

nineteenth-century revision likewise begins with the phrase ‘Gradum ad Parnassum a Paulo Alero’.<sup>7</sup>

*Gradus*, therefore, was originally intended to be singular. Further evidence may supply a fuller picture of how the word was construed in the work’s *Nachleben*, and, indeed, how J. J. Fux understood it when he borrowed the title for his still very serviceable *vade mecum* for composers.

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<https://doi.org/10.1093/notesj/gjad098>

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Advance Access publication 31 October, 2023

<sup>7</sup> *Gradus ad Parnassum sive Thesaurus Latinae linguae poeticae et prosodiacus*, ed. G. A. Koch (Leipzig, 1879), iii.

### AN UNNOTICED 1723 EDITION OF EDWARD SOUTHWELL’S TRANSLATION OF HENRY MORE’S *ENCHIRIDION ETHICUM*

The Platonist philosopher Henry More’s *Enchiridion Ethicum* (1667) was one of the most influential works of ethics in seventeenth and eighteenth-century Britain. Not only did the *Enchiridion* become a curricular staple at Oxford and Cambridge, but it was also appropriated by several major figures of the Scottish Enlightenment and read throughout Europe.<sup>1</sup> The 1690 translation of this ethical treatise by the Irish politician Edward Southwell was regarded as an exemplary literary exercise in its own right.<sup>2</sup> The Latin edition of the *Enchiridion* is commonly thought to have gone through at least ten print runs, both separately and as part of More’s *Opera Omnia* (1679), in 1667, 1668, 1669, 1671, 1679, 1679, 1686, 1695, 1701, and 1710. Southwell’s translation of the *Enchiridion* was published as *An Account of Virtue* in 1690 and

1701 by Benjamin Tooke.<sup>3</sup> Scholars have not, however, noted the publication of an adapted edition of this translation in 1723 by Benjamin Tooke’s son Samuel.

The reason why this edition has been overlooked is clear: it was published without More or Southwell’s name on the title-page. All of the prefatory material from More and Southwell in the *Account of Virtue* was excised from this edition. The title was also altered to: *An Epitome of Ethics or A Short Account of the Moral Virtues for the Use of Schools*. That this work was an adaptation of the *Account of Virtue* is not, however, difficult to discover. Part of the old title—‘An Account of Virtue’—is inserted above the beginning of the first chapter and in the running head. The text of the *Epitome* is a word for word reproduction of the corrected 1701 edition of the *Account of Virtue*. Both the second edition of the *Account of Virtue* and the *Epitome*, for instance, incorporate the same correction on page two-hundred and sixteen.<sup>4</sup> The deliberate excision of More’s name and prefatory writings from the work was unusual because publishers tended to emphasize that a work was written by a famous author in order to promote sales.

A possible explanation for this omission is that the original market for More’s *Enchiridion*—university students and the highly educated—had become saturated as a result of the work having gone through at least twelve print runs. After all, these regular reprints show that far more copies of More’s *Enchiridion* had been produced than most comparable works. For instance, the scholar Daniel Whitby’s *Ethices Compendium* (1684) only reached its fourth and final edition in 1724.<sup>5</sup> The subtitle of the *Epitome*—‘for the Use of Schools’—further supports the hypothesis that Tooke was seeking different readers for this edition. It suggests that he was targeting the

<sup>1</sup> See, for instance, E. Bentham, *An Introduction to Moral Philosophy* (Oxford, 1745), 107; T. Johnson, *Quaestiones Philosophicae in Justi Systematis Ordinem Dispositae*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge, 1735), 182; M. B. Gill, ‘From Cambridge Platonism to Scottish Sentimentalism’, *JSP* viii (2010), 13–31, at 28; S. Hutton, ‘From Cudworth to Hume: Cambridge Platonism and the Scottish Enlightenment’, *CJP* xlii (2012), 8–26; G. W. von Leibniz, *Textes Inédits*, ed. Gaston Grua (2 vols., New York and London, 1985), II, 570–71.

<sup>2</sup> A. Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses* (2 vols., London, 1691), II, 880.

<sup>3</sup> R. Crocker, *Henry More, 1614–1687: A Biography of the Cambridge Platonist* (Dordrecht and London, 2003), 209.

<sup>4</sup> H. More, *An Account of Virtue, or, Dr. Henry More’s Abridgment of Morals Put into English*, trans. E. Southwell (London, 1690), 218; H. More, *An Account of Virtue, or, Dr. Henry More’s Abridgment of Morals Put into English*, trans. E. Southwell, 2nd edn. (London, 1701), 216; [H. More], *An Account of Virtue, or, Dr. Henry More’s Abridgment of Morals Put into English*, trans. E. Southwell (London, 1723), 216.

<sup>5</sup> D. Whitby, *Ethices Compendium, in Usus Academiae Juventutis*, 4th edn. (London, 1724).

burgeoning market for instruction manuals on religion and morality for teaching pupils in schools.<sup>6</sup>

Retaining More's name and prefatory material would have undermined this sales strategy by showing that Tooke was simply repackaging an old university textbook. As the *Epitome* was considerably longer and more complex than most of the works written for school-children, such a disclosure would have almost certainly reduced its saleability. Indeed, even with Tooke's new approach, the *Epitome* does not appear to have sold particularly well. It only appeared occasionally in later book sale catalogues. In a 1766 sale, it was offered for the comparatively low price of one shilling.<sup>7</sup> Clearly, few schoolmasters wished to undertake the arduous task of teaching their young pupils how to explicate such complex notions as the boniform faculty of the soul. Nevertheless, even a poorly selling edition adds to the overall picture of the *Enchiridion*'s popularity. This particular edition, moreover, provides a window into one eighteenth-century publisher's strategy for generating new interest in an old classic.

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<https://doi.org/10.1093/notesj/gjad096>

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Advance Access publication 31 October, 2023

<sup>6</sup> For some examples, see: R. Nelson, *The Whole Duty of a Christian*, 2nd edn. (London, 1705); T. Gills, *Useful and Delightful Instructions* (London, 1712); R. Gillet, *Moral Philosophy and Logic. Adapted to the Capacity of Youth* (London, 1798).

<sup>7</sup> T. Osborne, *A Catalogue of A Farther Part of the Stock of T. Osborne* (London, 1766), 424.

### EVIDENCE THAT SWIFT'S DRAPIER'S LETTERS WERE PRODUCED BY SARAH HARDING, NOT JOHN HARDING

Swift's *Drapier's Letters* all state on their title pages that they were 'Printed by John Harding of Molesworth's Court' but new evidence shows that the actual printing work was performed by Harding's wife, Sarah.

The fact that Sarah Harding was herself skilled as a printer has always been known. This is

principally due to a few tracts she printed for Swift under her own name during the years of her widowhood, including *A Short View of the State of Ireland*, 1728, the periodical *The Intelligencer*, also 1728, and *A Modest Proposal* of late 1729. She had, however, acquired skills in the stationery industry from a young age. Christened 'Sara Sadler' on 24 October 1700, she was the daughter of Ralph and Elizabeth Sadlier (née Fookes).<sup>1</sup> Ralph Sadlier, from Bedfordshire, England, had been apprenticed to a type-founder in London and had moved to Dublin in about 1690 where he married Elizabeth Fookes and established Ireland's first type-founding business. Sarah Sadlier grew up in this environment.<sup>2</sup>

In about 1718, in her late teens, she married John Harding, who was three years older than her<sup>3</sup> and had recently completed his indentures as a stationer. From that time the newspapers, pamphlets, and broadsides they produced all carried the name 'John Harding', but evidence suggests that Sarah Harding had a hands-on role in the business. This is seen during the periods of John Harding's absences from the shop. During these absences, which were sometimes for prison terms on account of the provocations he offered up to the Whig establishment in his newspaper copy, Sarah Harding, as a mother of one and possibly with the help of her mother, who remained active in the industry until at least 1727,<sup>4</sup> did what she could to keep the press active. For instance, throughout John Harding's seven-month imprisonment beginning in July 1723, there are four known publications from the Harding shop.<sup>5</sup> On a separate occasion she even defied convention by putting her own name

<sup>1</sup> For her baptismal record: Representative Church Body Library P/273.01.1, *St. Paul's, Dublin, Baptisms*. 'Sadler' was one of several variant spellings of 'Sadlier'.

<sup>2</sup> For references to selected records of her family members in the type-founding industry, see Mary Pollard, *Dictionary of Members of the Dublin Book Trade: 1550–1800, Based on the Records of the Guild of St. Luke the Evangelist, Dublin* (London, 2000), 506–7.

<sup>3</sup> He was baptized in the Protestant Parish of St. Bride's, Dublin, on 6 August 1697: Trinity College MSS 1478, in *St. Bride's Register. Births from 1633–1800*.

<sup>4</sup> Elizabeth Sadlier remained active in the industry until at least 1727: refer Pollard, *Dictionary of Members of the Dublin Book Trade: 1550–1800*, 506.

<sup>5</sup> Three were Numbers of their *Weekly Impartial News-Letter*, for 16 November, 28 December, and 31 December, respectively. The fourth was a tract published on 16 November: *A Letter sent to a Member of Parliament setting forth the oppression the subjects of this kingdom lye under, by the exorbitant fees taken by*