

THE CIRCULATION OF BLAIR'S *LECTURES*

Abstract. Hugh Blair's Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres was published far more frequently and in more substantively different formats than has yet been recognized. Its publishing history suggests that as the book circulated across diverse locations for over a century, it supported a large array of uses, values, and meanings. By providing detailed bibliographic information on a single influential rhetoric, and by comparing its publication record to several other influential rhetorics, this essay seeks to use research in the history of the book to articulate a more nuanced history of rhetoric.

It has long been a scholarly commonplace in the history of rhetoric and composition studies that Hugh Blair was the most widely published rhetorician of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Like most commonplaces, it is recycled repeatedly and uncritically, functioning at best as a general warrant for Blair's lasting influence on the development of writing instruction, but typically appearing as information so travel-worn that its bibliographic particulars, or its implications, or the ways it might underwrite historical and critical arguments seem to need no comment. Since Blair is often seen as a pedestrian and unoriginal thinker, as the epitome of what was weak or pernicious in belletristic rhetoric and its nineteenth- and twentieth-century heirs, the publication history of his *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* has seemed an embarrassing anomaly, a peculiarity that needs to be explained away.¹ Yet its publication record suggests that the book could serve quite varied purposes and support diverse uses and values. More than twice as many versions were published than most commonly estimated, and the *Lectures* appeared in a surprising array of formats, for different audiences and occasions. I seek most immediately to articulate some basic conditions of its circulation: in what formats was Blair's rhetoric disseminated? For what readerships? When, and where, did it flourish? How should its publication record be assessed? How does that record compare with that of other rhetorics? As *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* entered into diverse circuits of exchange and use, as it was repeatedly reconfigured, and as it supported, and was in turn transformed by, evolving literacy practices, its functions, effects, and meanings changed in ways that cannot be determined by an immanent reading of any single version of Blair's text. In cultural as in economic systems of exchange, circulation is intricately linked with both production and reception, and though I do not focus immediately on either the history of

response to the book nor with the goals informing its production, a fuller and more detailed understanding of its circulation leads, I believe, to revisionary arguments about its historical impact and importance as well as to a richer appreciation of Blair's accomplishment in the *Lectures*.

More generally, I hope that close attention to a single influential text, one published frequently, over a long time, and in many formats, can clarify important features of the material circulation of rhetorical theory and instruction in English from the late-eighteenth through the late-nineteenth century. The bibliography of Anglo-American rhetorics of this time is still largely unarticulated, and the circulation or use of key texts has been haphazardly and sometimes contradictorily described. Most rhetorics of the time have no reliably established publication totals, for example, and critics have drawn different inferences about which were most widely read at different times. A more detailed historical understanding of the range of publication practices, and of the diverse forms of appropriation embedded in publishing histories, can underwrite a more nuanced history of rhetoric responsive to the highly variable uses of many key texts as they enter into differently constituted circuits of exchange.

ESTABLISHING A CENSUS

Charting the circulation of *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* quickly goes beyond a tally of all reprints of its original publication. Blair's book has a sufficiently complex publication history, with ongoing emendations, multiple variant imprints, and undated or silent reprintings from stereotyped plates, to make any count of distinct "editions" largely a matter of bibliographic definition. But the *Lectures* also circulated in versions with more massive differences. Its abridgements, for example, were never simply shortened selections, for they pervasively rewrote Blair's prose, and excerpted the complete work in ways that substantially inflected its project. On occasion, abridgements added to Blair's text: by 1854, Abraham Mills appended a 48 page supplement to his abridged edition of the *Lectures* in which he discussed selected writers of the last seventy years in imitation of Blair's style and method. Most translations of Blair similarly extended or altered the scope of the *Lectures*, adapting it to local circumstances of publication by adding long accounts of other national languages and literary traditions. Both José Luis de Munarriz, Blair's Spanish translator, and Francesco Soave, his Italian translator, freely incorporated accounts of their native languages, grammars, and literatures into their abridged and complete versions of the *Lectures*. After Soave's death, Guiseppe Montanari elaborated the focus on Italian even further in his revision of the abridged *Istituzioni di rettorica e di belle lettere*, which in this form became one of the leading rhetorical textbooks of nineteenth-century Italy.

The transformations of the translated *Lectures* are akin to the revisions of Blair in the many Anglo-American textbooks that circulated extensive selections from his work in pursuit of a differently named and organized rhetorical and pedagogical project: such texts often reprinted, abridged, or rewrote long passages of the *Lectures* with little or no acknowledgment of their origin. And beyond such direct recycling, other rhetorics are more generally indebted to Blair in their conceptual or pedagogical organization of the field. In this essay, I focus on texts that circulate explicitly under the name of Blair, that acknowledgeably seek another transmission of the *Lectures*, even if they also transform that book. Even such a restricted focus, however, includes texts that appeared under the name of Blair, but have an attenuated relation to the 1783 first edition of the *Lectures*. Between 1808 and 1822, for example, a dozen printings of various questions to the abridged Blair appeared, several of which included answers drawn from Blair's writing and so became, in effect, a further abridgement of the already abridged work. And even before the initial publication of the *Lectures*, a similar hyper-abridgement appeared as *Heads to the Lectures on Rhetoric and Belle Lettres*, which circulated key sentences and topic outlines from what Blair read in Edinburgh. Though many influential works of rhetoric or belles lettres have at times been subject to similar forms of alteration and reappropriation, no other advanced treatise of its time was so frequently and freely transmuted. In its general mode of circulation, *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* is better understood not as a stable authoritative text with clear lines of genealogical descent but as a textual field with fairly fluid boundaries, a discourse that across the range of its reproductions was differentially mobilized, packaged, and reappropriated to suit quite varied purposes.

The publication history of the *Lectures* is intimately bound up with its frequent use in schools, for textbooks have distinctive patterns of publication, use, and preservation. A popular textbook may be reprinted far more often than comparable texts not regularly included in school curricula, but few books of the massive number of total printed copies of school editions tend to survive. Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century rhetorics were typically used heavily by successive groups of students and often consumed in the process. Textbooks generally have little cultural prestige, and except for institutions with special textbook collections, libraries have often discarded multiple copies of a title, especially worn, mid-nineteenth-century stereotyped printings produced with cheap paper and bindings. Over a dozen British and American versions of the *Lectures* now exist in unique or very rare copies, and the survival of translations of Blair seems even more precarious. Sometimes it is no longer possible to locate copies of books that once entered the bibliographic record, and presumably yet other versions have disappeared without bibliographic trace. Blair has long been recognized as an important

writer, and even battered copies of his *Lectures* are more likely to be preserved than more anonymous or inconsequential rhetorics, yet the ordinary conditions of textbook use and preservation have produced a fragmentary archive that may not ever be completely reconstructed.

Existing bibliographic records of this archive, moreover, are often unreliable. As with other books that are frequently reprinted and lightly valued—domestic economy manuals, for example, or popular fiction, or children's books—textbooks are often catalogued haphazardly, with incorrect or misleading details or with volumes attached to entries for related versions. Between five and ten per cent of the entries for Blair's *Lectures* in the *National Union Catalogue*, for example, are very probably bibliographic ghosts, due to double counting, errors in publication information, conflations of different versions, or cataloguing mistakes. Many other bibliographic compilations as well as individual library catalogues approach similar rates of error. As a result, it may not be possible to ascertain whether an otherwise unsupported entry marks a rare version, copies of which may have all been lost or discarded, or a bibliographic ghost. In the accompanying checklist, I have on a few occasions accepted entries for books with no currently locatable copy. More generally, I have indicated sources for all entries I have not personally examined and provided sufficient bibliographic information to discriminate among closely related versions. The bibliography of Blair's *Lectures* can be articulated more fully than that of most Anglo-American rhetorics of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Yet representing such a fragmentary and confused archive is an interpretive task inevitably open to emendation and addition.

Despite the difficulty of detailing the publication history of the *Lectures*, critics have long sought to quantify Blair's popularity by citing the large number of published editions. Charvat and then Guthrie originated this critical topos by enumerating the holdings of a large research library. Their informal counts were superseded by Schmitz's extensive 1948 bibliography of Blair's writings. In his 1965 edition of Blair's *Lectures*, Harding cites Schmitz for his figure of one hundred and thirty editions, the most frequently cited total of published versions (e.g., Berlin 25, Golden and Corbett, 25; Horner, 176, et al.).² Some critics provide somewhat larger tallies, though like earlier scholars they offer summative totals with little bibliographic data, which makes it difficult to assess their estimates.³ The best recent bibliographic surveys of Blair are specialized studies of translations of Blair by Don Abbott and of American abridgements of the *Lectures* by J. Tarver, though even these essays are incomplete and sometimes mistaken.

The tables at the end of this essay list 283 versions of *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* that appeared between 1783 and 1911, including 112 complete *Lectures*, 110 abridgments, and 61 translations. I suspect that a few

additional printings of mid-nineteenth-century stereotyped editions may yet emerge, and it seems likely that some translations of Blair, especially into Italian, are still to be recorded. These publication totals are extraordinary for an advanced work that was initially delivered to a university audience and was read in academies, colleges and universities throughout the nineteenth century. A few elementary educational texts—primers, spellers, grammars, and beginning readers—appeared in similar or even greater numbers of versions in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Lindley Murray's *Grammar* and his *English Reader*, for example, were both published in hundreds of versions.⁴ But no other advanced eighteenth century work in rhetoric or belles lettres in English appeared in anything like a comparable number of versions. For rough comparative purposes, Blair's totals may be benchmarked against those of other frequently reprinted, near contemporary works, such as the forty three versions of *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* by George Campbell,⁵ the approximately eighty printings of *Elements of Criticism* by Lord Kames, and the seventy-five or so versions of *The Speaker* by William Enfield.⁶ Similarly, no nineteenth-century rhetoric used in American colleges approaches the total versions of Blair's *Lectures*. Again, benchmark comparisons with the most popular competing textbooks reveal dramatic magnitudes of difference: Whately's *Elements of Rhetoric* appeared in over seventy-five versions; Jamieson's *Grammar of Rhetoric and Polite Literature* may have had fifty five printings; and Samuel Newman's *A Practical System of Rhetoric* claims sixty editions.⁷

A NEW ACCOUNTING

Historians of rhetoric have often used aggregate publication totals as a shorthand method of marking influence, and in the terms of this critical tradition a fuller census reaffirms Blair's dominant position in Anglo-American eighteenth- and nineteenth-century rhetoric. Yet aggregate publication totals are at best a crude indicator of influence. Due to changing practices of book publishing, such totals neither directly reflect the magnitude or form of a work's circulation, nor allow ready comparison of the relative influence or use of books that flourished at different times. The book trade was changing rapidly over the time of Blair's popularity, especially in the United States.⁸ New production technologies, especially stereotyping, a more efficient and cheaper distribution system made possible by canals and railroads, and concentrations of capital and other resources in major cities increasingly centralized the publishing industry. Rhetorics that were written or flourished in the last two-thirds of the nineteenth century were indeed produced in fewer versions than Blair, but their circulation—at least in terms of total number of books printed—may sometimes approach that of the *Lectures*. Production numbers for individual titles are difficult to establish. But typically a stereo-

typed edition, printed at a metropolitan publishing center—the most common form of publication for Blair and other rhetorics from the late 1820s on—would be printed in such large numbers that one or two editions could satisfy regional or even national markets. Eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century books, on the other hand, were often printed in fairly small batches for local sale. They generally had far less pervasive systems of distribution, so that several versions were needed to satisfy regional (and sometimes local) demand. Textbooks that flourished in the United States prior to 1830, that is, typically appear in many more different versions than those that flourished afterwards, and the circulation or popularity of books published on either side of this divide cannot be effectively compared by citing the aggregate totals of their published versions.

The publication history of abridged American versions of Blair vividly exemplifies this change in publication practices. Between 1802 and 1830, forty-nine versions of *An Abridgment of Lectures on Rhetoric* were published, mainly in the northeast, especially New England, where thirty versions were produced. Some books were published in major urban centers (including seven New York, five Boston, and two Philadelphia versions), but most were printed in small towns and cities by a constantly changing array of publishers. Starting in the 1820s a few versions were stereotyped (e.g., 1825 & 1830 Concord), but most were newly typeset: forty-three of forty-nine versions have different page layouts. Often, new versions were printed in quick succession or in close geographic proximity to each other: in 1818 and again in 1822, seven distinct versions of this title were published, which suggests that multiple discrete local markets co-existed within the Northeast region. For forty some years after 1830, on the other hand, this abridgment appeared only in two stereotyped editions with multiple issues in New York (16 versions) and Philadelphia (20 versions) by a few publishers. There is no evidence to suggest that Blair's popularity as a school text was decreasing; indeed, a new stereotyped abridgment, prepared by Abraham Mills, started to be published in New York in 1832. Instead, the still growing national market could be served by fewer versions produced by an increasingly consolidated publishing industry.

Aggregate totals can also be affected by other historically contingent publication practices that alter the form, but not the volume, of a work's circulation. The complete *Lectures* was a fairly large and expensive book to produce, and as an advanced treatise, it had a more restricted audience than elementary works. Early nineteenth century publishers might collectively underwrite a single printing of the *Lectures* in order to share the costs and risks of publication, and to benefit from alternative distribution networks. Sometimes, multiple publishers or booksellers—the distinction between the two was often blurred at this time—are identified on the title page: most

British versions produced immediately after the initial Strahan copyright on the *Lectures* expired have multiple publishers, with one 1824 version listing a remarkable twenty-two firms. Other times, a single print run was divided among its sponsoring publishers, each of whom had a separate title page for his allotment. Such imprint variants, substantively identical except for the publisher's name on the title page, are common in early nineteenth-century American versions of Blair, even abridgments (e.g., 1813 Morristown and New Brunswick; two 1814 New York issues). Complete versions of Blair—and other advanced treatises⁹—often appeared in this way. Eight imprint variants survive of a one volume complete edition published in and around New York in 1814-15 and a stereotyped 500 page New York edition appeared under three imprints in 1817, under five imprints in 1819, and subsequently as a single issue with multiple publishers in 1824 and again in 1826. This difference in the listing of publishers is not entirely arbitrary. Identifying a primary publisher and then associated booksellers implies that one firm contributed more financially or technically to a book's production or has access to a larger market or distribution network. Conversely, multiple variant imprints suggest a more equitable allocation of risks or markets. Yet in either case, local circumstances of publication determine the total count of versions more than the extent of the *Lectures*' circulation.

The total number of differently dated printings of a stereotyped edition likewise mainly reflects local publishing practices. Many publishers regularly included a newly dated title page for new printings of stereotyped editions: W.E. Dean, for example, issued at least 13 dated versions of the abridged *Dr. Blair's Lectures on Rhetoric* in the 19 years he produced the volume. Regularly dated printings confirm an ongoing demand for a volume, but the absence of such clear evidence of frequent publication need not imply a weak or intermittent circulation. The Philadelphia publishers of Abraham Mill's edition of the complete *Lectures*, the most widely circulating version of Blair, reprinted it silently for many years, often changing publication data on the title page only for a new publishing associate or a new address for the firm. Most American versions of Blair with no date on the title page were issued silently several times, as evidenced by slight changes in prefatory materials or advertisements or paper stock, and by patterns of worn or broken type, and it is difficult to determine how often or over what span of time such reprinting occurred.

Since historically contingent publishing practices strongly inflect aggregate publication totals, such figures cannot reliably determine the relative popularity of books that flourished at different times or under substantively different circumstances of production. Meaningful assessments of publication totals require more fully articulated publishing histories that allow comparisons of books printed within broadly similar publishing sectors—in the

same country or region, at roughly the same time, and with similar production technologies and distribution systems. Even within a single publishing sector, small differences in publication totals may be less important in assessing circulation or use than other material conditions of publication—how stereotyped printings were identified, whether substantively new editions were prepared, if national publishing firms issued versions, and so on. Fuller and more contextualized publication histories should clarify the grounds of comparison, and allow for a finer grained account of the ebb and flow of a book's use at different times and locations. Comparative assessments of Blair's circulation must remain somewhat provisional until the bibliography of Anglo-American rhetoric is more fully elaborated. But it is possible, I believe, to propose some preliminary arguments about the circulation of the *Lectures* in relation to similar texts of the day.

In a few arenas Blair consistently outpaced his peers. The most striking example is the publication of the *Lectures* across Europe. Very few works of rhetoric or belles lettres in English of this time circulated widely in translation: Kames' *Elements of Criticism*, for example, had perhaps five issues in German translation, but Campbell's *Philosophy of Rhetoric* and Priestly's *Course of Lectures on Oratory and Criticism* each appeared in a single German version, and most works seem to have never been translated. Blair, however, was published in eight languages, and was often reprinted. In France, there was enough serious attention to support three successive and increasingly faithful translations of the complete *Lectures*. In Spain and Italy, abridged adaptations of the *Lectures* became popular textbooks that provided instruction in different languages and traditions of letters. Fifty-five years after the *Lectures*' initial publication, a new Hungarian translation was published. The unusually wide and deep popularity of the *Lectures* in translation demonstrates that Blair generated a sustained interest across Europe that cannot be readily explained by the generally dismissive critical tradition on his work.¹⁰ Moreover, the diverse qualities and formats of these translations—from faithful renderings of the complete *Lectures* to the substantive transformations of abridged textbooks—shows that Blair's project could serve diverse purposes and be associated with a range of values in different locations, and this may in turn suggest the need for renewed inquiry into the full spectrum of uses and effects in its English language versions.

Blair's preeminence in publication is almost as great in Great Britain, especially England. The *Lectures* had forty-six English printings, as well as three Irish and five Scottish ones; the abridged *Essays* appeared in nine English and one Irish versions. No other near contemporary rhetoric approaches these publishing totals. The next most popular eighteenth-century rhetoric, John Stirling's *A System of Rhetoric* (1733), appeared in thirteen English and five Irish printings.¹¹ Campbell waited twenty-five years for a second edi-

tion, and his *Philosophy* appeared only in nine English and Scottish printings as well as in a single abridgement. Though by the 1850s Whately's *Elements of Rhetoric* began to be reprinted more frequently than Blair, it was published in a total of only around eighteen English versions. Only a work from a different tradition of instruction in letters, William Enfield's elocutionary reader, *The Speaker*, with some sixty-five English and Irish printings, rivals Blair's British circulation. In recent investigations of the history of rhetoric, the disciplinary origins of English, and the emergence of composition as a university subject or scholarly discipline, several critics have argued that Blair helped to establish the language, style and literature of an English elite as the normative object of study throughout the British cultural provinces.¹² The popularity of the *Lectures* in England complicates the grounds of this argument about its ideological project or effects. Blair was published in comparatively expensive multi-volume sets into the 1820s and so the primary readership for his instruction must have largely been the English elites whose linguistic practices and literary preferences he is supposed to be inculcating in the provinces. Wide circulation in England or on the Continent, of course, need not undermine arguments about Blair's ideological function at other locations. But this aspect of his publishing history may serve as a salutary reminder about the multiple uses and effects of a complex discourse, and redirect critical attention to textual features that support a range of alternative readings and forms of appropriation.

Blair had an especially complex and varied publishing record in nineteenth-century America, where almost sixty per cent of all versions of the *Lectures* were printed. Blair is regularly acknowledged to have been the most frequently published writer on rhetoric and belles lettres in the States, and to have a correspondingly dominant influence on the history of rhetoric and instruction in letters. Indeed, up through the 1820s, Blair's *Lectures* far outpaced the circulation of any comparable rhetoric, with the complete *Lectures* appearing twenty-seven times from 1784 to 1826 and various abridgements in fifty-four versions from 1788 to 1830. Other advanced works circulated on an entirely different scale: James Burgh's *The Art of Speaking* had eleven American printings from 1775 to 1804, for example, while Campbell's *Philosophy* and Kames' *Elements* were published in only eight American versions in the early years of the republic.¹³ The text that most nearly matches Blair's circulation at this time is Noah Webster's *An American Selection*, the third and most advanced book of his *Grammatical Institutes*, which was issued some sixty-five times between 1785 and 1817. That the most widely circulating alternatives to Blair in both Britain and the States were elocutionary readers suggests a fundamental division or conflict in the theory and practice of advanced instruction in letters, one not apparent when Blair's publishing history is compared solely to those of other rhetorical treatises. Perhaps

the terms of this conflict can be broadly suggested by recalling that Enfield's *Speaker* emerged and flourished in dissenting academies, and Webster's text polemically promoted American nationalism, while Blair's writing had deep associations with more traditional religious, educational and national institutions.

From roughly 1830 through the 1880s, Blair no longer massively dominated the field of rhetoric in the States, though his books still circulated extensively. The complete *Lectures* appeared in Mill's stereotyped edition with twenty-nine printings from 1829; three stereotyped abridgments were issued a total of forty three times. A few works rivaled the combined totals for the complete and abridged Blair. Even if their self-identified publication totals may be somewhat suspect, Jamieson's *Grammar of Rhetoric and Polite Literature* (fifty three announced American editions from 1820 to the 1880s) and Newman's *Practical System* (sixty announced editions from 1827 to the 1860s) may have approached Blair's popularity. Two other works, I believe, should be seen as circulating at least as widely as Blair in mid nineteenth-century America. Since Guthrie, Richard Whately has been recognized as the next most widely published rhetorician to Blair, especially after 1850, though his influence has seemed to pale in light in Blair's far greater aggregate publication totals.¹⁴ Yet immediately upon its first American publication in 1832, Whately's *Elements of Rhetoric* equaled or surpassed Blair's circulation, appearing in at least fifty-seven American versions in four stereotyped editions, three of which were reprinted regularly, often yearly.¹⁵ More surprisingly, in a peculiar quirk of publishing history, Kames' *Elements of Criticism* became a popular text in mid nineteenth-century America some seventy years after its initial publication in 1762. It was printed in at least forty two versions after 1829 in three stereotyped editions, two of which, an 1833 edition by Abraham Mills and an 1855 one by James Boyd, appeared nearly twenty times each. An abridged Kames, edited by John Frost from an earlier British abridgement by Alexander Jamieson, was printed another dozen or so times. Though Whately and Kames have smaller publication totals in this span than Blair, they appeared frequently and consistently for some fifty years, and they were in enough demand to appear in substantively revised editions while Blair was usually being reprinted from old stereotypes.

Other books addressed to advanced students circulated on the same scale as the complete *Lectures*. George Quackenbos' *Advanced Course in Composition and Rhetoric*, for example, had some thirty American printings between 1855 and the 1880s. George Campbell, like Kames, suddenly flourished in mid nineteenth-century America, and had a far more comparable circulation to Blair than generally imagined on the basis of aggregate publication totals.¹⁶ The *Philosophy of Rhetoric* appeared in two stereotyped editions of 1834 and 1844, with a total of 24 issues, and in the 1870s and 80s

had more printings than Blair's writings.¹⁷ Several other rhetorics—by Alexander Bain, Henry Day, Adam Sherman Hill, and others—appeared frequently but for shorter periods, and while they were printed in fewer total versions, they probably matched or exceeded Blair's circulation for the decade or two in which they most flourished. Blair remains an important—indeed the preeminent—writer on rhetoric and belles lettres in nineteenth-century America. The *Lectures* appeared more often and more consistently over a longer time than any other Anglo-American text, and it had a formative influence on subsequent rhetorics—many of which borrowed extensively from it—and pedagogical practices and attitudes. But after 1830 numerous alternative constructions of rhetoric and rhetorical instruction circulated at least as widely, and competed for authority and influence. Blair's use across this field of cultural production is widespread but uneven, and his position within rhetorical theory and instruction was continually renegotiated as new writers flourished or older writers, like Kames or Campbell, reemerged.

None of Blair's near competitors in specific sectors circulated on the same scale elsewhere. The *Lectures* flourished for almost a century, with frequent republication across a range of locations, and evidently could be put to use in service of quite varied agendas. This catholicity of appeal may derive, in part, from the wide array of topics Blair treats, and his synthetic and judicious use of other theorists, both classical and contemporary, that articulated connections to many discursive networks. Yet his wide circulation needs also to be traced to the diverse material formats through which the *Lectures* were disseminated, especially the abridgments developed to simplify his transmission in schools.

AN ABRIDGED RHETORIC: SCHOOL BLAIR

Blair is reputed to have delivered his lectures at the University of Edinburgh with only minor changes over twenty years, and his professed reason for publishing them in 1783 was to preempt their coming "into public view under some very defective and erroneous form" (Blair's "Preface"). It is thus somewhat of a historical irony that almost half the versions published in English were abridgements that substantively alter as well as selectively reprint the *Lectures*. Historians of rhetoric and composition and of the development of literary studies have almost always ignored abridged versions in their discussions of Blair's influence.¹⁸ But Blair circulated most widely in the United States in abridged versions, which appeared in one hundred versions while the complete *Lectures* had fifty-six American printings. Abridged versions were specifically designed for teaching of Blair in schools and academies, but they were also used in many colleges, at least in the early years of the nineteenth century. Abridgments, moreover, were the immediate occasion for experimenting with the pedagogical presentation of Blair, and so

must have mediated habitual modes of representing and appropriating his positions.

Abridged versions of Blair have a complex textual history. Five substantively different abridgments were produced, three of which were reprinted many times over several decades. The first to appear, *Essays on Rhetoric: abridged chiefly from Dr. Blair's lectures on that science*, was initially published in London in 1784, a year after the publication of the complete *Lectures*, followed by a pirated Irish edition, and five years later, the first of four American versions. The nine English and one Irish versions issued up to 1822 are the only British abridgements of the *Lectures*. *Essays on Rhetoric* was edited anonymously, with only a brief Advertisement explaining its publication. It generally reprints selections from all the Lectures except XXI-XXIV and XXX, the critical examinations writing by Addison, Swift, and Atterbury, though it was twice printed without excerpts from Lectures XXXV-XLVII. *Essays* was the textual basis for *An Abridgment of the Lectures on Rhetoric*, which was published only in the States, starting in 1802 and appearing regularly for seventy some years. *An Abridgment* excerpts the same selection of chapters, but its redaction of Blair is somewhat longer and has slight but pervasive differences in phrasing from the *Essays*. It too appeared anonymously, though as J. Tarver has shown, Eliphalet Pearson prepared it for his Harvard students. *An Abridgment* was the most widely disseminated abridged version, appearing over 60 times under this title, as well as in another 23 versions entitled *Dr. Blair's Lectures on rhetoric: abridged: with questions*. Starting in 1818, printings of this version included various sets of questions, and some editors defend this practice in a brief addendum to the Advertisement.

The third frequently issued abridgment, *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres; chiefly from the lectures of Dr. Blair*, was prepared independently by Abraham Mills in 1832, with an enlarged version appearing by 1854, which brings Blair's historical survey of various genres up to date in a 48-page supplement written in emulation of Blair's method. Perhaps because of this supplement or because its title suggests that it was compiled from more than one author, Mill's version has not regularly been identified as an abridgment, but of the frequently reprinted abridged versions his edition is the most faithful to Blair's phrasing and organization. Two other abridgments circulated less widely and influentially, though they are interesting in their antithetical constructions of Blair. Alfred and Lewis Bixby edited an independent abridgement that appeared a single time in 1826. It is more faithful to Blair's phrasing than earlier abridgements. It is, moreover, the only edition with critical notes that explicate or argue with Blair's positions, and so marks an alternative (if little realized) way of reading or using Blair. Conversely, the final abridged version, issued by Granville Kleiser in 1911, re-

duces Blair to a brief handbook on style and figurative language. The shortest of all abridgements, it was used for a correspondence course in rhetoric along with Kleiser's similar abridgment of Campbell.

Abridgments inevitably reduce complexity, but Blair's project was distinctively and substantively transformed, especially in the earliest and most widely circulating abridged versions, *Essays on Rhetoric* and *An Abridgment of Rhetoric*. Blair's sentences are typically simplified and shortened, and many new sentences are cobbled together from phrases and clauses in different paragraphs. Lengthy disquisitions of several pages become a single paragraph, and the phrasing of Blair's argument is modified throughout. Occasionally, this redaction significantly changes Blair's position, perhaps most notably in his famous definition of style. The *Lecture's* version is a characteristically careful formulation: "It is not easy to give a precise idea of what is meant by style. The best definition I can give of it, is, the peculiar manner in which a man expresses his conceptions, by means of language." After distinguishing style from diction, Blair proceeds: "Style has always some reference to an author's manner of thinking. It is a picture of the ideas which arise in his mind, and of the manner in which they rise there." *Essays* reduces Blair to: "Style is the peculiar manner in which a man expresses his conceptions, by means of language. It is a picture of the ideas which rise in his mind, and of the order in which they are there produced." In *An Abridgment*, Blair becomes: "Style is the peculiar manner in which a man expresses his thoughts by words. It is a picture of the ideas in his mind, and of the order in which they there exist." Both redactions drop Blair's qualifications, and add a mechanistic relation between thought and language: in *Essays*, style mimics the sequence of thought, and in *An Abridgment*, it pictures a mental organization. Neither implication is supported by what Blair wrote, which imagines style having only "some reference" to an unspecified "manner" of thinking. His formulation calls attention to the difficulty of defining style, and to the important, yet peculiar and uncertain, relationship of thought and language.

The effect of small but substantive changes to key concepts is amplified by the wide circulation not only of the abridgments but of other texts that repeat or adopt their redaction: Samuel Newman, for example, quotes—or slightly misquotes—*An Abridgment's* definition when he cites Blair on style.¹⁹ But far more important than changes to specific doctrines, I believe, is the wholesale revision of Blair's method of developing his argument. The loss of thoughtful qualification evident in the redacted definition of style appears throughout the abridgments. Blair's account of taste offers another representative example. In the *Lectures*, he wrote: "Taste may be defined 'The power of receiving pleasure from the beauties of nature and art,'" followed by a learned disquisition on whether taste is an internal sense or a judgment of reason, supported by a footnote to relevant authorities. The next paragraph

proceeds: "Taste, in the sense in which I have explained it, is a faculty common in some degree to all men." *An Abridgment* reduces Blair to: "TASTE is 'the power of receiving pleasure and pain from the beauties and deformities of Nature and of Art.' It is a faculty common in some degree to all men." Here again, the abridged version drifts away from Blair's formulation by gratuitously adding "pain" and "deformity." Its redaction, moreover, makes dogmatic assertions in place of Blair's more measured proposal of a definition, elaboration of key distinctions in relation to other writers, and discussion of some attributes of taste in relation to his developing explanation. Similar reductions occur throughout both *Essays* and *An Abridgment*. These abridged versions consistently omit passages where Blair distinguishes his argument from other related claims, and they print none of the footnotes that acknowledge indebtedness, or refer to other authorities, or add further detail. Many illustrative examples are removed, and Blair's analyses of their qualities are severely curtailed. The survey of various genres of writing becomes little more than prescriptive judgments of taste about individual writers, an occasional tendency, to be sure, of Lectures XXXVI-XLVII, but one countered by elaborated critical arguments and explanations. The six Lectures devoted to the close analysis of English prose become in abridged versions one truncated chapter on a single essay by Addison. Blair becomes, in effect, a collection of loosely linked propositions, not a text that seeks to advocate and persuade, and its precepts are not articulated with specific practices of reading and writing.

The reductive effects of abridgment are consolidated and further extended by the widespread use of elaborate sets of questions to Blair's rhetoric, an important (though usually overlooked) apparatus regulating the appropriation of Blair.²⁰ The earliest of these questions is an 1808 *Compend* that offered catechetical questions and answers drawn mainly from the early parts of *Essays on Rhetoric*. In 1814, a small book of questions keyed to the text of *An Abridgment* appeared, and was reprinted in this form six times to 1822. In 1818, these questions were first added to *An Abridgment* at the back of the book, where most versions printed them for the next half dozen years. Throughout the 1820s, various editors developed slightly varied sets of questions all keyed to *An Abridgment*, and experimented with different formats for their presentation, even though defensive prefaces reveal there was disagreement about their pedagogical value. In 1820 and 1822, John Marsh published a separate set of questions and answers arranged as a catechism. The Concord 1821 abridged Blair first placed questions after each section, and it also printed in italics those words that could be found in the body of the text (the stereotyped Philadelphia edition of 1832 similarly printed key words of questions in italics). In 1824, Nathaniel Green placed numbered questions in the margin of the page, with corresponding numerals included parentheti-

cally in the text. The 1825 Concord version first printed questions at the bottom of the page, a practice subsequently adopted for the stereotyped *Dr. Blair's Lectures on Rhetoric*. At the end of the decade, questions were first included in the complete *Lectures*, printed at the end of each chapter in Abraham Mills' 1829 edition.

All question sets to *An Abridgment* differ only slightly in phrasing or focus and not at all in the response they seek to elicit. They need to be answered by repeating the appropriate passage from the text. They call for neither understanding nor critical reflection. "What is Taste? Is it a faculty common to all? How are the rudiments of taste discoverable in children? In what is it discoverable among savages?"²¹ Such questions stay very close to the text. Answering them produces an elaborated précis, at times a nearly sentence-by-sentence outline of the abridged version. As the questions moved from separate pamphlets, to the back of the book, to the end of chapters or the bottom (or margin) of the page, and sometimes used italics or other devices to key relevant passages, they became ever more intimately imbricated with the meaning or use of the text. Indeed, in many books I have examined, nineteenth-century readers have enclosed answers in faint penciled parentheses, or made marginal notations next to relevant passages. In such cases, reading Blair has been supplanted by the anticipated need to recall his conclusions. In his "Preface," Blair introduces his *Lectures* quite modestly, claiming only "on every subject contained in them, he has thought for himself. He consulted his own ideas and reflections: and a great part of what will be found in these Lectures is entirely his own. At the same time he availed himself of the ideas and reflections of others, as far as he thought them proper to be adopted." Abridged versions omit or greatly diminish Blair's efforts to contextualize his ideas, to acknowledge difficulty, qualification or uncertainty, to insert specific claims within a larger elaborated argument or narrative. They suppress, that is, precisely those features that would invite readers to assess this argument as critically and thoughtfully as Blair announces that he did to earlier writers. Versions with questions perform, in effect, another redaction on the redacted text, reducing Blair to a set of positions to be memorized. School Blair, as a result, circulates as maxims to be recalled more than as a text to be read.

ALTERNATIVE CIRCUITS

The *Lectures* were delivered to a university audience for over twenty years before they appeared in print, and they were used as a school text throughout their publication history. Yet they were never simply or exclusively a textbook. The material circumstances of publication for many versions suggest that they also circulated widely among different reading publics outside of institutions of schooling. The *Lectures* were first published by

William Strahan and associated partners in a two-volume edition in 1783; Strahan and his associates and successors then published thirteen editions of the *Lectures* at intervals of two or three years up to 1814, in an expensive three-volume format, on fine laid paper. The cost of such fine publication suggests that Blair circulated among cultural elites, but more is involved than class distinction. The Strahan firm and its close associates were influential publishing houses of leading British writers such as Samuel Johnson and Oliver Goldsmith, and were especially noted for printing major figures of the Scottish Enlightenment, including David Hume, Adam Smith, James Beattie and others. Blair's regular appearance in this venue marks his position as a serious writer of interest to all educated readers. Similarly, Blair's publication record in translation, considered as an abstract pattern of circulation, is more akin to that of British philosophical works of general intellectual interest such as Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* or Locke's *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* than to that of any other rhetoric: like the *Lectures*, such texts were translated several times across a range of languages for many years after their initial printing, a publication history that bespeaks their inclusion into the cultural repertoire of educated readers across Europe. Even in the States, where Blair was more thoroughly appropriated as a textbook, the *Lectures* were initially produced by several renowned American printers, including Matthew Carey and Isaiah Thomas, in expensive formats starting with a one volume folio edition in 1784, and then six two volume editions from 1793 to 1812. Though such American printings were less finely produced than the Strahan editions, they were printed with wide margins on good paper, and were also priced and positioned for educated elites. Fine editions were, of course, used as school texts: when American universities first adopted the *Lectures* for their curriculum in the late eighteenth century, for example, only expensive British imports or fine American editions were available. But the form in which Blair circulated, for some thirty years in England and the States and somewhat longer in Europe, suggests an abiding interest among educated readers in the *Lectures* and their use in other cultural venues beyond the classroom.

To some extent, even after the *Lectures* were more fully associated with schooling, alternative reading publics continued to be addressed. British versions certainly acknowledged the use of the *Lectures* in school: the Reverend Lionel Thomas Berger noted in his preface to an 1825 version, for example, that "no System of education is now considered to be perfect, into which the admirable Lectures do not enter as a text-book," and the lists of books advertised at the end of Thomas Tegg's 1845 edition classified the *Lectures* with other textbooks. But no British title page identifies the book as a school edition, and none contain a pedagogical apparatus. After the Strahan copyright expired, the *Lectures* were issued in various formats that inserted Blair into

several overlapping circuits of cultural exchange: the book appeared as part of the collected writings of Dr. Blair in 1820, paired with a volume of Blair's sermons in a family edition of 1823, and in several one volume editions, sometimes with critical prefaces or claims to a more accurate text to distinguish them. From 1825 on, all British publications of the *Lectures* occurred in one of three separate stereotyped editions, usually by houses that specialized in inexpensive reprints of standard British authors. The *Lectures* continued to be used as a textbook, but Blair had also become, in effect, a classic.

In the States, some versions sought to straddle divergent markets; an 1824 Vermont abridgement, for example, includes an elaborate allegorical frontispiece, and presents itself as a "superfine edition." A similar attempt to broach circuits of cultural exchange not normally available to textbooks appears in the most frequently printed version of the *Lectures*, the "stereotyped university college and school" edition prepared by Abraham Mills with eighty interleaved pages of questions and chapter analyses that in many ways appears as solely a school book. Yet none of its initial four New York printings explicitly names itself as a textbook, and in various ways each tried to invoke a reading public beyond the school room: the first edition, for instance, elevated itself by including a fine line engraved portrait of Blair, the second included notices praising it for its textual emendations, while the third called itself a "cheap stereotyped edition." The volume identified itself as a school edition only after moving to Philadelphia in 1833. Even then, this edition once underwent a truly remarkable transformation in order to enter into alternative circuits of exchange. In 1839, the apparatus of questions and outlines was removed by disassembling the stereotyped plates that had been added to the 1826 New York edition, thereby offering the public the clean reading text of a "stereotyped library edition."

Evidence of circulation across diverse reading formations stops short of elaborating the actual uses or values associated with the *Lectures* in different locations, yet it strongly suggests the need for a more nuanced historical investigation of its reception and for a renewed critical attention to the arguments, discursive strategies and textual details that sustained such support at so many different sites. This essay has demonstrated that the *Lectures* had not only a far more extensive publication record than previously recognized, but also a complex pattern of circulation in multiple formats for different audiences that critical assessments of Blair's project have largely ignored. I hope that a fuller account of how widely and diversely the *Lectures* were read over time may promote a sense that such a protean and prolific rhetoric still remains to be read in ways that appreciate the range of its uses and meanings.

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Notes

¹ Ehninger and Golden note that "Few books have been more generally damned by the critics, and longer read or more widely influential than Hugh Blair's *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres*" (1955:12). Despite their efforts to explain reasons for interest in Blair, they share the general critical assessment, calling the *Lectures* "a wholly mediocre and pedestrian work" (1956:16).

² Harding (xxxvii, n.4) miscounts several of Schmitz's categories, one of the many bibliographic errors of the critical lore on Blair. Schmitz lists, by city and date of publication, 128 (not 130) editions: 37 American, 25 (not 26) British, 2 continental, 11 (not 13) translations, and 53 (not 52) abridgments. Schmitz's bibliography has a few minor errors, most attributable to mistakes in transcribing dates, but it offers too little publication information to chart accurately either the *Lectures*' bibliography or the diverse forms of its circulation and use.

³ Downey (19) counts sixty-five complete American editions between 1784 and 1973, citing the *National Union Catalogue* as her authority. This tally must have included Mill's abridgement as a complete version, and it does not correct for bibliographic ghosts and duplicates. Connors (74) claims, without explanation, sixty-six complete American *Lectures* before 1874 and seventy-four abridged American editions between 1803 and 1911.

⁴ See the *National Union Catalogue* for a partial count. Elementary textbooks are especially prone to disappear without a bibliographic record. Counts of the editions of these texts vary widely, and often derive from publisher's notices and advertisements that have little corroborating evidence.

⁵ See Bitzer (liii-iv), the best bibliography to date for any Anglo-American rhetoric, which lists 42 versions. There is also a German translation. Bitzer lists as separate "editions" several imprint variants (E & F; H, I, J & K—probably printed earlier than 1819) and some reprints from the same stereotypes (O, P, S; R & U).

⁶ My figures for Kames and Enfield are informed estimates, and not fully elaborated counts. They are based on information from the *National Union Catalogue*, Alston's bibliography, and on-line catalogues as well as research in the Nietz Collection of Old Textbooks at the University of Pittsburgh and other libraries.

⁷ See Wozniak for rhetorics most commonly used in American colleges. My totals for Whately are another informed estimate. Jamieson's publisher announces a 53rd American edition in 1863 (there were two British editions), and Newman's title page several times identifies itself as a 60th edition in printings ranging from at least 1852 to 1866. For most American rhetorics, surviving copies of intermediate editions rarely support publisher's counts, which are, in effect, unreliable puffs for popular textbooks.

⁸ There has been a flurry of interesting work over the last decade on the history of the book in the United States, but Lehmann-Haupt's *The Book in America* remains an especially useful account of the material circumstances of book production in the States. Book production in eighteenth-century England was far more centralized due to licensing privileges of London publishers and to the smaller distances involved in transporting books.

⁹ Kames' *Elements of Criticism*, for example, may have had as many as five

imprint variants issued in 1819 by several of the same New York firms that published Blair around this time.

¹⁰ Abbot (70-6) has previously noted the discrepancy between Blair's critical reputation and his European success, and usefully called attention to such features as Blair's partiality to French critics and writers and his synthetic treatment of classical and contemporary rhetorical thought in seeking to explain his popularity on the continent. I disagree with Abbot's claim about Blair's "impartiality," and his final endorsement of Schmitz's characterization of the *Lectures* as "a pleasantly liberal document" continues the critical tradition in which a recognition of Blair's wide circulation leads to at best a tepid appreciation of the *Lectures*.

¹¹ See Alston, 30-32, for Stirling's bibliography.

¹² See Miller, from whom I take the term "British cultural provinces," for a compelling elaboration of this argument, albeit one that sees Blair as operating uniformly across different locations. See Crawford (especially 33-36) for a fairly sympathetic critique of Blair's relationship to a distinctively Scottish literature and letters.

¹³ See Alston 69-72 for Burgh's bibliography. Imprint variants inflate the American totals for Blair, Campbell, and Kames; if imprint variants are counted as a single "edition," the complete *Lectures* would have fourteen issues, *Philosophy* three, and *Elements* four.

¹⁴ See, for example, Connors, who recognizes at one point that "between 1840 and 1850 [Whately] even began to displace Blair as the most popular rhetoric text" (61), yet also claims that he "never approached the almost incredible popularity of Blair's *Lectures*" (219).

¹⁵ College catalogue information about assigned textbooks also supports the view that Whately immediately circulated at a comparable extent to Blair. Guthrie's lists (62 n.13 & 65 n.32) show that Whately was read at 19 schools and Blair at 18 from 1832 to 1850. Wozniak's Tables II, IV, and VIII (236-37, 240-43, 250-53) show that Whately was read at increasingly more colleges than Blair from 1850 through 1880.

¹⁶ See, for example, Golden and Corbett (140), who compare Campbell's "twenty one major editions" to Blair's "sixty-two complete and fifty-one (sic) abridgements." Miller (227) subsequently cites them to claim that Blair appeared in over five times as many editions as Campbell. Such comparisons confuse what Bitzer identified as "editions" with Schmitz's list of printed versions.

¹⁷ The information in Wozniak's Tables VIII and IX (250-51 & 254-255) shows that Campbell started to be taught at more colleges than Blair for the first time in the 1870s and 80s.

¹⁸ Connors (74-76) is the only major historical critic of recent decades who calls attention to the pedagogical importance of the abridgements, though his account is marred by numerous bibliographic mistakes.

¹⁹ Newman's fifth chapter begins: "STYLE is defined by Dr. Blair, to be 'the peculiar manner in which a writer expresses his thoughts by words. It is a picture of the ideas in the mind, and of the order in which they exist there.'" (157)

²⁰ Only Robert Connors has argued for the importance of these questions, treating them as a response to the lack of teachers qualified to teach in many new colleges and universities that emerged in 1830s America (72-79). The bibliographic evidence does

not support this claim. Sets of questions circulated far earlier than the 1830s. The writers of these questions, insofar as they can be identified, were all high school principals and teachers. And no other widely used edition of a rhetoric taught in college was accompanied by questions.

²¹ I quote from the 1824 Brattleboro version, which reprints the 1814 *Questions adapted to Blair's Rhetoric Abridged*. Other question sets are quite similar: "What is taste? Do all men possess the faculty of taste? How does it appear, that all do possess it?" (1821 Concord); "What is taste? Is it common to all men? What do men relish? What do they disrelish? How do the rudiments of taste appear in children? How does taste appear in peasants? How in savages?" (1847 *Dr. Blair's Lectures on Rhetoric*); "What is Taste? Is it a faculty common to all? How do the rudiments of taste appear in children? How in peasants? How in savages?" (1856 Philadelphia).

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An Annotated Checklist: Printings of Blair's Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres and its abridgments, translations and adaptations.

This checklist is cross referenced with the *National Union Catalogue* (cited as n), vol. 60 (1969); *American Bibliography* Charles Evans (First Series) and Ralph Shaw and Richard Shoewater (Second Series) (1902-72), checked against microprint copies in *Early American Imprints*, series I and II; R.C. Alston. *A Bibliography of the English Language from the Invention of Printing to the Year 1800* (or a), vol. VI: "World Cat" (or w), an on-line version of the OCLC data-base; and the Library of Congress' Z39 interface (or z) with catalogues across Europe. Entries that correspond with Schmitz's bibliography are marked s, though such identifications can be somewhat arbitrary. I have matched my list of abridged editions against J. Tarver. "Abridged Editions of Blair's *Lectures on rhetoric and Belles Lettres* in America" (or t). T.E. Jessop. *A Bibliography of David Hume and other Scottish Philosophers* (or j) and Don Abbott. "Blair 'Abroad'" (or A) were useful for translations of Blair. Entries in these sources, but not included here, are probably bibliographic ghosts.

I provide the year and place of publication, the page count or number of volumes, the publisher or bookseller, and other relevant information. At the end of each entry, I list bibliographic references, including the Evans number for US versions published through 1819 that have microprint copies; I also note the location of rare or unique copies. An asterik indicates I've examined one or more printed copies of the entry. A plus sign marks versions with at least two issues.

Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres: Complete Versions in English

AMERICAN: 56

1784	Philadelphia	454	Printed by Robert Aiken	18369	answ*
1793	Philadelphia	II	Matthew Carey: 2 nd American from 4 th	London	25201 answ
1793	New York	II	Allen: 2 nd American from 4 th London	Illinois	ans
1802	Boston	II	Isiah Thomas & E.T.Andrews: 3 rd American	1912	nsw*
1802	Philadelphia	II	P. Byrne	1914	nsw
1804	Philadelphia	II	Manning & Morse: Hugh Maxwell 1 st Am. from 9 th London	5884	nsw*
1807	Brooklyn	II	Thomas Kirk: 4 th American from 9 th and last London	12162	nsw*
1812	Brooklyn	II	Thomas Kirk: 5 th American from 9 th London	24885	nw

In 1814-15, eight variant imprints were printed by Largin and Thompson, substantively the same except for the identification of the publisher on the title page. All are called the "6th American from the last Edinburgh."

1814	Morristown	544	Peter A. Johnson	30931	nw
1814	New York	544	D. Huntington	30932	nsw
1814	New York	544	Dodge & Sayre	Pittsburgh	Theological Sem. w*
1814	New York	544	Richard Scott	30934	nw
1814	New York	544	printed by Largin & Thompson	Virginia	n
1814	Albany	544	Webster & Skinner	30936	w
1814	New York	544	Thomas A. Ronalds	30937	nw
1815	New York	544	R. Scott. Largin and Thompson	34138	nsw

A 500 page stereotyped edition appeared in 1817, with three variant imprints all announced as the "7th American from the last Edinburgh." Five more variant imprints from these plates came in 1819 as the "8th American from the last Edinburgh." There were two more printings, the so-called 13th and 14th American, in 1824 and 1826.

1817	New York	500	Evert Duyckinck: G. Long, printer	40264	nsw
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1817	New York	500	George Long	40265	nsw
1817	New York	500	S.A. Burtus Printed by G.A. Long	40266	nsw
1819	New York	500	Collins & Hannay : Jas.& John Harper, Printer	47372	w*
1819	New York	500	Collins & Co.	47373	sw*
1819	New York	500	L & F Lockwood	47374	nw
1819	New York	500	W.B. Gilley		nw
1819	New York	500	Scott & Seguire		nw
1824	New York	500	Printed by J.&J.Harper for E.Duyckinck, Collins & Hannay, et al.		nsw
1826	New York	500	Printed by J.&J.Harper for E.Duyckinck, Collins & Hannay, et al.		nw
1826	New York	557	G.F.Hopkins "stereotyped from last London" xi		nsw*

The most frequently printed version of Blair was prepared by Abraham Mills, who made numerous minor corrections to the 1826 Hopkins stereotypes, and added 80 interleaved pages of questions and outlines, after every chapter except the Introduction, XX-XXIV, and XXX. The standard format of early versions is title page (i), copyright notice (ii), Blair's Preface (iii), Editor's Preface (iv), Contents (v-vi), an unsigned "The Life of Dr. Blair" (vii-xi), and, from 1830, favorable reviews of the 1829 first edition (xi-xii). The text keeps the Hopkins pagination (9-557), with questions on 80 interpolated a and b pages. After 1833, this edition was published in Philadelphia and named the "Stereotype University, College and School Edition". By 1839, James Kay printed a new notice of deposit with the Library of Congress dated 1833. From 1844 on, three pages advertising "Kay's Primary and Elementary Readers" appeared (558-560), and the life was no longer printed (though the title page still promised a memoir, even after it was reset in 1854). Subsequent versions to circa 1875 were all issued by Kay's associates and direct successors. Some minor changes in the front matter and repairs to broken type were made in the mid 1850s; in 1873, T. Ellwood Zell deleted all remaining references in the "Editor's Preface" to the 1829 Carvill version, and renewed the copyright deposit. Sometime after 1874, Porter & Coates acquired the plates and continued publishing them for some years, perhaps until the firm closed in 1895. This version had a new title page (finally omitting mention of a memoir), no advertisements, and other minor changes. Small differences in printed detail show that versions with no date on the title page typically had several issues.

1829	New York	557+80	Carvill xi: engraved portrait of Blair		nsw*
1830	New York	557+80	G. & C. & H. Carvill xii: adds reviews		nsw*
1831	New York	557+80	Carvill: xii "Cheap stereotype edition"		nw*
1833	New York	557+80	Carvill: xii		nsw*
1833-38	Philadelphia/Pittsburgh	557+80	James Kay, Jun. & Brother/John I. Kay & Co. xii: some early copies print 1829 NY notice of deposit while later issues print none	*+	
1839	Philadelphia/Pittsburgh	557	James Kay, Jun. & Brother/C.H. Kay & CO vi "Stereotype Library Edition": removes Editor's Preface, Reviews, Life, Mill's questions, & ads.		nw*
1839-43	Philadelphia/Pittsburgh	557+80	James Kay, Jun. & Brother/ C.H. Kay & Co. xii	*+	
1844	Philadelphia/Pittsburgh	560+80	James Kay, Jun. & Brother/ C.H. Kay vii	w*	
1846	Philadelphia/Pittsburgh	560+80	James Kay, Jun. & Brother/C.H. Kay vii		nw*
1847	Philadelphia	560+80	James Kay, Jun. & Brother	Nebraska, Toronto s	
1848	Philadelphia/Pittsburgh	560+80	Kay & Troutman/ Kay & Co: vii	w	
1849	Philadelphia/Pittsburgh	560+80	Kay & Troutman/ Kay & Co: vii	ws	
1850	Philadelphia	560+80	Troutman & Hayes		nsw
1851	Philadelphia	560+80	Troutman & Hayes		nsw*
1852	Philadelphia	560+80	Troutman & Hayes		nw*
1853	Philadelphia	560+80	Troutman & Hayes		nsw*
1854	Philadelphia	560+80	Hayes & Zell title page reset		nsw*
1856	Philadelphia	560+80	Hayes & Zell	ns	
1857	Philadelphia	560+80	Hayes & Zell 1833 notice of deposit re-set		nw*
1858	Philadelphia	560+80	Hayes & Zell		nsw*
1860	Philadelphia	560+80	Hayes & Zell		nsw
1861	Philadelphia	560+80	Hayes & Zell		nw*
1862	Philadelphia	560+80	T.E. Zell	w	
1863	Philadelphia	560+80	T.E. Zell		nw
1864	Philadelphia	560+80	T.E. Zell		nsw
1866	Philadelphia	560+80	T.E. Zell		nsw*
1867-73	Philadelphia	560+80	T. Ellwood Zell 1833 notice of deposit	*	
1874-mid 1870s?	Philadelphia	559+80	T. Ellwood Zell 1873 notice of deposit no dates on reviews or editor's preface; replaces 559-560 with a one page	*	

advertisement for an 1874 book
 mid 1870s-1895? Philadelphia 557+80 Porter & Coates: vi; no ads; new titlepage: s*+
 deletes all references to NY edition; late issues delete publisher's address

ENGLISH: 46

Unless otherwise noted, all English versions were published in London, though many list booksellers in other cities on the title page.

1783	II	1st	W. Strahan, T. Cadell: W. Creech, Edinburgh	answ*
1785	III	2nd	W. Strahan, T. Cadell: W. Creech, Edinburgh	answ
1787	III	3rd	A. Strahan, T. Cadell: W. Creech, Edinburgh	answ
1790	III	4th	A. Strahan, T. Cadell: W. Creech, Edinburgh	answ*
1793	III	5th	A. Strahan, T. Cadell: W. Creech, Edinburgh	answ*
1796	III	6th	A. Strahan, T. Cadell: W. Creech, Edinburgh	answ
1798	III	7th	A. Strahan, T. Cadell: W. Creech, Edinburgh	answ*
1801	III	8th	T. Cadell, W. Davies: W. Creech, Edinburgh	nsw*
1803	III	9th	T. Cadell, W. Davies: W. Creech, Edinburgh	nsw*
1806	III	10th	T. Cadell, W. Davies: W. Creech, Edinburgh	nsw*
1809	III	11th	T. Cadell, W. Davies: W. Creech, Edinburgh	nsw*
1812	III	12th	T. Cadell, W. Davies: W. Creech, Edinburgh	nsw
1814	IV	13th	T. Cadell, W. Davies: W. Creech, Edinburgh	nw
1817	III		J. Cranwell et al.: life of author	nw *
1818	III		William Allason & J. Maynard Life of Doctor Blair	n
1819	III	13th	Cadell & Davis and eight others	nsw*
1820	III		W. Sharpe	ns
1820	II		T. Cadell & W. Davies vols. 4 & 5 of <u>The Works of Hugh Blair</u>	n
1823	III		Richardson & Co. and 12 others	nsw*
1823	548		Baynes and Son and 13 others: revised by W. S. Dobson: viii	nw*
1823	679		Baynes and Son, Walker and Co: revised by Dobson	nw*
1824	637		Baynes and Son and 21 others: Greek and Latin quotes revised & references supplied by W. S. Dobson	nsw*
1825	673 14 ^h		Printed for T. Cadell and 13 others:	w*
1825	679 14 ^h		William Baynes and Son	British Library
1825	605		T. & J. Allman and 9 others: xi. critical preface by Lionel Thomas Berguer	w*
1827	605		T. & J. Allman: xi. critical preface by Lionel Thomas Berguer	aw
1831	605		T. Allman: preface by Lionel Thomas Berguer	w
1831	679		Bumpus and Griffen	w
1833	679		Thomas Tegg/ Richard Griffen & Co., Glasgow	aw
1834	679		Thomas Tegg/ Richard Griffen & Co., Glasgow	n*
1836	679		W. Sills	n
1837	679		W. Sills	Pittsburgh *
1838	679		Charles Daly	ns*
1838	679		Thomas Tegg: vii	aw
1839	679		Charles Daly	asw
1841	679		Charles Daly	sw
1841	679		Thomas Tegg	nw
1841	605		T. Allman portrait: preface by Thomas Lionel Berguer (sic)	w*
1842	679		Halifax: William Milner portrait	w*
1845	592		Thomas Tegg: portrait: Introduction by Rev. Thomas Dale: 8pp ads	nsw*
1847	679		Halifax: William Milner: portrait	Penn State *
1850	679		Halifax: William Milner	js
1853	602 xxxi:		William Tegg: Introduction by Rev. Thomas Dale	nsw
1858	602 xxxi:		William Tegg: Introduction by Rev. Thomas Dale	Geneva College, PA
1863	602 xxxi:		William Tegg: Introduction by Rev. Thomas Dale	w
1879	602 xxxi:		William Tegg: Introduction by Rev. Thomas Dale	Illinois *

IRISH: 3

1783	Dublin	III	Printed for Messrs. Whitestone, Colles, Brunet, Moncrieffe and 10 others ans	
1789	Dublin	II	Printed for Colles, Moncrieffe, Gilbert, Walker, Exshaw and Byrne	ans*

1793 Dublin II W. Gilbert, L. White et al.

ans

SCOTISH: 5

1811 Edinburgh IIIBell & Bradfute/ Mundell, Doig, & Stevenson

nw

1813 Edinburgh IIIBell & Bradfute

nw

1814 Edinburgh II Andrew Wallace & Co.

w

1819 Edinburgh III T.Turnbull: Life of author

nw*

1820 Edinburgh II Printed for J. Dick

ws

CONTINENTAL: 2

1788 Basil/Paris III Printed by J. J. Tourneisen

nsw

1801 Basil/Paris III Printed by Decker

nsw

Abridged versions in English

*Essays on Rhetoric: abridged chiefly from Dr. Blair's Lectures on that Science: a selection and sentence-level reduction, comprised of an advertisement, followed typically by 59 sections corresponding to chapter sub-headings in the complete *Lectures*. It does not abstract chapters XXI-XXIV, or XXX, and it excludes most footnotes, Latin and Greek quotations, illustrative examples, and topic introductions. The short version does not abstract chapters XXXV-XLVII. 14*

1784	London	384	J. Murray			atw
1784	Dublin	237	Moncrieffe	(short version)		ant*
1785	London	533	J. Murray 2 nd			ant
1787	London	420	J. Murray 3 rd			ans
1789	Boston	208	Edmund Freeman	(short version)	21693	anst
1793	Boston	282	S. Thomas & E.T.Andrews		25198	anst
1797	Boston	249	Printed by Samuel Etheridge for Thomas & Andrews, Boston; & Penniman, Albany: & Butler, Baltimore		31833	anst*
1798	Albany	307	Barber and Southwick		33426	anst
1801	London	348	Vernor & Hood 4 th			nst
1801	Tewkesbury	348	4 th			Bodleian a
1806	London	348	Vernor, Hood & Sharpe 5 th			ast*
1810	London	376	Vernor, Hood & Sharpe 6 th : "carefully revised and considerably augmented"			aws
1822	London	241	F.C. & J. Rivington			Rutgers atw
1822	London	241	J. Davison			National Lib of Wales w

*An Abridgment of Lectures on rhetoric: derived from *Essays*, with regular slight differences in phrasing, and organized generally into 59 to 63 sections: starting in 1818, and, with two exceptions, consistently from 1819 on, versions include one of at least six distinct but broadly similar sets of questions. 61 (23)*

1802	Cambridge	300	William Hillard	1911	nstw
1803	Boston	260	I. Thomas & E.T.Andrew	3839	nstw
1805	Boston	264	Thomas & Andrew	8039	nstw*
1805	Brookfield	295	E. Merriam & Co	8038	nstw
1806	Carlisle, PA	312	A. Loudon	50651	ntw
1807	Wilmington	264	Matthew Lockerman	12161	nstw
1808	Boston	287	Hastings, Etheridge, Bliss	14531	nstw
1808	Carlisle	312	A. Loudon	14532	nstw*
1809	Exeter, NH	300	Printed by Charles Norris & CO for W. Sawyer & Co, Newburyport	17052	nstw
1809	Windsor, VT	291	Thomas & Merrifield	17053	nstw
1812	Troy	299	Parker & Bliss	24884	nstw
1813	Morristown	276	Peter A. Johnson	27958	w
1813	New Brunswick	276	Lewis Deare	27959	nstw*
1813	New York	287	T. & J. Swords	27960	nstw
1813	Poughkeepsie	299	Paraclete Potter	27961	ntw
1814	New York	214	Griffin & Rudd	Yale	n

1814	New York	214 Richard Scott		Yale, Brown t
1816	Baltimore	286 Joseph Cushing	37021	nst*
1817	Haverhill	287 Green & Carey/ Salem: Whipple	40261	nstw*
1818	Haverhill	261 Burrill and Tileston	43379	ntw
1818	New York	287 William B. Gilley	43382	nstw
1818	Northampton	216 Simeon Butler	43383	nstw
1818	Portland, ME	287 Wm. & H. Hyde	43384	nstw
1818	Poughkeepsie	276 Paraclete Potter's 2nd/ Philadelphia: Sheldon Potter	43385	nstw
1818	Salem	300 Thomas Carey	43386	stw
1818	Worcester	315 George Trumbull; questions by "an experienced teacher of youth"	43387	ntw
1819	New York	188 L.&F. Lockwood (no questions)	47370	nstw*
1821	Exeter, NH	315 questions by "an experienced teacher" at end of book		ntw*
1821	New York	288 Evert Duyckinck; questions at end of book		ntw*
1821	Concord, NH	377 Hill & Moore; questions after sections		tw*
1822	Brookfield	311 E. Merriam & Co; questions at end of book		ntw
1822	Concord	304 Joseph Manahan 2 nd ; questions after sections by Rev. J. L. Blake		nstw
1822	Concord	304 Hill and Moore 3 rd ; questions after sections by Rev. J. L. Blake		ntw*
1822	Exeter	258 John H. Williams; questions by "an experienced teacher" at end of book		ntw*
1822	Philadelphia	290 Hickman & Hazard (no questions)		nt*
1822	Portland	296 William Hyde; questions after sections by a "gentleman of Portland"		nstw*
1822	Worcester	311 Dorr & Howland		ntw
1823	Amherst	306 Lewis Whittemore; questions by an experienced teacher at end of book		nstw*
1823	Concord	304 Isaac Hill 4 th ; questions after sections by Rev. J. L. Blake		nstw
1823	Wendell, MA	306 Metcalf; questions by an experienced teacher		ntw
1824	Boston	238 True & Greene (entered 12-9-1823) marginal questions by Nathaniel Greene		nstw*
1824	Brattleborough VT	202 Holbrook & Fessenden; questions: frontispiece: "superfine edition"		nstw*
1824	New York	288 Evert Duyckinck; questions at end of book		tw*
1825	Concord	326 Moore 5 th ; questions at bottom of page by Rev. J.L.Blake		nstw
1826	Boston	284 Cummings, Hillard & Co: "new method of interrogating" by Samuel Worcester		nw
1826	Portland	296 W. Hyde; questions by "gentleman of Portland"		ntw
1827	Concord	344 J. Moore; questions at bottom of page by Rev. J.L. Blake		ntw*
1828	Philadelphia	237 Towar & Hogan; questions by a teacher of Philadelphia		anst
1830	Concord	342 Marsh Capen & Lyon; stereotyped David Hills. Boston; questions at bottom of page by Rev. J.L.Blake		anstw*

Later versions of this title were printed from stereotypes made by James Conner of New York by a series of Philadelphia publishers. Questions by "a teacher of Philadelphia" appear after each section. Its 1832 notice of deposit by Key & Mickle was re-entered in 1854 by Hayes and Zell.

1832	Philadelphia	23 Key, Mickle, & Biddle		nsw
1833	Philadelphia	230 Mickle		ntw
1837	Philadelphia	230 C. Bell		ntw
1840	Philadelphia	230 C.Bell		n
1842	Philadelphia	230 Kay and Brothers		Misourri *
1842	Philadelphia	230 C. Bell		ntw
1845	Philadelphia	230 C. Bell		nw*
1849	Philadelphia	230 Kay & Troutman		ws
1854	Philadelphia	230 Hayes & Zell		n*
1856	Philadelphia	230 Hayes & Zell		*
1857	Philadelphia	230 Hayes & Zell		ns
1861	Philadelphia	230 Hayes & Zell		tw*

Dr. Blair's Lectures on rhetoric; abridged; with questions.

*First Collins' and then "Dean's Stereotyped Edition," this is the most often reprinted abridged version; substantively identical with *An Abridgement*, but arranged in 42 numbered lectures; questions at bottom of page; notice of deposit in 1829 by J & J Harper, NY; re-entered in 1845 and again in 1848 by W.E.Dean. 23*

1830	New York	268 Collins & Co.		n
1831	New York	268 Collins & Co.		ntw
1835	New York	268 Dean first announced Dean's Stereotyped Edition		nw
1836	New York	268 Dean		ntw*
1837	New York	268 Dean		ntw

1838	New York	268	Dean	nstw
1839	New York	268	Dean	nw*
1840	New York	268	Dean	nt
1841	New York	268	Dean	nw
1842	New York	268	Dean	nstw
1843	New York	268	Dean	Harvard st
1845	New York	268	Dean	tw
1847	New York	268	Dean 1845 notice of deposit	nt*
1852	New York	268	Dean 1848 notice of deposit	n*
1853	New York	268	Dean	tw
1855	Philadelphia	268	Lippencott, Grambo	tw
1856	Philadelphia	268	J.B. Lippencott & Co.	Yale *
1857	Philadelphia	268	J.B. Lippencott & Co.	w
1859	Philadelphia	268	J.B. Lippencott & Co.	n
1860	Philadelphia	268	J.B. Lippencott & Co.	nstw
1868	Philadelphia	268	J.B. Lippencott & Co.	tw
1871	Philadelphia	268	J.B. Lippencott & Co.	nst
1870s	Philadelphia	268	J.B. Lippencott & Co. 1848 date of deposit	w*

Blair's Lectures on rhetoric, abridged, with appropriate notes and questions. Western Illinois nw*
1826-7 New York II Alfred & Lewis Bixby

An independent abridgement and redaction, with questions by the editors at the end of each volume, with critical notes, exercises and illustrations included in an appendix, as well as a lengthy preface (printed after the abridgement) justifying the use of questions. The first volume, issued separately late in 1826, abstracts Chapters I-XIX. XXV-XXVII; the second volume abstracts the lectures on Eloquence and Poetry.

Lectures on rhetoric and belles lettres chiefly from the lectures of Dr. Blair. Abraham Mills 9
—an independent abridgement and redaction, with a new preface: chapter outlines and questions at bottom of page are similar to those in Mill's complete Blair; an 1853 supplement treats some more recent writers in Blair's style.

1832	New York	360	James Conner	nw*
1836	New York	360		n
1838	New York	360	3 rd edition: Robinson and Franklin	nw
1842	New York	360	R. Lockwood	nw
1843-52?	New York	360	R. Lockwood 1832 date of deposit	
1854	New York	408	Roe Lockwood & Son	w
1857	New York	408	Roe Lockwood & Son 1853 date of deposit	n*
1862	New York	408	Roe Lockwood & Son Michigan State	nw
1860s?	New York	408	George R. Lockwood 1853 date of deposit	*+

earlier versions list publisher at 412 Broadway, later versions at 812 Broadway

Lectures on Rhetoric by Hugh Blair. condensed by Grenville Kleiser: Funk & Wagnalls 1911. nsw*+
Title page reset in a later issue: selects from seven chapters (II, X-XIII, XVIII-XIX), removing footnotes, Latin and Greek citations, and introductions.

Associated Materials in English

Heads of the Lectures on Rhetorick and Belles Lettres.

—in effect, a radical abridgement, divided into five broad sections in roman numerals, with arabic numeral subdivisions that print key sentences and topic headings.

1767	Edinburgh	44	A. Kincaid & J. Bell	a
1771	Edinburgh	46	A. Kincaid & W. Creech	answ*
1777	Edinburgh	48	William Creech	a

Questions:

The author of all versions of Questions adapted to Blair's Rhetoric is identified only as an "experienced teacher of youth," though they have subsequently been attributed to John Lauris Blake.

- 1808 A Compend of rhetoric in question and answer compiled for the use of the young ladies of the Schenectady Female Academy. Schenectady, NY: Van Veghton & Son 48 14752 w
- 1814 Questions adapted to Blair's Rhetoric abridged. 2nd Salem: Thomas C. Cushing 48 30929 nw
- 1816 Questions adapted to Blair's Rhetoric abridged. 2nd Salem: Thomas C. Cushing 48 37026 w
- 1818 Questions adapted to Blair's Rhetoric abridged. 3rd Salem: Thomas C. Cushing 48 43391 nw
- 1819 Questions adapted to Blair's Rhetoric abridged. 3rd Northampton: Simeon Butler 36 49225 nsw
- 1819 Questions adapted to Blair's Rhetoric abridged. 3rd Salem: Thomas C. Cushing 36 49226 nw
- 1820 Questions adapted to Blair's Rhetoric abridged. 4th Salem: Cushing & Appleton 48 nw
- 1820 A New and Complete Set of Questions to Blair's Lectures on Rhetoric. New York: Alfred Bixby n
- 1820 Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres, reduced to question and answer. Hartford: John Marsh 120w*
- 1822 Blair's Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres. 2nd Hartford: John Marsh 144 sw
- 1822 Questions adapted to Blair's Rhetoric abridged. 5th Salem: Cushing & Appleton 45 nsw
- 1822 One Thousand Questions for the Examination of scholars in Blair's Rhetoric. J.L.Blake 4th; w
Concord, NH: George Hough 53
- 1823 Questions adapted to Blair's Rhetoric abridged. 6th Salem: Cushing & Appleton 49 sw

Translations, Abridgements & Adaptions in Other Languages 61

DANISH

- 1810 Forsøg til en rhetorik i ett udtog af Hugo Blairs forelaesninger over rhetoriken. med hensyn til underviisningen i de laerde skoler. forfattet af Jakob Rosted: Christiania J. Rosted 190pp.
Toronto

DUTCH

- 1804 Lessen, over de redekunst en fraaie letteren Uit het Engelsch vertaald door Herm. Bosscha.
II vol., Utrecht: G.T. van Paddenburg en Zoon w

FRENCH: 7

- Quénot's edition continues the revision and correction of Cantwell's translation that Prevost began.
Leçons de rhétorique et de belles-lettres trans. M Cantwell
- 1797 Paris 4 vol in 2; Ajs
- Cours de rhétorique et de belles lettres trans. Pierre Prevost
- 1808 Geneva 4 vols. Ajs
- 1821 Paris 2nd ed. 2 vols. Ajsw
- Leçons de rhétorique et de belles-lettres, suivies des opinions de Voltaire, Buffon, etc. trans. J.P. Quénot
- 1821 Paris 3 vols. Lefèvre Ajsw
- 1830 Paris 3 vols. 2nd ed. Ledentu Ajns*
- 1845 Paris 2 vols. 3rd ed. L. Hachette Ajsw
- Abrégé du cours complet de rhétorique et de belles-lettres Columbia Ajw*
- 1825 Paris 363: Traduit sur la 6e éd. de Londres par S.P. H***.
- A faithful translation of the 1822 London printing of Essays on Rhetoric, with a new preface (vi-xii) and a note (155-7) explaining the omission of the section devoted to a critical examination of Addison's style.

GERMAN: 3

- 1785-86 Vorlesungen über Rhetorik und schöne Wissenschaften bersezt und mit einigen Anmerkungen und Zusätzen begleitet von K.G. Shreiter. Liegnitz & Leipzig: David Siegert jns
- 1820 Schule der Redekunst und schönen Wissenschaft überhaupt nach Hugo Blair. II vols. jw
Für Deutsche bearbeitet von Joseph Eiselein: Aus Willibalds Hofbuchdruckerei zu Donauöschingen
- 1838 Lehrbuch der Rhetorik und Poetik nach Hugo Blair. II vols. Für Deutsche bearbeitet von Joseph Eiselein. Rotweil: Herder z

HUNGARIAN

- 1838 II Rhetorikai és aesthetickai leczkéj némelly kihágysokkal és röviditésekkel angolból Kis János.
Budán: A' magyar királyi Egyetem' Betiuei
Oxford

ITALIAN: 29

Complete Lectures

Lezioni di retorica e belle lettere translated by Francesco Soave

1801	Parma	III	dalla Reale tipografia	jwz
1803	Venezia	III	per Tommaso Bettinelli	z
1811	Genova	III		Ajnw
1811	Venezia	III	3 rd presso T. Bettinelli	Anz
1819	Venezia	III	4th correduta di alcune note dell'editore	Anw*
1820	Venezia	III	presso l'editore Girolamo Tasso: Tipografia Nardini	z
1825	Venezia	III	Vincenzo Rizzi	Milan z
1827-8	Firenze	III	dai torchi di Giuseppe Galletti	Padua z

Abridgments/Adaptations

Istituzioni di retorica e di belle lettere translated by Francesco Soave

In the 1830s, this abridgment was "extended and enriched with examples for the use of young Italian students" by Giuseppe Ignazio Montanari, who preserved much of the substance and language of Soave's translation, but added even more extensive discussions of Italian elocution, grammar, and literature.

1808	Vigevano	311	dalla Tipografia di Vigevano	Anwz*
1809	Vigevano	311	2 nd dalla Tipografia di Vigevano	Anz
1809	Piacenza			z
1815	Napoli	III	G. de Bonie	Answ
1818	Napoli	III	dai torchi di Francesco Migliaccio; a spese di Luigi Marotta sociodirettore	z
1818	Venezia	286	A. Santini	w
1835	Parma	2in1		An
1839	Firenze	II	2 nd (Montanari version)	Bodleian j
1841	Firenze	384	Tipografia Pietro Fratecelli	z
1842	Napoli			An
1846	Palermo	III	Ricardi e Jouhaud (Montanari version)	z
1846	Firenze	II	4 th (Montanari version)	Anw
1847	Firenze	381	Tipografia P. Fraticelli	z
1846	Torino	364		An
1849	Napoli	II	3rd napoliton su l'ultima di Firenze (Montanari version)	Anw*
1852	Palermo	II	(Montanari version)	z
1854	Firenze	628	5 th fiorentin (Montanari version)	z
1855	Torino	336		Ans
1862	Capolago		(Montanari version)	z
1862	Napoli	2in1	7th napoliton su l'ultima di Firenze (Montanari version)	nw*
<u>Elementi di grammatica universale</u> tratti dalle lezioni di belle lettere e adattati alla lingua italiana de E.M.P.A. 56pp. Firenze (?), 1802				w

RUSSIAN: 4

1791	<u>Opyt reitoriki</u> , sokrashchennyi bol'sheiu chastiiu iz nastavlenii Dokt. Blerom, v sei naukie prepodavasykh.	Sanktpeterburg 303pp.	Harvard
1799	<u>O nachalie i postepennoe prirashchenii iazyka</u> , i izobrietenii pis'ma. Moskva 87pp.		Harvard
1800	<u>Opyt o Krasnoriechii propoviednikov</u> .	Sanktpeterburg 98pp.	Harvard
1837-8	<u>Chiteniya o slovesnosti</u> . IV vols. Moscow; Ivan Ivanovich Davuidov		British Library js

SPANISH: 15

Complete Lectures

Lecciones sobre la retórica y las bellas letras por José Luis de Munarriz

1798-1801	Madrid	IV		Asw
1804	Madrid	IV	2 nd	An
1816-1817	Madrid	IV	3 rd	Ajn
1834	Meejico	IV		An

Abridgments/Adaptations

Compendio de las lecciones sobre la retórica y bellas letras de Hugo Blair por José Luis de Munarriz

1815	Madrid	444	Impr. de Ibarra	An
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1819	Tolossa	324	Impr. de Garriga	Ajn*
1819	Perpinan	324		Aw
1822	Madrid	439	2nd edition: Impr. de Ibarra	Aw
1824	Santiago, Chile	363		An
1840	Tolossa	318	Impr. de Garriga	Az
1841	Gerona	268	Vincente Oliva	Az
1868	Sevilla	274	3 rd edition: José María Geofrin	z

Curso Elemental De Retórica Y Poetica por D. Alfredo Adolfo Camus

A hybrid production, whose section on rhetoric is a revision and correction of Munarriz's translation, while the section on poetry adapts the relevant part of Principios De Retórica Y Poetica by Francisco Sanchez, a text with some broad indebtedness to Blair.

1847	Madrid	301	Impr. de La Publicidad, a cargo de M. Rivedeneyra	USC	n*
1854	Madrid	270	2 nd edition. Libería de León Pablo Villaverde		z
1865	Madrid	264	3 rd edition. Libería de León Pablo Villaverde	z	

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