 (June 1948): 508-19.

⁹⁵ The narrative of *Tristram Shandy* skates frequently around such questions of private actions: where is Toby's wound? is Walter Tristram's father? how injured is Tristram himself by the falling window?

ONE WORD which would have improved it.

If, on the contrary, my uncle *Toby* had not fully arrived at his period's end, — then the world stands indebted to the sudden snapping of my father's tobacco-pipe, for one of the neatest examples of that ornamental figure in oratory, which Rhetoricians stile the *Aposiopesis*. — Just heaven! how does the *Poco piu* and the *Poco meno* of the *Italian* artists — the insensible. MORE OR LESS, determine the precise line of beauty in the sentence, as well as in the statue! How do the slight touches of the chisel, the pencil, the pen, the fiddle-stick, *et cetera*, — give the true swell, which give the true pleasure! — O my countrymen! — be nice; — be cautious of your language; — and never, O! never let it be forgotten upon what small

small particles your eloquence and your fame depend.

——“ My sifter, mayhap,” quoth my uncle *Toby*, “ does not choofe to let a “ man come so near her * * * *” Make this dash,—’tis an *Aposiopesis*.—Take the dash away, and write *Backside*, — ’tis Bawdy.—Scratch *Backside* out, and put *Cover’d-way* in,—’tis a Metaphor;— and, I dare say, as fortification ran so much in my uncle *Toby*'s head, that if he had been left to have added one word to the sentence,—that word was it.

But whether that was the case or not the case; — or whether the snapping of my father's tobacco-pipe so critically, happened thro' accident or anger,—will be seen in due time.

Figure 1.2 and 1.3: Laurence Sterne, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*. Vol 1. (1760). 48-9.

From Gale. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. © Gale, a part of Cengage Learning, Inc.

Reproduced by permission.

This lengthy passage here plays with absence in several delightful ways. First, Tristram here entertains the idea that his father's snapped pipe interrupts the sentence, as if the tobacco pipe itself could be a dash across the page. However, this becomes a larger meditation on “small particles”—“the insensible MORE or LESS” which includes both “slight touches of the chisel, the pencil, the pen” and the fortuitous timing of the pipe breaking. Tristram's enthusiastic elaborating here, turning from the snapping pipe to a hyperbolic apostrophe—“never, O! never let it be forgotten upon what small particles your eloquence and your fame depend.” If the pipe breaks off Toby's sentence, Tristram mimics it in his dashing style through the

following lines.

Tristram's call for his countrymen to "be nice;—be cautious of your language," like Toby's asterisks, engages in a jesting double-speak. As Henry Tilney so wisely pointed out years later, nice here can mean both careful and discerning as well as generally pleasant.⁹⁶ The surface reading here is that Tristram wants his readers to attend to small details, to take care. However, the other sense also operates—Tristram asks his countrymen to be nice so as not to misinterpret Toby's silence as vulgarity. The following paragraph spells that out as he theorizes the end of Toby's sentence as first aposiopesis, then "bawdy," then "a Metaphor." He multiplies responses, asking readers to consider alternative versions of Toby before seeming to decide the issue: "and, I dare say, as fortification ran so much in my uncle *Toby's* head, that if he had been left to have added one word to the sentence,—that word was it." The passage then winds back to where it started with one word, which here is also left ambiguous grammatically: is "covered-way" the one word? Or was that word "it"? Both are legitimate interpretations, and both are open for multiple readings. "It" can cover neutral or bawdy meanings. "Covered-way," which is Tristram's preferred meaning, is a feature of fortification that allows soldiers to move along the outer edges of a trench or moat, which also works as a metaphor for Mrs. Shandy's defense of her virtue, or potentially her sexual organs. The asterisks can thus be read as the word (asterisks), as a four-letter word, or a completely different word.⁹⁷ The asterisks' meaning and the answer to Walter's pipe are both suspended, to be "seen in due time" which never comes. *Tristram Shandy* continually plays with blanks in this fashion, suspending knowledge over time.

In addition to this casual mention of aposiopesis, Walter Shandy, a character obsessed

⁹⁶ See Jane Austen, *Northanger Abbey*, ed. Susan Fraiman (New York: Norton, 2004), 73-4.

⁹⁷ For more on *Tristram Shandy's* punctuation, see Roger Moss, "Sterne's Punctuation," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 15, no. 2 (Winter 1981-2): 179-200.

with correct speech, uses rhetorical terminology.⁹⁸ Walter is particularly agonistic in his interactions with the other characters, particularly his brother Toby. For example, after the scene discussed above, Walter Shandy throws his pipe and replies to his brother: “‘Not choose,’ quoth my father, repeating my uncle *Toby*’s words) ‘to let a man come so near her.’— —By heaven, brother *Toby*! you would try the patience of a Job;—and I think I have the plagues of one already, without it.—Why? —Where? —Wherein? —Wherefore? [...] To think, said my father, of a man living to your age, brother, and knowing so little about women!’” Walter is frustrated with brother Toby here in part because he disagrees with Toby’s judgment about Mrs. Shandy, but also because Toby cuts off his sentence, leaving his meaning unclear.⁹⁹ In the course of the argument, however, he gets distracted from his point into a definition of analogy.¹⁰⁰ Walter, as described by Tristram, is fond of argument: “Persuasion hung upon his lips, and the elements of Logic and Rhetoric were so blended up in him [...] that Nature might have stood up and said,—‘This man is eloquent.’” However, Walter’s eloquence results in narrative failure: he is unable to give his son the name he wishes, and his theory of noses is thwarted by his son’s injury during birth. He works hard to develop such a perfect educational system for his son in the *Tristrapaedia*, and famously is never able to apply it. While Chapter 3 will more fully discuss *Tristram Shandy* in relation to the fragment, these instances suggest how rhetorical figures of broken speech are tied, in the minds of eighteenth-century readers and writers alike, to the fragment form as it develops in the period.

PUNCTUATING FRAGMENTATION

If rhetoricians used figures of speech to describe the fragment, their work relied on

⁹⁸ Judith Hawley provides an excellent overview of *Tristram Shandy*’s overall relation to Enlightenment thought in “*Tristram Shandy*, Learned Wit, and Enlightenment Knowledge,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Laurence Sterne*, ed. Thomas Keymer (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 34-48.

⁹⁹ What’s also interesting here is that Walter doesn’t seem to get the joke that the audience does, so distracted is he by his indignation (or his obliviousness).

¹⁰⁰ Sterne, 2.54.

symbols to deliver it. Eighteenth-century punctuation manuals provided another framework for readers and writers to understand literary fragments. Since so many fragments use punctuation marks like the ellipsis to encode (theoretically) absent text, examining what different punctuation marks meant in these manuals helps readers today see what ideas might have been connected to fragments.¹⁰¹ It also helps specifically when discussing a fragment like Henry Stebbing's *A Fragment* in Chapter 3, where Stebbing creates a punctuation grammar to express several different meanings.

The general attitude toward punctuation in the eighteenth century was somewhat unruly. As Park Honan argues, eighteenth-century punctuation theory was confused as it adhered to two different and potentially contradictory criteria. He quotes from John Brightland's 1711 *A grammar of the English tongue, with notes, Giving the Grounds and Reason of Grammar in General*: "The use of these Points, Pauses, or Stops, is not only to give a proper Time for Breathing, but to avoid Obscurity, and Confusion of the Sense in joining Words together in a Sentence."¹⁰² In other words, eighteenth-century punctuation theory was guided by two principles: the elocutionary and the grammatical use. Honan notes that both continue to appear side by side throughout the century. For instance, as he compares discussions of the comma he notices that "[i]n the majority of cases the breath-pause theory appears side-by-side, often in the same sentence, with the syntactical."¹⁰³ Honan repeats the truism that "[c]onfusion itself was widely recognized. Printers, whose task it was to commit manuscripts to the press with one sort of punctuation or another, had little time for the niceties of paradoxical theory and simply recognized anarchy."¹⁰⁴ However, this isn't to say that

¹⁰¹ Here I'm thinking about how some rhetorical manuals tied certain kinds of emotion to aposiopesis. Are there kinds of emotion attached to particular punctuation marks?

¹⁰² Park Honan, "Eighteenth and nineteenth century English punctuation theory," *English Studies* 41, no. 1-6 (1960), 93.

¹⁰³ Honan, 94.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid*, 95.

punctuation did not matter. For example, in David Steel's *Elements of Punctuation*, he quotes a story from Samuel Johnson's *Life* of Lord Lyttleton where Lyttleton pays Andrew Reid "I know not at what price, to point the pages of *Henry the Second*."¹⁰⁵ He frames the story thus: "although the importance of just punctuation cannot be doubted, nor its efficacy in marking the sense disputed, it is a corroborative of the estimation in which it was holden by a man, who added to his nobility a strong affection for literature."¹⁰⁶ If there was confusion about what the rules of punctuation were, people did care about them.¹⁰⁷

However, as Honan notes, the theory around punctuation is sometimes thin. For example, John Brightland's *A grammar of the English tongue, with notes, Giving the Grounds and Reason of Grammar in General. To which are now added, the arts of poetry, rhetoric, logic, &c. making a compleat system of an English education. For the Use of the Schools Of Great Britain and Ireland* has such a wide scope that he only discusses punctuation in three pages. The kinds of marks that are crucial in eighteenth-century literary fragments—the dash, the asterisk, and the ellipsis—occupy an even less significant amount of space.¹⁰⁸ After discussing the uses for other stops and pauses, he describes these marks after indexes and accents. Of the asterisk, he says that "Asterism (*) guides to some Remark in the Margin, or at the foot of the Page. Several of 'em set together signify that there is something wanting, defective, or immodest in that passage of the Author, thus, * * *"¹⁰⁹ Describing the hyphen, he notes that "when Names or Words are purposefully left out, a stroke or small Line is thus put — to signify the Name or Word understood, with

¹⁰⁵ David Steel, *Elements of punctuation: containing remarks on an 'essay on punctuation'; and critical observations on some passages in Milton* (London, 1786), x.

¹⁰⁶ Steel, x.

¹⁰⁷ Nor was Lyttleton the only one. For example, in a letter dated 11 Feb 1762 from William Shenstone to Robert Dodsley, held by the Houghton Library, Shenstone remarks that "[t]he verses in the Lond. Magazine are tolerably well printed, tho my punctuation is not observed."

¹⁰⁸ I focus on these marks specifically because are repeatedly and consistently used in literary fragments.

¹⁰⁹ John Brightland, *A grammar of the English tongue, with notes, Giving the Grounds and Reason of Grammar in General. To which are now added, the arts of poetry, rhetoric, logic, &c. making a compleat system of an English education. For the Use of the Schools Of Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1712), 128-9.

the initial and final Letters at the beginning, or end, or both.”¹¹⁰ The ellipsis is left out entirely. These descriptive definitions certainly return in other places as well, though there’s an interesting contradiction here: if the purpose of stops is to make meaning and listening more clear, these marks hinge on what’s not clear: “something wanting,” “Names or Words purposefully left out.”

Joseph Robertson’s popular *An Essay on Punctuation* follows these traditions. If Brightland concerns himself with “a proper Time for Breathing” and avoiding “Obscurity,” Robertson likewise explains that his work will aid not only with writing but auditory reading. Noting how many books are “carelessly and irregularly pointed,” he argues in the preface that punctuation is not “an arbitrary invention, depending on fancy and caprice,” but “founded on rational and determinate principles.” The idea that punctuation, like grammar and writing generally, has set rules makes understanding punctuation a simple matter of learning those rules by rote. His tone throughout is prescriptive; thus, describing the dash, he notes that “the dash is frequently used by hasty and incoherent writers, in a very capricious and arbitrary manner, instead of the regular point. The proper use of it is, where the sentence breaks off abruptly; where a significant pause is required; or where there is an unexpected turn in the sentiment.”¹¹¹ He thus distinguishes between legitimate and illegitimate uses of the dash, and categorizes its correct use as tied either to abrupt shifts or turns in sentiment or thought. The emotional register he highlights here explains why sentimental novels like *The Man of Feeling* or *The History of David Simple* made great use of the mark.¹¹² Eighteenth-century readers familiar

¹¹⁰ Ibid, 129.

¹¹¹ Joseph Robertson, *An Essay on Punctuation* (London, 1785), 129.

¹¹² For a discussion about dashes in a sentimental literary work, see Janine Barchas, “Sarah Fielding’s Dashing Style and Eighteenth-Century Print Culture,” *ELH* 63, no. 3 (Fall 1996), 633-656. However, critics analyze punctuation across a variety of eighteenth-century texts. Other scholarship on punctuation include Danielle Bobker, “Intimate Points: The Dash in *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin*,” *Papers in Language and Literature* 49, no. 4 (November 2013): 415-43; *Ma(r)king the Text: The Presentation of Meaning on the Literary Page*, ed. Joe Bray, Miriam Handley, and Anne C. Henry (Burlington: Ashgate, 2000); and M. B. Parkes, *Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

with punctuation manuals would bring expectations about these marks to fragment texts, reading emotional emphasis into the works, whether intended by authors or not.

Robertson also addresses the asterisk and the ellipsis. The ellipsis, as described by Robertson, seems to share many functional characteristics with the dash,¹¹³ especially as the ellipsis can take the shape of a dash:

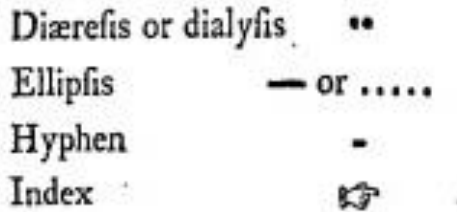


Figure 1.4: Joseph Robertson, *An Essay on Punctuation* (1785). 141.

From Gale. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. © Gale, a part of Cengage Learning, Inc.

Reproduced by permission.

In either case, the mark stands in for what is absent: “Ellipsis — [from [Greek word], deficio] is used, when some letters in a word, or some words in a verse, are omitted: as, the k—g, for the king. The dash is frequently used by rhapsodists, instead of the regular points.”¹¹⁴ Rhapsodists suggests a certain kind of sentimental or fantastical attitude consistent with the mark’s emotive register. The asterisk is the one mark he specifically associates with missing text: “An Asterisk or little star * directs the reader to some note in the margin, or at the bottom of the page. Two or three asterisks generally denote the omission of some letters in a word, or of some bold or indelicate expression, or some defect in the manuscript.”¹¹⁵ However, the list he gives moves from smaller to larger “defects” in meaning. Authorial defect becomes physical defect of the manuscript, as he develops these possibilities. But if the manuscript is missing,

¹¹³ Anne Henry notes that both the dash and the points “stem from the same typographical root” (122) in her essay “The Re-Markable Rise of ‘...’: reading ellipsis marks in literary texts,” in *Ma(r)king the Text: The Presentation of Meaning on the Literary Page*, ed. Joe Bray, Miriam Handley, and Anne C. Henry (Burlington: Ashgate, 2000).

¹¹⁴ Robertson, 146.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid*, 143.

the printer becomes author as he or she substitutes asterisks for the missing pages. Yet, like with the dash, the several possible categories of meaning could widely affect the interpretation, and all try to speak to some sense of authorial intent: what does the author—or the text’s printers and compositors—mean to make missing?¹¹⁶

Other eighteenth-century grammars also explain that the ellipsis was understood as missing text, deemed unnecessary by context. In John Bentick’s *The spelling and explanatory dictionary of the English language*, he describes “the principal design of elliptical Sentences is to avoid disagreeable Repetitions, as well as to express our Ideas in as few Words, and as pleasing a Manner, as possible; but, in the application of the Ellipsis, great Care should be taken to avoid Ambiguity: for whenever it obscures the Sense, it ought by no Means to be admitted.”¹¹⁷ Repetitions refers to a word used multiple times in a sentence; so, “[a] Man, a Woman, and a Child” can be condensed to “[a] Man, Woman, and Child.”¹¹⁸ This kind of ellipsis is about eliminating unnecessary information, not anything important: we can understand that the same article goes for each noun in a list. What this does show is that eighteenth-century punctuation theory existed, that it was guided by aural and visual concerns simultaneously, and that it provided a logic for visual signs that were consistently identified with representing missing material. Authors relied on readers to interpret these signs in reliable ways and—as evidence from Chapter 2 suggests—readers were even able to supply missing punctuation at times. Like the aesthetic theories this chapter will describe in the next section, eighteenth-century punctuation theory offered a means for visualizing the absent and the lost.

¹¹⁶ Inger Sigrun Brodey links this strategy not just to English-language texts like Sterne’s *A Sentimental Journey*, but also locates it in Goethe’s *Sorrows of Young Werther*. “Both works share an ambivalent attitude towards the efficacy of language or the value of words and a narrative marked by many anti-narrative techniques, such as thoughts breaking off mid-sentence; a proliferation of dashes, asterisks, ellipses, and other lacunae; and a narrator who appears disorganized” (80).

¹¹⁷ John Bentick, *The spelling and explanatory dictionary of the English language* (London, 1786), xxviii.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, xxviii.

FRAGMENT AESTHETICS

Other frameworks required for understanding eighteenth-century approaches to and perceptions of the fragment come from contemporary aesthetic theory. Concepts like the *non finito* and Lord Kames's discussion of "ideal presence" help describe how eighteenth-century readers approached questions of interpretation that the fragment presents. Aesthetic theories of the sublime and the beautiful as articulated by Burke, among others, apply a value set for what makes literature good that validate the fragment's worth in the period. The fashion for ruined buildings that occurred alongside or in part because of the popularity of the sublime also help explain why fragment texts became popular later in the period. The *non finito* becomes useful in Chapter 4 as it helps analyze text like *The Hermit of the Forest, or the Wandering Children. A Rural Fragment* which uses visual and verbal descriptions of Honestus and his surroundings to convey its fragmentary form.

The *non finito* is a term imported from art history by Marcia Allentuck to describe *Tristram Shandy*. Allentuck, in her article "In Defense of an Unfinished *Tristram Shandy*: Laurence Sterne and the *Non Finito*," argues that *Tristram Shandy* was not finished by Sterne. She defines the *non finito* as

a work which the artist *intended* to leave unfinished, like a torso or a sketch, a work still whole within itself. [...] Such a work is the vital record of the artist's creative process and recognized to be a particular form of expression in its own right, challenging and motivating its audience to creative co-operation—to fill in and find out by empathy and association, and to cultivate a kind of negative capability which enabled disinterested functioning, without easy satisfactions.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁹ Marcia Allentuck, "In Defense of an Unfinished *Tristram Shandy*: Laurence Sterne and the *Non Finito*," in *The Winged Skull: Papers from the Laurence Sterne Bicentenary Conference*, ed. Arthur H. Cash and John M. Stedmond (London: Methuen, 1971), 147.

Incompleteness in the *non finito* invites readers to participate in its creation.¹²⁰ Allentuck traces the *non finito* through Pliny to Michelangelo and others, with a key caveat: “The specific term, *non finito*, does not occur in the criticism of the period, but the concept and its implications are treated in at least three representative works in Sterne’s library, including Dryden’s translation of Du Fresnoy’s *Art of Painting*.”¹²¹ Eric Rothstein compares the *non finito* to examples of eighteenth-century reader response to explore “the tendency in the eighteenth century to extend the phenomenology of the non finito, past the bounds Allentuck implicitly sets, to works that are formally completed.”¹²² He then turns to Lord Kames’s concept of “ideal presence” from his *Elements of Criticism* to explain how eighteenth-century readers imaginatively expanded text.¹²³

In theorizing how fiction raises emotions, Kames theorizes three different kinds of presence: ideal presence, real presence, and “a superficial or reflective remembrance.”¹²⁴ If memory is a weak mimesis of a past event, and real presence is an actual experience, Kames describes ideal presence “*a waking dream*; because, like a dream, it vanishes the moment we

120 Since both Allentuck and I are engaged in some form of classification, with terms (*non finito*, fragment) that function or are defined similarly, I want to note that one distinction I see between our gestures is that I am relying on a term that comes from the literature itself, a term that would have been familiar to readers at the time. Likewise, while we both use our terms to describe the eighteenth-century reader’s experience with the text and to explain authorial intent, what is most interesting is not the difference in terms but the general idea that both embrace—in other words, that whatever you call it, these questions seem relevant in eighteenth-century criticism.

¹²¹ Allentuck, 149.

¹²² Eric Rothstein, “‘Ideal Presence’ and the ‘Non Finito’ in Eighteenth-Century Aesthetics,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 9, no. 3 (Spring 1976), 309.

¹²³ Susan Manning makes the claim that much eighteenth-century American and Scottish writing across genres centers on the concept of *e pluribus unum*: “this ‘American’ structure of thinking is also characteristic of the writing of the Scottish Enlightenment, and [this book] investigate the connection between these two observations” (2). Kames is another Scotsman, like Blair and Macpherson, who thus figures into the fragment story. The textual evidence certainly supports the idea that non-English authors certainly express tension about union and fragmentation in their writing, both in content and form. However, what this dissertation seeks to establish is that this isn’t the whole story: for different reasons, the fragment proved useful to English writers as well. While such political and cultural contexts are usefully explanatory, they aren’t causal.

¹²⁴ Lord Kames, *Elements of Criticism. In Two Volumes. The Third Edition with Additions and Improvements* (Edinburgh, 1765), 1.82.

reflect upon our present situation: real presence, on the contrary, vouched by eye-sight, commands our belief, not only during the direct perception, but in reflecting afterward on the object.”¹²⁵ To distinguish it from memory, he describes it thus: “When I think of an event as past, without forming any image, it is barely reflecting or remembering that I was an eye-witness: but when I recall the event so distinctly as to form a complete image of it, I perceive it as passing in my presence; and this perception is an act of intuition, into which reflection enters not, more than into an act of sight.”¹²⁶ Ideal presence occurs when an audience encounters a certain kind of art—the reader becomes immersed in the fiction and forgets his or her physical circumstances, to later come to reality, still reflecting on the object. The visual seems to be important to ideal presence, whether in words or images:

A lively and accurate description of an important event, raises in me ideas not less distinct than if I had been originally an eye-witness: I am insensibly transformed into a spectator; and have an impression that every incident is passing in my presence. On the other hand, a slight or superficial narrative produceth but a faint and incomplete idea, of which ideal presence makes no part.¹²⁷

The language of “spectator” and “eye-witness” again stresses the visual, and perhaps suggests passivity. Yet Rothstein explains that the immersion is not dependent upon lengthy description: “In fact, we discover that for him completeness and clarity of the image depend on sudden and strong impressions, often achieved by ‘some single circumstance happily selected,’ so that imaginative expansion is integral to the image.”¹²⁸ What’s complete here—the language—is not actually complete in the reader’s perception. The image can be expanded,

¹²⁵ Ibid, 1.82.

¹²⁶ Ibid, 1.83.

¹²⁷ Ibid, 1.84.

¹²⁸ Rothstein, 321.

and the reader supplies the difference. This is what makes ideal presence a potentially useful framework for reading fragments: the object intrigues and draws the reader into the story it tells, not by providing a full story, but suggesting one.

Ideal presence, as Kames explains, also tends to rest on what is believable. Improbable events are one thing, but things unnatural do not belong. Kames writes that “[a] chain of imagined incidents linked together according to the order of nature, finds easy admittance into the mind; and a lively narrative of such incidents, occasions complete images, including ideal presence.”¹²⁹ This is where Kames allows for fiction to have potentially even more powerful effects than mere reality—a proper moment of ideal presence can be more powerfully persuasive than mere memory, for instance. Kames credits imaginative literature, which creates ideal presence, with real power: “[n]or is the influence of language, by means of ideal presence, confined to the heart: it reacheth also the understanding, and contributes to belief.”¹³⁰ Ideal presence, even if fictitious, works then to construct “belief,” or the underpinnings for how individuals perceive situations. Fragments thus need not be complete to provide “complete images.” They need only be engaging and provide “a lively narrative” of “incidents linked together according to the order of nature” to do so.

However, this reading of ideal presence encounters one potential problem: because fragments are often self-reflexive, making their status as fragments known to the reader in the introduction and in the moments, the fragment might seem to make ideal presence occasionally impossible. Rothstein notes that “[t]he logical end of mimesis is full illusion: the best work of art will call least attention to itself and will most enforce on the viewer the sensuous presence of its content” and that “[a]lthough few eighteenth-century critics applied

¹²⁹ Ibid, 1.94.

¹³⁰ Ibid, 1.92.

this rule single-mindedly, most of them made it one central thrust of their aesthetics.”¹³¹ If fragments often provide narratives, they interrupt those narratives, drawing attention to their incompleteness. Yet, as texts that frequently attempt to frame themselves as manuscripts literally broken up, they conjure ideal presence through the reader’s consumption of them as object. In other words, while *The Man of Feeling*’s story is broken up with missing chapters, the introduction that presents it as an incomplete object draws the reader into the experience of consumption, creating the illusion of handling the manuscript itself. The images and narratives within the fragments provides an ideal presence for the reader to enjoy. Kames himself bemoans “the imperfection of language, almost in every particular that falls not under external sense,”¹³² but this does not *a priori* prevent fictional texts from providing ideal presence.

Rothstein identifies ideal presence as a theoretical underpinning for Hugh Blair’s dissertation on James Macpherson’s Ossian poetry:¹³³

Blair states the principle clearly in discussing ‘Ossian’s’ concision, which ‘leaves several circumstances to be supplied by the reader’s imagination’ in style and description: ‘No description that rests in generals can possibly be good; it can convey no lively idea; for it is of particulars only that we have a distinct conception. But at the same time, no strong imagination dwells long upon any one particular; or heaps together a mass of trivial ones...’ Eighteenth-century pictorialism in poetry typically involved achieving the effect of painting in relation to an ‘idea’—completeness of image swiftly realized, in Hemsterhuis’s terms—rather than the imitation of detail in style.¹³⁴

¹³¹ Rothstein, 309.

¹³² Kames, 1.81-2.

¹³³ I will return to Macpherson’s *Fragments* and Blair’s dissertation later in the chapter—it seems important to remark that Macpherson’s broad popularity makes him an important touchstone for my work, as well as his interest in the fragmentary formally and aesthetically.

¹³⁴ Rothstein, 322.

Instead of relying on lengthy description, ideal presence comes from the expansion of several strong details. As the fragment supplies and invites such expansion, ideal presence can be a product of the reading, especially with fragments that might draw attention to their own materiality as fragments. Macpherson's *Fragments of Ancient Poetry* provide ideal presence to their viewer, in part because they are fragments. The suggestion of something else invites readers to supply what's missing.

If the *non finito* provides an analytical category for considering print's mimesis of the fragment and readers' interpretations of unfinished works, the sublime provides a vocabulary for considering the fragment's affective dimensions. The sublime, familiar to many readers through Longinus, found its most influential expression during the period in Edmund Burke's 1757 treatise *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful*.¹³⁵ Burke's *Enquiry*, however, was only part of a larger cultural and aesthetic eighteenth-century discussion about the sublime.¹³⁶ Influential writers like Joseph Addison and Samuel Johnson took up the question of sublime experience in literature; art like the Gothic novel, the constructed ruin, and the sentimental tale relied on not only an aesthetics of ruin but also a kind of emotional disassociation that the sublime object created in its viewer. Burke associates the sublime and the beautiful both with specific physical features that, observed by the viewer, have an emotional impact. Distinguishing between the idea of pleasure and the removal of pain, he then links the beautiful to pleasure and removed pain with the sublime:

I own, it is not at first view so apparent, that the removal of a great pain does not resemble positive pleasure: but let us recollect in what state we have found our minds upon escaping some imminent danger, or on being released from

¹³⁵ Immanuel Kant's *Critique of Judgment* offers a different and important take on the sublime, but his work isn't published until 1790 and waits seven more years before an English translation.

¹³⁶ See *The Sublime: A Reader in British Eighteenth-Century Aesthetic Theory*, ed. Andrew Ashfield and Peter de Bolla (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

the severity of some cruel pain. [...] [W]e have found them in a state of much sobriety, impressed with a sense of awe, in a sort of tranquility shadowed with horror.¹³⁷

He describes this feeling at the removing of pain as “delight,” which he characterizes as a more intense feeling than mere pleasure. The sense of danger, of being overwhelmed, of losing control is then tied into Burke’s definition of the sublime: “Whatever is fitted in any sort to excite the ideas of pain, and danger, that is to say, whatever is in any sort terrible, or is conversant about terrible objects, or operates in a manner analogous to terror, is a source of the *sublime*; that is, it is productive of the strongest emotion which the mind is capable of feeling.”¹³⁸

What then excites the sublime for Burke is a whole series of potential characteristics: terror, obscurity, power, privation, vastness, infinity, difficulty, and magnificence, among others. Burke goes on in each chapter to describe what makes these qualities sublime. For example, in discussing vastness, he uses the example of the tall mountain, and looking down from the mountain as a space for the sublime: In discussing succession, he notes that it’s not the regularity that’s sublime, but the idea of its continuing on indefinitely that is: “Succession; which is requisite that the parts may be continued so long, and in such a direction, as by their frequent impulses on the sense to impress the imagination with an idea of their progress beyond their actual limits.”¹³⁹ What these all share, as Peter de Bolla notes, is a sense of excess: “The problem was conceived as the following: how can one control a discourse which sets out to examine the ways and means for controlling an excess ... when that excess is visualized

¹³⁷ Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Sublime and Beautiful*, ed. James T. Boulton (New York: Routledge, 2008), 34.

¹³⁸ Burke, 39.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 74.

by the discourse of analysis as its own product?"¹⁴⁰ Burke's potential contradiction is his careful ordering of attributes, set against his own account of the sublime as unruly, overwhelming, and overmuch.

The sublime is important for the fragment, however, not because it directly accounts for it, but because the fragment can be read through lenses of the sublime. For example, Burke describes how "infinity in pleasing objects" can be sublime:

The spring is the pleasantest of the seasons; and the young of most animals, though far from being completely fashioned, afford a more agreeable sensation than the full grown; because the imagination is entertained with the promise of something more, and does not acquiesce in the present object of the sense. In unfinished sketches of drawing, I have often seen something which pleased me beyond the best finishing; and this I believe proceeds from the cause I have just now assigned.¹⁴¹

What fascinates here is the potential in the objects he enumerates. Both spring and a young animal are new, young, with life and future ahead of them to blossom in ways unknowable. The unfinished sketch offers "the promise of something more," just as the fragment does. The reader knows there is something else, something missing, but cannot know what it is. They must imagine it. Commenting on this passage, Wendelin A. Guentner agrees that "It is this promise of creative activity that the incomplete object makes to the imagination that explains Burke's enthusiasm for sketches." However, he argues that the pleasure is not in "the anticipated satisfaction of future completion—as Kames's approach to the *non finito* would suggest—but rather from the psychological pleasure the imagination derives from anticipating

¹⁴⁰ Peter de Bolla, *The Discourse of the Sublime* (New York: Basil Blackwell, 1989), 14.

¹⁴¹ Burke, 76-7.

an indeterminate experience.”¹⁴² Burke’s viewer does not seek to fill in the material, but just enjoys exercising their imagination. The sketch and the fragment seem to share enough similarities that there is some reason to pair them together;¹⁴³ however, it’s also important to distinguish that Burke can locate the sublime within linguistic expression.¹⁴⁴ As Peter de Bolla argues, “Burke seems to view language as in itself empowered, as if it has a power to the sublime independent of users, and as if it has a substantiality uniquely its own.”¹⁴⁵ Language and literature can be sublime for Burke, even if they cannot share the physical characteristics of natural objects, because they elide the reader’s understanding. This can apply directly to a Gothic fragment like *Mary, A Fragment* which invokes terror. It also explains in Chapter 2 how readers appreciate a fragment like Mary Wollstonecraft’s *The Wrongs of Woman. A Fragment*: they admire the author’s inaccessible and inestimable genius.

The fascination with physical ruins—manmade and not—makes its way from theories of the sublime through sensibility. Inger Sigrun Brodey’s work *Ruined by Design* even connects the interest in ruins with “the use of (seemingly insignificant) dashes and asterisks within the narratives,”¹⁴⁶ just as Elizabeth Wanning Harries draws our attention to Johnson’s comparison

¹⁴² Wendelin A. Guentner, “British Aesthetic Discourse, 1780-1830: The Sketch, the *Non Finito*, and the Imagination,” *Art Journal* 52, no. 2 (Summer 1993), 41.

¹⁴³ For a discussion of the sketch, see Richard Sha, *The Visual and Verbal Sketch in British Romanticism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998).

¹⁴⁴ Another interesting point is that, in his first edition, Burke meditates on form under the section “Proportion further considered”: “Now if it be allowed, that almost every sort of form, and every manner of arrangement is consistent with beauty, I imagine it amounts to a concession that no particular proportions are necessary to it. But if I am not mistaken, a great deal of the opinions concerning proportions have arisen from this; that deformity has been considered as the opposite to beauty; and that the removal of the former of these qualities gave birth to the latter. This I believe is a mistake. For *deformity* is opposed, not to beauty, but to the *complete, common form*” (81). The distinction seems to be that, while form can be connected to beauty, form does not make beauty. In his copy of the text he shared with his friend Richard Graves, the poet William Shenstone marked out the first sentence here and wrote “not so in works of art.” Since the idea of form and formal irregularity are central to the fragment, it’s nice to see that the question of form occupied other artists as well as us critics today. The shelfmark for this copy in the Houghton Library is *EC7.Sh466.Zz757b.

¹⁴⁵ De Bolla, 64.

¹⁴⁶ Brodey, *Ruined by Design: Shaping Novels and Gardens in the Culture of Sensibility* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 21.

of the late poet Edmund Smith's unfinished manuscripts with ruins: "I have often looked on these poetical elements with the same concern, with which curious men are affected at the sight of the most entertaining remains and ruins of an antique figure or building."¹⁴⁷ Johnson turns to the metaphor of the ruin to convey the sense of loss that he feels in encountering these promising but finished poems, which in some sense helps convey a dignity to the work. Gentlemen's travels to Europe generally involved trips to Greece and Italy, where Greco-Roman ruins were visible—and English travelers ended up bringing home the Elgin Marbles for themselves. However, the metaphor also holds because manmade ruins became exceptionally popular in eighteenth-century England.

The fashion for ruins may be linked to the early-eighteenth century fashion for grottos, which were little cave-like buildings similar to or originating from temples during the Roman period built near springs. The English fashion for grottos began in the seventeenth century, but they were popular during the eighteenth century as shell cottages and small temples.¹⁴⁸ However, the ruin also follows a growing interest in Gothic architecture, exemplified in Horace Walpole's famous estate Strawberry Hill. Harries theorizes the fashion for ruins as part of a longing for a Roman past, as well as a desire for a pure nature; speaking of M. de Monville's "Column-Shaped Residence," Harries points out how "the artist has chosen to emphasize the way an extremely artificial ruin becomes naturalized into the landscape."¹⁴⁹ However, the fashion moves beyond the desire to unite art and nature: "The nostalgic attempt to recover a mythical union with the past and with nature, however, gradually hardened into a rigid commercial-aesthetic gesture. It led to the rage for ruins—what I have called 'ruinomania,' the

¹⁴⁷ Qtd in Harries, 58.

¹⁴⁸ Lisa Moore discusses how the eighteenth-century tradition of sister arts incorporated landscape design, like shell grottos, as a mode of feminine artistic expression that was often shared between women in *Sister Arts: The Erotics of Lesbian Landscapes* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011).

¹⁴⁹ Harries, 67-8.

construction of ruins because others had constructed ruins.”¹⁵⁰

Ruins are part of the picturesque aesthetic, notably popularized by William Gilpin in his 1782 text *Observations on the River Wye, and Several Parts of South Wales, etc. Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty; made in the Summer of the Year 1770*.¹⁵¹ The picturesque was a visual and physical fashion for aesthetically pleasing landscapes, often characterized by a rural style: overgrown wilderness, rustic cottages, humble surroundings. The idea was that landscapes should be, like art, properly designed for aesthetic pleasure. Jane Austen mocks this fashion in *Mansfield Park*, where the foolish-but-wealthy Mr. Rushworth thinks of getting Humphrey Repton to redesign his grounds, but in the end he destroys his historic avenue for naught. Harries argues that the fashion for artificial ruins was a bulwark against the vicissitudes of British empire:

This small-scale ruin-building, this commodification of the ruin, reveals some of the contradictions at the heart of the ruin-building enterprise itself [...] Designed to reflect the continuing, unconscious work of time and weather, the artificial ruin reveals the hierarchical divisions of the society that engendered it. Designed as a meditation on the fall of empires, it reflects the continuing power of one imperial class to dictate what should be seen and valued as history. Designed to provoke deep thoughts about the transitory nature of man’s works, it provides, throughout history, an opportunity for ostentatious display and conspicuous consumption.¹⁵²

In Wanning Harries’s eyes—and those of many other critics—the eighteenth-century fashion for ruins mediated the larger culture’s imperial ambitions, the desire to conquer and control

¹⁵⁰ Ibid, 71.

¹⁵¹ A general history of eighteenth-century landscapes can be found in John Dixon Hunt, *Gardens and the Picturesque: Studies in the History of Landscape Architecture* (Boston: MIT Press, 1997).

¹⁵² Harries, 82.

nature through aesthetic discipline, and British self-promotion of the country's cultural history and greatness.¹⁵³ Teaching Britons to avoid Rome's corruption, the artificial ruin becomes a visible sign of imperial commercial might. Chapter 3 will show how one fragment, *The Annals of Administration*, employs images of the ruined Anglacycondos and its colony Penniolana to argue against British imperial power.¹⁵⁴

To conclude this section, there were many popular aesthetic fashions or theories—the sublime, the ruin, the *non finito*, the Gothic, the sentimental—that connect back to the literary fragment. Each comes from a more general interest in the period in figuring a relationship to nature, and a relationship to history. Where do eighteenth-century subjects stand in relation to the world around them?

COGNITION AND THE FRAGMENT

In some small part, eighteenth-century empiricism also seems to be an important factor to consider when thinking about the fragment. Many writers since the seventeenth century provided theories of cognition as part and parcel of their other theoretical work, perhaps beginning with Thomas Hobbes's political treatise *Leviathan*.¹⁵⁵ John Locke's 1689 *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* influences a large body of writing that follows after him, as he seeks to explain how children come to learn the world around them and how knowledge is acquired. In considering how eighteenth-century readers approached fragment texts, which

¹⁵³ This aesthetic also is imported into sentimental literature, which turns slaves into sentimental objects and thus preserves their status as property while seeming to give British readers a means of “sympathizing” or connecting with these foreign bodies at the moment of colonial encounter. For more, see Lynn Festa, *Sentimental Figures of Empire in Eighteenth-Century Britain and France* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006).

¹⁵⁴ However, this isn't to say this is all to be said on the fashion: do these always connect together in the same way? Gothic typefaces that appear across several manuscripts aren't necessary used to mark Gothic fragments.

¹⁵⁵ Critics have been discussing the crossovers between literature and cognitive science for about a decade now: for two examples of this approach for eighteenth-century texts, see Lisa Zunshine, *Why We Read Fiction: Theory of Mind and the Novel* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2006) and Alan Richardson, *The Neural Sublime: Cognitive Theories and Romantic Texts* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 2010).

invite interpretive work from their readers, theories of cognition help us understand readers' approaches to texts like Abraham Tucker's *Freemill, Foreknowledge, and Fate. A Fragment*, later discussed in Chapter 4.

Jonathan Kramnick provides a helpful overview for thinking about cognitive science and empiricist thought together: "Most but not all philosophers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had some sort of representational theory of mind; most but not all cognitivists do too. [...] For Hobbes as for Fodor, the work of the mind is to have thoughts about or of some distal entity or state of affairs and then to put thoughts together in such a way that leads to behavior."¹⁵⁶ Kramnick draws important distinctions between modern cognitive scientists and seventeenth/eighteenth century empiricists, acknowledging that their models of how mental representations work are completely different—empiricists rely on association, whereas cognitive scientists model computationally: "Across the long divide between empiricist and computational theories of the mind, therefore, several important distinctions come to the fore. The computational model agrees with the empiricist model that ideas exist in our mind as representations, but disagrees with the empiricist corollary that representations are pictures of things."¹⁵⁷

To take Locke as an example, Locke holds that the mind begins at birth as a *tabula rasa*; that any knowledge that comes from hence is a result of two phenomena: sensation and reflection.¹⁵⁸ He describes sensation as when "*Our Senses, conversant about particular sensible Objects, do convey into the Mind several distinct Perceptions of Things, according to those various Ways, where in those Objects do affect them: And thus we come by those Ideas we have, of Yellow, White, Heat, Cold, Soft, Hard, Bitter, Sweet.*" Reflection he defines as "that Notice which

¹⁵⁶ Jonathan Kramnick, "Empiricism, Cognitive Science, and the Novel," *The Eighteenth Century* 48, no. 3 (Fall 2007), 264.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 266.

¹⁵⁸ Locke, *An essay concerning human understanding. In four books. Ninth edition, with large additions* (London, 1726), 68.

the Mind takes of its own Operations, and the Mann of them, by reason whereof, there come to be Ideas of these Operations in the Understanding.” Sensation and reflection thus create ideas in the mind as if through a physical process. Individuals build complex ideas from simple ones, as if moving through building blocks. This seems suggestive for thinking about the role of visual presentation in the fragment. Contemporary authors such as Mark Danielowicz have tried to create fragments-as-objects for readers to handle, but eighteenth-century writers used typeface and graphic design to suggest the fragment as something to handle. How far the tactile experience of handling a literary text goes, especially compared with other kinds of material objects, is less clear. This becomes a pressing question in Chapter 3, when I argue that the visual effects of Henry Stebbing’s *A Fragment* construct the fragment as a genre.¹⁵⁹

Perhaps one way to approach this relationship between the fragment and cognition could be through Locke’s discussion of clear and obscure ideas: if the fragment is something not complete or unclear, how does Locke propose readers encounter it? Locke defines clear and obscure through the visual: “The Perception of the Mind being most aptly explained by Words relating to the Sight, we shall best understand what is meant by *clear* and *obscure* in our Ideas, by reflecting on what we call clear and obscure in the Objects of Sight.”¹⁶⁰ Locke then goes on to describe the obscure as “that which is not placed in a Light sufficient to discover minutely to us the Figure and Colours, which are observable in it, and which, in a better Light, would be discernable.” Locke uses the metaphor of sight to articulate what makes certain ideas confused. He reckons that if a complex idea has not enough simple ideas to construct it, then the whole cannot be perceived. More importantly, however, he suggests that confusion happens “when though the Particulars that make up any *Idea*, are in Number enough; yet they are so jumbled together, that it is not easily discernable, whether it more belongs to the Name

¹⁵⁹ Genre is a kind of category of knowledge that Locke himself would have known.

¹⁶⁰ Locke, 1.335.

that is given it, than to any other.”¹⁶¹ Another defect occurs when “any one of [our *Ideas*] is *uncertain and undetermined*.”¹⁶² These frameworks seem like an important way to consider how readers might have approached something unfamiliar like a literary fragment. Such works, which frequently rely on analogy or allegory to confuse or put into shade the actual events being discussed, or which make much of absent text, are undetermined by their construction. In his own definitions, however, Locke implies the means for solving the problem: to rely on second and third sensory encounters with the objects to clarify their ideas. Readers reread, analyze, and note allegories in margins to interpret these texts. These modes of analysis are later formalized in antiquarian approaches.

ANTIQUARIANS AND FRAGMENTS

Thomas Pownall, colonial governor, politician, and eighteenth-century scholar, argues for the necessity of antiquarian work for historical writing in his 1782 pamphlet *A treatise on the study of antiquities as the commentary to historical learning, sketching out a general line of research*. He carefully distinguishes antiquarian labors from mere pedantry: “To make cumbrous collections of numberless particulars, merely because they are fragments; and to admire them merely as antique, is not the spirit of antient learning, but the mere doating of superannuation.”¹⁶³ Pieces of the past should be not merely admired or collected, Powell argues, but studied in “the spirit of antient learning.” The antiquarian here does not merely collect old objects, but endeavors to think like their possessors, to understand. Powell’s defensive tone is less against historians

¹⁶¹ Ibid, 1.337.

¹⁶² Ibid, 1.338.

¹⁶³ Pownall, *A treatise on the study of antiquities as the commentary to historical learning, sketching out a general line of research: Also Marking and Explaining some of the desiderata. With an appendix. No I. On the Elements of Speach. No. II. On the Origin of Written Language, Picture, Hieroglyphic, and Elementary-Writing. No. III. On the Ships of the Ancients. No IV. On the Chariots of the Ancients* (London, 1782), 53-4. Quoted in Rosemary Sweet, *Antiquaries: The Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (New York: Hambledon and London, 2004), 17-8.

than popular prejudices surrounding antiquarian process.¹⁶⁴ Antiquarianism and antiquarian practice provides one important framework for helping understand the fragment's cultural value and how it was read by others. It also seems important to note that, since many of the eighteenth-century texts titled fragments were actually partial or incomplete Greco-Roman writings, such fragments would certainly be within the antiquarian's purview. While antiquarians collected and valued fragments, their relationship moved beyond mere admiration.

The antiquary, defined by Samuel Johnson as “a man studious of antiquity; a collector of ancient things,” generally was concerned with Roman artefacts like coins, manuscripts, and monuments, but increasingly with non-Roman history as well. If historians wrote lengthy narratives, antiquarians often focused on discovering and interpreting found objects, and their relationship to history writing in the period became increasingly friendly, as Rosemary Sweet describes:

The historian used the evidence of the antiquary, and the antiquary depended upon the historical narrative of the historian to provide the framework according to which the artefacts of the past could be interpreted: they were natural partners, a fact to which their frequent titular pairing is sufficient testimony. During the eighteenth century historical narrative and antiquarian discourse continued to converge, most conspicuously in Edward Gibbon's *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁴ This section relies significantly on Rosemary Sweet's excellent book *Antiquaries: The Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (New York: Hambledon and London, 2004). Sweet explains how antiquaries were satirized throughout the period by such writers as Alexander Pope, Samuel Foote, and Sir Walter Scott while exploring how antiquarian practices shifted during the period. Carolyn Dinshaw's *How Soon Is Now? Medieval Texts, Amateur Readers, and the Queerness of Time* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012) traces the development of professional/amateur divides as she theorizes the amateur's queer relationship with time and argues for the amateur's value in today's scholarly environment.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid*, 2.

What Sweet refers to here in part is Gibbon's talent for incorporating historical details and documents in his footnotes, while still laying out the long historical narrative engagingly. Sweet also explains how this opposition was sometimes culturally based: "At the root of many of the points of difference between the antiquary and the historian was the opposition between gentlemanly learning and scholarship."¹⁶⁶ Whereas many historians were professional writers, antiquarians were not. Many antiquarians wrote their own histories of particular locales and communities, in contrast with longer and broader works like David Hume's six-volume *History of England* (1754-61).¹⁶⁷

Other differences have to do with antiquarian practices of close reading and analysis. In order to separate themselves from these earlier practices of collecting as characterized by Thomas Pownall, the eighteenth-century antiquarians provided scholarly apparatus, close descriptions, and careful analysis for their materials: "These two issues—the need to digest and to interpret antiquities rather than to amass and admire, and the importance of providing the correct kind of scholarly apparatus—were repeatedly rehearsed by antiquaries throughout the eighteenth century."¹⁶⁸ While antiquarians might not provide a narrative to surround their descriptions, they were careful to consider the authenticity of the objects. In fact, "[a]ntiquaries were particularly conscious that coins, inscriptions, and other monumental evidence had stronger claims to authenticity than written texts, which were more easily forged, and were frequently generated in partisan circumstances."¹⁶⁹ Concerns for faked documents extended beyond the antiquarian into the larger literary community, as there were numerous literary forgers, including William Henry Ireland, Thomas Chatterton, and James Macpherson, who

¹⁶⁶ Ibid, 8.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid, 8.

¹⁶⁸ Sweet, 17.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid, 14.

created false fragments or entire works assigned to other real or fictive people.¹⁷⁰ These apparatuses are adopted ironically by fragment authors like Jonathan Swift, as I discuss in Chapter 3.

Everett Zimmerman argues that this shifting relationship between antiquarians and historians was important for the eighteenth-century novel's development.¹⁷¹ "The norm for antiquarians," he claims, "was the sustained analysis of details that might appear unimportant in themselves rather than the sweeping narrative easily convertible into moral or practical instruction."¹⁷² At the same time antiquarians study fragments, they also become a literary genre. The numerous prefaces attached to literary fragments in the period serve as a kind of fictive-recreation of antiquarian work, providing the origin for the object.¹⁷³ Likewise, the frequent fascination with these kinds of found objects appears both in the fictive prefaces and in the descriptions of real antiquarians. These crossed legitimately in the recovery work of Thomas Percy, whose *Reliques of ancient English poetry* (1765) recorded ballads and poems from older manuscripts that Percy had access to, and less legitimately in James Macpherson's *Fragments of ancient poetry, collected in the Highlands of Scotland* (1760) and other Ossian poetry.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷⁰ See Ian Haywood, *The Making of History: A Study of the Literary Forgeries of James Macpherson and Thomas Chatterton in Relation to Eighteenth-Century Ideas of History and Fiction* (London: Associated University Presses, 1986) and Jack Lynch, *Deception and Detection in Eighteenth-century Britain* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2008). This chapter will discuss Macpherson's case in detail slightly later.

¹⁷¹ Everett Zimmerman's excellent *The Boundaries of Fiction: History and the Eighteenth-Century British Novel* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996) interrogates how the novel responded to evolving historiographical practices in the eighteenth century.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 17.

¹⁷³ This is true across works titled fragment and works that present themselves as fragments based on their introductions or prefaces. The satire *A fragment of the history of that illustrious personage John Bull, Esq; compiled by that celebrated historian Sir Humphry Polesworth. Lately discovered in the repairs of Grub-Hatch, the ancient seat of the family of the Polesworths; now first published from the original manuscript, by Peregrine Pinfold, of Grub-Hatch, Esq* (London, 1785) has a preface that discusses how the manuscript was found in an old iron chest while remodeling was being done on the Grub-Hatch estate (ix); Charles Johnstone's *Chrysal: or, The Adventures of a Guinea* (1760-5) likewise opens with the story of how the editor found the following tale on scraps of paper used to wrap butter.

¹⁷⁴ Percy also created an anthology, *Five Pieces of Runic Poetry Translated from the Islandic Language*, in 1763, which he published before the *Reliques*. For a fuller discussion of this text, compared to Macpherson's *Fragments*, see Robert Rix, "Thomas Percy's Antiquarian Alternative to Ossian," *Journal of Folklore Research* 46, no. 2 (May-August 2009): 197-229.

Macpherson's Ossian poetry is an important nexus for fragment writing and antiquarianism, as Macpherson positions himself as a translator and publisher of ancient recovered texts. Ossian's *Fragments* inspired a surging interest in Celtic antiquities at the same time as antiquarian work attempted to establish the authenticity of the poems.¹⁷⁵ The basics are generally known: James Macpherson, a Highlander educated in Aberdeen, became a tutor in Edinburgh, where he met such figures as Adam Ferguson and Hugh Blair. He had shown John Home translations of Gaelic ballads, which circulated quickly among this group, who then encouraged him to publish his work. *Fragments of ancient poetry, collected in the Highlands of Scotland* appeared first in 1760, and with encouragement, Macpherson produced then *Fingal* and *Temora*, which purported to be full epic poems.¹⁷⁶ The controversy that followed cast doubt on the book's authenticity owing to the fact that, while the published works suggested that manuscripts were available, no one ever actually saw a manuscript for Macpherson's translations. While later critics have argued that a shift to written culture over oral tradition prejudiced people against Macpherson, the controversy built up around the concerns of antiquarian culture.

The rhetorical framing surrounding *Fragments of ancient poetry* invoked antiquarian

¹⁷⁵ See Sweet, 137. Many writers—notably, Samuel Johnson—commented on the work's authenticity, but the attempts to verify the work culminated in an investigation and a published 1805 report from the Highland Society of Scotland “inquir[ing] into the nature and authenticity of the Poems of Ossian,” headed by and issued in the name of Henry Mackenzie, another Scottish fragment-writer. The group was dedicated to the welfare of Highlands, not antiquarian work, but several of its members were antiquarians.

¹⁷⁶ So much scholarship exists on the Ossian phenomenon and the Ossian ballads themselves that it's impossible to be complete. For a history of Ossian's relationship to actual Gaelic works, see Derick Thompson, *The Gaelic sources of Macpherson's "Ossian"* (1952); a suggestive collection giving background on Macpherson and an overview of the phenomenon is *Ossian Revisited*, ed. Howard Gaskill (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 1991); Thomas M. Curley, *Samuel Johnson, The Ossian Fraud, and the Celtic Revival in Great Britain and Ireland* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009); most important for this work might be Kristine Louise Haugen's essay, “Ossian and the Invention of Textual History,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 59, no. 2 (1998): 309-327, which explains how Macpherson and Blair created a textual history for these oral works.

tropes. The work's preface, written by Hugh Blair,¹⁷⁷ invokes several different ideas to establish the works as “genuine remains of ancient Scottish poetry.”¹⁷⁸ One factor invoked is “tradition,” which dates them “to an aera of the most remote antiquity, and this tradition is supported by the spirit and strain of the poems themselves; which abound with those ideas, and paint those manners, that belong to the most early state of society.”¹⁷⁹ What Blair here means is that the kinds of beliefs and actions that occur within the poems' plots suggest that they are characteristic of a less developed society. This kind of argument was made by individuals like Joseph Priestley, who links language and government: style emerges from the kind of noble/ignoble political system the country has.¹⁸⁰ He pays attention to the poems' “obsolete” diction (iii) as well as closely analyzing their cultural references; for example, he notes that neither clans nor religions are mentioned in the text.¹⁸¹ He goes on to provide historical context, linking “Ossian the last of the heroes” with Fingal, just as he suggests that “though the poems now published appear as detached pieces in this collection, there is ground to believe that most of them were originally episodes of a greater work.”¹⁸² The hesitant language—“ground to believe”—enacts an antiquarian's caution, just as the fact that these are “detached pieces” or fragments creates interest for the reader. In part, he must adduce these details in order to authenticate himself and the work he here presents. Even the way he describes the poem seems to embody the antiquarian's “need to compile, compare, and

¹⁷⁷ Jack Lynch, in *Deception and Detection in Eighteenth-century Britain*, discusses the authenticating manner of the preface as composed by Blair: “Blair [...] shows the aesthetic sliding into the historical as he expect historical circumstance to unify and therefore to authorize the fragments” (86).

¹⁷⁸ James Macpherson, *Fragments of ancient poetry, collected in the Highlands of Scotland, and translated from the Galic or Erse language* (Edinburgh, 1760), iii.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, iii.

¹⁸⁰ Mark Longaker summarizes these arguments thus: “Monarchical governments hinder linguistic expansion, as they hinder prosperity. Only in the free commercial republic does language prosper and grow, but republics must fear corruption through excessive luxury, just as languages are always in danger of a corrupting emphasis on style” (50). This offers aspirational hope for Britain: by educating the populace rhetorically, you improve style and protect from corruption.

¹⁸¹ Macpherson, iii-iv.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, iv.

contrast.”¹⁸³ He catalogues the poems’ formal features, like “the versification” and the “rhyme” and “cadence,” to give a sense of them without any acquaintance, taking these fragments apart.¹⁸⁴ He also shifts into describing his own critical methodology, as when he says that “[e]ven the arrangement of the words in the original has been imitated; to which must be imparted some inversions in the style, that otherwise would not have been chosen.”¹⁸⁵ While the passive voice obscures his agency as the translator, he provides the critical preface for the readers to decide “the poetical merit of these fragments” (vii).

As more of Macpherson’s translations were published, Blair wrote a *Critical Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian, The Son of Fingal*, which refined and extended this antiquarian discourse. While the early pages present a general history, where “[i]n the progress of society, the genius and manners of men undergo a change more favorable to accuracy than to sprightliness and sublimity,” Blair provides poetic transcriptions and translations of comparable ancient Danish verse to help contextualize Ossian’s poetry.¹⁸⁶ From this verse he then provides analysis to explain what makes Ossian’s uniquely Scottish verse distinctive by comparison: “When we turn from the poetry of Lodbrog to that of Ossian, it is like passing from a savage desert, into a fertile and cultivated country. How is this to be accounted for?”¹⁸⁷ Blair was not the only one to search for this unique Scottish character: William Stukeley “welcomed them as further confirmation of his arguments.”¹⁸⁸ As Sweet further points out, “As well as providing a quest for the polite traveler to pursue in Scotland, the Ossianic poems provided a structure around which questions could be framed and evidence ordered, in the same way that the classical

¹⁸³ Sweet, 9.

¹⁸⁴ Macpherson, vi.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid, vi-vii.

¹⁸⁶ Hugh Blair, *Critical Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian, The Son of Fingal* (London, 1763), 3, 6.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid, 11.

¹⁸⁸ Sweet, 137.

sources [...] provided a starting point for the investigation of Romano-British antiquities.”¹⁸⁹ Like fashionable Britons who build fake ruins for aesthetic purposes, antiquarians looking to verify the poem found evidence in “barrows, standing stones, and other objects of antiquity.”¹⁹⁰ In short, this important fragment writing inspires and serves as the source for antiquarian inquiry, while relying on antiquarian skillsets to develop its interest.

Finally, the Ossian cult also suggests how literary fragments played a part in developing ideas of authorship. Both Fiona Stafford and Jack Lynch discuss how important the central author consciousness of Ossian became for the poems: “The development of Ossian was perhaps the most important difference between *Fingal* and the *Fragments*. The earlier collection had been attributed to an anonymous body of ‘Bards,’ but when *Fingal* appeared, there was no question about the identity of the author: Ossian, the son of Fingal. An epic poem required an epic poet.”¹⁹¹ Macpherson specifies the authorship to Ossian, who then unites Scottish literary achievement in one person. In Blair’s preface, he promises that by a careful inquiry, “many more remains of ancient genius, no less valuable than those given to the world, might be found in the same country where these have been collected.”¹⁹² Ancient genius stands in here both for the poems’ excellence and also the “genius” who composed them. This is important for unintentional fragments like those discussed in Chapter 2. However, what also makes Macpherson’s *Fragments* moving is the first-person persona uttering many of the poems. The first page, for example, features the kind of sentimental verse that the poems were celebrated for, in the voice of a young woman, Vinvela, who misses her lover departed for war: “My love is a son of the hill. He pursues the flying deer. His grey dogs are panting around

¹⁸⁹ Ibid, 137.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid, 137.

¹⁹¹ Fiona Stafford, *The Sublime Savage: A Study of James Macpherson and the Poems of Ossian* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1989), 141.

¹⁹² Macpherson, vii.

him; his bow-string sounds in the wind. Whether by the fount of the rock, or by the stream of the mountain where thou liest; when the rushes are nodding with the wind, and the mist is flying over thee, let me approach my love unperceived, and see him from the rock.”¹⁹³ The verse here is ear-catching with its repeated phrase structure (“the fount of the rock” and “the stream of the mountain,” for example) and alliterative sonics, “his bow-string sounds.” But what attracts the reader here is the emotional content: the young woman, actively imagining her faraway love within the local landscape. As the speaker moves closer, we stand next to her, viewing the man. Thus, the sentimental exchange occurs, where the form and content alike contain fragmentation.

CONCLUSION

This chapter offers an overview of various discourses that theorized the fragment: the rhetorical and punctuational, the aesthetic, the empirical, and the historical. What this chapter shows is how these discourses often cross paths: for example, ruins as constructed objects may become popular in part because of the spread of antiquarian interests at this time. Changing class structure affects not only the rules for writing and punctuation, but also how historical analysis is processed and shared. These different discourses get associated with particular ideologies, which recur within the critical lenses that contemporary scholars apply to these works. However, in the chapters that follow, I step back from reading with a framework in mind, and adopt a more descriptive or observational mindset: what are the fragments we actually encounter, and what can they tell critics today about how to read them?

¹⁹³ Ibid, 9.

Chapter Two: Unintentional Fallacies, Unintentional Fragments

When most people imagine fragments, they picture things unfinished: the author's tragic early death, the genius's literary leftovers. They might also imagine works abandoned or only surviving in some partial form, when a culture fails to preserve its works. These definitions of the fragment reflect an understanding shared by eighteenth-century and modern readers alike. Interpreting such documents seems simple, but fragments are deceptively complex. There are difficulties that we as twenty-first century readers face in not only trying to reconstruct how eighteenth-century readers interacted with texts, but also making the interpretive acts required by the unfinished text. Eighteenth-century authors, editors, and readers alike struggled to jump into the blank space, using their ideas of what the author would have said to finish the thing unfinished. While all literary interpretation requires intellectual leaps, asking us to imagine what multiple meanings lie within the text, the fragment necessitates such acts. Likewise, by highlighting the text's status as partial or remnant, these kinds of fragments encourage readers to focus on the absent authorial figure's relationship to the text.

This chapter argues that evolving trends in eighteenth-century editorial practice, as well as developing practices of authorship, can be read through what I call the unintentional fragment: in other words, works that are unfinished either because they were abandoned by their authors before being completed, left unfinished because of the author's death, and that exist only in an unfinished state because part of the text has disappeared. Some fragments may overlap these states—as does, for example, Jane Austen's unfinished novel 1803-5 *The Watsons*, which she abandoned long before her death and never finished. I call them “unintentional fragments” because these works were not necessarily expected or designed to be left in this state by their authors and also because these works often invite the intentional fallacy—readers

desire to access in this literature what the author meant to convey.¹⁹⁴ The author's "final intentions" are significant to the editorial practices surrounding these texts because readers and editors alike conceive of the author as intimately connected to the text's meaning-making.

Because unintentional fragments gesture to what's missing—either what was lost culturally or what the author could have written—they require some sort of textual apparatus for interpretation. Much of eighteenth-century editorial practice devoted itself to recovering what Peter Shillingsburg called an "authorial orientation." Marcus Walsh explains it thus:

"Many scholars and editors of the time sought to recover what their authors intended to write and what their authors intended to mean, and believed that such an enterprise was made possible by close examination of the text, and by knowledge of the author's writings and those of his contemporaries and, more generally, of the 'history and manners' of the author's time."¹⁹⁵

These practices, first asserted on classical texts, became applied to contemporary works. "The scholarly editorial treatment of the vernacular literary text had become a powerful and recognizable mode, making literary works readable to an eighteenth-century audience, and starting to have a significant effect in the establishment of a broadening vernacular canon."¹⁹⁶

An example of this is Richard Bentley's infamous 1732 edition of *Paradise Lost*, which significantly emended the text based on Bentley's theory of a meddling Miltonic editor.¹⁹⁷

Unintentional fragments are not always subject to the use of brackets or extensive footnotes

¹⁹⁴ This concept was first defined in W.K. Wimsatt's and Monroe C. Beardsley's essay "The Intentional Fallacy" in *The Verbal Icon: Studies in the Meaning of Poetry* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1954).

¹⁹⁵ Walsh, *Shakespeare, Milton, and Eighteenth-Century Literary Editing: The Beginnings of Interpretive Scholarship* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 2.

¹⁹⁶ Marcus Walsh, "Literary Scholarship and the Life of Editing," *Books and Their Readers in Eighteenth-Century England: New Essays*, ed. Isabel Rivers (New York: Leicester University Press, 2001), 198.

¹⁹⁷ A recent biography of Richard Bentley is Kristine Louise Haugen's *Richard Bentley: Poetry and Enlightenment* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011); David A. Harper has written about Bentley's annotations in a 1674 edition of *Paradise Lost* and overviews the shifts in Bentley's thinking about the text from this edition to his marginalia in a 1720 edition to his final printed commentary. See Harper, "Bentley's Annotated 1674 edition of *Paradise Lost*: Hidden Method and Peculiar Madness," *Review of English Studies* 64, no. 263 (2013): 60-86.

that scaffold texts in scholarly editions but, when used, these editorial strategies allows readers and editors to recover what was lost. In so doing, they participated in authoring unintentional fragments in light of their interpretations of authorship generally and what an individual author's intentions might have been. In other words, by refining our understanding of unintentional fragments, we can rethink ongoing critical conversations about eighteenth-century authorship, celebrity, and print culture.

While New Critics W. K. Wimsatt and Monroe C. Beardsley specifically claimed that “the design or intention of the author is neither available nor desirable as a standard for judging the success of a work of literary art,” they were concerned to protect textual study from deterministic readings based on authorial bibliography. However, their general interest in the poem's meaning assumes some kind of unified intention to the work. Textual critics likewise argue that the author is a fictive construct,¹⁹⁸ but still consider authorial intention as part of their editorial practice. In other words: to create a copytext for an edition, editors frequently calculate which edition of a text comes closest to what the author intended. Both ideas fight against authorial intent's power to dictate interpretation, seemingly opening the text for the reader's authority. However, D. F. McKenzie's dissatisfaction with the “curiously cautious, conservative dullness” of the “instable text” makes him reexamine authorial intent:

I find it more worrying that such a view of the function of textual criticism fails to account for “intention” as a “speculative instrument” (in I. A. Richards's phrase), a means of creating a master-text, a kind of ideal-copy text, transcending all the versions and true to the essential intention of the “work.” In this sense, the work may be the form traditionally imputed to an archetype; it may be a form seen as immanent in each of the versions but not fully realized

¹⁹⁸ Roland Barthes, “The Death of the Author,” in *Art and Interpretation: An Anthology of Readings in Aesthetics and the Philosophy of Art*, ed. Eric Dayton (Peterborough, Ont.: Broadview, 1998): 383-386.

in any one of them; or it may be conceived of as always potential, like that of a play, where the text is open and generates new meanings according to new needs in a perpetual deferral of closure. Again, in terms of *histoire du livre*, this too makes perfectly good sense. History simply confirms, as a bibliographical fact, that quite new versions of a work which is not altogether dead, *will* be created, whether they are generated by its author, by its successive editors, by generations of readers, or by new writers.¹⁹⁹

There is a lot to unpack here, but certain things are important to note: McKenzie here transforms authorial intention into a tool for critics and readers alike. It is a way of getting at meaning. He also recognizes a tension in bibliographic work: new editions *will* be created. None are definitive. The unintentional fragment is important here as it contains this tension: the author's intention cannot be accessed, so no final text is possible. Yet editors and readers interpret through their idea of the author's intentions. Different "authors" yield different texts.²⁰⁰

McKenzie's neat image of a Platonic text also plays nicely into another important aspect of the unintentional fragment: its materiality. Book historians like McKenzie remind us how the text's presentation, as directed by authors, booksellers, and printers, has impacted interpretation alongside language. During the eighteenth century, these fragments show, readers used paratextual elements to try to comprehend authorial intention, but also responded not just to the author-in-text, but the author as a figure.²⁰¹ Editorial practice confirmed the

¹⁹⁹ D. F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 37.

²⁰⁰ An important clarification: this paints these views a bit broadly. Yet I do not want to insist either that eighteenth-century readers or twentieth-century critics read in one true way. What I want to argue and observe is that these fragments were often presented in a way that invites readers to think about what the author would have done, had he/she finished the work.

²⁰¹ This is not to presume that eighteenth-century reading practices were monolithic; in fact, much changed over the period. For more, see Robert Darnton, "First Steps Toward a History of Reading," in *The Kiss of Lamourette: Reflections in Cultural History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1990): 154-90.

growing importance of the author as a figure in interpretation, but did so by intervening in ways to put their imprimatur (sometimes literally) on their works, and did so in ways designed to affect the reader's interpretation of the author and the author's work. While unfinished fragments in some sense are least subject to authorial intent (in other words, their authors were not involved in their publication), this chapter presents archival evidence to suggest that they are also documents for which authorial intent is most important to readers.

Readers who fetishize the unintentional fragment as literary remains contribute to the period's larger narrative of authorship. Some critics have argued that the idea of the author-figure originates in this century, looking to examples like Samuel Richardson, who carefully cultivated his public identity through his letters.²⁰² Manushag Powell argues that authors in eighteenth-century periodicals performed for their readers: "Professional writing also meant self-commodification. To entice their audiences to read, and thereby ensure both their own paychecks and the continued survival of the medium, authors began to offer up more than advice: they offered up themselves, or rather, they offered up a version of 'the author' to be taken and mistaken for themselves."²⁰³ These personas helped make their creators popular, if not famous. Powell argues that fictive personas like the Spectator constitute periodicals at the time: "Periodicals invented a space for their authors to think out loud about what it meant to be a professional writer, and what they thought was highly unromantic. [...] In this, one might say, they are like all authors: but really they are more so, for the relations of their supposed inner thoughts and doubts actually forms the backbone of their generic mode of expression."²⁰⁴ While I do not wish to go into an in-depth comparison, this idea seems useful

²⁰² Louise Curran, "Into Whosoever Hands Our Letters Might Fall: Samuel Richardson's Correspondence and 'the Public Eye,'" *Eighteenth-Century Life* 35, no 1 (Winter 2011): 51-64.

²⁰³ Manushag N. Powell, *Performing Authorship in Eighteenth-Century English Periodicals* (Lanham, MD: Bucknell University Press, 2012), 3-4.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.

for the unintentional fragment. The authorial figure is the backbone of this generic mode, in a way. While readers are frequently interested in unintentional fragments because of their authors, this subgenre thus amplifies the author-figure's importance.

This chapter first provides a general overview of the eighteenth-century unintentional fragments to define the phenomenon; then offers a detailed reading of Charles Churchill's *The Journey. A Fragment* as a case study for the unintentional fragment; and finally reads several later texts against each other—Mary Wollstonecraft's *The Wrongs of Woman. A Fragment*, James Beattie's *Essays and Fragments*, and Elizabeth Carter's *All the Works of Epictetus*—to show how booksellers and later editors produced such works as memorials for their deceased authors, and sometimes moved toward authorship themselves. The texts that I've chosen to discuss in this chapter do not represent all unintentional fragments, but address issues common across these texts; these texts have also been chosen for the substantial evidence that can be marshaled to argue for their interpretive effect.²⁰⁵ To begin this analysis, however, it makes sense to look back to the beginning of the period and see what examples of unintentional fragments were published early in the eighteenth century.

THE UNINTENTIONAL FRAGMENT: AN OVERVIEW

William Taylor was in his first year of running his bookselling shop the *Ship* in Paternoster Row, two years after his apprenticeship began in 1698, when he published *The historical library of Diodorus the Sicilian. In Fifteen Books. Containing the Antiquities of Egypt, Asia, Africa, Greece, the Islands, and Europe. Also a Historical Account of the Affairs of the Persians, Grecians, Macedonians,*

²⁰⁵ What I mean to say here is that because many of these texts include works with less complete evidence, texts relatively little known, there is some bias here towards works by authors more famous in their times. This isn't fully a question of cherry-picking evidence, as such works were reprinted and celebrated for their authors' fame, but I don't want to shy away from the methodological question. I might suggest here that I'd like to take David Brewer's model of the "normal exception" as inspiration for my approach. These texts and their readers are not representative of all readers in the period, but reveal attitudes in circulation and specific approaches to editorial theory in the period. For more on the "normal reader," see David Brewer, *The Afterlife of Character, 1726-1825* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 9.

and other Parts of the World. To which are added, the Fragments of Diodorus that are found in the Bibliotheca of Photius: Together with those Publish'd by H. Valesius, L. Rhodomannus, and F. Ursinus. Made English.

This was not to be his most profitable or most famous publication: that would be *Robinson Crusoe*, which he published 19 years later.²⁰⁶ In fact, this work was fairly standard for the period: many eighteenth-century readers collected classical texts, and Diodorus' *Bibliotheca historica* was such a document. Diodorus was a Greek historian and his *Bibliotheca historica* reconstructed the world's ancient history, drawing on multiple histories to write all 40 books, of which only fewer than half survived. Taylor's massive text reprints the whole, translated into English, to make it accessible to those Englishman who enjoyed ancient history but did not have the language skills for either the Greek originals or the Latin translations. The title emphasizes its completeness through not only a broad list of the various countries that appear in the work, but also the addition of such pieces of the incomplete work that remain in print. This here is where the eighteenth-century fragment's history begins: as part of a historical record.

Within the first twenty-five years of the eighteenth century, booksellers published 27 works with the word "fragment" in the title; of that number, about half of them were classical texts. This divide continued through about the first half of the century; then, as the number of fragments published dramatically increased, classical works represented a significantly smaller portion of that number.²⁰⁷ The earliest understandings of the fragment are thus linked to texts that are missing parts that are commonly understood to have once existed, even if they have not survived for modern readers. Examples of such texts include editions of

²⁰⁶ This information comes from the *British Book Trade Index* database as well as Henry R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland, and Ireland from 1668 to 1725* (Printed for the Bibliographical Society at the Oxford University Press: 1922), 285.

²⁰⁷ The limitations of my data is that there are undoubtedly things that did not survive the period, and classical works that were printed but which do not contain "fragment" in the title. As I suggest later, I consider the reduced use of "fragment" in titles to represent a turning point in what eighteenth-century readers and printers understood the word to mean. – Of the 76 unique fragments published between 1790-1800, only 3 of them were classical texts or described as such.

Xenophon, Anacreon, Homer, Hierocles, Sallust, Philaethes, and Athenagoras, among others. In the early part of the century these texts were typically published in Greek or Latin editions and were not translated, presuming either a scholarly or merely educated audience. Much has been written previously on the eighteenth century's fascination with the Classical tradition²⁰⁸ generally and the Roman Empire specifically;²⁰⁹ this early link between the classics and the fragment lends the fragment an air of respectability.²¹⁰ However, as the century progressed, these types of fragments also included works from other countries, like Thomas Percy's 1761 *Hau kiou choaan or the pleasing history. A translation from the Chinese language, to which are added, I. The argument or story of a Chinese play, II. A collection of Chinese proverbs, and III. Fragments of Chinese poetry. In four volumes* or Thomas Maurice's 1797 collection *Sanscreeet fragments, or interesting extracts from the sacred books of the Brahmins, on subjects important to the British Isles. In two parts. By the author of Indian antiquities*. While these kinds of texts do not directly reflect England's connections to a Roman past, they indicate that English readers were newly interested in objects of imperial conquest.²¹¹

This understanding of the fragment as historical remnant is reflected not only in early titling strategies but also in dictionary definitions. As discussed in the introduction, eighteenth-

²⁰⁸ As noted in chapter one, Greek and Latin were fundamental parts of a gentleman's education, as much instruction at Eton, Harrow, Cambridge, and Oxford involved specializations in the classical languages. For more, see M. L. Clarke, *Classical Education in Britain, 1500-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959).

²⁰⁹ English poetry often compared Britain and Rome; for more, see Philip Ayres, *Classical Culture and the Idea of Rome in Eighteenth-Century England* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

²¹⁰ And also a sentimental connection: as we miss the fallen Rome, so its lost wisdom.

²¹¹ Sometimes there is interesting overlap in these groupings. While Constantin-François Volney's 1791 *Ruins, or, Meditations on the Revolutions of Empires* is not called a fragment, it features Volney visiting the ruins of great empires, and being visited by an apparition who speaks with him about history and political philosophy. In short, *Ruins* combines both the sentimental or Gothic aspects of late fragments with the earlier interest in lost historical documents. While this work is receiving renewed critical attention, this dissertation might also suggest that we can consider how its generic status might relate it to different conversations or might be responding to other kinds of work, calling attention to the problems it addresses through formal means. For works on Volney, see Nigel Leask, *Curiosity and the Aesthetics of Travel Writing, 1770-1840: "From an Antique Land,"* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002) and Nicholas Halmi, "Ruins Without a Past," *Essays in Romanticism* 18, no. 1 (2011): 7-27.

century dictionaries defined the fragment as incomplete pieces of a larger object. It is this common understanding that is reflected in these earliest titles; in other words, because people understood fragments generally to describe objects that were pieces of larger wholes, publishers used the word (and its Latinate/Greek equivalents) to refer to texts that contain parts of larger texts, like the pieces of Diodorus' *Historical Library* that were detached from the more complete sections of the text but were once part of a larger complete 40 volume work, to describe these texts for the reading public. Examples include the 1774 publication *Pieces, [first printed in the Public advertiser;] Sketch of the present reign, in form of question and answer; A fragment of Oriental history; Portrait of a modern orator; character of the late Lord Bolingbroke*, where fragment is used interchangeably with "sketch," "portrait," and "pieces" as another kind of short fiction.²¹²

However, over time unintentional fragments more frequently were sentimental remnants than Latinate texts. While in a text like Diodorus' *Historical Library* the fragment appears quite as a matter of fact, the incomplete status of similar texts takes on a weightier emotional register. Fragments become less remnants from a lost society and instead the testament from a lost life. This might take the shape of a biography, like William Huntington's 1789 *A few fragments of the life and death of the Rev. James Barry. Intended as a supplement to the Coal-Heaver's cousin*, or they might be the actual unfinished works of an author, like the 1794 *Essays and fragments in prose and verse. By James Hay Beattie. To which is prefixed an account of the author's life and character*, which was prepared by his more famous father James Beattie as a tribute to his deceased son. This development fits within the larger literary trend towards the sentimental that developed in the second half of the period, but also, I argue, may have contributed in some part to it.²¹³ Fragments and other short pieces like them not only relied on the appetite

²¹² For more on the sketch, see Richard Sha's *Visual and Verbal Sketch in British Romanticism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997).

²¹³ The formative work on the subject of the sentimental novel would be R. F. Brissenden's *Virtue in Distress: Studies in the Novel of Sentiment from Richardson to Sade* (London: Macmillan, 1974), which covers the major works, but more recent work on sentiment and the sentimental include G. J. Barker-Benfield's *The Culture of Sensibility:*

for tragic beauties that sentimental literature built, but also helped shaped their production as the form itself embodies the lost or missing object. Seeing how eighteenth-century publishers, printers, and authors collaborated to create unintentional fragments for contemporary audiences allows us to reconsider David Duff's assertion that the Romantic period was the source for "the recognition of the historical character of genres."²¹⁴ As Jacques Rancière notes, "aesthetics can be understood [...] as the system of *a priori* forms determining what presents itself to sense experience. It is a delimitation of spaces and times, of the visible and the invisible, of speech and noise, that simultaneously determines the places and the stakes of politics as a form of experience."²¹⁵ The unintentional fragment—and the fragment as genre itself—becomes a space for memorializing and celebrating different kinds of political critics, from Charles Churchill to Mary Wollstonecraft.

The follow close readings discuss what meanings attached themselves to unintentional fragments in the period, what editorial practices were applied to such texts, and how these practices gained relevance from a culture in which the author as a figure became increasingly realized. To begin, we start with the mid-century's most notorious poet, Charles Churchill.

"I ON MY JOURNEY ALL ALONE PROCEED": CHURCHILL'S *JOURNEY*

Charles Churchill's posthumously published poem *The Journey, a Fragment* seems to have been sold both individually and as part of Churchill's *Poems, in two volumes*, each printed in 1765 "for John Churchill (Executor to the late C. Churchill)" and sold by William Flexney.²¹⁶

Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain (Chicago: U. Chicago Press, 1992); Julia Stern, *The Plight of Feeling: Sympathy and Dissent in the Early American Novel* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997); Julie Ellison, *Cato's Tears and the Making of Anglo-American Emotion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999); Paul Goring, *The Rhetoric of Sensibility in Eighteenth-Century Culture* (New York: Cambridge UP, 2004); and Lynn Festa, *Sentimental Figures of Empire in Eighteenth-Century Britain and France* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 2006).

²¹⁴ *Modern Genre Theory*, ed. David Duff (New York: Longman, 2000), 4.

²¹⁵ Rancière, *The Politics of Aesthetics*, ed. and transl. Gabriel Rockhill (New York: Bloomsbury, 2004), 8.

²¹⁶ One important point to make here is that it appears that also at the time of his death Charles Churchill had left unfinished a *Dedication* addressed to William Warburton, intended to preface an edition of Charles Churchill's sermons. This work was published in 1765 by Flexney and Churchill, but none of the prefatory

If the title page emphasizes the work's posthumous production, *The Journey* provides an ambiguous close to an otherwise notoriously contentious career. Churchill's poetic debut *The Rosciad* (1761) satirized London actors, and his pen later cut through such varied figures as William Warburton, Samuel Johnson, and Lord Bute.²¹⁷ He was famously prolific, producing numerous poems like *Night*, *The Ghost*, and *The Prophecy of Famine* within several years while he was at the same time involved in John Wilkes's political journal *The North Briton*.²¹⁸ Churchill was associated both with the literary circle the Nonsense Club as well as the debauched Monks of Medmenham, the latter of which contributed to his reputation when the married Churchill seduced and eloped with his landlord's fifteen-year-old daughter in 1763.²¹⁹

Churchill's lifetime reputation may be best represented in William Hogarth's 1763 print *The Bruiser, C. Churchill (once the Rev'd) in the character of a Modern Hercules, Regaling himself after having Kill'd the Monster Caricatura that so Sorely Gull'd his Virtuous friend the Heaven born Wilkes*, which portrays Churchill as a bear in torn clerical bands, embracing a full tankard in one paw, while clutching a wooden club covered in "lyes" and "fallacies." Hogarth foregrounds his

material describes it as a fragment. However, the work's incompleteness is marked by a series of asterisks and the words "Cetera desunt," meaning "the rest is missing." It's perhaps significant also that this poetic *Dedication* is not included in the *Poems* and is only published separately with his *Sermons*. In his biography of Cowper Robert Southey discusses this very text, speculating that "The dedication was found unfinished among his papers, but there was enough of it to secure the sale of an otherwise unsalable book, and to evince once more the vigor and the acrimony of the writer." See Southey, *The Life of Cowper by Robert Southey, in 2 vols.* (Boston: Otis, Broaders, and Company, 1839), 39. While I can't take Southey's side completely, the satirical nature of the *Dedication* might make it unsuited to being called a fragment, in part because the satire doesn't allow readers to join in affective bonds with the author.

²¹⁷ William Warburton was the victim of his satirical *Dedication* to his *Sermons*; Johnson was famously rendered as "Pomposo" in Churchill's *Ghost*, and Lord Bute was continually attacked in *The North Briton*, a newspaper headed by John Wilkes, to which he contributed.

²¹⁸ The *New and Genuine Memoirs of the celebrated Mr. Charles Churchill* published in the 1 April 1773 edition of the *Middlesex Journal or Universal Evening Post* record the anecdote that "[w]e have known him compose five hundred lines a day, in his walk between Twickenham and Turnham-Green, till he had often worn his mind to be a perfect blank, and even without an idea."

²¹⁹ See Lance Bertelsen, *The Nonsense Club: Literature and Popular Culture, 1749-64* (New York: Clarendon Press, 1986).

rebuke to Churchill as his dog Trump urinates on a copy of Churchill's 1763 satirical *Epistle to Hogarth*.



Figure 2.1: William Hogarth, *The Bruiser* (1763).

Image via the British Museum.

While Hogarth's vision is obviously filtered through his own anger at being attacked for his more famous caricature of John Wilkes during the latter's trial, Churchill's longstanding associations and poetic output had set his reputation as a wicked wit and satirist. *The Journey's* publication did not wholly revise this image, but did recolor it in some fashion. Studying both the poem and its responses suggests a narrative for how that came to occur.

To make this argument, I analyze places where editorial intervention—visible in the difference between the 1765 Flexney edition and undated earlier copy, held by the British Library, which is labeled as the proof pages left in Wilkes's care by the dying Churchill—

worked to change the poem's meaning. I then explore two kinds of reader response—one, critical biographies and commentary published after Churchill's death; and third; second, marginal annotations in editions of Flexney's posthumous *Poems*—as evidence not only that Churchill's reputation had shifted, but also that the fragment genre encouraged readers to respond individually to the text and Churchill himself. My archival research has turned up several copies of the *Poems* with marginal annotations that are significant for indicating Churchill's latter reception, and which I think are made more so by reading alongside these other sources.

Comparative analysis of the various editions of Churchill's *Poems* reveals that there were some small but significant changes in the poem between the proofs held in the British Library and the official publication of the poems by Churchill's brother and executor John and the bookseller William Flexney.²²⁰ Both versions of the poem in essence perform the same task: Churchill in his celebrity persona versifies his friends' concern about his prolixity; he responds by arguing that he cannot help that he writes so much because he is so inspired and proposes to turn his attention to the "plain, unlabour'd journey of a day."²²¹ He begins to distinguish himself from his rivals and states that "I on my Journey all Alone proceed" but the poem ends before he gets farther than the intention to go.²²² What the changes between the editions do is highlight certain elements of the poem—for example, one change made from proofs to published version is that quotation marks are added to the second and third stanzas

²²⁰ What I am here describing is the print version of *The Journey* held by the British Library (and available on ECCO; Gale Document Number CB3327375414) which has marginal annotation at the top of the first page that says "Proof sheets given Mr Wilkes by Mr Churchill at Boulogne," which is where Churchill died. While this version and the final one produced by Flexney have small differences, I will here argue that those differences are the result of editorial strategy, meant to soften Churchill's reputation postmortem.

²²¹ Churchill, *Poems by C. Churchill* (London: Printed for John Churchill, (Executor to the late C. Churchill) and W. Flexney, near Gray's-Inn-Gate, Holborn, 1765), 2.5. All in-text citations following are from this edition and are page numbers, not line numbers.

²²² *Ibid.*, 6, 8.

of the poem, which start “The Husbandman, to spare a thankful toil...”²²³ (2). While the previous stanza emphasizes the lament of “some of my *Friends* ... that I shall run my stock of Genius out, / My no great stock, and, publishing so fast, / Must needs become a Bankrupt at the last,”²²⁴ the running quotations make these lines directly ventriloquize the imagined argument that, as farmers must let their fields lie fallow occasionally to allow “richer crops, and double harvests rise,” so Churchill should have allowed his mind rest: “He might have flourish’d twenty years, or more, / Tho’ now *alas!* poor Man! worn out in four.”²²⁵ As the quotations emphasize that Churchill vocalizes his friends’ imagined reaction, they draw attention to Churchill’s inevitable pivot away from it. First, he agrees with their position: “I feel, *alas!* this melancholy truth, / Thanks to each cordial, each advising Friend, / And am, if not too late, resolv’d to mend.”²²⁶ By proposing to mend, he shifts the tense, and instead of his stock already being wasted, he imagines a happy future as a changed man. Yet in the following verse he withdraws this resolution with the argument that Fate has made him as he is and he cannot change it; the poem itself is presented as proof: “E’en now I err, in spite of Common Sense, / And my Confession doubles my offence.”²²⁷ This greater emphasis on both the arguments of his friends and Churchill’s response layers the reading of this moment: while

²²³ Ibid, 2.

²²⁴ Ibid, 1.

²²⁵ Ibid, 2. It’s important to note here that Churchill was quite proud, as was *Pride and Prejudice*’s Mr. Bingley, of his prolific pen. Reading Churchill’s *Gotham*, Lance Bertelsen describes this attitude thus: “Churchill’s justification for his neglect of preparation and discipline is that only by following his natural flow of thought, without stopping to refine, or weakening later by revision, can the poet approach the spontaneity of genius” (102). Nor was Churchill alone—this attitude is characteristic of late eighteenth-century satire, as first described by Thomas Lockwood’s *Post-Augustan Satire: Charles Churchill and Satirical Poetry, 1750-1800* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979) and more recently by Ashley Marshall in *The Practice of Satire in England, 1658–1770* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins, 2013). This floridity does connect to the satirical fragment writing of someone like Jonathan Swift, and may be part of the reason John Churchill and Flexney label *The Journey* as fragment. However, I don’t want to flatter the differences between sloppy late-century satire and fragments-as-genre. The fragment-as-genre may, as my first chapter suggests, be influenced by rhetorics and ideas of fragmentation, but that such in itself might not constitute works being classified as fragments.

²²⁶ Ibid, 3.

²²⁷ Ibid, 3.

Churchill here is merely bragging about his literary prowess and playing the role of the unreformed reprobate (a familiar role for him), the reader looking at this posthumously also notices the important shift—Churchill can't change now because Churchill has passed away.

Other revisions to the proofs work to underline this double-layered reading that puts Churchill's boastful optimism in tension with his recent death. Another example not soon after these changes is a place where the editors add parentheses to a section where Churchill discusses fate.²²⁸ The lines as presented in the published version are as follows:

Rest then my *Friends*, nor, hateful to my eyes
Let Envy, in the shape of Pity, rise
To blast me e'er my time; with patience wait,
('Tis no long interval) propitious Fate
Shall glut your pride, and ev'ry Son of phlegm
Find ample room to censure and condemn.²²⁹

The only change made between the versions is to add the parentheses. While the original text separates this phrase out with commas, the parentheses emphasize the line by turning it into an aside that for the reader holds a darker meaning. While here Churchill asks his friends to prevent Envy from blasting him "e'er my time," his time within this context takes on a more specific meaning, especially as Fate's actions are expected in "no longer interval." Churchill's boastful tone is undercut by this aside that now encases the secondary meaning of the passage that Churchill's death is not long for friends to wait for, as it has already occurred. The second parenthetical added immediately after these lines in the stanza performs a similar function: "Read some three hundred lines, (no easy task; / But probably the last that I shall ask) / And

²²⁸ I should perhaps here note that the proof sheets actually have the lines as "To blast me e'er my time; with patience wait, / 'Tis no long interval, propitious wait" (4), but "wait" is in fact underlined in the text and the word "fate" written in the margin, thus suggesting that the change here is Churchill's; the parenthesis, however, are not added at this point, and thus likely belong to John Churchill and Flexney.

²²⁹ *Ibid*, 4.

give me up for ever.”²³⁰ While one reading of the parentheticals might be that they underline the joke that three hundred lines is a hard task for someone to read, read alongside the previous ones, both parenthetical asides emphasize the passage of time and the finality of the moment which put into context with the reader’s knowledge of the author’s death, takes on a more much funeral air than would have been Churchill’s original intent when writing it.²³¹

A final significant revision to the poem comes in the second to last stanza, the one that comes before the refrain only repeated twice in the poem: “I on my Journey all Alone proceed.”²³² While this final stanza again berates an audience that might prefer poetic contemporaries like Gray, Glover, Ossian, and Ogilvie to Churchill, the final section takes shots at Armstrong:

Let Them with Armstrong pass the term of light,
But not one hour of darkness; when the Night
Suspends this mortal coil, when Mem’ry wakes
[...]
Let ev’ry Muse be gone²³³

The relevant line here in the proof sheets, which has no marginal annotations, stands as: “But not one hour of darkness; when the Night / Suspends this mortal evil.”²³⁴ The introduction of the word “coil” here changes the line’s resonance significantly. While a “mortal evil” by definition could be a grave or serious misfortune or disease, “mortal coil” carries special poetic weight and a larger frame of reference that applies here.²³⁵ While Churchill here actually speaks

²³⁰ Ibid, 4.

²³¹ His death was fairly rapid; while he travelled to Bologne on 24 October 1764 with proofs of *The Journey* in hand, by 4 November he had passed away of scarlet fever.

²³² Ibid, 8.

²³³ Ibid, 8.

²³⁴ Ibid, 8.

²³⁵ It’s no coincidence that Johnson’s *Dictionary* uses the lines from *Hamlet* (“In that sleep of death what dreams may come, When we have shuffled off this mortal coil, Must give us pause”) to provide context for his first

of the Night “suspending” the troubles of life, and the sleep for readers is temporary—their poor reading choices will not help them to anything more than laughter, while the smug Churchill and *The Journey* continue forth undisturbed. Yet, a reader knowing Churchill’s fate, would pick up on the phrase in more troubled ways, and apply it equally to a tragic Churchill as to Shakespeare’s tragic Dane. The reference is subtly inserted into a longer paragraph that then helps set up the weightier reading of the repeated line, helping make Churchill’s *Journey* more than the record of a day, transforming it to the metaphorical journey of life that for Churchill has ended prematurely.

A significant connection between the editions, however, and the 1763 edition of his *Poems* that Churchill himself had printed by Dryden Leach and sold by Flexney and others, is their visual presentation. The *Poems* as sold in 1753 include his major works to that point (*The Rosciad* and *The Ghost*, among others) and appear to have been individually sold as well, insofar as many libraries hold copies of the poems individually bound and each poem has its own pagination. However, what is remarkable is that consistently through the following editions, including the third and fourth edition, the pagination and sparse visual style of the poems remain identical.

definition of “coil”; the phrase’s popularization through Garrick’s famous portrayal of *Hamlet* and Shakespeare’s elevated status in the period would make the eighteenth-century audience recognize the reference as well as we do today.

2 THE CONFERENCE.

Picking his teeth, twirling his seals about—
 CHURCHILL, You have a Poem coming out.
 You've my best wishes; but I really fear
 Your Muse in general is too severe,
 Her Spirit seems her int'rest to oppose,
 And, where She makes one friend, makes twenty foes.

C. Your Lordship's fears are just, I feel their force,
 But only feel it as a thing of course.
 The Man, whose hardy Spirit shall engage
 To lash the vices of a guilty age,
 At his first setting forward ought to know,
 That ev'ry rogue he meets must be his foe,
 That the rude breath of Satire will provoke
 Many who feel, and more who fear the stroke.
 But shall the partial rage of selfish men
 From stubborn Justice wrench the righteous pen,
 Or shall I not my settled course pursue,
 Because my foes, are foes to Virtue too?

L. What is this boasted Virtue, taught in Schools,
 And idly drawn from antiquated rules?
 What is her use? point out one wholesome end?
 Will She hurt foes, or can she make a Friend?

When

4 THE CONFERENCE.

Picking his teeth, twirling his seals about--
 CHURCHILL, You have a Poem coming out.
 You've my best wishes; but I really fear
 Your Muse in general is too severe,
 Her Spirit seems her int'rest to oppose,
 And where she makes one friend, makes twenty foes.

C. Your Lordship's fears are just, I feel their force,
 But only feel it as a thing of course.
 The man whose hardy spirit shall engage
 To lash the vices of a guilty age,
 At his first setting forward ought to know,
 That ev'ry rogue he meets must be his foe,
 That the rude breath of Satire will provoke
 Many who feel, and more who fear the stroke.
 But shall the partial rage of selfish men
 From stubborn justice wrench the righteous pen,
 Or shall I not my settled course pursue,
 Because my foes, are foes to Virtue too?

L. What is this boasted Virtue, taught in schools,
 And idly drawn from antiquated rules?
 What is her use? point out one wholesome end?
 Will the hurt foes, or can she make a friend?

When

Figure 2.2: Charles Churchill, *Poems*. By C. Churchill. First Edition, 1765 and Fourth Edition, 1769.

From Gale. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. © Gale, a part of Cengage Learning, Inc.

Reproduced by permission.

While certainly Flexney and John Churchill might want to adopt the same style in part because it allows Flexney to collect together odd editions of Churchill's works and repackage them as Charles Churchill's edited *Poems*, and creates incentive for earlier purchasers of the 1763 edition to purchase the second new volume in 1765, these motivations are less likely to have an effect several years after his death. It is possible more sheets were printed for the first edition and then resold at the fourth edition, which was common in the trade, or that it remained more time-effective to follow the original layout. But also, a different design might have reduced the page length and the overall cost to produce the book. The same graphic design also has the effect of maintaining faithfulness to Churchill's vision as well as a visual

style to his properly produced works. If John Churchill and Flexney are interested in making Churchill a marketable product and presenting him in a particular fashion, they are able to do so visually as well as verbally.

In summary, my close reading of these various editorial changes shows that, by changing both punctuation and word choice, Churchill's posthumous editors tried to complicate or direct the reading of this satirical work into more sentimentalized ends. By pointing towards the moments of the poem which could relate to mortality, finality, and ending, the editors want the reader to be aware of Churchill's death as they read, leading them to interpret the poem not just as a demonstration of Churchill's virtuosity and braggadocio but also as the deceased's final words. The paratexts help promote this reading not only through direct references to his death—where John Churchill's relation to the works as “Executor to the late C. Churchill” is spelled out—but also through titling the work *The Journey. A Fragment*.²³⁶ Thus, while this titling strategy is only part of this effort, it invites us to consider this work alongside other fragments, to ask if readers actually did interpret similar kinds of fragments in similar ways, and to see what conclusions such readings might allow us to draw about genre, about titles, and about editorial practice in the eighteenth century.

Twentieth-century criticism, however, has found little to say about *The Journey*. Typical of what is said, however, is the observation made in Churchill's *Dictionary of National Biography* entry, which ends on the assertion that “[a] few modern readers have seen Churchill as a harbinger of Romanticism in his self-consciousness, in, for instance, the refrain of *The Journey*,

²³⁶ I should clarify here that there's some variance in the references to the poem: I've found copies of the poem where each poem includes a separate title page, and others where there is not one. On some title pages the work is referred to as *Fragment of Journey*, in other cases as *The Journey. A Fragment*, and in still other cases as just *The Journey*; the last of these is more common the later you go into the century. However, the association between *The Journey* and the idea of it being a fragment is pretty consistent with its presentation in twenty years following the poem's initial publication. It is important to remark, too, that the proof sheet refers to it as just *The Journey*, so calling it a fragment is the product of the poem's posthumous editing. Also, the poem seems like it was sold individually as well as part of the second volume of Churchill's *Poems*. Sheets were probably being printed for multiple uses.

'I on my journey all alone proceed', but the resonance of this refrain owes perhaps more to the fact that these were the poet's last published words than to any inherently Romantic quality they may possess." In other words, critics remark on the poem for its biographical suggestiveness rather than its actual form.²³⁷ In fact, Raymond Smith asserts that "*The Journey* lacks inspiration."²³⁸ He reads the poem as "a metaphor for Churchill's poetic career," which like his life comes to an abrupt end: "The isolation of the poet [...] is a sign of his superior merit. More than that, his isolation can be taken as a metaphor for his individualism—in this case, his artistic integrity, his refusal to conform to the 'rules.' Finally, the journey itself hints at Churchill's approaching death, and the rather flat refrain takes on a prophetic quality and a certain pathos."²³⁹ Yet even in light of these twinned meanings, he dismisses the poem for its "essential banality."²⁴⁰ Wallace Cable Brown likewise finds the poem "the most personally revealing" of Churchill's late career, but makes few observations about the poem's form.²⁴¹ In short, criticism of *The Journey* finds most remarkable the connections between the poem and the private Churchill, between the poem and his near death.

Critics characterize Churchill's poetry by its loose or digressive style. Thomas Lockwood, writing generally about post-Augustan satire, emphasizes that post-Augustan satirists like Churchill would locate the satiric judgment and value within the particular author, not a generalized exterior value: "The effect of this in his satire is to throw more attention on the satirist, to make the satire seem less generalized, more definitely a question merely of his

²³⁷ *The Nonsense Club* contents itself with noting that *The Journey* "is memorable chiefly for the haunting aptness of the final line of its refrain" (249); Marshall's *Practice of Satire in England, 1658-1770* excludes the poem entirely. Adam Rounce's excellent edition of Churchill's *Selected Poems* (Nottingham: Trent Editions, 2003) unfortunately lacks *The Journey* as well.

²³⁸ Raymond Smith, *Charles Churchill* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1977), 103.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, 104-5.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 105.

²⁴¹ Wallace Cable Brown, *Charles Churchill: Poet, Rake, and Rebel* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1953), 105.

own preoccupations.”²⁴² This personalized perspective often made the verse seem digressive. The organizing principle is the author, and Lockwood explicitly finds this in Churchill: “I have emphasized Churchill because he illustrates this tendency so vividly, and especially because he gives such suggestive hints about its theoretical basis: the idea that all the parts of a poem are coherent insofar as they are expressions of the poet’s individual genius.”²⁴³ This suggests that Churchill is important to the satire as its author and its subject, in some sense. In *The Conference* where Churchill’s imagined interlocutor scores a point on him, Churchill loses control of the subject in a way.²⁴⁴ It may be interesting that Churchill’s “self-conscious quality” is something William Flexney and John Churchill noticed when preparing his material for publication.²⁴⁵ Perhaps by naming *The Journey. A Fragment* as such, they authorize a vision of Churchill found in his poetry: generous, profuse, and sharp. Their editorial choices seem to reinforce an idea of *The Journey* as provisional. However, this also seems a moment of editorial authorship, because the added *Fragment* is not Churchill’s gesture. In trying to preserve Churchill for later readers, their editorial decisions help turn the poem into a relic of the lost genius. The shifts in Churchill’s public reception posthumously might in part be traced to this editorial work.²⁴⁶

London first learned of Churchill’s death through the newspapers. His illness was mentioned in the November 5-7 1764 issue of *Lloyd’s Evening Post*, sourced to a letter between Wilkes and “a Gentleman in town.”²⁴⁷ His passing was swiftly announced in the *London Chronicle* (Nov 10-13; issue 1232) and the *London Evening Post* (Nov 10-13; Issue 5778). The *St.*

²⁴² Lockwood, 29.

²⁴³ Ibid, 29.

²⁴⁴ Ibid, 56.

²⁴⁵ Ibid, 60.

²⁴⁶ Recent criticism has described and explained shifts in Churchill’s posthumous reputation, which saw a significant shift in the nineteenth century towards obscurity. See Adam Rounce’s excellent article “Charles Churchill’s Anti-enlightenment,” *History of European Ideas* 31, no. 2 (2005): 227-236 and David Twombly, “The Revenant Charles Churchill: A Haunting of Literary History,” *Studies in Philology* 102, no. 1 (2005): 83-109.

²⁴⁷ *Lloyd’s Evening Post* 1143, 5-7 November 1764.

James' Chronicle or British Evening Post in its issue 586, dated December 4-6, reprinted an article from Paris's *Gazette Litteraire* that records some details of Churchill's death and the afterlife of his publications. It was not until December 6-8 that the *London Chronicle*, in issue 1243, produced the first English-written *Memoirs* of Churchill which offered to assess his literary reputation. The assessment, beginning with the assertion that "it has been often remarked, that the life of an hero could never be written with candour till envy or adulation slept with him in the grave," is not a particularly favorable one.²⁴⁸ The opening's emphasis on "candour" and the death of "envy or adulation" frames these *Memoirs* as an unbiased, fair account of Churchill, disinterested in the true sense of having no motive other than accuracy. The details related herein are generally accurate, but filtered through a morality that would assert "that those actions only become the object of history, which it was not in the power of succeeding misconduct to tarnish."²⁴⁹ In other words, the *Memoirs'* assessment reads Churchill's literary accomplishments alongside his tumultuous life and sees the impact of the latter on the former.

This is not to say that the whole is an attack piece. The author describes Churchill's intelligence, his early popularity within his parish, and his good work as an instructor for young ladies. Likewise, he praises the *Rosciad* for "the justness of its remark, and particularly the severity of the satire."²⁵⁰ However, in this narrative Churchill's propensities for wildness seem to impact not only his personal but his professional life. For example, while the author of this piece thinks the *Rosciad* is Churchill's best work, the critic concludes that "this poem, however, seems to be one of those few works which are injured by succeeding editions: when he became popular, his judgment began to grow drunk with applause; and we find, in the latter editions, men blamed whose merit is incontestable."²⁵¹ The author connects his sotted judgment to his

²⁴⁸ *The London Chronicle* 1243, 6-8 December 1764, 548.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid*, 548.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid*, 548.

²⁵¹ *Ibid*, 548.

liquid appetites: “His fame being greatly extended by these productions, his improvement in morals did not seem by any means to correspond; ... resigning his own, and all clerical functions, [he] commenced a complete *man of the town*, got drunk, frequented stews, and, giddy with false praise, thought his talents a sufficient atonement for all his follies.”²⁵² In describing the conflict between Johnson and Churchill, the critic takes a final stand: “But our poet is now dead, and justice may be heard without the imputation of envy; though we entertain no small opinion of Mr. Churchill’s abilities, yet they are neither of a size nor correctness to compare with those of the author of the Rambler.”²⁵³ From this place the story goes downhill: as Churchill continues to write with the encouragement of his admirers:

This exaggerated adulation, as it had before corrupted his morals, now began to impair his mind: several succeeding pieces were published, which being written without effort, are read without pleasure. His *Gotham*, *Independence*, *The Times*, seem merely to have been written by a man who desired to avail himself of the avidity of the public curiosity in his favour, and are rather aimed at the pockets than the hearts of his readers.²⁵⁴

The passage carefully incorporates a nice parallelism to show a denigrated repetition on Churchill’s part, where “written without effort” yields “read[ing] without pleasure.” Likewise, the juxtaposition of the “pockets” and “hearts of his readers” shows a similar degradation—Churchill is interested, more concerned for his own sales than his gains. While the critic doesn’t mention *The Journey* directly, the downward spiral suggests a similarly negative reaction to this then-unpublished piece.

²⁵² Ibid, 548.

²⁵³ Ibid, 548.

²⁵⁴ Ibid, 549.

Other contemporary reactions deal with Churchill's politics, positioning him as a warrior for free Englishmen. An acrostic printed in *The St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post* of 14-16 February 1765 invites "all ye Opposers of the public Good / (Here's Room now made for such a hellish Brood) / Arm you with Malice, let your Vengeance roar, / Rebukes will languish!—Churchill is no more!"²⁵⁵ For one thing, adopting Churchill's own writing mode—the heroic couplet—enacts the tribute which the words contain. Likewise, the verses celebrate Churchill as a "Champion for our Liberties," fighting against "Opposers of the public Good," turning his satirical work into chivalric struggle. As his death silences his verses, the poet juxtaposes the reactions of both Churchill's enemies and his friends: "Hail then the Day, ye Ruffians) newly found, / In which the Sons of Freedom shall be bound / Lament ye Britons, Tears th'Occasion suit, / Let none rejoice except the Friends of B-te." Whereas Britons must cry and lament Churchill's death, the only celebrants are the ruffians and friends of Bute. This not only opposes Scottish and British interests, but smears all people not friends of Churchill as unpatriotic. While the heightened language certainly signifies an emotional attachment to Churchill as a figure, it does so in part by leaving out his contemporary reputation as a rake. His function as a public scold is celebrated, but less the man himself.

Later accounts of Churchill seem to recuperate him through the moralistic tone early adopted by his critics, as in the following comment from the *Hoey's Dublin Mercury* of 10-13 November 1770:

Few men have lived with higher and purer qualities than Mr. Churchill, and though wanton *pleasure* sometimes led him into the path of imprudence, yet he possessed the cardinal virtues in a very cardinal degree. He was witty with humour; satirical with keenness and justness; generous to profuseness; good-

²⁵⁵ "Poets' Corner," *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post* 617, 14-16 February 1765.

natured to admiration, firm to his friendships, and honest to a degree of purity.²⁵⁶

While the author here acknowledges his attraction to “wanton *pleasure*,” this moral failing is sandwiched between his “cardinal virtues” and “higher and purer qualities,” which work to balance out his failings. Even the phrase acknowledging this interest involves other mitigating language like “*sometimes* led to led him into the path of imprudence,” which is completely outweighed by the list of his virtues, including “honest to a degree of purity.” While that phrase itself seems somewhat mitigated (the degree to which he is pure is unexplained), yet the purity renders his pleasure forgivable.

In other places we see the twentieth-century reading of Churchill reduplicated in biography. A passage published in the *Middlesex Journal* of 1 April 1773 specifically mentions the *Journey* in the context of his near death:

After the publication of the *Farewell* and *Journey*,²⁵⁷ he thought of prosecuting his voyage to France, to meet Mr. Wilkes, to whom he had given such a promise: otherwise we do not believe he would ever have attempted it; for he was prejudiced and prepossessed that he should never return. He was often hipped, and consequently low-spirited, and very superstitious; but he has many times told his friends, he knew he should die; and, before he departed, he took a solemn leave of his mother and all his friends.²⁵⁸

This passage frames his later works within the context: while it stresses that his journey to France and Wilkes occurs after the publication of his works, it contextualizes his feelings as predating his decision to leave: “for he was prejudiced and prepossessed that he should never

²⁵⁶ “The Repository,” *Hoey’s Dublin Mercury* 633, 10-13 November 1770.

²⁵⁷ This author seems to have the dates slightly wrong here.

²⁵⁸ “New and Genuine Memoirs of the Celebrated Mr. Charles Churchill,” *Middlesex Journal or Universal Evening Post* 626, 1-3 April 1773.

return.” The text also describes him in emotional terms incongruous with the earlier accounts that stress his wit and good humor. His departure from England is conflated with his departure from life, making sentimental scenes from the satirist’s life.

A later mention of a monument dedicated to Churchill, first described in the *Whitehall Evening Post*, is created by his longtime associate John Wilkes and installed in his “elegant villa” at Sandham Cottage.²⁵⁹ The newspaper details its appearance thus:

...a Doric Pillar to the memory of the celebrated Charles Churchill, with the inscription:

CAROLO CHURCHILL,
DIVINAE POETAE,
AMICO JUCUNDO,
CIVI OPTIME DE PATRIA MERITO.²⁶⁰

It is in the middle of the grove, and backed with weeping willows, cypresses, yews, &c. Laurels seem to grow out of the columns, as from Virgil’s Tomb at Naples, and come nearly down to the tablet on the pillar, which is fluted, and appears in some parts already injured by time. On the fore-ground are large myrtles, bays, laburnums, &c. The pillar is broken, about nine feet high, and about five feet diameter.²⁶¹

While this monument sits within the private space of Wilkes’ estate, its published description makes it an object for public contemplation. The monument itself performs its own sincere mourning through the sorrowful “weeping willows, cypresses, yews, &c.” The laurel wreathing the column not only associates its object with poetic mastery but also a lost

²⁵⁹ This article was also printed in the 4 October 1794 *Morning Chronicle* and the 7 October 1794 *St. James’s Chronicle or the British Evening Post*.

²⁶⁰ Roughly translated: “Charles Churchill, / Divine Poet, / Delightful Friend, / Best Citizen of National Merit.”

²⁶¹ *Whitehall Evening Post* 7470, 2-4 October 1794.

classical tradition, underlined by the fact that the pillar “appears in some parts already injured by time.” While the monument may not have been built to be a fragment, it seems to be one. This may feel like standard memorialization designed by a caring friend for a beloved lost colleague, but it also represents Churchill as a far more sentimental figure than his lifetime reputation would merit. Likewise, the fact that this monument is installed and this description published so many years after his death emphasizes that this is a mediated fabrication, not an immediate reaction to loss. In other words, this description turns Wilkes’ private monument to his close friend into a performative text, defining Churchill not only as a “DIVINAE POETAE” but also as the nation’s “AMICO JUCUNDO.”

In conclusion, this collection of periodicals shows some shift in how Churchill was discussed and represented in the fifty years following his death. The immediate aftermath of his passing represented the most critical period of his reception, where tastemakers focused on his personal peccadillos when assessing his legacy. As time passed, however, critics describing his death passed more charitably over those flaws, focusing on his poetic gifts. Churchill not merely “Blazed / The comet for a Season,” as Byron famously remarked.²⁶² His editors helped sustain his literary reputation for a full five decades after his death by turning him from a flawed and sinful scribbler into a sentimental object. A study of the marginalia responding to Churchill’s works posthumously can help offer evidence to weigh this claim.

However, before I discuss any particular examples, I’d like to preface it with some background information on eighteenth-century marginalia. While many critics have written eloquently on marginalia, H.J. Jackson’s thorough *Marginalia: Readers Writing in Books* provides an insightful overview of developing marginalia practices.²⁶³ The general history that Jackson

²⁶² See Lord Byron, “Churchill’s Grave. A Fact Literally Rendered,” in *The Works of Lord Byron, in Four Volumes. Volume 3* (London: John Murray, 1828), 219-220.

²⁶³ See, for example, Roger Stoddard, *Marks in Books, Illustrated and Explained* (Cambridge, MA: Houghton Library, Harvard University, 1985) and David Pearson, *Provenance Research in Book History: A Handbook* (London:

offers on marginalia indicates that while marginalia has persisted in written and printed books for centuries, its content undergoes a change during the eighteenth century, which is in part related to the period's changing print practices. As Jackson notes, "[a] tour of the annotated book from front to back, whether we consider conventional use or idiosyncratic variations, reveals that our customs and expectations, constant over time, are based on the conventional format of the book itself. In more ways than one, marginalia *mirror* the texts they supplement."²⁶⁴ In other words, the kinds of marginalia available also change as the ways readers read or are taught to read change. While early marginalia often works to index texts and to contribute to scholarship—similar to the kinds of printed marginalia in seventeenth-century texts—the latter eighteenth century sees a move to more personalized notation. From the example of General James Wolfe's marginalia in a copy of Gray's *Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard*, in which the famous man underlined favorite passages and made "reflective remarks" at four points, we learn "the distinctive features of marginalia of the second period, which are typically critical (in the sense of evaluative), personal, and designed to be shared."²⁶⁵ Like this copy of Gray's *Elegy*, Churchill's *The Journey: A Fragment* inspired both evaluative and emotional reactions in his audience. While few examples might be as compelling as Wolfe's, what I'd like to try and do here is build a case for how these marginal annotations, read alongside the already enumerated conversation surrounding Churchill's work in the century's second half, demonstrate a certain kind of emotional reaction to a posthumously recreated Churchill, one that was carefully cultivated by John Churchill.

The British Library, 1994). Heather Jackson also has presented a speaking case study of Coleridge's marginalia in her work on Romantic marginalia more specifically.

²⁶⁴ Heather Jackson, *Marginalia: Readers Writing in Books* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2002), 41. Cathy Davidson, in her book *Revolution and the Word: The Rise of the Novel in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), likewise describes the extent to which reader's marginalia, combined with their other writing, shows the influences of their favorite sentimental works upon them. She argues for reading marginalia thus: "I found myself arguing that the telegraphed marginalia in hundreds of copies of novels could provide a sampling of book use and attachment that supplemented the insights in diaries, letters, and reviews of the time" (44).

²⁶⁵ Jackson, 54-5.

Marginalia can reveal significant variance in Churchill's posthumous reputation. A copy of the *Poems by C. Churchill* (1765, Flexney) held by the Houghton Library contains the reactions of numerous readers to not only Churchill's collected works, but his reception by others.²⁶⁶ This copy, like many others, appears to have been signed by John Churchill (or by Flexney for him) on the last page of *The Journey*.²⁶⁷ Many of these signed copies have the signature appear in this same place, as if Churchill has put his seal of approval on his brother's work.²⁶⁸ This particular copy, however, is branded with a Harvard University bookplate signed by Hancock and dated 1767. This indicates that the book was purchased and donated to the Harvard University library by a member of the Hancock family, perhaps John himself.²⁶⁹ It is also marked in by numerous readers who read the text between at 1767 and 1808.²⁷⁰ The marginalia contained within these two volumes generally does one of three things: it provides context for Churchill's poetic output, indicates the reader's interpretation, or describes the reader's engagement with the text. By reading the extensive marginalia in this volume, I show

²⁶⁶ The call number for this edition is * 17445.13.

²⁶⁷ Authors regularly asked their printers to distribute signed copies to specific correspondents; the Cadell and Davies letters at the Huntington include numerous such notes. However, other copies exist with signatures at the back; Lindsey Powers Gay has identified copies of Charlotte Smith's *Elegiac Sonnets* with Smith's signature in the back. However, since some letters were sent by authors distant from London, it seems possible that the signatures were not always those of the actual individual.

²⁶⁸ What may be more important to remark in the case of this material is that of the examples I've seen, which include one copy in the British Library, several in the Bodleian Library, one copy in the Huntington, two in the Harry Ransom Center, and one in the Houghton, the Churchill signature tends to show up in later editions (the HRC's two copies, for example, are of the third and fourth London editions) and always in editions edited by Flexney. Michael Winship and Lindsey Powers Gay have suggested that this reoccurring signature may be a colophon reflecting John Churchill's authentication of the "true edition" against pirated copies, but the signature's effects, I'd like to suggest, may be multiple.

²⁶⁹ John Hancock at this time had already taken over his uncle's business and had spent significant time in England, which is why he might have owned the book then donated it to the library. Churchill's *Poems* went through multiple editions in the first year, so it was a fairly popular piece.

²⁷⁰ One reader signs his name and dates the entry with the later date. This of course isn't to say that this was the only time during which the book was in circulation, but it suggests a useful framework. Considering that Churchill's popularity suffered greatly during the nineteenth century by Byron's account, it's reasonable to suggest the majority of the marginalia probably dates from this time. The handwriting also seems to be more eighteenth than nineteenth century in appearance, as the images hopefully show.

that readers interacted not only with Churchill's poetry, but also with the reception of others recorded in the text.

The kinds of contextual clues readers provide include dates for specific works, descriptions of Churchill's background, and marginal identifications. For example, one reader in *The Ghost* identifies Pomposo as "Dr. Johnson" at the bottom of the page, using an asterisk to connect the identification. A second explains for others at the beginning of *Independence* which labels it "the last poem pub. in his life Sept. 1764," while a third identifies a reference to the Pretender's birthday. One reader, commenting on *The Duellist*, notices that "Friend Churchill has read Hudibras / Ah me! what peril doth environ / The man who meddled with cold iron." While the reader imperfectly recalls the quotation,²⁷¹ the identification shows the reader putting Churchill's oeuvre within a larger literary context. Other marginalia engages in interesting speculation about Churchill's life: below the lines "When Nobles, with a love of Science bless'd, / Approv'd in others what themselves possess'd" in *The Author*, one hand adds two lines after this: "When those who at college would have come / Where denied an entrance at least by [son?]" This little satirical reproof is further amplified by an extremely emphatic question: "Our author once attempted to enter college and was denied admittance. Why?— He would not answer their interrogatories!!!!" Another reader replies to this in pencil: "The reason here given is false – Churchill's rejection [scratched out] was owing to an improvident marriage." This exchange allows critics to see the back-and-forth that marginalia makes possible—a contention about Churchill's biography reflects divergent judgments about Churchill's morality. The exclamation points suggest something nefarious about Churchill's refusal to "answer their interrogatories" when paired with the verse; the pencil's explanation involving Churchill's "improvident marriage" turns a mortal sin into a venial one. This

²⁷¹ The first two lines of Canto III begin: "Ah me! what perils do environ / The man that meddles with cold iron."

marginalia also suggests that, for readers attempting to interpret Churchill’s text, these contextual details affected their interpretations of his works and his meanings, even when they could not agree on the results of these considerations.

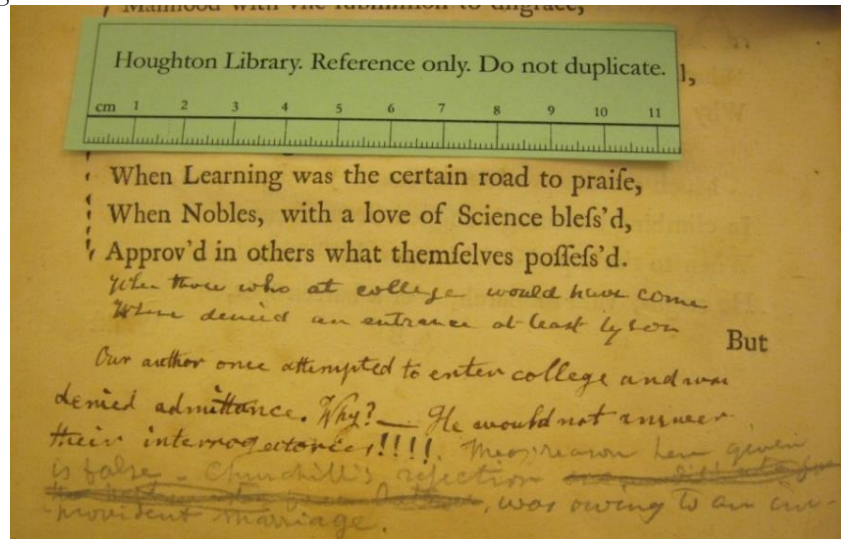


Figure 2.3: Marginalia from *Poems by C. Churchill* (1765).

Image via the Houghton Library.

If readers used marginalia to record their interpretations of texts, Churchill’s readers here present a variety of opinions. For example, this copy’s lively marginalia critiques not only Churchill’s character but also the book’s readership. One pencil note in the poem *Epistle to William Hogarth*, next to the lines “I cannot truckle to a Fool of State, / Nor take a favour from the man I hate” argues that “Churchill is a damned fool!!” A later wit, reading this, writes on the page “so is the writer of this.” However, another reader used a pen to mark out the same lines, so that multiple readers’ interaction with each other and Churchill in these reading practices. If the reader with the pen marked the passage for attention, it may have led the latter two readers to react to it. Yet the second reader’s reaction to Churchill and the third reader’s reaction to the second reader suggest habits of reading—readers could react strongly and generally to texts, but in completely different ways.

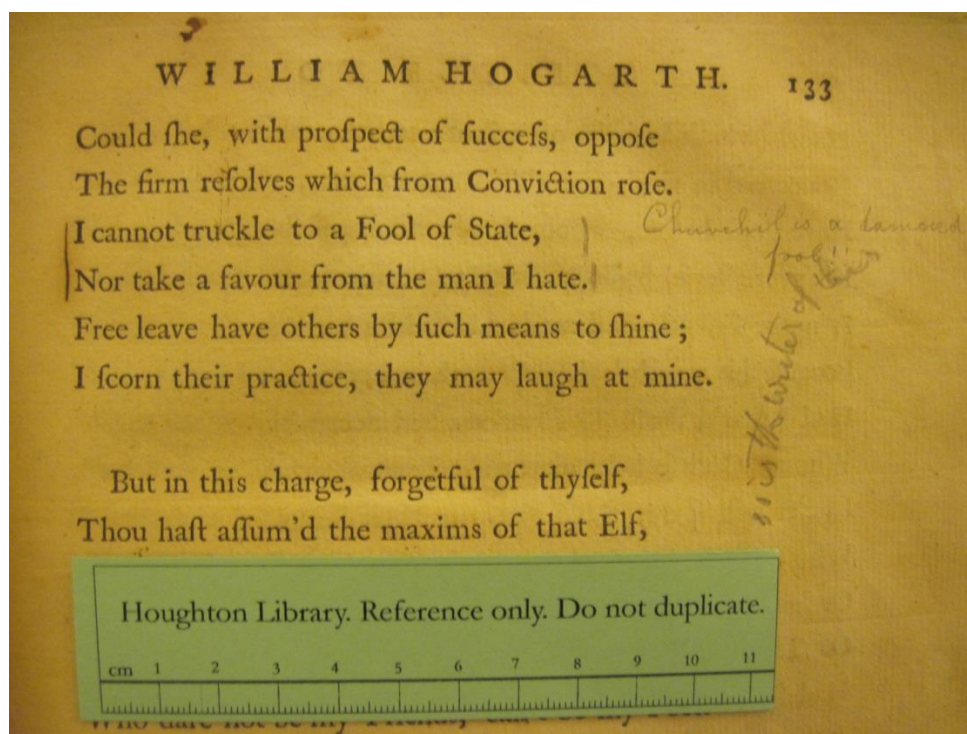


Figure 2.4: Marginalia from *Poems by C. Churchill* (1765).

Image via Houghton Library.

This marginalia also offers an opportunity to distinguish that this chapter does not claim that editorial practices could perfectly control readerly interpretation or that Churchill’s reputation was fully whitewashed by editorial practices. For example, another marginal note in the poem emphatically argues that “It is an unjust poem. It is a disgrace to the Library. The whole book ought to be burned. Hogarth was a fine painter a fine Moralist and a fine man. He did honour to his country and to the world.” A second hand, however, gently notes that “[i]t must be observed that the epistle is aimed more at Hogarth as a man than at his genius to which C. pays tribute. As a man he was of a vain & envious disposition.” Yet this not only demonstrates that opinions could differ on Churchill, but also that they could agree on the same concerns: here, the personalities and biographies at hand. These readers strive to read Churchill and Hogarth correctly in order to judge their reactions to the poem.

Some other reactions to Churchill here are mildly supportive. A note within *The Times* after the lines “What books It, of APICIUS fearful grown, / Headlong to fly into the arms of STONE,” which reads, “Churchill certainly was one of the greatest poets that ever scribbled.” At one point in *The Ghost*, written around the line “Features so horrid, were it light, / Would put the Devil himself to flight,” a reader notes, “Elegant Style - poor humor.” While certainly the reader objects to Churchill mocking Johnson’s appearance, the separation between “Elegant” and “Style” as written on the page seems to draw attention to that initial judgment, paying positive tribute to the couplet. “Elegant” as an epithet seems a somewhat strange choice as these are the only two lines on the page that seem to break the tetrameter (unless you were to pronounce “Devil” as a single-syllable word), but the capitals for Elegant Style might be an irony on the reader’s part. The comment’s meaning is perhaps as divided as its physical form on the page.

Readers did more to engage with the text than just to pass judgment on it. Other readers also attempted to amend or edit the text themselves, as did the reader of *Hogarth* who changed the printed text’s “Whate’er of Sin and Dullness can be said, / Join to a F___’s heart a D___’s head” to say “Join to a D___’s heart a F___’s hand.” Another passes judgment on the text as it notes next to a line in *The Duellist* “a foot too much.” Others write directly into the blanks individuals’ names, as does the reader who fills in the blank after the “M--- ---” in *The Candidate* “Medmenham.” Still others creatively interacted with the text by adding drawings in the book, as did one reader who drew a somewhat Regencyesque portrait of Churchill:

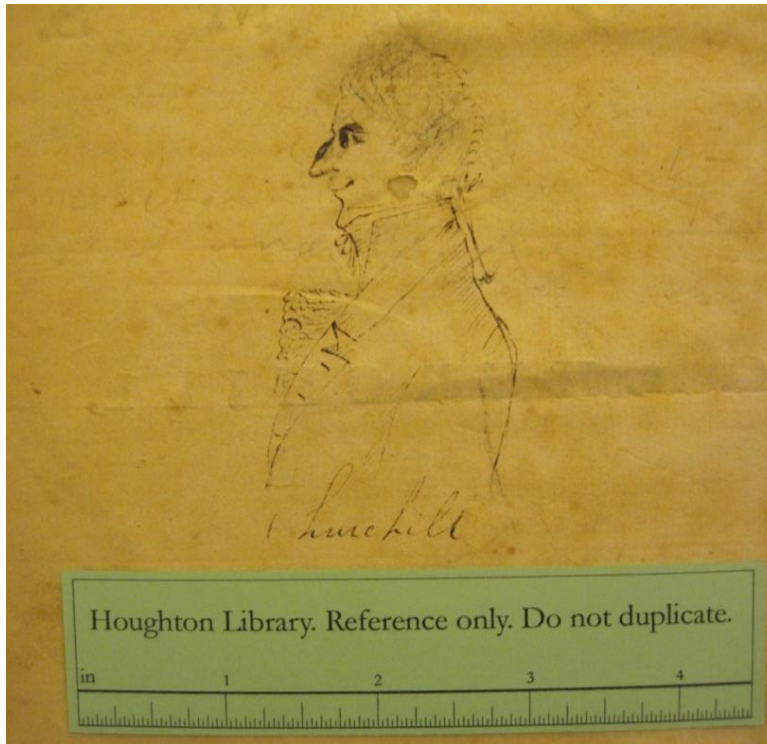


Figure 2.5: Drawing labeled “Churchill” in *Poems by C. Churchill* (1765).

Image via Houghton Library.

Compared with J.S.C. Schaak’s 1763/4 portrait of Churchill, which now hangs in the National Portrait Gallery, this picture looks nothing like: the nose here is too big, the face is too pointed and slim, and the hairstyle is wrong. It’s hard to imagine that this portrait was meant to be an exact representation of Churchill’s features, but the general cast of the features here represents some interpretation and reflection on Churchill’s works. If Hogarth used satirical prints to characterize Churchill, the vision our anonymous annotator here presents is likewise sharp, but slightly more human.

While this particular copy of Churchill’s *Poems* is unique in its effusion, marginalia in other copies of this edition seem to confirm these interpretations, if not going beyond them. A copy of Flexney’s fourth edition of the *Poems* includes some excerpted copied into the work

by either a late eighteenth-century or early nineteenth-century reader.²⁷² “Maxon,” the name written into the book as an ownership mark, copied in selections from Cowper’s *Charity* (1782), *Table-Talk* (1782), and the anonymous *Ethic epistles to the earl of Carnarvon* (1794). The selections are transcribed not only in the front of the book, but (in one case) on inner title pages. These excerpts function to help introduce Churchill to other readers while contextualizing the reader’s reaction to Churchill’s satire. As the passages all discuss gratitude either generally or specifically,²⁷³ they present a reading of both Churchill’s satire as Churchill as a man. Yet another copy of the *Poems*, this one located in the Huntington Library, works towards a different reading of him.²⁷⁴ In this copy, the reader provides editorial emendation to the on the last page of the poem, next to the final stanza:

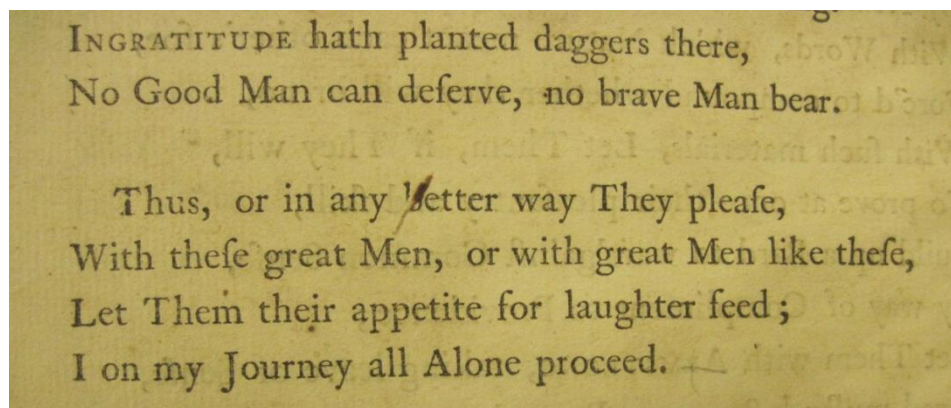


Figure 2.6: Marginalia in Churchill’s *Journey* (1765).

Image via Huntington Library.

The dash concluding the poem was not added by the author, his executor, or his printer. It is a reader’s addition to the text. It is, of course, unclear if this is the work of an eighteenth-century or a later reader: there is no name written into the book, so no provenance for the

²⁷² The call number for this edition in the British Library is 11633 E 5-6.

²⁷³ Two of them specifically mention Churchill’s ingratitude to various patrons/friends.

²⁷⁴ The Huntington Library call number is 114771.

mark. Like the other marginalia I've examined here, it could be either from the eighteenth century or a later hand.²⁷⁵ However, we can reflect that Churchill's popularity was most concentrated in his lifetime, and it is at that time when readers would have been most likely to have had an emotional reaction to his piece. While Churchill's reputation was for bruising satire, the poem's presentation in fact works to soften his image and foreshadow his death. If the dash was added for readerly affect, the dash stands in for what's missing: the end of Churchill's *Journey* (if not his journey metaphorically), Churchill's all future poetic output, the opportunities of his creative genius and the generative friendships he offered his compatriots. If the dash stands for what's missing, it's Charles Churchill that is indicated here. If he begins the poem lamenting where the journey ends—"I shall run my stock of Genius out, / My no great stock, and, publishing so fast, / Must needs become a Bankrupt at the last"—the dash represents that running out. If Churchill's brother and editor were interested in commercializing his literary remains and redeeming his character, these readers show through their markings that there was some success in the softened approach. While not all of the *Poems'* readers changed their minds, *The Journey* and John Churchill's editorial practice invites readers to connect emotionally with Churchill, to be concerned with his how literary efforts relate to his character, and to take part in the conversation. The rest of this chapter examines other instances of the unintentional fragment's work alongside a developing scholarly discussion of celebrity.

²⁷⁵ While ink marginalia seems to be more common, there are examples of eighteenth-century readers using pencil for the purpose. As H. J. Jackson notes, William Beckford "ordinarily used pencil" (39) in his marginalia and Samuel Taylor Coleridge used both pen and pencil on different occasions (43). In her novel *Belinda* (1801) Maria Edgeworth describes Lady Delacour making marginalia with pencil, so there are not only contemporary examples but also cultural narratives surrounding the use of pencil. I attempt to make my claim further here for why this specific example can be dated to the eighteenth century, but I wanted to make clear that pencil marginalia did exist in the period, even if it seems atypical.

THE CASE FOR DEVELOPING AUTHORSHIP: WOLLSTONECRAFT, BEATTIE, AND CARTER

Certain general consensuses characterize the scholarship surrounding authorship, celebrity, and print culture in the eighteenth century. During the period, the patronage model gave way to independent authors relying on the literary marketplace, literary copyright was created and strengthened, and a whole journal and review system grew to support the developing print culture which was centered in London, but slowly expanding in the provinces.²⁷⁶ However, to avoid speaking in critical generalities, this section examines some of the scholarship around these issues and read them against specific fragments—in this case, William Godwin’s edited edition of Mary Wollstonecraft’s *Posthumous Works* (1797), James Hay Beattie’s *Essays and Fragments* (1794), and Elizabeth Carter’s edition of *All the works of Epictetus, which are now extant* (1758)—to make an argument for how an improved understanding of the unintentional fragment and its place in the growing eighteenth-century literary marketplace contributes to or modifies our understanding of these related issues.

As argued by figures like Tom Mole and Joseph Roach, the creation of modern celebrity is increasingly being traced back to the eighteenth century and/or Romantic period.²⁷⁷ Dynamic figures like David Garrick, the eighteenth-century actor and theatrical impresario, used print and other forms of visual media to establish their personas for eighteenth-century audiences, building their fame and increasingly the marketability for their productions.

²⁷⁶ For an incomplete list, see works like Martha Woodmansee, “The Genius and the Copyright: Economic and Legal Conditions of the Emergence of the ‘Author,’” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 17, no. 4 (Summer, 1984): 425-448; John Feather, *The Provincial Book Trade in Eighteenth-Century England* (New York: Cambridge UP, 1985); Mark Rose, *Authors and Owners: The Invention of Copyright* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1993); Frank Donoghue’s *The Fame Machine: Book Reviewing And Eighteenth-Century Literary Careers* (Stanford, CA: Stanford UP, 1996); Barbara Benedict, “Readers, writers, reviewers, and the professionalization of literature” in *The Cambridge Companion to English Literature, 1740-1830*, ed. Thomas Keymer and Jon Mee (New York: Cambridge UP, 2004); and Tom Mole, “Lord Byron and the end of fame,” *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 11, no. 3 (2008): 343-61.

²⁷⁷ Joseph Roach’s excellent *It* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2007) provides an overview of celebrity that expands from the present day back to the seventeenth century, including figures like King Charles II and Samuel Pepys.

Portraits and prints depicting famous actresses like Kitty Clive, Sarah Siddons, Mary Robinson, and Dorothea Jordan proliferated, turning these larger-than-life figures into consumable products, further fueling the appetite for their performances. These same strategies were also adopted by popular courtesans and madams like Kitty Fisher and Mother Needham, building a market for celebrities at large.²⁷⁸ Lord Byron's famous (apocryphal) comment that "I woke up one morning and found myself famous"²⁷⁹ reflects how that definition came to encapsulate writers as well. What we can see from Churchill's example, however, is that celebrity was not newly created by Byron, just as Mole argues celebrity was not born in the 1920-30s Hollywood star system. The author as a figure was marketable before this, even if in part some of that interest resulted from his death. However, Churchill's first literary hit occurred with *The Rosciad*, which satirized a number of theatrical personas. Churchill as an author was certainly aware of the marketability of the theatre and theatrical-related writing, and he used that to catapult to attention.

The combination of scandal and status also existed around the figure of Mary Wollstonecraft. After her death on 10 September 1797, which occurred as a result of postpartum infection, her husband undertook to produce both an edition of her unfinished works and his own *Memoirs* of her life. The two works were published separately by Godwin with Wollstonecraft's publisher Joseph Johnson, and both were designed to present Wollstonecraft to the British public. If Churchill's publishers and editors conspired to whitewash his scandalous reputation, William Godwin's role as Mary Wollstonecraft's editor presented him similar opportunities. One of these unfinished works included in her *Posthumous*

²⁷⁸ For more on disposability and celebrity, see Kevin Bourque, "Blind items: anonymity, notoriety, and the making of eighteenth-century celebrity" (dissertation, The University of Texas at Austin, 2012).

²⁷⁹ Tom Mole traces the quotation back to Thomas Moore's 1830s biography of Byron; while Moore was a good friend of Byron's, the dating casts some doubt on its authenticity. Yet the quotation's endurance in part reflects, as Mole argues, something of its truth—celebrity always feels new and surprising, and Byron's was just another example of this.

Works was a novel that Wollstonecraft had been at work on for several months that was eventually titled *The Wrongs of Woman, or Maria*. The work was ultimately left incomplete, as Wollstonecraft never finished a complete draft. Godwin's diary notes that he was looking at the manuscript for *The Wrongs of Woman* on 17 September 1797, and by 17 October 1797 he was explaining to his friend Hugh Skeys that he was producing the *Posthumous Works of the author of A vindication of the rights of woman*:

My wife left some manuscripts behind her, which are already sent to the press; the bookseller as well as my self being of opinion, that the public curiosity was most excited relative to an eminent person, by publications that appeared in no long time after their decease. I am, of course, desirous, that the memoirs should accompany the publication of the manuscripts. [...] It may satisfy your curiosity to know that the principal article among her manuscripts is the first part of a novel, entitled, the Wrongs of Woman. This, though not quite half finished, had employed the last twelvemonths of her life, & will, in my opinion, do great honour to her memory.²⁸⁰

This letter not only demonstrates how quickly Godwin prepared the manuscripts for publication—less than a month from her death—but also the reasons why: he notes that the appetite for Wollstonecraft's materials is highest immediately postmortem, and that will not only make the material more profitable but also increase its circulation. After all, if Godwin wants to “do great honour to her memory,” he can achieve this both through his own justification and memorialization of Wollstonecraft's problematic history and his presentation of her material.

²⁸⁰ William Godwin, *The Letters of William Godwin, Vol 1*, ed. Pamela Clemit (New York: Oxford UP, 2011), 255.

Some of Godwin's intentions are visible through the prefatory material he writes for *The Wrongs of Woman*. The 1798 book, made up of four volumes, opens with a table of contents, which lists the first two volumes' contents as "The Wrongs of Woman: or Maria; a Fragment: to which is added, the First Book of a Series of Lessons for Children," then describes volumes three and four as "Letters and Miscellaneous Pieces." Emphasizing the text's primary positioning, Godwin's preface also frames readerly reception. Within the first sentence he describes the work as "the last literary attempt of an author, whose fame has been uncommonly extensive, and whose talents have probably been most admired, by the persons by whom talents are estimated with the greatest accuracy and discrimination."²⁸¹ The language "literary attempt" suggests something provisional, not accomplished. "Attempt" also calls to mind Wollstonecraft's militant tone, helping readers understand the story as an ideological tract rather than an object of sensibility. Yet, as he goes on, he turns to the very kinds of sentimental language that Wollstonecraft criticized so effectively in the *Vindication of the Rights of Woman*.

He defends publishing the fragment first by noting that "there are few, to whom her writings could in any case have given pleasure, that would have wished that this fragment should have been suppressed, because it is a fragment," then moves from the imagined reader's specific interest in Wollstonecraft to a general meditation on the attraction of fragments: "There is a sentiment, very dear to minds of taste and imagination, that finds a melancholy delight in contemplating these unfinished productions of genius, these sketches of what, if they had been filled up in a manner adequate to the writer's conception, would perhaps have given a new impulse to the manners of a world." Godwin here characterizes the fragment generally as a source of "melancholy delight" when the author's death results in "unfinished

²⁸¹ William Godwin, "Preface," in Mary Wollstonecraft, *Posthumous works of the author of A vindication of the rights of woman* (London, 1794)

productions of genius” that “would perhaps have given a new impulse to the manners of a world.” While “a new impulse” suggests Wollstonecraft’s persuasive power, the “productions of genius” in some sense detaches the text from its author. Genius, especially as its meaning evolved over the eighteenth century, also characterizes the fragment as something dashed off, connected with the writer’s divine inspiration. It relies on a concept of authorship, developed over the century, where the author is an intentional figure in control of the text. This melancholy can only be felt by readers reflecting on the missed opportunity. The fragment’s value lies in lost rather than present worth, or, more precisely, in both. The fragment’s value is in potential, based on alternative histories where it could have been finished, but also in its ideal presence where readers can build beyond the text. The authorial connection is also central. This incompleteness reflects Wollstonecraft’s own fractured life, and the reader’s “melancholy delight” comes from her: melancholy from her death, delight from her genius. As Godwin goes on to give the circumstances of the manuscript’s composition, emphasizing how Wollstonecraft had “recommenced and revised the manuscript several different times,” he works a tension between authorial intent and control and the unintentional fragment’s authorial absence. In other words, this preface shows Godwin both inviting readers to appreciate Wollstonecraft’s “genius” while at the same time sentimentalizing its incompleteness.

Because Godwin and his audience see the fragment as an authorial relic, he upholds a non-interventionist editorial position:

In revising these sheets for the press, it was necessary for the editor, in some places, to connect the more finished parts with the pages of an older copy, and a line or two in addition sometimes appeared requisite for that purpose. Wherever such a liberty has been taken, the additional phrases will be found inclosed in brackets; it being the editor’s most earnest desire, to intrude

nothing of himself into the work, but to give the public the words, as well as the ideas, of the real author.

In other words, Godwin wants to make clear—both through his prefatory marks and through his actual practices as an editor—his contributions to the text, so that Wollstonecraft’s “genius” can be discerned from that work. Yet this is not so simple. By providing prefatory remarks, Godwin acts to control the text’s reception, as when his preface ends by leading into Wollstonecraft’s “hints for a preface” which he describes as “never filled up in the manner the writer intended,” but which “appeared to be worth preserving.” The actual editorial remarks he makes in the text, like the one where notes that “The introduction of Darnford as the deliverer of Maria in a former instance, appears to have been an after-thought of the author. This has occasioned the omission of any allusion to that circumstance in the preceding narrative,” aren’t too far off what an Alexander Pope might say of Shakespeare in his edition, but which still provide interpretive framing—here, it both comments on the writer’s thought process and draws attention to a potential plot hole.²⁸² At other times Godwin visually intervenes in the text to bracket off the “finished” and “unfinished” sections, which begins partway through the first volume of *The Wrongs of Woman* in a footnote: “The copy which had received the author’s last corrections breaks off in this place, and the pages which follow, to the end of Chapter IV, are printed from a copy in a less finished state.”²⁸³ His additions to the text resemble this:

[And though, after this first visit, they were permitted frequently to repeat their interviews, they were for some time employed in] a reserved conversation, to which all the world might have listened; excepting, when discussing some

²⁸² Ibid, 65.

²⁸³ Ibid, 54.

literary subject, flashes of sentiment, inforced by each relaxing feature, seemed to remind them that their minds were already acquainted.

[By degrees, Darnford entered into the particulars of his story.]²⁸⁴

The brackets he uses to exclude his revisions from Wollstonecraft's words both separate but also draw attention to the limits of his wife's text. They construct the fragmentariness of the text by framing its parts, joining the parts in presumably Wollstonecraft's order. In other words, while they don't intervene, they do.²⁸⁵

In some sense, what I'm arguing here is that, while the unintentional fragment becomes a nexus for anxiety about authorial intention, and a genre that helps reinforce general shifts to single-author models of literary creation,²⁸⁶ it also invites editorial and readerly interpolation through its incomplete state. We presume Godwin genuinely desires to help readers get direct access to Wollstonecraft's "genius" through her unfinished novel, but the work's reception focuses more on the interpretive contexts he imposes around her fragment more than her fragment itself.²⁸⁷ *The Analytical Review*, the review established by Joseph Johnson (Wollstonecraft's and Godwin's publisher), gives what must be the most partial account of her work, as she herself wrote for the *Analytical Review* in past years. However, it's interesting to note that more pages are devoted in the review (and in other publications) to discussing Godwin's *Memoirs of the Author of A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* than her own *Posthumous Works*. Even when writing about *Maria*, the *Analytical Review* focuses more on Wollstonecraft

²⁸⁴ Ibid, 55.

²⁸⁵ Rajan Tilottama reads Godwin's editing as actually constructing a new text in "Whose Text? Godwin's Editing of Mary Wollstonecraft's *The Wrongs of Woman*" in *Romantic Narrative: Shelley, Hays, Godwin, Wollstonecraft* (Baltimore: John Hopkins UP, 2010) and considers the gender implications of it—how is Wollstonecraft's voice controlled or silenced in such work? These long-standing questions are interesting ones, and ones I think are relevant to the fragment as such, though Tilottama does not consider genre as part of her discussion.

²⁸⁶ For more on this, see Lisa Maruca, *The Work of Print: Authorship and the English Text Trades, 1660-1760* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007).

²⁸⁷ Other references I could discuss here are from the Feb 1798 *Morning Post and Gazetteer* and the March 1798 *Monthly Review*.

than on her text, reading it biographically: “‘The Wrongs of Woman’ is a novel, in which Mrs. Godwin appears to have designed the vindication of her own sentiments and conduct.”²⁸⁸ The reviewer then defends Wollstonecraft’s unconventional relationships more than it discusses the actual text. They also read the text in relation to her as they “heartily lament” that she did not finish because “we have no doubt that it would have been a pyramid on which her name might have been engraven for ages.”²⁸⁹ The novel here functions as a potential “pyramid” to carry forth or represent Wollstonecraft for later ages—except, because this one is not finished, there is regret or loss surrounding it: “It is not easy to criticize an unfinished work. The *dramatic effect* which might have been produced, had the author finished her design, cannot now be estimated.”²⁹⁰ The fragment thus doubles for Wollstonecraft’s lost life, especially as the review ends with a direct address to her: “Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin, farewell! Thou hast affected the rights, and received an uncommon portion of the wrongs of woman. Thy life was embittered by those whose duty it was to success and to sooth thee. Thy name is pursued by the censures of the licentious and malignant. But better times approach, and thy vindication is secure.”²⁹¹ In short, the reaction here isn’t to the work, it’s to the author within the work or the author as the overseer of the work. And while this may just merely be another example of how, as Lisa Maruca puts it, “authorship, because of its eventual dominance—evidenced by its seeming naturalness—erased all evidence of alternative approaches to writing and the production of texts,” *Maria* is very much constructed in part through Godwin’s framing of the text.²⁹²

²⁸⁸ *The Analytical Review: or, History of Literature* 27, no. 3 (March 1798), 241.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 242.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 241.

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 245.

²⁹² Maruca, 16.

While Wollstonecraft might present a heightened example by dint of her own eccentric life, James Beattie's *Essays and fragments in prose and verse. By James Hay Beattie. To which is prefixed an account of the author's life and character* identifies his much less famous subject with the writing. In the 1799 London edition, published by Charles Dilly, the title page is paired with a frontispiece portrait of the departed author. His clothes and presentation in the portrait appear to be of a younger adolescent boy, not a man who died at age 22—he wears a collar around his neck and has a youthful face. The engraving might have been used as it may have been the only living portrait painted of James Hay Beattie, but also in part to emphasize his youthfulness, making his loss more tragic. As he dedicates the *Miscellanies* to his friends, he notes that “To You its Author was well known: Ye were pleased, even from his childhood, to interest yourself in his welfare: and towards You, on account of your eminent virtues and abilities ... his Gratitude and Veneration were peculiarly strong.”²⁹³ As the dedication goes on, Beattie the father also explains why “in making this collection” he had put “together in the same volume pieces so different in style and character”—the reason being that while “many writers and editors have done the same thing without incurring blame,” he “wished to give such proofs as could be had, and might be published, of the various talents of the Author.”²⁹⁴

As he edits the book, he includes not only his son's notes from the manuscripts, but also his own editorial passages, which are quite lengthier than what Godwin provides for Wollstonecraft. For example, when he includes his son's Latin translation of a Pope poem, he notes that “Of this Translation several lines in the MS. were marked for alteration, without being altered. The whole is however so animated, so harmonious, and so true to the original, that the Editor thinks it his duty not to suppress it.”²⁹⁵ The note draws the reader into the

²⁹³ Beattie, *Essays and fragments in prose and verse. By James Hay Beattie. To which is prefixed an account of the author's life and character* (Edinburgh, 1794), v-vi.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, vi-vii.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 75.

awareness of the printed work as a manuscript and as the author's relic. The manuscript is left incomplete—we do not know what emendations he would have made—but while it may only partially embody his intentions, the whole is “so animated, so harmonious” that it still may be shown as a demonstration of the author's talents. Of the works specifically listed as fragments in the text, one of them is actually a Latin translation of verses from his father's poem *The Minstrel*, which are printed with the relevant English verses across from them. The footnote explains that “When the Author began to attempt Latin verse, he translated many stanzas of this poem. These two are given as a specimen.”²⁹⁶ Unsurprisingly, too, one of the verses translates Beattie's lines: “Let Vanity adorn the marble tomb, [...] Mine be the breezy hill that skirts the down, / Where a green grassy turf is all I crave, / With here and there a violet bestrewn; / Fast by a brook, or fountain's murmuring wave; / And many an evening sun shine sweetly on my grave.”²⁹⁷ While perhaps Hay Beattie's readers may appreciate his Latinate eloquence, the poem's actual matter also works to sentimentalize or draw attention to the kinds of loss that Beattie himself presumably feels in his son's death, as well as to perform the connection between himself and his son. Even in preparing the text for the 1799 London edition, Beattie publishes this volume along with his poem *The Minstrel*, so that the title page lists the title as *The Minstrel: in two books. With some other poems. By James Beattie, LL.D. To which are now added, Miscellanies. By James Hay Beattie. With an account of his life and character. In two volumes* (1799). While this might be a good sales technique to encourage people to buy his son's poems by pairing it with his most famous work, it also presents and structures his son's poetry as part his authorship, emphasizing his editorial relationship with both man and poetry.

However, to complicate this narrative—that editors of unintentional fragments use editorial strategies and prefatory material to celebrate or glorify the figure of the author that

²⁹⁶ Ibid, 86.

²⁹⁷ Ibid, 87.

the editors themselves create—I want to briefly discuss a fourth unintentional fragment, this one the fragments remaining from the writings of the Stoic philosopher Epictetus, whose writings were translated and prepared for a modern English edition by the poet Elizabeth Carter. The ways in which Carter’s edition hews to and presents a contrast to these other works I think can help clarify what distinguishes the unintentional fragment apart from other kinds—which is not necessarily a focus on the dead author or the lost text, but this preoccupation with the author and his/her literary remains, as well as the editorial effect.

In the case of this particular edition, entitled *All the works of Epictetus, which are now extant; consisting of his discourses, preserved by Arrian, in four books, the Enchiridion, and fragments. Translated from the original Greek, by Elizabeth Carter. With an introduction, and notes, by the translator*, the editor was almost as well-regarded as the author. Elizabeth Carter was already well-known as a classicist by the time this translation was published in 1758;²⁹⁸ she had already published a poetic commentary on Pope’s translations²⁹⁹ and furthermore had had her own poems and essays printed in venues like *The Gentleman’s Magazine* and *The Rambler*. She had established literary friendships with many, including Samuel Johnson, who promoted her works relentlessly. Likewise, her “Ode on Wisdom” had been included without her permission in Samuel Richardson’s *Clarissa* (1747-8), who had later apologized when he discovered it to be her work. This prestige allowed Carter both to publish the work successfully by subscription and explains why such famous publishing figures like Samuel Richardson, Andrew Millar, John Rivington, and the Dodsley brothers, were all involved in its production. Eventually the work was published by subscription and became a great success; later translations were based on her

²⁹⁸ See Judith Hawley, “Carter, Elizabeth (1717–1806),” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, last accessed 14 July 2013, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/4782.

²⁹⁹ Jennifer Wallace, “Confined and Exposed: Elizabeth Carter’s Classical Translations,” *Tulsa Studies in Women’s Literature* 22, no. 2 (Autumn 2003): 315-34.

efforts. I am interested here in how Carter’s reputation as a classicist helps frame the fragments that she here translates and how the prefatory material sets readerly expectations for the texts.

Some of the things that help prepare readerly expectations include the title page, the list of subscribers and the “Ode” that prefaces the edition. The title page’s relative font sizes help prioritize elements of the title: if *All the works of Epictetus, which are now extant; consisting of his discourses, preserved by Arrian, in four books, the Enchiridion, and fragments. Translated from the original Greek, by Elizabeth Carter. With an introduction, and notes, by the translator* summarizes its contents, the font size oddly enough emphasizes completeness for *all* the works.

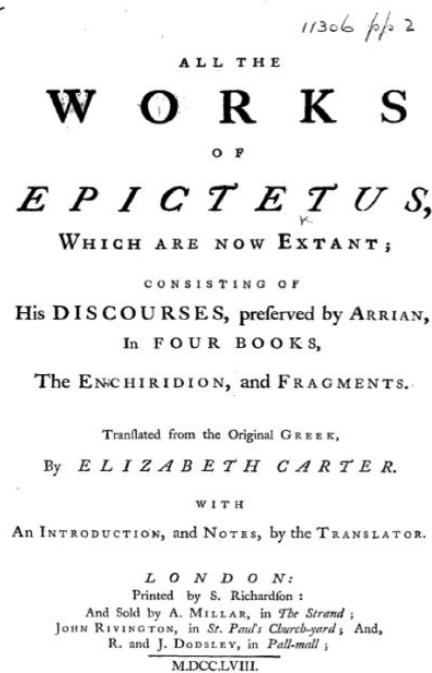


Figure 2.7: Elizabeth Carter, *All the works of Epictetus*. Title Page. 1759.

From Gale. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. © Gale, a part of Cengage Learning, Inc.

Reproduced by permission.

Reconciling the importance of fragments within the work with the claims I make here about the fragment is difficult—and certainly both the font size and the typeface want to create an

imposing edifice for readers to trust in. Yet, if classical editions proliferated during the period, it's this edition's completeness—translating not just the *Enchiridion*, but even the scattered fragments—that made it so appealing to its audience. This is why Carter's name occupies such space on the page and why her name is italicized along with Epictetus's. Her translation efforts and her editorial effects set the edition apart. Her fame as a translator thus adds merit on top of the original fragment text.

The "Ode" which follows the title page also ties Carter's labor to Epictetus's stoicism. Its initial dedication to "E.C., *who had recommended to me the Stoic Philosophy, as productive of Fortitude, and who is going to publish a Translation of EPICTETUS*" connects Epictetus to his translator, as the poem itself positions Carter as an important mediator between the Stoic philosophy and the impressionable reader. The "Ode," written by Carter's friend Hester Mulso Chapone, problematizes the Stoic philosophy in terms of Christian traditions—in other words, as Stoicism recommends detachment, it goes against Christian philosophy. The "Ode" begins as Chapone invites Epictetus to "Arm my Breast / With thy impenetrable Steel, / No more the Wounds of Grief to feel, / No more by others' Woes deprest." Positioning Epictetus as an armor that protects against "Affliction's Dart" and "the Tyrant Pain," which use "flaming Brands" against individuals, at first it suggests that classical wisdom provides relief for modern Englishmen. However, as the second stanza presents pictures of horror and sadness, the verse begins a turn that becomes clear in the third stanza: "No longer let my fleeting Joys depend / On social, or domestic Ties! / Superior let my Spirit rise, / Nor in the gentle Counsels of a Friend, / Nor in the Smiles of Love, expect Delight." In this case, Epictetus as armor begins to show holes—Stoicism is set against community in the form of companionship and fellow-feeling, creating an estranged self. The phrasings themselves like "no longer" and "nor" negatively set the reader against the "social, or domestic Ties." The Stoic self thus is taught "in *myself* to find / Whate'er can please or fill my Mind," and the inward turn represented in

the third verse becomes loss in the fourth: “Oh Man! from conscious Virtue’s Praise / Fall’n, fall’n!—what Refuge can’st thou find!” In other words, the Christian’s problem with Stoicism is that its creed of self-reliance represents a separation from the community and Christ in particular. In this case, to be single, sole, or broken off is to be a lost fragment.

The only saving here involves a transition from “native Earth” to liquid, to flow. As Jesus appears in the poem, angels invite readers to “Behold the Saviour of the World! Behold the Lamb of God! / Ye Sons of Pride, behold his Aspect meek! / The Tear of Pity on his Cheek!” In stanza 6 the Saviour shows his power by making the elements obey him, moving earth so that “[t]he sleeping Clay obeys His dread command.” His “wondr’ous Love” is then represents in the “tears” and “previous Blood” that flow from him. If the Stoic self solidifies like rock, the Christian self flows. It is capable of being whole, whereas the Stoic self is a separate fragment, a problem to be answered by Christ’s love.³⁰⁰ The final stanza’s turn to addressing “ELIZA” turns tribute into critique as, while it praises her for being “By Genius led, by Virtue train’d,” it asks her to “rather guide me to the sacred Source / of real Wisdom, real Force / Thy Life’s unerring Rule!” However, while the Stoic may not be a source of wisdom, Carter’s own dedication to it in her virtuous life makes her able to be the emissary of value from the Stoic classics to Christian England. Epictetus’s message is thus a tragically fragmented one—fragmented because not imbued with Christian wisdom, and Carter’s interpretation, translation, and introduction are the only hopes to produce value from it.

The number of subscribers that Carter had for her translation suggests some agreement with this position. As typical of many subscription lists in the period for major works, this one socially positions its greatest patrons early on as both HRH The Prince and

³⁰⁰ The question of the soul and its embodiment was active throughout the eighteenth century, and explored through theological and poetic works alike. For some history on this, see Raymond Martin and John Barresi, *The Rise and Fall of Soul and Self: An Intellectual History of Personal Identity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006) and Dustin D. Stewart, “Exponential Futures: Whig Poetry and Religious Imagination, 1670-1745” (dissertation, The University of Texas at Austin, 2013).

Princess Dowager of Wales are included in the roster. Others include “His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury,” who purchased two copies, and the Cambridge libraries of Trinity, Benet, Caius, and Jesus Colleges. In part, as much as the work celebrates the celebrity of its author, providing an ode to her up front to help convince readers of Carter’s value, the following subscription list promotes the celebrity of her readers, inviting others to join this august body.

Carter’s fame as editor, like Charles Churchill’s beatified reputation, invites us to consider how critics have discussed eighteenth-century reading practices related to celebrity. Work like David Brewer’s *Afterlife of Character* goes further beyond the celebrity figure to explaining how a culture like celebrity surrounded many popular eighteenth-century literary characters, so that readers began to demonstrate “an array of reading practices [...] by which the characters in broadly successful texts were treated as if they were both fundamentally incomplete and the common property of all. Far from being the final word on the subject, the originary representation of these characters was, for readers engaged in these practices, merely a starting point.”³⁰¹ In other words, eighteenth-century readers enjoyed and engaged with characters in fictitious works and in some cases created “additional performances for some of the most celebrated characters in eighteenth-century British literature” before circulating those performances with other readers.³⁰² Brewer builds on work on eighteenth-century copyright to theorize that “most eighteenth-century readers shared a somewhat inchoate sense that texts were best regarded as a form of property, but not one necessarily subject to strict authorial control.”³⁰³

³⁰¹ David A. Brewer, *Afterlife of Character, 1726-1825* (New York: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 2.

³⁰² *Ibid.*, 1.

³⁰³ *Ibid.*, 23.

There's much about what we've seen from unintentional fragments that holds with Brewer's argument: these texts are all distinctly outside of authorial control, as the author is not at all involved in their publication. As time goes on, we're more likely to see prefatory material that further underlines the distance between the publications and their authors. Yet that isn't the whole story—these texts are still read with authorial intent in mind, and are edited in some way to preserve or reflect that authorial intent. As these unintentional fragments reflect back to their absent authors, they underline the author as a figure even as they signal the limits of authorial control over the text. Readers then are able to read these fragments and reflect on them, but their attentions (as reflected in these contemporary marginalia) seem fixed on the authors themselves.

It's hard to build a firm case for what eighteenth-century readers thought of fragments based on this evidence alone. As scholars like John Brewer and Robert Darnton observe, the kinds of records readers leave behind are slight:

The documents rarely show readers at work, fashioning meaning from texts, and the documents are texts themselves, which also require interpretation. Few of them are rich enough to provide even indirect access to the cognitive and affective elements of reading, and a few exceptional cases may not be enough for one to reconstruct the inner dimensions of that experience.³⁰⁴

Likewise, a selection of volumes from various research libraries cannot represent all of the parts of those volumes. What we can say, perhaps, is that all of these fragments that I've discussed here had some kind of afterlife beyond their initial printing and model some sense of how readers read texts.

³⁰⁴ Robert Darnton, "First Steps Towards a History of Reading," in *The Kiss of Lamourette: Reflections in Cultural History* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1990), 157.

While it's hard to say if the unintentional fragment merely reflects the construction of the author as figure that is solidified by the Romantic period, where the poetic selves of Wordsworth and Byron demand readerly attention, or if the fragment contributed to this change, what we can know is that these texts created interest in readers that were expressed in the comments readers left, the number of copies they purchased, and the literary afterlives of the texts. That these texts are fragments and are described as such is not merely incidental, but in fact central to their construction and the kinds of meanings they hope to create. Unintentional fragments like these constructed the celebrities of their authors as their editors took partial texts, some of which could present problematic meanings, and "corrected" them. In fact, the unintentional fragment offers a unique insight into the problems of authorial intent as voiced in New Criticism's formulation of the "intentional fallacy": we cannot always know what authors meant in writing their works, nor are those meanings necessary or necessarily the most important for readers acting to interpret text. However, the pull towards intentionality is one that seems to have been experienced in part by readers of the past, and presented a problem exercised in all kinds of eighteenth century editorial practice, not just by figures like Beattie, Godwin, or Churchill.³⁰⁵ Likewise, the unintentional fragment involves significantly more attention and analysis than we might assume such works signal. This becomes more evident as we move from considering texts that were left unfinished by choice to those left unfinished by authorial intent.

³⁰⁵ Thus, Alexander Pope can edit Shakespeare to correct his poetic infelicities while still being true to Shakespeare's intentions and Richard Bentley can be more Miltonic than Milton himself.

Chapter Three: Intentional Fragments

Peter Nourse, an eighteenth-century gentleman and minister of Little St. Mary, Cambridge, was very interested in the 1750 reforms of Cambridge University instituted by the newly-appointed Duke of Newcastle and his followers.³⁰⁶ We know this because he served as scrutator at Cambridge in 1751, counting votes in university elections, and also because he owned and bound a series of pamphlets which comment on this controversy.³⁰⁷ Yet more than that, he bound the pamphlets together with three letters he had copied out dating from 1750 and 1751, one of which directly reacts to a pamphlet herein contained: “we have every now and then some sorry imitation of The Fragment which is now said to be wrote by B_k_m of Emanuel.” *A Fragment* indeed has its (un)authorized sequels, and P. Nourse collected them all. Yet why would someone write a fragment to enter into a political controversy? Why should someone else wish to produce “some sorry imitation” of it? But more broadly: why would someone actually intentionally write *A Fragment*?

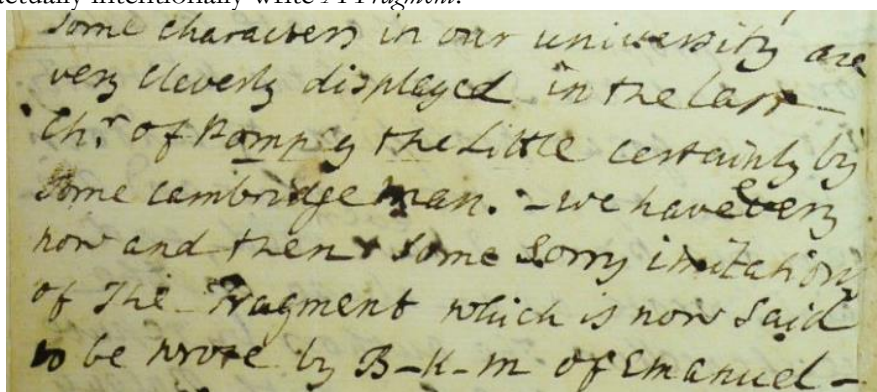


Figure 3.1: Excerpt of letter dated 22 February 1750/1, copied by Peter Nourse.

Image via the Bodleian Library.

³⁰⁶ I have used information from A Cambridge Alumni Database (ACAD), a digital archive which lists alumni from 1200 to 1900. Nourse's dates, his official position, and location in Cambridge make it extremely likely that he would be involved in the events later described.

³⁰⁷ Bodleian Library, shelfmark Gough Camb.47 (1).

This chapter answers this question by broadly surveying the numerous pamphlets, poems, and prose pieces included in the category I here formulate: the intentional fragment. There is some irony in something unfinished being created so intentionally, which the following texts this chapter discusses help capture. The works in the chapter that follows are, unlike those in Chapter 2, not tragically marred by the author's failure to finish—in fact, the intentional fragment's only potential failure lies in its being misunderstood or ignored by its audience.³⁰⁸ Yet again, as we see from these intentional fragments, readers generally knew exactly what authors meant by such fragments, and authors used paratextual and visual strategies—including titles, prefaces, and punctuation—to construct the fragment as a genre. What this chapter argues is that the intentional fragment emerges as a genre distinguished by its textual presentation. Whereas traditional discussions of genre do not take into account the book's physicality, the intentional fragment is defined by its mimesis of textual and thematic fragmentation. The intentional fragment distinguishes itself from its other versions—the unintentional fragment and the complete fragment—as it emphasizes this visual presentation. Intentional fragments embrace also a wider variety of subject matter; many of the works this chapter discusses are political in nature. This chapter focuses so intensely on political fragments because these works have generally not been included in the fragment canon. By expanding that canon, we can read anew more canonical examples like *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman* and better understand how such a novel is enmeshed in fragment forms.

³⁰⁸ Fragment writing, it must be said, is different from literary failure. Adam Rounce's *Fame and Failure 1720-1800: The Unfulfilled Literary Life* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013) points out that failure is individual and unique for each author, but generally defines it as "a cumulative lack of a level of success or recognition in a writer's career, measured in material terms, by the reaction of posterity, or by the author's own sense that they have not received their due" (4-5).

As such, this chapter pushes against assumptions shared by eighteenth-century writers and contemporary eighteenth-century critics about the relationship between form and content.³⁰⁹ In his discussion of late eighteenth-century satires, Thomas Lockwood prefers the terms subject and structure to content and form, using the term structure in “its eighteenth-century sense of ‘design’ or ‘plan’—the meaning Addison has in mind, for instance, when he speaks of *Paradise Lost* as faulty in ‘structure’ because of its having too many digressions.”³¹⁰ He concludes that eighteenth-century critics saw a well-designed work as one in which the subject was related to its structure: “The different parts of a poem will ideally represent the different aspects of its subject [...] This is also why we find Johnson criticizing *The Seasons* (regretfully, it is true) for its ‘want of method,’ since in the case of descriptive poems the writer is not dealing with an abstract subject and therefore has no basis for organizing his poem along systematic conceptual lines.”³¹¹ Eighteenth-century authors frequently used the word “design,” as when Akenside complemented John Gilbert Cooper Jr.’s work: “I think his Design extremely good.”³¹² In defending his 1794-7 “conversation[al]” poem *The Pursuits of Literature*, T.J. Mathias notes that “there is as much method and connection, as is consistent with what I state my plan, or *design*, if you like that word better. There is unity in the design.”³¹³ Yet,

³⁰⁹ This isn’t to oppose an assertion like Patricia Meyer Spacks’s: “That form and content relate closely to one another is hardly a new idea. Their intimate synergy lies at the heart of the novel’s capacity to transmute experience into art” (26). Her basic contention in *Novel Beginnings: Experiments in Eighteenth-Century English Fiction* (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 2006) that “the growth of the novel enacts no teleology, despite retrospective impositions ... only by procrustean stretching and lopping or by draconial elusion can one fit the variety of eighteenth-century fiction under a single rubric. To read and respond individually to a range of novelistic patterns and effects more accurately conveys the appropriate impression of wonderfully productive multiplicity” (23-4).

³¹⁰ Thomas Lockwood, *Post-Augustan Satire: Charles Churchill and Satirical Poetry, 1750-1800* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979), 11.

³¹¹ *Ibid.*, 11.

³¹² Letter from Robert Dodsley to John Gilbert Cooper Jr.; Bodleian Library MS. Eng. Misc. d. 174. [Final letter in volume.]

³¹³ Qtd in Lockwood, 30. A side point here is that this language also seems to privilege formed and structured works. Yet “unformed” works like *Tristram Shandy* were celebrated, and many authors wrote in digressive styles intentionally. It is important to be aware that literary fragments received mixed critical attention, but authors still turn to it for certain purposes.

intentional fragments intend not to be complete, just as James Joyce intends that *Ulysses*'s narrative sprawl reproduces a crowded, confused, or incomprehensible experience of Dublin. This also does not imply that fragment form always expresses confused ideas. Sometimes the form embodies fragmented content, but some fragments are fragmented for satirical effect as much as for expressing anxiety or confusion.³¹⁴

Just as this chapter explores genre through questions of form and content, it argues for a more expansive definition of authorship. The intentional fragment serves as an example for group authorship in the eighteenth century. As the visual presentation marks the intentional fragment, compositors and printers, along with booksellers and authors, construct the object for readers to interpret. Also, as intentional fragments leave their works unresolved, they require readers to authorize their endings. As many intentional fragments have anonymous or pseudonymous authorship, traditional arguments which rely on authorial intent do not work for these texts. Without a letter from the author, or knowledge of who the author is, it's hard to prove that one individual asterisk was intentional and not accidental. Reading multiple fragments against each other makes this question unnecessary. If we can see a trend within the literary scene at large, it makes each individual case less tenuous. Likewise, whether or not an author or a printer or a compositor designed the work, the work was still “authored” in some sense. Eighteenth-century readers also were more familiar with anonymous authorship, as the construct of one central author was largely unfamiliar to eighteenth-century readers and only fits a few limited cases.³¹⁵

³¹⁴ This might be a place where we could reconsider a text based on these readings: if we think of Henry Mackenzie's *Man of Feeling* (1771) as an “incomplete” fragment, we might rethink how earnestly we imagine Mackenzie to be writing Harley.

³¹⁵ Many of the major canonical authors from this period—Alexander Pope, Samuel Richardson, and Jonathan Swift—we have sufficient evidence to know were heavily involved in the publication of their works, and heavily invested in how those works appeared in print. See James McLaverty, *Pope, Print and Meaning* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001) as well as Stephen Karian, *Jonathan Swift in Print and Manuscript* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010) for examples of such work. However, for various reasons these authors are exceptional amongst their contemporaries, and cannot necessarily be held as the exemplars for understanding

This chapter analyzes the intentional fragment's employment from local controversies to imperial dispute. As Swift's *Discourse Concerning the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit* and Henry Stebbing's *A Fragment* and others engage with controversies within a particular university or a particular country, the fragment from the American Revolutionary period exports this mode into other political environments. If, as Jacques Rancière argues, aesthetics carry a political dimension, the intentional fragments cuts across ideology. Its formal capabilities can be employed on various sides of the political spectrum, in part as the intentional fragment veers from the elite classical associations of unintentional fragments to something decidedly more down-market. The intentional fragment offers writers and readers access to major political disputes, hinting at knowledge inaccessible to readers, but sets them as the interpreters of those gaps. Reviewing these fragments shows how writers resorted to the intentional fragment to describe or express all forms of chaotic or unknowable information.

Again, my argument does not design to merely create categories and subcategories of fragments. The intentional fragment is not, like the pastoral or the gothic, a genre defined by its content. Instead, the "intentional fragment as identifiable through a series of particular moves, a kind of work that plays on and off audience comprehension. We can see this in readers' marginalia, as well as paratextual and marking strategies that invite readers to engage with fragments and recognize them as such. When Andrew McDonald introduces his poem *Velina: A Poetical Fragment* in 1782, it's telling that the first sentence addressed to the reader states that "The Poem here offered to the world appears in the form of a FRAGMENT; and that circumstance is not affected."³¹⁶ He would only need to write this if he anticipated his

eighteenth-century authorship. If the concept of the author-as-figure evolves based on developing ideas of intellectual property, works that disclaim authorship or do not announce it stand against this trend. For histories of authorship and copyright, see Jody Greene, *The Trouble with Ownership: Literary Property and Authorial Liability in England, 1660-1730* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005) and Mark Rose, *Authors and Owners: The Invention of Copyright* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993).

³¹⁶ McDonald, 2.

audience *would* read it as “affected,” and if that perception was somehow inimical to his authorial goals.³¹⁷ This sentence seems to suggest that, at least by 1782, eighteenth-century readers were expected to be savvy enough to recognize the fragment as a particular type of writing, bound by certain rules.

Thus, I contend that the intentional fragment as a genre offered writers opportunities for satirical intervention and political debate that allowed not only the sort of disclaimer or distance that anonymous publishing did, but also the ability to experiment generically and visually to make their arguments. However, this sense of the intentional fragment broadened over the century as writers appropriated what was previously a fairly politicized form to create emotional expressions or to portray or duplicate intellectual interiority. This chapter offers several close readings to substantiate these claims from across the century.

This chapter proceeds by first describing the category of the intentional fragment and substantiating it with a discussion of two major canonical works that construct and popularize intentional fragmentation: Jonathan Swift’s *A Discourse Concerning the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit. A Fragment* and Samuel Richardson’s *The History of Clarissa Harlowe*. These canonical works, which differ significantly in content, point to the intentional fragment’s adaptability to political and personal discourse. This chapter then moves to broaden the conversation through two extended close readings of groups of fragment texts around two different political controversies: the Duke of Newcastle’s election as Cambridge University’s Chancellor and the American Revolution. These texts show that the fragment also works at local and international levels of discourse, equally exchangeable within the marketplace. These texts show how the intentional fragment constructs its fragmentariness through visual means and

³¹⁷ What is interesting here is that McDonald goes on to explain that he presents here an excerpt from an uncompleted work: “The Author’s attention being turned to studies of a different complexion, his design fell a sacrifice to Prudence. Something inclined him to save the stanzas that remain. How far he was in the right will now be soon determined” (2). In other words, the work is fragmentary because it is without a proper “design,” but it’s fully and completely published as the author intends.

seeks to historicize the eighteenth-century intentional fragment within its particular socioeconomic circumstances. By carefully mapping local connections within the print marketplace and the political landscape, this chapter suggests that arguments about genre's ideology are best situated within particular circumstances. Finally, this chapter caps off by returning to texts that are more personal to show how the intentional fragment evolves not only into an adaptable form for authors but also an eighteenth-century style.

THE INTENTIONAL FRAGMENT: AN OVERVIEW

The intentional fragment emerges first in 1704 with the publication of Jonathan Swift's *A Discourse Concerning the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit. In a Letter to a Friend. A Fragment*, published as part of *A Tale of a Tub*.³¹⁸ The majority of eighteenth-century literary fragment are intentional fragments. Of the works with "fragment" in the title published around mid-century (1745-1754), 92% are intentional fragments. Still other works may not have "fragment" in the title, but include fragments or are fragments by description, like Laurence Sterne's *Tristram Shandy* (1759-67), his *Sentimental Journey* (1768), and Henry Mackenzie's *Man of Feeling* (1771).³¹⁹ Yet a large majority of such texts are far less famous than these, many of

³¹⁸ While Richard Baxter's *Poetical Fragments* were published in 1681, he presents the works as meant to be finished: "Only had I had time and heart to have finished the first ... I should have published it as the most self-pleasing part of my Writings. But as they were mostly written in various Passions, so Passion hath now thrust them out into the World." He has created them and presents them as fragments self-consciously, but they are not intentionally constructed in the way Swift's are. Swift's fragmentation in *A Tale of a Tub* seems unique and new here. – Baxter makes some interesting comments about how these works are suited for women, which seems to associate fragmentary writing with women. Elizabeth Wanning Harries discusses how this discourse is reproduced in *Clarissa*; a further analysis of the fragment's gendered implications is a worthy separate project from this work.

³¹⁹ There is a long-standing scholarly debate about whether or not Sterne's death in 1768 meant that *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman* was left unfinished. For the two sides of the debate, see Wayne Booth, "Did Sterne Complete Tristram Shandy?" *Modern Philology* 48, no. 3 (1951): 172-83 and Marsha Allentuck, "In Defense of an Unfinished Tristram Shandy: Laurence Sterne and the Non Finito," in *The Winged Skull: Papers from the Laurence Sterne Bicentenary Conference*, ed. Arthur H. Cash and John M. Stedmond (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1971). Where both come together in seeing *Tristram Shandy* as an "incomplete" fragment I think is in agreeing that fragmentation is a significant part of the work's construction, whether or not it comes to a "complete" ending.

which are written and published anonymously.³²⁰ Their content varies widely, from the satirical to the sentimental. There is no consistent length among these works: some are as short as a broadsheet, others as long as a full novel.³²¹ Most of these works, however, are not novels, but are generally either short poetic works or pamphlet-length texts.³²² Commonalities among these works include the use of titles, prefaces, advertisements, and other paratexts to frame the work as fragmentary; graphic design strategies like punctuation, running heads, and textual alignment to print fragmentation on the page; and connections drawn between the text's thematic concerns and its formal fragmentation. From its early appearance in 1704, the intentional fragment intensifies and becomes prevalent during the 1740s. Analyzing the reception and graphic design of these texts helps demonstrate how fragments came to be constructed and consumed.

Swift's *A Tale of a Tub* and *A Discourse Concerning the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit. In a Letter to a Friend. A Fragment* rely on similar strategies for constructing themselves as fragmentary, and both satirize popular religious debates. Yet, to distinguish intentional fragments from other texts, I want to mark the distinctions between these two to explain why one is called a fragment and the other is not.³²³ For one, both works are marked by asterisks which interrupt the narrative and leave sections blank. In the 1704 edition, there's an

³²⁰ Doing these kinds of statistics can be a bit tiresome, but to conduct a small case study, of the 14 unique fragments published between 1745-1755 (and here I mean works that were original to the decade and not reprints of earlier works), 13 are "incomplete" fragments, 12 published anonymously. Of these works, modern scholarship has discovered attributions for only five of the thirteen.

³²¹ To be more precise, longer "incomplete" fragments are relatively rare—Ann Yearsley's *The royal captives: a fragment of secret history. Copied from an old manuscript* (1795) was published in four volumes and is definitely the longest of such works; the majority would roughly be pamphlets between 15-45 pages long, which is not particularly sizeable.

³²² To continue using 1745-1755 as the range, the mean length of the pamphlets is about 57 pages, though the median is significantly lower.

³²³ This is always a point to return to in thinking through my work here: is a fragment simply what is called one? In fact, I'd like to point out that Swift is calling one a fragment probably because it's shorter and the other is a more extended and thus "complete" piece, but without any evidence from Swift, the specific authorial intent is hard to argue.

interesting moment where not only is there textual fraction represented by asterisks. The moment where the text stops goes thus: “The *Ladder* is an adequate Symbol of *Faction* and of *Poetry*, to both of which so noble a Number of Authors are indebted for their Fame. Of *Faction*, because * * * * [etc]”³²⁴ A note in the margin helpfully explains what the asterisks mean: “Hiatus in MS.”

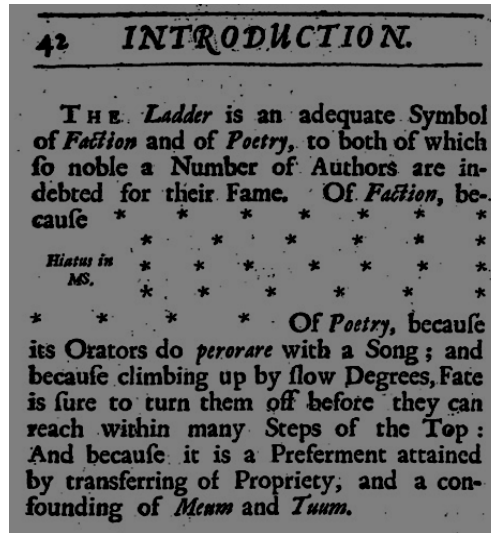


Figure 3.2: Jonathan Swift, *A Tale of a Tub* (1704).

From Gale. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. © Gale, a part of Cengage Learning, Inc.

Reproduced by permission.

Swift here relies on traditional editorial gestures like the sidenote to provide readers not only an indication of what the gesture means, but also highlighting its ridiculousness as the text pretends material was lost. The fifth edition, published in 1710 with “Explanatory Notes,” plays the moment out further as the editor explains the asterisks in a footnote: “Here is pretended a Defect in the Manuscript and this is very frequent with our Author, either when he thinks he cannot say any thing worth Reading, or when he has no mind to enter on the Subject, or when it is a Matter of little Moment, or perhaps to amuse his Reader (whereof he

³²⁴ Swift, *A Tale of a Tub. Written for the Universal Improvement of Mankind. To which is added, An Account of a Battel Between the Antient and Modern Books in St. James's Library*. (London, 1710), 42.

well bear, I kept it by me some Years resolving it should never see the Light. At length, by the Advice and Assistance of a judicious Friend, I retrench'd those Parts that might give most Offence, and have now ventured to publish the Remainder.”³²⁶ In this case, the work is intentionally fragmented, because it might “give most Offence”—yet by removing material, the bookseller here only invites us to imagine the controversial bits back in.

The author makes it through the first section however before the text is interrupted. The author explains some aspects of enthusiasm before getting into the mistaken religious position that God directly intervenes and is concerned with man’s “meanest Concern.”³²⁷ He then promises to “describ[e] and deduc[e] the whole Process of the Operation” before the text breaks off. The 1704 edition also includes the note that “Here the whole Scheme of Spiritual Mechanism was deduced and explained, with an Appearance of great Reading and Observation; but it was thought neither Safe nor Convenient to Print it.”³²⁸

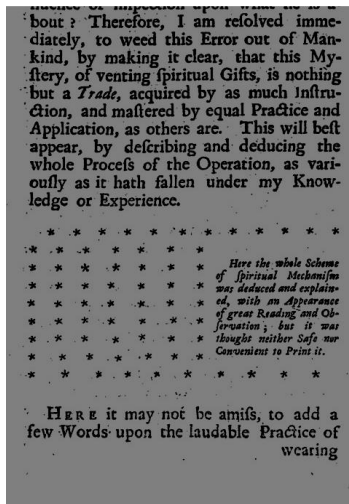


Figure 3.4: Jonathan Swift, *A Tale of a Tub*. (1704).

From Gale. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. © Gale, a part of Cengage Learning, Inc.

Reproduced by permission.

³²⁶ Swift, *A Tale of a Tub* (London, 1704), 281.

³²⁷ *Ibid.*, 302.

³²⁸ *Ibid.*, 303.

This side note validates the value of the content as showing “great Reading and Observation,” but its details are removed insofar as it might not be “Safe” to print. The asterisks’ layout, wrapping around the marginal note, with the space left in the front, leaves the whole resembling a text paragraph. It presents a visual equivalency with the other text—in part because it’s meant to stand in for the missing text, but in part because the joke is that what’s missing is not only not real (there is no editor to cut it), but also not valuable (even if there were text, it wouldn’t be worth reading anyway). Everett Zimmerman connects Swift’s satiric practices to eighteenth-century antiquarianism and the publication of fragments: “Swift’s *Tale of a Tub* mocks the claim that a tattered, fragmented text can be raised to significance by annotation and interpretation.”³²⁹ By adding such marginal comments and visual fragmentation, Swift equally mocks fraudulent religious speculation within *A Discourse* too.

A Discourse also enacts its fragmentariness as it explicitly considers genre as part of its articulation. The anonymous author opens the text by positioning his letter with a larger letter genre: “However, I have been perplexed for some time, to resolve what would be the most proper Form to send it abroad in. To which End, I have three Days been coursing thro’ *Westminster-Hall*, and *St. Paul’s Church-Yard*, and *Fleet-Street*, to peruse *Titles*; and, I do not find any which holds so general a Vogue, as that of, *A Letter to a Friend*.”³³⁰ The author demonstrates his literary savvy through not only his intimate knowledge of London’s bookshops and their locales, but also the gesture which leads him to read “*Titles*” to determine the literary fashion. He does this in part because he intends to “send it abroad” and wants a popular reception for his work—yet, it’s seemingly been denied by the bookseller’s officious editing. One genre (the letter) has been superseded by another (the fragment) as the bookseller challenges the author’s

³²⁹ Zimmerman, “Fragments of History and *The Man of Feeling*: From Richard Bentley to Walter Scott,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 23, no. 3 (1990), 286.

³³⁰ Swift, 283-4.

estimation of the work’s commercial appeal. Yet the writer himself seems to share reservations with his bookseller, as he commands the reader at the close to “*Pray, burn this Letter as soon as it comes to your Hands.*”³³¹ This fragment, unlike the unintentional fragments from Chapter Two, isn’t particularly concerned with its own preservation—in fact, the author here demands its complete erasure in an afterthought, where the italics either mark it as postscript or add force to his words. This may be in part because the author ends “in great haste” and has time to include the postscript that shows he agrees with the bookseller that its contents are too much for anyone beyond this private audience.

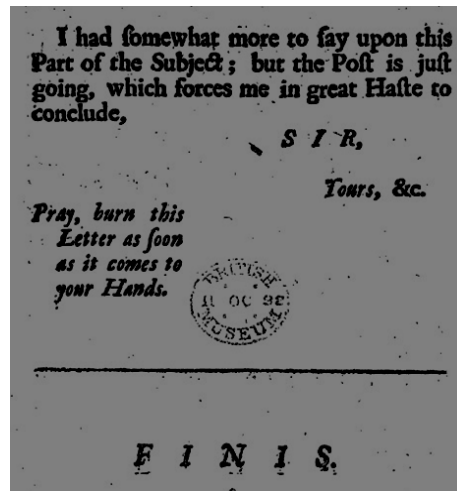


Figure 3.5: Jonathan Swift, *A Tale of a Tub*. (1704).

From Gale. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. © Gale, a part of Cengage Learning, Inc.

Reproduced by permission.

One distinction that cannot be made between *A Tale of a Tub* and *A Discourse Concerning the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit. A Fragment* is its textual presentation. While there are different running titles at the top of the page—“A Tale / of a Tub” and “A Fragment / A Fragment”—the work’s pagination is continuous, indicating that the work was printed and sold as a whole together. Swift’s *Discourse* is of a piece with his *Tale* figurative and literally: they’re both

³³¹ Ibid, 322.

fragments. Both works use similar devices to represent themselves as fragments, and both are fragments written or constructed to be fragments. While Swift's strategy may be new, he uses common punctuation strategies like the asterisk to denote his intentions, and the knowing reader can not only fill in the gaps, but also comprehend the intent. Both texts—*A Tale* and *A Discourse*—can be fragments in the same way, and thus while titling strategies are as useful as they are for *A Discourse's* fictive author, they aren't the whole story.³³² This examination also accounts for Swift's genuine innovation. Reading *A Tale* and *A Discourse* within Swift's larger reputation, especially compared with his later satirical works like *Gulliver's Travels* (1726), Ashley Marshall finds *A Tale* to be a disorganized and inferior work:

That Swift simply failed to control his satiric argument (or effect) is somewhere between a strong possibility and a safe bet. Another explanation might be that the 'strategy of mystification' is a deliberate attempt to unsettle or even unnerve readers. Or perhaps *A Tale* is merely a game played by a technical experimentalist—doubtful, given what we know about Swift, but not unthinkable.³³³

I contend that her last possibility is the true one: Swift engages in generic and graphic experimentation. While playing on the reality of unintentional fragments like those surviving from Greco-Roman sources, as well as print matter's disposability, Swift constructs a new kind

³³² James McLaverty has written on Swift's titles in "Swift and the art of political publication: hints and title pages, 1711-1714," in *Politics and Literature in the Age of Swift: English and Irish Perspectives*, ed. Claude Rawson (New York: Cambridge UP, 2010): 116-39. He examines Swift's political pamphlets from when the Tory government was in power and claims that "Swift's political writing depends for its success on the seizing of a hint: the bringing to bear on politics of some ingenuity of general conception, through the reappropriation of an established genre or sub-genre" (136). McLaverty's readings demonstrate how Swift's careful titling strategies help set up his satires; while I'm dealing with an earlier text here, I want to acknowledge that we should think carefully about how the different titles help enable different textual purposes. Swift's satiric targets in *A Discourse* are more specific, which may be a reason why "A Fragment" is prominently part of its title and not in *A Tale of a Tub*. I agree with McLaverty's argument that essentially we should acknowledge that Swift's titles were carefully chosen, but I'd extend his reading to *A Tale of a Tub* and *A Discourse* to argue that Swift here is using his titles to invite readers to read fragmentation across the work as a whole.

³³³ Ashley Marshall, *The Practice of Satire in England, 1658–1770* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins, 2013), 187.

of form that allows him to criticize religious enthusiasms. He also creates a form that is aware of its position within print culture and which expects its audience to keep up. Swift relies on specific graphic design strategies and a paratextual apparatus to construct a contextual framework for the fragment. Swift here engages with a political discourse, if unsuccessfully, and the fragment form becomes part of his argument.

Other the other hand, Samuel Richardson's *Clarissa Harlowe* incorporates fragments at the text's climax to portray Clarissa's internal anguish after Lovelace drugs and rapes her. In letter XXXVI Lovelace transcribes for his friend Jack Belford some of what Clarissa has written, noting that the scheming maid Dorcas has reported that "what she writes she tears, and throws the paper in fragments under the table."³³⁴ These letters, commonly called the "mad letters," represent her disorder. Letter X is both the most infamous and most striking example for our purposes:

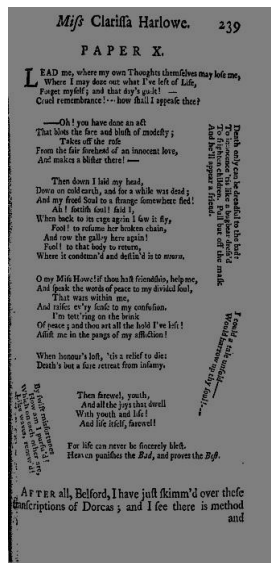


Figure 3.6: Samuel Richardson, *Clarissa, or The History of a Young Lady*. Volume 5. (1748).

From Gale. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. © Gale, a part of Cengage Learning, Inc.

Reproduced by permission.

³³⁴ Samuel Richardson, *Clarissa, or The History of a Young Lady* (London, 1748), 5.233.

Her distress and mental disorder prevent her from properly organizing her thoughts or her page. The different verses Clarissa writes are not organized into a complete poem, but instead are little bits, and some of those unfinished thoughts even further break down. “I could a tale unfold— / Would harrow up thy soull!--” is out of joint with any other part of the page’s text (arranged horizontally or vertically) and the dashes themselves struggle to represent both Clarissa’s painful history and her fractured and fuzzed memory of it. Clarissa attempts multiple rhyme schemes here to figure the best way to form her pain, but ultimately Paper X shows the reader the collapse of Clarissa’s ability to represent her experience. Richardson and his compositor can capture it by manipulating their printing forms to materially show what cannot be fully vocalized.

Yet, *Clarissa*’s readers ably communicated with Richardson on her behalf. Richardson’s correspondence shows that readers not only reacted strongly to Clarissa’s brutalization, but also that the mad letters in particular resonated. Richardson’s literary rival Henry Fielding marvels at Richardson’s literary powers in a letter he sent after reading the fifth volume:

What I shall say of holding up the Licence? I will say a finer Picture was never imagined. He must be a Glorious Painter who can do it justice on Canvas, and a most wretched one indeed who could not do much on such a Subject. The Circumstance of the Fragments is Great and Terrible; but her Letter to Lovelace is beyond any thing I have ever read.³³⁵

Fielding is a careful reader—he picks up on Richardson’s terminology of “fragments” to describe the letters, and uses sublime language of “Great and Terrible” to describe “the circumstance” of them. “Circumstance” implies not only their surroundings and context, but the documents themselves: the tears move Fielding to tears. These kinds of fragment, though

³³⁵ Henry Fielding to Samuel Richardson, dated 15 October 1748, in *The Correspondence of Henry and Sarah Fielding*, ed. Martin C. Battestin and Clive T. Probyn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 70. The letter manuscript is held by Yale University. Thanks to Louise Curran for the reference.

also intentional, vary in tone and temper entirely from Swift's fragment. Yet they provide another strain for development that is copied by later fragment writers, including such varied works as *Fragments: in the manner of Sterne* (1797), John Robinson's *Love Fragments* (1782), and poetic fragments like Alexander Glas's *The River Tay, A Fragment* (1790) and Henry Heath's *The Recluse. A Fragment* (1787). These works show the range of what the intentional fragment can do, and what can make such works engaging for readers. Even as the fragment is not recognized explicitly as a genre, eighteenth-century readers grasp fragments eagerly. To study how the fragment fits within the broader print culture, the following readings detail a local London and Cambridge network of political fragments, their authors, audiences, and booksellers.

A FRAGMENT, A KEY, AND COMMUNITIES OF POLITICAL SATIRE

The previous neglect of the numerous eighteenth-century political pamphlets published as fragments has distorted critical understandings of the intentional fragment. If critics have heretofore emphasized sentimental or "ruined" understandings of the fragment, pamphlets like Henry Stebbing's 1750 *A Fragment* have been left out of that conversation, or at least been read as atypical, if at all. By inverting that emphasis, we can better understand these hackneyed works' originality, as well as the fragment's origins as a genre. This mid-century example, along with its various sequels, typifies not only the various features that make intentional fragments recognizable as such, but also helps demonstrate the intentional aspects. Such works were constructed within a particular print culture that allowed other writers and readers to imitate these generic moves. Read together, we can see that writers and readers alike understood them as a genre. Likewise, we can also consult the particular historicity of the eighteenth-century fragment, as the print culture from which they emerge is separate and different from print cultures in other places and times. As Romantic authors put their own

stamp on the form later on, they are both indebted to and innovating from this earlier tradition. These pamphlets I will discuss below contain significant graphical innovation and frequently involve paratextual materials whose explanatory power misleads the reader to a desired (but superficially denied) result.

Before we can start deciphering the complicated visual grammar of its fragmentary features and their purposes, however, a brief *précis* of *A Fragment's* central narrative can provide a starting point for understanding its work. The “she” in the story’s first sentence turns out to be an Old Gentlewoman who “had fix’d her Affections upon a sprightly volatile Fellow, one *Tom Standish*, who was a Clerk to an old Justice of Peace in the Neighborhood.”³³⁶ In his pursuit of this wealthy woman Standish “communicated his Design to the old Justice, who was very fond of him, and encourag’d him to proceed; and this Encouragement he gave him the more readily because he found his eldest Son had entertain’d some Thought of her, and it was his full Design to dispose of him another Way.”³³⁷ The two decide to marry and have an elaborate wedding, at which the lady “drank herself into a Fever.”³³⁸ This gives Standish, along with her two sons Mun and Tom, reason to declare her sick. Despite her claim that “I have enough in my Family to nurse me, and you know I have an excellent *Book of Receipts* in the House, which, if you will but follow, I shall soon be well again,”³³⁹ Mun and Tom visit London and, with the help of a Dr. Rock, create 20 pills to give to their mother. Their apothecary Dr. Squirt attempts to add another pill, but Tom resents his interference. The Old Gentlewoman tries to resist and asks to see “some more of her Elder Sons” Roger, Richard, and Harry, but Mun and Tom deny her. The pills, instead of curing her, make her sicker. When the other brothers object to the treatment, Mun combines threats and arguments

³³⁶ Stebbing, 1.

³³⁷ *Ibid.*, 2.

³³⁸ *Ibid.*, 4.

³³⁹ *Ibid.*, 6.

to silence them. The tale ends as it begins: a line of asterisks runs horizontally across the page, drawing a line between the narrator's final satirical praise of Mun and the missing what-happened-next.

A Fragment frames itself as fragmentary in various ways. Once the reader moves past the title page, the text begins not with Chapter I, but Chapter IX. The first characters are not words, but asterisks. The first sentence following the asterisks is grammatically complete (“She has a numerous Family of Sons...”), but its subject—”she”—is a pronoun without any clear referent. Who “she” is remains unknown through the first page, especially as no formal introduction or preface exists to provide context. The looming title spells out what readers at a glance can observe: this is a fragment.

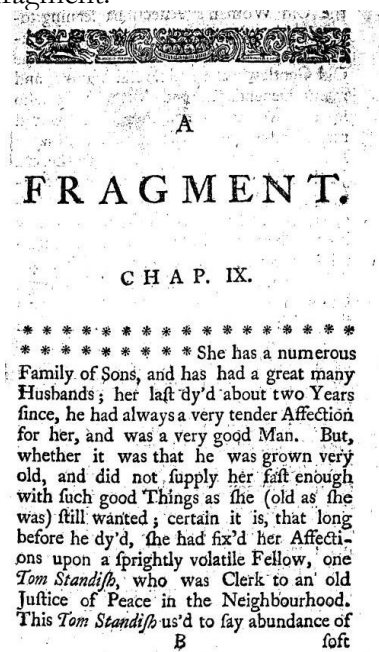


Figure 3.7: Henry Stebbing, *A Fragment* (c. 1750), Second Edition.

From Gale. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. © Gale, a part of Cengage Learning, Inc.

Reproduced by permission.

If the page's visual presentation disrupts comprehension, it also provides the keys to unlock the mystery. While bibliographers like W. W. Greg have dismissed italics as accidentals,³⁴⁰ many eighteenth-century texts used italics to mark quotations or to add stress or emphasis to particular words or concepts.³⁴¹ These italics draw readers' attention to the one proper name on the page: Tom Standish, "who was clerk to an old Justice of the Peace in the Neighbourhood." However, why the compositors italicized "*Standish*" and not "she" is unclear. Examining the asterisks in *A Fragment's* visual grammar help explore the text's intents. Asterisks plural—as Joseph Robertson's 1785 *Essay on Punctuation* explains—"generally denote the omission of some letters in a word, or of some bold or indelicate expression, or some defect in the manuscript."³⁴² Yet these asterisks could signify any of these things. Does the publication begin with Chapter IX because the prior story has been lost, or because its depravity must be covered? Do the asterisks signify the existence of actual missing text, a story Stebbing can't tell, or are they merely an accidental device? And whose story is this, anyway: Tom's or hers? This first page does not provide enough information to decipher the contents or to orient readers within the narrative. While beginning *in medias res* does not make this work a fragment, the accumulated typographic strategies contribute to the text's fragmentariness. The fragments at beginning and end allow Stebbing to bookend the narrative and isolate the

³⁴⁰ Greg separates significant textual features from accidentals in "The Rationale of Copy-Text," *Studies in Bibliography* 3 (1950/1): 19-36, which he defines as: "such in general as spelling, punctuation, word-division, and the like, affecting mainly its formal presentation" (21). As compositors sometimes used italics when they ran out of roman type, Greg's caution is founded. However, other textual evidence indicates that *A Fragment's* compositors used italics strategically. I join here with textual studies scholars like Coleman Hutchison in reclaiming accidentals for literary meaning-making, whether or not the text's features can be attributed to authors, printers, or compositors.

³⁴¹ In an essay on *Clarissa* and marking quotations, Joe Bray quotes Greenwood's *An Essay towards a Practical English Grammar* (1711): "An *Emphasis* is used for the distinction of such Word or Words, wherein the force of the sense doth more peculiarly consist, and is usually expressed by putting such kind of Words into another Character, as the *Italick*, &c." (242). See Bray, "Embedded Quotations in Eighteenth-Century Fiction: Journalism and the Early Novel," *Journal of Literary Semantics* 31, no. 1 (2002): 61-75.

³⁴² Joseph Robertson, *An Essay on Punctuation* (London, 1785), 143. He does not specifically connect the asterisks to the ellipsis, though the descriptions are similar: "Ellipsis is used, when some letters in a word, or some words in a verse, are omitted" (146).

parts of the story he wants to tell, but he also uses asterisks in two other places to signal textual rupture. In order to understand their significance, I will here offer close readings to consider how the text is constituted as *A Fragment*.

The two places where asterisks appear within the text occur within a page of each other as *Tom* and *Mun* travel to London to obtain the old Gentlewoman's pills. As Tom congratulates himself on successfully arranging the marriage between Standish and their mother, Mun suggests that perhaps all of the brothers helped. Tom corrects this view thus:

| | |
|---|--|
| <p>“ Why to be sure, says <i>Mun</i> it was very lucky for you, that this Wedding hap- pen'd whilst you was what we call Go- vernour of the House, as it gave you an Opportunity of shewing your <i>Agility</i> in conducting the Entertainment, and of expressing your Importance among us so loudly and so strongly as you did; but as to making up the Match, that was agreeable to us all, and we all concurr'd in it: I don't say this to diminish your Merit in the Affair; but only to hint, that as I hope to share in the Fruits of the Match, so I would share in the Merit of bringing it about.</p> <p><i>Tom</i> was going to bounce upon this; but as they were stopping to bait, he contented himself with telling <i>Mun</i>, “ He knew nothing of the Matter, I can assure you, Sir, adds he, there was more Difficulty lay in the Way of that important Event than I shall acquaint you with,—<i>Things</i></p> | <p>“ <i>are very far from being right at Home, I can tell you</i>” * * * * *</p> <p>Upon resuming their Journey, <i>Mun</i> began, “ You, was saying, Brother <i>Tom</i>, before we stopt that Things are very far from being right at Home.— I affirm it, replies <i>Tom</i>, and will maintain it. There are turbulent factious Spirits among us, who want strict Government over them, and yet, which is an Absurdity, we have not sufficient Power to hold that Curb upon them which we would have. The old Gentlewoman ap- points one of us, who sit at the Head of the Table to govern the rest. Now she has a Maggot of suffering each of us to continue this Office but a Year; so that a Man is turn'd down from his Authority just as he begins to know how to make the most Use of it. Besides we can order nothing</p> |
|---|--|

Figure 3.8: Henry Stebbing, *A Fragment* (c. 1750), Second Edition. 9-10.

From Gale. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. © Gale, a part of Cengage Learning, Inc.

Reproduced by permission.

While the asterisks interrupt the text, nothing seems to be missing: while Tom is cut off mid-sentence, Mun reminds Tom where he left off and Tom expands on his point: while the two of them have been empowered by the old Gentlewoman to govern their Home, including their factious brethren, their rule only extends for a year. The old Gentlewoman's “Maggot” unnecessarily limits their power, in his view. These asterisks thus signal less a rip in the manuscript and more a smoke break. As the two men stop to refresh their horses on a long

drive, the text yields too. The asterisks thus function as a visual joke, punctuating the pause for comic effect, to underline and satirize Tom's perspective. The italicized phrase, re-emphasized when Mun repeats it, suggests real danger, but his complaint about limited power shows his greed and makes the charge an "absurdity."

However, the fragmentation also develops the narrative. While Mun hints his desire to "share in the Merit," Tom prepares to "bounce" or attack him. Only the recognition that they're arriving at a public inn prevents him from doing this. Thus, the italicized phrase and following asterisks hint at more meaning than can be given at that particular moment. As Tom and Mun's conversation pauses, readers must momentarily suspend their own search for meaning. Yet, because they are part of the select audience that hears Tom's rationale, the readers become party to the plot. In part, the fragment breaks up private and public speech acts, and separates what Stebbing knows from what he supposes of Tom's motives.³⁴³ Fragmentariness here stands in for both missing text and missing knowledge.

The following page contains other kinds of fragmentariness as the story continues:

³⁴³ While it might seem mysterious to imagine an author might not know his character's motives, in this case it makes sense as Stebbing's tale is an allegory for a current political situation; the allegory's particulars will be further outlined later in the introduction.

of self-conscious narration that shows up in *Tom Jones*.³⁴⁴ In other words, while the asterisks do serve a mimetic function, they do not here reference a missing manuscript. Instead, they represent missing time within the story. Fragmentariness here differs from traditions of the found manuscript prevalent in the period in that this fragment has its own complete and coherent visual structure.

However, the asterisks function differently within the text and at its edges. As the pamphlet ends, the narrator delivers an encomium to Mun:

Throat. It must be owned upon the Whole, that tho' he shewed a Want of Sense in the Choice of his Medicine, he shewed his Skill in administering it; and that as he prescribed it in Opposition to all good Judgment, so he administered it in Opposition to the Consent of his Patient. In this too he shewed his Profession. Regular Physicians will forbear a Medicine that suits not the Constitution of their Patient; but Quacks will repeat their Doses, and so long as they can get their Stuff, well paid for, they care not what becomes of them who swallow it. * * * * *

Figure 3.10: Henry Stebbing, *A Fragment* (c. 1750), Second Edition. 28.

From Gale. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. © Gale, a part of Cengage Learning, Inc.

Reproduced by permission.

Like on the first page, a line of asterisks connects the text to the page's margin. The story draws to a partial conclusion, but what happens after they decide to force the old Gentlewoman to consume the pills is left untold. The asterisks replace narrative closure, leaving space open for the reader's input. However, certain speculations are also cut off, as the language and italics undermine and ironize what at first glance might seem like grudging praise. The sentence's structure sets Mun's "Want of Sense" against "his Skill in administering," both

³⁴⁴ Here I'm thinking of the self-conscious moments when the author-narrator speaks to the readers, like when he announces that "I intend to digress, through this whole history, as often as I see occasion" (1.ii). While the comparison is not exact, Fielding's novel, published the year before *A Fragment*, displays a similar winking spirit with the reader. Both texts rely on a readership aware of narrative and genre conventions, and a reader who can decipher and find humor in how each author manipulates those conventions.

of which carry negative connotations. As the italics draw attention to his “*Profession*,” the surrounding context signals that the intended sense is not honorable belief, but dishonest toadying. He is not a physician, but a quack. The italics also pun on profession in the sense of professing—he may be a professor, but not an honest or good one.³⁴⁵ What makes this fragmentary is not that the meaning is unclear, but that the text includes a visual grammar that teases the reader with possibilities, some of which may be unknown or unavailable even to the author.

In other words, if we as critics generally think of fragmentariness as the visual expression of incomplete material, Stebbing’s *Fragment* doesn’t quite fit the definition. Readers comprehend a complete narrative, but what is left fragmented are possible outside significances, undisclosed moments, ironies and jokes. In fact, the fragmentation is not outside the text, but central to its construction and meaning. This leaves the text’s content and form in some tension. The text describes the situation of a fractious and divided family and mimics it with fragmented text, but what fragmentariness is here is not always about absent knowledge. Provisional or incomplete text is *sometimes* expressed through visual devices of fragmentation, but *A Fragment*’s fragmentariness also exists within temporal structures and even at the level of the author’s own knowledge. More is at play here than just absent text, as a further discussion of other fragments related to *A Fragment* will show. To avoid excessive repetition, I will select and analyze several important moments of fragmentation from *Another Fragment* (1750?) and *The Fragment* (1750) to demonstrate how fragmentation appears across a variety of texts, as well as what different kinds of fragmentation are possible within eighteenth-century literary works. While both *Another Fragment* and *The Fragment* pick up where *A Fragment* left off,

³⁴⁵ As the text allegorizes a situation at Cambridge University, Mun’s profession is one of professing—his real-life identity is as a professor there.

the ways in which they construct themselves as fragmentary loosely align with *A Fragment*, but sometimes create different interpretive possibilities.

Another Fragment uses its title page design to emphasize the text’s fragmentariness. While the text uses the same typeface for the title and the text when the title appears on the first page, the title page separates the title’s constituent parts graphically:



Figure 3.11: Upper section of the title page from *Another Fragment* (1750?).

From Gale. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. © Gale, a part of Cengage Learning, Inc.

Reproduced by permission.

Here, in other words, the compositors set the title so that the word “Fragment” is in a blackletter or Gothic script and “Another” in Roman capitals.³⁴⁶ While the typeface choice might be mere accident—if, say, the printer ran out of Roman type—critics like Lisa Maruca have claimed that Gothic type was used for particular types of emphasis, as when Roger L’Estrange employed it “to emphasize authoritatively the legalistic elements of his text.”³⁴⁷ Further, Joseph Dane points out that the eighteenth century overall saw the gradual disuse of Gothic typeface, so its appearance in a mid-century text is noteworthy.³⁴⁸ What significance,

³⁴⁶ Nicholas Barker has written on the role of Gothic script in his essay “Typography and the Meaning of Words: The Revolution in the Layout of Books in the Eighteenth Century,” in *The Book and the Book Trade in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Giles Barber and Bernhard Fabian (Hamburg: Hauswedell, 1981), specifically about its appearances on the title page of Edward Young’s 1742-5 *Night-Thoughts*.

³⁴⁷ Lisa Maruca, *The Work of Print: Authorship and the English Text Trades, 1660-1760* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007), 98.

³⁴⁸ Joseph Dane, *Out of Sorts: On Typography and Print Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2010), 86. Dane’s work “consider[s] how material bibliographical evidence is deployed in support of [the terms “the Gothic and “the Gothic”], and whether it is possible, or advisable, to raise to the level of a text’s meaning

then, does the blackletter lend “fragment”? It does separate it as a special category within the title, perhaps hinting at its connection to Stebbing’s previous *Fragment*, but it also seems to brand *Another Fragment* as an antique text. This reading is supported by the Editor’s preface, which describes the following as a “learned, elaborate, curious and antient Fragment [...] communicated to me by a celebrated Gomerian, Professor of the University of Combrigue.”³⁴⁹ The descriptor “antient” specifically suggest age and the reference to a “celebrated Gomerian” associates the text not only with the Welsh but also antiquarian traditions that trace the Welsh back to the Biblical Gomer.³⁵⁰ *Another Fragment* thus is a particular historic curio as well as literary remnant.

However, both *Another Fragment* and *The Fragment* use asterisks to mark the texts as incomplete and to signal continuity with *A Fragment*. Both begin with lines of asterisks to show that they follow from *A Fragment*; *The Fragment* even includes a “Chapter XII” heading to more directly connect with the previous text. If *A Fragment* leaves off describing the process of deciding to administer the pills, *Another Fragment* uses its initial asterisks to bridge the brief gap:

those bibliographical and material features of the book (its format, layout, and typography) that until the late twentieth century were considered extratextual” (72-3). While here I cite Dane to argue against his premise, my analysis here hopefully points out evidence that printers in fact used accidentals and other formal practices of textual presentation in concert with textual content to create meaning

³⁴⁹ *Another Fragment*, iii.

³⁵⁰ This association goes back to the sixteenth century, but was maintained in the eighteenth century by the antiquarian Theophilus Evans.

* * * * *
 * * * * *
 * * * * * No sooner had the poor old
 Gentlewoman swallow'd the Pills, which she
 had before vomited up, but she began to keck
 and strain most violently; it was, however,
 now impossible to discharge them the same
 Way again; *Tom* and *Mum* having taken such
 effectual Means to make them stay within her.

Figure 3.12: *Another Fragment* (1750?), 1.

From Gale. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. © Gale, a part of Cengage Learning, Inc.

Reproduced by permission.

While readers do not witness the moment in which the old Gentlewoman takes the pills, the story resumes not long after. This pamphlet would make little sense without *A Fragment* as context, but the title and asterisks together provide clues for the knowledgeable audience. Within the text, each also uses asterisks to show jumps in the story, places where the dotted line demonstrates important cuts across continuity:

ever, whenever he catch'd them, he *down'd*
 with their *Apple Carts*, and made them smart
 for it.

C H A P. XII.

* * * * *
 * * * * * Now, out of the great
 Number of Children in this Family, there were

Figure 3.13: *Another Fragment* (1750?), 4.

From Gale. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. © Gale, a part of Cengage Learning, Inc.

Reproduced by permission.

Asterisks here even take the place of paragraph indentation and force the text to start mid-line as well as mid-paragraph. As in the earlier *Fragment*, visual devices serve to replace missing text, representing its absence. This gesture can be more literalizing, as here, or more

metaphorical, as at the text's open. In other words, sometimes the idea of absent text serves as a narrative trope, like *in medias res*, and sometimes it physicalizes the document.

This fragmentation, however, can playfully point at the text's fictionality. Instead of trying to faithfully mimic or visualize absent text or slips of paper, the gaps serve as jokes. An example of this can be seen in the jump between Chapters XII and XIII:

They had said thus much, when they ar-
riv'd at Home, where * * * * *
* * * &c.
* * * &c.
* * * &c.
* * * &c.

C H A P. XIII.

THE Outcry and Disturbance in the
House, made by the Children of *La-*

Figure 3.14: *Another Fragment* (1750?), 13.

From Gale. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. © Gale, a part of Cengage Learning, Inc.

Reproduced by permission.

Again, these asterisks allow for a jump between action, but the *&c.* does not directly stand in for absent text. In fact, the *&c.*s simultaneously depend on readers understanding how the asterisks function as a trope within the text and how this usage here satirizes them. In other words, the text doesn't need all the asterisks because readers know the text is fragmented without the characters being physically present. The compositors might have set it thus because they ran out of asterisks, but its effects pun on the idea of direct representation itself. However, they also double for the missing action. As Mun and Tom arrive home again, the next chapter picks up with "the Outcry and Disturbance in the House." The asterisks signal not just a porous text but also verbal or physical shots fired in the disturbance. Oddly enough,

fragmentation here is doubly punning—it both winks at the idea of direct textual representation and playfully employs it through graphic devices.

The Fragment further complicates this gesture as in one moment the text’s complicated visual grammar represents several types of fragmentation simultaneously. At this moment in The Fragment, the old Gentlewoman’s bowels have swollen, and she’s miserably sick. She then complains generally about her plight, specifically about her sons Mun and Tom:

Friends who *flood by her*, when full of the
Sente of her Wrongs, to utter the following
Complaints, in a prophetic Tone, which,
like that of an ancient *Priestess of Apollo*
full of the Delphic God, seemed to issue from
her *Belly*, and was interrupted by many wild
Starts, heartfelt Sighs, and deep Groans.

“ O! my Sons *Mun and Tom*, How have
“ I offended, to deserve to be used in this
“ severe Manner? * * * * *
“ * * * * * Sure your
“ eldest Brother should have been consulted
“ on this critical Occasion, who knows
“ more of my *Constitution* than all of you
“ put together! * * * * *
“ * * * * *

“ Why did the *Prig* call him not long ago a
“ *peevish old Gentleman*?---Ha! I have it.
“ -----It is because he is *honest*.-----He
“ dares to call a *Spade* a Spade.

“ *Et Rolet un Fripon*-----I too am
“ Truth-----He has a hundred Times more
“ Learning and Understanding than that
“ Back-Biter, who would have fawned on
“ him like a Spaniel, if he had been present.
“ * * * * * Alafs! my *Body*, my *Body*!
“ my *Head* aches ready to *split*, and I am
“ sick at Heart. * * * * *
“ * * * * * Ah! my

“ dearest Mr. *Standish*, What is become of
“ you? -----Sure, after so many Professions
“ of *Love* and *Friendship*, the *Honey Moon* is
“ not yet over. * * * * *
“ * * * * *

“ Have I made my Will, and consigned
“ over the younger Branches of my Family
“ to my *Sister*? It should be done, because
“ of the great Divisions in my Family, for
“ it is certain, *That a House divided against*
“ *itself cannot stand*, * * * * *
“ * * * * *

“ I think my *Dissolution* draweth near,
“ * * * * *
“ * * * * *

It is with the utmost Regret, gentle Reader,
I am deprived of the Pleasure of ob-
liging you with more of the inestimable Or-
acles uttered on this Occasion, for the ori-
ginal Manuscript was *so very tender* in this
Part, that no sooner was the Drawer opened
which contained it, but the fluttering Rags,
precious as the *Sybil’s Leaves*, and ah! too
like in their unhappy Fate! were half dis-
persed in Air, and left a horrid Chasm,
much easier to be lamented than supplied.

Figure 3.15: *The Fragment. Ch. XII. (1750?)*, 12-13.

From Gale. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. © Gale, a part of Cengage Learning, Inc.

Reproduced by permission.

The text informs the reader before the speech begins that it “was interrupted by many wild Starts, heartfelt Sighs, and deep Groans,” but what is interesting is that the speech contains two different kinds of marks that might stand in for these noises and gestures: the asterisks and the dashes.³⁵¹ However, what makes these marks different? Anne Henry’s research on the

³⁵¹ *The Fragment*, 12.

ellipsis points out that several different kinds of marks—including dots, dashes, and hyphens—represent this grammatical concept.³⁵² Henry defines the ellipsis’ three different uses thus: one, to “capture, as in dramatic texts, the vagaries of the spoken word,”³⁵³ two, to “mark all texts that were ‘wanting, defective, or immodest,’”³⁵⁴ and three, to generally signal absence that contains “the potential to be filled in.”³⁵⁵ What Henry does not explain is how these different marks might signal different purposes within a particular text’s grammar.³⁵⁶ In fact, I would suggest that the various dashes here in fact mark the “wild Starts” and the asterisks, which might elsewhere represent absent text, stand in for the “heartfelt Sighs and deep Groans.”³⁵⁷ The passage where the old Gentlewoman, for example, asks “Why did the *Prig* call him not along ago a *peevish old Gentleman*?----Ha, I have it-----It is because he is honest.-----He dares to call a *Spade* a Spade” shows dashes that contain the old Gentlewoman’s cognitive processes. As her body is disturbed, so is her mind, and she must work to put together her sons’ various motives to understand what is going on. A pause that asterisks cover—like “O! my sons *Mun* and *Tom*, How have I offended, to deserve to be used in this severe Manner? * * * * *”—in fact allows the space for groans and sighs. After delivering this lament to her absent children, which is set off by the exclamatory “O!” and the rhetorical question, the text leaves a space for her motherly misery. The asterisks’ shape might mimic tears falling from her eyes.

³⁵² Anne Henry, “The Re-markable Rise of ‘...’: Reading Ellipsis Marks in Literary Texts” in *Ma(r)king the Text: The Presentation of Meaning on the Literary Page*, ed. Joe Bray, Miriam Handley, and Anne C. Henry (Burlington: Ashgate, 2000).

³⁵³ *Ibid.*, 127.

³⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 130.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 128.

³⁵⁶ Henry’s essay covers such a wide historical expanse (from medieval times to the Victorian era) that she is unable to read the mark specifically within any single period, let alone within genres or particular texts. My dissertation project will help expand on Henry’s work by doing close readings of elliptical markings within particular fragments.

³⁵⁷ To clarify, “wild Starts” here does not refer to sudden beginnings—rather, it refers to “sudden fits” or “vehement interruptions” as defined by Johnson’s *Dictionary*.

However, these marks do not merely stand in for the old Gentlewoman's emotional gestures. In fact, the text works to re-embed them within the physical document. After the speech ends, the unnamed editor informs readers that "I am deprived of the Pleasure of obliging you with more of the inestimable Oracles uttered on this Occasion, for the original Manuscript was so very tender in this Part, that no sooner was the Drawer opened which contained it, but the fluttering Rags [...] were half dispersed in Air, and left a horrid Chasm, much easier to be lamented than supplied." Tender here carries double signification, implying that the "original Manuscript" is as soft and delicate as the emotions it contains. Its moment of discovery is described, and the manuscript is reduced to "rags" as the literal fragments of the old Gentlewoman's speech become dust. Thus, the asterisks might also stand in for the parts of the speech that can be lamented but not supplied. Fragmentation here subsists not only on multiple markings but serves multiple purposes.

However, the fragment's strategies cannot be understood without a broader discussion of the historical contexts surrounding them. These fragments all respond to a particular set of events spanning 1749-1750, and Stebbing and his followers employ the fragment form to attract and trouble their readers' interpretive efforts, using the incomplete form to point at the real-life figures behind the characters in his story. How these various writers embedded their reactions to the controversy within fragmentary form can only be understood after the historical particulars have been related.

To begin explaining this historical controversy, I here start with this story's major player: Thomas Pelham-Holles, the duke of Newcastle upon Tyne. Newcastle was a principle figure on the eighteenth-century political scene. While Newcastle was not to become First Lord of the Treasury until 1754—several years after *A Fragment's* publication—he had served in government since 1714 when George I appointed him lord lieutenant of Middlesex and

Nottinghamshire.³⁵⁸ He acted as Secretary of State for both Sir Robert Walpole and his younger brother Henry Pelham, helping create and conduct foreign policy.³⁵⁹ As Prime Minister, he conducted the Seven Years War with William Pitt the Elder as his Paymaster General and Fox as his Secretary of War until the scandal surrounding Admiral Byng's failure at Minorca forced him from office.³⁶⁰ In 1750, his most recent achievement was negotiating the 1748 Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle which ended the War of the Austrian Succession.³⁶¹

Reactions both to Newcastle's person and his policies have been and are decidedly mixed. The historian Basil Williams savaged him thus: "Newcastle, an essentially weak man, without clear conceptions of his own, resented any signs of superiority in colleagues abler and clearer in purpose than himself. Unable to dominate by force of character, he would undermine such rivals by secret intrigue until finally he was left with docile nonentities content to bow down to him."³⁶² W. A. Speck's suggestion that popular opinions of Newcastle should "be balanced with an appraisal of the fact that he held high office for nearly fifty years, since nobody who did so could be totally incompetent, even in the eighteenth century" is damning in its faint praise.³⁶³ Yet these historians' opinions are far less biting than those of Newcastle's contemporaries. According to Herbert Atherton,

George II complained that Newcastle "was unfit to be Chamberlain to the smallest court in Germany." Horace Walpole, the first maker of Newcastle's

³⁵⁸ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. "Hollis, Thomas Pelham-, duke of Newcastle upon Tyne and first duke of Newcastle under Lyme (1693–1768)," by Reed Browning, accessed 11 November 2011, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21801>.

³⁵⁹ To be precise, he served as Secretary of State for the Southern Department from 1724-1748 and Secretary of State for the Northern Department from 1748-1754, at which point in time he became Prime Minister.

³⁶⁰ John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money, and the English State, 1688-1783* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990) overviews military and diplomatic policy during this period and their relations with commercial enterprise; more specific discussions of the Seven Years War can be found in Franz A. Szabo, *The Seven Years War in Europe: 1756-1763* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2007).

³⁶¹ See W. A. Speck, *Stability and Strife: England, 1714-1760* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1977), 252-3.

³⁶² See Basil Williams, *The Whig Supremacy 1714-1760*, 2nd ed, Revised C. H. Stuart (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), 341.

³⁶³ See Speck, 258.

unsalubrious reputation, had nothing but contempt and aversion for the man: “he was a Secretary of State without intelligence, a Duke without money, a man of infinite intrigue, without secrecy or policy, and a Minister despised and hated by his master, by all parties and Ministers, without being turned out by any!”³⁶⁴

While Walpole was biased—he attributed his father’s fall to the machinations of Newcastle and the Earl of Hardwicke in his *Memoirs*—Newcastle’s long-standing power made him the object for satirical attack both in literary and visual media. Smollett memorably mocked him in *Humphry Clinker* and he appeared in prints repeatedly from the 1740s onward, in which “[t]he caricatures correspond, albeit with exaggeration, to the best of the supposed likenesses and they are far more revealing than most of the portraiture. The character and the personality which graphic satire elicits coincide with the gist of contemporary opinion. The prints in a variety of ways express his failings of character: his stupidity and ignorance; his vanity.”³⁶⁵ Newcastle’s reputation in the 1740s and 1750s thus was not an enviable one: his success in office was seen as the result of corruption, not ability.

While Newcastle’s tendency to involve himself in every “sphere of activity”³⁶⁶ provided print-makers ample fodder for satire, apparently they paid “little attention to his labours as an ‘ecclesiastical minister.’”³⁶⁷ This is remarkable if only because much of his influence eventually derived from his involvement in church matters.³⁶⁸ Sir Robert Walpole “handed over the ecclesiastical patronage to Newcastle” in 1736. Apparently Newcastle

³⁶⁴ Herbert M. Atherton, *Political Prints in the Age of Hogarth: A Study of the Ideographic Representation of Politics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), 231.

³⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 242.

³⁶⁶ Steck, 258.

³⁶⁷ Atherton, 243.

³⁶⁸ The classic piece on this subject is Norman Sykes’ “The Duke of Newcastle as Ecclesiastical Minister,” *English Historical Review* 62 (January 1942): 59-84.

“found the business so congenial that he kept control of it for nearly thirty years: in fact when he died in 1768 there were few bishops on the bench who did not own acknowledgement to him as their maker; fewer still who had not been promoted largely for their staunch whig principles.”³⁶⁹ While here Williams is describing Newcastle’s parliamentary power, this also extended into Cambridge University whose ranks, like Oxford’s, were largely populated by clergyman during the eighteenth century.

Newcastle served as high steward of Cambridge from 1737 up until he was elected chancellor in 1749.³⁷⁰ According to historian John Gascoigne, “Traditionally, the high steward had played only a minor role in university affairs but since [the duke of] Somerset, the chancellor, had been largely a political nonentity since 1716 Newcastle became the natural focus for university intrigue and place-hunting—especially since the duke had made ecclesiastical affairs his special concern.”³⁷¹ While Charles Seymour, fifth Duke of Somerset did not pass away until December 2, 1748, Horace Walpole’s 11 August 1748 letter to George Montagu shows Newcastle already angling to take the ailing Somerset’s place:

Since the Duke of N. went, and upon the news of the Duke of Somerset’s illness, he has transmitted his commands through the King, and by him through the Bedford to the University of Cambridge to forbid their electing anybody—but the most ridiculous person they could elect—his Grace of Newcastle. The Prince hearing this, has wrote to them, that having heard of his Majesty’s commands, he should by no means oppose them. This is sensible; but how do the two secretaries answer such a violent act of authority? Nolkejumskoi [the Duke of Cumberland, the King’s younger son] has let down

³⁶⁹ Williams, 77.

³⁷⁰ John Gascoigne, *Cambridge in the age of the Enlightenment: Science, religion, and politics from the Restoration to the French Revolution* (New York: Cambridge UP, 1989), 91.

³⁷¹ *Ibid*, 109.

his dignity and his discipline, and invites continually all officers that are members of Parliament.³⁷²

What Walpole here explains to his correspondent are the circumstances surrounding Newcastle's election as chancellor. Before Somerset's death, both Newcastle and Frederick, Prince of Wales campaigned for the position amongst the Cambridge dons. However, as George II and his son were frequently at odds, the King publicly preferred his trusted Whig minister in the position over his rebellious (and oft-Tory-aligned) son, and relied on the Duke of Bedford to make his desires known to the university. Walpole's long-standing dislike for Newcastle motivates the description of him as "the most ridiculous person they could elect," but the contest was not merely decided from on high. As John Gascoigne notes, Cambridge had already gained a reputation as a Whig stronghold. Newcastle's previous alliances, plus copious patronage, helped him secure the contest, though apparently he "created divisions within Cambridge between those who benefitted from his largesse and those who were turned empty away."³⁷³ Those tensions would reemerge after his election when he began to exert his authority over the university.

Newcastle's election, though universal, was not without controversy.³⁷⁴ Walpole's mocking account of the actual ceremony in a 25 June 1749 letter suggests that others shared his dissent:

Monday next, are the banquets at Cambridge, for the instalment of the Duke of Newcastle as Chancellor. The whole world goes to it: he has invited, summoned, pressed the entire body of nobility and gentry from all parts of England. [...] How miserably Horace's unde et quo Catus will be hacked

³⁷² Horace Walpole, *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, ed. W. S. Lewis (New Haven: Yale UP, 1960), 2.332.

³⁷³ Gascoigne, 105.

³⁷⁴ As Gascoigne notes, the few Tories at Cambridge abstained from voting (106).

about in clumsy quotations! I have seen some that will be very unwilling performers at the creation of this ridiculous Mamamouchi.³⁷⁵

Walpole's linguistic movement from "invited" to "summoned" and then to "pressed" builds an increased sense of Newcastle's force. The reference to Mamamouchi, first coined in Molière's *Bourgeois Gentilhomme* as a fake title for the play's ignorant eponymous character, suggests that Walpole finds Newcastle as ridiculous as a fake Turkish title, as well as foreign and possibly barbarous. While there are no similar Orientalist references in *A Fragment*, both the pamphlet and Walpole's letter fit within a larger web of political satire directed at Newcastle. Walpole's letters also note the publication of a satirical pamphlet by Lord Egmont against Newcastle and his brother Henry Pelham several months before Newcastle's formal installation.³⁷⁶ While Egmont's pamphlet directs its ire against the Pelham's foreign policy,³⁷⁷ *A Fragment* and its sequels attacked specific policy initiatives.³⁷⁸

After Newcastle assumed the chancellorship, he worked with several masters of the various colleges at Cambridge to pass new regulations for student behavior. As Oxford was suspected of harboring Jacobite sympathies, Newcastle wanted to avoid parliamentary inquiries.³⁷⁹ The November 1750 issue of the *Monthly Review* notes the publication of a pamphlet *The Academic: Or, a Disputation on the State of the University of Cambridge, and the Propriety*

³⁷⁵ Walpole, Letter 295, to Horace Mann, 20.71.

³⁷⁶ Ibid, Letter 289, to Horace Mann, 20.31-2.

³⁷⁷ The pamphlet's full title is *An Examination of the Principles, and an Enquiry into the Conduct, of the Two B*****rs; In Regard to The Establishment of their Power, and their Prosecution of the War, until the Signing of the Preliminaries* (London, 1749).

³⁷⁸ Nor were these tracts alone interested in the controversy—a small pamphlet war was fought between 1750 and 1752. The 1840 *Catalogue of the Library of the London Institution: Systematically Classed. Preceded by an Historical and Bibliographical Account of the Tracts and Pamphlets* counts at least 16 separate pamphlets reacting to the regulations or the greater "right of appeal" from the Vice-Chancellor related to the proceedings against the Westminster Club. Left out of this list, notably, is *The Fragment*. While these fragments clearly were not the only works—or even the only satirical works—published, their concerted work across 1750 and 1751 is different from the more direct wars fought in related pamphlets like *A farther inquiry into the right of appeal from the Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge in matters of discipline* (London, 1751).

³⁷⁹ Elizabeth Leedham-Green *A concise history of the University of Cambridge* (New York: Cambridge UP, 1996), 110.

of the Regulations made in it on the 11th of May, and 26th of June, 1750 and summarizes its arguments for a general audience:

Of this piece we can say very little that would, probably, be much attended to by the generality of our readers; ... All we can gather from a perusal of this Disputation, as 'tis called, is in substance this. That some laws have been made by the senate of Cambridge, in order to retrench their expences, and reform the manners of the youth in that university. It is intimated also, that some other laws, equally useful and necessary, had been proposed, but some jealous suspicions accidentally entertain'd by the body, that the heads were endeavouring to extend their prerogative, prevented them from receiving its sanction, till these suspicions should be removed.³⁸⁰

While the *Monthly Review's* general suspicion of universities and feckless youth wouldn't be out of place today, the specific concerns shared by *A Fragment* and its sequels relate to the extension of the chancellor's authority over the university at large as well as concerns over the rights of instructors and students. *A Fragment* uses an extended allegorical narrative of a family to register its concerns. Thus, *A Fragment* is not merely the story of an old woman, but an intervention into the controversy that followed Newcastle's election to the Cambridge University chancellorship and the new regulations that he and his cronies instituted in 1750. All of the characters that appear in *A Fragment* have real-life counterparts.³⁸¹

Contemporary readers' marginal annotations in copies of *A Fragment* verify this. While many copies of eighteenth-century scandal fiction and *romans-à-clefs* contain such

³⁸⁰ *The Monthly Review* 4 (November 1750), 37.

³⁸¹ The following identifications are entirely my own, derived from research into the heads of the various Cambridge colleges as provided by the Cambridge University website, Gascoigne's useful book, and the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Copies of *A Fragment* I have examined on *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* and in the Harry Ransom Center have no marginalia to confirm these references, but I trust they are straightforward enough to be convincing. William King's *Key*, a related text I will discuss later, provides more information that confirms the persons behind the pseudonyms.

identifications, these surviving examples still position *A Fragment* and other such intentional fragments within a community of informed and interested readers.³⁸² Suspecting secret meanings and recording them, such readers demonstrate their awareness of generic expectations.³⁸³ One such copy, held by the Huntington Library, uses the margins to record the real-life personages for *A Fragment*'s fictional characters.³⁸⁴ This reader notes not only the identities of the figures but also marks certain events, as when the person adds an asterisk to the phrase “having the **Nuptials* celebrated in Town” to note that the italicized word refers to the “Installation” of the Duke of Newcastle as Chancellor. This same reader also verifies particulars, including stories about Newcastle’s bribery as Stebbing reframes them.

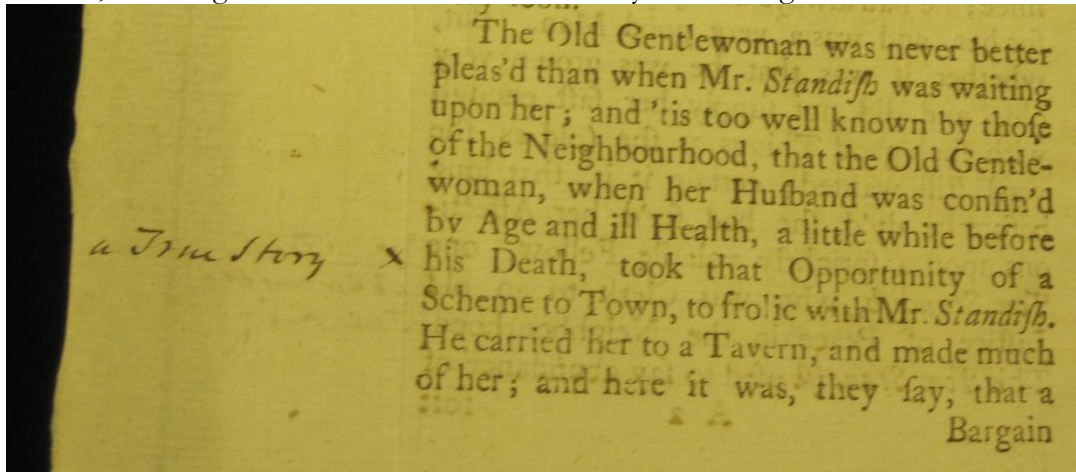


Figure 3.16: Henry Stebbing, *A Fragment*. Third Edition, 4.

Image via the Huntington Library.

³⁸² As H.J. Jackson discusses in *Marginalia*, readers frequently filled in the blank spaces or dashed lines left in texts identifying the real-life scandals or satires that the texts referred to (57). Kevin Bourque’s edition of Charles Johnstone’s 1760-5 novel *Chrysal; or, The Adventures of a Guinea* records a number of such keys or identifications in his Introduction. See Kevin Bourque, “Introduction” to *Chrysal* (Kansas City: Valancourt Books, 2011), xxi-xxiv.

³⁸³ If Eve Sedgwick’s definition of paranoid reading is about approaching texts with suspicion, looking to decode hidden or problematic meanings, these practices seem very much like what readers of *A Fragment* are doing. See Eve Sedgwick, “Paranoid Reading and Reparative Reading, or, You’re So Paranoid, You Probably Think This Essay Is About You,” in *Touching Feeling: Affect, Pedagogy, Performativity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003): 123-52.

³⁸⁴ The shelfmark for this copy at the Huntington is 281449.

The *Old Gentlewoman* is Cambridge University itself; her sons are the masters of the various colleges. Among these heads are Thomas Chapman, master of Magdalene College (*Tom*) and Edmund Keene, master of Peterhouse (*Mun*).³⁸⁵ *Tom Standish* stands in for Thomas Pelham-Holles, 1st Duke of Newcastle. The sons *Roger*, *Richard*, *Harry* represent Roger Long of Pembroke College, William Richardson of Emmanuel, and George Henry Rooke of Christ's. The dispute over the *pills* or treatments they offer for the Old Gentlewoman's illness doubles the proposed regulations which both Chapman and Keene helped to write; while Chapman and Keene through the new strictures necessary, critics alleged that they represented an attempt by Chapman, Keene, and Newcastle to acquire new powers for the chancellor and his cronies.³⁸⁶ The parallels do not merely allegorize the matter, but impose a frame for the controversy. By comparing this dispute to a family squabble caring for a sick parent, Stebbing concedes that the situation at the University required some amendment while arguing that such care should be imposed not from outside by Newcastle or from above by the vice-chancellor, but from internal agreement among equal brothers (in this case, the *book of receipts* already extant). The allegory itself can be explained simply.

However, the fragment form affects textual interpretation. Does Stebbing mean to praise Keene here? Re-reading this conclusion might in light of its fragmentariness might help critics consider this question:

³⁸⁵ *Tom* and *Mun* could potentially refer to Thomas Sherlock, Bishop of London and Thomas Herring, Archbishop of Canterbury, as the text notes at one point that "Mr. Standish gain'd their good Graces by talking to them of a Jaunt to Town, and shewing them *Westminster Abbey*, and *St. Paul's*" (5). St. Paul's is the seat of the Bishop of London, and *Mun* referred to members of a 17c London Street gang. Both Herring and Sherlock helped draft the new regulations, as confirmed by Elisabeth Leedham-Green, 110.

³⁸⁶ Thomas Chapman was the University's vice-chancellor when Newcastle was elected chancellor in 1749; Keene took the position over the following year. It may be interesting to note that while Keene had the greater authority, it was Chapman who actually published a 1751 pamphlet defending the regulations titled *An inquiry into the right of appeal from the Chancellor, or Vice Chancellor, of the University of Cambridge, in matters of discipline: addressed to a fellow of a college. To which is added, an appendix: containing some observations on the Authentic narrative, &c.*

Throat. It must be owned upon the Whole, that tho' he shewed a Want of Sense in the Choice of his Medicine, he shewed his Skill in administering it; and that as he prescribed it in Opposition to all good Judgment, so he administered it in Opposition to the Consent of his Patient. In this too he shewed his *Profession*. Regular Physicians will forbear a Medicine that suits not the Constitution of their Patient; but Quacks will repeat their Doses, and so long as they can get their Stuff, well paid for, they care not what becomes of them who swallow it. * * * * *

Figure 3.17: Henry Stebbing, *A Fragment* (c. 1750), Second Edition. 28.

From Gale. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. © Gale, a part of Cengage Learning, Inc.

Reproduced by permission.

The fateful word *Profession* that is italicized here could be innocently meant as an acknowledgement of his leadership position, but also seems to be carry overtones of partisanship, as Johnson defines the word: “the act of declaring one’s self of any party or opinion.”³⁸⁷ As party often implies a dedication to an idea regardless of opposition, in the name of self-interest, what might seem a light joke or misguided rule has potentially dangerous consequences. If all Keene cares about is his advancement, he’s no better than a charlatan quacking the University, potentially making it ill. The asterisks which draw the final line to the other end of the page might not only represent the pills forced down the throat of the Cambridge colleges but also draw a line between the known past and the possible (and possibly deathly) future. The fragment thus frames political critique while accommodating various readings within it.

However, to fully understand how the historical circumstances help inform fragment writing and reading practices, it may be helpful to quickly overview how *The Fragment*, *Another Fragment*, and *A Key to the Fragment* build upon the allegory that *A Fragment* initiates. As

³⁸⁷ Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language*, Volume 2 (London, 1755).

previously discussed, both *Another Fragment* and *The Fragment* continue the story and extend the critique as new developments within the controversy continue. Their expansions thus reshape and in some cases redirect Stebbing's arguments. Likewise, *A Key to the Fragment* offers to explain the allegories at work within these pamphlets, but does so by re-allegorizing the story. I will here first tackle the elements introduced in *Another Fragment* and *The Fragment*, and then treat *A Key to the Fragment's* attempts to unlock the fragment's meaning.

If *A Fragment* is concerned with Newcastle's expansions of the Chancellor's powers over the University, *Another Fragment* deals with confrontations following the new regulations' implementation. This pamphlet allegorizes the confrontation that occurred between members of the Westminster Club and the Cambridge University proctors, when "certain senior members of the university, including Thomas Francklin, Regius Professor of Greek, and Thomas Ansell, fellow of Trinity Hall, were found, after the witching hour of 11 p.m. when, under the new regulations, all undergraduates and BAs should have been in their colleges, presiding at the Three Tuns tavern over a gathering of the Westminster Club."³⁸⁸ According to *An authentic narrative of the late extraordinary proceedings at Cambridge, against the W-----r Club*, a 1751 pamphlet attributed to Francklin,

Saturday Nov. 17th, being the Anniversary of Queen *Elizabeth*, Forty-six Gentlemen of this University, who had been educated at *W—r* School, met together at the *Tuns* Tavern to commemorate their Foundress, as was customary on that day ... Every Thing was conducted with the utmost Decency and Sobriety, and they were breaking up at Eleven; when, to the great Surprize of all the Gentlemen present, Mr. B—n, Senior P—r of the

³⁸⁸ Leedham-Green, 110.

University, enter'd the Room, attended by Mr. F—r, who followed him with the Staff.³⁸⁹

While Francklin himself breaks up the name, this almost-named Senior Proctor, who has the clever sobriquet *Dun* in *Another Fragment*, can be identified as James Brown, the MA fellow of Pembroke Hall.³⁹⁰ He was proctor between 1750-1.³⁹¹ The Mr. F—r here indicated is Forrester, also of Pembroke Hall.³⁹² Apparently what follows on Wednesday is that “it was reported, that there had been a Meeting of the *Heads* on the Occasion, and that the *V.C.* had laid before them Mr. *B—*’s Accusation against the whole Club; and also particular Charges against *three Masters of Arts* and *two Fellow Commoners*; and that, in consequence of this Meeting, it had been determined to summons them to the *V.C.*’s Court on *Saturday*.”³⁹³ The rest of the pamphlet deals with the case’s prosecution before the V.C., or Vice-Chancellor Edmund Keene, and not only the nature of the regulations themselves but the rights of the accused within such a prosecution are what Francklin’s pamphlet contests.

Another Fragment, however, takes a different tack by holding Brown up to satire. As brothers Mun and Tom plan to keep the old Gentlewoman separate from her children, they decide that the other brothers much be carefully watched to avoid any challenge. They turn to their brother Dun, who is also one of the elder brothers. The description that follows serves both to characterize him and to set up the confrontation at the heart of the pamphlet:

³⁸⁹ Francklin, 4.

³⁹⁰ This identification comes from Charles Henry Cooper’s *Annals of Cambridge*, Volume 4 (282), as well as from *Alumni Cantabrigienses*.

³⁹¹ The *Alumni Cantabrigienses* (1.1.233) contains additional information about his qualifications; apparently his father, also named James, was citizen and goldsmith of London. He is mentioned in Thomas Gray’s letters, where he is described as particularly short. The *DNB* has no information about Brown.

³⁹² The source I located for this is *Social Life at the English Universities in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1874), compiled by Christopher Wordsworth, which identifies a “Forrester of Pembroke” as Fetch in *Another Fragment*. However, there are several different likely Foresters based on matriculation dates, including a Pulter Forester, a Richard Forester, and a William Forester. Based on biographical details I think the likeliest candidate is Richard Forester, who at least was made fellow in 1749 and MA in 1751. While this may be a faulty attribution, *Social Life* confirms all of the other identifications I have made.

³⁹³ Francklin, 4.

Now *Dun* was universally hated among the Boys, because he us'd to carry a great Stick in his Hand to frighten them Home from their Play, making them come in by Daylight to go to Bed, or read good Books, for which Reason whenever his Back was turn'd, they would make Faces at him, and us'd to beryme him, calling out *boo! Doctor Proctor!—boo! Doctor Proctor*, and so on; for which, however, whenever he'd catch'd them, *he down'd with their Apple Carts*, and made them smart for it.³⁹⁴

While confrontations between proctors and pupils were frequently the stuff about university tales, *Another Fragment* goes out of its way to portray Dun as nothing more than a toady, interested in “ingratiate[ing] himself with the Head Brothers, that he might come in snacks for the Honour of taking Care of the Old Lady, and her Family.”³⁹⁵ As the story follows, Dun and his assistant Fetch³⁹⁶ find out from one of the group that they plan to meet, and Dun goes to confront them there. “Several of the elder Brother” present, named Snap and Catch, attempt to put Dun in his place, but he pretends to hear himself insulted “to the best of my Remembrance.”³⁹⁷ He brings up “an Accusation against the chief of the Clan” with Mun.³⁹⁸ The Old Gentlewoman attempts to protest, but is held down during Mun’s judgment.³⁹⁹ The pamphlet ends when

...the enrag'd *Catch* swore by all that's good he'd post away to the great Hall that stands by Lady *Betty's* School, where sits a Bench of Justices and other great Men learned in the Laws of this Land, before whom he intends to lay the

³⁹⁴ *Another Fragment*, 3-4.

³⁹⁵ *Ibid*, 3.

³⁹⁶ Again, the fact that Fetch and “Mr. F—r” both start with the letter F confirms at least that the pamphlet allegorizes Francklin’s tale, even if the specific identification is unknown.

³⁹⁷ *Ibid*, 11.

³⁹⁸ *Ibid*, 17.

³⁹⁹ *Ibid*, 24.

Case, and to prosecute his Brother *Mun* for turning him out of his Mother's House, where he has as much Right to remain as he has, so that 'tis thought there will be the Devil to pay yet.* * *

* * * I wish to G--d the old Dons may be smok'd! * * * * * * * * * *400

Of course, “the great Hall that stands by Lady *Betty's* School” here is the Houses of Parliament which stands right by Westminster School. Catch here is Thomas Ansell, who got into greater trouble for complaining; Snap is Francklin. The source of the conflict, though, has to do with justice—who has authority at Cambridge. If the Old Gentlewoman here represents Cambridge's faculty and student body as a whole, here the conflict is one between the body and the authorities overseeing it. The source of authority is the government standing outside of the university. However, the significance of that final line, which is surrounded by asterisks, is unclear. Who are the “old Dons” to be “smok'd”? Are they the dons who agreed to the regulations? Or specific figures like James Brown? The threat here is an ambiguous one, made more so by its fragmentariness.

The Fragment also extends the discussion to cover the Westminster Club as it introduces “two Petty Constables” chosen by Mun to help rule over the family. However, the pamphlet does little to disguise the circumstances: “One of these being *more vigorous and active in the Execution of his Office than usual*, determined to put the Law against unseasonable *Nocturnal Tipling* in Execution, and being attended by his *Myrmidons* (...one of them, with a gentle Look, and Savage Name, carrying the Staff of Office)⁴⁰¹ he entered a tipling House ... the very Moment that the Watchman bawled out *Past---Eleven o'Clock*.”⁴⁰² While there, he meets “a great Number of young *Shepherds*, most of them dressed in Purple,” who had been “celebrating the

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid, 26.

⁴⁰¹ According to *Social Life*, Forrester of Pembroke (628).

⁴⁰² *The Fragment*, 28.

annual Rites of their God *Pan* (or ancient *Schoolmaster*) who was in high Esteem among them.”⁴⁰³ Their purple dress and “ancient Schoolmaster” suggest their royal patron Elizabeth; the italicized description of the “petty Constable” makes clear that it is James Brown the proctor. Finally, the overblown reference to Myrmidons, who certainly don’t sound as tough as the ancient warriors, make these figures comical in their overreaching that mirrors the excremental bath Tom receives from the old Gentlewoman’s posterior.⁴⁰⁴ Whereas *A Fragment*’s ending is more ambiguous, *The Fragment*’s dramatic gestures and allegorical parallels make its meaning more solid.

A Key to the Fragment, however, problematizes these easy parallels as it introduces its own new ones. Its preface, supposedly authored by Peregrine Smyth, aggressively jumps in to revise understandings about the *Fragment*: “I have given myself this Trouble to undeceive some of my particular Friends, and other curious and inquisitive Gentlemen, who have wholly misinterpreted the FRAGMENT, and have applied the Allegory to a late Transaction in CAMBRIDGE.”⁴⁰⁵ Of course, any eighteenth-century text so sure clearly winks at its audience, especially when it asserts that “A Pamphlet, which hath lately appeared in print, called the FRAGMENT, was first published in *October* 1658; and soon after came out the KEY, a new Edition of which I here present to the Readers.”⁴⁰⁶ While the text’s open hypocrisy—where it complains about misreading practices as it encourages its own misreading of the *Fragment*—is a familiar satirical gesture, as are the falsified interpretations that follow, this interest in reading the old as new or current is one that is particularly important for eighteenth-century fragments. As Smyth complains that he gives examples “to shew the great

⁴⁰³ Ibid, 28.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid, 26-7.

⁴⁰⁵ William King, *A Key to the Fragment*. By *Amias Riddinge*, B.D. *With a preface*. By *Peregrine Smyth, Esq.* (London, 1751), iii.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid, iii.

Absurdity of making old Authors speak what they never intended, and recount Facts which were to happen, many Years after they were dead,”⁴⁰⁷ by writing fragments anew the text’s author is doing the same thing.⁴⁰⁸ Many eighteenth-century fragments, in fact, use the fictive premise of being old documents to disguise their satiric intent, and cultural anxieties about the age of artifacts and interpretation get worked out through the fragment’s pieces.

However, *A Key* in fact reinforces the same allegories by providing new names for those maintained in the texts. The old Gentlewoman’s home is explained to be Bridgetown, which “includes within it several other Manours, and contains in the whole sixteen large Parishes, with very decent and well-built Churches or Chapels.”⁴⁰⁹ As Cambridge had sixteen colleges at the time, the details go out of their way to underline the sorts of associations readers had already made with the texts. New figures get implicated though, as when Riddinge points out “There is another of these Apostates, who is in continual Pursuit of Wealth, although he is old and infirm, and already has had a large Share of the Lands belonging to some of the Collegiate Churches. His Name is JOHN COMUS; but the Inhabitants of BRIDGETOWN generally call him BELSHAZZAR.”⁴¹⁰ The “JOHN COMUS” thus makes John Newcome newly identifiable for his part in the proceedings.⁴¹¹ Likewise, he clarifies that Mun and Tom’s “true names are EDMUND SHARP and THOMAS FORWARD. They are two of the new-fangled Ministers, who have possessed themselves of two of the Churches in BRIDGETOWN Manour.”⁴¹² Not only are the first names confirmed, but the text uses a

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid, iv.

⁴⁰⁸ In particular Smyth references one man transcribing a passage from Greek that is misread as treasonous—the passage here doubles for the unruly possibilities that fragments allow.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid, 1-2.

⁴¹⁰ Ibid, 4.

⁴¹¹ Newcome was Master of St. John’s College at Cambridge at this time.

⁴¹² Ibid, 15.

synonym, Sharp, to suggest Keene's last name. The characters are thus more recognizable even as other interpretations are being imposed on the text.

In other words, fragment writing and reading creates opportunities for political allegories, where argumentation is covered with a thin veil of fictionality. The fragment also gives authors the opportunity to interpret political situations and to project the idea of knowledge that they cannot assert having. Fragments also help put the question of interpretation to readers, as fragments not only can create interpretive problems through missing passages, but also explicitly make cognition part of the work's subject. However, in this case, it's also possible that Stebbing and the other writers may rely on the fragment form to represent visually their reactions to questions of order and regulation. If Cambridge University is in a state of disorder, and these writers are reacting to authoritative attempts to regulate it, their form may be a part of the war against over-regulation, opposing control with irregular text. The partial form thus contains their partial or partisan arguments.

However, how far can we read the works of these authors in concert together? While the texts themselves seem to be interrelated through narrative structure, examining the historical circumstances of their publication—in other words, their book history—can help show interesting connections not only between these texts, but also in how they were published and presented to a public readership.

A Fragment, which first appeared in 1750 and was twice reprinted, was published anonymously. The imprint states it was “printed for M. Cooper, at the Globe in Pater-noster-Row.”⁴¹³ The text is 28 pages long and contains three chapters: Chapters IX, X, and XI. *A Fragment* has been attributed to Henry Stebbing, a Cambridge-educated High Churchman with

⁴¹³ Henry Stebbing, *A Fragment*, 2nd ed. (London, 1750).

a penchant for controversy.⁴¹⁴ According to the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Stebbing “was a fearless controversialist who wrote against latitudinarian divines, dissenters, and Methodists, as well as deists and freethinkers.”⁴¹⁵ He published a number of religious works, several of which appeared under Cooper’s imprint.⁴¹⁶ While historians today may best remember him from heated tract wars with notable clerics like William Warburton, George Whitefield, and John Wesley, he was evidently prominent enough himself to serve as the Boyle Lecturer between 1747 and 1749, right before *A Fragment* was published. He also served as King George II’s chaplain between 1733 and 1757,⁴¹⁷ so it is likely as a Londoner associated with the court and England’s religious hierarchy that he would be familiar not only with Newcastle but inter-Cambridge politics. Mary Cooper’s name on the imprint not only suggests that this publication fit within Stebbing’s longer career of religious concerns. However, as Cooper did not publish all his works, it might be useful at this point to consider why she might have been approached.

Mary Cooper was the widow of Thomas Cooper, whose name stopped appearing on imprints in 1743. She ran the business between 1743 until her death in 1761, when it passed to her sister’s husband John Hinxman.⁴¹⁸ The Coopers’ shop, named the Globe, was located on Pater-noster-Row, a street full of publishers located near St. Paul’s Cathedral. However, it

⁴¹⁴ Samuel Halkett and John Laing, *A Dictionary of the Anonymous and Pseudonymous Literature of Great Britain. Including the works of foreigners written in, or translated into the English language* (Edinburgh: 1888), 2.954.

⁴¹⁵ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, “Stebbing, Henry (*bap.* 1687, *d.* 1763),” by B. W. Young, last accessed 12 November 2011, <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/view/article/26335>.

⁴¹⁶ In addition to *A Fragment*, either Mary Cooper’s or her husband Thomas’ name appeared on the title pages of Stebbing’s 1743 *The oxford young gentleman’s reply to a book entitled, Christianity not founded on argument, &c. In a letter to the author*, his 1744 *An examination of Mr. Warburton’s second proposition, In his projected Demonstration of The Divine Legation of Moses*, and his 1754 *An enquiry into the force and operation of the annulling clauses in a late act for the better preventing of clandestine marriages, with respect to conscience*. Mary Cooper’s biography and significance will be discussed in the following pages.

⁴¹⁷ See *Alumni Cantabrigienses: A Biographical List of All Known Students, Graduates and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge, from the Earliest Times to 1900*, Part 1, Vol 4, ed. John Venn (London: Cambridge UP, 1927), 153.

⁴¹⁸ Michael Treadwell, “London Trade Publishers 1675-1750,” *The Library* 4, 6th series (June 1982), 111.

is important here to clarify that Cooper was not a printer. Both Mary and Thomas Cooper were trade publishers. As James Tierney explains, trade publishers “provided a valuable distribution service for authors, printers, or booksellers who preferred to retain their copyrights and frequently chose not to put their names to their works.”⁴¹⁹ In fact, the Coopers were actually some of the most important trade publishers of the early century. A search through the *English Short Title Catalog* reveals a total number of 192 editions with Mary Cooper listed as the publisher, including other works by Stebbing.⁴²⁰ The Coopers worked with booksellers like Robert Dodsley and William Bowyer.⁴²¹ Trade publishers like the Coopers aided other booksellers by providing a screen for their work.⁴²² Indeed, Mary Cooper’s name was associated with other pamphlets related to the Newcastle controversy, like Richard Hurd’s 1751 *The opinion of an eminent lawyer, concerning the right of appeal from the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, to the Senate; ... By a fellow of a college*⁴²³ as well as Thomas Francklin’s 1751 *An authentic narrative of the late extraordinary proceedings at Cambridge, against the W-----r Club*.⁴²⁴ Yet, as Cooper was neither the copyright holder nor the author, it’s impossible to say what (if any) influence she had over the presentation of the text, including the title.

Another Fragment’s title page attributes the work to no author, though likewise the ESTC attributes the work to either Stebbing or his son.⁴²⁵ The text claims to be “printed for

⁴¹⁹ *Correspondence of Robert Dodsley, 1733-64*, ed. James Tierney (New York: Cambridge UP, 1988), 42.

⁴²⁰ James Raven’s lengthy study *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Book Trade 1450-1850* (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 2007) states that “more than 600 books and pamphlets named Mary Cooper in their imprints between 1743 and 1745 and more than 1,500 between 1746 and 1764 (three years after Mary Cooper’s death)” (172).

⁴²¹ Tierney notes that Mary Cooper is listed as the seller in no fewer than 167 of Dodsley’s imprints.

⁴²² For example, Dodsley, who was patronized by Alexander Pope, contacted Mary Cooper to publish Joseph Warton’s critical Essay on Pope as he feared Pope’s potential wrath (Tierney 185).

⁴²³ *The English Short Title Catalog* notes that Hurd’s pamphlet was actually printed by William Bowyer according to his ledgers.

⁴²⁴ Francklin is also sometimes known as Thomas Franklin; in deference to the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. I will spell his name throughout as Francklin.

⁴²⁵ According to his *DNB* entry, Stebbing’s son Henry would have been roughly contemporary with Thomas Francklin at Cambridge, though he was a member of St. Catherine’s rather than Trinity like Francklin, and thus might have had better knowledge of the Westminster Club dealings than his father.

A. Pope, near the *Royal Exchange*, and sold by all the booksellers in London, Oxford, and CAMBRIDGE.” The bookseller’s name seems suspicious from its resemblance to the famous poet; while a search in ESTC reveals another text, *A book to help the young and gay, To pass the tedious hours away, Containing things, not often read, And some that ne’er were Published, Here some in praise of blinking Cupid*, that was “Sold by A. Pope, near the Change” around 1750, in both entries the ESTC suggests it’s a false imprint.⁴²⁶ It is possible that there was an actual bookseller A. Pope who sold the pamphlet, though he certainly was not its publisher.⁴²⁷ The preface’s explicit reference to Thomas Francklin’s *An authentic narrative of the late extraordinary proceedings at Cambridge, against the W-----r Club* (1751), published by Mary Cooper, helps confirm that there were direct connections between the two fragments, either through shared authorship or publishers. While the publication information for The Fragment does not survive, the text itself has been attributed by a period reader to “Dr. Zachary Grey, in concert with a young Oxford physician Dr. Tathwell.”⁴²⁸ Grey’s age was close to Henry Stebbing’s; he was admitted to Jesus College but migrated to Trinity Hall, from which he received his LL.D. in 1720. He was the Vicar of St. Peter’s and St Giles’ at Cambridge, so he would have heard about the controversy and probably would have known Francklin through associations at Trinity. Like Stebbing, he was also involved in literary controversies and wrote pamphlets directed at Sir Richard Cox and Warburton.⁴²⁹ Cornwall Tathwell, the named physician,

⁴²⁶ Interestingly, the ESTC notes on this entry both that “imprints using ‘A. Pope’ recorded in ESTC ca. 1750-70” and that this is a “false imprint.” This seems likely insofar that searches in Pendred’s 1785 *Earliest Directory of the Book Trade* (reprinted by the Bibliographical Society in 1955) and H.R. Plomer, G.H. Bushnell, and E.R. McC. Dix’s *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland, and Ireland From 1726-1775* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the Bibliographical Society, 1932) contain no entries for an A. Pope.

⁴²⁷ In his essay “On False Imprints in the London Book Trade, 1660-1750,” in *Fakes and Frauds: Varieties of Deception in Print and Manuscript*, ed. Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Detroit: Omnigraphics Inc, 1989): 29-46, Michael Treadwell notes that “those herds of accurate imprints which we do encounter have all been abbreviated by the omission of some of the possible imprint information” (30).

⁴²⁸ Only one copy of this pamphlet shows up in ESTC, which is the copy held by the John Rylands University Library at the University of Manchester.

⁴²⁹ Some of this information comes from the *Alumni Cantabrigienses* (2.253) and some from Grey’s DNB entry.

seems to have been associated with no other pamphlets. He was a student at St. John's College, Oxford, from which he received his M.A. in January 1748/9.⁴³⁰ Reasons for his possible involvement are unclear, though it can be established that he knew Zachary Grey⁴³¹ and that the two discussed issues of the book trade together.⁴³²

A Key to the Fragment shares similar features with *A Fragment* and its sequels—one of which being that the title page does not state who the true author is. The text titles itself *A Key to the Fragment. By Amias Riddinge, B.D. With a preface. By Peregrine Smyth, Esq* and claims to be “Printed for W. Webb, and sold by the Booksellers of London, Oxford, and Cambridge” in 1751. However, while a historical Riddinge existed, the text was a “hoax written by Dr. William King, Principal of St. Mary's Hall in Oxford, writer of the *Toast*, the *London Evening Post*, etc.”⁴³³ King was a celebrated orator and literary figure whose poem *The Toast* put him in correspondence with Jonathan Swift. Like Tathwell, he is an Oxonian, but interested in both the university politics and the possibilities for satire at Cambridge. The listed printer, W. Webb, was a common false imprint, so again the booksellers and printers dealing in this satire think it worthwhile to conceal their identities as well as their authors'.⁴³⁴ This helps drive home the possible consequences at hand: while a limited run might lead contemporary critics to underestimate the effect of these works, the fragment positions itself here at the center of

⁴³⁰ See Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses: the Members of the University of Oxford, 1715-1886* (Oxford, 1891), 1389. Tathwell is not in the *DNB*.

⁴³¹ Letters between him and Grey appear in John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century: Comprizing Biographical Memoirs of William Bowyer, Printer*, Vol IX (London, 1815), 556.

⁴³² See here Nichols, *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century*, Vol 4 (London, 1822), 364. – Associations through these two books between Tathwell, Grey, and printer Bowyer, along with Mary Cooper's association with Bowyer, suggests Bowyer may have produced these pamphlets, though they do not appear on his ledgers. Copies of Bowyer's ledgers indicate he printed Richard Hurd's *Opinion of an eminent lawyer* (1751), so perhaps he might have printed one or several of these responses in association with Cooper.

⁴³³ *Social Life at the English Universities*, 626.

⁴³⁴ See Michael Treadwell, “On False Imprints in the London Book Trade, 1660-1750” in *Fakes and Frauds: Varieties of Deception in Print and Manuscript* (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 1989).

controversy, framed for subtle entrance into the debate. The controversy's relatively small scope in part might make discovery more likely, so concealment more necessary to authors.

These readings reveal the intentional fragment's place within the literary marketplace. Not only were fragments recognizable as a genre, authors participating within the controversy adopted the form, mutually constructing one large fragment for readers to decipher. Henry Stebbing and his followers used fragments to negotiate questions of political malfeasance within a somewhat small sphere: the English university world, and Cambridge particularly. Readers' personal investments made the act of deciphering these fragments not particularly difficult, but extremely important for engagement within their interpretive community. The pamphlets clearly position themselves against the violation of native customs and rights by authoritarian power. Perhaps what makes fragments so useful for these authors is how they resist and play with modes of censorship. Stebbing can use asterisks to engage in many kinds of mystification, not only confusing readers but also mocking the kinds of power mystification engaged in by the Duke of Newcastle himself. Reading beyond this sphere to a wider and broader one reveals other concerns that political fragments respond to.

THE AMERICAN CRISIS AND THE INTENTIONAL FRAGMENT

Stepping away from the more specific scandal of Newcastle's reforms, writers sent fragments across oceans to voice their political dissent. Various writers from all sides of the American Revolutionary War—British, American, and French—produced intentional fragments engaging the crisis.⁴³⁵ These pamphlets span in date range from the earliest days of

⁴³⁵ While this chapter does not have time to go into detail, *Fragment de Xénophon, Nouvellement trouvé dans les Ruines de Palmyre, par un Anglois; & déposé au Museum Britannicum, à Londres. Traduit du Grec, Par Un François; Et lu a l'Assemblée publique du Musée de Paris, du jeudi 6 Mars 1783* is an anonymous French fragment text that comments on the treaty of Versailles in negotiation, as well as Benjamin Franklin's efforts as an American diplomat. Copies of the text in the British Library and the Houghton Library have keys recorded in the back, which not only suggests the fragment's European audiences but also the global investments in solving the American Crisis. I hope to return to this work in a later treatment.

the conflict, 1775, to its conclusion in 1783. If the previous case shows that various writers used the fragment to criticize and protest an overbearing and corrupt leader, these pamphlets reveal differing political actors adopting the genre to voice different concerns within the same controversy. As all of these pamphlets consider the duties of colonies and imperial powers to each other and theorize potential political chaos through the fragment, these texts also consider the value of eloquence for political persuasion. Many of these texts invoke analogies or allegories to depict their interpretation of political events, and other embed discussions of rhetoric within the texts. Considering that empire requires language that can be transported across space and easily interpreted, fragment writers express those anxieties through images and genres that break language down. The following readings expand the fragment's reach not only to new contexts, where fragment do not speak directly to each other or make each other intelligible, but also to new thematics of corruption. If the local corruption of Newcastle could be satirically reproduced, the tone of these works is more apocalyptic. Many of these fragment critique British imperial strategy, but neither side is so clearly villainized here. This section argues that intentional fragments adjust strategies to be read within this wider discourse.

The first pamphlet, *The Chronicle of the Kingdom of the Cassiterides, Under the Reign of the House of Lunen. A Fragment. Translated from an ancient Manuscript*, was printed for George Wilkie in 1783. This emerged at the conflict's end, but its tropes relate to earlier pamphlets. I start here because this pamphlet allegorizes the British/American conflict through a distant foreign place, which is a fairly common trope, but this one specifically frames the difference in Orientalist terms. This pamphlet is not alone--the 1774 *A Fragment of Oriental History* and the 1749 *A Fragment of the Japanese History* also expresses colonial relationships through Orientalized imagery.

The book's preface introduces the work as an ancient manuscript which is the relic of foreign travels. The unnamed editor notes that "these papers fell into my hands accidentally

this summer, as executor to a gentleman in the west of England, who lived to a great age. [...]

And being a lover of antiquities, and well versed in the Oriental languages, collected a number of manuscripts; and amongst the rest, that from whence this fragment of history was translated.”⁴³⁶ The whole narrative distances its readers from its origins—the work readers hold is not from one pen, but is the edition of another man’s translation of an older work. The document then literally comes from foreign hands, as the gentleman who first came to possess the manuscript describes how he was given it by “a Schiek, or Chief, of one of the tribes of Arabs, with whom I was well acquainted, during my residence in Egypt.”⁴³⁷ Yet these ethnic sources aren’t even the original ones: this account further records the Schiek’s own narrative of the document’s origins—his ancestors received the manuscript “on the sacking of a city in Abyssinia, by the Saracens, in the first century of our computation, but in the seventh according to yours ... tradition informs us, that it happened to be deposited in a chest of silver, to which accident it owed its preservation.”⁴³⁸ For a relatively short document, that’s a fairly layered narrative, as the work passes through four hands (the unnamed writer, the Arab Schiek, the unnamed Englishman, and the anonymous editor) before making it to the printed page.⁴³⁹ The work’s origins are similarly cataloged in lengthy detail as it travels from Abyssinia⁴⁴⁰ to Egypt and over the Mediterranean to Western England and thence to London. Not only does this little narrative amusingly complicate the document’s origins, and ties it to the ancient past, it also fits the document within a larger narrative of conquest similar to the story it contains. As the English gentleman “translates” the work from “the ancient Syriac language” in which

⁴³⁶ *The Chronicle of the Kingdom of the Cassiterides, Under the Reign of the House of Lunen. A Fragment. Translated from an ancient Manuscript* (London, 1783), iii.

⁴³⁷ *Ibid.*, iii.

⁴³⁸ *Ibid.*, iii-iv.

⁴³⁹ This technique can be seen across numerous intentional fragment texts, including Henry Mackenzie’s *Man of Feeling*, where an unnamed gentleman receives the manuscript of another unnamed gentleman, which describes his lost friend Harley. These extended chains of connection not only test some sort of theory of mind, but also force the reader to act as archivist, following these detailed origins.

⁴⁴⁰ Modern Ethiopia.

it's originally written, he turns his foreign find into an object for Western consumption.⁴⁴¹ Indeed, the editor describes the “curious” object as an entertainment: “I thought it might give some amusement, to a few lovers of antiquity at least; and at the same time, by carrying the thoughts of others back to so remote a period, might tend to divert their attention from contemplating the not very pleasing picture of our own times.”⁴⁴² Yet this sentence reinforces a reciprocal relationship between self and other, present and past, the contemporary and the antique, just as the formal title encodes the connections with England.⁴⁴³ The foreign fragment—broken, requiring interpretation—somehow speaks to national concerns. What's different is just the same.

Oriental settings and oriental fragments are a veritable category of the intentional fragment. Numerous fragments appropriate Oriental origins.⁴⁴⁴ China and Japan mirror England and Ireland in one fragment because of interest in Eastern places. As Britain's imperial spread lead to an eighteenth-century taste for Chinoiserie, George Psalmanazar's spurious 1704 *History of Formosa* is believed true despite or because of his portrayal of the Chinese as dehumanized.⁴⁴⁵ The taste for oriental fragments may itself be a means of grappling with encountering foreign objects, trying to understand these cultures.

This East/West dynamic becomes especially significant when used to describe a colonial relationship. As the story starts with the young King of the Cassiterides beginning to

⁴⁴¹ Ibid, iv.

⁴⁴² Ibid, v.

⁴⁴³ Cassiterides, according to ancient writers like Pliny the Elder and Herodotus, was a group of islands located in Western Europe, often thought to refer to England. This name is another way of encoding the references to England, rendering the familiar foreign.

⁴⁴⁴ Several works included in this list are the 1790 pamphlet *The revolutions of an island: an oriental fragment. Translated from the original manuscript of Zoroaster, in Zend. By an Englishman, who was resident many years at Kerman in Persia; A Fragment of the Japanese History*; along with *Hau kiou choaan or the pleasing history. A translation from the Chinese language, to which are added, I. The argument or story of a Chinese play, II. A collection of Chinese proverbs, and III. Fragments of Chinese poetry. In four volumes.*

⁴⁴⁵ For more on this, see David Porter, “Monstrous Beauty: Eighteenth-Century Fashion and the Aesthetics of the Chinese Taste,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 35, no. 3 (Spring 2002): 395-411.

rule in his grandfather's stead, the kingdom is singularly prosperous, not only with ships "laden with merchandize and riches from every quarter of the world" but also "great and flourishing" colonies in the "land of Amer" and "the Indies."⁴⁴⁶ These riches are "increased beyond measure" with a victory over the Gauls during a war, but

the man who presided over the treasures of the country wanted wisdom, and he attended not to the increase of riches, but he communed with himself and said: The children of this country are heavily taxed, and the children of Amer are not taxed at all; why should the people of this land be burdened, and the others go free? Let us tax the land of Amer, and ease the burden of the people at home.⁴⁴⁷

When protesting this law, the "children of Amer [...] complained and said: Are ye not masters of the produce of our land, whether corn, or timber, or iron; whatever we draw out of the sea, or gain by traffic, do not all the fruits of our labours rest with you, and what more would ye have of us? and we are taxed by the great council of your nation, and lo! whom have we to plead in our behalf?"⁴⁴⁸ Despite the elaborate preface, the fragment's allegory is made extremely clear through the extremely obvious name parallels. Its plot describes breakdowns of communication, not only through the minister's unwise speech but the powerless subject position of the colonial pleas: "your nation" is their "masters." They must "plead" for favor rather than demanding their equal rights. The repeated language of "children" for the citizens also reinforces a patriarchal power—the citizens are as powerless as sons or daughters before their parents. There's more emotional closeness within than language, as well as a sense of certain rights adhering.

⁴⁴⁶ *Chronicle*, 10.

⁴⁴⁷ *Ibid*, 10-1.

⁴⁴⁸ *Ibid*, 12. Several years before this work was published, Adam Smith's *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776) recommended reconciliation with America for this very reason—that the market America provided England for finished goods was an economic benefit.

Yet the familial language only invites conflict. The Kingdom of the Cassiterides and the land of Amer are thus set in opposition, the producers of material and capital for the homeland's production. The Kingdom's laws are set in opposition to eastern countries, indirectly creating a hierarchy where Amer is Easternized: "But the laws of the Cassiterides were not like the laws of the Medes and Persians, which change not."⁴⁴⁹ Ancient Iran stands for autocratic, strict, set law, which the Cassiterides apparently doesn't represent. However, the tale that follows details the corruption of the officials—not only is the legislature perverted by the ill schemes of the "children of Caled," but when the Cassiterides petition their own officials for relief, none is granted: "they gathered themselves together by hundred and by thousands, and they petitioned the great council of the nation ... but their expectations were in vain, for lo! In the end, the great council did nothing; for the chief part of the council were bribed with silver and gold."⁴⁵⁰ While this image of a reasonable majority thwarted by greedy officials is pretty standard within critiques of powerful figures like Sir Robert Walpole, Henry Fox, and Lord Bute, among others, within this context Britain itself indirectly becomes a dysfunctional foreign despot, alienated from its people. Individuals within the body politic—the children of Caled—work to split it.

Political disruption reproduces as the fragment continues. When the Cassiterides go to war with Amer, they must raise the taxes at home. This localizes the colonial breakdown in the Cassiterides' economic losses:

And behold, the burdens of the people were not lessened; yea, they were greatly increased, and the workers in linen, and wool, and cotton [...] found no one to purchase the labours of their hands. The loom stood still, the grindstone turned not, and the noise of the hammers ceased. [...] And the

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid, 12.

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid, 20.

people wondered and were confounded, and said, Did we not enter into this war with the children of Amer to lessen our burdens?⁴⁵¹

The industries that were once balanced and unified, where the colony provides the raw material for the home country's manufacture as well as the market for the finished goods, are now disjointed, resulting in chaos: "the handicrafts-men were become armed, saying—lest we perish; for we had better be killed than starve."⁴⁵² War and violence are the result of ruined industry. Balanced colonial policy, here, leads to a strong economy and a happy working class. While *The Chronicle* relies more on descriptions of fragmentation rather than a visually fragmented page, the political ties within the narrative become subject to paranoia as temporary alliances to end the conflict only create more instability that effects "a neighbouring island, part of the dominions of the King; and the inhabitants thereof had been the greatest part of them idolators for many ages."⁴⁵³ Further description of the King's efforts to tame these "idolators" makes clear that the text references Ireland. There is no escape from colonialism—even if they escape English control, the Irish will only be threatened by other countries who want to conquer what England did.

The Chronicle's fragmentary ending refuses to provide a solution for these problems. The text at the end turns from addressing the people of the Cassiterides and the children of Amer to explaining the Cassiterides' most recent victories over the Gauls and Iberians.⁴⁵⁴ Yet, as "the great council of the nation gathered together [...] behold, the eyes of the whole nation were fixed upon them; and with the utmost anxiety did they await the issue of their determinations. * * * *"⁴⁵⁵ The text cannot in fact provide an ending—the real-life "issue"

⁴⁵¹ Ibid, 18-9.

⁴⁵² Ibid, 19.

⁴⁵³ Ibid, 26.

⁴⁵⁴ Based on the details included in the text, these last events refer to Britain's successful maintenance of Gibraltar under Admiral Howe's direction at the Battle of Cape Spartel on 20 October 1782.

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid, 40.

being still under discussion—and it offers no solution to the larger problems of colonial strife.⁴⁵⁶ The readers are left powerless, identifying with the nation as they await determinations that are left undetermined. The document’s potentially prophetic powers turn readers into audience rather than active participants.

However, if *The Chronicle* relies on East/West mythologies to align sympathies within the American crisis, *The Annals of Administration. Containing the Genuine History of Georgiana the Queen-Mother, and Prince Coloninus Her Son. A Biographical Fragment. Written About the Year 1575. Inscribed by the Proprietor of the Authentic Papers, to Edmund Burke, Esq*, a 33-page pamphlet published in 1775, uses the intentional fragment form to comment on colonial rights and the power of eloquence in political dispute. The work’s title, its publisher, John Bew, and its dedication to Edmund Burke all suggest its political alliances.⁴⁵⁷ Like other fragments, the title uses language like “genuine history” and “authentic papers” to build authority while the names Queen Georgiana and Prince Coloninus simultaneously suggest that the “Biographical Fragment” refers to King George and his children the American colonists, not any ancient text. *The Annals* puts linguistic comprehension immediately in the reader’s mind as “the following fragment is a choice manuscript in the * * * * * language; intitled, ‘ALBYNOS ANGLACYCONDOS’”⁴⁵⁸ Yet, the text playfully acknowledges its own constructedness: “the

456 While preliminary peace articles were signed 3 November 1782, the Treaty of Paris, which ended the war between Britain and the United States, was not signed until 3 September 1783. Before this, there were significant concerns about how the peace would turn out. The *Whitehall Evening Post* of 19-22 October 1782, for example, records some anxieties expressed by Lord George Gordon to the Earl of Shelburne: “Lord George finds, among other serious matters, that the late Letter, said to be written by his Majesty’s Commissioners at New York, not being publicly authenticated in the London Gazette, alarms the suspicions of those who ardently wish for peace with their brethren, that the Letter is a forgery, and that peace with America is not intended.”

457 John Bew is one of the few names that reappears on the list of fragment publishers; Bew published several other anonymous political fragments, like the *The Baratarian inquest, A fragment of the works of the celebrated author of Don Quixote, presented by the Duc de Crillon to the translator, and dedicated to Sir William Draper*.

458 *The Annals of Administration. Containing the Genuine History of Georgiana the Queen-Mother, and Prince Coloninus Her Son. A Biographical Fragment. Written About the Year 1575. Inscribed by the Proprietor of the Authentic Papers, to Edmund Burke, Esq* (London, 1775), v.

translator [...] shall probably be tempted to go on, translating the writings of the very ancient Biographer, if the specimen now offered should happen to engage the favour of the public.”⁴⁵⁹ If desired, this fragment can reproduce. The text’s possible profusion contrasts with the problematic colonial relationship reproduced in the story, however—the troubles within the familial relationship threaten to proliferate, too.

The Annals of Administration relies on familial language to picture the colonial relationship, where the Queen Georgiana and her son Prince Coloninus double the relationship between the home country Anglacycondos and Penniolana, the country settled by the Prince. The text itself acknowledges this assumption of familial connection as it describes how other countries viewed the connection between the two lands: “It was now expected, with a warmth of imagination peculiar to people under temperate governments, that the coalition of these powers, or in other words, the close and almost inseparable alliance betwixt mother and son, would not only prove a bond of lasting unanimity, but superior to all invasions of foreign force.”⁴⁶⁰ The contrast between “invasions of foreign force” and “a bond of lasting unanimity” creates the ironic setup for familial alienation and strife.

The Annals of Administration like other fragments draws attention to language and its attenuated meanings. Like in *The Chronicle of the Kingdom of the Cassiterides*, *The Annals* features several scenes of parliamentary deliberation. Of the few named characters in the text, several of them—Eburkos, Shatamillus, Volpone, and Southmanus—are recognizable as contemporary political figures.⁴⁶¹ The text dwells heavily on their successful rhetorical skills, contrasting Shatamillus and Eburkos at length:

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid, v.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid, 7-8.

⁴⁶¹ The three major figures arranged against the Queen’s minister Southmanus (Lord North, the King’s Prime Minister and right-hand man), Eburkos (Burke) and Shatamillus (Lord Chatham) are the elder statesmen to the sly young Volpone (Charles James Fox).

SHATAMILLUS, was sedate and sententious; EBURKOS, was flowery, and delightful. SHATAMILLUS astonished, and awed; EBURKOS charmed and persuaded. The reasonings of both were uncontrovertible, but yet they reasoned in a style of eloquence, which marked, and originalized their genius, by a characteristic. No lip ever distilled more honey than the lip of EBURKOS, his satire was not more pointed than polite: his sentiments were warm, his allusions striking, and his periods harmonious. SHATAMILLUS was the Nestor of his day, a clear, clean, classical orator. EBURKOS was likewise classical, but superadded, the magic of *decoration*.⁴⁶²

The description itself complements the figures: each of the grouped adjectives for Shatamillus, for example, contain alliteration. If Eburkos's prose has more "decoration," so do the figures (like lips distilling honey) that describe him. The sentences maintain an early parallelism, but break off as the author elaborates more of Eburkos's style. The description continues to provide generic comparison for Eburkos's speech: "[Eburkos] chose to array the *same* important facts in a robe of more youthful ornament. It was not however the licentious ornament of poetry, nor was it the sportive embellishment of fable, but the arguments of *this* man were separated from those of every other, then in the kingdom, by those peculiar graces and elegancies, which flowed naturally in his elocution, and left a charm upon every expression."⁴⁶³ The author here characterizes whole genres by certain stylistics—like poetry's "licentious" ornament—and then separates Eburkos from the rest by his avoidance of the overindulgences of fictive genres. However, what distinguishes Eburkos's "peculiar graces and elegancies" from the "licentious" or "sportive embellishment" seems to lie in "peculiar"—his talents and gifts were his alone, "unique" to him.

⁴⁶² Ibid, 17-8.

⁴⁶³ Ibid, 18-9.

These descriptions are much in line with common accounts of Burke's and Chatham's rhetoric. Grattan's account of Chatham's style is "not regular oratory, like Cicero or Demosthenes, but it was very fine and very elevated and above the ordinary subjects of discourse [...] He appeared more like a grave character advising than mixing in the debate. It was something superior to that—it was *teaching the Lords and lecturing the King*."⁴⁶⁴ This flattering language certainly paints a positive version of "sententious," though not "classical" here.⁴⁶⁵ Horace Walpole describes Chatham's "bitter satire" as "his forte."⁴⁶⁶ Burke's rhetoric, however, is described as almost visionary, excessive. Paddy Bullard invokes a common idea in Burke's commentators that "Burke's speeches really belonged to the printed page" with their profusion.⁴⁶⁷ Burke saw his rhetoric as best employed in opposition and strongest when arguing from his character as a good political actor.⁴⁶⁸ Burke's "decoration" was his "artfulness, dynamism, and spontaneity."⁴⁶⁹ The description of "warm sentiments" also seems to suit Burke's language, as he "developed sympathy as a way of articulating a vision of imperial unity."⁴⁷⁰

But Burke's rhetoric is for naught:

⁴⁶⁴ Qtd in Basil Williams, *The Life of William Pitt: Earl of Chatham*. Vol 2. (New York: Longmans, 1914), 280.

⁴⁶⁵ Lance Bertelsen, comparing a letter describing Chatham's final appearance in the Lords before his collapse to popular accounts, notes that the Parliamentary Registers relied on by biographers and critics are sometimes less reliable than the popular newspaper reports; in the specific case he describes, they edit of Chatham's inflammatory rhetoric. See Bertelsen, "Richmond's Rhetoric and Chatham's Collapse: A Media History" *Eighteenth-Century Life* 36, no. 3 (Fall 2012): 1-30.

⁴⁶⁶ Qtd in Marie Peters, "William Pitt, First Earl of Chatham," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, which features a section on Chatham's oratorical style.

⁴⁶⁷ Paddy Bullard, *Edmund Burke and the Art of Rhetoric* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 13. Frans de Bruyn gives an extensive overview of Burke's rhetorical education argues that Burke's reliance on literary form in his political argumentation is "a realization of content or ideas at the level of form" (7), an intriguing statement for my work here. See de Bruyn, *The Literary Genres of Edmund Burke: The Political Uses of Literary Form* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

⁴⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 4-5.

⁴⁶⁹ Bullard, 3.

⁴⁷⁰ Robert W. Jones, *Literature, Gender and Politics in Britain During the War for America, 1770-1785* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 53. Jones argues that while the Commons preferred classical rhetoric, "sensibility remained a potent language in which to protest, providing a ready vocabulary through which to oppose governmental power" (10).

[SOUTHMANUS] sat silently superior to threats and reproaches, [...] for with all his imperfections, and imputations, and with the curse of *two kingdoms* at his back, he baffled all the eloquence of EBURKOS, the force of SHATAMILLUS, and the sallies of the glowing VOLPONE—He carried every thing before him, and in defiance of patriotic opposition, sent a whole troop of dragoons to effect the Queen’s purposes by force of arms.⁴⁷¹

Here, speech fails to be effective—the greatest persuasive forces or “patriotic opposition” cannot stop violent force. What is fragmented here is not language, but its potential to create change and the forces it tries to impact.

The Annals uses italics at times to point out fragmented meanings of words. For example, early in the story on when *The Annals* set up the position of the Queen and the Prince, the former is described as a “*native* of ANGLACYCONDOS” and the latter as “an *only child*, of which in its *infancy*, the Queen doated.”⁴⁷² These italics not only help underline the connections between the real and the fictitious political figures, but also the relationship between the characters.⁴⁷³ Other italics in the text mark ironies in understanding, as when the Queen contends that “the colonies in PENNIOLANA, were not the Prince’s but *hers*, that consequently, all improvements in the colonies were hers, and that, (in one word) she considered herself as mistress over every individual, and all his property; that therefore she had a sovereign’s right to *enforce* obedience to her pleasure.”⁴⁷⁴ *Enforce* here encodes outright war in a seemingly more gentle way, just as the italicized description of the Prince’s people as “the *traitors* which espoused his cause” marks this as the Queen’s view and not the narrators.⁴⁷⁵

⁴⁷¹ *Annals*, 20.

⁴⁷² *Ibid*, 2.

⁴⁷³ Much was made by the English that King George III was the first of the Hanoverians to be born in England (i.e., a *native*).

⁴⁷⁴ *Ibid*, 12.

⁴⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 14.

Yet, at the same time, as the text describes events it uses italics for the opposite effect: “now commenced, open hostilities: *despotism* trod upon the neck of *liberty*, and the mother forged chains for the feet of her own child.”⁴⁷⁶ The italics set the two conceptual ideas against each other, just as the italics signal that they stand in for the two factions, and the metaphor carries it out. We can also see the critique enacted—the rights of the colonial subjects are upheld, rendering George’s controls as “despotism” through the allegory. The forged chains imagery renders the scene pathetic—not only because the idea of a mother enslaving or imprisoning her child seems unnatural, but because the image’s implied violence is moving. The italics here mark out this problematic power exchange between colony and home country, subject and ruler.

These italics within the introduction function in similar ways. For example, the italics draw together connections, as when the text declares the events applicable for “a century *behind* us, as at the moment *before* us.”⁴⁷⁷ It also uses italics to positively emphasize groups, as when it notes the text’s appeal to “the *Patriots* of the present age.”⁴⁷⁸ It also seems to allude to known groups, as when it notes that “nor will the portrait of the Albyonic Premier escape general notice, any more, than the fate of those *sons of freedom*, the inhabitants of PENNIOLANA.”⁴⁷⁹ While *sons of freedom* might merely generally allude to the further description of these people, the phrasing also nods towards the organized Sons of Liberty operating in the American colonies at this time.⁴⁸⁰ Like in the main text, however, this introduction and its italics serve to guide the reader’s response to the contents, to endorse a particular reading of the events

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid, 14.

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid, vi.

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid, vi.

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid, vi-vii.

⁴⁸⁰ The Sons of Liberty were responsible for the Boston Tea Party of December 1773; there were Sons of Liberty groups in different colonies; a letter republished in *St. James’s Chronicle* of 1 February 1774 and the *Daily Advertiser* of 2 February 1774 mentions the Sons of Liberty, and a section republished from the *New York Gazette* in the 5 February 1774 edition of the *General Evening Post* describes a meeting of the Association of the Sons of Liberty.

described. This is not merely a fight between mother country and colonial subject, but an assault on freedom. As intentional fragments like *The Annals* require attentive reading, the text's italics invite readers to engage thus, puzzling out not only the text's intended allegory but also how to read that allegory.

The *Annals*'s conclusion unites the fragmented text with a failure to communicate:

Description confesses her inability to paint the consequences of an engagement, in which sons and fathers, friends and neighbours, for the avarice of a minister, were indiscriminately plunging the dagger in the bosoms of each other. Trade lay groaning in the last agony; discontent ran wounded through the land--The streets both in ANGLACYCONDOS and PENNIOLANA, displayed every token of desolation.⁴⁸¹

A series of unnaturally divided relationships—friends and neighbors, sons and fathers—analogs the extreme problems inherent in the colonial strife; its results are equally problematic as trade's death-throes are depicted along with "wounded discontent." Miserable images layer over each other to create a horrific, destroyed picture. As the paragraph ends, though, the picture gets even worse:

⁴⁸¹ Ibid, 25-6.

tion. Blood, bankruptcies, and ravages became univerfal; and at laft the Prince refolved to Fall or Rife with his civil and natural liberties, came with vindictive hurry to the throne of his mother, and, after accusing her in perfon, of being favage and unnatural, opened his bofom, and bid her—*strike*. She did fo. Both nations felt the blow, lingered out the refidue of wretched exiftence in SKIRMISHES, and at length expired under it. The Queen became deserted even by SOUTHMANUS—laughed at by the people of FRANKILIO, her *old enemy*; and

3 (efcaping

(efcaping the refentment of two ruined countries, who left her to Almighty vengeance) foon died of a broken heart, a ftriking example to her fucceffors— * * * * *

ERRATA.

Page 15. line 13. for, vigilant induftry is elifimable, read, *art elifimable*.

F I N I S.

Figure 3.18: *The Annals of Administration* (1775). 26-7.

From Gale. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. © Gale, a part of Cengage Learning, Inc.

Reproduced by permission.

Here the text turns prophetic as the situation shifts from mirroring the current events to imagining an impossibly bloody future. Animus animates the deathblow for both countries; even at the moment that the text suggests some future, mentioning the Queen’s “successors,” the dash avoids concrete detail. The asterisks that follow in a line shift the register from a shorter to a longer interruption. Britain’s future cannot be envisioned here, and so is left blank. The fragment form allows the anonymous narrator to focus on the parts of the story relevant to his framing of the colonial conflict and to leave openings for the reader’s interpretive intervention. A future after colonial breakdown is unimaginable. The countries break down into pieces here scattered across the page. While *The Annals* criticizes what it considers to be unjust regulation and improper rule, it also presents the end of colonialism as the end of both

America and Britain. By its firm identification with (and dedication to) Burke, this fragment sides with balanced unity.

Even American fragments use the intentional fragment to voice discord. One such example, *A dialogue, between a southern delegate, and his spouse, on his return from the grand Continental Congress. A fragment, inscribed to the married ladies of America, by their most sincere, and affectionate friend, and servant, Mary V.V.*, printed in the year 1774, was likely published in New York by the famous printer James Rivington.⁴⁸² Occasionally ascribed to Thomas Jefferson,⁴⁸³ the pamphlet presents its dialogue in poetic form. While the verse occasionally overflows its metrical bounds,⁴⁸⁴ generally it's written in heroic couplet form, featuring squabbling spouses debating political unions. As the title page declares it to be “inscribed to the married ladies of America,” its audience is both quite specific and fairly general. The trope of the lamenting woman and the henpecked husband is established early on as the poem begins with the husband being interrupted by the wife, and him asking her to hold the peace:

Pray, for God's Sake, my Dear, be a little discreet
As I hope to be sav'd, you'll alarm the whole Street;
Don't delight so in scolding yourself out of Breath;
To the Neighbours 'tis Sport, but to me it is Death.
I submit for Peace sake, to be led by the Nose;
Don't make the World think that we've come to Blows:⁴⁸⁵

Yet early enough this begins to draw a parallel between two different families: if the Husband wishes to preserve unity within his family and the appearance of it without, the Wife risks that

⁴⁸² The Library of Congress provides this suggested attribution; the title page includes nothing but the year and the title.

⁴⁸³ According to the English Short Title Catalog (and Saban), apparently J.B. Chandler's copy has a note attributing it to Jefferson. But this attribution has not been generally accepted.

⁴⁸⁴ The lines occasionally turn from pentameter to hexameter.

⁴⁸⁵ *A dialogue, between a southern delegate, and his spouse, on his return from the grand Continental Congress. A fragment, inscribed to the married ladies of America, by their most sincere, and affectionate friend, and servant, Mary V.V.* (New York, 1774), 3-4.

appearance to argue for the larger British Union. In fact, she accuses her husband of being mentally disturbed: “I fear thou’st been bit, you so foam and so slaver: / Alas! never, —ah!— never, elect him again; / This pride of Delegation, turns many a Brain.”⁴⁸⁶ The Delegation which the Husband here represents include Virginians like Patrick Henry, George Washington, Richard Bland, Peyton Randolph, and Richard Henry Lee, all who advocated for colonial separation. But the sin of pride here “turns” his brain, thus making him act against what she judges to be the community’s proper interests.

As the poem continues after this, we see how the author plays with punctuation to visualize the text’s formal nature. The husband responds to correct his wife’s perspective, distinguishing his own beliefs from that of the Continental Congress at which he served:

Many Things they've left undone, they shou'd
 surely have done,
 Many Things they have done, they shou'd
 have sure let alone:
 The ----- Suffolk ----- Appro-
 lation,

 England ----- d—m—n

 Nice Discussions, a wife Man will ever decline,
 When his Head and his Heart are o'er heated
 with Wine:
 Men, when drunk, are all Heroes, all prudent,
 all gallant;
 Stark Fools, become Sages; rank Cowards,
 grow valiant:
 High Matters of State should be plann'd be-
 fore Dinner;
 A Saint in the Morn, is at Night oft a Sinner:
 But grant their Resolves were more absurd
 than they are,
 Could you really expect your meek Husband
 would dare
 Oppose such a Torrent, when its very well
 known,
 He dares not say to your Face, his Soul is his
 OWN.

Figure 3.19: *A dialogue, between a southern delegate, and his spouse* (1774). 5.

From Gale. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. © Gale, a part of Cengage Learning, Inc.

Reproduced by permission.

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid, 4.

As he goes to specify “Things they have done, they should have sure let alone,” the text breaks off into a series of various dashes. Yet, while information appears to be absent or encoded, lines like “The *Suffolk* Approbation” are perfect legible—here, talking about the First Continental Congress’s endorsement of the 9 September 1774 Suffolk Resolves, which advocated specific defiance of the Intolerable Acts. The next line, “*England* d-m—n,” where the final word might rhyme with “approbation,”⁴⁸⁷ suggests double possibilities: that England should be damned for its actions, or that damning England is yet another act the Congress should have avoided. As the Husband continues, however, it turns out that enmity is something he isn’t good at: “But grant their Resolves were more absurd than they are, / Could you really expect your meek Husband would dare, / Oppose such a Torrent, when its very well known, / He dares not to say to your Face, his Soul is his own.”⁴⁸⁸ If he is “meek,” he is both too meek to voice real anger or to stand up in the face of it, where his colleagues might be “all Heroes.” Likewise, perhaps we might read the Husband’s reluctance here to spell everything out as another form of meekness—he refuses to be tied to a particular stance verbally, or can’t dare to speak out fully against his wife’s clear position.

There is one other place where speech fragments in *A Dialogue*, which occurs in the midst of the Wife’s long plea for her Husband to reconsider his defiance. Before this point, she marshals several different arguments: because he has a family, he should avoid treasonous action that will only invite retributive violence; that by organizing to decide policy, they have usurped the sovereign’s authority; and that their boycotts will only yield economic ruin. She then exclaims:

⁴⁸⁷ Thus: “damnation.”

⁴⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 5.

How can it self, wou'd be asham'd, of your Code,
 Petty Sovereigns, in truth! God help us,
 what Things!
 To make deep Politicians, or Statesmen, or
 Kings?
 If *Philadelphia* or *York*, propos'd some wise
 Plan,
 From that very Moment, you all branded the
 Man
 ----- of Sense and of Honour----- derive
 ---Carpenters-Hall----- alive
 ----- murder or rob.
 ----- Pieces ----- Mob.
 Instead of imploring, their Justice, or Pity,
 You treat Parliament, like a Pack, of Banditti:

Figure 3.20: *A dialogue, between a southern delegate, and his spouse* (1774). 11.

From Gale. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. © Gale, a part of Cengage Learning, Inc.

Reproduced by permission.

The verse again turns into exclamations because of the dashed-out content. As it goes on, the individual words together paint a discordant picture: murder, rob, pieces, mob. The verse is rent much like bodies drawn and quartered. The oriental allusion to Morocco seems to be less a reference to a specific “Code” and more a general way of drawing distinctions between civilized/uncivilized action or righteous/barbaric law. The same idea is implied in the couplet following the fragmentation where the seat of law itself, Parliament, is equalled to “Banditti.” Yet while this language in other pamphlets has been used to affirmatively describe and delegitimize the mother country, here the colony is the corrupt and benighted Oriental state. It’s hard to say whether or not the exact combination of long and short dashes contains any code⁴⁸⁹, but readers in some cases could try and read between the lines to insert the common complaints against the Continental Congress, especially as the text itself references other pamphlets. While of course the Husband dismisses this disordered language as “Such Rant,

⁴⁸⁹ Since all type in the colonies was imported from England, and consequently quite expensive, American printers had more reason to make do with less.

and Bombast,” both figures fragment their speech, making any easy equation between gender and language difficult to sustain.⁴⁹⁰

As the pamphlet ends, two final triplets advocate for unity between colony and Parliament as the Wife takes on the position of a Cassandra and pleads, “Repent! or you are forever, forever undone.”⁴⁹¹ The final hint of disillusion in “undone” connects back to the textual fragments within the work. Colonial conflict not only threatens communication, but also the “you” of the verse: the reader, the Continental Congress, America individually, or the United Kingdom as a whole. The decision to switch to triplets at the end interrupts the couplet rhythm, but the extra line reinforces the rhyme connection amongst the lines, with even some interior complements of threes: “Whilst you are in Danger, by your good Leave, my Dear, / Both by Night and by Day, I will ring in your Ear--- / Make your Peace:—Fear the King: The Parliament fear.”⁴⁹² The repetition of three phrases in two of the three lines balances nicely a sense of connected sound while preventing the sound from being too alike: an aural unstable unity. Again, in some small way, these intentional fragments use their form to reinforce their content.

To shift away from the details of these fragments, we can see some connections not only between the strategies of these texts and their publication history. Even across the ocean there are intimate links between various booksellers that can help argue some intentionality on the part of these texts. The figures responsible for producing these works for sale—John Bew, George Wilkie, and James Rivington—shared some associations. John Bew, for example, not only published *The Annals of Administration* but also a 1775 pamphlet called *The history of the old fring’d petticoat; a fragment: translated from the original MS. Greek of Democritus. With an epistle and*

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid, 12.

⁴⁹¹ Ibid, 14.

⁴⁹² Ibid, 14.

dedication to Lord N--- that also addresses the relationship between Great Britain and America. Both pamphlets, perhaps coincidentally, advocate that Britain make peace with the colonists. Likewise, Bew also had associations with other major publishers like William Strahan, George Robinson, and the Rivingtons.⁴⁹³ While James was somewhat separated from his brothers and nephews, he travelled between London and the colonies. George Wilkie also links up with these fellows: while he was not associated with the other Revolutionary fragment publishers in 1783, his association with John Robinson helps put him in connection with John Bew, who also starts trading in 1774 and whose shop is several doors down from John's brother George Robinson on Paternoster Row. Also, like Bew, he published numerous politically-aligned works during this time, including titles like *An address to the House of Lords on the East India reform bill*, *The case and claim of the American loyalists impartially stated and considered*, and *Observations on the fifth article of the treaty with America: and on the necessity of appointing a judicial enquiry into the merits and losses of the American loyalists*. The two were published for The Board of Agents for the American Loyalists, providing an American connection. The small eighteenth-century publishing world generally ensures some manner of connection between booksellers, so while perhaps these links are not particularly striking, we can at least consider how readers might have noticed fragment publications together, and how such collaborations might help suggest that the intentional fragment came to be recognized as a genre by readers. If a reader knows that John Bew sells political satire, for example, they will recognize in the fragment that intent, and come to understand "fragment" to signify such works.

Discussions about the relationship between Britain and England during the American Revolution consistently employed the trope of family: whether mother and son, father and children, writers used fragments to depict potential imperial breakdown and the dissolving

⁴⁹³ See the *British Book Trade Index*.

bands of family. The political body is personal disruption. The fragment visually and narratively represents this political conflict. However, authors on different sides of the conflict all use the same genre to make their arguments. Each uses different visual strategies of fragmentation, though these strategies are not consistent across the controversy. Some rely more on visuals, others on prefaces. Reading the two groups of political fragments against each other, we see that such works rely on inviting readers to locate common knowledge in them, whether it's *A Key* or *The Annals*' sound-alike names. However, as these intentional fragments refuse completion, readers struggle to know. The political futures these American pamphlets invoke can be terrifying, but while the intentional fragments makes its form sensible, it simultaneously gestures to what cannot be felt, and thus, what cannot be known.

TRISTRAM SHANDY AND PERSONAL FRAGMENTS

To conclude this chapter, I want to circle back to a different kind of intentional fragment—personal ones—to review how intentional fragments adapt to other kinds of circumstances, and to think more about what ideologies or meanings they can take. While I've already provided some discussion of *Tristram Shandy* in the earlier chapters, *Shandy* is important to the fragment's history as some fragments are not only described as "Shandean" but also labeled such by their authors. Sterne is famously innovative in his visual design and meticulous about its presentation.⁴⁹⁴ This dissertation shows that some of Sterne's typographic tricks were already familiar to readers, and he brilliantly adopts and adapts them in new ways. The Shandean fragment provides space for personal meditation. While this chapter has emphasized intentional fragments that serve as political allegories, using the fragmentary form to indict political corruption or dysfunction, another major subset of intentional fragments perform the

⁴⁹⁴ See Janine Barchas, *Graphic Design, Print Culture, and the Eighteenth-Century Novel* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Christopher Fanning, "On Sterne's Page: Spatial Layout, Spatial Form, and Social Spaces in *Tristram Shandy*" *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 10, no. 4 (1998): 429-50; and William Blake Gerard, *Laurence Sterne and the Visual Imagination* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2006).

problematics inherent in trying to feel along with or understand a person different from one's self.⁴⁹⁵ Looking at these examples can also help us reconsider how their ironic presentation nonetheless promulgates sentimental perspectives.

Laurence Sterne's seminal novel *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman* (1759-67)—which purports to be Shandy's attempt to tell his life story, but seemingly diverts from this task with stories about his father Walter, his Uncle Toby's obsessive discussion of his injury from the Siege of Namur, and everything else in between—is noteworthy for its innovation in graphic form as much as its place in the novel's rise. The black page mourning the fallen pastor Yorick performs his absence from Shandy's life and visually distinguishes the divide. However, both this work and Sterne's later *A Sentimental Journey through France and Italy* (1768) rely on fragments. While *Tristram Shandy* has the defense that this is Shandy's "life and opinions," and thus is not required to be told chronologically, *A Sentimental Journey's* title hints at the reasons for its disorder: because it is a *sentimental* journey, the text's arrangement is governed by feelings, not logical connections between events.⁴⁹⁶ Both works, however, jump among episodes and include texts inserted inside the larger narrative—including fragments that are titled as such.

For example, the first chapter in Volume 5 of *Tristram Shandy* includes a fragment on whiskers. As identified by Richard Davies,⁴⁹⁷ this story alludes to known facts about Margaret de Valois as inspired by her peculiarities about her hair. Indeed, as Davies notes, "The

495 Lynn Festa's *Sentimental Figures of Empire in Eighteenth-Century Britain and France* (John Hopkins, 2006) helps capture some of this—how the sentimental makes identifications with the fallen, the poor, the slave, problematic because that identification silences the actual lived differences and excuses the individual from actively doing anything to change the social systems—but this strain critiquing the sentimental novel has long been alive in the genre. See Michael Bell's *Sentimentalism, Ethics, and the Culture of Feeling* (New York: Palgrave, 2000) for another example.

496 Although *A Sentimental Journey* actually is more ordered than *Tristram Shandy*, as it does follow Yorick roughly in order on his journey as he encounters events. Individual events are not necessarily connected with a specific through-line; it is Yorick's perspective that provides that to readers.

497 Richard Davies, "'The Fragment' in *Tristram Shandy*, V, 1", *English Studies: A Journal of English Language and Literature* (1976): 522-3.

'Fragment' is set in a court that was notorious for its libertine ways and attributes a fascination for 'whiskers' to a queen who had an actual fetish for hair which Sterne may or may not have known."⁴⁹⁸ The framing of the piece emphasizes its potentially scandalous nature too: "A chapters upon whiskers! alas! The world will not bear it—'tis a delicate world—but I knew not of what mettle it was made—nor had I ever seen the underwritten fragment; otherwise, as surely as noses are noses, and whiskers are whiskers still; (let the world say what it will to the contrary) so surely would I have steered clear of this dangerous chapter."⁴⁹⁹ Here Shandy links this fragment with the Slawkenbergius's Tale that opens Book 4, which tells the story of a stranger who has an extremely large nose. The parallelism of the sentence connecting them also underlines the pun at play: if "noses" are noses, then "whiskers" are whiskers too. The danger of the "dangerous chapter" lies not only in the pun, which a "delicate world" might not support, but also in the potential danger of missing the joke. Shandy disclaims the whole so thoroughly that it comes off as obviously false protestation.

The asterisks beginning the section, along with the title *The Fragment*, indicate that we are entering the fragmentary mode:

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid, 523.

⁴⁹⁹ Laurence Sterne, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*. Volume 5. (London, 1762), 5.

The Fragment.

* * * * *
 * * * * *
 * *—— You are half asleep, my good lady, said the old gentleman, taking hold of the old lady's hand and giving it a gentle squeeze, as he pronounced the word *Whiskers*——shall we change the subject? By no means, replied the old lady—I like your account of these matters: so throwing a thin gauze handkerchief over her head, and leaning it back upon the chair with her face turned towards him, and advancing her two feet as she reclined herself—I desire, continued she, you will go on.

The old gentleman went on as follows.
 ——Whiskers! cried the queen of *Navarre*, dropping her knotting-ball, as *La Fosseuse* uttered the word——Whiskers;
 kers;

Figure 3.21: Laurence Sterne, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*. Vol 5. (1762)

6.

From Gale. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. © Gale, a part of Cengage Learning, Inc.

Reproduced by permission.

The asterisks lead into the story in a moment of abstraction, where they double the lady's "half asleep" state. As she comes back to the conversation, so do the readers. The first dash separates the dialogue from narrative, but dashes festoon the page with pauses, absence—especially as characters continually exclaim "*Whiskers*" on the following page. Nothing is being communicated: the same word repeated over and over. Except, the story describes the word's degradation: "Twas plain to the whole court the word was ruined: *La Fosseuse* had given it a

wound, and it was not the better for passing through all these defiles—[...] the word in course became indecent, and (after a few efforts) absolutely unfit for use. The best word, in the best language of the best world, must have suffered under such combinations.”⁵⁰⁰ Sterne uses his fragment to describe a linguistic problem. Whiskers comes to signify something “indecent”; its linguistic value shifts, even if the word could have an inherent value (“the best word”), as its users “ruin” the word. Yet, because Sterne *wants* readers to read “whiskers” as indecent, the word is ruined perhaps in both senses—destroyed *and* debauched. While Shandy seems to lament this naughty language or to elide it, like the work’s other hobby-horses, the fragment rehearses the problems of linguistic meaning over and over again. Even at the end communication fails: “The drift of the curate *d’Estella’s* argument was not understood.—They ran the scent the wrong way.”⁵⁰¹ The word itself cannot be understood in polite company, nor can arguments about the word’s meaning be comprehended. Sterne’s false delicacy is but fragmentary pretense.

Sterne’s imitators also use sentimental language and fragment writing ambivalently to embrace sentimental tropes. Such titles like Mary Lister’s 1771 *Pro & con; or, the opinionists: an ancient fragment. Published for the amusement of the curious in antiquity*, Thomas Medley’s 1774 *Hotch potch*, which was also republished and revised under the title *The Shandysonian* in 1779, and Isaac Brandon’s 1797 *Fragments: in the manner of Sterne*⁵⁰² telegraph their relationship to his work with references to his characters, if not in titles themselves.⁵⁰³ These works likewise connect

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid, 15-6.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid, 17.

⁵⁰² This list isn’t complete, either: for example, Richard Gardner’s 1782 *Memoirs of the life and writings (prose and verse) of R-ch--d G-rd-n-r, Esq. alias Dick Merry-Fellow, Of Serious and Facetious Memory! author of The history of Pudica; An Elegy on the death of Lady Asgill; An Expedition to the West-Indias; The Lynn Magazine; The Contest; Letters to Sir H-H-, and T-W-C-, Esq. A Fragment; The Tripping-Jury; Naval-Register, &c.* includes “The Adventures of TRISTRAM SHANDY,” which begins with a series of dashes.

⁵⁰³ For example, *Pro & con* begins as a review of itself between Mr. Fustian, Mr. Fidget, Mr. Snarl, and Mr. Malapert, among others. Mr. Quibble suggests that “I question whether this is not intended as a wild Imitation of *Tristram Shandy*” (vi), which then invites Tristram Shandy himself to join the conversation, warning that

Sterne to fragment as they describe their Shandean writing as such. They adopt similar strategies—like, for example, the blanking out of significant words like the “***** ***”—to break up their text. While many writers were influenced by Sterne’s style, and physical objects like fragments appeared repeatedly in sentimental fiction following his *Sentimental Journey*,⁵⁰⁴ certain authors use the generic identification of fragment to connect their writing with Sterne’s, borrowing his fame.

This connection, I’d like to suggest here, might help us equally read into this formal gesture the same irony and humor that Sterne uses in *Tristram Shandy* to such sentimental intentional fragments that follow his example. *Fragments: in the manner of Sterne*, published in three editions before 1800, includes “Anna. A Fragment,” which is a sentimental tale about a woman Trim encountered.

“whoever attempts to imitate *me* is an impertinent Coxcomb and Impostor” (vii), as the text follows to include a little chart of the author’s qualities in complete imitation of *Tristram Shandy*’s illustrations.

⁵⁰⁴ For more on objects and the sentimental, see Deidre Lynch, “Personal Effects and Sentimental Fictions,” *Eighteenth Century Fiction* 12, no. 2 (2000): 345-68.

ANNA.

A FRAGMENT.

—SHE was fitting, an' please your Honour,
at the door of a cottage—with two of the sweet-
est babes, scarce higher than your Honour's
knee:—her eyes were fixed on the Moon, which
was at the full;—she might be pale,—but the
Moon, I think, made her more so.—I do not
know what was in her countenance—but the
moment I saw her, I could have sat down, and
wept with her.—

—She is bewilder'd, Trim—
quoth my uncle Toby.—

¶

Not

Figure 3.22: Isaac Brandon, *Fragments: in the manner of Sterne* (1797), 97.

From Gale. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. © Gale, a part of Cengage Learning, Inc.

Reproduced by permission.

This moment is typically sentimental: a woman, lone, with children, sits humbly at a cottage. Her pale complexion makes her aesthetically pleasing, but also conveys a pitiable sickliness or weakness. The connection with the Moon suggests a delusion or lunacy similar to Harley's encounter with the madwoman in *The Man of Feeling*, which seems seconded when Uncle Toby describes her as "bewilder'd."⁵⁰⁵ Trim's desire to weep with her marks a sympathetic identification typical of earnest sentimentality. As the moment goes on, however, the sympathy gets suggestive: "The Nightingale was singing; and she said to it, while the tears trickled fast down her cheeks—I could have kissed them away—but without any bad meaning, (continued

⁵⁰⁵ Isaac Brandon, *Fragments: in the manner of Sterne* (London, 1797), 97.

Trim).”⁵⁰⁶ That Trim must disclaim “any bad meaning” suggests it to readers where it might not otherwise be thought to exist.

The sexual undercurrent continues as he goes on: “—’If you have cause to mourn,’ said she—’how much more reason have I!’—then clasped her little beauties to her bosom.”⁵⁰⁷ Of course “her little beauties” here refers to her children, which she holds in tender embrace, but the “beauties” and the “bosom” helps us dwell on her form longer than proper for a maternal scene. This moment exactly captures *Tristram Shandy*’s tone, where sexual puns undercut the sentimental, making us laugh at the characters as much as we are meant to feel with them. *Fragments* suggests that ironic readings of the sentimental functioned alongside more traditional understandings of weeping people. Intentional fragments, which represent partial stories that makes their fictionality apparent in visual form, adapts to personal and political material alike, leaving open sincere and satiric readings. This chapter shows that while eighteenth-century critics celebrated unity of form and content—and contemporary critics often identify genre in terms of its content—intentional fragments evade such restriction. Intentional fragments construct a visual grammar for self-representation that becomes identifiable within the literary marketplace and replicable across it. Networks of authors, printers, booksellers and readers constructed fragments and the fragment as genre through graphic design and interpretive practices. It is this evolution perhaps which makes it possible for fragments to be published that aren’t fragments at all.

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid, 98.

⁵⁰⁷ Ibid, 98.

Chapter Four: Complete Fragments

Poems upon several occasions. By the Reverend Mr. John Pomfret. Viz. I. The Choice [...] To which are added, Poems: by Mr. Tickell. Viz. I. The Fatal Curiosity. II. A Description of the Phoenix. III. A Fragment of a Poem upon Hunting. And several other Poems uses its title to advertise the book's full contents, including (at the end) *A Fragment of a Poem upon Hunting*. The curious reader is presented with a work five pages long, written in heroic couplets, celebrating the hunt. The first few lines build Mr. Tickell's intent:

Horses and Hounds, their Care, their various Race,
The numerous Beasts, that range the rural Chace,
The Huntsman's chosen Scenes, his friendly Stars,
The Laws and Glory of the Sylvan Wars,
I first in *British* Verse presume to raise;
A vent'rous Rival of the *Roman* Praise.⁵⁰⁸

Tickell brings to the stage the proper epic set-pieces for his task: the "Huntsman" employs "Horses and Hounds" to chase the "numerous Beasts," and Tickell uses the whole group to construct a British response to earlier Roman celebrations of the sport. He then invokes the "chaste Queen of Woods" to beg her aid: "grant me Genius for the bold Design."⁵⁰⁹

The verses that follow sing the praises of the dogs who chase the hares, especially "The Matron Bitch whose Womb shall best produce / The Hopes and Fortune of th' illustrious House," then shift to praise Spring as the season of hunting.⁵¹⁰ Breeding

⁵⁰⁸ Thomas Tickell, *Poems upon several occasions. By the Reverend Mr. John Pomfret. Viz. I. The Choice [...] To which are added, Poems: by Mr. Tickell. Viz. I. The Fatal Curiosity. II. A Description of the Phoenix. III. A Fragment of a Poem upon Hunting. And several other Poems* (Dublin, 1726), 140.

⁵⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 140.

⁵¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 142.

companions—feather'd warblers, fell tygers, and fawning lions—precede an invitation to explore the springtime wood: "Come now, nor fear, my Love / To taste the Odours of the Wood-bine Grove, / To pass the Evening Gloom in harmless Play, / And, sweetly swearing, languish Life away."⁵¹¹ (143). The latent sexual suggestion in this languishing, however, is cut off as he ties hunting's existence to Man's Fall:

All hail! Such Days in beauteous Order ran,
So swift, so sweet, when first the World began,
[...] But when, with luckless Hand,
Our daring Mother broke the sole Command,
Then Want and Envy brought their meagre Train,
Then Wrath came down, and Death had leave to reign:
Hence Foxes earth'd, and Wolves abhorr'd the Day,
And hungry Churls ensnar'd the nightly Prey,
Rude Arts at first; but witty Want refin'd
The Huntsman's Wiles, and Famine form'd the Mind.⁵¹²

In other words, because Eve sought knowledge, the previous peace between man and beast was broken, and all animals were set at battle. No longer in the Garden which provided his sustenance, man turns from "hungry Churl" into a Huntsman. Naming "BOLD *Nimrod*" (144) as the first hunter, Tickell disarticulates his tyrannous rule with his predatory skills, disclaiming the former for the latter:

Let me, ye Pow'rs, a humbler Wreath demand.
No Pomp I ask, which Crown and Sceptres yield,
Nor dang'rous Lawrels in the dusty Field;

⁵¹¹ Ibid, 143.

⁵¹² Ibid, 143.

Fast by the Forest, and the limpid Spring,
Give me the Warfare of the Woods to sing,
To breed my Whelps, and healthful press the Game,
A mean, inglorious, but a guiltless Name.⁵¹³

Even though the poem early positions hunting within a nationalized British context, the hunter Tickell here imagines is “mean” and “inglorious.” The poem thus celebrates no great leaders but the everyday English huntsman, claiming not lands but the local English countryside. The fertile “whelps” and “healthful” game turn the sport idyllic. Its very humbleness makes the heroic couplets appropriate.

The next verse turns to celebrate the bitch which makes the hunt possible. Tickell recommends gentle treatment: “Unlock’d, in Coverts let her freely run, / To range thy Courts, and bask before the Sun; / Near thy full Table let the Fav’rite stand, / Stroak’d be thy Son’s or blooming Daughter’s Hand.”⁵¹⁴ If the “Matron Bitch” seems here for Tickell to represent the hunt’s fruitfulness—both as she produces pups and those pups help secure the table’s meat—the family here reinforces the moment’s fecundity. The dog’s freedom of moment also mimics the Englishman’s freedoms, especially the hunter’s liberty within the King’s forests.

The poem then shifts back to the Roman/British comparison:

So, (if small Things may be compar’d with great,
And Nature’s Works the Muses imitate)
So, stretch’d in Shades, and lull’d by murm’ring Streams,
Great *Maro*’s Breast receiv’d the heav’nly Dreams.
Recluse, serene the musing Prophet lay,
‘Till Thoughts in Embryo, ripening, burst their Way.

⁵¹³ Ibid, 144.

⁵¹⁴ Ibid, 144.

Hence Bees in State, and foaming Courses come,
Heroes, and Gods, and Walls of lofty *Rome*.⁵¹⁵

The first two lines set several binaries—small/great, art’s work/Nature’s work—that are only partially continued as the rest of the verse describes *Maro*’s⁵¹⁶ artistic generation. The “bees in state” seem to reference Virgil’s *Georgics*, which was followed by the “foaming Courses,” “Heroes, and Gods” of the *Aeneid*. The comparative structure of the preceding lines seems to suggest that implicitly these accomplishments are set against the poem containing them. The “foaming Courses,” which suggest Aeneas and the Trojan fleet, also could stand in for the hunting dogs that this poem has described. While the weighted comparisons position Tickell in the humble place he happily occupies earlier in the poem, they also fulfill his earlier call to write “a vent’rous Rival of the *Roman* Praise.”⁵¹⁷

Arguably, this explains the title: the poem is called “A Fragment of a Poem upon Hunting” because the comparison is left incomplete. However, one word upsets this effort: “*FINIS*.” Rather than winkingly leaving the work unfinished, in fact the last word affirms that the work is complete. Likewise, instead of ending on a dash or an incomplete line as many intentional fragments do, the final couplet closes on an appropriate rhyme. No visual element, other than the title, suggests that the work is unfinished. So, then, what makes this a fragment?

⁵¹⁵ Ibid, 144.

⁵¹⁶ Maro is a reference to Virgil.

⁵¹⁷ Ibid, 140.

So, (if small Things may be compar'd with great,
 And Nature's Works the Muses imitate)
 So, stretch'd in Shades, and hush'd by murmur'ing Streams,
 Great *Mars*'s Breast receiv'd the heav'nly Dreams.
 Recluse, serene the musing Prophet lay,
 'Till Thoughts in Embryo, ripening, burst their Way,
 Hence Bees in State, and foaming Couriers come,
 Heroes, and Gods, and Walls of lofty *Rome*.

F. T. N. I. S.

Figure 4.1: Thomas Tickell, "A Fragment of a Poem upon Hunting," *Poems upon several occasions* (Dublin, 1726). 144.

From Gale. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. © Gale, a part of Cengage Learning, Inc.

Reproduced by permission.

This chapter answers this question by reviewing several other works that, like Thomas Tickell's poem, replicate this problem: literary works that are titled "fragments" but which present no formal, graphic, or narrative incompleteness. I here group such texts under the label "complete fragments," which includes works that formally or narratively conclude but are smaller parts of larger works, fragments that contain motifs of fragmentation, or fragments that only appear so by their titles. This chapter considers how complete fragments help register a shift in the period's understanding of titular genre descriptions and in the period's larger historical generic developments. Enabled by technological advances, an expanding metropolis, and a growing readership, genres like the newspaper, the novel, and the literary review became featured players on the eighteenth-century literary marketplace, continuing to evolve in form and content over the period. The fragment likewise shifted from signifying just incomplete works to becoming a diffuse category in its own right.⁵¹⁸

⁵¹⁸ David Duff usefully notes this in his work on *Romanticism and the Uses of Genre*, as I will more fully discuss elsewhere. Romantic criticism has much to say about the fragment in part because the fragment becomes

While this dissertation attempts to distinguish among numerous works and to offer a better way of categorizing what fragments do, this chapter, with the others in rear view, acknowledges and attempts to think through the problems of taxonomy. The complete fragment relies less on any set of characteristics than on an intentional presentation emphasizing its reception as such. Complete fragments demand that readers consume them as fragments. However, how do themes of fragmentation make something a fragment? If intentionality is again an important factor here, what distinguishes this from the intentional fragment or the unintentional fragment? As always, these categories are slippery. Eighteenth-century critics themselves were concerned about applying traditional generic descriptions and rules to contemporary texts. They paid equal attention to content as well as form. Samuel Johnson's *Rambler* 4 discusses the novel not for its formal structures but its content—its fictionality. Complete fragments point out this tension, even as they point to the anxieties of categorization at large. What separates a miscellany from an anthology? And what makes a fragment different from these? To try and answer these questions, this chapter will first present a descriptive overview for the complete fragment, then examine several complete fragments to tease out how these works perform their fragmentariness. Finally, this chapter will use these readings to put the complete fragment in the context of a broader critical conversation about genre to explore how genre theories account for the complete fragment, and what the complete fragment offers this conversation. The following fragments may raise more questions than answers, but in doing so can help critics become more aware of the difficulties around applying a category like “fragment” without considering its historical particularities.

recognized as a genre in and of itself by this point. However, this doesn't mean that the fragment is exclusively a Romantic genre.

THE COMPLETE FRAGMENT: AN OVERVIEW

Published in 1702/3, John Barret's *Analecta: or, fragments offered (upon occasion) as a supplement to a discourse of the covenants*, (printed with this title [*Good will towards men*] An. 1675.) Also *Sixty Queries proposed to such as deny the Evangelical Law, and Gospel-Terms* positions itself as fragmentary—a mere “supplement” to a longer work, his 1675 piece *Good will towards men, or a Treatise of the Covenants, viz. Of Works, and Of Grace—Old & New. Wherein sundry Propositions are Laid down Concerning them, and Diverse Questions occasionally Discussed*. *Analecta* is divided into three sections: “Christ the Mediator of a better Covenant,” which takes Hebrews 7:6 as its text; “The Judgment and Testimony of the Excellent and Renowned Monsieur Claude, That the Gospel is a Law, a Law of Grace (as I had it lately in a Letter from a Friend),” which is a translation of two pages from the fifth sermon of Jean Claude's *La Parabole de Nûces expliquée en cinq Sermons*; and “Sixty QUERIES propounded to such as deny the Redeemers Evangelical Law, and Gospel Terms.” None of these three pieces is itself incomplete, though the grouping of the three together is a bit of a hodge-podge. In fact, “fragments” here in the title refers not to something incomplete in form or narrative, but incomplete by subject. Barret's thoughts are distinct from a unified argument, but are a “supplement” to a larger work. This categorization reflects the hodge-podge nature of the complete fragment: these works are not defined as complete fragments by any real shared form, but because they ask readers to consume them as such.⁵¹⁹

Complete fragments make up a relatively small number of eighteenth-century fragments, and thus might be regarded as unrepresentative of the whole. About 24 of the 264 works that include “fragment” or “fragments” in the title are complete fragments—so, less than ten percent of the total works. They spread from the earliest to the latest years of the

⁵¹⁹ Of course, these works are all formally complete, so insofar as “form” is shared, they do share that. Of course, what constitutes “formally complete” is debatable—but here I generally mean a work that tells a story with beginning, middle, and end, or a poem where the verse resolves.

decade, though the greatest bulk of them appear between 1760-1789.⁵²⁰ Six of these complete fragments are formally complete, but seem to be part of a larger work.⁵²¹ Some of these fragments defy fragmentation by coming to formal completion, with a resolution like “FINIS” or “THE END.”⁵²² Some others are called fragments because they do not present a complete history, like Voltaire’s translated *Fragments relating to the late revolutions in India, the death of Count Lally, and the prosecution of Count de Morangies*, which is a series of articles that recount historical events in India, including the history of General Lally’s time in India and the contemporary Indian caste system.⁵²³ These episodes are themselves formally complete, and might only be fragments because they do not include the whole story. Another example of this is *She is and she is not: a fragment of the true history of Miss Caroline De Grosberg, alias Mrs. Potter, &c. &c. exhibiting a series of uncommon artifices and intrigues in the course of her transactions with the Earl of Lauderdale, [...] Compiled from papers of undeniable authenticity, and dedicated to Mrs. M-t C-e R-dd.* (London, 1776), which has no markings of fragmentation, but is a fragment because it does not provide the “full” history of Margaret Caroline Rudd, a woman involved in a famous forgery scandal.⁵²⁴ Complete fragments include poetry as well as prose, and vary in length from a single page to hundred-page works.⁵²⁵ While many of the later ones are somewhat sentimental, like *The*

⁵²⁰ Between 1710 and 1759, only one complete fragment is published per decade, compared with six between 1760-9, for example. There were four published in the 1770s and five in the 1780s. While it might be easy to speculate that the number goes up alongside a general rise in printed titles, there are only two published in the 1790s. However, since this data is relatively small,

⁵²¹ Jeremy Bentham’s *A Fragment on Government; Being An Examination of what is delivered, On the subject of Government in General, in the Introduction to Sir William Blackstone’s Commentaries: With a Preface, in which is given a Critique of the Work at Large.* (London, 1776) introduces the work as part of a larger work, and that he has given that fragment “that finish which I was able, and which I thought was necessary: and to publish it in this detached manner, as the first, if not the only part of a work, the principal and remaining part of which may possibly see the light some time or other, under some such title as that of ‘A COMMENT on the COMMENTARIES’” (viii-ix).

⁵²² An example of this is Henry Headley, *An invocation to melancholy. A fragment* (Oxford and London, 1785).

⁵²³ Voltaire, *Fragments relating to the late revolutions in India, the death of Count Lally, and the prosecution of Count de Morangies. Translated from the French of M. de Voltaire* (London, 1774).

⁵²⁴ This was the Perreau Case; for more, see Horace Bleackley, *Some Distinguished Victims of the Scaffold* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, & Co, 1905). Caroline de Grosberg is Rudd’s fictionalized name in the pamphlet.

⁵²⁵ There are 14 prose complete fragments and 10 poetic ones.

Village of Whitburn: A poetical fragment. Humbly inscribed to Sir Thomas Clavering, Baronet (Sunderland, 1783), others are historical accounts like Robert Orme's *Historical fragments of the Mogul empire. Of the Morattoes, and of the English concerns, in Indostan* (London, 1782). Like intentional fragments, complete fragments include much formal and thematic variety. This makes part of the difficulty in discussing complete fragments: only the titles consistently label them as fragments. Yet, why did authors adopt this strategy? Where constitutes the complete fragment's fragmentariness?

COMPLETE FRAGMENTS IN *THE HERMIT OF THE FOREST, AND THE WANDERING INFANTS. A RURAL FRAGMENT*

This extraordinarily popular fragment, attributed to Richard Johnson⁵²⁶ by bibliographer d'Alté Welch, was printed fifteen times between its first recorded printing in 1789 and the end of the century.⁵²⁷ The earliest surviving copy was published in Boston by Samuel Hall, but the work's attribution relies on Johnson's account book, which credits payment from Elizabeth Newbery's⁵²⁸ agent for the text in a July 1787 entry, making it likely that she was the work's original publisher.⁵²⁹ *The Hermit of the Forest* is unique amongst these

⁵²⁶ Richard Johnson wrote numerous children's books, though he generally published anonymously. For more on Johnson, see M. J. P. Weeden, "Richard Johnson and the Successors to John Newbery," *The Library*, 5th ser., 4, no. 1 (1949): 25-63.

⁵²⁷ See d'Alté Welch, *A bibliography of American children's books printed prior to 1821* (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society and Barre Publishers, 1971), 230.

⁵²⁸ Elizabeth Newbery was *The Hermit's* London publisher. According to the *British Book Trade Index*, she took over after her husband Francis's death in 1780, though she was not the active printer. Francis was the nephew of the famous printer and children's author John Newbery, and published *The Gentleman's Magazine* between 1767 and 1780. Like his uncle and his cousin (also named Francis), he specialized in children's literature. While the *English Short Title Catalog* does not list it until 1794, the *London Chronicle* of 27-9 December 1787 advertised the text to be published "in the Christmas Holidays," per d'Alté Welch, *A Bookseller of the Last Century: Being Some Account of the Life of John Newbery, and of the Books he published, with a Notice of the later Newberys* (London: Griffiths, Farran, Okeden & Welsh, 1885). While it's possible that Newbery was not able to print it, it seems far more likely that it was published and no copy from that edition survives.

⁵²⁹ It also seems potentially ironic that this fragment has its own fragmented history with a likely but missing 1787/8 London edition.

fragments because of its American popularity. *The Hermit* was printed in such places as Boston, New York, Philadelphia, London, and Charleston, Massachusetts.

The Americans who published *The Hermit of the Forest* are an interesting crew. Samuel Hall, who first printed and published the text in America, was associated, like the Newberys, with children's books. Isaiah Thomas notes that while he printed a French-language newspaper for six months beginning in April, 1789, called *Courier de Boston*, "he printed a few octavo and duodecimo volumes, a variety of small books with cuts, for children, and many pamphlets, particularly sermons."⁵³⁰ He was reputed "a correct printer, and a judicious editor; [...] a respectable citizen, and a firm friend to his country," which underlines his patriotism both with "citizen" and "friend."⁵³¹ Francis Bailey, who printed the work in Philadelphia, had done business there since 1788. Before that, he was in partnership with Stewart Herbert in Lancaster.⁵³² He published an anti-Federalist newspaper in Philadelphia called *Freeman's Journal* and did several major printing jobs for Congress, including the Articles of Confederation.⁵³³ Joel Lamson,⁵³⁴ the publisher of the Charlestown edition, was before this a printer in Exeter, NH, and partnered with Henry Ranlet.⁵³⁵ William Durell, who published the text in New York,⁵³⁶ was prosecuted under the Alien and Sedition Acts for a pamphlet "Answer to the

⁵³⁰ Isaiah Thomas, *The History of Printing in America, with a Biography of Printers, and an Account of Newspapers. In Two Volumes*, 2nd ed. (Albany, NY: Joel Munsell, 1874), 1.178. For a more general history of the American printing trade, see Lawrence Wroth, *The Colonial Printer*. 2nd ed. (Charlottesville: Dominion Books, 1964).

⁵³¹ *Ibid.*, 1.178.

⁵³² *Ibid.*, 1.286-7.

⁵³³ Lee J. Stoltzfus, "Francis Bailey: Lancaster's Favorite Hot-Headed Printer," *The Black Art: A History of Printing in Lancaster*, last accessed 4 June 2014, http://www.lancasterlyrics.com/g_francis_bailey/.

⁵³⁴ Lamson's imprints indicate he actively printed in Exeter, NH between 1785-1795; 1796-8 in Charlestown, MA; and 1798-9 in Exeter again, per Roger Pattrell Bristol's *Index of Printers, Publishers, and Booksellers Indicated by Charles Evans in his American Bibliography* (Charlottesville: Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1961), 99.

⁵³⁵ University of New Hampshire Library, "John Lamson (1769-1807)," last accessed 4 June 2014, <http://www.library.unh.edu/special/index.php/exhibits/popular-press-in-new-hampshire/john-lamson>.

⁵³⁶ William Durrell's imprint shows up in Evans's *American Bibliography* between 1786 and 1800, according to Roger Pattrell Bristol, 46-7.

Youths of Pennsylvania,” critical of then-President Adams.⁵³⁷ While it is not perhaps strange that many of these American printers had political connections as well as a diverse printing stock, it’s interesting to consider what attracted these figures and their readers to *The Hermit of the Forest*, as well as their readers. How did *The Hermit of the Forest, and the Wandering Infants. A Rural Fragment* appeal to an American audience, and what role did its fragmentariness play?⁵³⁸

The text’s physical appearance suggests that its audience was mainly children.⁵³⁹ Not only does the original blue wrapper have stamps of birds and monkeys on it to appeal to the youthful eye, the size of the volume—only a few inches across at its widest point—makes it more appropriate for a small hand than a larger adult palm. The story is also prefaced by an alphabet and figures, perhaps meant to help a less experienced writer practice. This book would be hard to read for an adult physically without tearing pages.

⁵³⁷ National Archives, “Teachable Texts from the National Archives at New York City: *United States v. William Durell*: Violating the Alien and Sedition Acts,” last accessed 4 June 2014, <http://www.archives.gov/nyc/education/sedition.html>

⁵³⁸ Again, Susan Manning’s *Fragments of Union* is useful here, and I rely on it as part of my implicit reading. While I’ve found no surviving marginalia or material in any copy of *The Hermit of the Forest* to begin to signal a reading, Americans at the time had political as well as literary interests in works about fragmentation and union, which *The Hermit of the Forest* contains.

⁵³⁹ Children’s literature at the time had developed as a specialized market of texts, thanks to the efforts of John Newbery to market works specifically for children. Children’s studies generally agrees that the Cult of Childhood began to form in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, with the idealization of youth. *The Hermit of the Forest* only somewhat participates in this shift: while the wandering infants are perfect, the text’s protagonist is Honestus the hermit. For more of this history, see George Boas, *The Cult of Childhood* (London: The Warburg Institute, 1966) and Judith Plotz, *Romanticism and the Vocation of Childhood* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001). For a more bibliographic take on eighteenth-century children’s literature, see Ruth B. Bottigheimer, “The Book on the Bookseller’s Shelf and the Book in the English Child’s Hand,” in *Culturing the Child, 1690-1914: Essays in Memory of Mitzzi Myers*, ed. Donelle Ruwe (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2005).



Figure 4.2: Cover of Richard Johnson, *The Hermit of the Forest, and the Wandering Infants. A Rural Fragment* (New York, 1800).

Image via the Harry Ransom Center

What makes *The Hermit of the Forest, and the Wandering Infants* a difficult text is that it is a complete fragment: the narrative contained in its pages seems complete, not fragmented. The story Johnson recounts is fairly simple, if sentimental: an Englishman, named Honestus, loses his two daughters and home in a fire, so he builds himself a “cell, far from the commerce of mankind.” About ten years later, while satisfied in his retreat, he finds “two sweet infants lying on the ground, hand in hand, and crying” outside his door. He resolves to care for the children as a parent after learning that their uncle had left them in the woods alone. One day, as Honestus and the children stand outside the hut, the children’s father Mr. Simpson rides by as part of a hunting party, and the family is reunited. Mr. Simpson insists on bringing Honestus home with his daughters. When Honestus finally is allowed to return to his cottage, he stops on the way to “pay a visit to his former habitation” and discovers that not only has his home been rebuilt, but also his own daughters live inside the place. All the lost daughters are thus restored to their fathers. If the specific publishers who printed the book and the book’s

appearance didn't suggest it, the story makes clear it's intended for children. The book's moral celebrates charity and generosity, which lead to Honestus's restored family and his reunion with them. With a beginning, middle, and end, where can we locate the text's fragmentation?

One way *The Hermit of the Forest* could be a fragment is that its story is actually a retelling of a familiar ballad, "The Children in the Wood."⁵⁴⁰ The ballad, first published in the seventeenth century under the descriptive title, "The Norfolk Gentleman his last Will and Testament: And how hee committed the keeping of his Children to his owne brother, who dealt most wickedly with them: and how God plagued him for it,"⁵⁴¹ circulated so widely that, when reprinted in *A collection of old ballads. Corrected from the best and most ancient copies extant. With introductions historical, critical, or humorous* the introduction states that "[t]his Song is so very Popular, and all that can be said of it so generally known, that an Introduction would be superfluous and impertinent."⁵⁴² The ballad's basic plot shares a similar beginning with *The Hermit of the Forest*, but it deviates widely from its introduction. The dying mother and father entrust the uncle with their children, a boy and a girl, but jealous of their fortunes, the uncle pays two ruffians to take the children into the woods and kill them. One of the two feels some mild regret, and kills the other man, but leaves the children in the woods, promising to return, but fails. The children then wander "[t]ill Death did end their Grief / In one another's Arms they dy'd, / As Babes wanting Relief."⁵⁴³ The uncle's oaths to his brother now come back to haunt him, so that he loses his own children, his land, and his freedom, as he dies in debtor's prison; the murderer hangs as well. As *The Hermit of the Forest* stands as an intertext for "The

⁵⁴⁰ In 1814, an altered version of the tale was published as *The children in the wood restored, by Honestas, the hermit of the forest, or, Perfidy detected* (London, 1814). It was never published under this title during the eighteenth century, but the "wandering infants" would have suggested the connection to readers.

⁵⁴¹ According to the *English Broadside Ballad Archive*, this copy—held by the British Library—dates from approximately 1602-1658; three other surviving copies have similarly imprecise dating, all published between 1658 and 1697.

⁵⁴² *A collection of ballads. Corrected from the best and most ancient copies extant. With introductions historical, critical, or humorous. Illustrated with copper plates* (London, 1723), 221.

⁵⁴³ *Ibid.*, 225.

Children of the Forest,” the ballad’s bleak ending stands behind the more positive end of Johnson’s story. However, he specifically acts to heal the children’s wrongs without sacrificing the overall moral, if a little blood. *The Hermit of the Forest* takes a tale based on a broken moral and family system and heals it. *The Hermit*’s intertextual relationship with “The Children of the Wood” also makes the former a fragment of the larger, more popular tale. It is only one adaptation or evolution of the story. To be unfamiliar with the larger market of children’s literature or chapbooks and tracts is to miss part of the tale.⁵⁴⁴

The Hermit of the Forest’s story, however, contains a kind of political fragmentation. The text specifies the setting as “the romantic Forest of Englewood, which formerly composed a great part of the county of Cumberland, [where] lived a celebrated hermit, whose name was Honestus.”⁵⁴⁵ The time seems an unspecified distant past, but the Inglewood forest (as it is now spelled) was a Royal Forest from the days of the Norman Conquest, though granted by William III to the Earl of Portland.⁵⁴⁶ The name itself suggests Englishness (Angle-wood), which the description of it as “the romantic Forest” intensifies. However, Cumberland sits on the Scottish border, which creates opportunities for dispute: “He was one a very considerable farmer, possessed of very extensive lands, and of large flocks and herds; but the perpetual

⁵⁴⁴ To speak more to the market for popular chapbooks and tracts at this time, Susan Pederson’s article on Hannah More’s Cheap Repository of Moral and Religious Tracts notes that the moral lessons in such writings, published at the same time as Johnson’s work, condemns community life: “the search for simple companionship usually leads to grief” (91). However, “[a]lthough most other community ties are condemned, the bonds between husband and wife and between parent and child are considered sacred” (92). *The Hermit* celebrates familial connections, yet seems less skeptical of community. Honestus as the hermit fits within a literary tradition, but for him to be healed, he must rejoin the wider community. For more on chapbooks and the broader print culture, see Pederson, “Hannah More Meets Simple Simon: Tracts, Chapbooks, and Popular Culture in Late Eighteenth-Century England,” *Journal of British Studies* 25 (1986): 84-113; Pat Rogers, *Literature and Popular Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (Brighton: The Harvester Press, 1986); and Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories* (London: Methuen & Co, 1981).

⁵⁴⁵ Richard Johnson, *The Hermit of the Forest and the Wandering Infants. A Rural Fragment. Adorned with Cuts*. (New York, 1793), 5. A note on the following quotations: I use this edition as a copytext here because it’s the best-scanned version, though it’s missing the end in the scan. The capitalization is not consistent across the editions, though the text itself seems to be.

⁵⁴⁶ See John Marius Wilson, *The Imperial Gazetteer of England and Wales*. Volume 3. (London, 1870-2), 1044.

inroads of the Scots, who frequently plundered the northern parts of England, very much reduced him.”⁵⁴⁷ Not content to rob him, they ruin him: “in the last incursion they made on his estate, they carried off all his family, drove away his cattle, and set fire to his barns and houses, he himself escaping with great difficulty.”⁵⁴⁸ The image of the invading Scot here becomes hostile not only to English property but also English family, as Honestus’s daughters are “carried off.”

These national tensions then reproduce within the text’s families. In particular, the dispute between Mr. Simpson and his brother mimics these attacks. When Honestus finds the children, he laments the cruelty that put them there: “what can these two sweet babes have done, to be thus exposed to famine and death in this wild and dreary wood? Can wicked men more savage than the fierce and brutish inhabitants of African deserts, have brought these children here to parish?”⁵⁴⁹ To have a context or comparison for the deed, Honestus must resort to a foreign comparison, othering the offense and its actor. Once the children are reunited again with their father, Mr. Simpson explains the story to Honestus. About three days after the children were missing, Mr. Simpson was called to his brother’s deathbed, yet his brother “almost turned me into stone with the following confession.”⁵⁵⁰ The confession acts to transmute Mr. Simpson metaphorically—his tenderness is replaced with unreceptive stone based on the reciprocal act of his brother: “Forgetful of the ties of blood, I resolved on enjoying your estate at your death, which I could not while your children were living. I carried them clandestinely into the forest of Englewood, where they now undoubtedly lie dead. On quitting the wood my horse stumbled, threw me, and gave me a mortal bruise.”⁵⁵¹ The plunder

⁵⁴⁷ Johnson, 5.

⁵⁴⁸ Ibid, 5-6.

⁵⁴⁹ Ibid, 11.

⁵⁵⁰ Ibid, 24.

⁵⁵¹ Ibid, 25.

of the foreign Scots is now brought home by a brother “forgetful of the ties of blood.” Reversing the natural order of inheritance from father to child, the uncle acts to subvert it, taking his brother’s property for his own. His injury from the horse—his own property—thus becomes divine justice for his unnatural act. The connections between citizens and among families are directly paralleled within the text, and both kinds of ties are subject to rupture.

The Hermit of the Forest might also qualify as a fragment because it features inserted narratives, like the moral tale Honestus tells the children. As “Honestus would frequently tell them stories to amuse them,” the text presents readers with an example: a parable, starring “a shepherd, (said he) who had two sweet lambs, and it was the principal object of his care and attention to secure them from the ravenous paws of the wolf, who took every opportunity to endeavor to seize them.”⁵⁵² When the lambs find themselves at liberty, and run away, they are killed by the wolf. The language to describe the lambs’ demise and Honestus’s moral, delivered after the tale, are fairly graphic: “It will be thus with you, my dear children: should you wander far from this hut, you may loose [sic] yourselves in those woods, and no more find your way home, when you will die with hunger and thirst, and thus satisfy an idle curiosity at the expence of your lives.”⁵⁵³ Like *The Hermit of the Forest or the Wandering Children. A Rural Fragment* itself, this fragment is complete—the story contains a clear beginning, middle, and end, with moral attached. It functions as fragment because of its placement within the larger text (a lone piece without context) and the story it shares. The unwary lamb who wanders off alone here is not allowed, like in the biblical parable, to be found by the shepherd once more. Here, wolves lurk to rend the lambs, separating them from shepherd and life itself. If this tale is not physically fragmented like Henry Stebbing’s *A Fragment*, it works thematically as a fragment.

⁵⁵² Ibid, 16.

⁵⁵³ Ibid, 17-8.

Which then urges the question: how is this text *A Rural Fragment*? If anything seems fragmented here, it's not the narrative structure or the punctuation, but the story's source itself. Honestus is himself a rural fragment. The story begins with the destruction of his house and his property; while he hides himself from the raiders, "he had the melancholy prospect of his premises reduced to ashes and nothing left to him but a cow, two sheep, and a few farming utensils."⁵⁵⁴ The list of surviving items resembles Robinson Crusoe's inventory of objects left him after the shipwreck, insofar as both Honestus and Crusoe catalogue as a reckoning of their losses and their tools in survival. Even when Honestus comforts himself that "[h]appily for him, however, his wife did not live to see this sad disaster, she having died two years before," it is cold comfort indeed.⁵⁵⁵ Loss here is lessened by loss—he does not have to experience his wife's grief along with his own. Because Honestus's connection to community is broken by the loss of his family, he "determined to take his leave of the busy world, and spend the remainder of his days in a cell, far from the commerce of mankind."⁵⁵⁶ "Commerce of mankind" here signals a rejection of people as well as markets. Because Honestus was prosperous, the Scots came over to rob him. Because Mr. Simpson had property, his brother wanted it for himself. Likewise, "cell" suggests not just "a small place of residence," as Johnson defines it, but also a religiously-motivated retreat. Honestus turns his back against the "busy world" with a convert's fervor and returns to nature in his disappointment.

Description of his new home take part in the pathetic fallacy, as its "gloomy shades" partake of his own emotions. Likewise, further description emphasizes his reciprocal relationship with nature: "The skins of the animals served him for cloathing, and the birds of the air entertained him with their harmonious songs; for, as no mortal hand had ever disturbed

⁵⁵⁴ Ibid, 6-7.

⁵⁵⁵ Ibid, 7.

⁵⁵⁶ Ibid, 7.

them in these remote and gloomy shades, they were strangers to fear, and therefore, in some degree, made themselves a part of his family.”⁵⁵⁷ The forest provides for his physical and mental care with “cloathing” and “entertainment.” He seems to become animal, insofar as the birds’ boldness is explained by “no mortal hand ha[ving] ever disturbed them” and he is “family” to the forest’s nightingales, robins, cuckoos, and blackbirds. One reason perhaps this text was so attractive to American audiences is Honestus’s status as a man of the wilderness; the type, exemplified by James Fenimore Cooper’s Natty Bumppo of the *Leatherstocking Tales*, is of a single man who lives in the wilderness, in balance with nature.⁵⁵⁸

Once he discovers the wandering infants, however, his emotions overcome him. He first is “struck motionless” by surprise, but as he overcomes it, “he snatched up the children in his arms tenderly kissed them, and [...] eased his heart with tears.”⁵⁵⁹ His “throbbing heart” eases not only as they take to his care, but as he recovers from the reminder they provide of his own children.⁵⁶⁰ As he exclaims to the babes, “[W]hat must be the feelings of your parents! This brought to his mind the fate of his own children, and a flood of tears interrupted his saying any more at present.”⁵⁶¹ His sympathetic reaction to the wandering infants takes him back to his own loss and forces him to express his own internal turbulence.

And it is not only this emotional breakdown that suggests Honestus is a fragment. His experiences have caused him to separate from his community to a problematic degree. For example, when first hearing their story, he decides that even though he suspects “some treachery in the case,” “a ten year absence from the commerce of the world had so effectually

⁵⁵⁷ Ibid, 9.

⁵⁵⁸ Daniel G. Payne’s *Voices in the Wilderness: American Nature Writing and Environmental Politics* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1996) contextualizes Cooper within a larger tradition of American writing about the wilderness; while Johnson is himself an Englishman, it might be interesting to consider if American audiences who consumed this book read the American experience into this Northern England setting.

⁵⁵⁹ Johnson, 11.

⁵⁶⁰ Ibid, 12.

⁵⁶¹ Ibid, 12.

weaned him of every wish to converse with mankind, that he could not prevail on himself to leave his hut, to penetrate the wood, and accompany the children to any inhabited village.”⁵⁶² There are several ironies here in Honestus’s language. While he here abjures “converse with mankind,” it is because his absence from the world “had so effectually weaned him of every wish.” “Weaned” invites readers to register that converse as a kind of sustenance that Honestus no longer requires. It also applies to the children: Honestus could give these children the sustenance of familial love, yet he “could not.” He is somehow physically unable to leave the woods. Not least of these ironies is that he disclaims “every wish to converse with mankind,” but he has no problem spending time with the children—children who are themselves part of mankind in the word’s general sense.⁵⁶³ Later, as the girls lament their missing parents, Honestus again considers the situation: “This apparent uneasiness of the children was the subject of many hours meditation in the bosom of Honestus, who earnestly wished to restore two such good children to their parents; but this was not to be done without hazarding the possession of his present retreat.”⁵⁶⁴ Johnson defines hazard as “to try the chance” and “to expose to danger,” so hazarding his retreat for Honestus is both a gamble and a danger. To take the children to the village does not directly imply that he cannot return to the woods, or even that he would be followed, so this “meditation” suggests his own fear of contact and further loss. What Honestus cannot admit—that his “retreat” is made more comfortable by the children’s presence and that reconstituting their family means deconstituting the one he’s created. He is so far from his previous life that his reasoning has

⁵⁶² Ibid, 14-5.

⁵⁶³ What’s also potentially relevant for the text’s reception in America is the idea in Puritan rhetoric of the voice in the wilderness, which alone is able to speak virtuously, and which may disregard other men’s voices as sinful and ungodly. Honestus here fits cleanly into that tradition: because society’s “commerce” is tainted, he justifies his exclusion from it. Where this text differs is in the ending, which reunites Honestus with that world again. For a fuller discussion of this Puritan rhetorical tradition, see Patricia Roberts-Miller, *Voices in the Wilderness: Public Discourse and the Paradox of Puritan Rhetoric* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1999).

⁵⁶⁴ Johnson, 19.

failed—it is only the hunting group’s intrusion on his retreat that restores balance and Honestus to society.

On the other side, the text’s fragmentation is resolved by the ending’s reunions. What was a rural fragment becomes unity as each father is united with his own daughters. The two fathers are likewise connected to each other. After Mr. Simpson recovers from first seeing his daughters, he “took [Honestus] by the hand, pressed it tenderly between his, and returned him a thousand thanks.”⁵⁶⁵ The pressed hands bring Honestus into the same circle that Simpson’s arms create with him and his children. Brought back to the village and his former lands, Honestus is surprised “when two young women rushed out of the house, each seizing on one of his arms.”⁵⁶⁶ The father then reverses nature as “he looked at them with bewildered eyes, and then fainted in their arms.”⁵⁶⁷ Both fathers are physically and emotionally responsive in reunion, which is resolved through the reunion. Recovery for Honestus here is the recovery of not only his property and lands, but also his family and community. Whereas before he maligns the commerce of man, that commerce has provided for him: “His daughters told him, that some of their friends had followed the plunderers; rescued them and part of their property, and that the neighboring gentlemen had rebuilt their house, and stocked their lands.”⁵⁶⁸ Rather than being abandoned, Honestus learns that had he trusted in his fellow men the entire time, his retreat would have been unnecessary. But that he willingly “consented” to stay with his daughters is a necessary move within the text—not only does Honestus reunite with his family and his fellow men, he wants to do so. The rural fragment is made whole again. As *The Hermit* comes to formal and graphic conclusion, nothing seems to be missing.

⁵⁶⁵ Ibid, 23.

⁵⁶⁶ Ibid, 28.

⁵⁶⁷ Ibid, 29.

⁵⁶⁸ Ibid, 29.

remainder of his days with them. His daughters told him, that some of their friends had followed the plunderers; rescued them and part of their property, and that the neighbouring gentlemen had rebuilt their house, and stocked their lands.

T H E E N D.

Figure 4.3: Richard Johnson, *The Hermit of the Forest* (Boston, 1789). 29.

Image via Early American Imprints.

What's lost is restored, every character's fate is resolved, and even enough backstory is presented to answer the reader's questions. Thus, this is formally a "complete" fragment, unlike the other works this dissertation has reviewed. This complete fragment's fragmentation then lies temporarily in a particular character, who finds union at the end. Fragments in the text include embedded narratives, but those are also narratively complete and folded into the story.

The last place to look for *A Rural Fragment* remains in the text's illustrations. For such a short story, it contains many illustrations: there are seven illustrations in all these editions, which highlight important moments in Honestus's adventures. The woodcuts seem to be an important part of the text, as many of these editions advertise the text to be "Adorned" or "Embellished with cuts."⁵⁶⁹ The illustrations themselves are incorporated into the central text as the narration points to them. An example of this occurs when after the Scots burn down Honestus's home.

⁵⁶⁹ The former is Durrell's New York edition, published 1793; the latter is the Charleston edition, published 1798.

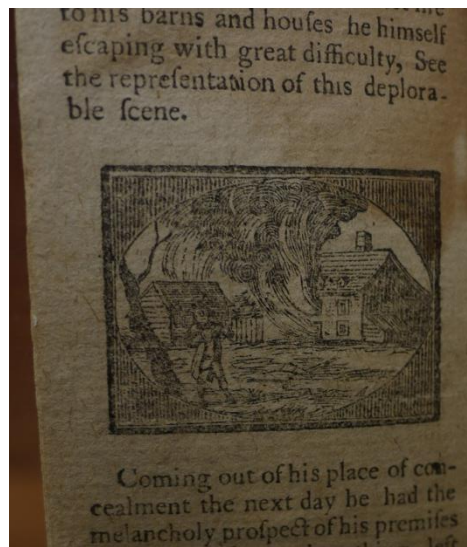


Figure 4.4: Richard Johnson, *The Hermit of the Forest* (New York, 1800). 6.

Image via the Harry Ransom Center

While the text refers to the image—"See the representation of this deplorable scene"—it also completely and abruptly removes the reader from contemplating Honestus to the text itself. The picture breaks the fictional frame, but also supplements it. Words describe what happened, but "the representation" lies in the picture below. The figure appears to be Honestus fleeing; the billowing smoke plumes from his burning home, occupying the image's central focus. The tree in the foreground curls away from the scene, mimicking Honestus's retreat. The "deplorable scene" lies in the destruction and dislocation; Honestus is forced away, his property destroyed. It also lies in the disjoint between word and image, and supposedly inadequacy of the verbal ones.

Illustration suggests verbal illustration as well as visual ones. If Johnson defines illustration as "to explain, to clear, to elucidate," Honestus himself illustrates specific moral principles, actions, and ideas for the reader. The visual's importance here, lies in how the picture helps characterize Honestus more than his actions do in the text. Another important moment in the text is when Honestus teaches the children to read. The text invites readers to

“see”: “See (in the next page) how he is teaching them to read” (15). Turn the page, and the illustration appears.



Figure 4.5: Richard Johnson, *The Hermit of the Forest* (London, 1799). 16.

Image via Free Library of Pennsylvania.

Remarkable here are several factors: one, this domestic scene centers round the seemingly antisocial Honestus, with the children sitting or kneeling at his side looking between Honestus and their books.⁵⁷⁰ Despite being in the middle of a gloomy wood, the scene here is cheerful: a warm fire roars in the grate on the left; a stool stands in the foreground, ready for an occupant. The wall is decorated with a shelf and holds china upon it—remnants of civilization. Visually, however, Honestus himself looks a bit rough: he appears to be dressed for the outdoors as he sports his hat and a huge dark beard. Beards were not fashionable during the eighteenth century; as Angela Rosenthal explains, because “white European men thought it necessary that the ‘true face’ be visible and legible; shaving became a sign of Western

⁵⁷⁰ I do not here discuss the image of the children, but much research has been done to show how illustrations of children evolved over the centuries to reflect new ideas of children and childhood later on. For more, see Philippe Aries, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life*, translated by Robert Baldick (New York: Vintage, 1965), Anne Higonnet, *Pictures of Innocence: The History and Crisis of Ideal Childhood* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1998) and Anja Muller, *Framing Childhood in Eighteenth-Century English Periodicals and Prints, 1689-1789* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2009).

civilization.”⁵⁷¹ Drawing Honestus as bearded thus serves as an immediate visual cue that he’s completely separate from society.

In fact, there’s visual and verbal evidence that beards were associated with hermits in the popular eighteenth-century imagination. A notice published in the *London Evening Post* of Christmas Day 1773 mentions that “One Remington, now in St. George’s hospital, has undertaken for 500£ to live for seven years in a cave, in Mr. Hamilton’s garden, near Cobham in Surrey; during which time [...] he is to have all the necessities of life, but is not to be shaved, not to cut his nails, nor his hair during the whole time.”⁵⁷² Likewise, when illustrating Charles Gildon’s *New Metamorphosis*, William Hogarth drew the religious hermit wearing a sagging robe with a thick beard.⁵⁷³



Figure 4.6: William Hogarth, [*The new metamorphosis*.] 1724.

Image courtesy the Lewis Walpole Library.

⁵⁷¹ Angela Rosenthal, “Raising Hair,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38, no. 1 (Fall 2014), 3.

⁵⁷² This is cited in Gordon Campbell’s excellent *The Hermit in the Garden: From Imperial Rome to Ornamental Gnome* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 63. Campbell locates several other advertisements and one application to be a hermit on a gentleman’s property. The architectural fashion for hermitages was mocked by Horace Walpole in his essay “On Modern Gardening,” but the hermit remained popular into the nineteenth century.

⁵⁷³ Ronald Paulson includes this image in his edition of *Hogarth’s Graphic Works* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), 41.

The hermit was a popular eighteenth-century literary figure: such figures as Thomas Parnell, Thomas Gray, James Beattie, Thomas Percy, Charlotte Smith, and William Wordsworth published poems that either discussed hermits or were titled “The Hermit” after their hermit protagonists.⁵⁷⁴ Hermits also were tied to the architectural fashion for hermitages of all kinds: William Wighte’s 1767 *Grotesque Architecture or Rural Amusement: Consisting of Plans, Elevations, and Sections for Huts, Retreats, Summer and Winter Hermitages* offers designs for a variety of hermitages. The hermit’s association with the land seems to cross into Alexander Pope’s famous injunction in his 1731 “Epistle to Burlington” to “consult the genius of the place in all.” Pope explicitly invites the aspiring landscaper to attend to the natural surroundings, but “the genius of the place” ties into the hermit insofar as the hermit represents the spirit of the land, an easily sentimentalized figure. Not all hermits are entirely sentimental—there’s a comic edge to Fielding’s presentation of The Man of the Hill in *Tom Jones*, and Coleridge’s Ancient Mariner is like a hermit in his bearded eccentricity and his enthusiastic warnings. These literary representations provide a part of the type into which Honestus the Hermit falls—bearded, naturalized, visibly outside society—which the illustrations show.

This illustration thus balances the civilizing aspects of the children’s instruction alongside Honestus’s more barbarous fashion. It also helps to link Honestus to the tale he tells of the shepherd and his lost lambs. He is himself rough and connected with his natural surroundings, but he mediates the children’s relationship with the dangers around them, protecting them. The reenactment of the biblical moment before this illustration—where

⁵⁷⁴ For examples of recent scholarship on literary hermits, see Owen Boynton, “Wordsworth’s Perplex Punctuation in ‘Michael’ and ‘Resolution and Independence,’” *Romanticism* 19, no. 1 (2013): 77-88; Coby Dowdell, “The American Hermit and the British Castaway: Voluntary Retreat and Deliberative Democracy in Early American Culture,” *Early American Literature* 46, no. 1 (2011): 121-56; Kari Lokke, “The Figure of the Hermit in Charlotte Smith’s *Beachy Head*,” *The Wordsworth Circle* 39, nos. 1-2 (Winter/Spring 2008): 38-43. Lokke in her article points out connections between the hermit figure and *Beachy Head*’s fragmentary nature, adding that “fragmentary form fits the solitaries of [Smith, Wordsworth, and Coleridge], as figures broken off and isolated from humankind as a whole” (40).

Honestus “taught them to call every thing by its proper name, whether beast, bird, or vegetable”—reinforces the innocence. Honestus has gone native, but it’s back to Eden, where all society is limited to him. The children fit in this surrounding because of their youthful innocence. However, Eden cannot last. If the text’s first two illustrations feature Honestus, and the next two introduce the wandering infants, the following two feature their father, Mr. Simpson.

It’s also important to compare how these scenes are depicted across the editions. While a study of the texts makes it clear that the woodcuts are not shared between publishers,⁵⁷⁵ each interprets the same scenes in a similar fashion, as the illustration of the hunting party shows:



Figure 4.7: Richard Johnson, *The Hermit of the Forest* (Boston, 1789). 20.

Figure 4.8: Richard Johnson, *The Hermit of the Forest* (Philadelphia, 1793). 21.

⁵⁷⁵ While some of the images are uncannily similar—like the New York and Charlestown illustrations, each with the same tree branch in the immediate foreground—there’s enough differences between the editions to establish that they do not share the same set of woodcuts. While the eighteenth century saw developments in mezzotint and copper engraving technology, wood engraving techniques were improved by John and Thomas Bewick during the same period. Woodcuts were comparatively cheaper and thus were used in many children’s works. For more information, see Margaret Evans, “Texts in English used by children, 1550-1800,” *International Companion Encyclopedia of Children’s Literature*, ed. Peter Hunt. 2nd ed. Volume 1. (New York: Routledge, 2004): 239-248. Likewise, in the same book Joyce Irene Whalley notes that Newbery was the first to “appreciate, and to exploit commercially, the market in illustrated children’s books” (319). While “[f]ew names of the artists employed by Newbery are known, and many of the pictures were used again and again, in his own or other publishers’ books [...] there were even at that date illustrations specifically commissioned for specific books” (319). See Joyce Irene Whalley, “The development of illustrated texts and picture books,” *International Companion Encyclopedia of Children’s Literature*, ed. Peter Hunt. 2nd ed. Volume 1. (New York: Routledge, 2004): 318-27.

Images via Early American Imprints.



Figure 4.9: Richard Johnson, *The Hermit of the Forest* (Charlestown, 1798). 21.

Image via the American Antiquarian Society.



Figure 4.10: Richard Johnson, *The Hermit of the Forest* (New York, 1800). 20.

Image via the Harry Ransom Center.

While it may be difficult to compare these images directly based on their differing quality, what's easily visible is how many elements stay consistent across all four editions. Each illustration features a gentleman on a horse accompanied by a second rider in the foreground relative to the forest surrounding, with one large tree roughly centered in the background, along with shrubs and smaller trees. Each image features a somewhat clouded sky to differentiate it from the rising hill on which the party rides. Each image also includes two hounds running before the horses to signal that the men are hunting, not just riding. Even down to the detail of the whip that Mr. Simpson carries all four images, which differentiates him from his companion, remains consistent. While not all the frames encircling the portraits are equally thick, they're all present. There are several possibilities for this commonality: that these printers had collections of stock woodcuts which followed generic tropes, and used them

to illustrate the text as required;⁵⁷⁶ these printers commissioned woodcut illustrations that independently incorporated similar elements; that these illustrators all based their work off a common edition, or copied each other in sequence.⁵⁷⁷ What makes this general illustration so compelling, however? Why is it necessary to include Mr. Simpson's hunting party as part of the work? The words illustrating the scene before the picture help suggest some motives: "As [Honestus] was one morning turning these things in his mind, he was surprised with the sound of the horn, the cry of the dogs, and the shouts of huntsmen. In short, it was a company of sportsmen, whom a fox had led a prodigious chase through the forest.—There they are, in the next page."⁵⁷⁸ The verbal description's list of items draws the reader's attention to specific details and mimics Honestus's surprised observation. He notices all the details before he comprehends what they mean: a foxhunt. The dash which runs from the end of the sentence to the end of the margin also enhances the abruptness here. As the image interrupts the page, it also intrudes into Honestus's rural retreat. While the illustrations in some sense interrupt the verbal story, they work to complement it. These various publishers needed to match the illustrations because how they enhance the story and the fragmentariness the story embodies.

One last observation to make about this text and its relationship to the fragment is how the title changes over time. While *A Rural Fragment* is central to the title through the

⁵⁷⁶ Alexandra Franklin argues that the common use and reuse of woodcuts in pre-1820 ballads created "an iconography legible to the ballad audience" (331). It seems quite possible that such an iconography developed with eighteenth-century children's literature as well. See Alexandra Franklin, "The Art of Illustration in Bodleian Broadside Ballads Before 1820," *The Bodleian Library Record* 17, no. 5 (2002): 327-52.

⁵⁷⁷ If this were true, it might be likely an early London edition existed, was sent over to America, and served as source for the various American editions; also, that various printers used other editions as their copytext and illustrated based on those. Thanks to the Free Library of Pennsylvania, I have obtained a copy of the London 1799 edition, which has similar elements. While it might be possible that this woodcut could be a general hunting image, such that might be similar across such varied printers, a search for similar woodcuts to this in William Durell's published works in the *Early American Imprints* database reveals that he has a similarly styled frontispiece in *The History of Sandford and Merton, Abridged from the Original. For the Amusement and Instruction of Juvenile Minds* (New York, 1792), but neither of the two men riding horses yield a whip, nor are there dogs, and the size and scale of the image is different. More research, however, would be required to prove this point.

⁵⁷⁸ Johnson, 19.

eighteenth century, as the work is later reprinted the title mutates. For example, J.G. Risher publishes *Perfidy Detected! Or, The children in the wood restored, by Honestus, the Hermit of the Forest: Who were supposed to have been either murdered or starved to death, by order of their inhuman Uncle, being The Continuation of the History of the Children in the Wood* in 1835, which is substantially similar, but somewhat rewritten to feature dialogue from Honestus. Why then does the “rural fragment” disappear completely from the title? There are both practical and purposeful reasons: for one, with a work so frequently reprinted, repackaging it with a new title makes it more marketable. Perhaps more relevant for this conversation, however, is that removing Honestus from the text’s center—making the story about the children, not Honestus—means that it’s no longer about the rural fragment. That also makes the references to the Children of the Wood more central to the narrative. It’s also not surprising too that this revised title also means that different illustrations are used. Because the text’s “rural fragment” is Honestus, without him at the center, it’s a fragment no longer. In other words, the title’s disposability in another printer’s hands itself reinforces the title’s descriptive claims for *The Hermit of the Forest’s* meaning.

THE COMPLETE FRAGMENT AS PART OF A WHOLE: *FREEWILL, FOREKNOWLEDGE, AND FATE*

In the introduction to his 1763 book, *Freewill, Foreknowledge, and Fate. A Fragment*. By *Edward Search, Esq*, Abraham Tucker addresses the Reader with a telling anecdote:

On revisiting *Alma Mater Oxoniensis* after a long absence, among many noble edifices entirely new to me, I observed an elegant range of chambers at *Magdalen*, on either end of which there projected two rows of rough stone from top to bottom ready to fasten in with future walls that might be run up against them [...] But as the said adjacent ground was smoothed into a near parterre,

and I saw no preparation for further erections, I could look upon the projector as having designed only to exhibit the fragment of a building.⁵⁷⁹

If the anecdote sets the scene for the following text, it isn't exactly the work's subject matter: it's the form itself that Tucker compares to the unfinished building. The double repetition of "project" in both "projected" stones and "the projector" who designed the building likewise connects the building's unfinished state with an authorial intention, however dubious such a projector's ideas might be.⁵⁸⁰

Tucker then expands this metaphor linking project and publication as he recounts hearing a sermon at St. Mary's Church in Oxford on the same trip: "I was told the first head [of the sermon] had been delivered three years before, [...] so considering how fluctuating a body the congregation consisted of, and supposing the Preacher knew their taste, I concluded it customary to present them with the fragment of a Dissertation."⁵⁸¹ He moves from considering an unfinished building to incomplete religious argumentation, which suggest to signal his own concerns with his text's subject matter. The anecdote also shifts from the projector's perspective to the sermon's audience: for them, it is "customary" to hear "the fragment of a Dissertation." Notably in both cases—the unfinished building and the second-head-only sermon—Tucker uses the descriptive term "fragment." He himself then shifts from being the audience for fragments to writing one himself.

What also follows is a unique moment: Tucker first uses "fragment" to characterize artistic productions, then to describe a kind of artistic production he expects his audience to know. Simply put, Tucker recognizes the fragment as a genre:

⁵⁷⁹ Abraham Tucker, *Freenwill, Foreknowledge, and Fate* (London, 1763), iii.

⁵⁸⁰ Johnson defines "projector" in a neutral sense ("one who forms schemes or designs") as well as a decidedly negative one ("one who forms wild impracticable schemes"). Tucker certainly does not mean to cast aspersions on his own work, but the word's resonance underlines his own later declared unfinished state—he is a projector as he cannot exhibit a full building, either.

⁵⁸¹ Tucker, iv.

Every body knows the prodigious demand for Magazines, which are little else than bundles of various and discordant fragments; and compositions of all kinds, not excepting Dictionaries, find greater vent when broken into numbers, than when delivered entire.

Having such precedents, as well of learned as simple, to keep me in countenance, I need no farther apology for exhibiting a Fragment to public view; especially since it can scarce be called so, when considered in itself: for I have pursued my subject as thoroughly as I was able, and brought it to a conclusion; so

that I flatter myself it will appear rent and torn only with respect to certain strings of connection and allusions bearing a reference to other matters of my production, which I keep still in reserve. Nevertheless it will be expected that I should give some more particular account of my dealing out this piece of a performance, than barely the allowableness of so doing, after the example of other people.

Figure 4.11: Abraham Tucker, *Freewill, Foreknowledge, and Fate*. (1763). iv-v.

From Gale. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. © Gale, a part of Cengage Learning, Inc.

Reproduced by permission.

Tucker lists “Magazines” and “Dictionaries” as examples of “compositions of all kinds,” and includes “various and discordant fragments” within this collection; since his work is “a fragment,” it belongs in this group. Yet there’s also an immediate contradiction: it’s a fragment, but “it can scarce be called so, when considered in itself.” It’s not particularly short, since the book is 268 pages long. He defines fragments as parts broken off from the larger, “entire” work and claims his work as a fragment, but then qualifies his title in the next sentence, moving from “I need no farther apology” to offering explanations about how “I have pursued my subject as thoroughly as I was able.” Yet, importantly, this very contortion shows Tucker calling back to a definition and understanding of the fragment-as-genre that he expects his reader not only to recognize, but to share.

But also, as Tucker’s text will go on to show, *Freewill, Foreknowledge, and Fate*-as-fragment is also attributable to the ongoing nature of its intellectual inquiry as its formal conditions. If *Freewill, Foreknowledge, and Fate* alludes a larger piece of his performance, readers

today now know it as *The Light of Nature Pursued. By Edward Search*, published in 1768. That text pursues the grand question of the relationship between morality and religion: “The principal, or perhaps only question agitated with any degree of warmth and earnestness in these times and countries, seems to be Whether Reason alone be sufficient to direct us in all parts of our conduct, or whether Revelation and supernatural aids be necessary.”⁵⁸² Such a question of course requires great space to answer. The text therefore occupies five volumes: the first two concern human nature, human faculties and emotions;⁵⁸³ the last three consider theology and religion’s foundations.⁵⁸⁴ *Freewill, Foreknowledge, and Fate. A Fragment*, as Tucker himself suggests, addresses these concerns, but not in the same style or format: “I flatter myself [the book] will appear rent and torn only with respect to certain strings of connection and allusions bearing a reference to other matters of my production, which I keep still in reserve.”⁵⁸⁵ Tucker limits his text’s metaphorical fragmentation “only with respect to certain strings of connections and allusions.” He does not specifically outline places where the rest is missing, but leaves the reader to determine them. That he “keep[s] [them] still in reserve” teases the audience for the later publication even as it allows them to speculate that certain logical inconsistencies are consistent in the missing text, rather than suggesting the work is truly

⁵⁸² Abraham Tucker, *The Light of Nature Pursued. By Edward Search* (London, 1768), iv.

⁵⁸³ More specifically, Tucker here engages with thinkers like John Locke and David Hartley on empiricist theories of cognition. Tucker has been cited as influential for thinkers in his time as well as important today. See John Hayden, “Wordsworth, Hartley, and the Revisionists,” *Studies in Philology* 81, no. 1 (Winter 1984): 94-118 and Michael Billig, “Abraham Tucker as an 18th-century William James: Stream of consciousness, role of examples, and the importance of writing,” *Theory Psychology* 22, no. 1 (Feb 2012): 114-29.

⁵⁸⁴ *The Light of Nature Pursued* itself is not published in its entirety during Tucker’s lifetime; four subsequent volumes were published in 1777 as “the Posthumous Work of Abraham Tucker, Esq, Published from his Manuscript as intended for the Press by the Author.” According to B. W. Young’s *DNB* entry for Tucker, his elder daughter Judith transcribed the last parts for her father and arranged for their posthumous publication. However, Tucker died having completed the entire work, so while it might seem to be an unintentional fragment, it is not. The Bodleian Library owns the manuscript copy of *The Light of Nature Pursued* in Abraham and Judith Tucker’s hands, complete with drawn title pages; the shelf mark is MSS. Eng. misc. c. 261-4. For more on Tucker, see *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. “Tucker, Abraham (1705–1774)” by B. W. Young, Oxford University Press, last accessed 23 April 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27786>.

⁵⁸⁵ Tucker, *Freewill, Foreknowledge, and Fate. A Fragment. By Edward Search, Esq.* (London, 1763), v.

incomplete. Tucker's familiarity with intentional fragments leads him to title the first chapter "Chapter XXIV," again winking to the idea of its being incomplete.⁵⁸⁶

Freewill, Foreknowledge, and Fate's theological concerns as fragment also suggest a certain relationship between author and reader. Tucker's intellectual project here is to establish a basis for individual liberty to act that is consistent with God's authority and foreknowledge.⁵⁸⁷ In the sense that his fragment asks readers to suspend judgment, to seek out connections to "other matters of my production," the dynamic he establishes here with his readers mimics the same constraints within the individual's relationship with God. He illustrates these connections through concrete examples, like deciding when to go to bed: "How sure soever I am of going to bed, still I may sit up all night, if I please, for neither God nor man hinders me; but I know I shall not, because I know it is my option, and I know what I chuse to do: so my knowledge stands upon my freedom; for if I had it not, I might be compelled to do what I do not chuse, and my action would be uncertain."⁵⁸⁸ At issue for Tucker here is foreknowledge: are there limits to God's foreknowledge, or does God's foreknowledge limit human agency? Tucker resorts, as he does many places in his text, to concrete examples to demonstrate his argument.⁵⁸⁹ In fact, God's foreknowledge exists because of the individual's freedom. Because Tucker can choose his actions, their reasons are predictable enough for others to predict. As *Freewill, Foreknowledge, and Fate's* author, though, Tucker assumes the authorial action and divine foreknowledge. He knows what is missing and what other arguments remain. His readers,

⁵⁸⁶ The footnote attached to this chapter heading likewise is joking: "The Reader is not to conclude from the high number of this chapter, that the Author has huge piles of labours in store: for there is but one more chapter so long as this, and many of them will run off in seven or eight pages" (1). The piles he displays here are not too high, as it were.

⁵⁸⁷ Tucker's slighting references to "freethinkers" establishes his credibility as an orthodox Anglican and also places him squarely within a larger conversation about freethinking and liberty. For more on this history, see Peter N. Miller, "'Freethinking' and 'Freedom of Thought' in Eighteenth-Century Britain," *The Historical Journal* 36, no. 3 (1993): 599-617.

⁵⁸⁸ Tucker, 124-5.

⁵⁸⁹ Hayden, 113.

however, are left to speculate even as they are at liberty to interpret as they choose. Tucker's "dark and intricate Subject" is thus, like Richard Johnson's *Honestus*, best expressed in fragmentary dress to mirror the interpretive problems it sets forth.⁵⁹⁰

Tucker's tendency to concrete and material examples itself likewise draws attention to the text's material conditions. When he seeks to clarify his argument, he turns to embodied examples, as when he sketches the differences between liberty and power: "Were an act of parliament made to prohibit me from going out of *London* for a twelvemonth, I should think it a grievous restraint upon my liberty; but should I be rendered unable to stir abroad by gout of palsy, [...] the restriction would no longer be such to me, and I should remain as much at liberty, as if the statute had never been made."⁵⁹¹ Gout and palsy being particularly prevalent, readers might imaginatively leap from Tucker's theoretically palsied body to others they knew. Likewise, the simplicity of the metaphor—not being able to leave London—puts it easily within his readers' experience. Other physical metaphors create the same experience as when he reasons that "[i]ndeed there are degrees of freedom, not incompatible with a partial restraint, but rather implying it, as when we find some impediment obstructing us, though not so great as that we cannot surmount it; for a man with heavy jack-boots on can still walk, though not so freely and alertly as in a neat pair of shoes."⁵⁹² The physical, felt experience of the material object becomes a way of grasping the ideas of spiritual liberty constrained: we may be constrained by moral or ethical rules, but these do not prevent our liberty to act. The physical metaphor makes sense for an empiricist, especially as he's discussing Locke's ideas of power and liberty, but it also underlies and structures the nature of the fragment text he's constructed. While the fragment as a genre is not here rooted in its physical shape as in

⁵⁹⁰ Tucker, 136.

⁵⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 9-10.

⁵⁹² *Ibid.*, 11-12.

Stebbing's *Fragment*, Tucker does metaphorize *Free-will, foreknowledge, and fate* as an object "rent" from its whole, a few strings dangling from its edges. Also, as the fragment genre allows him freedom to be incomplete, to construct and then exhibit part of his larger work before finishing it, Tucker's metaphors about physical restraint contrast with his relative freedom in writing this work.

Tucker's initial imagery for the text, like his "dark and intricate Subject," relies on ideas of confusion. The Milton quotation that inspires the title and which appears on the title page suggests his interests: "Others reason'd high of Knowledge, Fate, and Will; / Fixt Fate, Freewill, Foreknowledge absolute, / And found no end, in wandring mazes lost," which is a slightly modified section from *Paradise Lost* Book 2, after the deliberations in Pandemonium and Satan's determination to leave Hell.⁵⁹³ From the title page to his first page, Tucker invokes the figure of the maze for the work he undertakes: "Behold us now arrived at the most intricate part of our journey, an impracticable wilderness, puzzled with mazes, and perplex with errors, where many might have fallen, and many sagacious lost their way."⁵⁹⁴ As the chapter title and the invocation to "behold us now" puts readers and Tucker *in medias res*, it suggests the disjointed fragment.⁵⁹⁵ But it also enacts a form of Kenneth Burke's conversation: readers are put in the middle of Tucker's thinking, and forced with him to wander. Tucker's work on free-will only makes sense as part of his larger arguments and a larger exegesis of biblical scripture

⁵⁹³ The original lines read: "Others apart sat on a Hill retir'd, / In thoughts more elevate, and reason'd high / Of Providence, Foreknowledge, Will and Fate, / Fixt Fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute, / And found no end, in wandring mazes lost."

⁵⁹⁴ Tucker, 1.

⁵⁹⁵ And this is where the text's appearance begins to look like an intentional fragment—which, it is, insofar as Abraham Tucker published something that looks like it begins in the middle. But it's also signally different: other than this, there's no real attempt to make the text appear fragmentary. These categories I here outline in the dissertation do have problems as they blur together, as I want to make clear. But this is the nature of all such categorization, and perhaps one that might seem especially endemic in this enterprise, which tries to clarify "fragment" works. While the complete fragment does seem to be part of the larger eighteenth-century fragment ontology, again it points out the difficulties in the category.

and eighteenth-century moral philosophy. The strands of connection may be strained, but can be sought by readers familiar with the topic.

While Abraham Tucker embraces the complete fragment, the *Monthly Review*'s response to *Freewill, Foreknowledge, and Fate* is less warm.⁵⁹⁶ William Kendrick, *The Monthly Review*'s editor, gives *Freewill, Foreknowledge, and Fate* a decidedly mixed review.⁵⁹⁷ He spares no time in characterizing the work as an “agreeable disappointment.”⁵⁹⁸ While “very few instances can be given [...] wherein the title-page of a book hath not been by far the most promising part of it,” Tucker’s book qualifies: “the laconic and simple enumeration of subjects the most profound and abstruse, joined to the quaint circumstance of their being discussed in a Fragment, by a fictitious Edward Search, Esq; made too motley an appearance in the title, to give us any hopes of consistency and solidity in the work.”⁵⁹⁹ Kendrick seems hostile to the juxtaposition of profound subjects and simple enumeration, as if form and content must match. “Motley” characterizes the title’s combination of the profound (the subject) and the frivolous (the fragment).⁶⁰⁰ Kendrick also points out that its being a Fragment is a “quaint circumstance”—not freakish, but unusual and strange. It’s not quite clear if he uses “quaint” because fragments themselves are rare, or if it’s rare for tracts of this kind.⁶⁰¹ He characterizes the Preface as “whimsical” and moves to assert that “all this appeared incongruous to us, as

⁵⁹⁶ Tucker also wrote a reply to the *Monthly Review*'s criticisms under the pseudonym of *Freewill, Foreknowledge, and Fate*'s annotator Cuthbert Comment, called *Man in Quest of Himself, or, a Defence of the individuality of the Human Mind, or Self. Occasioned by some remarks in the Monthly Review for July 1763, on a Note in Search's Freewill* (London, 1763).

⁵⁹⁷ If we were to read the review itself as a separate work, it’s interesting that Kendrick places it early within the detailed reviews section—it perhaps suggests some acknowledgement on his part of the work’s significance.

⁵⁹⁸ Kendrick, *The Monthly Review* 29 (July 1763), 46. The copy of the review in the *British Periodicals* database has a marginal annotation at the end: “K-n-k.” Kendrick was the *Review*'s editor between 1759 and 1766, a prolific critic, and extremely quarrelsome. See Benjamin Christie Nangle, *The Monthly Review, First Series, 1749-1789: Index of Contributors and Articles* (New York: Clarendon Press, 1934).

⁵⁹⁹ Kendrick, 46.

⁶⁰⁰ Johnson’s first citation for motley is from Shakespeare: “the motley fool.”

⁶⁰¹ Johnson defines “quaint” primarily in the sense of neat, but also affected.

would the entrance into St. Paul's through a wicket."⁶⁰² The fragment is thus a small gate here, an inadequate entry to the grand religious matter beyond it.

While Kendrick then praises the "comprehensive, sublime, and beautiful appearance of the internal parts of the structure" (46), he cannot resist returning to this topic again with more metaphors: "Before we proceed to the examination of these, however, we cannot forbear making an animadversion or two on the strange incongruity we have mentioned" (46). He goes on to compare the work to "the false fire of an *ignis fatuus*, or the tail of a glow-worm" used to attract attention to "the dazzling brightness of the sun" (46-7). While we must be careful to overgeneralize from this one review, Kendrick's reaction to the fragment-as-genre seems suggestive, especially when compared with Tucker's preface.⁶⁰³ Tucker accepts the fragment as a regular phenomenon, yet Kendrick critiques its appearance here. He then speculates about Tucker's motivations:

But perhaps Mr. Search reflected, that, in an age when it is the groveling fashion for all the world to keep their eyes fixed on the earth, some art was necessary, to divert their attention, and prevail on them to look upwards, and that no expedient could be better than to form an early transition from the reflected glitter of terrestrial objects, to its exalted and permanent source in the firmament. On this supposition, we greatly admire his address; and though, with regard to his look, we cannot help recollecting the remark, that

⁶⁰² Kendrick, 46.

⁶⁰³ I am not trying to use Kendrick here to enlighten Tucker so much as I want to show how Kendrick and Tucker both stand as bellwethers for the fragment's fortunes. That both of them think it's noteworthy to point out *Freewill, Foreknowledge, and Fate's* status as fragment can be a "quaint circumstance," or a signal of shifting ideas about genre. Kendrick's tendency towards argument might not make him at all representative of the typical eighteenth-century reader, but he represents a type of reader prevalent in the period, or reads with typical eighteenth-century question in mind. As Frank Donoghue contextualizes, *The Monthly Review* and *The Critical Review* were the first and most influential review journals; they at least represent an aspirational eighteenth-century reader. For more, see Donoghue, *The Fame Machine: Book Reviewing and Eighteenth-Century Literary Careers* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1996).

A silver button only spoils the hat:

Yet, where the hat is a good one, we conceive it can only spoil the look of it. This, at least, is certain, that our Author is not the first ingenious man, whom the World have reduced to the necessity of putting on the appearance of a coxcomb.⁶⁰⁴

If Tucker thinks of his fragment as an unfinished building or partially-heard sermon, Kendrick compares it to a silver button on a hat. Literary form is not a structure, but a decoration or accompaniment to the ideas it contains. The wrong choice means “putting on the appearance of a coxcomb.” In some respects, by discussing the work’s “comprehensive” structure, he may even be separating the text from paratexts, disentangling Tucker’s introduction from the work it precedes. This allows Kendrick to dismiss these concerns here and to discuss Tucker’s arguments.

But the passage’s laboriousness suggests his reluctance to do so. He seems to feel that form and function could be consistent—that a coxcomb must dress like a coxcomb, in other words. But then the hat idea rejects this, as the “silver button” only spoils the hat’s look, not its function. Thus does the fragment preface mar the otherwise comprehensive *Freewill*. Between these moments, however, Kendrick makes a metaphor about “the reflected glitter of terrestrial objects” and “its exalted and permanent source in the firmament” as a possible necessity: because readers are so distractible, they require buttons and “art” to focus their attention on worthwhile objects. The reference to “terrestrial objects” and “firmament” too well mirror Tucker’s text, as it draws attention to his otherworldly concerns: is it within man’s agency to act morally or is God required? *Freewill* here has the “reflected glitter” of biblical truth—not truth exactly, but its reflection. In this case, the metaphor reinforces Tucker’s own

⁶⁰⁴ Kendrick, 47.

logic: man is fragment to God's whole, seeking unity with the divine, but also meant to do so alone, with the strings still attached. Tucker can dispute and argue for a correct understanding of man's duty, and make it as complete as he can, but perhaps with some acknowledgement that such work is always in progress. In either case, *Freewill, Foreknowledge, and Fate. A Fragment* opens up the conversation for this interesting tension between form and content: what makes a form complementary to its content, and when is it appropriate to write a complete fragment?

FORM'S FUNCTION AND COMPLETE FRAGMENTS

What, then, can we take away from these readings in the complete fragment, put alongside the other categories of unintentional and intentional fragments? First, there is a consistent and careful titling strategy on the part of eighteenth-century authors and publishers⁶⁰⁵ that constructs a genre called "the fragment." Readers not only embraced that category, but also understand how that category functioned in several ways.⁶⁰⁶ A good comparison here is the novel: readers could understand that a novel called a history, like *The History of Tom Jones, Foundling*, was distinct from an actual historical work, like Gibbon's *History of the Roman Empire*. Both histories might adopt similar textual apparatuses, and label their works with the same word, but eighteenth-century readers could distinguish between the two. Romantic scholars may celebrate the Romantic fragment's profusion in part because the

⁶⁰⁵ James Raven's *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Book Trade, 1450-1850* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007) carefully historicizes the practices of booksellers alongside technological developments in print and shifting markets. Title pages served an important part in advertising works for sale, so titles have both a descriptive and financial value.

⁶⁰⁶ Work I have not been able to include includes a study of titling practices in eighteenth-century printing; surviving letters passed between various authors and their booksellers—including Hannah More, Hugh Blair, Jonathan Swift, John Hoole, and William Robinson—I've uncovered in my research show the care with which authors wrote their titles, even drawing up title pages by hand to send to their printers. James McLaverty's work *Pope, Print, and Meaning* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001) discusses this in Pope's case, but this practice appears to have stretched from famous to unknown authors, among various printers, across the century. I presented some of this work at the 2013 annual meeting of the American Society of Eighteenth-Century Scholars, in a paper on "Publishing Authors, Producing Authority in Thomas Cadell's Bookshop." This archival evidence provides evidence that not only did authors consider their titles, and the commercial value of those titles, but that booksellers frequently deferred to authors' suggestions.

eighteenth-century booksellers developed a marketplace for them. Abraham Tucker could publish *Freemill, Foreknowledge, and Fate. A Fragment* in part because he had observed—as a reader and as an author—that such texts were possible and marketable. “New readers,” wrote D.F. McKenzie, “make new texts and their new meanings are a function of their new forms.”⁶⁰⁷ As popular readership expanded during the eighteenth century, many forms became recognizably generic, the novel but one among them.⁶⁰⁸ If nothing else, this chapter shows that the fragment was definitely developed and understood as a genre before the Romantic period.

Likewise, the proliferation in fragments that David Duff discussed in *Romanticism and the Uses of Genre* also appears in the complete fragment. Duff traces how writers like Keats used fragments to balance both the impulse to create anew but also to preserve and revere the old and the lost: “[A]rchaism and innovation—on the face of it, antithetical impulses—became, for the first time, fully conscious and theoretically explicit literary trends. The tension between the drive to ‘make it old’ and ‘make it new’ [...] produced an attitude to genre that was revolutionary in two senses: iconoclastic and transformative but also atavistic (revolving, returning to origins).”⁶⁰⁹ He positions the fragment within this as a genre, like the sketch, which can “problematize, ironize, theorize [its] relationship to genre,” and thus is useful for Romantic writers.⁶¹⁰ He notes that “[t]he ‘fragment,’ once a purely editorial term but now functioning as a fashionable genre in its own right, was subdivided into ‘pathetic fragments,’ ‘elegiac fragments,’ ‘sentimental fragments,’ ‘dramatic fragments,’ and many other variants.”⁶¹¹ *A Rural Fragment* certainly adds to this list, and reflects the looseness of the genre itself. Duff’s

⁶⁰⁷ McKenzie, 29.

⁶⁰⁸ J. Paul Hunter offers some figures on literacy development in *Before Novels: The Cultural Contexts of Eighteenth-Century English Fiction* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1990), 65-75.

⁶⁰⁹ Duff, *Romanticism and the Uses of Genre* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), viii.

⁶¹⁰ *Ibid.*, viii.

⁶¹¹ *Ibid.*, 53.

assertion that “[t]he emergence in contemporary literature of new ways of writing that eluded traditional poetic categories altogether—compositions entitled ‘fragments’, ‘sketches’, or ‘effusions’, or carrying no generic designation at all—put further pressure on the neoclassical genre-system, which seemed incapable too of dealing with the period’s most conspicuous literary phenomenon, the rise of the novel” is true: novels and fragment don’t fit into categories like epic or georgic.⁶¹² However, this ironization of genre is part and parcel of eighteenth-century writing, even in the works of the relatively conservative Scriblerians. In this dissertation’s attempts to codify specific fragment variants like the unintentional, intentional, and complete fragment, the complete fragment puts pressure on the very genre system I’m trying to articulate here. How then not to fall into the trap of undescriptive or useless genre-systems?

This is where scholarship in the history of the book helps clarify what the complete fragment may show or suggest. Roger Chartier’s *The Order of Books*, for one, points out how books and genre create categories of meaning or order as part of their work: “Whether they are in manuscript or in print, books are objects whose forms, if they cannot impose the sense of the texts that they bear, at least command the uses that can invest them and the appropriations to which they are susceptible. Works and discourses exist only when they become physical realities and are inscribed on the pages of a book.”⁶¹³ In other words, form (both meaning the physical codex and the genre in which it’s written) does affect interpretation; it may, godlike, command its readers’ uses, if not their interpretations. Certain kinds of meaning are possible in certain kinds of texts. This in many ways is not so different from what these complete fragments show: Tucker tries to persuade his readers that, while his

⁶¹² Ibid, 63.

⁶¹³ Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe Between the 14th and 18th Centuries* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), viii-ix.

text is a fragment of his own labors and the topic as a whole, it still is complete enough. Johnson's *Hermit* enables a discourse about individual trauma and fragmented relationships between the self and society through its illustrations as well as its title. This seems to also be the sense shared by eighteenth-century readers and critics, as Kendrick opposes the idea of a fragment as being able to contain any serious or valuable meaning. Yet, many of these complete fragments (like the ones discussed here) intend to edify. Tucker hopes here to help his readers better understand the relationship between ethics and morality; Johnson addresses children to entertain and to instruct, with the letters and figures right in the front. But neither are these texts required to do so. The fragment as a genre does structure meaning and requires certain kinds of interpretive work from its readers, but the purpose and ideology of the content it encodes here varies significantly.

Criticism on the novel also helps provide a context for thinking about and understanding the fragment as generic development. Many of the same interpretive questions and concerns taken up in recent scholarship seem mimicked in this study of the fragment. If this dissertation joins Duff in noticing the fragment's proliferation, much new scholarship on the novel has worked to rediscover novel variants like the it-novel.⁶¹⁴ If fragments often deal in the *roman à clef*, novels are concerned with the separation between fact and fiction.⁶¹⁵ The same self-referentiality and the play with paratexts all associated with the novel are likewise adopted by the literary fragment. Many of the terms and concerns that J. Paul Hunter uses to characterize the novel's "newelty"⁶¹⁶—"credibility and probability,"⁶¹⁷ "their lonely

⁶¹⁴ See Mark Blackwell, "Hackwork: It-Narrative and Iteration," in *The Secret Life of Things: Animals, Objects, and It-Narratives in Eighteenth-Century England* (Lewisberg: Bucknell University Press, 2007) and Julie Park, *The Self and It: Novel Objects in Eighteenth-Century England* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010).

⁶¹⁵ Lennard J. Davis, *Factual Fictions: The Origins of the English Novel* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983).

⁶¹⁶ As Lovelace keeps no mistresses because he loves newelty, so the novel keeps no regular form.

⁶¹⁷ Hunter, 33

readers,”⁶¹⁸ “artifacts of the world of print,”⁶¹⁹ and “inclusiveness, digressiveness, and fragmentation”⁶²⁰ for example—also describe the fragment as well. While the fragment is not as widespread a phenomenon as the novel, it affords a special window onto the larger story of generic innovation in the period.

The complete fragments discussed in this chapter in many ways seem to be less about authorial intent than other kinds of fragments. In fact, as Tucker addresses the reader in his *Search-disguise*,

There are some expressions ... that will appear mysterious: but this must always be the case with the middle of a Composition, wherein things are alluded to with which the Reader has not yet been made acquainted. Therefore he must acknowledge I have acted fairly, by giving him notice in the Title Page, that he was not to expect a Work, but the Fragment of one; for he may choose whether he will meddle with such broken wares or not; but if he does condescend to deal in them, he must not blame me for some little inconveniencies unavoidable in a traffic of this sort.⁶²¹

In this section, there is more for the Reader than for the “I” author. Tucker does act here to impose some order on the text with his title, but the tone is not commanding: “I have acted fairly, by giving him notice [...] that he was not to expect a Work.” The author’s title serves to describe the work so that the reader may display agency in choosing to read or not read the text. This is something of a shift, as unintentional fragments make the author’s intentions a central concern and intentional fragments position the authorship of the text among the various groups (writers, printers, and booksellers) who collaborated to produce the texts.

⁶¹⁸ Ibid, 40

⁶¹⁹ Ibid, 41.

⁶²⁰ Ibid, 24.

⁶²¹ Tucker, xxii.

Perhaps in part this is because the complete fragment locates the interpretive problems more frequently within the text than without—in other words, that because the complete fragment is formally complete, the problems of interpretation are diminished, and authors may more reasonably trust readers to find the lessons on their own. Yet, without the authorial decision to title the work as a fragment, readers might not think of these texts in these ways. These “complete fragments” in fact disrupt common conceptions of what “complete” or “fragment” might generally be said to mean. That may ultimately be the most disruptive thing that these texts offer: to speak of genre is to generalize, and these works provide the exception for the rule.

Chapter Five: Conclusion. A Fragment.

This year the world celebrates the 200th anniversary of *Mansfield Park*'s publication. The novel, one of Austen's mature works, was begun around February 1811 and published on 9 May 1814. The celebrations last year for the anniversary of *Pride and Prejudice*'s publication were tremendous: a fiberglass Darcy installed in a pond in London's Hyde Park,⁶²² uncountable encomiums in major online periodicals, many academic panels and mini-conferences, and more stage productions than you could shake a stick at. Jane Austen's talents have been widely celebrated and her works preserved in print, film, and even LOLCAT memes.⁶²³ While *Pride and Prejudice* is the author's most popular work, Austen's celebrity is such that it can sustain attention even to her "minor works," including her two unfinished novels, *The Watsons* and *Sanditon*.⁶²⁴ Austen's work can serve as a starting point for considering what this dissertation's modes of analyses reveal when applied to texts outside the period. What can we learn about Austen's writing by considering her in relation to the literary print fragment? and where else might those insights lead?

Austen is a unique figure for this analysis. She is perhaps one of the most canonical figures in the English canon, and easily the most canonical female author.⁶²⁵ Her six complete novels, two of which were published posthumously, have garnered significant critical and popular attention. As a result, Austen early on had critical editions that included her

⁶²² "Oh, Mr Darcy! Yes, there's a giant Colin Firth floating in the Serpentine," *The Time Out London Blog*, last accessed 5 June 2014. <http://now-here-this.timeout.com/2013/07/08/oh-mr-darcy-yes-there-a-giant-colin-firth-floating-in-the-serpentine/>.

⁶²³ See Pamela Jane and Deborah Guyol, *Pride and Prejudice and Kitties: A Cat-Lover's Romp through Jane Austen's Classic* (New York: Skyhorse Publishing, 2013).

⁶²⁴ While both titles have been attached posthumously, despite suggestions in her nephew's *Memoirs* of the titles she intended to bestow on the works, these are the canonical titles and such the ones I will here use.

⁶²⁵ No disrespect to George Eliot, but Austen's widespread popularity and canonicity was established in the nineteenth century. A quick-but-crude measure of canonicity could be in Google searches: "Jane Austen" yields 17.1 million results, while "George Eliot" only yields 10.2 million, and "Virginia Woolf" only 6.27 million.

unpublished works: R.W. Chapman produced a critical edition of Austen's works in 1923, *The Novels of Jane Austen: The Text Based on Collation of the Early Editions* that was reprinted in 1953 as the six-volume *The Works of Jane Austen* by Oxford University Press.

Chapman first published Austen's unfinished/unpublished novels and juvenilia in separate editions—*Sanditon*, for example, was first published as *Fragment of a Novel written by Jane Austen, January-March 1817. Now first printed from the manuscript* in 1925—which then got combined into the *Works* in a separate volume called “Minor Works.” These descriptors—”fragment of a novel” and “minor works”—both work to dismiss or discredit a serious attention to these works, as George Justice notes in his analysis of *Sanditon*:

Chapman's assumption of a whole work of art (a 'novel') from which the unfinished manuscript pages have been somehow broken off was shared by early critics ... And given the striking contrast between realism and exaggeration in *Sanditon*, it makes some sense to suppose that the manuscript represents an early draft that might ultimately have been finished to the level of polish in her already published works. But style and common sense notwithstanding, we don't know and cannot prove the author's aim in these manuscript pages, and the assumption that *Sanditon* is 'unfinished' (in terms of narrative and polish) has damaged our ability to appreciate it for what it is.⁶²⁶

Justice points out the interesting conundrum of interpreting a literary fragment: how can critics know if this was an intentional fragment, an unintentional fragment, or not a fragment at all? Would Austen have continued the work had she lived? At twelve chapters, it's certainly more brief than her published novels, but of a similar length with the juvenilia. Justice also acknowledges that labeling the work as a fragment “has damaged our ability to appreciate it

⁶²⁶ George Justice, “*Sanditon* and the Book,” in *A Companion to Jane Austen*, ed. Claudia L. Johnson and Clara Tuite (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 153.

for what it is.” By thinking of it as a fragment, Justice suggests, readers long for the missing part rather than enjoying what’s there. As Justice then argues that *Sanditon* is “a commentary upon the history of the book,” it seems implied in his logic the idea that he assumes critics dismiss it by thinking of it as a fragment and that they mistake its meaning by assuming it’s unfinished.⁶²⁷ Read against the previous fragmentary productions outlined in the previous chapters, *Sanditon*’s provisional status points to engagements with the fragment—both on the part of Austen and her editors—than Austen scholars have not been attuned to.

Sanditon’s reception as fragment has been conditioned by not only Chapman’s editorial work but also the Austen family’s memorializing. In the *Memoirs of Jane Austen* published by her nephew James Edward Austen-Leigh, he mentions *Sanditon* under the category of “the Last Work.” This title, and Austen-Leigh’s following mournful narrative, regrets what’s lost at Austen’s death: “how much unexhausted talent perished with her, how largely she might yet have contributed to the entertainment of her readers, if her life had been prolonged, cannot be known; but it is certain that the mine at which she had so long labored was not worked out, and that she was still diligently employed in collecting fresh materials from it.”⁶²⁸ Austen’s literary gifts are here compared to a rich, renewable natural resource inherent in her; upon her death, the mine is closed. It’s as if Austen’s career is itself fragment, interrupted before its natural conclusion. Intriguingly, Austen-Leigh teases readers with details about the composition dates, the plot, and the manuscript’s physical status, but declines to display it: “Such an unfinished fragment cannot be presented to the public; but I am persuaded that some of Jane Austen’s admirers will be glad to learn something about the latest creations which were forming themselves in her mind.”⁶²⁹ Austen-Leigh negatively categorizes the work as an

⁶²⁷ Ibid, 153.

⁶²⁸ Austen-Leigh, *Memoirs of Jane Austen by her nephew James Edward Austen-Leigh, with Introduction, Notes & Index* by R.W. Chapman (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926), 192.

⁶²⁹ Ibid, 193.

“unfinished fragment,” which encourages others to do the same; however, he does so to glorify Austen.⁶³⁰ Since the work is short, it is better to think that Austen did not mean it to be finished—and thus, suggests the promise of what her genius could have achieved—rather than what it is. The desire of many later writers to finish Austen’s fragment for her suggests that the readers’ dissatisfaction is also shared with what’s there—to continue it is to fix it.⁶³¹ However, what this dissertation suggests is that it’s quite possible to read the work both in Austen-Leigh’s and Justice’s spirit—we can recognize *Sanditon* as a fragment and also appreciate the work’s self-conscious commentary on print culture.

Justice’s further argument compares *Sanditon* to

a sort of pocketbook, a handwritten commentary on the history of the novel. [...] Like marginalia, the commentary encapsulated in correspondence, and the ‘fan fiction’ of devoted readers, *Sanditon*, itself a manuscript, engages familiarly with previous novels. In so doing, it demonstrates that printed books, the stuff of literary history, are entities with open spaces in the margins, waiting to be filled by a hand scratching out the effusions of the individual imagination.⁶³²

In other words, Justice claims that *Sanditon*’s status as a manuscript is important for the commentary the text performs on the novel. *Sanditon*’s form in manuscript allows it to interact with the novel’s history in a particular way. This, I argue here, is also because of the fragment form: how the fragment’s awareness of genre is performed within and without the text.

⁶³⁰ The Cult of Austen and publishing on the Cult of Austen is veritable cottage industry. See Deidre Shauna Lynch, “Cult of Jane Austen,” ed. Janet Todd, *Jane Austen in Context* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Claudia L. Johnson, *Jane Austen’s Cults and Cultures* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012); Juliette Wells, *Everybody’s Jane: Austen in the Popular Imagination* (New York: Continuum, 2012).

⁶³¹ Various authors have attempted to finish *Sanditon*, including Austen’s niece Anna Austen Lefroy. Several other contemporary continuations exist. See Alice Cobbett, *Somehow Lengthened* (London: Ernest Benn Limited, 1932); Another Lady [Marie Dobbs], *Sanditon* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1975); Julia Barrett, *Jane Austen’s Charlotte: Her Fragment of a Last Novel, Completed by Julia Barrett* (New York: M. Evans & Company, 2000); and Juliette Shapiro, *Sanditon: Jane Austen’s Unfinished Manuscript Completed* (Berkeley: Ulysses Press, 2009).

⁶³² Justice, 154.

Sanditon is sensitive to text and print. The plot's initiation—the meeting between the Parkers and the Heywoods—turns on Mr. Parker's misread advertisement. His hope to improve Sanditon, a hopeful bathing resort, by recruiting a surgeon drives him to Willingden, though he cannot distinguish between one Willingden and Great Willingden. *Sanditon* reflects that concern also in its literary references. As Mr. Parker discusses the rival sea resort Brinshore with Mr. Heywood, he quotes a poem to describe it: "Why, in truth Sir, I fancy we may apply to Brinshore, that line of the poet Cowper in his description of the religious cottager, as opposed to Voltaire—'She, never heard of half a mile from home'.—"⁶³³ Cowper's cottager from "Truth" is now misread, as Mr. Heywood's metaphor compares Sanditon's fame with Voltaire's—ironic when Mr. Heywood has heard of neither place. While Austen is not afraid of literary references, *Sanditon* has a high number for such a short work.⁶³⁴ George Justice links this with Austen's attention with print: "Focusing on literary history while adding a particular focus upon the physical media of print and manuscript, in *Sanditon* Austen revises portions of her earlier work as she rethinks, in darker terms, the pervasiveness of print in her culture."⁶³⁵ Instead of referring, as John Thorpe does, to "an old man playing at see-saw" from *Camilla* in *Northanger Abbey*, Sir Edward Denham puts himself "in the line of the Lovelaces," a far darker reference.

Sir Edward's literary tastes in fact shape his character: "His fancy had been early caught by all the impassioned and most exceptionable parts of Richardson's; and such authors as have since appeared to tread in Richardson's steps, so far as man's determined pursuit of woman in

⁶³³ Austen, *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Jane Austen. Later Manuscripts*, ed. Janet Todd and Linda Bree (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 145. I rely here on the *Cambridge Edition* instead of the Chapman in part because Chapman modernizes Austen's punctuation significantly more than the Cambridge edition and, as I will later argue, her punctuation is in line with other printed eighteenth-century fragment texts. For a longer (and more critical) discussion of Chapman's punctuation, see Kathryn Sutherland, *Jane Austen's Textual Lives: From Aeschylus to Bollywood* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

⁶³⁴ Austen generally does not lard her works with popular references, but *Northanger Abbey*'s considerable satire depends on a steady reference to popular Gothic novels of Austen's time.

⁶³⁵ Justice, 154.

defiance of every opposition of feeling and convenience is concerned, had since occupied the greater part of his literary hours, and formed his character."⁶³⁶ There's a nice irony in this: a typical book character models himself after another literary figure. Many of *Sanditon's* characters fall into such types: the Parker sisters are hypochondriacs like Matt Bramble, Charlotte Heywood a country ingénue in town like Evelina, and Lady Denham an imperious widow like Lady Catherine de Bourgh. Austen embeds her satire on Sir Edward in her commentary on his rather partial practices of reading: "Though he owed many of his ideas to this sort of reading, it were unjust to say that he read nothing else, [...]—He read all the essays, letters, tours and criticisms of the day—and with the same ill-luck which made him derive only false principles from lessons of morality, [...] he gathered only hard words and involved sentences from the style of our most approved writers.—"⁶³⁷ His reading is fragmentary because his fancy leads him to read badly.⁶³⁸ *Sanditon* displays the fragment's awareness of print and its interest in readerly interpretation.

The punctuation strategies visible in Austen's manuscript are also typical of the fragment. While her printed texts do not use as many dashes as the *Sanditon* manuscript, here they frequently mark shifts in and out of dialogue. For example, when Lady Denham talks to Charlotte about how she willingly gave Sir Edward Denham her dead husband's watch, dashes abound:

⁶³⁶ Austen, 183.

⁶³⁷ *Ibid.*, 183.

⁶³⁸ Sir Edward in his own way echoes Captain Benwick from *Persuasion*, who prefers Byron to prose because of his broken heart.

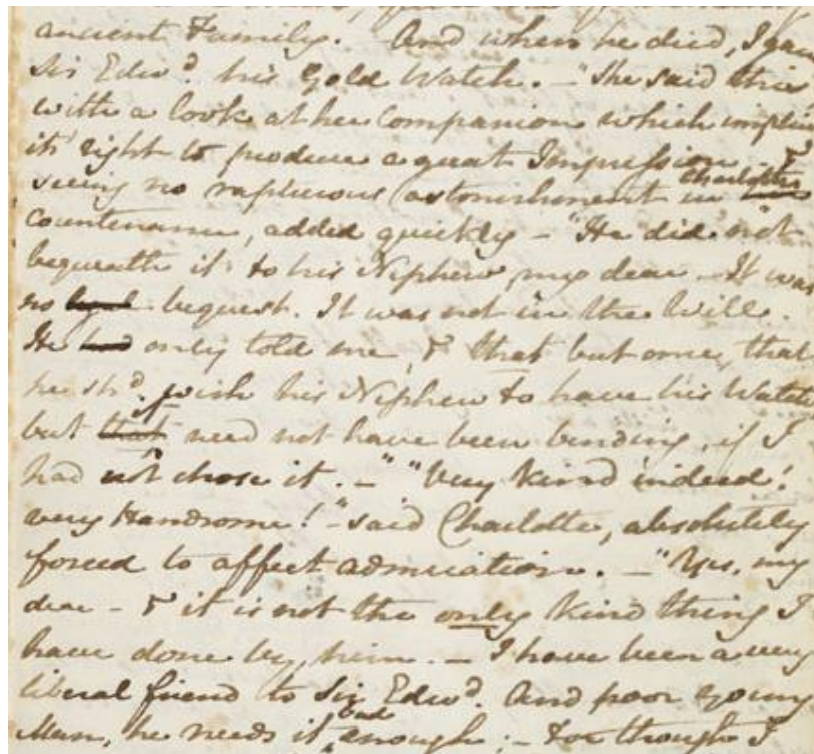


Figure 5.1: Jane Austen, *Sanditon* manuscript. 2.36.

Image via Jane Austen's Fiction Manuscripts.

Austen punctuates dialogue with quotation marks and uses periods at the ends of sentences, but also employs dashes frequently. When Lady Denham “add[s] quickly” a further condition after Charlotte’s nonplussed expression, the dash signals some of her rapidity. The dash following “not chose it.—” suggests Charlotte’s effort to manufacture the expected response when “absolutely forced.” Austen’s punctuation practices in *Sanditon* may not be typical of her previous work, but her other surviving manuscripts show a similar tendency.

The mutual exchange between manuscript and print that Justice traces through the text is consistent with Austen’s reading and writing practices. Austen’s letters and works suggest she was widely read in a variety of genres. Austen would have been familiar with several rhetorics of fragmentation, and perhaps some fragment texts as well. In her brother Edward’s library at Godmersham Austen could find Hugh Blair’s *Lectures on rhetoric and belle-lettres* as well

as actual literary fragments like *Tristram Shandy*, though no texts with fragment actually in the title.⁶³⁹ Her subscription to public libraries makes it likely she could have encountered many of the more ephemeral fragment texts in that way.

Austen's juvenilia also suggest that she was familiar with fragment writing: she in fact wrote fragments herself. Of the three volumes containing Austen's juvenilia, penned in her own hand, the first one contains a text called "A fragment — written to inculcate the practise of Virtue." Published in Chapman's edition of the *Minor Works*, the text appears sandwiched between a letter addressed to her niece Jane Anna Elizabeth Austen, dated 2 June 1793, and "A Beautiful Description of the Different Effects of Sensibility on Different Minds." The "Beautiful Description" is in Austen's comic mode, mocking both the poorly Melissa and her melancholy companions who "ha[ve] not strength to think at all," much less "think to have Strength."⁶⁴⁰ The letter previous notes that Austen has composed the following "Miscellaneous Morsels, convinced that if you seriously attend to them, You will derive from them very important Instructions, with regard to your Conduct in Life.—"⁶⁴¹ We can adduce from this that "A Fragment," "A Beautiful Description," and the texts that follow were composed to fulfill this pledge, especially as they appear toward the end of the manuscript, which ends dated 3 June 1793.⁶⁴² However, there are a number of features that make this fragment intriguing:

⁶³⁹ Janine Barchas's *Matters of Fact in Jane Austen: History, Location, and Celebrity* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 2013) gives a brief overview of the Godmersham Library's catalogue, which contained close to a thousand books. Much of that work was historical in nature, some of it likely antiquarian. However, Austen also subscribed to a public library, where she might have had opportunity to encounter other fragment texts (22-3). To search the Godmersham library, you can go to the Chawton Library website and search for titles within the Knight Collection, which includes books owned by the Knight family through the nineteenth century.

⁶⁴⁰ Austen, *Minor Works*, 72-3. The characters and situation are somewhat reminiscent of *Love and Freindship*, where Sophia entreats her friend Laura to "[r]un mad as often as you chuse; but do not faint—" (102).

⁶⁴¹ *Ibid*, 71.

⁶⁴² *Ibid*, 75.

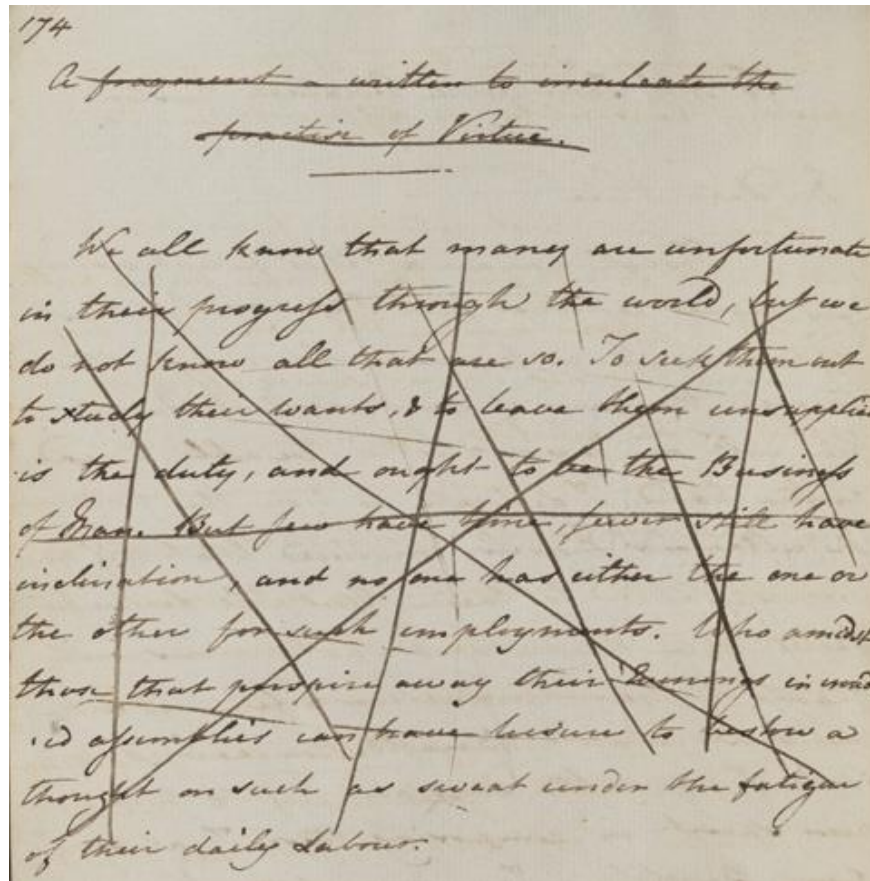


Figure 5.2: Jane Austen, “A Fragment – written to inculcate the practice of Virtue” manuscript.

Image via Jane Austen’s Fiction Manuscripts.

The text engages in a characteristic interpretive play. Her first line—that “we all know that many are unfortunate in their progress through the world, but we do not know all that are so”—reads potentially straight. The poor and unfortunate are not always visible. However, the following line puts this into contention: “To seek them out to study their wants, & to leave them unsupplied is the duty, and ought to be the Business of Man.” The sentence reads like traditional moralizing until you encounter “to leave them unsupplied.” What Austen thus seems to be invoking and condemning is a false charity: you hear the poor out, but fail to amend their situation. The final line—“[w]ho amidst those that perspire away their Evenings

in crowded assemblies can have leisure to bestow a thought on such as sweat under the fatigue of their daily Labour”—seems thus to condemn as it excuses: the daily perspiring labor of the dancers is contrasted with “such as sweat under the fatigue of their daily Labour.” In other words, you can be too tired after dancing to notice the misfortunes of others. It’s a mock excuse, but a real condemnation of those without charity. Yet, what makes this most intriguing is that Austen has scratched out the entire thing, as if to erase or negate it. Austen’s fragment is not only an intentional fragment in the genre’s conventional sense, but also a fragment in that she attempts to remove it from the text. While Austen marks out lines in this volume, “A Fragment” is the only piece excised entire.

What, then, might we make of Austen’s relationship with the fragment? Austen was aware of the fragment as genre, writing intentional and unintentional fragments. Whether or not we understand Austen’s intentions or to which category *The Watsons* or *Sanditon* belong, Austen wrote within the fragment genre, but seems to have disclaimed it. The moralizing and the satire in “A fragment” may have been too direct for her sensibilities, or she may have considered it as one of the less successful “detached pieces” in this section. However, I suggest that we can see the fragment functioning in her completed and published works.⁶⁴³

Austen’s *Emma*, dated only a few years before *Sanditon*, contains similarly interesting bits of texts. Riddles, charades, and word games litter the novel as various cunning characters employ them, particularly young Frank Churchill. In Volume III, Chapter 5, Mr. Knightley observes his neighbors playing a game in which players receive a collection of letters to unscramble. After Frank Churchill “placed a word before Miss Fairfax,”⁶⁴⁴ Knightley notes

⁶⁴³ Unfortunately, no manuscripts survive of any of Austen’s major novels. The manuscript for a cancelled chapter of *Persuasion* exists, but did not appear in the finished, posthumously published novel; Austen wrote a *History of England* in 1791 when she was fifteen, which her sister Cassandra illustrated. The work is not a published text, but one finished as a display piece, and has been published in facsimile, edited by Deirdre Le Faye, and there are a higher number of dashes there than in her published works. But the comparisons aren’t particularly informative.

⁶⁴⁴ Jane Austen, *Emma*, ed. James Kinsley and Adela Pinch (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 148.

her blush when Harriet publicly solves the riddle. Knightley interprets this as proof of Jane's and Frank's relationship, and the narrative announces his displeasure to the reader: "These letters were but the vehicle for gallantry and trick. It was a child's play, chosen to conceal a deeper game on Frank Churchill's part."⁶⁴⁵ But Frank's game fails: when he gives Jane another word, she sweeps it away "unexamined,"⁶⁴⁶ and readers can only wonder what word the letters made.⁶⁴⁷ Austen implants this fragment not only for readers and Knightley to guess it, but also as a clue in the larger puzzle about Frank's motivations: he is engaged to Jane Fairfax, but keeping it secret from the world, specifically his aunt and uncle. If Austen's novels often present heroines struggling to interpret the characters and social worlds surrounding them, her narrative style requires her readers to engage in imaginative acts of interpretation similar to that required by fragments. Knightley and the readers both know they lack information to solve the puzzle, and that information is almost there, but not.

The fragmentary punctuation we note in Austen's manuscripts also appears in Austin's formal style. For example, when Knightley begins to suspect an attachment between Jane Fairfax and Frank Churchill, Austen frames it as indirectly as possible: "He could not understand it; but there were symptoms of intelligence between them—he thought so at least—symptoms of admiration on his side, which, having once observed, he could not persuade himself to think entirely void of meaning, however he might wish to escape any of Emma's errors of imagination."⁶⁴⁸ The passage's punctuation contorts Knightley's thought, mimetically enacting his caution through its series of clauses. The embedded dashes separate out and draw attention to his own mental undermining of his reading. In other words, while he asserts here that there is something between Frank and Jane, he (or the narrator) disclaims

⁶⁴⁵ Austin, 149.

⁶⁴⁶ Ibid, 149.

⁶⁴⁷ According to the family tradition, recorded in the *Memoir*, the word was "pardon" (158).

⁶⁴⁸ Austin, 150.

it as his own “thought,” or potentially an “error of imagination” similar to Emma’s. Yet his imagination is not fanciful—in fact, it interprets the “symptoms” and fills in the gaps left between the significant glances they share. Austen not only creates fragments in her published novels, and encodes them occasionally with similar punctuation strategies, but also invites methods of interpretation inspired by fragments.

Finally, Austen inserts textual fragments directly into her narratives. Consider Frederick Wentworth’s letter to Anne in *Persuasion*. Written hastily while listening to a conversation between Anne and his friend Captain Harville, Wentworth’s letter begins without formal address and ends somewhat abruptly as one sentence is interrupted with his signature:

Too good, too excellent creature! You do us justice, indeed. You do believe that there is true attachment and constancy among men. Believe it to be most fervent, most undeviating, in

F. W.

I must go, uncertain of my fate; but I shall return hither, or follow your party, as soon as possible. A word, a look will be enough to decide whether I enter your father’s house this evening or never.⁶⁴⁹

The line break between the letter’s last line and the signature suggests a possible gap: if he had had more time to finish, what would he have added or said? The postscript after the signature also adds to this incompleteness, as he must wait on Anne for more information. His “half-agony, half-hope” emotional state makes him even more a fragment himself: if not united with Anne, what will his fate be? Reading Austen with fragments in mind can reveal influences that run through her writing, as well as her own creative incorporation of such techniques for her own particular ends. Austen does not always writes fragments, but writes in view of them.

⁶⁴⁹ Jane Austen, *The Complete Novels of Jane Austen, Volume 2: Emma, Northanger Abbey, Persuasion* (New York: Modern Library, 1992), 701.

While this analysis of Austen shows the value of these fragmentary terms for literary works close to those analyzed by the dissertation, such an understanding of the fragment's generic functioning might influence or inform our ways of reading more contemporary texts. The materiality of the book constructs fragments in a different way than does digital space. For example, Twitter is a platform in which speakers can use the limits of the form (a 140-character message, with only hashtags as the special connective characters; neither italics nor bolding are possible) to play literarily. The *Grantland* author Brian Phillips playfully constructed this fragment for his first tweet:

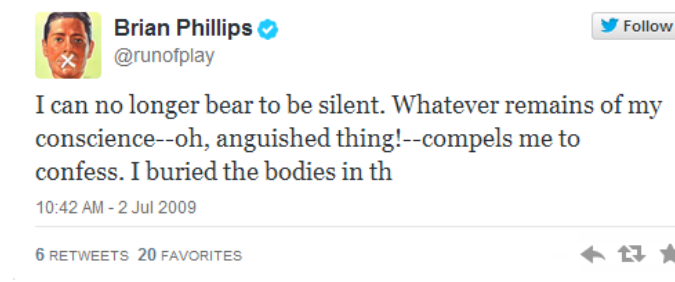


Figure 5.3: Screenshot of tweet from @runofplay

The heightened language, with emotive exclamation and interruptive dashes, builds a tension that then is abruptly cut off as the character length cuts the sentence off mid-stream. His “confession” refuses to confess meaning, in part because it’s a joke about Twitter’s generic characteristics. The tweet engages as it makes us aware of our own desire to know what comes next.

Others have pushed against Twitter’s generic limitations to write longform satire. For example, the Chicago journalist Dan Sinker wrote a parody Twitter feed under the persona of Rahm Emanuel while Emanuel was running to be Chicago’s mayor.⁶⁵⁰ The feed began mimicking Emanuel’s famously colorful vocabulary, but evolved into a longer story about Emanuel becoming one with Chicago and its history, as well as struggling to be patient

⁶⁵⁰ The parody was initially confusing to some, as the official @RahmEmanuel feed first started tweeting on 6 October 2010; the @MayorEmanuel feed began on 27 September 2010.

campaigning for a job he would undoubtedly get.⁶⁵¹ As the election came closer, the feed revealed that there were two Rahm Emanuels in this timeline, and that one had to jump into a time vortex to save the world. The feed ends with @MayorEmanuel disappearing into the vortex, and the last tweet also cuts off:



Figure 5.4: Screenshot of tweet from @MayorEmanuel

The last word takes the experienced reader back to the beginning, even as the ellipsis ends the story by leaving its readers hanging.⁶⁵² What next for @MayorEmanuel? In that alternative dimension, no one knows. But the reader new to the feed would be more at sea, in part because Twitter's functions make it difficult to navigate back to the beginning. For example, Twitter did not offer a function to download your own archive until 19 December 2012, a year after the @MayorEmanuel feed had ended.⁶⁵³ Services like Storify only came into existence around the time Sinker concluded.⁶⁵⁴ To read the feed chronologically was only possible with significant work, and generally runs counter to the website's ordering, which prioritizes the most recent tweets. If readers were to follow @MayorEmanuel among other feeds, they might miss tweets unless they were reading carefully, depending on how many people were tweeting at a particular time of day. To preserve the feed, Sinker eventually published the whole in print

⁶⁵¹ For a fuller history, see Alexis C. Madrigal, "Revealing the Man Behind @MayorEmanuel," *The Atlantic*, last modified 28 February 2011. <http://www.theatlantic.com/technology/archive/2011/02/revealing-the-man-behind-mayoremanuel/71802/>.

⁶⁵² @MayorEmanuel's first tweet repeated the last word from his last tweet several times.

⁶⁵³ Molly Vador, "Your Twitter archive," *The Official Twitter Blog*, last accessed 31 May 2014. <http://blog.twitter.com/2012/your-twitter-archive>.

⁶⁵⁴ According to their website, Storify went public in April 2011. See Storify, "About Us," *Storify*, last accessed 31 May 2014. <https://storify.com/about>.

as *The F***ing Epic Twitter Quest of @MayorEmanuel* in September 2011, but the manner of consuming the text as tweet and as book is a significantly different reading experience, perhaps not unlike the difference between reading Austen's manuscript and Chapman's edition of it.⁶⁵⁵ As individuals use Twitter to develop characters and stories creatively,⁶⁵⁶ the medium may come to write fragments and understand fragments in a particular way.⁶⁵⁷

Finally, many postmodernist authors write in fragmentary fashion. Mark Danielewski has written numerous texts with fragment or fragmentation as part of his work, including *House of Leaves*, *The Fifty Year Sword*, and *Only Revolutions*. *Only Revolutions*, for example, plays with the codex format by telling the stories of the two main characters each from opposite ends of the book: read at one end, and you follow the man's narrative; read at the other, and you follow the woman's.⁶⁵⁸ The sheer number of textual units in the work constitute it as a collection of fragments, if not a fragment itself. Other books like Nick Bantock's 1991 *Griffin and Sabine: An Extraordinary Correspondence* are more artistic; the text includes a number of illustrated postcards sent between the two characters. Authors online and in print manipulate the materiality of their form for particular ends, whether it's to heighten the sense of interiority

⁶⁵⁵ Of course, there's whole physical issues tied into this that are hugely important: reading a Twitter feed on an application is different from reading it on a computer.

⁶⁵⁶ For another example, see @DadBoner and Karl Welzein [Mike Burns], *Power Moves: Livin' the American Dream, USA Style* (New York: It Books, 2013).

⁶⁵⁷ Another example: the website FanFiction.Net features serially published stories by authors which adopt characters from other fiction to tell new stories within or without the same fictional universe. Since most of these authors write for fan communities and not as a profession, many of these stories are left unfinished as the author loses interest in writing. The theories of interpreting eighteenth-century fragments might be used to help consider how to read such archives, though there are differences—if most eighteenth-century authors write intentional fragments, these are generally unintentional fragments, though are perhaps part of a “complete fragment” intertext.

⁶⁵⁸ N. Katherine Hayles, “Fragmented Narratives, Constraints, and Materiality” (lecture, *GRACLS* 2013 keynote, The University of Texas at Austin, Austin, TX, 11 October 2013); see also N. Katherine Hayles, *How We Think: Digital Media and Contemporary Technogenesis* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012).

in the experience of reading the correspondence between two characters or to visibly disjoint the reader's experience of the novel form.⁶⁵⁹

What's interesting about these contemporary examples of the fragment is that critics may read them thematically as well. For example, Lester Faigley's *Fragments of Rationality: Postmodernity and the Subject of Composition* argues that postmodern theory "questions the existence of a rational, coherent self" and sets it against the "rational subject of the Enlightenment."⁶⁶⁰ Thus, by Faigley's calculation, postmodern authors like DeLillo incorporate fragmentation into their composition to reflect something like a postmodern *anomie*. In showing that the "rational subject of the Enlightenment" wasn't opposed to fragment forms, this dissertation suggests that such thematic readings of texts are best enriched through an account of the physical and cultural modes of production from which they emerge. The fragment form can thus be used for high and low purposes, for art or persuasion. The fragment tends best to operate by manipulating its materiality or form, and such that we can read histories of the fragment through different media, if not also read histories of genre through the multimodal medium of the fragment.⁶⁶¹ However, in so doing, we must avoid generalizations about the form separate from their historical and cultural context. Fragment writing has continued life insofar as the form is responsive to these circumstances, and to ignore these circumstances is the same as suggesting that new media forms owe nothing to or learn nothing from the history of print.⁶⁶²

⁶⁵⁹ In one sense: if Richardson had had the means available to present his letters as letters, would he have done so?

⁶⁶⁰ Faigley, *Fragments of Rationality: Postmodernity and the Subject of Composition* (Pittsburgh: The University of Pittsburgh Press, 1992), 111.

⁶⁶¹ For a comparative study of fragments and medieval manuscript culture, see Arthur Bahn, *Fragments and Assemblages: Forming Compilations of Medieval London* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013).

⁶⁶² Lisa Gitelman's *Always Already New: Media, History, and the Data of Culture* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2006) points out that discussions of media often center on technological progress and "that looking into the novelty years, transitional states, and identity crises of different media stands to tell us much, both about the course of media history and about the broad conditions by which media and communication are and have been shaped" (1). While Gitelman focuses on sound and the World Wide Web, this dissertation joins by drawing attention to

The dissertation genre itself may be like a fragment, insofar as it presents a partial or incomplete history of a topic. While this dissertation has been anything but complete, I hope its insights are still worth preserving.

the technology of the book. New media scholarship, I believe, can be usefully informed by historicizing multimodal compositions within a broader, longer media history that includes print composition.

Bibliography

Agnew, Lois. "The Civic Function of Taste: A Re-Assessment of Hugh Blair's Rhetorical Theory." *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 28, no. 2 (Spring 1998): 25-36. doi: 10.1080/02773949809391117.

Allentuck, Marcia. "In Defense of an Unfinished *Tristram Shandy*: Laurence Sterne and the *Non Finito*." In *The Winged Skull: Papers from the Laurence Sterne Bicentenary Conference*, edited by Arthur H. Cash and John M. Stedmond, 45-55. London: Methuen, 1971.

Another Fragment. London, [1750].

Ashfield, Andrew and Peter de Bolla, eds. *The Sublime: A Reader in British Eighteenth-Century Aesthetic Theory*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Atherton, Herbert M. *Political Prints in the Age of Hogarth: A Study of the Ideographic Representation of Politics*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974.

Bacon, Francis. *Essays. Religious Meditations. Places of persuasion and dissuasion. Seene and allowed*. London, 1597.

Barchas, Janine. *Graphic Design, Print Culture, and the Eighteenth-Century Novel* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

—. "Sarah Fielding's Dashing Style and Eighteenth-Century Print Culture." *ELH* 63, no. 3 (Fall 1996): 633-656. doi: 10.1353/elh.1996.0021.

Barkan, Leonard. *Unearthing the Past: Archaeology and Aesthetics in the Making of Renaissance Culture*. New York: Yale University Press, 1999.

Barker, Nicholas. "Typography and the Meaning of Words: The Revolution in the Layout of Books in the Eighteenth Century." In *The Book and the Book Trade in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, edited by Giles Barber and Bernhard Fabian, 127-65. Hamburg: Hauswedell, 1981.

Beattie, James Hay. *Essays and fragments in prose and verse. By James Hay Beattie. To which is prefixed an account of the author's life and character.* Edinburgh, 1794.

Bell, Maureen, and John Hinks, eds. *The British Book Trade Index.* <http://www.bbti.bham.ac.uk/>.

Benedict, Barbara. "Readers, writers, reviewers, and the professionalization of literature." In *The Cambridge Companion to English Literature, 1740-1830*, edited by Thomas Keymer and Jon Mee, 3-23. New York: Cambridge UP, 2004.

Bentham, Jeremy Bentham. *A Fragment on Government; Being An Examination of what is delivered, On the subject of Government in General, in the Introduction to Sir William Blackstone's Commentaries: With a Preface, in which is given a Critique of the Work at Large.* London, 1776.

Bentick, John. *The spelling and explanatory dictionary of the English language.* London, 1786.

Bertelsen, Lance. *The Nonsense Club: Literature and Popular Culture, 1749-64.* New York: Clarendon Press, 1986.

—. "Popular entertainment and instruction, literary and dramatic: chapbooks, advice books, almanacs, ballads, farces, pantomimes, prints and shows." In *The Cambridge History of English Literature, 1660-1780*, edited by John Richetti, 61-86. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

—. "Richmond's Rhetoric and Chatham's Collapse: A Media History." *Eighteenth-Century Life* 36, no. 3 (Fall 2012): 1-30. doi: 10.1215/00982601-1672808.

Billig, Michael. "Abraham Tucker as an 18th-century William James: Stream of consciousness, role of examples, and the importance of writing." *Theory Psychology* 22, no. 1 (Feb 2012): 114-29. doi: 10.1177/0959354311398518.

Blackwell, Anthony. *An introduction to the classics; containing, a short discourse on their excellencies; and directions how to study them to advantage. With an essay, on the nature and use of those emphatical and beautiful figures which give strength and ornament to writing.* London, 1718.

Blair, Hugh. *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres*. Edinburgh, 1783. Edited by Linda Ferreira-Buckley and S. Michael Halloran. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2005.

Booth, Wayne. "Did Sterne Complete *Tristram Shandy*?" *Modern Philology* 48, no. 3 (1951): 172-83. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/435387>.

Brandon, Isaac. *Fragments: in the manner of Sterne*. London, 1797.

Bray, Joe. "Embedded Quotations in Eighteenth-Century Fiction: Journalism and the Early Novel," *Journal of Literary Semantics* 31, no. 1 (March 2002): 61-75. doi: 10.1515/jlse.2002.004.

Brewer, David. *The Afterlife of Character, 1726-1825*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005.

Brewer, John. *The Sinews of Power: War, Money, and the English State, 1688-1783*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990.

Bristol, Roger Pattrell. *Index of Printers, Publishers, and Booksellers Indicated by Charles Evans in his American Bibliography*. Charlottesville: Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1961.

Brodey, Inger Sigrun. *Ruined by Design: Shaping Novels and Gardens in the Culture of Sensibility*. New York: Routledge, 2008.

Brown, Matthew P. "The Tiger's Leap and the Dog's Paw: Method, Matter, and Meaning in the History of the Book." In *Early American Literature* 44, no. 3 (2009). doi: 10.1353/eal.0.0078

Brown, Wallace Cable. *Charles Churchill: Poet, Rake, and Rebel*. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1953.

Browning, Reed. Holles, “Thomas Pelham-, duke of Newcastle upon Tyne and first duke of Newcastle under Lyme (1693–1768).” In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford University Press, 2004-. Accessed 11 November 2011. doi: 10.1093/ref:odnb/21801.

Bullard, Paddy. *Edmund Burke and the Art of Rhetoric*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Burke, Edmund. *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Sublime and Beautiful*, Edited by James T. Boulton. New York: Routledge, 2008.

Byron, George Gordon, Lord. “Churchill’s Grave. A Fact Literally Rendered,” in *The Works of Lord Byron, in Four Volumes. Volume 3*. London, 1828. 219-220.

A Cambridge Alumni Database. <http://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk/Documents/acad/intro.html>

Campbell, Gordon. *The Hermit in the Garden: From Imperial Rome to Ornamental Gnome*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Carter, Elizabeth. *All the works of Epictetus*. London, 1759.

Chartier, Roger. *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe Between the 14th and 18th Centuries*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994.

The Chronicle of the Kingdom of the Cassiterides, Under the Reign of the House of Lunen. A Fragment. Translated from an ancient Manuscript. London, 1783.

Churchill, Charles. *Poems by C. Churchill*. London, 1765.

—. *Poetical Works of Charles Churchill*, edited by Douglas Grant. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957.

—. *Selected Poems*, edited by Adam Rounce. Nottingham: Trent Editions, 2003.

Clarke, M. L. *Classical Education in Britain 1500–1900*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1959.

Cohen, Ralph. “History and Genre,” *New Literary History* 17, no. 2 (Winter 1986): 203-18. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/468885>.

A collection of ballads. Corrected from the best and most ancient copies extant. With introductions historical, critical, or humorous. Illustrated with copper plates. London, 1723.

Conley, Thomas M. *Rhetoric in the European Tradition*. New York: Longman, 1990.

The Critical Review. Unsigned review of *A Fragment which dropped from the Pocket of a certain Lord, on Thursday the 23d of April, 1789, on his Way to St. Paul's with the Grand Procession*, by an anonymous author. *The Critical Review* 68 (July 1789): 73.

Curran, Louise. "‘Into Whosoever Hands Our Letters Might Fall’: Samuel Richardson’s Correspondence and ‘the Public Eye.’" In *Eighteenth-Century Life* 35, no. 1 (Winter 2011): 51-64. doi: 10.1215/00982601-2010-027.

Dane, Joseph. *Out of Sorts: On Typography and Print Culture*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2010.

Darnton, Robert. *The Kiss of Lamourette: Reflections in Cultural History*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1990.

Davidson, Cathy. *Revolution and the Word: The Rise of the Novel in America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Davies, Richard. "‘The Fragment’ in *Tristram Shandy*, V, i", *English Studies: A Journal of English Language and Literature*, 1976, 522-3.

de Bolla, Peter. *The Discourse of the Sublime*. New York: Basil Blackwell, 1989.

de Bryun, Frans. *The Literary Genres of Edmund Burke: The Political Uses of Literary Form*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.

Defoe, Benjamin. *A compleat English dictionary. Containing the true meaning of all words in the English language: also the proper names of all the kingdoms, Towns, and Cities in the world: Properly Explain’d and Alphabetically Dispos’d*. London, 1735.

Dimock, Wai Chee. "Introduction: Genres as Fields of Knowledge." In "Remapping Genre." Coordinated by Wai Chee Dimock and Bruce Robbins. Special issue. *PMLA* 122, no. 5 (October 2007): 1377-88. doi: 10.1632/pmla.2007.122.5.1377.

Dodsley, Robert. Letter to John Gilbert Cooper Jr. Letters between John Gilbert Cooper Jr and Robert Dodsley. Bodleian Library, Oxford, UK.

Donoghue, Frank. *The Fame Machine: Book Reviewing And Eighteenth-Century Literary Careers*. Stanford, CA: Stanford UP, 1996.

Duff, David, ed. *Modern Genre Theory*. New York: Longman, 2000.

—. *Romanticism and the Uses of Genre*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Edinburgh Weekly Magazine. Unsigned review of *Anecdotes of Olave the Black, King of Man, and the Hebridian Princes of the Somerled Family*. *Edinburgh Weekly Magazine* 53 (Sept 27 1781): 383.

Evans, Margaret. "Texts in English used by children, 1550-1800." In *International Companion Encyclopedia of Children's Literature*, edited by Peter Hunt. 2nd ed. Volume 1. New York: Routledge, 2004. 239-248.

Ezell, Margaret. "John Locke's Images of Childhood: Early Eighteenth Century Response to Some Thoughts concerning Education," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 17, no. 2 (Winter 1983-4): 139-55. doi: 10.2307/2738281.

Ferreira-Buckley, Linda and Winifred Bryan Horner. "Writing Instruction in Great Britain: Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries." In *A Short History of Writing Instruction: From Ancient Greece to 20th-Century America*, edited by James J. Murphy, 1783-214. Davis, CA: Hermagoras Press, 2001.

Festa, Lynn. *Sentimental Figures of Empire in Eighteenth-Century Britain and France*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006.

Fielding, Henry. Henry Fielding to Samuel Richardson, 15 October 1748. In *The Correspondence of Henry and Sarah Fielding*, edited by Martin C. Battestin and Clive T. Probyn, 70. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.

Foucault, Michel. "What is an Author?" In *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice*, translated by Donald F. Bouchard and Sherry Simon, edited by Donald F. Bouchard. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977.

Foster, Joseph. *Alumni Oxonienses: the Members of the University of Oxford, 1715-1886*. Oxford, 1891.

Franklin, Alexandra. "The Art of Illustration in Bodleian Broadside Ballads Before 1820." In *The Bodleian Library Record* 17, no. 5 (2002): 327-52.

Gascoigne, John. *Cambridge in the age of the Enlightenment: Science, religion, and politics from the Restoration to the French Revolution*. New York: Cambridge UP, 1989.

Genette, Gérard. *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*. Literature, Culture, Theory 20. Translated by Jane E. Lewin. Forward by Richard Macksey. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Gibbons, Thomas. *Rhetoric; or, a view of its principal tropes and figures, in their origin and powers: with a Variety of Rules to escape Errors and Blemishes, and Attain Propriety and Elegance in Composition*. London, 1767.

Godwin, William. *The Letters of William Godwin. Vol 1*. Edited by Pamela Clemit. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.

—. Preface to *Posthumous works of the author of A vindication of the rights of woman*, by Mary Wollstonecraft. London, 1794.

Greene, Jody. *The Trouble with Ownership: Literary Property and Authorial Liability in England, 1660-1730*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005.

Greg, W. W. "The Rationale of Copy-Text." In *Studies in Bibliography* 3 (1950/1): 19-36. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40381874>.

Grey, Zachary. *The fragment. Chap. XX*. [London], [1750?].

Guentner, Wendelin A. "British Aesthetic Discourse, 1780-1830: The Sketch, the *Non Finito*, and the Imagination." In *Art Journal* 52, no. 2 (Summer 1993): 40-7. doi: 10.2307/777237.

Halkett, Samuel and John Laing. *A Dictionary of the Anonymous and Pseudonymous Literature of Great Britain. Including the works of foreigners written in, or translated into the English language*. Edinburgh, 1888.

Harper, David A. "Bentley's Annotated 1674 edition of *Paradise Lost*: Hidden Method and Peculiar Madness." In *Review of English Studies* 64, no. 263 (2013): 60-86. doi:10.1093/res/hgr083.

Harries, Elizabeth Wanning. *The Unfinished Manner: Essays on the Fragment in the Later Eighteenth Century*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1994.

Hawley, Judith. "Carter, Elizabeth (1717–1806)." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford University Press, 2004-. Last accessed 14 July 2013, doi: 10.1093/ref:odnb/4782.

—. "Tristram Shandy, Learned Wit, and Enlightenment Knowledge." In *The Cambridge Companion to Laurence Sterne*, edited by Thomas Keymer, 34-48. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Hayden, John. "Wordsworth, Hartley, and the Revisionists." In *Studies in Philology* 81, no. 1 (Winter 1984): 94-118. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4174165>.

Henry, Anne. "The Re-markable Rise of '...': reading ellipsis marks in literary texts." In *Ma(r)king the Text: The Presentation of Meaning on the Literary Page*, edited by Joe Bray, Miriam Handley, and Anne C. Henry. Burlington: Ashgate, 2000.

Holmes, John. *The art of rhetoric made easy: or, the elements of oratory briefly stated, and fitted for the practice of the studious youth of Great-Britain and Ireland: in two books*. London, 1738-9.

Home, Henry, Lord Kames. *Elements of Criticism. In Two Volumes. The Third Edition with Additions and Improvements*. Edinburgh, 1765.

Honan, Park. "Eighteenth and nineteenth century English punctuation theory." In *English Studies* 41, no. 1-6 (1960): 92-102.

Hoey's Dublin Mercury. "The Repository." 10-13 November 1770.

Hunter, J. Paul. *Before Novels: The Cultural Contexts of Eighteenth-Century English Fiction*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1990.

Hutchison, Coleman. "Breaking the Book Known as Q." In "The History of the Book and the Idea of Literature." Coordinated by Seth Lerer and Leah Price. Special issue. *PMLA* 121, no. 1 (January 2006): 33-66. doi: 10.1632/003081206X96104.

Jackson, Heather. *Marginalia: Readers Writing in Books*. New Haven: Yale UP, 2002.

Johnson, Richard. *The Hermit of the Forest, and the Wandering Infants. A Rural Fragment*. New York, 1800.

Johnson, Samuel. *A Dictionary of the English Language*. London, 1755. Octavo Edition, 2005. CD-ROM.

Jones, Robert W. *Literature, Gender and Politics in Britain During the War for America, 1770-1785*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Jung, Sandro. *The Fragmentary Poetic: Eighteenth-Century Uses of an Experimental Mode*. Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 2009.

Karian, Stephen. *Jonathan Swift in Print and Manuscript*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Kendrick, William. Review of *Freedom, foreknowledge, and fate* by Abraham Tucker [pseud. Edward Search]. *The Monthly Review* 29 (July 1763), 46.

Kersey, John. *A New English Dictionary, or a Compleat Collection of the Most Proper and Significant Words*. London, 1702.

King, William. *A Key to the Fragment*. By Amias Riddinge, B.D. With a preface. By Peregrine Smyth, Esq. London, 1751.

Lacoue-Labarthe, Phillippe and Jean-Luc Nancy. *The Literary Absolute: The Theory of Literature in German Romanticism*. Intersections: Philosophy and Critical Theory. Translated by Philip Barnard and Cheryl Lester. New York: SUNY Press, 1988.

Latter, Mary. *Pro & con; or, the opinionists: an ancient fragment. Published for the amusement of the curious in antiquity*. London, 1771.

Leedham-Green, Elisabeth. *A concise history of the University of Cambridge*. New York: Cambridge UP, 1996.

Levinson, Marjorie. *The Romantic Fragment Poem: A Critique of a Form*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986.

Lloyd's Evening Post 1143, 5-7 November 1764.

The London Chronicle 1243, 6-8 December 1764, 548.

Locke, John. *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, edited by John William Adamson. New York: Longmans, 1912.

Lockwood, Thomas. *Post-Augustan Satire: Charles Churchill and Satirical Poetry, 1750-1800*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979.

Lokke, Kari. "The Figure of the Hermit in Charlotte Smith's Beachy Head." In *The Wordsworth Circle* 39, nos. 1-2 (Winter/Spring 2008): 38-43.

Longaker, Mark. *Rhetoric and the Republic: Politics, Civic Discourse, and Education in Early America*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2007.

Mackenzie, Henry. *The Man of Feeling*. London, 1771.

Manning, Susan. *Fragments of Union: Making Connection in Scottish and American Writing*. New York: Palgrave, 2002.

Marchant, John. *A new complete English dictionary, peculiarly adapted to the instruction and improvement of those who have not had the benefit of a learned or liberal education, [...] To which is prefixed a compendious grammar [...] by D. Bellamy [...] Mr. Gordon, and others*. London, 1760.

Marshall, Ashley. *The practice of satire in England, 1658-1770*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013.

Martin, Benjamin. *Lingua Britannica reformata: or, a new English dictionary, under the following titles, viz: I. Universal; [...] VIII. Philosophical; [...] To which is prefix'd, an introduction, containing a physico-grammatical essay on the propriety and rationale of the English tongue*. London, 1749.

Maruca, Lisa. *The Work of Print: Authorship and the English Text Trades, 1660-1760*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007.

McFarland, Thomas. *Romanticism and the Forms of Ruin: Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Modalities of Fragmentation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981.

McDowell, Paula. "Of Grubs and Other Insects: Constructing the Categories of 'Ephemera' and 'Literature' in Eighteenth-Century British Writing." In *Book History* 15 (2012): 48-70.

McKenzie, D. F. *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

McLaverty, James. *Pope, Print and Meaning*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.

—. "Swift and the art of political publication: hints and title pages, 1711-1714." In *Politics and Literature in the Age of Swift: English and Irish Perspectives*, edited by Claude Rawson. New York: Cambridge UP, 2010: 116-39.

The Monthly Review. Unsigned review of *A fragment, sent from a gentleman at Naples, to his friend at London*. *The Monthly Review* 10 (Feb 1754): 148-9.

Middlesex Journal or Universal Evening Post. "New and Genuine Memoirs of the Celebrated Mr. Charles Churchill." 1-3 April 1773.

Miller, Peter N. "'Freethinking' and 'Freedom of Thought' in Eighteenth-Century Britain." In *The Historical Journal* 36, no. 3 (1993): 599-617.

Mole, Tom. "Lord Byron and the end of fame." In *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 11, no. 3 (2008): 343-61.

Moretti, Franco. *Graphs, Maps, Trees: Abstract Models for a Literary History*. New York: Verso, 2005.

The Muse in Good Humour, Or, A Collection of the Best Poems, Comic Tales, Choice Fables, Enigmas, &c. From the most Eminent Poets. With some Originals. London, 1745.

National Archives. "Teachable Texts from the National Archives at New York City: United States v. William Durell: Violating the Alien and Sedition Acts." Accessed 4 June 2014. <http://www.archives.gov/nyc/education/sedition.html>.

Paulson, Ronald. *Hogarth's Graphic Works*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965.

Payne, Daniel G. *Voices in the Wilderness: American Nature Writing and Environmental Politics*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1996.

Pearson, David. *Provenance Research in Book History: A Handbook*. London: The British Library, 1994.

Pederson, Susan. "Hannah More Meets Simple Simon: Tracts, Chapbooks, and Popular Culture in Late Eighteenth-Century England." In *Journal of British Studies* 25 (1986): 84-113.

Pendred, John. *The Earliest Directory of the Book Trade*. 1785. Edited by G. Pollard. Reprint. London: Bibliographical Society, 1955.

Plomer, Henry R. *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland, and Ireland from 1668 to 1725*. Printed for the Bibliographical Society at the Oxford University Press: 1922.

Powell, Manushag N. *Performing Authorship in Eighteenth-Century English Periodicals*. Lanham, MD: Bucknell University Press, 2012.

Price, Leah. *The Anthology and the Rise of the Novel: From Richardson to George Eliot*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

The Proprietor of the Authentic Papers. [pseud.] *The Annals of Administration. Containing the Genuine History of Georgiana the Queen-Mother, and Prince Coloninus Her Son. A Biographical Fragment. Written About the Year 1575. Inscribed by the Proprietor of the Authentic Papers, to Edmund Burke, Esq.* London, 1775.

Rancière, Jacques. *The Politics of Aesthetics*, edited and translated by Gabriel Rockhill. New York: Bloomsbury, 2004.

Raven, James. *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Book Trade 1450-1850*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007.

—. "The Noble Brothers and Popular Publishing, 1737-89." In *The Library*, 6th ser., 12 (1990): 293-345.

Régier, Alexander. *Fracture and Fragmentation in British Romanticism*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Richardson, Samuel. *Clarissa, or The History of a Young Lady*. London, 1748.

Roberts-Miller, Patricia. *Voices in the Wilderness: Public Discourse and the Paradox of Puritan Rhetoric*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1999.

Robertson, Joseph. *An Essay on Punctuation*. London, 1786.

Rose, Mark. *Authors and Owners: The Invention of Copyright*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993.

Rosenthal, Angela. "Raising Hair." In "Hair." Edited by Angela Rosenthal. Special issue. *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38, no. 1 (Fall 2014): 1-16. doi: 10.1353/ecs.2004.0064.

Rothstein, Eric. "'Ideal Presence' and the 'Non Finito' in Eighteenth-Century Aesthetics." In *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 9, no. 3 (Spring 1976): 307-332. doi: 10.2307/2737513.

Rounce, Adam. "Charles Churchill's anti-enlightenment." In *History of European Ideas* 31, no. 2 (2005): 227-236. doi: 10.1016/j.histeuroideas.2003.11.009.

—. *Fame and Failure 1720-1800: The Unfulfilled Literary Life*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Sha, Richard. *Visual and Verbal Sketch in British Romanticism*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997.

Smith, Raymond. *Charles Churchill*. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1977.

Southey, Robert. *The Life of Comper by Robert Southey, in 2 vols.* Boston, 1839.

Spacks, Patricia Meyer. *Novel Beginnings: Experiments in Eighteenth-Century English Fiction*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006.

Speck, W. A. *Stability and Strife: England, 1714-1760*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977.

St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post. "Poets' Corner." 14-16 February 1765.

Stebbing, Henry. *A Fragment*. London, 1750.

Steel, David. *Elements of punctuation: containing remarks on an 'essay on punctuation'; and critical observations on some passages in Milton*. London, 1786.

Sterne, Laurence. *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*. 9 vols. 2nd ed. London, 1760-9.

Stoddard, Roger. *Marks in Books, Illustrated and Explained*. Cambridge, MA: Houghton Library, Harvard University, 1985.

Stoltzfus, Lee J. "Francis Bailey: Lancaster's Favorite Hot-Headed Printer." In *The Black Art: A History of Printing in Lancaster*. Accessed 4 June 2014. http://www.lancasterlyrics.com/g_francis_bailey/.

Swift, Jonathan. *A Tale of a Tub. Written for the Universal Improvement of Mankind. To which is added, An Account of a Battel Between the Antient and Modern Books in St. James's Library*. London, 1710.

Thomas, Isiah. *The History of Printing in America, with a Biography of Printers, and an Account of Newspapers. In Two Volumes*. 2nd ed. Albany, NY, 1874.

Tickell, Thomas. *Poems upon several occasions. By the Reverend Mr. John Pomfret. Viz. I. The Choice [...] To which are added, Poems: by Mr. Tickell. Viz. I. The Fatal Curiosity. II. A Description of the Phoenix. III. A Fragment of a Poem upon Hunting. And several other Poems*. Dublin, 1726.

Tilottama, Rajan. "Whose Text? Godwin's Editing of Mary Wollstonecraft's *The Wrongs of Woman*." In *Romantic Narrative: Shelley, Hays, Godwin, Wollstonecraft*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2010.

Treadwell, Michael. "London Trade Publishers 1675-1750." In *The Library*, 6th ser., 4 (June 1982): 99-134.

Tucker, Abraham [Edward Search, pseud.]. *Freewill, Foreknowledge, and Fate*. London, 1763.

—. *The Light of Nature Pursued*. By Edward Search. London, 1768.

Twombly, David. "The Revenant Charles Churchill: A Haunting of Literary History." In *Studies in Philology* 102, no. 1 (2005): 83-109.

University of New Hampshire Library. "John Lamson (1769-1807)." Accessed 4 June 2014. <http://www.library.unh.edu/special/index.php/exhibits/popular-press-in-new-hampshire/john-lamson>.

Venn, John, ed. *Alumni Cantabrigienses: A Biographical List of All Known Students, Graduates and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge, from the Earliest Times to 1900*, Part 1, Vol. 4. London: Cambridge UP, 1927.

W, Mary [pseud.]. *A dialogue, between a southern delegate, and his spouse, on his return from the grand Continental Congress. A fragment, inscribed to the married ladies of America, by their most sincere, and affectionate friend, and servant, Mary V.V.* New York, 1774.

Wallace, Jennifer. "Confined and Exposed: Elizabeth Carter's Classical Translations." In *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature* 22, no. 2 (Autumn 2003): 315-34.

Walpole, Horace. *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, edited by W. S. Lewis. New Haven: Yale UP, 1960.

Walsh, Marcus. "Literary Scholarship and the Life of Editing." In *Books and Their Readers in Eighteenth-Century England: New Essays*, edited by Isabel Rivers, 191-215. New York: Leicester University Press, 2001.

—. *Shakespeare, Milton, and Eighteenth-Century Literary Editing: The Beginnings of Interpretive Scholarship*. New York: Cambridge UP, 1997.

Weeden, M. J. P. "Richard Johnson and the Successors to John Newbery." In *The Library*, 5th ser., 4, no. 1 (1949): 25-63.

Welch, d'Alté. *A bibliography of American children's books printed prior to 1821*. Worcester: American Antiquarian Society and Barre Publishers, 1971.

—. *A Bookseller of the Last Century: Being Some Account of the Life of John Newbery, and of the Books he published, with a Notice of the later Newberys*. London, 1885.

Whalley, Joyce Irene. "The development of illustrated texts and picture books." In *International Companion Encyclopedia of Children's Literature*, edited by Peter Hunt, 318-27. 2nd ed. Volume 1. New York: Routledge, 2004.

Williams, Basil. *The Life of William Pitt: Earl of Chatham*. New York: Longmans, 1914.

- . *The Whig Supremacy 1714-1760*, revised by C. H. Stuart. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962.
- Wilson, John Marius. *The Imperial Gazetteer of England and Wales*. Volume 3. London, 1870-2.
- Wimsatt, W. K. and Monroe C. Beardsley. "The Intentional Fallacy." In *The Verbal Icon: Studies in the Meaning of Poetry*. 3-20. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1954.
- Young, B. W. "Stebbing, Henry (bap. 1687, d. 1763)." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004-. doi: 10.1093/ref:odnb/26335.
- . "Tucker, Abraham (1705–1774)." Oxford University Press, 2004-. doi :10.1093/ref:odnb/27786.
- Zimmerman, Everett. "Fragments of History and The Man of Feeling: From Richard Bentley to Walter Scott." In *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 23, no. 3 (1990): 283-300. doi: 10.2307/2738797.
- . *The Boundaries of Fiction: History and the Novel in the British 18th Century*. Ithica: Cornell University Press, 1996.