

¹²⁸ Ludwig von Estorff, *Wanderungen und Kämpfe in Südwestafrika, Ostafrika und Südafrika, 1894–1910* (Windhoek, Namibia: Christoph-Friedrich Kutscher, 1979), 117. “Ich folgte ihren Spuren und erreichte hinter ihnen mehrere Brunnen, die einen schrecklichen Anblick boten. Haufenweise lagen die verdursteten Rinder um sie herum.... Die Herero flohen nun weiter vor uns.... Immer wiederholte sich das schreckliche Schauspiel. Mit fieberhafter Eile hatten die Männer daran gearbeitet, Brunnen zu erschließen, aber das Wasser ward immer spärlicher, die Wasserstellen seltener. Sie flohen von einer zur anderen und verloren fast alles Vieh und sehr viele Menschen. Das Volk schrumpfte auf spärliche Reste zusammen, die allmählich in unsere Gewalt kamen, Teile entkamen jetzt und später... Es war eine ebenso törichte wie grausame Politik, das Volk so zu zertrümmern, man hätte noch viel von ihm und ihrem Herdenreichtum retten können, wenn man sie jetzt schonte und wieder aufnahm, bestraft waren sie genug. Ich schlug dies dem General von Trotha vor, aber er wollte ihre gänzliche Vernichtung.” My translation.

¹²⁹ Blackshire-Belay, “German Imperialism in Africa,” 239.

Christopher Goodwin received his undergraduate degrees in economics and history at the University of Missouri. He holds a master’s degree in military history from Norwich University, where he researched changes in Prussian masculinity engendered by the Napoleonic wars. His publications include the chapter “Patriotic Nationalism and Hegemonic Valorous Masculinity: The National Monument for the Prussian Wars of Liberation,” published in *Remember the Dead, Remind the Survivors, Warn the Descendants*. He has presented at numerous conferences on German nationalism, militarism, and gender history. His current studies focus on the history of psychological subjective identity formation and its relationship to group affiliation.

Critical Commentary

A Well-Worn and Far-Travelled Tome: The Life and Times of a 1652 Edition of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra’s *Don Quixote*

David Purificato
Stony Brook University

Translated into dozens of languages and published thousands of times in numerous countries around the world in its 411 years of existence, Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra’s (1547–1616) *The Ingenious Hidalgo Don Quixote of La Mancha* has attained recognition as one of the most read books in western culture. Various reproductions of *Don Quixote* over the last four centuries include parodies, plays, paintings and illustrations, cartoons, comic books, movies, and music. Of the many text editions in existence today, this short study will address a particular copy of Cervantes’ *Don Quixote: The History of the valorous and witty-knight-errant Don Quixote of La Mancha, Translated out of the Spanish* [by T. Shelton] *now newly corrected and amended* (1652), along with a few of the people who

produced this seminal work and several of the notable individuals who have owned it through time. This leather-bound tome about a fictional member of Spain’s petty nobility has passed from one minor British aristocrat to another, only to mysteriously rest in Stony Brook University’s Rare Book Collection in Stony Brook, Long Island.¹

The cross-hatched leather binding of Cervantes’ tale about an aging and eccentric member of the Spanish nobility endears itself to musings on how the character Don Quixote may have appeared to the reader. In addition to the fading varnish and stains collected over centuries of use, this well-worn mottled-brown leather re-binding bears the scars of many readings. There is still evidence of a long lost elegance in the faintly discernable gold piping

around the front and back covers. The extensive reading of this 11 inches high by 7.5 inches wide, and 1.5 inches deep seventeenth century tome, with a detached back cover, speaks of many adoring touches transcending time and place.

The heavy use of this edition is apparent in the condition of the original leaves and the added pages. The rebinding is evident from the six additional unprinted pages both front and back, which consist of relatively cleaner, whiter, and less course paper. Instead of printed text on the added pages there are several elements of marginalia. The paper of the original pages is sturdy despite heavily ground-in dirt. The original pages have small scorch marks and burned through pinholes, which reinforce the suggestion of many readings by candlelight or fireside. One interesting feature of these 364-year old pages is the little tear on the recto side of leaf number 54. The repair consists of a small strip of identical paper glued over the tear at the bottom of the verso side, which suggests the imperfection was detected and addressed in 1652 by the printer.

While the physical pages of this copy expose seventeenth century repair techniques, the printed text on the original pages reveals several infamous characters in the seventeenth century London book trade. The text on the title page bears "Printed by R. Hodgkinsonne [Hodgkinson] for A. Crooke at the Green-Dragon in Pauls Church-yard." Eighteenth century bibliographer Joseph Ames lists Richard Hodgkinsonne as having been given royal decree to operate as a printer in mid-seventeenth century

London.² However, Hodgkinson became implicated in a pirated copy of St. Francis de Sales *Introduction to a Devout Life* (1637). For this transgression Hodgkinson's type was destroyed and his press confiscated, though it was eventually returned.³ Historian Adrian Johns cites Hodgkinson's notoriety for a dispute involving printing rights stemming from a disagreement over entry into the stationer's ledger in 1656.⁴ Hodgkinson seems to have printed *Don Quixote* in 1652 during a lull in his tumultuous career; however, he printed Cervantes' story for Andrew Crooke. Crooke operated as a publisher out of St. John's Churchyard in the center of London's mid-seventeenth century book trade.⁵ Adrian Johns explains that Crooke was scandalously accused of plotting to commit mass piracy.⁶ As for this 1652 edition, rare book dealer Peter Harrington suggests there is a "Variant issue" containing Andrew Crooke's address "At the Green-Dragon in Pauls Church-yard" added in the imprint.⁷ This may be just such an edition.

Andrew Crooke and Richard Hodgkinson appear on the title page of this copy; the stationer Edward Blount appears on the dedication to part II. Known for the first folio of William Shakespeare's plays, Blount published the first London edition of *Don Quixote* Part I in 1612.⁸ He published the first English translations of part I and part II in a single volume in 1620.⁹ Hodgkinson's 1652-reprinted edition includes Blount's 1620 part II dedication to "George Marquesse Buckingham, Baron of Whaddon." The servile posture in the dedication to George Villiers, the first Duke of Buckingham and current "Favourite" of King James I, epitomizes

The original pages have small scorch marks and burned through pinholes, which reinforce the suggestion of many readings by candlelight or fireside

how dedications acted as social currency within the patronage system, even though Blount claims otherwise.¹⁰

Blount's compilation of parts I and II were both translated by the controversial Thomas Shelton. Shelton translated the first English language edition of *Don Quixote* (1607) and later Blount's updated and re-printed edition.¹¹ Although Shelton is not on the title page, he is credited with translating part I (1612) and part II (1620); his name is only at the end of the 1612 dedication.¹² According to Harrington, this edition was "The most popular version of *Don Quixote* circulating in England during the seventeenth century."¹³ Shelton's beloved translation has carried with it two interesting theories. The first is that Thomas Shelton was an alias of Edward Blount. The second is that Shelton may have been a diplomat, which explains the "Colloquial style of translation" as well as his familiarity with Spanish customs. These are curious claims because they both lack evidence, particularly the second contention because no "Diplomat with the same name... has been established" as a possible translator.¹⁴

The names found within the printed text are indeed interesting personages associated with the seventeenth century London book trade. The names *written* into the book are interesting for different reasons. The two hand-written names inside the book are "Tho: Bainbrigge" and "Maria Louisa Whyte, Barrow

Hill." The first appears on the original title page and the second appears on the newer flyleaf. Both names provide interesting points of entry to consider the secondary life of this object. The first name can be traced to Thomas Bainbrigge (died 1818), father of George Alsop Bainbrigge of Woodseat Hall in Rocester.¹⁵ George Bainbrigge was an associate of Mark Anthony White of Barrowhill outside of Rocester.¹⁶ The two men were instrumental in establishing The Friendly Society of Rocester in 1832 because they donated most of the money to found the Quaker meeting hall.¹⁷ Maria Luisa Whyte married Mark Anthony White of Barrow Hill [Barrowhill], a member of the landed gentry.¹⁸ Even though the original owner and any subsequent owners before Bainbrigge are not evident, this association suggests this 1652 edition passed from Tho: Bainbrigge to George Bainbridge and then to Maria Luisa Whyte at Barrowhill in the nineteenth century.

Of "Barrow Hill House," just one mile from the village of Rocester and five miles north of Uttoxeter in the center of England, Frances Redfern wrote in 1865 "The late Mrs. White collected there a fine library of books."¹⁹ Of this library many books remain, albeit scattered among different owners. "Maria Louisa Whyte" is inscribed on several flyleaves and title pages of other rare books, such as the third edition of Abraham Cowley's *The Works of*

Mr. Abraham Cowley (1672), Mary Wollstonecraft's *Letters Written During a Short Residence in Sweden, Norway and Denmark* (1796), and *The Works of Virgil: Translated into English Verse by Mr Dryden* (1782). As a member of the English gentry, Whyte would have had the resources to collect a "Fine library" and to have the volumes re-bound.

The inside fore edge of Whyte's re-bound *Don Quixote* bears a badly worn gold-lettered imprint, but enough remains to determine the re-binder. Upon close inspection the words appear as _ IMMOCK — BIND_ — — — — TTOXETER, which is most likely DIMMOCK BINDINGS UTTOXETER. According to an 1818 Staffordshire business directory of Rocester (the year the elder Bainbridge died), M. Dimmock was a bookseller in the center of Uttoxeter five miles from Barrow Hill.²⁰ The fact Whyte's name appears on the newer flyleaf suggests she had Dimmock re-bind the volume when it came into her possession. It would be of particular interest to inspect the many books still in circulation that bear Whyte's name for evidence of Dimmock. Thus far, digital images of books from Whyte's personal library do not include pictures of the inside front cover fore edge. According to the National Archives in England, Maria Louisa Whyte of Barrow Hill died a widow in 1855.²¹ After Whyte's death Barrow Hill and its contents passed to Louisa Jane Finch Simpson, but unfortunately there is no discernable evidence of what Whyte or Simpson did with *Don Quixote*.²²

There are no other names hand written into Whyte's rebound edition of *Don Quixote*, however the Armorial

bookplate used to show the book's owner bears the inscription "Ex Libris: Fairfax of Cameron." The bookplate refers to the Scottish peer Albert Kirby Fairfax, twelfth Baron Fairfax of Cameron (1870–1939). Fairfax renounced his U.S. citizenship when he assumed the Barony of Cameron upon admittance to the British House of Lords in 1908.²³ How a displaced American in London and member of the House of Lords acquired Whyte's copy of *Don Quixote*, I have found no evidence. Nor could I discover how this edition crossed the Atlantic Ocean to end up in Stony Brook University's Rare Book Collection on "12/16/67" as the label on the inside front cover attests. However, the records of Albert Kirby Fairfax may provide clues to how the Baron eventually gained possession of the book and how this copy of *Don Quixote* found its way from Britain to the United States.

From the available evidence, I was able to determine that this well-read book, printed amid mid-seventeenth century controversies in London's book trade, surfaced in the historical record in the small village of Rocester 143 miles northeast of the city. After rebinding in Uttoxeter, *Don Quixote* remained in central England for three to four decades, until an American expatriate and newly minted member of Britain's peerage took possession of it. The American connection at this point in the book's history is intriguing. This link allows for the impetus of a cross Atlantic transfer to Stony Brook University in the twentieth century, and a way to explain how *Don Quixote* went from the coveted possession of several British minor nobles to a Rare Book Collection in the United States which facilitates access for the public.

ENDNOTES

¹ The Rare Book Collection at Stony Brook University is facilitated by Librarians Kristen J. Nyitray and Lynn Toscano, who were both indispensable to this project by helping to discern minute details of centuries-old faded text. Both Nyitray and Toscano report there is no record of how *Don Quixote* came to the Rare Book Collection in 1967.

² Joseph Ames, *Typographical Antiquities: Being an Historical Account of Printing in England* (London: W. Faden, 1749), 462.

³ Peter W. M. Blayney, *The Texts of King Lear and Their Origin: Volume 1, Nicholas Oaks and the First Quarto* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 305.

⁴ Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998) 300–302.

⁵ London Topographical Society, *London Topographical Record, Illustrated, Volume 3* (London: Chiswick Press, 1906), 110.

⁶ Johns, *The Nature of the Book*, 167.

⁷ Peter Harrington London, accessed October 25, 2015, <http://www.peterharrington.co.uk/rare-books/literature-history/the-history-of-the-valorous-and-witty-knight-errant-don-quixote>.

⁸ "Edward Blount: English Publisher," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, accessed October 29, 2015, <http://www.britannica.com/biography/Edward-Blount>.

⁹ Queens College Print History Collection, "Don Quixote: The Publisher," accessed April 26, 2017, <http://archives.qc.cuny.edu/books/exhibits/show/1620/donquixote/page3-2>.

¹⁰ Roger Lockyer, *Buckingham: The Life and Political Career of George Villiers, First Duke of Buckingham 1592–1628* (London: Routledge, 2014), 93–94.

¹¹ Peter Harrington London.

¹² Queens College Print History Collection, "Don Quixote: The Translator," accessed April 26, 2017, <http://archives.qc.cuny.edu/books/exhibits/show/1620/donquixote/page3-3>.

¹³ Peter Harrington London.

¹⁴ Queens College, "The Translator."

¹⁵ *The English Reports: Chancery, Volume XLV* (Edinburgh: William Green and Sons, 1904), 557. Of how this 1652 copy of *Don Quixote*, printed in London 146 miles distant, came to be in Bainbridge's possession, I have found no evidence.

¹⁶ "Records of the Union Friendly Society, Rocester (Register No. 410 Stafford)," *Staffordshire & Stoke-on-Trent's Cultural Heritage*, accessed October 24, 2015, <http://www.archives.staffordshire.gov.uk>.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Sir Bernard Burke, *Index to Burke's dictionary of the landed gentry of Great Britain & Ireland* (London: Henry Colburn, 1853), 400.

¹⁹ Francis Redfern, *History and Antiquities of the Town and Neighborhood of Uttoxeter* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co., 1886), 461.

²⁰ W. Parson and T. Bradshaw, *Staffordshire general & commercial directory* (Manchester: Parson and Bradshaw, 1818), 268.

²¹ The National Archives [Britain], "Probate of Maria Louisa Whyte of Barrow Hill, Rocester, widow," *Staffordshire and Stoke-on-Trent Archive Service: Staffordshire County Record Office*, accessed April 26, 2017, <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/rd/926084f6-ebd0-4239-a5eb-fb2aaf6eb003>.

²² Lorne Campbell, "Jan Gossaert (Jean Gossart), 'An Elderly Couple,'" *The National Gallery* (London, England), accessed April 26, 2017, <http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/>

research/jan-gossaert-an-elderly-couple.

²³ University of Toronto Libraries, "Fairfax, Albert Kirby," *British Armorial Bindings*, access April 26, 2017, <https://armorial.library.utoronto.ca/content/fairfax-albert-kirby>.

David Purificato is a PhD student at Stony Brook University where he earned his Master's degree, with Distinction, in 2015, and his Bachelor's degree, with Honors, in 2013. David's research interests include antebellum U.S. domestic history focusing on material culture and borderlands studies, particularly in respect to social and cultural spaces.

Research Article

Rejecting Notions of Passivity: African American Resistance to Lynching in the Southern United States

Sarah Whitwell
McMaster University

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, lynching impacted African Americans across the Southern United States. Generations of African Americans lived with the constant fear of racial violence; however, it is inconceivable that a vibrant group of people would bow to subjugation. Therefore, this article attempts to discern how African Americans employed informal methods of resistance to oppose racial violence. In order to uncover instances of informal, unorganized resistance—theft, sabotage, boycotting, migration—this article draws on a collection of interviews conducted with formerly enslaved people in the 1930s by the Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration. By utilizing the slave narratives, in conjunction with other primary source evidence, it is possible to uncover a hidden history of resistance.