final years and the Jacobite community which remained there for several decades after the death of the queen in 1718.

*A Court in Exile* is an important addition to the history of the Jacobite cause which should stimulate further research. It is recommended for graduate students and others interested in the question of how the royal court maintained its tradition, organization and ceremonial in the face of exile and military defeat.


Over the last decade, Joad Raymond has emerged as one of our foremost analysts of the early modern English newsbook, leading us to a new understanding of its rhetorical and political dimensions. This latest book draws upon his expertise in the field of cheap print while extending his view to an even larger topic. Or rather, topics: for, as its title indicates, this book is concerned with both pamphlets and pamphleteering. These are of course different aspects of the same phenomenon, but (as the divided title indicates) they do not necessarily invite (or easily permit) a single analysis. Raymond’s study ambitiously brings them together, discussing the pamphlet in bibliographic, rhetorical, and socio-political terms, tracing its rise through a series of richly evidenced essays arranged in broadly chronological sequence. The governing thesis of a rise is not always the focus of his efforts, and he seldom presses it directly, but the wealth and weight of the evidence he presents and the order in which he presents it are such that, by the end of the book, one is amply persuaded of its justice.

The book begins by asking, appropriately, “What is a pamphlet?”, to which several not entirely satisfactory answers are given from a number of different angles, including the bibliographical (a printed work of no more than ninety-six quarto pages), the etymological (deriving from the name “Pamphilus”), and the polemical (a scurrilous squib, written by somebody else). It quickly
becomes apparent that Raymond's concern is more functional than bibliographical: his focus is the short polemic rather than the larger material genus of which it is a species; he is not concerned, for example, with the advices of the economic projectors or educational reformers. The formal origins of the polemical pamphlet emerge in the following chapter: a lively survey of its locus classicus, the Marprelate controversy, with its pitting of cheap print, subversion, and racy wit against longwinded clerical orthodoxy.

In the third chapter Raymond turns (either a little belatedly or perhaps, strictly speaking, unnecessarily) to the bibliographical foundations of his discussion. The chapter offers a lucid overview of "printing practices and the book trade" with particular reference to the pamphlet. For a book aimed at a scholarly audience and focused on polemic, the necessity of so full an account here is debatable (especially given the effectiveness with which both Peter Blayney and Adrian Johns have recently surveyed the same territory). But Raymond's understanding of these practices is so clear, and his mastery of anecdote so appealing and enlivening, that even the accomplished book trade historian will, I imagine, find much here to enlighten and entertain.

In Chapter 4 Raymond examines what we might regard as the prehistory of those newsbooks of the 1640s which formed the subject of his previous monograph; it surveys the occasional news pamphlets of the late Elizabethan and the corantos of the Jacobean to early Caroline periods, with their accounts of domestic marvels and foreign battles. It is an authoritative, wide-ranging overview, which sets the growth of news in a European context while examining the anxious responses of native writers like Jonson to the phenomenon. And yet the chapter feels slightly broken backed: while it purports to address the period 1580-1660, its emphasis is squarely on pre-Civil War developments, to which is added a brief account of government attempts to control the press up to the Restoration.

The narrative proper is picked up in what is surely the most surprising chapter of the book: a striking piece of original research which (bringing a "three kingdoms" approach to bear on
book history) adds a new dimension to our understanding of the information revolution of 1641-2 by arguing for the “Scottish origins of the explosion of print,” in the impact of covenanter polemics (printed in Scotland and the Low Countries) on the London media. If the precise impact of the Scottish dimension is not, in the end, completely clear (it “precipitated and accelerated trends in the British book market” (201)) the chapter’s introductory “Statistics” should be pondered by all concerned with press output and, more particularly, by anyone who (like the present reviewer) has ever made confident claims about that output on the basis of the Thomason collection, the idiosyncracies of which Raymond clearly reveals and persuasively explains.

The long sixth chapter feels like the heart of the book, tracing the “printing revolutions” after the breakdown of authority in 1641-2 through to its partial reconstitution in 1659-60. Here Raymond considers the use of the pamphlet by Levellers, Ranters, and Quakers (he is especially fresh and rewarding on the Quakers), and discusses a handful of pamphleteering genres: the animadversion (usefully taxonomized with help from the late Jeremy Maule), the letter, the dialogue, and the character sketch before breaking with chronology and taxonomy to conclude with a close reading of Areopagatica against this background: a reading which demonstrates how deeply mired in the world of the pamphlet Milton’s tract is.

The question of female involvement in the production and consumption of pamphlets (whether as writers, stationers, or readers) is entertained in Chapter 7. This is a difficult area, in which Raymond is understandably keen to find evidence of female participation but too scrupulous to make overmuch of the rather small and often ambiguous fragments he is able to unearth. His familiarity with the rhetoric of pamphleteering renders him skeptical of any naive quest for authentic female voices; yet that same rhetorical sophistication allows him to uncover some remarkable strategies for justifying female authorship in Quaker exegesis of what look like insuperable scriptural objections.
The final chapter offers an overview of the Restoration period (up to about 1689), focusing, reasonably enough, on the role of pamphlets in shaping the Popish Plot and its disputatious fallout. Once again, new developments in historiography are brought to bear on publication history: this time, Jonathan Scott’s thesis that the crisis of the 1680s was a carbon copy of that of the 1640s is vividly illustrated through the detection of reprints (and purported reprints) of earlier works. At the end of the chapter, Raymond once again traces his preferred movement from the ephemeral to the canonical, briskly situating both Dryden’s Absalom and Achitophel and Locke’s Two Treatises in the contexts from which they arose.

If there is one aspect of Raymond’s argument I find less than convincing, it is his claim that the pamphlet was a coherent literary form. It seems rather to have been a bibliographical unit (and a rather protean one at that) which served as a vehicle for a bewildering variety of literary forms, including several not addressed here. Even the conventions of the polemics on which Raymond focuses seemed to me generated primarily by the demands of the moment and the nature of the immediate argumentative context rather than by any larger sense of form (other than the need for brevity).

Another possible objection arises from the fact that Pamphlets and Pamphleteering surveys a lot of ground, some of it already traversed and mapped by other scholars. Raymond’s syntheses of such material and his engagements with the work of his predecessors are always illuminating, but the book is, I think, at its strongest and most focused in its central chapters, which break new ground on the author’s home turf. Some of those outlying chapters could probably have been condensed without damaging the overall argument, but I should be very reluctant to sacrifice any of the volume’s wealth of judiciously selected, perceptively analyzed, and stylishly arranged detail for the sake of argumentative efficiency.

Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain is the work of a scholar whose familiarity with the primary materials in his field is probably unmatched and whose grasp of current historio-
graphical debate is flawless. It is a marvelously vivid study that brings forgotten texts to life and makes us look afresh at many of those we know. It will be read by all concerned with print culture and its role in the emergence of a public sphere.


When I saw the title of this book for the first time on a web page, I felt real excitement and knew that, sooner or later, I had to get access to it. Today’s world makes certain things much easier than they were in the times discussed by the author, and several weeks later I could open the discussed work and place it on my desk. The early discussion, and particularly the introduction, were somewhat disappointing. The author sets out to discuss the level of literacy in Central Europe on the base of research carried out in one region of Hungary. I realize that the notions of Central, Eastern, Central Eastern Europe, etc., are far from being precise, but I have problems accepting Central Europe as being limited only to Hungary—even when Hungary was at its largest historical extent. It cannot be assumed that results from one specific region in this part of Europe are applicable to other regions. This book is not about literacy and written culture in Central Europe, but in Hungary, or even more precisely, in Habsburg Hungary. I see no reason for such a misleading title, especially as Tóth does eventually compare the results of his research with available studies for other European countries (including Central European Poland), placing the literacy rates of Early Modern Hungary in a wider European context (203–208). Fortunately, the deeper I carried on with the book, the better my opinion